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1635th MEETING: 2 FEBRUARY 1972

ADDIS ABABA

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SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, on Wednesday, 2 February 1972, at 3 p.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/1635)

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 3.25 p.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 place in the record of this meeting the text of a message addressed to the President of the Security Council by His Excellency Mr. Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The message reads as follows:

"On the occasion of the first meeting of the Security Council on African soil I avail myself of the opportunity to convey to you my best wishes for the success of your work.

"We attach great significance both to the current series of meetings of the Security Council and to the problems on its agenda. A large number of the peoples of Africa and other continents have won their independence in the course of the anti-colonial revolution, that revolution being one of the greatest achievements in international development in recent decades, to which the United Nations has contributed significantly. However, in Africa, in the course of recent years, we have been confronted with stubborn attempts to stop the advance of that process on the borders of Rhodesia, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), where colonial and racist régimes use force to thwart the emancipation and liberation of the peoples of those countries.

"The remaining colonial strongholds and the activity of the protagonists of racism constitute a grave danger for the development of Africa and for the independence of all African countries. The latest events in Rhodesia confirm that the people of Zimbabwe resolutely reject all arrangements aimed at legalizing the current state of affairs there and at sabotaging implementation of the principle of the transfer of power to the African majority in that country.

"The present situation imperatively demands the decisive participation and action of all countries so that Africa and the world will be freed from the anachronistic colonial oppression and racial hatred that constitute a reproach on the civilization of our era. In that, we see a particularly important role for the Security Council.

"Starting out from the basic principles of our foreign policy, Yugoslavia will, also in its capacity as a member of the Security Council, continue to strive to make its full contribution to the efforts for solving the remaining colonial and racial problems and will continue to support and assist the liberation movements of the peoples who are fighting for the application of their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence."

2. The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item inscribed on the agenda.

3. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): The Security Council has now been long enough in Africa for all of its members to know that we are unanimously agreed on at least one thing. From the moment when His Imperial Majesty welcomed us in his own dignified and eloquent manner, and after we had heard the wise words with which His Excellency the President of Mauritania greeted us on behalf of our other hosts, the Organization of African Unity, we have known that our deliberations were going to take place in the most auspicious of circumstances. Since then the lavish hospitality of the Ethiopian Government and its people, combined with the smooth and effective arrangements made both for our work and for our comfort have been beyond praise and as far as my delegation is concerned I can only record our deep gratitude.

4. We all know the importance of the role played in our deliberations by the President of the Security Council. It is no routine tribute to say on this occasion that the chairmanship provided by Somalia, in the person both of its Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and of our own colleague, Ambassador Farah, has been of such a high order that the potential problems of an unprecedented situation

have hardly been noticeable at all. This high standard is now being continued most appropriately by another African President, whom we salute. Both of them, I am sure, would be the first to acknowledge the role of the Secretary-General and the devoted service of the Secretariat which have ensured the excellent arrangements we have had. I think we should all pay a tribute to them.

5. We have listened with interest to the representatives of many non-member States and other persons who have addressed the Council. We have been fortunate to hear many distinguished African representatives, including Foreign Ministers, whom we might not have heard had we been in New York. That is the first and most obvious advantage of our journey here. Whether one agreed with everything they said or not, no one can deny that they each had their own particular contribution of knowledge or experience to make to the problems under discussion. In all these respects our visit to Africa has been a rich experience.

6. Indeed, if it is necessary to sound any note of caution at all it should, I think, be about the role of the Security Council itself. We ourselves know our powers and, if we are frank with ourselves, our limitations, but there is sometimes a tendency, born perhaps more of hope than of experience, to think that as the Security Council we can wave a wand over certain problems and solve them; that as a body, if not as individuals, we are the repository of international wisdom, whereas in fact we are only the reflection of a confused and divided world. There is no magic formula which will wave away conflicts which have defied the efforts of wise men over many years. We members of the Security Council know that we are not given the easy problems to solve; we tend to get left with the really difficult problems, those which have resisted bilateral or other solutions. Despite the fact that we are meeting in the land of King Solomon's descendants we are not ourselves King Solomon, able to dispense judgement by simple decree. We are more aptly described, as in the title of a book published last year about the history of the Security Council, as "Fifteen men on a powder keg".¹

7. How then can we best derive the maximum benefit from our decision to accept the invitation of the Organization of African Unity to meet in Africa? The answer was given at the opening meeting by the President of the Council, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, when he said that

"... it would certainly be naive for anyone to hope that these meetings will provide instant solutions for the 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." [1627th meeting, para. 89].

My delegation agrees with this approach. We believe that our principal aim should be to benefit from our concentrated period of discussion of African problems to get a better and deeper mutual understanding of each other's

viewpoints, so that when we return to New York and resume, at the appropriate time, detailed discussion of specific items on our agenda we can do so not in a spirit of confrontation but in a spirit of constructive dialogue, all of us knowing what others regard as practicable as well as desirable. In New York we all have many competing claims upon our time and attention. Since here in Addis Ababa we have the advantage of the "close-up" picture, let us also concentrate on getting both focus and perspective right.

8. Perhaps at the same time we can do something to break away from stereotyped ideas. All these words such as "colonialist", "neo-colonialist", "imperialist", "anti-imperialist", "socio-imperialist", "socialist traitor", and so on, are labels that people are ready to hang around any neck other than their own. In reality they signify little and clarify nothing: they are akin to the language which you, Mr. President, so aptly described as the incredible couched in the unintelligible [1632nd meeting, para. 6]. If we are to find a better perspective we must clear our minds of slogans and try to see things as they really are.

9. To do this, each delegation must naturally approach the question from the standpoint of its own experience. Ours is that of a European Power with close historical associations with many parts of this continent. History, according to the first Mr. Ford, is bunk. But it is also fact and we can no more ignore or wish away its consequences than those who live within the continent can escape them. When Mr. Harold Macmillan made in February 1960 what has become perhaps the most widely quoted speech made in Africa by a British statesman, he was concerned primarily with new national independences. With the wind of change in Africa went, in his words, a "tide of national consciousness". There can be no doubt that this tide of national consciousness has been the most significant development in Africa of recent years. It is the mirror image of the decolonization which was singled out as our main theme by the Organization of African Unity when it invited the Council to visit its continent. Our study of African problems today must therefore start with a look at the decolonization process.

10. Since the foundation of the United Nations the world-wide process of decolonization has made great strides towards its ultimate objective. Empires have been dismantled and scores of independent and sovereign States have emerged, for the most part peaceably and with the full co-operation of their former rulers, to take their rightful place within the world community.

11. It is with pride that I can say that my own country has made the principal contribution to this welcome advance. A quarter of a century ago my country either administered or had responsibility for a quarter of the population of the world. Now all 800 million or so people of the Commonwealth live in self-governing independent countries, all except less than one per cent; in other words, as far as my Government's world-wide responsibilities are concerned, over 99 per cent of our task of decolonization has now been completed. Most of this was completed much earlier and more expeditiously than is remembered and than we are given credit for: over 741 million people became independent before the adoption of what has been called

¹ Andrew Boyd, *Fifteen Men on a Powder Keg—A History of the U.N. Security Council* (New York, Stein and Day, 1971).

the "decolonization resolution", General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

12. To look at Africa alone, 17 African States, which were formerly British territories, or under British administration, have achieved independence in the last 16 years. Indeed, with the exception of Southern Rhodesia, a special case, since it is a Territory which has never been administered by Britain, the process of decolonization in so far as it directly affects my Government has been completed and the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) respected. With a new era there come new relationships based upon equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit—these new ties we have been forging in these last years.

13. I need hardly remind the Council that there are differences between my delegation and some others on the approach to political problems which concern us all in Africa, particularly southern Africa. But our purpose here is to try to understand one another's viewpoints. In this case our differences are differences not of objective but of method. I cannot stress this too often. My Government, and all previous British Governments, abhor racialism and policies based on racialism. They have subscribed without reservation to the principle that decolonization—in which, as I have shown, Britain took the major part and of which Britain has done most—should continue. The differences are over timing and method. On method, as the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs told the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly,² we consider that patient insistence on dialogue and negotiation is right. We consider that violence is self-defeating and wrong.

14. Happily, however, there is very little difference between my delegation and African Governments represented at this Council about the supreme need for economic progress as an essential basis for real independence, in any country in any continent. There is perhaps no continent in which this is more important to the peoples than in Africa.

15. Our governmental aid programme now amounts to some £250 million (\$625 million) per annum. Bilateral aid still accounts for over four-fifths of our programme, and a substantial proportion of British overseas aid which is channelled multilaterally has been increasing. We are firm supporters of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and the consensus on development policies adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session [*resolutions 2626 (XXV) and 2688 (XXV), annex*] and are supporters of the efforts which the restructured United Nations Development Programme is making to meet the objectives defined by the General Assembly at that session.

16. There is no territory in Africa which is not in need of development, and there are some which fall in the category of the least developed to which, under the Strategy and the consensus, special attention must be paid. Delegations on this Council will know that my delegation, at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, held fast to the

principles enunciated by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session in this connexion, and that my Government regards the problems of the least developed as ones which must command particular attention. So far as my Government is concerned, they do command it.

17. Last month my Government took a decisive step further along the path of entry into Europe. In due course, when the treaty comes into force, there will be far-reaching consequences not only for Europe itself but for other great areas of the world. This is perhaps particularly true of Africa. The present European community already has strong links with a number of African countries. My Government believes that not only will these links be maintained and strengthened as a result of enlargement but that fresh links will also be forged. In the framework of the association policy of the enlarged community, clearly described in the Treaty of Accession, a unique opportunity has been created for a new partnership between Africa and Europe. It is our hope that the new European Economic Community will open up in Africa new possibilities for progress in equal partnership. We must, Africans and Europeans alike, grasp this opportunity firmly and with imagination.

18. The political implications for Africa of the widened community were referred to only last week by President Hamani Diori of the Republic of Niger, who is reported to have said that the enlargement of the Common Market would draw Africa nearer to Europe, and that the entry of Britain into the Market, and the association of English-speaking Africa with the European community, would in turn reinforce African unity. This is indeed the earnest hope of my delegation.

19. Several speakers have wisely observed that we should not come here only to repeat at length things we have already said elsewhere or to describe what is already well known. That is why I have tried to illustrate the wider and underlying approach of my delegation to these problems, just as I have listened carefully and with sympathy to others when they have described the deeper elements in their thinking. For this reason I shall not go into detail on each and every problem with which we shall continue to wrestle when we return to New York, except to undertake that my delegation will be re-examining these in the light of our discussions here, and that where possibilities do exist for progress—as, for instance, the representative of Argentina [*1630th meeting*] has pointed out is often the case—we shall spare no effort to follow them up.

20. There is, however, one question, namely, that of Rhodesia, on which I must say a little more. There is no doubt that we are now witnessing a crucial moment in the unhappy history of that Territory and it is only natural that the Security Council should be following developments there with the closest attention. I shall go further, and say that some of those developments, particularly those which have led recently to loss of life and to general unrest, should be viewed with great concern. My Government deplores these incidents and has said so publicly. Nevertheless, there are other elements in the situation which we must not overlook.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1944th meeting.*

21. The process of decolonization in Africa has been rapid and we are in the last chapter. Let our actions in Rhodesia be judged against the background of our record over the past quarter of a century. Particularly those who have historic links with Britain will recognize our dilemma. We have had to choose between on the one hand perpetuating deadlock which will lead inside Rhodesia to *apartheid* and on the other hand the path of negotiation. There is no dispute between my Government and the Governments of independent African countries and all members of the Security Council on what the ultimate objective must be, but only about means. My Government wants a settlement which will provide guaranteed progress towards majority rule on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

22. On 25 November 1971, I put before the Security Council [1602nd meeting] the details of the proposals which are now being considered by all sectors of the community in Rhodesia.³ Once again, this is not the time for me to repeat in detail the description I have already given to the Council of the proposals and why we think that these, though not ideal, represent the best and perhaps the only available means of progress towards the common goal of majority rule in Rhodesia. I have also explained that the British Government does not pretend to be the final arbiter of whether these proposals are best for the Rhodesian people as a whole; on the contrary we have undertaken to respect their wishes. The means of ascertaining those wishes is the Pearce Commission. I know that there are many here who object to the Pearce Commission, not merely for itself, but because it is part of an arrangement which they cannot bring themselves to approve. They will not expect me to follow them in this. However, there have also been some doubts expressed about the desirability of the Pearce Commission continuing its work in the light of recent developments. On this my Government's position was expressed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, in Parliament on Wednesday, 26 January 1972, in the following terms:

"The Government feels that the Commission should carry on so long as, in its view, political conditions are such that it can perform the task with which it is charged. It might be that the political conditions will change and the Commission will find it impossible to stay. I do not know whether that will happen but for the moment that is not the Commission's position."⁴

23. The objective of the Commission is to get an honest answer, and we want to leave the Commission in the field so long as it considers that there are political conditions in which it can operate. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs went on to say there could arise circumstances in which it might be inevitable for my Government to intervene over the head of the Commission; but we do not think that these have arisen yet, as the Commission considers that it can carry on at present. We want as

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

⁴ *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons, Official Report, Fifth Series*, vol. 829 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office), col. 1424.

complete a report as possible on the state of opinion in Rhodesia and we want the Pearce Commission to be able to produce a true verdict. Such evidence as is coming to us from inside Rhodesia is that this is precisely what the Rhodesian Africans, who now for the first time in years have the opportunity to make their views known themselves, wish to see happen.

24. For these reasons it will be clear that my Government does not consider that this is the moment to change course or to set ourselves new directives. My Government hopes that other governments will rather, in their wisdom, use their influence to inject calm and patience into the Rhodesian situation.

25. No one could fail to be impressed by the sincerity and intensity of the views expressed by many of the speakers we have heard. Nor is it possible to ignore so much evidence of deep frustration, based on first-hand experience, at failure to make faster progress in resolving these important problems.

26. The British Government and people are not unsympathetic to this frustration and to its causes. We understand it very well. Many of the basic rights and freedoms that are now frustrated in large parts of southern Africa are ones that we have long sought for ourselves and for others. We have known too often in our history the agonies of frustration and delay imposed by apparently insoluble problems to underestimate those of others.

27. Yet our history has also taught us that peaceful change is always more effective and longer lasting than change brought about by violent means. We do not claim any right to determine the answers to African questions which are for Africans themselves to decide; but in so far as we are concerned, and as the implications of African choices may affect us, we are bound to speak in accordance with our own beliefs and experience.

28. Of course a preference for non-violence is no new idea. It is expressed perhaps as convincingly as anywhere else in the Lusaka Manifesto which stated:

"We have always preferred, and we still prefer, to achieve [liberation] without physical violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change."⁵

The authors of the Lusaka Manifesto then went on to take a pessimistic view about the prospects of peaceful progress. It is, of course, always difficult to disprove a pessimistic view, particularly when events cannot be expected to move very rapidly in either direction. However, we cannot believe

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 12.

that pessimism is either helpful or necessary in this case. On the contrary, there are basic reasons why my Government considers it necessary to be optimistic about peaceful change. These were referred to by my Prime Minister in his speech on the occasion of the commemorative session to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations in October 1970, when he said:

“The truth is that the possibilities of peaceful change have never been so great throughout the world as they are today. Indeed, in our present conditions repressive régimes find it much easier to deal with violent attack which can be identified and then crushed, rather than with the subtle and pervasive influences of trade, investment and the spread of knowledge.”⁶

29. The Security Council itself, in its mandate from the Charter, in its composition and in its working methods, is a living embodiment of this very belief that progress can be made only by peaceful discussion and negotiation. If we can apply that spirit, fortified by the closer knowledge we have gained by concentrated study, to our further discussions when we return to New York, our visit to Africa will indeed have been a major step forward.

30. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words concerning Ambassador Farah and me.

31. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I should like to express my deep gratitude, as well as that of the United States delegation, to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, his Government and the Ethiopian people for the efficiency, the exemplary organization and, above all, the natural hospitality that has been so copiously displayed during these meetings. None of us will soon forget this city and its people.

32. Mr. President, we wish to compliment you on assuming the presidency of the Security Council. Perhaps fate really is at work, for you, an able and distinguished son of Africa, are now our President here in Africa, and only a few days ago Somalia, through its distinguished Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and its very able Ambassador, Mr. Farah, held the presidency here in Africa. Our congratulations to you, Sir, and to your predecessors. In saluting African Security Council Presidents presiding over the Council meetings in Africa, I want to make one thing perfectly clear. I want the record to show that I am not endorsing a new policy, namely, that I, as the United States Ambassador, should preside over the Council every time it meets in New York. I should much prefer to die a natural death.

33. This is a solemn moment of history: the first meeting of the Security Council on the continent of Africa. Some may recall that in March of 1971 the United States supported the principle of occasional meetings of United Nations bodies outside United Nations Headquarters. Although we believe that each such session should be decided on its individual merits, we are pleased that the

⁶ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1881st meeting, para. 79.

first takes place in Africa. We meet in Addis Ababa, the capital of an ancient kingdom, the oldest independent country in Africa, and today the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity and the centre of United Nations regional activities throughout the African continent. To this important centre of modern Africa has now journeyed the Security Council, on which the Charter confers the “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security”.

34. Peace and security are the result of a multitude of forces, including the important efforts of the United Nations for economic and social progress and for human rights. But the responsibilities of the Security Council are directed primarily to those political and security questions that give rise to international tension and conflict. Here on African soil it is natural that we should consider chiefly those questions which have created tension, particularly in the southern area of Africa, and about which all of us have for a long time been properly and deeply concerned.

35. Of the three great challenges facing Africa today—development, nationhood and the tensions in southern Africa—the Council currently is concerned only with the third. It is certainly sufficient for our agenda, because there has seldom been a complex of issues in the United Nations more difficult, more troubling to the world’s conscience or more resistant to change than these issues of colonial and racial domination.

36. I say “resistant to change”, yet, in the perspective of time, in the perspective of history, these situations are already changing and will surely change even more in the future. The United Nations through its various organs and its specialized agencies has played a significant part in the changes, and I may say that my Government, in addition to continuing its considerable assistance programme, has been and will be faithful to United Nations efforts on these vitally important questions.

37. The importance of these issues was eloquently stated by His Imperial Majesty, when he told this Council:

“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.” [1627th meeting, para. 8.]

38. We were also moved by the words of His Excellency President Ould Daddah when he contrasted for us the concepts of liberty and equality with the harsh realities of every-day life in certain parts of Africa [*ibid.*, para. 33].

39. At the outset, I should like to reiterate the firm position of the United States on the issues before us.

40. Almost 200 years ago, the people of the United States dedicated themselves to two principles, two principles which remain valid today: first, the proposition that all men are created equal, and secondly, that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We are pleased that these principles, so revolutionary when they were first proclaimed, find their counterparts in Article I of the Charter. I refer, of course, to the obligations "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" and to promote and encourage "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

41. Further development in the field of international law on these matters has occurred in the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

42. The unequivocal position of the United States was stated by our President, Mr. Nixon, when he said:

"Clearly, there is no question of the United States condoning, or acquiescing in, the racial policies of the white minority-ruled régimes. For moral as well as historical reasons, the United States stands firmly for the principles of racial equality and self-determination."

In addition, our position has been manifested by the actions we have taken, the votes we have cast, and the statements we have made whenever the burning issues of southern Africa have arisen heretofore in this Council.

43. Having paid a tribute to what the United Nations has done on these difficult problems, I think we should also be clear on what the United Nations, under the Charter and given the existing situation, can and cannot effectively do about southern African issues. The Charter also imposes an obligation to settle disputes by peaceful means. The United Nations is an Organization of peace, and it cannot redress wrongs by making war. It is an Organization that respects national sovereignty, although we have recognized that the problems of colonialism and racial discrimination are of legitimate concern to the international community and, indeed, to the Security Council.

44. I refer to the substantial efforts which the United Nations has been able to exert within these legal and practical limits. But we would be less than honest, and less than convincing, if we did not admit that the United Nations is but one instrument in freeing southern Africa from racial and colonial injustice. We should not forget that while the United Nations is an important auxiliary, an important source of encouragement, the primary factor in eliminating colonialism and racial injustice in Africa must be the people themselves—people of all races—who are caught up in these agonizing situations and who must deal with them.

45. We should not let our focus on the unsolved political problems of the continent obscure the concern and the efforts of the United Nations in other vital tasks facing Africa. Our presence here in this city should remind us of the work being done by the Economic Commission for Africa, as well as the economic bodies of the Organization of African Unity in co-operation with the United Nations. The United Nations Development Programme and the

specialized agencies of the United Nations are playing an increasingly important developmental and humanitarian role in a programme based on the assistance of a large number of States.

46. I would hope that our concern with the problems of southern Africa would not cause us to lose sight of the valuable contribution that the United Nations is now making to the economic and social development of this continent. The United Nations should be proud to participate in the development of African nations, the success of which can be of immense encouragement and pride to those Africans who will not have had the opportunity to determine their own future and participate actively and fully in the development of their own societies.

47. Though we members of the Council seem to agree in large measure on the principles involved, it is evident here—very evident indeed—that we have greater difficulty in deciding how to proceed with specific complaints and issues that are brought before us. Despite our agreement on the principle of self-determination, it is evident that the Council is not unified in its approach on how it can best be achieved.

48. The United States has tried to look at international issues in the Security Council in terms of what the Council can actually accomplish, the consistency of proposed actions with the Charter, the impact that proposed actions could have elsewhere and on the United Nations as a whole. And this is no less true for the urgent issues of Africa.

49. Our former Secretary-General, U Thant, a tireless and dedicated champion of the United Nations, a staunch friend of everybody around this table and a staunch friend of Africa, expressed our conviction eloquently when he wrote:

"It is, however, a weakness when resolutions are adopted which have no prospect of implementation and the authority and prestige of the world's greatest deliberative body is thereby eroded."⁷

50. The impact of agreed Security Council resolutions, which we have fully supported, should not, however, be underestimated. They are a legitimate source of pressure—pressure for change—on the white minority and colonial régimes in southern Africa. And, for our part, in some instances we have anticipated—or, frankly, we have gone beyond—the requirements of Council resolutions. To contain the military build-up by those régimes we have adhered to the terms of our own embargo against South Africa, which was in effect before the Security Council's recommendation of 1963 [resolution 181 (1963)]. We also maintain an even earlier embargo against the sale of military equipment to Portugal for use in Africa.

51. Both in this Organization and in our bilateral relations, we have made clear to the Government of South Africa our complete rejection of the system of *apartheid*. We share the frustration of those who seek to encourage change in southern Africa, improvement of conditions and opportunities for the Africans, and self-determination in colonial areas.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1A, para. 143.

52. However, powerful economic and demographic forces are at work. In South Africa, at least, there is some movement in the attitude towards change. More white South Africans are coming to see the importance of proper utilization of human resources and are realizing that the colour of a man's skin has absolutely no bearing on his ultimate ability to do a job. There are already hopeful indications of change in the business field. All of us are aware of the innovations introduced by Polaroid and Barclay's Bank; but there are other, unpublicized, instances in which evolution is taking place and recognition is being accorded to ability.

53. Moreover, the absurdity of according foreign black visitors different treatment from that given South Africa's indigenous population is visible to all. It appears that *apartheid*, when faced with the hard realities of dealing with the outside world, can be turned on or turned off, according to the advantages to be gained. Many white university students, including some Afrikaners, are questioning the premises on which *apartheid* itself is based. In terms of fostering a broader, more flexible outlook, this indeed can be a most encouraging development.

54. The United States believes that time is on the side of those opposing *apartheid*; but this trend could be reversed if the white minority becomes even further entrenched through efforts to isolate South Africa from the rest of the world. We, for our part, believe that the best means of encouraging such change is through increased communications with all elements of the population of South Africa, not through attempts at isolation. Furthermore, there is a serious question of whether the economic measures which might be undertaken to achieve isolation would have any practical effect at all, and there is some question as to whether they would work.

55. A word at this point about communication. Several individuals yesterday asserted their readiness to talk. Our colleague, Ambassador Akwei of Ghana, emphasized the need for negotiation "in or out of the United Nations" [see 1631st meeting, para. 162]. We feel that discussion and negotiation, if done in good faith, can be more effective than confrontation.

56. The United States is proud of the role we have played in seeking a better future for the people of Namibia. We have supported fully the United Nations determination that continued South African occupation of Namibia is illegal. We were pleased that the International Court of Justice, in the Advisory Opinion of 21 June 1971,⁸ agreed with views argued by the United States, in our written statement and in our oral argument, that South Africa has no legal basis for its presence in or control over Namibia and is legally obligated to withdraw from Namibia. Consistent with our policy of not recognizing South Africa's administration of Namibia, even before the United Nations acted, we took steps—many steps, I might add—to discourage United States business from investing in the Territory, an example which, unfortunately, has not been followed by all others.

⁸ *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.*

57. We do not, however, believe that resolutions imposing sanctions, even if they could be adopted by the Security Council, would bring about the changes that all of us desire. Therefore, we believe that the Council should discuss practical ways to initiate contacts with all the parties concerned to establish the necessary conditions to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination. For our part, we hope that South Africa's participation in the Council's deliberations on Namibia last autumn indicates a willingness on its part to participate in further discussions on the subject. Meanwhile, we believe that Security Council resolution 301 (1971) provides the basis for meaningful study by the Council's *Ad Hoc* Sub-Committee on Namibia.

58. Moreover, we must state our concern regarding the respect due the international legal rights of Namibians. In this connexion, we recall the statement of the International Court of Justice that in persisting in its illegal presence in Namibia, South Africa "remains accountable for any violations of its international obligations, or of the rights of the people of Namibia",⁹

59. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the United States strongly supported the establishment of mandatory economic sanctions and has been second to none in enforcing them. We do so in recognition that a minority régime, in rebellion against the administering Power, had instituted an unjust system in which the rights of the great majority were being denied. Many delegations have urged the use of force to right these wrongs. We share their concern that the people of Southern Rhodesia be able to exercise fully their right to self-determination, but we are unable to support this drastic course of action.

60. Let me now turn to the question of the proposed Rhodesian settlement, the so-called Smith-Home Agreement. The Pearce Commission is now in Rhodesia to ascertain the views of the African majority on the settlement proposals. We have said in this Council that we do not believe that these proposals should be judged until the work of the Commission is finished. Recent events underscore the wisdom and importance of such suspension of judgement and a hearing of what the Rhodesians themselves are saying. The facts are indeed being recorded, right now, and Rhodesia is speaking. For the first time, an important expression of Rhodesian public opinion is being heard. Although it is perhaps not the perfect vehicle for assessing internal Rhodesian attitudes, the Commission, doing its assigned task in good faith, is eliciting information and opinions of inestimable value, and had there been no Pearce Commission to ascertain the views of all the people of Rhodesia independently, the real heartbeat of Rhodesia might have remained inaudible to the outside world.

61. We are well aware of the tensions caused by Portugal's continuing role in Africa. The Security Council has for some time received complaints which are an outgrowth of this situation. We hope that the parties involved will explore other avenues of settlement. We have suggested machinery such as bilateral or third-party commissions.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

62. We have consistently and firmly maintained our publicly proclaimed position that the people in Portugal's African Territories are entitled to the right of self-determination. We have made clear our basic disagreement with Portugal on that country's policies in Africa and have enforced our own arms embargo for more than 10 years to ensure that there are no sales or shipment of arms from the United States for use in the Portuguese Territories of Africa.

63. Therefore, in the name of my own country, which is a faithful Member of the United Nations and which has a deep commitment to justice in Africa, I would address each of the contending forces in these situations: those in power who withhold justice, and those not in power who seek justice.

64. To those in power I would urge: move swiftly towards justice for the majority; re-examine your old premises; do not assume that you can indefinitely decide for the majority, without their participation, what is good for them; recognize that the force of history is on the side of racial justice, on the side of self-determination, and that no one can forever stop it. Ultimately, you must accommodate to that force or be overwhelmed by it. This is the only way to assure not only justice but also peace for all races in southern Africa in times to come.

65. Then to those out of power, who seek redress of their legitimate grievances, I would urge: be cautious and wary, wary about asking the United Nations to resort to violence or to encourage violence in others, because history shows that violence will not enlist friends in your cause, and frequently leads not to justice but only to greater suffering; violence can be habit-forming; realize that history is moving in your direction; be ready to discuss with the other side any steps, even modest steps, that lead toward your goal. If you act in this spirit, the spirit of the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, you will find many friends and supporters on your side throughout the world, in the United Nations, and perhaps—just perhaps—even among your adversaries, and certainly you will succeed.

66. To both sides, finally, I would urge this: since change in the direction of self-determination and racial equality is inevitable, it is obviously important that this change take place in a peaceful manner, promptly and steadily; for the sake of both peace and justice—which are the root principles of the United Nations—you have no choice but to talk to each other and to resolve problems by discussion instead of violence; in whatever discussions you are prepared to undertake, the United Nations should stand ready to assist.

67. These issues of southern Africa are no doubt deep and difficult, but they are not impossible of solution. What is most needed to solve them is a growth in the awareness of the parties themselves that they absolutely must make, in their own vital self-interest, peaceful progress toward the solutions which all the world knows are sooner or later inevitable.

68. Let me express, on behalf of the United States Government, the fervent hope that this meeting of the

Security Council, the first ever held on African soil, will serve to fortify that clear-eyed awareness on which justice in southern Africa vitally depends. I can assure the Council that our delegation will leave here impressed by Africa, impressed by its sincerity, impressed by its potential, impressed by the necessity of our redoubling our efforts to play a constructive role in the solution of the problems that face this continent, not just the problems of race and self-determination, but the problems of development as well, so that a free Africa can fulfil its immense potential.

69. Mr. SEN (India): This visit of the Security Council to Africa is indeed a pilgrimage of atonement. For centuries now the world has imposed pain and indignity on millions of Africans; it has perpetrated barbarous cruelties and unspeakable horrors; it has committed atrocities; it has exploited African resources; it has inflicted humiliation, agony, death, despair and intolerable insults. It is a measure of the greatness of the people of this continent that instead of attempting to show the outside world hostility for these crimes they have greeted the Council with warmth and hospitality and, particularly, have showered innumerable acts of kindness on all of us and thrown open their doors for us to enter. We are indeed grateful—particularly to the Government and people of Ethiopia, led by their distinguished monarch, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I. It is therefore doubly appropriate that the Council's work in Addis Ababa should be done under the stewardship and guidance of our African colleagues. Mr. President, you and your colleague the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, as also your Ambassadors, Mr. Abdulla and Mr. Farah, all deserve our congratulations. We are thankful to all of you for the skilful and admirable manner in which the work of the Council has been conducted.

70. While as a member of the Council I must share the common guilt for the treatment of Africans, as a representative of the Government of India I have no reason to be contrite. India's record in the fight against *apartheid*, against colonialism, not only in Africa but all over the world, and for human dignity is indeed so good that I might easily be accused of boastfulness if I were to detail all the steps India has taken in these fields since attaining its independence 25 years ago.

71. In the last decade of the last century, when that naked fakir Mahatma Gandhi raised his voice against the treatment of the coloured peoples in South Africa, he sent a message round the world which in its impact and significance was perhaps no less than that of the other great little man of Galilee. The Mahatma said: "Is civilization worth the name which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of racial legislation and lynch laws?" In 1946, India was the first country to bring the question of racial discrimination before the Security Council, and later to the General Assembly. India was among the first voluntarily and unilaterally to stop all economic and commercial contacts with Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. We have built up an effective programme for training those belonging to the liberation movements in Africa. We have just contributed to the Organization of African Unity assistance fund for the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*. It is in keeping with this tradition that we are ready to do whatever more we can within our resources. Whatever Africa wants us to

do, whether in the United Nations or outside it, it will find a warm and willing response from India.

72. There is an understandable tendency to scoff at the attempts so far made in the United Nations to solve the problems and remove the evils with which the Council is now dealing. We should not, however, forget that the achievement of the United Nations in these fields is not inconsiderable. The other day we heard our new Secretary-General, whom we once again welcome in Africa, say, in his first statement to this Council, "Here in Africa there are wounds and there is bleeding" [1627th meeting, para. 72]. He added that the western world tended to close its eyes to what was not an immediate danger but that these wounds were of great concern to Africa and to the Council.

73. In his message to the International Seminar on *Apartheid*, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa in July 1967, U Thant wrote:

"I make reference to the historical background because in the struggle against *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonialism one may sometimes wonder whether the poor are not always with us; whether the strong will not always lord it over the weak; whether it is not part of human nature for men to attain success by exploiting their fellow men. These doubts and misgivings assail the best and most resolute of us with varying intensity and at different times."¹⁰

Before U Thant, Dag Hammarskjöld, and before him Trygve Lie, expressed similar sentiments and concern. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization for 1951/52, Trygve Lie wrote:

"These are historic forces that will not be denied. . . . The question is whether, by enlisting moderation and realism on all sides, we can find effective ways to answer this challenge by peaceful and evolutionary means rapidly enough to prevent the violent upheavals and widespread chaos that are likely if we do not."¹¹

74. Apart from those statements by successive Secretaries-General, the United Nations has demolished the doctrine of domestic jurisdiction, that pet dogma of all sovereign States in so far as *apartheid* is concerned. Yet another achievement of the United Nations, as was pointed out by His Excellency President Moktar Ould Daddah, has been the adoption of 128 resolutions on these subjects. Much debate and negotiation and exchange of views both in public and in private lie behind those resolutions. If they have not been implemented, or have not been implemented fully, the fault lies not so much with the United Nations as elsewhere.

75. During the last few days in Addis Ababa we have heard impassioned and moving pleas from many eminent representatives of African States and liberation fronts. Their eloquence, their feelings, their sense of urgency and their detailed analysis of the problem have been both

impressive and convincing. Several broad conclusions can be drawn from the large number of statements we have heard.

76. First, the evils of *apartheid*, colonialism, minority régimes and the forceful occupation of territories have been fully recognized.

77. Secondly, the actions of some countries, for whatever reasons, encourage these evils and there is no defence, even when it is sophisticatedly presented, for such encouragement.

78. Thirdly, the history of United Nations actions to remove these evils has been considered by some speakers to range from trivial and nugatory to cynical and dangerously frustrating. This trend must be reversed, but not too many concrete and practical steps have been suggested, although everyone has rightly insisted on speedy and effective action. It is, therefore, for the Council to work out an effective and realistic plan of action which can be carried out quickly and without shedding too much blood and without too great a burden in terms of money, resources and social cohesion. All are agreed, however, that sacrifices will be necessary, not simply because of any philosophical consideration that almost all worthwhile objectives can normally be achieved only by some sacrifice, but because vested interests are so entrenched that no concessions can be expected from them save through sacrifice based on unity and determination.

79. Fourthly, if effective and speedy action is not taken, widespread and most painful consequences will follow; armed conflict and strife will take place, racial prejudice, even racial hostility, will increase, and the world may well lose all it has garnered over millenia of human intelligence, wisdom and energy.

80. Fifthly, it is better to continue to suffer and make greater efforts to overcome wrongs than to pretend that temporary and doubtful palliatives will bring about just solutions.

81. It is in the light of those broad conclusions that the Indian delegation will offer some suggestions for action.

82. The facts regarding the problems we are dealing with are so well known and have been repeated so often that I shall not use up the time of the Council in going over them again. I should, however, like to emphasize that in spite of the many moving speeches we have heard there is not as yet, in the daily life of the men and women in the world outside, adequate consciousness of the pain and agony of Africa and the danger the present circumstances have created. "The tragedy of Africa is greater than that in any other continent, whether it is racial or political," wrote Jawaharlal Nehru many years ago, and he continued, "It is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability because we are sister continents". The great Prime Minister was of course speaking as an Asian, but we in the Council must ensure that what he said about Asian responsibility is shared by all the continents.

83. Those of us around this table who come from Africa, Asia and Latin America have some knowledge of the process of liberation. Oppression and discrimination of one

¹⁰ See A/6818 and Corr.1, annex II, para. 2 (mimeographed).

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 1A*.

kind or another are neither strange to us nor remote from us. All of us recognize that a tyrant and an oppressor changes not by the eloquence of speeches but by the forces of liberation. It is in recognition of that principle that during the past few years the non-aligned countries have persuaded the United Nations to emphasize, first, that the problems of southern Africa are a grave threat to international peace and security and, secondly, that the United Nations system and all States must all provide

“moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in the colonial Territories and, in particular, to the national liberation movements of the Territories in southern Africa.” [*General Assembly resolution 2878 (XXVI).*]

84. I am not one of those who consider that the large number of words we have used in discussing this problem has been a waste of time. We believe that the discussions over the years have focused attention on the central issues. We are gratified that the current meetings of the Council in Addis Ababa have had the desired psychological effect not only in this continent but also in many other countries in the world. It is through discussion and debate that we can move on to action. However, I shall confess that we seem to have come to the end of the discussion stage and now stand at the end of the road. What new roads can we now tread? What actions can we take? The Council meetings in Addis Ababa will indeed be successful if we begin to break new ground in our deliberations here. The process can obviously not be completed, nor even seriously begun, in the course of a week's debate, but if we can make a fresh move with a stout heart in Addis Ababa, and continue our work with purpose and integrity in New York and elsewhere, we shall have achieved much.

85. To our delegation the most important element in the problems we are discussing is the white Government of South Africa. That Government, condemned and ostracized in various degrees, is the principal agent for spreading the policy of *apartheid*, for maintaining the colonial hold of Portugal over Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), for sustaining Ian Smith in Rhodesia and for invading and illegally occupying the whole of Namibia. It is clear to us, therefore, that no satisfactory solution to any of these problems will be found unless the Government of South Africa can be persuaded, if possible—and coerced, if necessary—to follow a civilized policy. Most States recognize this, but, unfortunately, many powerful countries are not prepared to take the steps necessary to discourage South Africa effectively from following a suicidal and disastrous course. Although the Rhodesian problem is of immediate concern, it is the South African Government—and the South African Government alone—which has to be tackled most vigorously if we are to eradicate the evils of southern Africa and shatter all dreams of that Government for hegemony over those areas.

86. Turning to specific problems before us, I would like to suggest various courses of action in respect of each. These suggestions are not formal proposals by the Government of India. They may, however, provide a base for further discussion and action. It may even be possible that some elements of these suggestions will be included in the draft

resolution we hope to adopt during this session of the Council.

87. On Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, it is clear that the people of Zimbabwe have overwhelmingly rejected the present proposals for the settlement of the problem. Those proposals have also been rejected by the United Nations as a whole. Whatever may be the findings of the Pearce Commission, the conclusion that those proposals are not acceptable cannot be changed. We hope, therefore, that the Government of the United Kingdom will keep this factor in mind.

88. Those proposals are so wrongly conceived and are so much against the interest of the black people of Rhodesia that the Council would be justified in calling upon everyone concerned to reject them. We have been repeatedly told that the British Government has neither the authority nor the means to enforce any decision, however trivial, on the Ian Smith régime. In the circumstances, would it not be advisable to call upon the United Kingdom to relinquish the legal fiction that it is responsible for the administration of Rhodesia? It would, of course, be more appropriate if the Government of the United Kingdom followed this course on its own initiative rather than through any decision of the Council. However, as long as the United Kingdom Government itself maintains that it has responsibility for Zimbabwe, we hold it to its commitment for carrying out all the recommendations and decisions of the United Nations, as also for measures necessary for the welfare of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole.

89. We think that the sanctions already imposed against Rhodesia should be tightened and widened. The Sanctions Committee¹² could be more vigorous and be requested to make public all infringements. Governments might cooperate in giving publicity to these infringements through all media of information. We hear of a number of private reports of these violations, and some of them may be so cleverly concealed that the offender may not be easily identified. None the less, we think that a comparative and careful study of the trade statistics of various countries will enable us to remove the loop-holes and plug the gaps.

90. We would suggest the cutting of all communications systems to and from Rhodesia. This boycott or ban should extend to passports, visas, postal services and transport and communications systems of all kinds. The ban should also extend, as indeed has been proposed by several speakers, particularly by my friend and colleague from Ghana, to all cultural, social, sports or religious activities. In other words, no white Rhodesian should be allowed to participate in any international event in these fields. He is a pariah and should be treated as such, unless he mends his ways.

91. It is common knowledge that the so-called police force of South Africa in Rhodesia is an army in disguise. We should study methods by which the South African army can be withdrawn from Rhodesia. Even accepting the British view that they have no control over anything Rhodesian, we wonder why no steps have been initiated—at

¹² Committee of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 253 (1968) on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

least publicly announced—by the Government of the United Kingdom for the withdrawal of South Africa's so-called police force from Rhodesia.

92. As regards Namibia, it would be appropriate for the United Nations Council for Namibia to assess taxes on foreign companies operating in Namibia and ask them to pay those taxes to a central United Nations fund. Should they refuse, the United Nations would be justified in suing these companies for the payment of taxes in the appropriate national courts. If, however, they should voluntarily pay the taxes to the United Nations, money available through those sources could be spent for the benefit of the people of Namibia, after such administrative costs as might unavoidably be incurred had been disbursed.

93. Similarly, the United Nations may consider keeping a ship outside the territorial waters of Namibia. The ship's captain would have authority to issue fishing licences in the territorial waters and beyond in the seas adjoining Namibia. Should South Africa not honour these licences, it would clearly be liable for damages through the International Court of Justice. We should also press that effective broadcasting should be directed towards South Africa. Many rich countries have powerful broadcasting systems, and it should be possible for them to allot time for the specific purpose of bringing to the attention of the people of Namibia the evils of *apartheid*, the local oppression of their country by South Africa and the actions they may possibly take to liberate themselves. The dropping of leaflets to the population is another possibility. If countries friendly to South Africa would undertake this work in co-operation with the United Nations, we are reasonably certain that the South African Government would not shoot down the planes of these friendly countries. Lastly, as there have been many violations of the neighbouring areas by the South African forces illegally occupying Namibia, we should consider if an all-African border force should not be raised and posted along the borders of Namibia with the other African countries.

94. As regards *apartheid*, we shall have to take measured and progressive steps to remove this evil. We believe it is possible to impose an effective trade ban on South Africa. We would, of course, support any move for an arms embargo on that country. Economic sanctions of other types should also be considered. We are encouraged by the action UNESCO has recently taken to discontinue the consultative status of various international non-governmental organizations which retain branches or contacts with their South African affiliates. Similarly, diplomatic and consular contacts with South Africa should be broken off.

95. In order to terminate Portuguese colonialism over Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau), we would suggest an immediate declaration by the United Nations that these countries are independent and that Portugal has no authority whatever to be in these Territories. The Indian delegation has often maintained, and still maintains, that the very presence of the Portuguese in these Territories is a form of aggression, and therefore all activities from any quarter which are directed towards the removal of this aggression are both legitimate and moral. India will always

be ready and willing to help in whatever way it can in the liberation struggles of the whole of southern Africa. It is, in our view, wrong to consider any of these Territories, including South Africa, as a sovereign independent State until the full and equal rights of all citizens have been restored to the black people of these areas.

96. It is also our feeling that, in our concern to deal exhaustively with all facets and aspects of the situation in southern Africa in various places in the United Nations and elsewhere, we have permitted a certain avoidable fragmentation and duplication of approach and effort. This has already been recognized by the General Assembly. However, we all know that the essence of the problem in South Africa is the threat to peace and security. The Security Council as the organ charged with specific responsibility in this field should do everything it can to focus attention and action in this regard. I suggest that the Council might usefully give some thought to devising appropriate arrangements for this purpose.

97. I know only too well that the lines of action I have suggested would not be readily acceptable to the Council. However, we must continue to try and encourage by all means at our disposal, not only through the United Nations but elsewhere, the fight against the evils which have been a scourge for 30 million fellow human beings in this part of the world. I was most impressed the other day by the tableau which the National Theatre of Somalia staged for us on African unity. In it there was a scene depicting the view that the Africans are not fit to be free and equal because they lack money, are not civilized, are not progressive and have no education. No wonder that the audience greeted such a view with cynical laughter and derisive hoots. We know only too well that these arguments are put forward for nefarious purposes. But the people who stand behind those purposes are rich and powerful, and the struggle against them will be a long one and a heavy toll may have to be paid in death and destruction. But we are not discouraged, we stand firmly with the Africans in their struggle, and a day will come when, in the words of our poet Tagore, all their thorns will bloom into flowers and all their scars will change colour and become roses.

98. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): The exceptional circumstances of this meeting of the Council make it possible for us for once to deviate from the rule which we have imposed upon ourselves to renounce personal compliments and praise. The fact that there have been two successive African Presidents is an event in itself. We greet you, Mr. President, you whose talent, experience, knowledge of our language and great friendship for our country we have known for a long time. We also hail your predecessor Ambassador Farah, our dear colleague who conducted the business of the Council speedily, yet with infinite skill, perseverance and a high sense of international awareness. He even succeeded, in spite of a very heavy workload, in leading us to the capital of Somalia. We do not regret it because in Mogadiscio, as in Addis Ababa we were able once more to experience the generosity, warmth and sincerity of African hospitality.

99. It was normal and, above all, it is just that we should open our meetings in this very old country of Abyssinia

which has given an example of courageously preserved independence: the example of an untiring energy devoted to building the fortress of the State and to repelling the aggression through tempests; the example of a will, today renewed, to co-operate in peace and development. My country is proud of its longstanding and excellent relations of all kinds with Ethiopia, and we are happy once more to pay our due respects to the historic personality whose name is synonymous with the defence of liberty in Africa and throughout the world, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I. May the Ethiopian Government find here the expression of our very keen gratitude.

100. There are circumstances that have a symbolic value. A few days ago the President of the French Republic ended his second official trip to Africa—a prelude to other visits—responding to the friendly invitations of Niger and Chad whose history has long been associated with that of France; today, independent and sovereign States. At the same time, the Security Council was meeting on this age-old Ethiopian soil, responding to the wishes of the Organization of African Unity to try to resolve or to begin to resolve the problems of another Africa which is neither free nor independent nor sovereign, or which forbids the most elementary liberties and rights.

101. An edifying contrast, indeed! On the one hand, there is decolonized Africa which, in dignity and on the basis of equality, is seeking to assure the economic and cultural means of its political independence and is attacking the true problems of the twentieth century, those of development, health and education, with the co-operation and friendship, first of all and naturally, of the former colonizers, but also with the help, exempt of any exclusiveness, of all those who are willing, including among others its European partners and international organizations; on the other hand, there is an Africa whose populations were not given the right to speak for themselves on their own destiny or who must suffer from the most degrading offence to human rights: racial discrimination.

102. That is the scandal. Ten years have passed since 1960 when, by one of the most extraordinary mutations in world history, 16 African States acceded to international sovereignty and were admitted to the great family of the United Nations.

103. However, the movement ceased there, with the exception of some countries which became independent, the conclusion of processes already begun. History seems to have stopped its motion. Ten years later we are at the same stage or rather in a worse situation. Resolutions have multiplied; appeals, in turn conciliatory and violent, have succeeded each other. Too often they were ignored.

104. It is thus natural for the OAU to invite the Security Council to meet in Africa in the hope that, like Anteus gaining new strength upon touching Mother Earth, the United Nations would find a new vigour through contact with African realities.

105. It is therefore up to us not to disappoint His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and President Moktar Ould Daddah

who invited us, with very great elevation of thought, to find new paths and concrete solutions that would pull us out of the present stalemate and spare Africa conflicts, suffering and misadventures.

106. We must first of course ask ourselves the reasons why the 128 resolutions adopted since 1960 by the Security Council and the General Assembly have not been implemented and why the committees and councils created in profusion, often on a doubtful legal basis, have exhausted themselves, as was stressed by the President of the OAU, in commendable but vain studies.

107. In the first place one must blame, with some reason, the immobility of the Governments concerned. Yet, in saying this, one only states the problem and stresses the difficulty of the obstacle to be overcome.

108. It has been justly deplored that resolutions have been accumulating without the slightest hint of their being implemented. But we have never asked ourselves if those resolutions were not implemented because they could not be implemented, whatever may have been the good intentions that inspired them.

109. Resistance and irritating intransigence which revealed themselves were answered by verbal escalation. At the last session of the General Assembly, to give an example, there was no Committee that did not produce its own resolution, or resolutions, on decolonization or *apartheid*, the number, the length and the violence of the texts being, of course, inversely proportionate to their possible or probable efficacy.

110. Without going into the substance of these recommendations, we must note that the approach was wrong. There was none the less one lesson which can still be useful: decolonization, successful decolonization, was carried out in two ways expressly provided for by Chapters XI and XII of the Charter.

111. Under Chapter XI, the administering Powers agreed in particular to develop the capacity for self-government of the populations and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions.

112. Chapter XII created the international trusteeship system which was without any doubt a success for the Organization; and all African States, apart from those which were already independent, have acceded since 1945 to international sovereignty by one of those two ways, whatever were the sometimes painful episodes created by the solution of very difficult human problems.

113. In both cases, nothing could be done without the agreement, the participation or the initiative of the administering Power, be it the United Kingdom, the United States, Belgium, Italy or France, which are members of this Council. I should also add Spain, which was a member of the Council a year ago.

114. We regret beyond any doubt that, up to now, their example has not been followed. We are all in perfect agreement here on the objectives to be attained: the

populations of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) must be able to speak for themselves freely on their own destiny; the illegal régime of Rhodesia must be brought to an end; the Namibian deadlock must cease; and wherever it exists, the régime of *apartheid*, inhuman to its victims, degrading to its authors, must disappear. But it would be closing our eyes to reality and it would also be an abuse of confidence towards the populations concerned to believe that no real progress can be accomplished, willy-nilly, without the co-operation of Portugal and South Africa, and, as far as Rhodesia is concerned, without the participation of the United Kingdom, unless one proposes to resort to violence, and to call things by their correct name, to war, foreign war. But who would wish to propose that Africa should get engaged in this bloody dead-end? Who would dare to ask the United Nations to abjure themselves, when their sacred mission is tirelessly to search for a peaceful and just solution to conflicts or, better still, to prevent them?

115. Thus, if we refuse military venture, how can we get out of the dilemma in which we have put ourselves until now, on the one hand by inaction, and, on the other hand, which in fact amounts to the same thing, by declarations and condemnations without effect.

116. In spite of the difficulty of the task to be undertaken, we believe that the United Nations is not deprived of means. I leave aside, although this is a most fruitful activity, the assistance rendered to the victims of *apartheid*, and the United Nations Programme for Education and Training for Southern Africa. The contribution of France to these various United Nations funds accounts for one-sixth of the total amounts paid in to them. These are indeed concrete achievements which should enable these countries to obtain the cadres which they will require when they take charge of their own destiny. The United Nations must, of course, continue its efforts in this field.

117. I shall now turn to political difficulties. Our delegation, as far as it is concerned, heard with great interest the President of the Organization of African Unity draw the lesson of past mistakes and disappointments and underline "the new and decisive force which might emerge from united action by the Security Council", of "the collective and active responsibility of its members, and above all of its permanent members" [see 1627th meeting, paras. 31 and 32]. As for us, we are ready to answer that appeal and consult with our colleagues if it is a question of moving towards concrete, practical, reasonable solutions, likely to give new momentum and accelerate political and social progress in these territories.

118. Since all these questions cannot be considered during these meetings of the Council, we shall concentrate on those that seem to have captured for reasons of opportunity, most of the attention of most speakers, those of Rhodesia and "Namibia", which does not mean that the other problems are not at the heart of our preoccupations. We reserve our right, moreover, to come back to them if need be.

119. First of all, I should like to indicate how much I understand and share the emotion of Africa towards repeated acts and measures of repression in Salisbury or

elsewhere. Once again, Africans have fallen in the cause of freedom for Africa. Their sacrifice imposes upon us the obligation to act, but to act rationally, with even more firm lucidity because we are dealing here with a partner who intends to assume its responsibilities and whose desire for peace and emancipation is known. That partner is the United Kingdom.

120. We have carried out the sanctions voted by the Security Council—and in this respect I reject with contempt any insinuation that may have been made—and we have broken all relations with Rhodesia. But those measures taken by the body of the United Nations primarily responsible for maintaining peace and security were decided upon at the request of the United Kingdom, since it is that country that remains responsible for Rhodesia. It is for the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, as well as for the people of Rhodesia, to seek a basis for a satisfactory settlement that will permit the emancipation of that colony. In 1968 sanctions were adopted upon the express request of London. Years have passed. The situation, one must recognize it, is not changing in the least. A new factor has now appeared; a new initiative has been taken by the United Kingdom.

121. I shall not discuss the contents of the agreement of 24 November 1971.¹³ Without doubt one can consider it to be a positive element, to the extent that, for the first time since 1965, it stopped the trend leading to the stiffening of racial discrimination in Rhodesia and it proposed a process for settlement based on self-determination in the long run. One can regret certain aspects of the process under consideration. We deplore, in particular, the fact that certain elementary rights will only be given to the population after a long series of stages. But the question for ourselves in the immediate future does not rest there. We reserve our judgement with respect to the substance of the proposals and we cannot anticipate the will of the population itself. A process of consultation is now going on, a process which is undoubtedly imperfect but one which has permitted, at least indirectly, the people to make themselves heard after years of muzzled silence. That represents for us at least one advantage, of what has been called the "test of acceptability".

122. Must this operation be interrupted? It ought to be, if we doubt the honesty of the Commission which is directing this investigation. But as far as I know nobody has cast any doubt over the honesty, the equity, the sense of duty and justice of Lord Pearce. This investigation ought to be stopped if the conditions in which it is taking place clearly prove that police intimidation is dictating the African responses. Is that the case? Quite to the contrary, Africa is speaking out. The people of Rhodesia are expressing themselves. Unfortunately, sometimes they fall victim to their courage. But certain masks are also falling and certain illusions are vanishing.

123. Who would deny that this consultation is acting like a revelation of the population's feelings and that it is giving it a chance to make its opinion known to the Government, the Parliament and the public opinion of Britain? Were our

¹³ See foot-note 3.

Council to ask for the end of the experience it would be accumulating contradictions. It would be contradicting itself since it would forbid the United Kingdom from exercising its obligations as the administering Power, while, up to now, it rightly has based its action on the principle that the Government in London alone bears responsibility for Rhodesia. It would contradict the very goals of its action, since it would put an end to an undertaking whose immediate merit is to ascertain, at least, that the will of the people of Rhodesia is allowed to express itself, and to permit the British Parliament to judge and to testify in front of international public opinion.

124. We thus have the choice to stop the consultation, which, whether or not that is the aim, would re-establish silence, a silence probably desired by Mr. Smith, a silence which could very well be, in the months to come, that of prisons and of repression, or to maintain the consultation which means permitting Lord Pearce to make his report, so enabling the British authorities to draw their conclusions and provide us with more valid elements of appreciation. But, at least, if we pronounce ourselves in this manner we must require the consultation to be pursued in conditions permitting it to be held freely and peacefully.

125. The sacrifice of Africans who fell because they spoke the truth must not be in vain. We wish the British Government to take immediate measures to ensure the protection of the life and the well-being of the African majority, against acts of brutality and repression. Thus, the United Kingdom would help to create the conditions permitting the population of Southern Rhodesia to exercise freely and equally the right to self-determination and independence, without consideration of race or colour.

126. "Namibia" is beyond a doubt the problem which can best be dealt with in the way suggested by President Ould Daddah [1583rd meeting], a step which would permit the authority of the Council to emerge stronger and would enable it, because it would be impossible to challenge, to bring about the relaxation of the intransigent attitude with which we have been faced until now. We described this step to the Council last October [1593rd meeting]. The idea was more or less taken up again in the draft resolution of the Argentine delegation [S/10376/Rev.1].

127. The analysis of the legal situation of the former South West Africa had brought us to a conclusion, which was that the fundamental obligation for South Africa, to negotiate in good faith with the United Nations to establish an international régime permitting the interested populations to choose their destiny freely, began with the creation of the Mandate. We drew from this the following—if I may be excused from citing myself but it appears that this has even more pressing significance now:

"This is an obligation which we do not intend to allow South Africa to shirk. We are prepared, for our part, to

make this known to South Africa. It goes without saying, however, that a collective effort by the international community and, above all, by the countries whose vast means entail special responsibilities, is highly desirable [1588th meeting, para. 23]."

128. In truth, this appears to us to be not only the reasonable course but the only possible course. Whatever the impatience and the weariness that the obstinacy the ill-will of South Africa may arouse in us, we must be no less determined to call upon South Africa to fulfil its obligation to negotiate. In the present state of affairs, this is undoubtedly the only means of safeguarding the prestige of the United Nations and of preserving the interest of the people whose fate must remain our principal concern. We then added, and I think we can assess the importance of this statement:

"If South Africa were to fail to abide by its strict obligation to negotiate with the United Nations for a new international régime for South West Africa, France would draw its own conclusions about the illegality of an administration maintained under such conditions [*ibid.*, para. 27]."

129. Thus our proposal is that our new Secretary-General, with the support of the Security Council, and in constant consultation with its five permanent members, should begin at once the necessary representations to the South African Government so as to create the conditions which would enable the Namibian people to exercise freely their right to self-determination. For those who fear a tactic of procrastination, I specify that a delay of six months could be given to the Secretary-General for presenting his report to the Council.

130. Our profound conviction is that this tactic of firmness, patience and broadmindedness is the only practical one. It conforms with the United Nations ideal of peace and liberation. It will contribute to breaking the silence which crushes the southern part of Africa, and silence is the accomplice of fear. Fear crystallizes isolation, it nourishes that kind of obsessive fever which bursts into acts and doctrines of which we disapprove.

131. That process for the Namibian people ought to be exemplary. It will be valid tomorrow for the other problems we must resolve. It will open the way.

132. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to my colleague from Somalia and to me.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.