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NOTE

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

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

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

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa on Thursday, 3 February 1972, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Mansour KHALID (Sudan).

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/1636)

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

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Consideration of questions relating to Africa of which the Security Council is currently seized and implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw attention to the fact that a draft resolution sponsored by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and Sudan has been circulated this morning, in document S/10606; it relates to the situation in Southern Rhodesia.
2. The first name on the list of speakers this morning is that of the representative of Burundi. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.
3. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): A month has passed since the expiry of the Republic of Burundi's term as a member of the Security Council, an office which we had the great honour of filling for two years on behalf of the Organization of African Unity.
4. The attractive ties that link my delegation to all the members seated in the Council were indeed such as might have induced us to attempt a break through to become once again a member of this Council, and we are grateful to the Council and to its distinguished President for having allowed us once again to join our distinguished colleagues around this table—even if only for a fleeting few minutes—thus setting aside our temptation.

5. In connexion with the agenda that you are asked to consider, on behalf of His Excellency President Micombero, I have the high honour of submitting to this distinguished Council the position which my Government considers to be the only possible course and, in the last analysis, the only infallible course.

6. Before turning to the substance of the problem, it is a great pleasure for me to pay a very well-deserved tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim and to express to him once again, on the occasion of his sojourn on the African continent, the enthusiastic congratulations that the Government of Burundi and I myself had expressed to him on the occasion of his appointment to head the Secretariat of the United Nations. We are also glad that our Secretary-General, through the force of events, should have been led to inaugurate and pursue his new lofty functions on African soil. We hope therefore that this trip will be but the first of a series of visits that he will be making to other African countries, whose proverbial hospitality he will be in a position to appreciate.

7. For more than one reason the months of January and February deserve a select place in the annals of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity. Indeed, the presidency of this Council has been filled in succession by such worthy sons of Africa as the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Somalia and Sudan as well as Ambassador Farah. They will thus have left their mark both on this body and on international diplomacy itself. I say this to tell you how proud my delegation has been to testify as it continues to the skill and dexterity with which their lofty functions were discharged by three representatives of Somalia and Sudan, to which countries my people and my Government are deeply devoted by virtue of historical, geographic and human ties.

8. We are witnessing a wave of consultations designed to eradicate the causes of disputes and to set aside the obstacles in the way of peace. Here efforts are being made to bring about a conference on disarmament, in another area all forces are being mobilized to bring about an international conference on the human environment, and still elsewhere conversations are being held either at the bilateral level or within a collective or regional context to prepare a summit conference devoted to European security.

9. On the world's chessboard the crucial problems of Africa are deliberately or by neglect relegated to sad obscurity. In any event, when the great Powers engage in talks, the place reserved for the vital questions of Africa continues to be marginal.

10. Yet what crisis could be more acute than the colonial wars which have been ravaging African countries for more than a decade? What crisis could be more acute than racism and *apartheid*, which have caused such desolation for more than a century?

11. Most of the countries represented within this Council have experienced both in their hearts and in their flesh, although in differing degrees, the sufferings inflicted by two world conflagrations which saw Europe put to the fire and sword. That being so, how can one explain the complacency of certain Members towards racism and foreign domination in Africa? Nonetheless, it was racial strife and the megalomania of statesmen, of which colonialism is only an offshoot, which were the principal, if not the only, causes of the upheaval in Europe.

12. Have the fundamental problems of Africa really been dealt with as the focal point of consideration at the summit conferences which have taken place in the past two months in Washington, in the Azores, in Hamilton, at Key Biscayne and at San Clemente? Do we not have the right also to wonder whether the extremely grave colonial and racial situation in the southern part of our continent will appear, if not at the head of the list, then at least at an important place on the agenda of the forthcoming summit conferences scheduled for Peking in three weeks and for Moscow in three months?

13. Since, in the light of official communiqués published following upon such consultations at the highest level, no reference has been made specifically to the fate of Africa, are not our concern and disappointment justified?

14. Has the relatively calm period that has prevailed since 1945 been sufficient to sweep away all the memories of the nightmare and the spectre of war? If not, how is one to interpret the indifference towards the frightful consequences of a racial and colonial conflict despite its interminable duration and its terrible intensity?

15. The diplomatic and political offensive for peace has acquired such impetus that there is no point of contact between the great Powers either at the bilateral level or at the multilateral level where security does not hold pride of place in conversations. Have these multiple and frequent initiatives succeeded in resisting the tendency to confine matters to a regional compartmentalization running from the Urals to the North Atlantic on the one hand and from the latter to the northern Pacific on the other?

16. If the ardent desire to build a peaceful world relegates the horror of *apartheid* and colonialism to the realm of forgetfulness, one is led to doubt the universal and indivisible nature of a peace and security which might reign elsewhere and which, so long as *apartheid* and colonialism are preying upon the regions of Africa, would be synonymous with a pure Utopia for us in Africa. That is why three months ago, during the debate on the strengthening of international security in the First Committee of the General Assembly, I advocated the thesis, as I continue to do, that true security, if it is to become universal, is bound to be founded on a five-point axiomatic programme, namely, decolonization, elimination of racism and *apartheid*, eco-

conomic development of the third world, disarmament and, finally, as a natural sequel to the foregoing, co-operation among nations.

17. My delegation deliberately refrains from dissociating the Siamese twins, *apartheid* and colonialism, ideological bastards having the same origin and engendering the same consequences, with minor variations. The role that has fallen on the Republic of Burundi within the various organs of the United Nations has enabled us to reveal the identical nature of the inhuman methods used and the degrading objectives pursued in South Africa, in Namibia, in Rhodesia, in Guinea (Bissau), in Angola and Mozambique by the aberrant Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon trio. In the Security Council and during our chairmanship of the *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee on Namibia, thanks to which the case of the former Territory of South West Africa was referred to the International Court of Justice, whose Advisory Opinion¹ handed down last June falls into the category of one of the most glorious honours won by the Organization of African Unity, we have never ceased to bring out the equation between racism and colonialism. The evil deeds that are committed or are still latent in this two-fold aberration are illustrated by the recurring aggressions committed by Portugal and South Africa against the sovereign States that are exposed to their immediate grasp.

18. Among the initiatives to be undertaken, the human conscience and all the politico-diplomatic machinery seem finally to have reached a crossroads which should finally unleash a universal coalition against *apartheid* and colonialism in Africa. To sensitize the peoples of the world to the scourges of this dangerous twosome, with all their ramifications, it is essential to hold a world conference regardless of the title by which it is known to bring about the total and final eradication of subjugation, under the auspices of the Security Council.

19. After decades which have been taken up with the adoption of resolutions which remained dead letters, the time for euphoria has passed. It is essential to embark upon a new era which should lead to the elaboration of a global plan destined to build an entirely free Africa.

20. Perhaps we should recognize at the outset that the complexity of the problem we are dealing with encompasses human rights, colonialism, racism and aggression. It is also an only too well known fact that the regions under subjugation and the violations committed against them are of interest not solely to the Africans but also to the great and medium Powers outside our continent. Approached from this realistic standpoint, that is to say, one which refuses to blind itself to brutal realities in this multiple and multiform complex problem, the powder keg which is building up presents a tremendous threat to peace, indeed to the United Nations itself and should therefore become the primary concern and the number one priority of the Security Council. That body is not only henceforth bound to face up to this new trend, during its meetings in Addis

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

Ababa, but it is also obligated constantly to deploy its efforts to reach a solution which would be final.

21. Unfortunately, by its very nature, and its history, its composition and its intrinsic division, it would appear at first glance difficult for the Security Council to work out a plan likely to receive an effective consensus. Moreover, should that be a burden which we should spare some of its members? For our part, we consider that the plan we are recommending implies the principle of self-determination, including regional self-determination. As such, nothing would be more natural, for that is a task which in the first instance and primarily devolves upon the Africans themselves, because it is their continent which is at stake and since they speak with one voice to achieve one and the same goal.

22. As a logical consequence, therefore, it seems to us that it is up to the Organization of African Unity to work out a plan, which would be entitled "Plan for a liberated Africa", which, once completed, would be the subject of an examination in depth by the Security Council, which in turn would remain continually seized of the aforesaid plan until Africa acquired its sovereignty in every part and region of the continent. The establishment of a time-limit for accession by all countries to independence and for the elimination of *apartheid* and similar practices and theories would constitute an integral part of such a programme. *Inter alia* it would include the sending out of periodic missions from the Security Council to take the pulse of the world situation and in particular to assess the evolution of the process that had been set in train. Clearly, at this stage I have confined myself to sketching such a plan in broad and general lines because it would be premature to depict all its facets in detail. The time when Africa was condemned to present itself as a poor relation in the international arena and in the concert of nations has long passed. We will have taken a courageous, decisive step forward of broad significance if we adopt such an approach towards the continent, which, legally and politically, is still divided into bits and pieces.

23. The struggle for the liberation of Africa, far from being a subtle form of anti-Westernism, constitutes startling evidence of a sense of realism and the need for fruitful co-operation. True, the liberation of Africa has been converted to a genuine rallying point for all the independent States of this continent. Such decisive solidarity at the continental level cannot fail to loom as an imminent danger to the interests of certain circles, to whom it is appropriate once again to provide assurances about the exact meaning of sovereignty. By virtue of the monumental guilt they bear for the crimes they perpetrate, the followers of the idols of racial supremacy hasten to rise up against any attempt to grant independence or to bring an end to social inequality. The racists and colonialists who have monopolized all the privileges for centuries imagine that the Africans will take over the reins of power in order to inflict reprisals. However, the moral strength and the human nobility of the African have reached such a high level that the African would feel a deep-rooted reluctance to slip into racism in reverse and, more so, to have recourse to the law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In brief, as is shown by many examples in the new States, the African

does not intend to degrade himself, all racism being the equivalent of an abasement of self for any person who practises it.

24. Strengthened by their culture and their many-centuries-old civilization, the Africans are partisans of multiracial and multinational societies and, therefore, can accommodate themselves to all races and succeed even in fraternizing with their former oppressors, on condition that the latter do not strive to set themselves up as a stumbling-block against the national destinies of young States. The racial and colonial anachronism in Africa succeeds in working out a network of ardent defenders abroad by virtue of overlapping interests.

25. Far from feeling a predisposition to fall back on itself, Africa, once completely free, will be transformed into a colossal arena, open to international co-operation, to share generously its fabulous material resources with the rest of the world. If this Africa is prepared to co-operate with all States, with how much more reason is it prepared to co-operate and establish privileged ties with those countries to which it is most closely linked by many historical factors and economic needs? Unfortunately, these ties which have a special hallmark will not be possible or truly spontaneous until the wholehearted partners of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon decide to cross the Rubicon and thus facilitate the final reconciliation between the former metropolitan countries and the former colonies.

26. One is tempted to put the question whether the allies of the standard-bearers of colonialism and racism realize to what degree the assistance they are giving the latter is nothing other than a very dangerous boomerang. An evaluation which is free of any bias would show that to link one's fate to that of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury is tantamount to associating one's self with a black sheep. Suffice it to mention the bloody affront inflicted on members of the Atlantic Alliance in June last, when their conference was brutally interrupted by the explosion of bombs, and the participants barely escaped being killed, while Lisbon was totally isolated from the rest of the world for many hours. Was it merely by pure chance that such an attempt carried out in accordance with a minutely detailed plan should have selected Lisbon to inflict such a heavy blow on the Allies and the guests of Portugal?

27. The evolution of the situation in Rhodesia and the bloody events that marked it provide flagrant evidence of the fact that the process of liberation at all costs is irreversible.

28. It is probably surprising and even dismaying for Ian Smith and his supporters, overt and covert, to see the sudden occurrence of an explosive about-face of Africans in Zimbabwe, whose unity of action and unexpected courage command universal respect. Only yesterday the rebel régime, relying on the eternal resignation and apathy of the 5 million Africans, worked out all sorts of combinations using the assistance and the benediction of the administering Power, to transform Rhodesia into a strange market for dupes.

29. Today, having attempted vainly to exploit African credulity, Ian Smith and his partners find themselves

bogged down in their own naïveté and caught in their own snares. The unanimous opposition of the Zimbabwe people to subterfuges designed to institutionalize and perpetuate slavery is only prelude to an intensified offensive in all the colonies against the occupation régimes. The spectacular turn of events—and those who cling desperately to anachronistic systems should draw the consequences from this—suffices of itself to show that neither fire nor sword, upon which Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria have founded their control, will succeed in diverting the liberation movements from their objective or, of course, in muzzling them in perpetuity.

30. Just as in South Africa, where the traditional chiefs who had been bribed and had usually been malleable have just offered a categorical refusal of allegiance which Pretoria had attempted to export from them, in the same manner in Rhodesia their counterparts, whose palms Smith had so generously greased, have rejected the terms of the agreements under which they were called upon to subscribe to their perpetual dehumanization, demonstrating thereby that they are no simpletons.

31. I said earlier that decolonization was not a subtle form of anti-Westernism and here if I may I should like to quote a Western journalist, who agrees with me entirely on this point. Neville Curtis, in an article in the magazine *Foreign Affairs* of January 1972, page 296, wrote:

“The situation within South Africa is rising to a crisis which will either be staved off by further repression or explode into active conflict whose dimensions and impact may extend far beyond South Africa itself. A scenario of events is difficult to construct, as much depends upon unforeseen crises or events at present in the making; but unless there is rapid change towards greater equality and distribution of power, tragedy lies ahead. It is in the interests of the Western nations to make a far greater attempt to ensure that this tragedy is avoided, and to align their interests with those of the majority of South Africans.”²

32. Some have mentioned the historic character of this meeting of the Security Council, emphasizing the heavy responsibility devolving upon this body. More than at any other time in its history, its prestige and its integrity are at stake. As a matter of fact, these meetings of the Council away from United Nations Headquarters are unprecedented. Certain speakers have mentioned earlier meetings held in Paris, but actually they were held simultaneously with General Assembly sessions in a capital where the United Nations had been provisionally located, and hence they cannot be said to have the same special standing as the current one.

33. World public opinion is awaiting resounding results from a journey and voyage by the Council of such long duration. To those universal expectations are joined the urgent appeals made to the Council by two of the most prestigious political and moral leaders not only of Africa but also of the international community. I refer to President Ould Daddah and His Imperial Majesty Haile

Selassie I, whose historic and memorable visit to Burundi 10 months ago will always be deep-rooted in the hearts and spirits of all Burundi people. He once addressed a solemn and apocalyptic plea for universal peace, through international responsibility, to a League of Nations divided and defeated, the failure of which was to cost mankind dearly. That illustrious messenger of universal peace, in tracing a striking and pointed parallel between the defunct League and the Security Council, the symptoms of which closely parallel those of its predecessor, pleaded with renewed vigour a weak ago for a new era in the course of which we should see the completion of the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa.

34. In that respect, this session is fraught with symbolism; it is being held in Addis Ababa, the cradle of the OAU, which has been transformed for the duration of three meetings into a second capital of the United Nations.

35. The prophetic warnings of the Emperor to the League, the bitter impotence of which to reject energetically the aggressor in Africa shook the conscience of mankind, are renewed symbolically, today, after a murderous world war and 35 years after the imperial apocalypse.

36. Today, as then, it is Africa whose fate is at stake. But more than Africa is also involved. It is sad to recall that at that time the sins of omission in Africa were expiated by millions of Europeans, Asians and Americans, citizens of States whose representatives are now seated around this table. God grant that this coincidence of the folly of power shall never be repeated.

37. Now, as then, it is Africa and the Africans, tireless and ardent apologists for peace, who, through the OAU, have sounded the alarm in the Security Council and have committed it to concentrate its special attention resolutely on the destiny of our continent. What a terrible catastrophe of unforeseeable and incalculable dimensions would break-out if another world conflagration were to be kindled and unleashed in Africa, a continent which is still in its adolescent stage.

38. That is why mankind risks being plunged into bitter disenchantment if the Security Council should allow itself the luxury of packing its bags and returning to New York empty-handed despite the moving appeals which all of Africa has addressed to you, without any note of acrimony; through the voice of its outstanding President, Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, who himself embodies the lofty qualities of moderation and morality which, are so familiar to you. Is the pomp and ceremony which accompanied the solemn convening of this session of the Council going to be followed by an anti-climactic departure? Are you going to content yourselves with the adoption of resolutions devoid of any practical implications?

39. Finally, it is high time, and it has never been so imperative, without yielding to the illusions cherished by the racist visionaries and the colonialist hypocrites, and without losing hope that freedom and dignity for the African people will finally prevail, that the Security Council should, once and for all, envisage and set a day when in Lisbon, Pretoria, Salisbury and Windhoek, the repressive

² Quoted in English by the speaker.

régimes, which still dominate subjugated peoples, will finally have to come to a stage in their evolution compatible and reconcilable with the sovereignty and freedom of peoples. Then and then alone will prospects for peace be open to Africa as a whole and, by extension, to the whole world, to the full extent of its resources and creative genius.

40. Mr. GHALIB (Somalia): When I spoke at the meeting of the Security Council on 28 January in my capacity as President of the Council [1627th meeting] I remarked that by deciding to hold a series of meetings in Africa the Council was responding publicly and positively to the needs of an area rife with actual and potential threats to peace. I stated on that occasion that the session would enable the Council as a whole to take a fresh look at African problems, to see them from a different perspective. Over the past five days all of us have become, I am sure, undoubtedly disposed towards according the many intricate and perplexing problems of southern Africa the necessary degree of understanding they deserve. We have been able to receive views and representations not only from African Government leaders and representatives, but from all the principal liberation movements in Africa. It is my hope that through this interchange at close quarters with African opinion new perspectives have been gained and that they will find expression in constructing approaches to the larger African issues.

41. Before I proceed to outline the position of my Government on some of the principal issues before us, allow me to express to you, Mr. President, the warmest congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the post of President of the Council for the current month. No one will dispute the heavy responsibilities which you have assumed. Your presidency will witness the conclusion of this historic series of meetings in Africa. We all want this session to end on a positive and meaningful note. We are fortunate that you will be steering our deliberations during this critical period, for if the success of our endeavours will depend on the personal qualities of the President, no better choice could have been made.

42. The majority of African countries, including my own, are faced with pressing and often competing priorities. With limited resources, they are caught between the demands of consolidating their newly-won independence and the demands of supporting remaining areas in Africa in their struggle for liberation. My country is one of those which is attempting to do both. But in these endeavours we have come to realize, through painful experience, that unless there is the national will to help one's self, the assistance received from outside will always be marginal.

43. Last week-end my Government was privileged and honoured to receive as its guests the distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and honourable members of this Council. Although the visit was too short for anyone of you to appreciate the endeavours our Government is making in its programme of national development and self-sufficiency, it did provide you with a glimpse of the spirit that is moving our people. This same spirit will be found in many parts of Africa, for Africa can no longer be content to remain in a state of slumber while its people and its rich natural resources are being selfishly exploited by

foreign elements without any respect for the human rights of the African.

44. When African States turn to the United Nations for assistance in dealing with the dangerous racial and colonial problems of southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau), they do so in furtherance of a crusade that seized Africa 25 years ago and has continued to gain momentum until four fifths of the continent are now free from racial and colonial tyranny. One of Somalia's main concerns as a Member of the United Nations, and more particularly as an African State, is to give unqualified support to those remaining areas where people are struggling to be free. The failure of the United Nations to come to grips with these situations remains a source of grave concern and disappointment to the Somali Government and people.

45. Within the United Nations there is a tendency to belittle the efforts of those States which continue to demand that the struggle against racism and colonialism must continue without diminution. We hear, for example, that it is unrealistic to pass resolutions which are unlikely to be carried out, or that the concern of African nations over southern Africa might be directed equally to other problems or to problems nearer home. It is significant that such criticisms usually emanate from those States whose economic and other ties with southern Africa are a major contributory cause of the ineffectiveness of the United Nations resolutions on southern African problems. The other main cause, of course, is the continued intransigence of the minority régimes. What then can be done about southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau)?

46. What is the alternative to insisting that in our attempts to deal with these problems effectively we should be guided primarily by the principles and purposes of the Charter, by the obligations that we are all pledged to discharge by our membership of the United Nations, by calling for the coercive powers of the organization to be directed against the intransigent régimes? The alternatives are silence, inactivity and a compromise on principle, thereby nullifying whatever moral or practical initiatives the United Nations has so far taken.

47. The Namibian question is perhaps the most blatant example of the malaise that has overtaken the Security Council in the execution of its decisions. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice has made it unmistakably clear that the presence in Namibia of South Africa is illegal. That decision has thus confirmed the positions of the General Assembly and the Security Council when those organs declared South Africa's presence in the Territory to be unlawful and called upon it to withdraw its administration from the Territory. My Government had hoped that, having received the opinion of the highest juridical body in the world, the Security Council would have demanded of all Member States that they take positive action, collectively, to ensure the withdrawal of South Africa without further argument. The situation, unfortunately, remains the same. The South Africans are still in Namibia, the Namibians are still suffering under racist tyranny, and the United Nations is still groping in the dark for a solution. While the situation continues unattended, the world is being fed with a barrage of propaganda by the

South African Government and its supporters about the benefits which its rule has brought the Namibians.

48. It makes claim that the people of Namibia are being well treated, that every effort is being made to protect their interests, that they are rapidly developing their social and political institutions. Such claims were made as recently as September of last year when the South African Foreign Minister addressed the Council [1584th meeting]. Events that have taken place in the Territory since then have shown the falsity of those claims. We know that the African inhabitants are not free men; they have no political institutions, they are denied political communication between themselves, they are forced to undertake contract labour, on terms which constitute slave-like conditions. When they protest, they are brutally suppressed; when they demand the right to self-determination, they are told that this cannot be given within the national context, but within the framework of the system of Bantustans. But the truth is that South Africa continues to cling to Namibia, not because it has the interests of the people of that Territory at heart, but merely to have a free hand in plundering its mineral wealth and the rich resources of its coastline. In this plunder the South Africans are not alone.

49. The position of my Government on this question is as follows.

50. First, the Security Council should declare that any further refusal of the South African racist régime to withdraw from Namibia would constitute, among other things, an act of aggression against the Territory of Namibia and a threat to international peace and security within the context of Chapter VII of the Charter. That proposal is not acceptable to the United States and to Western European delegations. But it is difficult to see in what other manner the Namibian situation can be described, since South Africa maintains a military presence in the Territory, since it maintains an illegal presence there, and since it has refused the demands of the Council that it withdraw from the Territory.

51. Secondly, accepting the fact that South Africa maintains an illegal presence in Namibia, and since the United Nations has decided to take action on the political, diplomatic and economic levels against this illegality, then, in the view of my Government, the fact must also be accepted that action taken by the people of Namibia to resist that illegal occupation is legitimate. Having recognized the right of the people to resist an illegal occupation, the Council should provide the liberation forces of that Territory with all the necessary assistance in furtherance of that common objective.

52. Thirdly, the Security Council should take energetic measures to ensure that the arms embargo imposed on South Africa is fully honoured both in the letter and spirit of its decisions. Security Council resolution 283 (1970) recognized the significance to the Territory and people of Namibia of the arms embargo against South Africa. Yet, despite South Africa's defiance, it is still being supplied with arms to strengthen its position in the occupied Territory. The recent strike by the Ovambos witnessed the dispatch to the Territory of South African armed units to

quell demonstrations and to maintain the régime's iron grip over the people and economy of Namibia.

53. Fourthly, it is the view of my Government that, since the United Nations is the sole legal authority for the welfare and administration of the people and territory of Namibia until those people assume their responsibilities under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), all relations with or involving Namibia to have legal effect must be entered into or maintained through the United Nations. Already an investment scramble is taking place over Namibia because of the discovery of large rich mineral deposits. Elsewhere in southern Africa the operations of international combines often have the backing of their Governments. The economic involvement of those Governments makes political solutions difficult in problem areas. That kind of situation is being repeated in Namibia, and the responsibility for preventing its further development and safeguarding the natural resources of the Territory in the interest of the people now rests with the United Nations. Accordingly, my Government considers it important that actual or potential foreign investors be prevailed upon by their Governments to desist from making investments in Namibia until the political aspect of the situation has been settled to the satisfaction of the United Nations.

54. Finally, my Government subscribes to the view that following the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice there has devolved on all Member States an obligation to accept and carry out the provisions of Article 25 of the Charter. If Member States can claim the right to exclude themselves from the obligations imposed upon them under the Charter whenever their interests are affected, then I am afraid we shall turn this decision-making body into nothing less than a talking shop. We have seen the consequences of such attitudes in the Middle East problem, where the interests of Zionism have been able to prevail over United Nations decisions simply because the Security Council has not been morally and politically strong enough to enforce its authority. Namibia, like the Middle East problem, presents a unique challenge to the United Nations. The challenge is whether right will eventually triumph over might, whether the principles and purposes of the Charter will form the basis of United Nations actions or will be allowed to be thrown aside each time they conflict with the interest of any one Member State.

55. The situation in the Portuguese-controlled Territories of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique has reached a state where direct United Nations intervention is necessary to save the further loss of life that is being suffered by the valiant people of those Territories. Portugal's refusal to act in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has led to brutal colonial wars being waged against the people under its domination. It has been estimated that more than 150,000 Portuguese troops are involved in those wars. Portugal's efforts to crush a just struggle for liberation from foreign and oppressive rule are the cause of the ever-widening circle of violence directed against the independent African States which border the Territories under Portuguese rule. Regrettably, the Security Council has not directed its attention to these wars in the past. The conflict

has widened and intensified in recent months with the marshalling by the African people of their resources and of their determination to overcome tyranny. But as the wars have escalated in ferocity so the Portuguese have resorted to the most barbaric methods to suppress the demand for liberation. They have increased the use of napalm, defoliants and other chemical and gaseous substances in their wars of oppression. So as each day passes more people die, more people suffer and more misery is created. My Government wonders how many acts of aggression must be committed and how many hundreds of thousands of people must be involved in conflict before a threat to international peace and security can be said to exist.

56. The Security Council must use the force of its authority to stop these senseless wars Portugal is waging against Africa. Portugal must not be provided with the means to wage those wars. It should be subjected to an arms embargo. Portugal must be prevailed upon by the Council to abandon the myth it has created that the African Territories of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique are part of the Portuguese homeland. It must be asked to allow the people of those Territories the right to self-determination and independence—not in accordance with its own thinking, but in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

57. In October 1971 the question of the Portuguese-controlled Territories and other southern African Territories was discussed at length by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of East and Central African States when it convened in Mogadiscio. There emerged from that Conference the Mogadiscio Declaration, which dealt extensively with all the colonial and racial problems of Africa. In the concluding section of the Declaration the Conference expressed regret at the concerted support given by certain NATO countries to South Africa and Portugal in their wars of oppression. In the view of the Conference, this military, economic and other assistance constitutes an important element in the execution of the vicious wars being waged against the peoples in those Territories. Such assistance amounts to a hostile act against the African peoples as a whole. In the opinion of the Conference there is no way left to the liberation of southern Africa except through armed struggle. The Somali Democratic Republic is fully committed to giving assistance to the liberation movements in their just struggle.

58. In the course of the debates engendered in the Security Council by the announcement of the agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and the rebel régime of Ian Smith³ my delegation asked a number of questions about the nature of the agreement and about the circumstances which would surround the so-called test of acceptability. We did not receive any satisfactory replies to our questions, which, it was conceded, were valid ones. However, our questions are now being answered clearly by the events which have taken place in Rhodesia since the Pearce Commission began its hearings.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

59. We asked about the political climate in which the test would be held and whether the British Government would be responsible for a free and fair expression of opinion. The killing and wounding of many Africans, the arrest of hundreds of others including former Prime Minister Garfield Todd and his daughter and Mr. Hosiah Chinamano, leader of the African National Council, and his wife are clear indications that there was never a question of choice.

60. The alternatives being offered to the African people of that territory were either to say "yes" to the proposals or to experience the rigour of police state law, to accept an arrangement that would both perpetuate and give legal recognition to white minority rule or be labelled "stupid and lacking maturity" as the rebel leader has described the opponents of the agreement.

61. It has become clear too that the Pearce Commission is not acting with the force of authority that belongs to the representatives of an administering Power. It is totally under the direction of the Smith régime which has the power to cancel hearings of the Commission over the objections of its members.

62. My delegation had also referred to the dubious haste in which the agreement would be presented to the people for acceptance—almost as though the British Government feared that if there was time to think and to ponder its implications they would be revealed in their basic inadequacy. The African people are showing that they refuse to be railroaded into an arrangement drawn up by an absentee government and an oppressive régime.

63. One of the questions to which my delegation had attached the greatest importance was that of who would guarantee the guarantees. It was a question based on well-founded suspicions about the good faith of the Smith régime. Some of the recent statements of that rebel go far to support those suspicions. In saying that through the recent disturbances the Africans had "ironically played right into our hands", he made it clear that his régime's major hope, if not its major aim, was for an opportunity to continue with the racist Constitution of 1969, but this time with the consent of the United Kingdom. The deep racial prejudice of his attitude was clearly illustrated by his claim that the disturbances were proof of the lack of civilization of the African majority. Smith has his own kind of intelligence and he must be aware that countries which he would unquestionably consider civilized are quite familiar with even more violent protest over matters of much less grave character than the denial of basic human rights.

64. The question that has not been answered in this Council, and one to which the international community deserves an answer, is the following: what does the British Government intend to do; now that the African people have demonstrated so forcibly, and at so great a cost in lives, that they reject the settlement proposals? Does the British Government intend to say that it has done all that it could do and that it now washes its hand of the situation? Will it give up the last vestiges of that responsibility which it has so far claimed to have for Rhodesian affairs and abandon the African population to the 1969 Constitution? Would the posture it has maintained over the years

suddenly change so that the British Government might be in a position to respond to pressures from the British business world for withdrawal from the application of sanctions and for a return to full and open trade with Southern Rhodesia?

65. Britain and those who support its position, overtly or covertly, must stand up and be counted here in Africa, either on the side of a narrow materialistic national self-interest that cares nothing for justice or human rights for the African people, or on the side of peace, justice and progress for the oppressed people of that Territory.

66. The position of the Somali Democratic Republic on the Southern Rhodesian question has already been made clear to the international community both through this Council, the General Assembly and the international press. For the record of this meeting, let me summarize the reasons which have prompted my Government to reject the so-called settlement arranged between the British Government and the rebel régime.

67. First, the so-called "settlement" does not entail any fundamental retreat from the provisions of the 1969 Constitution of the rebel régime.

68. Secondly, the cardinal principle of NIBMAR—no independence before majority rule—has been deliberately ignored.

69. Thirdly, in the absence of a referendum for ascertaining the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, the so-called test of acceptability would be meaningless.

70. Fourthly, the implementation of the terms of the settlement, as bad as it is, is left to the goodwill of Ian Smith and his colleagues, a group of racists who have already demonstrated their disregard for human rights and international public opinion.

71. Fifthly, the terms of the "settlement" were concluded behind the backs of the African population and their legitimate representatives, the liberation movements.

72. Finally, the sole aim of the British Government in accommodating the rebel régime is to seek face-saving means, and to confer legal independence on the minority régime contrary to resolutions passed by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and in defiance of world public opinion.

73. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation has the privilege of introducing a draft resolution, contained in document S/10606, which has been distributed to the members of the Council. Although it is sponsored by three African members of the Council, namely, Guinea, Sudan and my own country, Somalia, it has the full backing of all member States of the Organization of African Unity.

74. The preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution are quite straightforward and factual. They express concern at the dangerous political situation that has developed in Southern Rhodesia and at the recent killings, wounding

and detention of many Africans by the rebel régime. They take note of two serious facts: (a) that the measures taken so far have failed to bring the rebellion in that territory to an end, and (b) that some States, contrary to Security Council resolutions and to their obligations under the Charter, have failed to prevent trade with the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. As for the people of Southern Rhodesia, the Fifth preambular paragraph recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to secure their basic rights as set forth in the Charter and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The ninth preambular paragraph reaffirms the primary responsibility of the British Government to create the necessary conditions by which the people of Southern Rhodesia would be able to exercise, freely and equally, their right to self-determination and independence.

75. In the course of consultations which my delegation has had with members of the Council, no objection has been raised to any of the paragraphs of the preamble.

76. I should now like to turn to the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution. Operative paragraph 1 would ask the Council to reaffirm, as it has done in its resolutions 232 (1966) and 277 (1970), that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Having regard to developments that have taken place in the territory since 1965, there is no other manner in which the situation can be described. When a small group of people, of not more than one quarter of a million, endeavours by brute military power and with the tacit co-operation of foreign elements, to exercise a ruthless, colonial and racist rule over 5 million others, the prospect for peace is surely remote.

77. Operative paragraph 2 would have the Council express regret at the failure of the United Kingdom to bring the rebellion to an end.

78. Operative paragraphs 3 and 4 condemn the brutalities and other oppressive measures carried out by the rebel régime against the African population and call upon the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to take all appropriate measures to safeguard the lives and welfare of the African people against a repetition of those acts.

79. Operative paragraphs 5 and 6 go to the heart of the question. In recent weeks the African people of Southern Rhodesia has paid a heavy price to make it clear to the British Government that it rejects the settlement proposals agreed upon between that Government and the rebel régime. How many more casualties must the Africans suffer before they can bring home to the British Government their complete rejection of those proposals? Surely the British Government has had sufficient evidence of the strength of African opposition. Can it be that it is still clinging to the hope that in the weeks ahead the political situation can be so juggled that the Pearce Commission might be able to report a favourable response to the settlement proposals?

80. The British Government must be certain about one fact: it is that no self-respecting African will accept a settlement of the Rhodesian situation which Africans have not had a part in formulating. The British Government cannot, on the one hand, say it has no power to establish

conditions under which the people of Rhodesia would be able to express themselves on their political destiny on a democratic basis with full regard to equal rights while, on the other hand, feeling sufficiently competent to draw up an agreement with the rebel régime which would give legal sanction for the political oppression of the black majority for many decades to come.

81. The history of Southern Rhodesia has been characterized by a calculated policy of excluding Africans from the main political institutions of the Territory. Despite the fact that the Africans outnumber the European minority by over 20 to 1, they have had no political rights and they have been denied opportunities for social and cultural advancement, while in the economic field they occupy the lowest jobs and are paid wages barely sufficient to maintain a subsistence type of living. But, thankfully, the African population has never been more conscious of its political rights than at present. It has demonstrated this in no uncertain manner to the Pearce Commission and in activities throughout the Territory. Conditions will never be the same again: the Africans are on the move and will certainly not cease pressing for their rights until liberty and justice prevail in their Territory.

82. In recent weeks, and particularly since our Secretary-General took office, more attention is being paid to the need for preventive diplomacy—I repeat, preventive diplomacy—to prevent situations from developing into threats to international peace and security or into armed hostility. In the view of the African States—and this is expressed in operative paragraph 6—the most prudent, most judicious and fairest manner to prevent the Southern Rhodesia situation from deteriorating further would be to convene a constitutional conference in which the genuine representatives of the African people would be able to participate in the formulation of new proposals for the political and constitutional advancement of their country. By adopting operative paragraph 6 the Security Council would endorse the principle of the right of all citizens to take an equal part in the political life of the Territory and in the shaping of its future destiny.

83. In operative paragraph 7 the Security Council would urge the United Kingdom to convene such a conference as a matter of urgency.

84. Naturally, while the situation in Southern Rhodesia remains unresolved, and so long as the rebel régime remains in control of the Territory, sanctions must continue to be applied. Experience over the past years has shown that two States—South Africa and Portugal—have made no secret of the fact that they will not abide by the decisions of the Security Council in this respect. Other States have taken only half-hearted measures towards the implementation of sanctions and have not exercised sufficient control of their nationals, organizations and companies to prevent a circumvention of sanctions. Operative paragraph 8 has been formulated to take care of this unsatisfactory situation and calls for more stringent measures to be taken by all States to ensure full observance of sanctions.

85. No secret is being made of the fact that South African police and armed units maintain a presence in Southern

Rhodesia. Such collaboration with the rebel régime is intended to strengthen the position of the régime against any possible uprising by the oppressed African population. Furthermore, since it must be assumed that these South African units are in the Territory without the permission of the United Kingdom Government, their presence constitutes an act of aggression against the people and the Territory. It would be interesting to learn from the representative of the United Kingdom whether his Government has given its consent for the stationing of South African police and armed units in Southern Rhodesia, and, if not, what action it has taken to demand their withdrawal. Meanwhile, operative paragraph 9, following up on resolution 277 (1970), again calls upon South Africa to withdraw its forces immediately from the Territory.

86. The text of the draft resolution which I have outlined is relatively moderate and far short of what the African States Members of the United Nations consider the Security Council should do in this matter. The draft resolution has been formulated after extensive consultations with all the members of the Council. It has been our aim to prepare a draft resolution which would command a wide measure of support: it is not extravagant in its demands; its strength lies in the fact that it is based on the purposes and principles of the Charter and on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is directed to test the fair-mindedness of Governments towards African problems and to give justice to an oppressed majority.

87. When the President of the Somali Democratic Republic had an opportunity of meeting with the Secretary-General and members of this Council in Mogadiscio last week-end, he mentioned how some of the permanent members exercised the use of the veto, not in the interest of the oppressed but simply to advance their own self-interests. Last December the Somali delegation, along with the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone and the Syrian Arab Republic, presented a draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia [S/10489]—a draft resolution to which no fair-minded State could have found objection. It was vetoed. It will certainly destroy confidence in the utility and effectiveness of the Security Council if nations that turn to it for redress discover that their grievances and complaints are not considered on their merits but purely in terms of whether a decision, one way or the other, will affect the wider interests of a permanent member.

88. I trust that this draft resolution will be viewed objectively and will find full support from all members of this Council.

89. Allow me to conclude with a quotation from the statement which the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Mohammed Siad Barre, made when he addressed members of this Council in Mogadiscio last week-end. He said:

“The indigenous African in southern Africa is determined to gain his freedom. He has shown patience, but events have overtaken him; he has shouted aloud, but no one has heard him; he has protested peacefully, but deadly bullets have killed him; his daylight activity follows dark night prayers, yet deep in his heart faith in

the United Nations and the fairness of mankind firmly remains. Let us not be impervious to his appeals; let us show him that goodwill also remains in our souls.”

90. The PRESIDENT: In addressing this Council a few days ago [1632nd meeting] I had the opportunity to say that Africa does not expect miracles of this first meeting of the Security Council on African soil. I also had the opportunity to say that Africa does not expect from us anything short of positive and concrete measures in the form of draft resolutions, of which the first [S/10606] was just introduced by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia. I wish to add, in my capacity as the representative of SUDAN, a few words in the same vein, reserving my right to speak at a later stage on the specific problems at issue.

91. If we are meeting here in Addis Ababa today, we are doing so essentially because of the initiative of the African Heads of State and Government who requested a special session of the Security Council in Africa. Such a session, according to the resolution of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, is to be “devoted solely to the measures to be taken with a view to implementing the various Security Council . . . resolutions on decolonization, the struggle against *apartheid*, racial discrimination in Africa”.⁴

92. The key words in this paragraph of the Organization of African Unity resolution are “measures to be taken with a view to implementing the various Security Council . . . resolutions”. The current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity Assembly of Heads of State and Government, His Excellency President Ould Daddah, amplified this theme before the Council last week when he said:

“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*.” [1627th meeting, para. 31.]

93. This is what Africa, according to its elders, expects from us. I am sure that all members of the Council, after a week on African soil and among African people, have had a sensation of what colonialism and racism mean to us here and how fervently determined we are to erase these anachronistic barbarities from our soil.

94. The Security Council—and this is the firm belief of our people—can never act as an insular, self-contained and

uncompromising institution. If it does so it will be both wanting and ineffective. The Council will have to be responsive to the world around it. It will have to be susceptible of impression by the realities of life surrounding it.

95. Within a different context, the terms “realities” and “realism” have so often been used both inside and outside this chamber. But “realities” and “realism” are loaded expressions. Indeed they are so loaded that they are almost vacuous.

96. Limitation on the freedom of action of some of the major Powers represented here due to what they consider paramount national and strategic interest is a reality. But this is not the only reality in life.

97. The existence of the barbarous policies of *apartheid* in South Africa in spite of universal condemnation is a reality.

98. The incidence of malnutrition, deficiency, tuberculosis and scurvy in the fascist reserves of South Africa is a reality.

99. The mass eviction of hundreds of thousands of Africans from their homes to make way for white immigrants in that part of Africa is a reality.

100. The crushing with a bloody heel of African men and women in Namibia who are clamouring for the realization of their inherent inalienable rights recognized by the United Nations in general and this Council in particular is a reality.

101. The abominable repression by the jackbooted Lisbon dictatorship of our brothers and sisters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) is a reality.

102. The constant criminal assaults by South Africa and Portugal on sovereign African States, Members of this Organization, encroaching aggressively on their territorial integrity under the guise of a discredited concept of hot pursuit, as was evidenced in the Congo, in Guinea, in Senegal, in Tanzania and in Zambia, is a reality.

103. The failure of the major Powers of the West to bring pressure to bear and indeed the support, military and otherwise, they give instead to Portugal and South Africa is a reality.

104. The stealthy action by one of the senior members of this Council to grant a measure of legality and respectability to the hideous minority régime in Southern Rhodesia which was placed by the whole world for five years behind a *cordon sanitaire* is a reality.

105. The constant erosion by the trade partners of South Africa and Rhodesia of sanctions, the only valid weapon available to the United Nations short of the use of force, is a reality.

106. Those are indeed the realities that Africa expected the Council to see, sitting away from the polluted atmosphere of New York, away from the sensationalism of the media and away from the dressing up of public relations.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1971, document S/10272.

But those are the realities that can never be seen through the distorting prism of national and strategic interests.

107. We Africans are ready to pay heed to all calls for moderation. But no self-respecting African would agree to heed the calls for moderation if moderation meant the sacrifice of principle. You have been listening for two days to the moving and spirited words of African freedom fighters. My country, the Sudan, has given and continues to give unflinching support to those movements, for no reason other than that they are our conscience in action. In doing what they do, Africans are guided neither by a pugnacious spirit nor inflexible radicalism. Africa is fighting because this is the only road open to it. Our philosophy has been well enunciated in the Lusaka Manifesto,⁵ which was so happily cited by members of the Council, sometimes a bit out of context.

108. African knows more than anybody else that smaller countries can hardly make war and progress at the same time. But Africa will have no option but to continue its war against oppression until an honourable peace is achieved.

109. Africa is not congenitally violent, and hence we appreciate the passionate calls for non-violence by some of

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

the members of this Council. But violence and revolution never start when the first bullet is fired or the first arrow is shot. They start long before, when the causes of conflict are hatched. And let us face it, revolutions can only be stopped before they begin. History has taught us as well as it has taught others that revolutions can never be arrested half-way.

110. We in Africa are facing situations fraught with grave danger as well as with emotion and we are the first to admit it. To avert an imminent catastrophe what is required—and I repeat it—is concrete action. Neither metaphysical speculations nor passionate appeals, nor, for that matter, incendiary rhetoric would take us very far. And those of us who want this Council to stand on its confessed limitations are nullifying the very concept of peace-making in a changing world. Peace-making in the world of today is a dynamic concept.

111. Indeed we should be realistic. Indeed we should realize our limitations. But in doing so we should never lose sight of the paramount moral considerations. Morality is not a circumstantial necessity that can be traded for expediency. It is a universal imperative, much more so in an Organization devoted to peace on earth and the well-being of man.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.