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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1624)	1
Statement by the President	1
Adoption of the agenda	3
Request of the Organization of African Unity concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in an African capital (General Assembly resolution 2863 (XXVI), paragraph 2): Letter dated 29 December 1971 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/10480)	3

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 *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 the 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 TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 11 January 1972, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Abdulrahim Abby FARAH (Somalia).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1624)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Request of the Organization of African Unity concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in an African capital (General Assembly resolution 2863 (XXVI), paragraph 2):
Letter dated 29 December 1971 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/10480).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: In assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the current month my delegation is conscious of the great privilege and the heavy responsibility that will be ours. We share the view of our Government that this experience is the high point of Somalia's involvement in the work of the United Nations.

2. We look forward with confidence to the work of the weeks ahead because we know from the experience of the past year that we will be supported in our task by the goodwill and co-operation of all our colleagues. We have had the opportunity in the past year to work in close contact with the members of the Council on both large and small issues and it has been a most rewarding experience. We have found only the highest personal qualities and great dedication to our common task: the search for international peace and security. While we must of necessity take opposing positions among ourselves on many issues—acting, as we do, as the representatives of our Governments—I am sure that all delegations share our feeling that working together at the highest level of international action promotes the cause of mutual understanding and goodwill.

3. Five of the representatives with whom my delegation has been privileged to work have now completed their assignments as members of the Council. Members have already had the opportunity, at the concluding meeting of the Council in 1971 [1623rd meeting], to place on record their appreciation of the valuable and constructive contributions made by the delegations of Burundi, Nicaragua,

Poland, Sierra Leone and Syria during their two-year terms of office.

4. I must at this point express—and I am sure that I speak for the entire Council—our appreciation of the work of my predecessor, Ambassador Taylor-Kamara, who held the presidency last month during the most acute crisis the Council has experienced for some time. In a most difficult period, characterised by unremitting tension, in a period when the eyes of the world were focused on the Council, Ambassador Taylor-Kamara guided our proceedings with unflinching calm, good sense and good humour.

5. It is my pleasant duty now to welcome the new members of the Council, the permanent representatives of Guinea, India, Panama, Yugoslavia and the Sudan. As representatives of third world countries they have a particular interest in the solution of those problems before the Council which have their roots in racism, colonialism, the violation of human rights and the economic exploitation of developing countries. These are evils the third world is anxious to eradicate, because it sees them as the main ingredients of many of the threats to international peace and security. But the Governments of the new States members of the Council have always been prepared to support the deep involvement of their representatives in every sphere of United Nations activity. We can therefore expect the new members of the Council to contribute to the solution not only of those problems which are of particular concern to the third world but also of those which concern the international community at large.

6. I cannot let this first official meeting of the Security Council in the new year pass without expressing the best wishes of the Council to U Thant on his retirement. He has already received tributes in accord with his great achievements both from within the United Nations and from outside it, but it is here in the Security Council that tribute to him is most fitting, since the most vital tasks of the Secretary-General are closely tied to the work of the Security Council.

7. U Thant so identified himself with the United Nations, with its spirit and its specific goals that it is difficult to imagine the work of the Council going on without his steady and inspiring presence. The affection and respect in which he is universally held are a testament of his great contribution to international peace.

8. Our sorrow at his going is tempered, however, by the knowledge that in his replacement, Mr. Waldheim, we have a man of equal calibre, a man with unique diplomatic skills

and one whose dedication to the United Nations has already been illustrated in the course of a distinguished career in the service of his country—a career which included a long association with the United Nations.

9. The job of Secretary-General is perhaps the most demanding one in the world. It demands great objectivity, great endurance, patience and tact and the greatest personal integrity. Mr. Waldheim, by virtue of his national origin, his well-known skill in diplomacy and the personal qualities he has always displayed, is eminently suited for this job. My Government has already extended to him its congratulations on his accession to the post of Secretary-General. On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to add that he has our warmest good wishes and the assurance of our co-operation as he takes on this tremendous responsibility.

10. The beginning of a new year is traditionally a time for making assessments of the past year and resolutions for the year ahead. Perhaps we in the Security Council can draw on the experience of the past year to see what needs to be done so that positive progress can be made towards the solution of the problems that still engage our attention.

11. Let me first reiterate a basic principle that my delegation has often dwelt on, one that would seem so obvious, one to which there is much lip service but which is more commonly seen in the breach than in the observance. It is this: that a world organization composed of Member States with varying political philosophies and government systems and widely disparate economic interests and resources cannot succeed in its appointed task of preserving international law and order on the basis of our developing system of international morality if that system does not in fact have our allegiance. I refer, of course, to the Charter of the United Nations and to the development of its principles through such declarations as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)*] 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 [*General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV)*]. The Charter and all it stands for must be our guiding light. It must provide the guidelines for the co-operation of Member States, of whatever size or political persuasion, in the task of preserving international peace.

12. Either the principles of the Charter are valid or they are not. If they are not, then we are wasting our time here. If it continues to be maintained—as is often the case—that every situation needs its own set of principles and is governed by certain so-called realities, then we might as well stop the pretence that the Charter represents a system of international law to which we all subscribed. If, after the United Nations has been in existence for twenty-six years, we who can benefit from the experience of these decades do not ourselves understand that it is not an empty cliché to say that the Charter is the only hope of a civilized future for mankind, then we are indeed shadow-boxing; we are merely actors in a play which is both farce and tragedy.

13. The complexity of international affairs in the second half of the twentieth century demands that every issue be

considered in relation to a body of principles. Yet one often hears the argument that such an approach is unrealistic political idealism. The body of principles which we have was not the result of someone's pipe dream, however. It was hammered out as a result of international experience; it was hammered out in clear recognition of the self-destructive tendency of our modern world and with an almost prophetic judgement of the great issues which would determine world peace and security in this century and perhaps beyond.

14. If we consider the issues that have been dealt with in the past year, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, of how many issues can it be said that the principles of international law triumphed over expediency and narrow national self-interest? In some of the issues the United Nations acted according to principle; in others there was accommodation; in others principle was completely ignored.

15. How would we each rate our performance on the major issues of 1971: the question of Chinese representation; the question of the international Territory of Namibia; the Middle East problem and the question of Jerusalem; Portuguese colonialism in Africa and Portuguese aggression against African States; South Africa's policy of *apartheid* and the aggression committed by the racist Afrikaner régime against the black majority? In the few cases where there has been a satisfactory conclusion, this has been because principle has triumphed over expediency. The majority of these issues still remain unresolved because they are governed by arguments based on expediency and so-called realities and because they are treated as though the accepted norms of international law do not exist and cannot be sustained by the moral force of the Charter.

16. Perhaps it is in order for us to make some resolutions and some wishes for the New Year. I would first suggest, on a purely practical level, that we resolve to apply more preventive diplomacy; that we resolve to act to stave off threats to peace and not allow situations to drift to the point of dangerous conflict. No clearer example of such a situation exists than the recent India-Pakistan crisis.

17. Secondly, I would express the wish that in 1972 the Council will be enabled to become more responsive to the needs of the international community through a freer flow of information between the Secretariat and the Council, between the permanent and non-permanent members and between the Council and those Governments which are directly involved in matters concerning international peace. At present there seems to be a lacuna in the arrangements for a flow of information which should keep every delegation adequately informed of all developments that might constitute threats to peace. I would suggest also that the information be made available before, and not after, a crisis situation develops.

18. My final suggestion sums up all that I have said; it is that we, each of us, should rededicate ourselves to the principles of the Charter. I should like to conclude with three short quotations from statements made recently by distinguished and well-known personalities of the United

Nations who have expressed my own sentiments more eloquently and adequately than I have been able to do.

19. First, my colleague and friend Ambassador Baroody of Saudi Arabia, speaking during the recent debate on Southern Rhodesia, said:

"Why do not some of the Powers look upon this case not in the light of special national interests but in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter?" [1622nd meeting, para. 103.]

Then, addressing the permanent members of the Council, he said:

"You gentlemen . . . you are the ones who can tip the scale either to the side of justice or to the side of expediency." [Ibid.]

20. The President of the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, in his concluding speech, said these words:

"In the interdependent world of the present, if real progress is to be made by the international society we shall have to learn to bend to the collective will and not to interpose the wall of sovereignty."¹

He also said:

"All too frequently we have witnessed actions contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, as if war were still a lesser price to pay than negotiation and compromise. In forgetting the lessons of war we have neglected the promises of peace."²

21. At the beginning of this new year, let us hope that it will be one in which we help, by our efforts, to fulfil the promises of peace.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Request of the Organization of African Unity concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in an African capital (General Assembly resolution 2863 (XXVI), paragraph 2):

Letter dated 29 December 1971 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/10480)

22. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the agenda item before it. In this connexion I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents relating to the question under consideration, which have been distributed: document S/10477, containing a letter dated 23 December 1971 from the representative of Guinea to the President of the Security Council; General Assembly resolution 2863 (XXVI), adopted on 20 December 1971; and docu-

ment S/10480, which reproduces the text of a letter dated 29 December 1971 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the Assembly resolution to the Security Council.

23. Today's meeting has been convened, as indicated in the agenda, to consider a request³ made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, and transmitted to this Council by the General Assembly in its resolution 2863 (XXVI), that a series of meetings of the Security Council be held in an African capital during the early part of this year. The question was in fact raised in this Council towards the end of 1971 [1622nd meeting], but it was not possible for the President of the Council to take the matter up because there was not sufficient time for him to do so.

24. On assuming office, I made it one of my first duties to initiate consultations among members of the Council and to begin the process of collecting information from the Secretariat and from three African delegations whose Governments have offered their capitals as possible venues for the proposed meetings. In order that those Governments might have a clear idea of the facilities and services which would be necessary for the Security Council to perform its functions efficiently, the Secretariat, on my request, prepared a questionnaire, which was subsequently handed by me to the representatives of Senegal and Guinea and to the Chargé d'affaires of Zambia. I asked the three representatives to endeavour to let me have replies to the questionnaire within a week. So far, only the reply of the Government of Zambia has reached the office of the President.

25. As you are all aware, I proceeded to consult with members of the Council individually and these consultations were completed late Friday evening. In the course of the consultations the majority of members agreed to the following points.

26. First, the Council should accede to the request of the Organization of African Unity to hold meetings in Africa during the early part of 1972, preferably towards the end of January and the beginning of February.

27. Second, the meetings should be held under conditions in keeping with the dignity of the Council and conducive to the efficient and effective dispatch of its work.

28. Third, the Council should hold its meetings in one capital only, and the period to be allotted for its stay in Africa should be no more than seven working days.

29. Fourth, the capital to be chosen should be able to provide regular and frequent international air communications, efficient and adequate international telecommunications and adequate hotel accommodation.

30. Fifth, since each member of the Council would be responsible for the travel, subsistence, accommodation and servicing of its own delegation it would be advantageous if

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2031st meeting, para. 396.

² *Ibid.*, para. 393.

³ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 100, document A/8494 and Add.1.

the venue chosen were one where the majority of members had resident diplomatic representation.

31. Sixth, in addition to the capitals of Senegal, Zambia and Guinea as possible venues for the meetings, consideration should be given to holding the meetings at Addis Ababa, which, besides having excellent conference facilities, is also the site of the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity and the regional office of the United Nations, as well as the headquarters of the Economic Commission for Africa. Preliminary enquiries reveal that conference facilities would be available at Addis Ababa between 24 January and 4 February.

32. Seventh, in planning arrangements for the projected meetings in Africa, the Secretariat should be scrupulous in its regard for holding the costs of conference services at an absolute minimum; consecutive interpretation will not be required for the period but full conference services will be required in all languages.

33. Eighth, since the request of the Organization of African Unity could lead to requests from other regional organizations in the future for meetings of the Security Council in their areas, it would be desirable for the Council to establish a committee under Article 29 of the Charter and rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council. This committee should examine the question further, so that general guidelines might be set up which could be applied in all such situations which might arise in the future in connexion with Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter, which authorizes the Security Council to "hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgement will best facilitate its work". We might call such a committee the "Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters".

34. Ninth, the committee should be convened immediately following the present meeting so that it may examine all questions relating to the projected visit of the Council to Africa, and submit recommendations on the venue, the precise date and agenda for the meetings and the formulation of provisional guidelines concerning the legal, political, financial and administrative aspects of the proposal. These guidelines should take into account the points I have already indicated, which have found acceptance among the majority of the members.

35. Tenth, in view of the urgency of some of the items dealing with African questions with which the Council is currently seized, the committee should be required to submit its report to the Council not later than 14 January, so that arrangements for the projected meetings may be put in hand, should this be agreed upon by the Council.

36. Eleventh, the Security Council should resume consideration of this question as soon as the report of the committee has been submitted.

37. Before calling on the first representative whose name is on the list of speakers, I should like members of the Council to take into account the fact that two decisions

will have to be taken by the Council before it concludes this morning's meeting. First, it should decide to accede in principle to the request of the Organization of African Unity that it hold meetings in an African capital early in 1972, preferably at the end of this month and early in February. The second decision would relate to the establishment of a committee composed of all the members of the Security Council.

38. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Let me, first, Mr. President, thoroughly endorse your comments welcoming our new Secretary-General and the new members of the Security Council. My delegation looks forward to working with all five new members and certainly we pledge our full co-operation and support to our Secretary-General.

39. The United States voted in the General Assembly in favour of the draft resolution which became resolution 2863 (XXVI) and in explaining our vote on 20 December⁴ my delegation repeated that the United States in principle favoured occasional meetings of the Security Council to be held outside New York. I should like to state today that we continue to support that principle.

40. In the view of my delegation, however, several factors bearing on the proposal before us require further and most careful consideration before a formal decision is taken. For this reason we fully support the proposal that a committee of the whole be empowered to submit recommendations to the Security Council. For example, the timing of any Council meeting abroad must take into account the possibility that other urgent questions might be brought before the Council, requiring it to tackle another issue without undue difficulty. We should have to consider how those legitimately concerned with the second issue would be able to be represented effectively and in a timely fashion before the Council meeting many thousands of miles away. We should be careful also to weigh the risks of holding Council meetings in areas of particular tension. The atmosphere in which such meetings would be held would be likely to handicap the Council in pursuing its deliberations calmly and constructively.

41. My delegation is most concerned about the financial aspects that you discussed a minute ago, Mr. President. We have reviewed the relevant report of the Fifth Committee dated 17 December⁵ and this report estimates that the cost of the Council's meeting in an African capital would be, tentatively, between \$150,000 and \$250,000. This estimate, we understand, assumes that the host country Government would provide certain facilities and services free of charge. However, we feel strongly that the financial aspects require a more detailed study by all the delegations concerned and that such a study should be based on a very careful itemization of the costs involved, including a precise identification of all practical arrangements. This study, we believe, must precede any final decision by the Security Council, and this is one of the reasons why we strongly support your proposal, Mr. President.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2027th meeting, para. 272.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes, agenda item 76, document A/8631.

42. I should like to add that in the deliberations of the proposed committee we are hopeful, given the immense problems that the Secretary-General faces and the over-all problems of United Nations financing, that the committee will address itself particularly to the number of Secretariat personnel that might or might not be required for this Council to function. We are indeed an independent Council, and our judgement is that we should take a very fresh and penetrating look at what support is actually needed. One of the suggestions that appeals to us is that we might possibly meet in an African capital that has excellent conference facilities, which would include personnel as well as buildings. We should like to explore fully the potential of this Council's using to the maximum—and thus cutting down the expense—the facilities that might already be available in some of the capitals that have been mentioned by you, Mr. President. It has been our understanding in any event that the Council would not be asked to take a formal decision on these questions I have raised here before holding further consultations.

43. As members of the Council are aware, meetings of the Security Council are open to all delegations that wish to attend, and we believe that, should any delegations wish to observe the proceedings of the Council its visit in Africa, they also should be allowed to do so with no restrictions and with freedom of access and other freedoms that they normally enjoy when the Council meets here.

44. In addition, we believe that careful thought should be given to the type of agenda that the Council will have for its meetings, as well as to the timing and the points the President talked about—the duration and location of any meetings held in Africa. These are matters which could appropriately be handled by the committee.

45. We do not wish to prejudge the issue, but we feel that, particularly given the financial difficulties in which the United Nations already finds itself, and given other concerns to which we have alluded, we must be very clear about what obligations we should be incurring before we proceed to this decision.

46. And so, Mr. President, we strongly support your concept of a committee that will explore these things and report back to the Council, and we remain, as I said at the beginning, convinced that a series of Council meetings in Africa makes a great deal of sense, provided we can hammer out these details, which I think every member here is concerned about.

47. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): As this is the first time for the Sudan to participate in the deliberations of the Security Council as one of its members, may I be permitted on behalf of my Government to convey to the Council and to the membership of the United Nations, especially the African countries that have endorsed our nomination, our deep and genuine gratitude for the election of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to membership in the Council.

48. May I also state here, Mr. President, that our consciousness of the honour bestowed upon us is heightened by our awareness of the great responsibility that we have assumed. The Sudan being one of the three Council

members from the continent of Africa, we not only represent our country here—we are rightly expected to represent the larger concerns of our continent. I hope we shall be equal to the task.

49. Mr. President, it is auspicious that the first meeting of the Council this year should be under your presidency, especially when we convene to consider holding some of its meetings in Africa. You, Sir, have been a true representative of Africa, both within the United Nations and beyond. Your notable and varied achievements in this regard have been a source of pride for us, especially in my country, where Somalia has a special place in our hearts. Your Government, Sir, under President Siad Barre, has done a great deal to bring stability and prosperity to Somalia; President Siad Barre's progressive policy has served to bring our two countries still closer together and to heighten the hope that our co-operation will not only bestow its benefits on our countries but will go beyond them to the whole region. Somalia, which has played a significant role in the affairs of the African continent, will continue to do so with the determination and dignity that are the distinguishing characteristics of its people.

50. I shall go no further than yourself, Mr. President, for evidence of the truth of this. We both came to the United Nations as representatives of our countries in 1965. During the ensuing years ambassadors have come and gone. I left earlier this year and now that I return as representative of the Sudan to the Council it is a pleasure for me to find here a colleague and a dear friend. During these years you have assumed many responsibilities, as members of the Council are aware, and they would no doubt share our conviction that the term of your presidency of the Council will add to your record of achievement.

51. I should like at this juncture to express congratulations, on behalf of my delegation and my Government, to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, who assumes his post at a crucial time in the history of this Organization, when confidence in its efficacy has been seriously shaken. The Secretary-General can be an effective factor in restoring that confidence, and we have in Mr. Waldheim a man whose character and experience make him eminently suitable for this onerous task. We wish him success.

52. In June of last year the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its eighth session meeting at Addis Ababa, adopted a resolution calling for the convening of a special period of meetings of the Security Council in Africa.⁶ You may recall that this was the meeting that dealt with the incursions of Portuguese colonialists and mercenaries into the territories of independent African States; this was the meeting that considered the question of Namibia and resolved that the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity should lead a delegation of Foreign Ministers to a special period of meetings of the Security Council on Namibia. This was also the meeting, Sir, that upheld the principle of the non-admissibility of the occupation of territory by force

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, supplement for July, August and September 1971*, document S/10272.

and reaffirmed the solidarity of the African countries with the Arab Republic of Egypt in its positive attitude towards the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East.

53. That Assembly, Mr. President, in its serious concern with the problem of peace, determined that a special series of meetings of the Security Council should be held in Africa. The Assembly, in making that proposal, was acutely aware of the present threat to world peace as a result of the colonialist presence and of the colonialist predatory acts in the African continent. The reason for convening the Council in Africa was that this awareness should be made palpable to the members of this Council which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of world peace.

54. Any African capital, any African Government, should be proud to be host to the Security Council; the considerations that should influence the Council's decision as to which capital should have this honour have been adequately outlined in your statement, Mr. President. You have mentioned, Sir, that your consultations have indicated that the principle of holding Council meetings in Africa is acceptable to all members, and that they should be convened early this year. You have also proposed that a committee of the Council should be convened to consider the precise date and the venue and agenda for these meetings. I should like, on behalf of the Sudan delegation, to second that proposal.

55. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Sudan for the generous words he has addressed to the President.

56. Mr. HUANG HUA (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Today the Security Council is holding its first meeting in 1972. Allow me to express congratulations to the Somali Ambassador, Mr. Farah, on his assuming the presidency of the Security Council.

57. It is also my pleasure to congratulate Mr. Waldheim on his assuming the important post of Secretary-General of the United Nations upon his election by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session. I wish him success in his important work as Secretary-General.

58. In the new year, five Member States have joined the work of the Security Council. The Chinese delegation expresses its welcome to them and is ready to co-operate with them in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

59. Mr. President; I have listened carefully to your explanation of the result of the consultations on the holding of Security Council meetings in the capital of a certain African country. Mr. Farah has done a great deal of work in a short period and I admire him for his efforts and the positive results achieved.

60. Now I should like to make a few remarks on this question.

61. First, the United Nations Charter stipulates, in Article 28, paragraph 3, that: "The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgement will best facilitate its

work." At its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [*resolution 2863 (XXVI)*]. In support of the just struggle of the African countries and peoples to win national independence and safeguard State sovereignty, the Chinese Government fully approves the proposal in that resolution, by which the General Assembly invites the Security Council to consider the request of the Organization of African Unity concerning the holding of meetings in Africa and is of the opinion that the resolution should be implemented speedily. In our view, the holding of Security Council meetings in Africa is a matter of great importance. The Chinese delegation is ready to co-operate with all members and to make every effort in order that the Security Council, acting upon the principles of the Charter, may achieve results in opposing colonialism, opposing racial discrimination, and supporting the national independence movement in Africa.

62. In the second place, with regard to the place and time of the meeting, the Chinese delegation is of the opinion that the capitals of the four African countries mentioned in Mr. Farah's statement can all be considered. But judging from the present situation in Africa, Lusaka and Conakry are relatively the most suitable. It is only natural that at its meetings in Africa the Security Council should concentrate on the discussion of important problems facing Africa. Moreover, in order to carry out the General Assembly resolution speedily, the Chinese delegation maintains that the meetings should be held between the latter part of January and the early part of February.

63. In the third place, in view of the fact that the main purpose of holding Security Council meetings in Africa is to discuss in depth some urgent problems facing Africa, the Chinese delegation agrees that the agenda of these meetings should include, first, the question of Southern Rhodesia; second, sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; third, the question of Namibia; fourth, the question of *apartheid*; and fifth, support to the peoples in the non-independent regions in Africa in achieving national independence.

64. Finally, as this will be the first meetings of the Security Council to be held in Africa, we should exert every effort to make them a success. The Chinese delegation holds that the Secretariat should make every preparation as speedily as possible to ensure the success of the meetings. In preparing and organizing the meetings, the Secretariat should pay attention to having less and better-qualified personnel, raising working efficiency and economizing on expenses.

65. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): First of all, Mr. President, let me congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the first month of this year. I have complete faith and confidence in your leadership and I wish to pledge to you our whole-hearted co-operation during this month.

66. Also, it is a great pleasure for me to address my congratulations and warm welcome to the representatives and delegations of the new members of the Council: Guinea, India, Panama, Sudan and Yugoslavia. Japan looks forward to working in the closest possible co-operation

with them in the course of this year, in pursuing our noble duty of maintaining international peace and security.

67. I also wish to extend my warmest welcome to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We are confident that under his able guidance the United Nations will be able to solve many of the problems that are now facing it and will succeed in living up to expectations as the peace-keeping organization of the world.

68. Turning now to the agenda item before us, I shall very briefly explain the position of my delegation.

69. My delegation is in basic agreement with the idea of holding meetings of the Security Council in Africa, as we have indicated during the consultations that have taken place in the past week. At the same time, I should like to stress that, in order to ensure the success of those meetings, it is necessary to study and prepare most carefully, before we take a final decision, all practical aspects of the question, such as its financial implications, conference and communication facilities and hotel accommodation, to mention only a few, as well as the question of what agenda items should be taken up at those meetings.

70. With that in mind, we favour the establishment of a working group to study all these questions. In the view of my delegation, final decisions on meetings in Africa, including those on such questions as agenda, timing and place, should be deferred until after we have had an opportunity to examine the results of the study undertaken by the working group.

71. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to offer a hearty greeting to the members of the Security Council.

72. To you, Mr. President, we offer our most sincere congratulations on your assuming in this first month of the new year the delicate tasks which devolve upon the President. In beginning our work under your able guidance we are happy because we know that we have a serious and impartial statesman to guide our debates and an able diplomat who has already distinguished himself in a noteworthy fashion as one dedicated to the cause of world peace. I appreciate your kind words about my country and shall transmit them to my Government. We should like to record our gratitude to the Latin American countries for having unanimously supported our candidacy to fill this high post.

73. We want to extend our warm congratulations to the other new members—Guinea, India, Sudan and Yugoslavia—which, together with us, have today begun their term of office as non-permanent members of the Security Council. In the future, we should like to be able to continue to rely on the wise guidance of the delegation of Nicaragua, which during the past two years has rendered such valuable service to the Security Council under the able guidance of the doyen of the diplomatic corps in Washington, Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa. It will be particularly agreeable for us to share the representation of

the Latin American group of countries with the representative of Argentina.

74. We want to express a warm word of tribute to U Thant for the work that he has done, and we think that this is also the proper occasion to offer our full collaboration to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, with whom we fully associate ourselves in his concept of pursuing preventive diplomacy before conflicts and disputes erupt. We agree with his recommendation that we make more effective use of the Organization in order to resolve the controversies and tensions which afflict our peoples.

75. As he starts his five-year term of office as head of the Secretariat, we consider it advisable to give some thought to the responsibilities that fall upon this Organization, on which mankind has set such great hopes for the peace and security of the world.

76. Panama comes to the Security Council in a year of great changes and transformations. My delegation believes that with the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council, we have increased the possibilities of properly discharging the functions of maintaining peace and security in the world. This is the second time since the founding of the United Nations that my country has been elected a member of the Security Council, and we are fully aware of the honour and the great responsibility which this signifies. Now, just as twelve years ago, our delegation will attempt to work effectively and dynamically to promote co-operation and mutual understanding among States.

77. Panama, with a canal bisecting its territory, is a nation with an international vocation, whose inhabitants wish to have cordial relations of friendship with all the peoples of the world. The leader of the Revolutionary Government, General Omar Torrijos, is concerned to inject a sense of independence and dignity into our foreign policy, which leads us to view with optimism and confidence the historic destiny that awaits us.

78. In the Council we hope to come daily closer to the countries of the third world, which have problems similar to our own in respect of the defence of their independence, their national sovereignty and their territorial integrity. We shall always identify ourselves with them in the advancement of human rights and in the struggle against all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. We shall always be at the side of those countries which suffer and feel as we do, to press forward with dynamic development programmes.

79. Yesterday, we celebrated the eighth anniversary of the heroic day on which a great many of my compatriots laid down their lives and shed their blood in order to reaffirm our national sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone. On that occasion, at its 1086th meeting, the Security Council was apprised of the events that occurred in the Republic of Panama and concluded its discussion by deciding that the case should be maintained on its agenda for its consideration and it now appears as item 60 on the list of matters of which the Security Council is seized.

80. As is well known to the members of the Security Council, the Panama Canal Zone continues to be one of the most sensitive areas of international tension known to the world today.

81. In a communication distributed to Member States through the good offices of the Secretariat on 4 October 1971, Panama set forth its views on the bilateral negotiations that we have been conducting with the United States of America in order to work out a just and equitable treaty which would eliminate the sources of conflict.

82. We should like to state for the record that the present United States administration is making efforts to come to an agreement that will recognize the inalienable rights of my country in the Panama Canal Zone. However, my delegation considers that in order to ensure that world public opinion can assist in the solution of these problems it is necessary to keep it fully informed on the trend of events. For we should like to state forthwith that if these bilateral measures should fail, we shall not hesitate to have recourse to the Security Council and to make good use of the provisions contained in the United Nations Charter for the solution of this kind of dispute.

83. With respect to the agenda item dealing with a visit of the Security Council to Africa, I should like to state that my delegation voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2863 (XXVI) concerning the invitation from Africa to hold meetings of the Security Council in a capital of that continent. Now, my delegation would like to state that it is in favour of the convening of these meetings of the Security Council in an African capital that may be considered appropriate, and this with the shortest possible delay. Thus, we agree that a committee should be appointed to organize these meetings and to examine the financial, legal and political aspects of the whole proposal.

84. Panama considers that this practice of holding meetings of the Council away from Headquarters is a healthy and sound one, and we will carefully consider the possibility that next year meetings of this kind might be held somewhere in Latin America. For this purpose we now offer our capital city as the site of such meetings.

85. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council is today holding its first meeting of the year 1972. This meeting is taking place after the close of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is our deep conviction that the results of that session were unquestionably positive from the point of view of the interests of the peace-loving forces and from the point of view of those peoples who are sincerely fighting against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*—those anti-humanitarian and anti-human vestiges of the colonial past.

86. The General Assembly adopted a number of positive resolutions. We, the Soviet representatives, wish to express our great satisfaction at the fact that many of the General Assembly resolutions reflected the same positions of principle that were approved last year at the twenty-fourth Congress of our Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union, in its programme of peace and international co-operation.

87. Despite the active opposition of those who objected to the adoption of resolutions on the convening of a disarmament conference, on a number of aspects of disarmament, on the question of strengthening international security and on a number of other questions, some comprehensive resolutions of a positive nature were adopted on these matters. Of great importance also was the resolution adopted on the situation in the Middle East. It reaffirms the resolutions adopted earlier by the General Assembly and the Security Council, supports Ambassador Jarring's initiative and once again seriously raises the question of solving the Middle East problem in the near future in accordance with Council resolution 242 (1967) and on the basis of the principle, which has now become an international rule, of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, by means of war.

88. The Assembly also adopted important decisions on questions relating to the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. All this arms the Security Council, too, for further fruitful work in these most important international political areas.

89. Speaking for the first time in the Security Council in the new year, the Soviet delegation would like to begin by welcoming you, Mr. President, as the first President of the Security Council this year. The fact that you, the Permanent Representative to the United Nations of an African State, the Somali Democratic Republic, and a representative of the African continent, are the first to assume the high office of President of the Security Council in this new year seems to us symbolic. The Security Council is beginning its work this year with the consideration of questions connected with the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on the African continent. We know you as a stalwart fighter for the liberation of Africa and we are convinced that you, as President of the Security Council, will make an important contribution to the solution of these matters in the interests of the African peoples and in the interests of strengthening peace. At the same time, your great personal qualities and your vast experience and competence in United Nations affairs and in the problems relating to the struggle against colonialism will assist you to guide successfully the proceedings of this important body, which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. In welcoming you today, we should also like to note with satisfaction the friendly relations which exist between the Soviet Union and the Somali Democratic Republic in political, economic, trade, cultural and other areas. An important step in further strengthening and expanding these relations was the recent visit to the Soviet Union by the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic, Mr. Siad Barre. The Soviet-Somali communiqué of 19 November 1971 stated, *inter alia*:

"The Soviet Union and the Somali Democratic Republic reaffirmed their dedication to and support for the United Nations and declare their determination to bring about the strengthening of that Organization, the en-

hancement of its effectiveness, and the maintenance of universal peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter."

90. We are certain that our mutual co-operation here in this Organization in the spirit of that communiqué will be an important contribution to the cause of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for national independence and the strengthening of international peace and security. The Soviet delegation sincerely wishes you, Mr. President, success in your important office.

91. Today, for the first time, the representatives of the five new States members of the Security Council who were elected at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, are taking part in a meeting of the Council. We warmly welcome and congratulate them. They are the representatives of a fraternal socialist country, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; one of the largest countries of Asia, friendly to the Soviet Union, India; two friendly African countries, Guinea and the Sudan; and a Latin American country, Panama. The Soviet Union sincerely congratulates the representatives of these States members of the Security Council on their election to this important United Nations body and wishes them success in the discharge of the difficult but extremely honourable and responsible functions entrusted to the Council. We express the hope that the new members of the Security Council will make a positive contribution to the Council's work, to the cause of enhancing its role as the principal United Nations organ for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international security, and to the solution of the problems confronting the Council. We look forward to co-operation and mutual understanding with the new members of the Council, as this is so very necessary to the quest for ways and means of solving the problems that fall within the Council's competence. For our part, we are prepared to make every effort to ensure positive and fruitful co-operation with the new members of the Security Council.

92. The experience of the Security Council's work over the course of many years has shown that the main requirement for successful and effective work by the Council is strict compliance with the United Nations Charter. Throughout the existence of the United Nations there have been not a few instances when, for one reason or another, one part or another of the Security Council has tried to act in a way that was not in accordance with the Charter. This has produced unfortunate results for which, we are sad to say, the United Nations is still being forced to pay. Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: the more strictly the Security Council as a whole, and each of its members in particular, in its practical work for the strengthening and maintenance of international peace and security, is guided by the Charter and observes the Charter, the more effective and fruitful will be the results of the Council's work.

93. By the will of fate, and as a result of contemporary world developments, and also by the will of the majority of the Members of the United Nations, the Security Council is now concerned with the problem of decolonization. Since we attach great importance to this problem, we must of course give it our greatest attention, so that in 1972 the

Council will achieve good results in its work in this important international political area.

94. The Soviet delegation would also like to avail itself of this opportunity to express its appreciation and thanks to its colleagues, the representatives of those States which, upon the expiry of their term of membership in the Security Council, have left the Council. We refer to the representatives of the Polish People's Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic, Burundi, Sierra Leone and Nicaragua. We shall always remember with great satisfaction our joint work in the Council with the representatives of those countries.

95. The fraternal Polish People's Republic, a founding Member of our Organization, has always played an active and constructive role in international affairs, in the United Nations and elsewhere. The contribution of the Polish People's Republic to the solution of the international problems confronting the United Nations became particularly great when that country was elected a member of the Security Council. This has been so in recent years. We noted with deep satisfaction the constructive contribution made by the Polish delegation to the cause of strengthening peace and security as a member of the Security Council during the two-year period 1970-1971. We should particularly like to stress the role played by the representative of Poland in the Security Council, our friend and colleague Comrade Kułaga. His outstanding diplomatic capabilities, his vast experience, his erudition and his skill in establishing businesslike contacts with other representatives won Ambassador Kułaga the recognition and respect of the members of the Security Council. In discharging his responsible functions as a member of Security Council visiting missions to Africa and as President of the Security Council and a member of the Council, Ambassador Kułaga always devoted himself to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and to the cause of strengthening international peace and security.

96. We should also like to note the extremely important and useful role played by the representatives of the Afro-Asian countries, the Syrian Arab Republic, Burundi and Sierra Leone, in the Council's consideration of all questions, and particularly those relating to the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism in Africa and to the defence of the interests and sovereignty of the young Afro-Asian States against the intrigues of the imperialists and colonialists. The experience of working with the representatives of two young African States and the representative of the Arab State of Syria provided all of us with new and convincing first-hand proof that those States, having won their independence and sovereignty after a bitter struggle against imperialism and colonialism, have succeeded during a very brief period of time, partly through their participation in the work of the United Nations, in showing themselves to be sovereign States with an excellent understanding both of their own national interests and of the need to strengthen universal peace and security. The experience of working with their representatives has shown us that both the representatives of those States and the States themselves have sufficiently matured, if I may put it that way, and need neither mentors nor protectors. They

are sufficiently sovereign and independent to uphold the interests of their countries and peoples with honour.

97. We wish to express our appreciation to Mr. Tomeh, Mr. Terence and Mr. Taylor-Kamara for their personal contribution to the Council's work and for their co-operation and mutual understanding. Furthermore, we should also like to join those who have already expressed their appreciation to Mr. Taylor-Kamara for his active work as President of the Security Council under very difficult conditions in December of last year. To him, as President of the Security Council, there fell a somewhat complex task, but it may be said with complete confidence that he handled this task well.

98. We should also like to note the positive contribution made by the representative of the Latin American country of Nicaragua, Mr. Sevilla Sacasa, to the work of the Security Council. He displayed brilliant diplomatic capabilities and a broad political outlook during his recent term as President of the Security Council, and we express our great satisfaction and appreciation to him for his mutual understanding and co-operation.

99. At this first meeting it should also be noted that this is the first meeting in which the new Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, is participating. We have become accustomed during the past ten years to seeing U Thant in the Secretary-General's seat. We wish to pay tribute to U Thant for his tireless efforts to strengthen international peace and security and to develop friendly relations among States Members of the United Nations. We pay tribute to him, and we shall remember his long and very fruitful term of office in that high post.

100. We also offer our heartfelt wishes for success to his successor, the new Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. We are deeply convinced that his statesmanship, his vast diplomatic experience and his knowledge of the problems of the United Nations, all of which are the result of his long service as Permanent Representative of his country to the United Nations, give us every reason to believe that he is worthy of this high office. The Soviet delegation cannot but express its satisfaction also at the fact that it supported the candidacy of Mr. Waldheim, if I may put it that way, from the first day the last. We therefore have no need to change our position. We took a position of principle in this matter, throughout. We look forward to co-operation with Mr. Waldheim and are deeply convinced that if all Members of the United Nations, all members of the Security Council, including the permanent members of the Council support him in his many-sided and responsible work, Mr. Waldheim will be able to discharge his important functions in the crucial period which lies ahead. We offer him our heartfelt wishes for excellent health, because we know from the experience of his predecessor how important excellent health is for the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We therefore sincerely wish him excellent health and every success in his noble work of strengthening international peace and security and furthering co-operation among States and peoples.

101. Turning now to the item on the agenda, the delegation of the Soviet Union would like to express the

following views. From the very beginning we supported the important and useful initiative of the Organization of African Unity, which, as we see it, reflects the views and aspirations of all African States and their peoples, and of the whole African continent. We are referring to the proposal that the Security Council should hold meetings in an African capital this year, in the near future.

102. As members are aware, 113 votes were cast in favour of a resolution to that effect in the General Assembly, including, of course, the vote of the Soviet Union. The representatives of Zambia and Mauritania, who introduced this proposal in the General Assembly on behalf of 41 African States, reminded the Assembly—and all of us—of the deep conviction underlying the OAU decision on this question, which was adopted by the African Heads of State and Government in 1971 at Addis Ababa, that the question of holding a Security Council meeting in an African capital to discuss measures for the implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on decolonization and on the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination on the African continent was one of great importance and urgent necessity.

103. The sponsors of the resolution observed that the holding of meetings of the Council in an African capital within the framework of co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity would promote the further strengthening of relations between those two important international organizations. It was also noted that such a step by the Security Council would be a concrete manifestation of the interest of the Council, as the principal organ of the United Nations, in the problems of Africa. Such an action on the part of the Council would be a response not only to the faith of the Africans in the United Nations but also to the trust which the African peoples place in the United Nations.

104. The Soviet Union has consistently favoured, and continues to favour, making the Security Council more active, particularly as regards its leading role in the solution of the most urgent key questions confronting the world and the United Nations. For us, the question of holding meetings of the Council away from United Nations Headquarters is not new. As is well known, the Soviet delegation, as long ago as July 1960 and June 1965, spoke in favour of holding meetings of the Security Council away from United Nations Headquarters. The holding of such meetings by the Security Council would be fully in keeping with the United Nations Charter and with the Council's provisional rules of procedure. The pertinent article of the Charter has already been quoted by previous speakers. The United Nations will no doubt also remember the precedents that have been established. In 1948 and 1951, for instance, meetings of the Security Council were held away from United Nations Headquarters.

105. The Soviet delegation fully supports the view expressed by the representatives of African States that the holding of meetings of the Council in Africa would enable the Council to consider problems in which the African peoples have a particularly keen interest and which directly touch upon the problems of decolonization in Africa. We are convinced that meetings of the Council in Africa to

consider issues of direct concern to that continent would go a long way towards making the work of the Council more active. It would enable the Council to acquaint itself more closely with the concerns and aspirations of the people of Africa and with the actual situation in which modern Africa now finds itself. Furthermore, it would enable the Council to hear on the spot those persons it thought it appropriate to hear, who could provide the Council with important and useful information to give it a better understanding of modern Africa and the situation there.

106. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation supports the proposal of the African countries that meetings of the Security Council should be held in an African country and that such meetings should deal with the general problems relating to colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, which continue to threaten peace, security and stability on the African continent, and with the specific questions already referred to here in the course of today's exchange of views. We believe, in particular, that the Council's work at such meetings should be carried out in the light of and on the basis of the most important decisions of the Council itself and of the General Assembly directed against colonialism, *apartheid* and racism, and that it should also be based on such fundamental United Nations documents as the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted by the General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Union and which opened the way to active decolonization and to active participation by the United Nations in carrying out this great and historic task. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the Security Council must also bear in mind in its work that the principle of the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for their national liberation and independence has been recognized by the United Nations and has therefore become an international rule. This is one of the fundamental principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and we believe that the Security Council will bear this principle in mind and be guided by it in its work during the meetings in Africa.

107. The problems relating to the struggle against colonialism, *apartheid* and racism have become particularly acute in recent times. If those participating in the present meeting will direct their attention to the year which has just passed, 1971, and call to mind the agendas of the Security Council, they cannot fail to observe that these questions occupied a good part of the Council's time. This is particularly true of the strongholds of colonialism in Africa. The fundamental tasks in this area are the elimination of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and the immediate transfer of power to the authentic and lawful masters of the country, the Zimbabwe people. It is essential to put an end to Portuguese colonialism and to its oppression of the African peoples; it is essential that those peoples should in the near future win their freedom and independence; it is essential to put an end to the monstrous and inhuman terrorist policy and the practice of *apartheid*, as carried out by the racist régime of South Africa, which flouts the elementary human dignity of the Africans of that country. The many millions of indigenous inhabitants of South Africa must be freed from the slave-owning racist tyranny and the colonial oppression of the racist minority.

The people of Namibia must be liberated from foreign occupation and be given their independence, and must become a sovereign State.

108. These problems are becoming even more urgent in conditions where the colonialists and neo-colonialists are not only opposing the implementation of United Nations decisions in this area, but are also trying to launch a counter-attack. Recent events and the experience of the Security Council itself show that imperialism and colonialism, of which South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia are the vanguard on the African continent, will stop at nothing, including even direct acts of aggression against African countries. They are responsible for and have on their consciences acts of aggression against the Republic of Guinea and Senegal, the Republic of Zaire, the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, and against other African countries. The colonialists have not halted their destructive warfare, in which the blood of the best sons of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) is being shed. The Territory of Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the South African racists of Pretoria, is being used by them for acts of aggression against other African States. The sinister role being played by the racists of South Africa in helping Portuguese colonialism and Southern Rhodesian racism to suppress national liberation movements in southern Africa is hardly a secret to anyone.

109. All these questions should be within the Security Council's field of vision, and the Council should devote due attention to them during its meetings in Africa.

110. The Soviet Union, in its foreign policy, follows a consistent policy aimed at the liberation of all peoples from colonial rule and at the complete elimination of colonialism and racism. This policy was reaffirmed at the recent twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the programme of the struggle of our Party, Government and people for peace and international co-operation which was adopted at that Congress. The Soviet Union supports the full implementation of United Nations decisions concerning the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial régimes and the universal condemnation and boycott of manifestations of racism and *apartheid*, which should be wiped from the face of the earth like colonialism and imperialism themselves.

111. The Soviet Union fully supports the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the problems of southern Africa, and consistently implements them.

112. In view of all I have said, the delegation of the Soviet Union is strongly in favour of holding meetings of the Security Council in an African capital to discuss measures for the implementation of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions concerning decolonization and the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination on the African continent.

113. The Soviet delegation ventures to disagree with the doubts expressed at today's meeting by one speaker, and with his whole series of conditions and "ifs". I think that in

principle the Council should accede to the General Assembly's request and recommendation that it should hold meetings in Africa, and should not call that decision into question.

114. The Soviet delegation has no objection to the establishment of a committee, on the initiative and on the basis of the proposal of our President, in which all members of the Security Council would participate, to make preparations for and to discuss specific questions relating to the holding of meetings of the Security Council away from Headquarters.

115. Experience has shown, however, that sub-committees and committees are sometimes established in order to delay the implementation of ideas or even to kill them. The Soviet delegation, while supporting the President's proposal for the establishment of a committee and the fixing of a strict time-limit for the work of that body, wishes, at the same time, to make it quite clear that the committee should be appointed for constructive purposes, bearing in mind that a series of meetings of the Council must be held in Africa, and not in order to delay the realization of this idea or to kill it. With that approach in mind, and with that understanding, we do not object to the establishment of a committee.

116. The President of the Council in his introductory statement referred to two capitals, Conakry and Lusaka. The Soviet delegation is prepared to go to either of them to take part in meetings of the Security Council. Conakry and Lusaka suit me personally equally well, as I have been in both those cities. I have been in Conakry many times and in Lusaka once, and in both cases, as the saying goes, it was love at first sight. The Soviet delegation will therefore support the proposal to hold meetings of the Security Council in either capital.

117. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): It is a particular pleasure for me that the first act of participation of my delegation in the work of this important and august body of the United Nations gives me the most welcome opportunity to congratulate the representative of Somalia, my close friend Ambassador Farah, on assuming the very responsible post of President of the Security Council for this month, the beginning of a new year in the work of the United Nations and the Council. We all know of his deep dedication to the cause and the work of the United Nations and his personal contribution to the work of the Council. Anyone who has had the opportunity of following his activities to date, and especially in the closing weeks of last year's meetings of the Council, knows how fortunate we are to have the privilege of Mr. Farah's assistance and guidance during this first month of our work.

118. As many of our colleagues around this table have so fittingly pointed out, this is the first meeting of the Council since the esteemed representative of Austria, Mr. Waldheim, on being so impressively elected, became the new Secretary-General of the United Nations. In the place where Mr. Waldheim is now sitting we had the privilege of seeing for many years the distinguished previous Secretary-General, U Thant. We are all for ever indebted to U Thant,

whose services and contributions to this Organization, and indeed to the whole international community, constitute an inspiring example to all of us. There is no need for me now to speak of the qualities of the highest order of our new Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. Let me rather, in congratulating him again most warmly, add how pleased we are to have a representative of Austria, a neighbourly and neutral country with which we have such close and friendly relations, assume this extremely important position. I personally was privileged to be my country's Ambassador in Vienna just at the time when Secretary-General Waldheim was occupying a very high post in the Government of his country, and I shall always treasure the warm friendship and much-needed assistance he so generously extended to us. The dynamic way in which he has addressed himself to the awesome duties of his office, the clarity of the views he has expressed in his first statements and his well-known and long-standing devotion to peace, international co-operation and the solving of international problems by political, peaceful means speak for themselves. With the help of us all, I am confident, our new Secretary-General can infuse new energy, evolve new ideas and make a major contribution to the much-needed achievement of the work, prestige and influence of our Organization.

119. The United Nations remains, despite all its deficiencies, the only international organization in which, increasingly, the whole world is represented and where everyone can contribute to the general structure of peace and co-operation—and peace for all of us can be built only by all of us.

120. It is in that spirit that I should like, before referring to the item on our agenda, to say a few brief words about our feelings on attending our first meeting of the Security Council as one of its members. This is the third time Yugoslavia has had representatives seated in this chamber as a member of the Council and the first time since 1956, when representatives of Yugoslavia were seated in the Council for half a term. As a socialist, independent and non-aligned country, guided in its foreign policy by, *inter alia*, the principles of equal sovereignty of all nations, large and small, non-interference and respect for the territorial integrity of States, and as a founding Member of the United Nations, we are unswervingly devoted to the world Organization as the best instrument for peace and co-operation. During our term in the Security Council we shall, as in the past, do our best to contribute towards the strengthening of peace in the world and of security for all countries. We look forward to working together with all members of the Council towards that great goal.

121. I should like now to address myself to the question of holding meetings of the Council in an African capital. It is indeed an important matter. Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter states that "The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgement will best facilitate its work". Now we are to decide to implement the provision and to avail ourselves of that possibility for the first time since our Organization was definitively installed in New York. It is our firm belief that the time for this has come, and it is no accident that there is such strong support for having the first such historic meeting of our Council in

Africa, a continent with numerous members, whose participation in and contribution to our Organization is so great, a continent whose problems—many of them bearing so directly on world peace and security—have such an important place and figure so often on our agenda.

122. In our consultations with you, Mr. President, we have already indicated our support for holding meetings of this body in Africa early this year. Our delegation voted for General Assembly resolution 2863 (XXVI), by which, in paragraph 2, it:

“Invites the Security Council to consider the request of the Organization of African Unity concerning the holding of meetings of the Council in an African capital”.

123. In the first preambular paragraph of that resolution the General Assembly takes note of the request by 36 African States that those meetings should be held early in 1972 and, at the same time, the resolution mentions that the meetings of the Security Council should be “devoted solely to the measures to be taken with a view to implementing the various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on decolonization, the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination in Africa”.

124. We believe that all these problems are so pressing that they require our undivided attention and that there has been so much inexcusable delay in dealing with them

effectively that there is no reason to postpone unduly the first meetings of the Security Council in Africa, which are intended to indicate our collective political will and to show that the Council wants and is ready to cope with African problems on African soil.

125. In view of the growing importance for the maintenance of peace and security, as well as for the viability of our Organization, of giving consideration to the very serious colonial problems that exist, it is generally recognized and recommended that we should approach those problems with a sense of urgency.

126. As to the exact time and place of the meetings, we are, of course, quite prepared to go along with whatever the majority consensus is. The proposed committee will undoubtedly consider all relevant aspects of timing and venue, as well as other technical, legal, administrative and financial matters. In short, we are in favour of holding meetings of the Security Council—meetings that would be timely and as well-prepared as possible—in an African capital and of having those meetings related directly and meaningfully, in time, place and agenda, to the current pressing problems of Africa.

127. In conclusion, I should like to thank our President for his untiring work in bringing this matter to our immediate attention.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

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