



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

**1630<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 31 JANUARY 1972

ADDIS ABABA

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## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH MEETING

Held in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, on Monday, 31 January 1972, at 10 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/1630)

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 10.35 a.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Algeria has requested that the name of Algeria be included among those of Member States who have asked to be invited, under rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, to participate in the discussion of the question before the Security Council. This request is contained in document S/10601/Add.1.

2. I would therefore propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of Algeria to take the place reserved for him behind the Council table so that he may participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion of the item before it.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria) took the place reserved for him behind the Council table.*

3. The PRESIDENT: In addition, I wish to inform members of the Council that the representatives of Burundi and the Libyan Arab Republic also have sent a letter asking to be allowed to participate in the Council's discussion. That letter will be circulated as document S/10601/Add.2. I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Burundi and the Libyan Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them behind the Council

table to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion of the item before it.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. N. Tèrence (Burundi) and Mr. Y. Amrani (Libyan Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them behind the Council table.*

4. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council received this morning the revised text of the letter from the representatives of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan concerning the extension of invitations under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, contained in document S/10602/Rev.1. I should like to propose that the Council take a decision in principle to extend the requested invitations under rule 39 at the appropriate stage of the discussions, on the understanding that on each occasion the President would seek the consent of the Council to hear the statement of a person mentioned in the letter. Such a decision now will facilitate the scheduling of our work and the compilation of the list of speakers.

5. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I think that this is a very important question, the hearing by the Security Council of representatives of the national liberation movements of those Territories which are still under colonial domination. It would be advisable, therefore, in order to try to meet the wishes and proposals of the three delegations from African countries in the Security Council, to settle this question at today's meeting so that these people—the list submitted by the three delegations should contain the names of more than 10 representatives—might be given an opportunity to speak here. If such a decision was taken today, it would be easier for you to allocate time for their statements in the Security Council and it would not be necessary to divert the Council's attention in order to discuss this question each time any of these representatives wished to make a statement. I believe that it is better to settle this question today and give you the opportunity and the right to allocate time for their statements in the Council.

6. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): We have absolutely no objection to settling the matter now. We assume that if the Security Council agrees to hear these individuals it will, as the President said, do so under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, and then, inasmuch as these persons will be speaking as individuals, their identification by organization, as contained in document S/10602/Rev.1, will not appear in any records of the United Nations. That is compatible with rule 39.

7. The question I should like to ask the President is whether any other applications to be heard under rule 39 were received, and, if so, what the names of the applicants were. I think the members of the Council would be keenly interested in knowing whether applications were received from other persons who desired to be heard but who, it was felt, should not appear and withdrew their applications.

8. The PRESIDENT: It is the practice of the Security Council—this, in fact, is governed by rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure—to invite members of the Secretariat, or other persons, so that when an individual speaks before the Council he does so in an individual capacity and not necessarily as the representative of an organization.

9. The list which has been received from the representatives of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan and circulated in document S/10602/Rev.1 contains 13 names. These persons have contacted the three African members of the Council, and in the opinion of those African members all of them possess expertise or special knowledge which would assist the Council in its work.

10. As far as I am aware, no requests have been received from other individuals and turned down. However, this is a matter on which the three African members will no doubt wish to speak. But it is open to the Council to invite any person to speak before the Council. If a person wishes to speak, then, naturally, he should contact a Council member, and it is for the Council member to propose the person rather than for the person to apply to the Council for the right to be heard.

11. Since there appears to be no objection to the course of action I proposed, I take it that the Security Council agrees to extend invitations, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to the persons mentioned in document S/10602/Rev.1.

*It was so decided.*

12. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now continue its consideration of the item inscribed on the agenda. The first name on the list of speakers this morning is that of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire, Mr. Losembe, and I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

13. Mr. LOSEMBE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on the occasion of the first special series of meetings of the Security Council on African soil, permit me to extend to you, on behalf of the President of the Republic of Zaire, His Excellency Mobutu Sese Seko, my heartfelt thanks to you and to all the members of the Council for having accepted the invitation of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This acceptance demonstrates the interest of the United Nations in African problems, particularly in the situation created by *apartheid*, racism and colonialism. It also demonstrates its will to provide solutions in keeping with the aspirations of the African peoples. We are happy that this important event is taking

place in Addis Ababa, the cradle and symbol of African unity.

14. The problems you will be discussing have been of concern to the international community for many years. Once again, His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I recalled this when he expressed the hope that these problems will be solved as soon as possible, on the basis of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms [1627th meeting].

15. The Organization of African Unity, through the voice of its current Chairman, His Excellency President Moktar Ould Daddah, stressed the gravity of the situation when he asked the Security Council to take concrete measures to meet the hopes placed in it by the oppressed peoples [ibid.].

16. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted in 1960, the Secretary-General stated that there remained in the world some 40 Territories still under foreign domination, with more than 28 million human beings, more than half of them living in Africa.<sup>1</sup> We know that of these 28 millions, the majority are in Angola, in Mozambique and in Guinea (Bissau)—that is to say, in Territories under Portuguese domination.

17. In the 1960s all the colonial Powers in general granted independence to their former African colonies, thus keeping in step, willingly or not, with the march of history and with the spirit of the Declaration on decolonization adopted by the General Assembly.

18. Portugal, however, since it became a member of the United Nations, has been constantly flouting the Charter and violating with impunity the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council by brazenly claiming that its African colonies are an integral part of its territory. This wrong-headed position, condemned by international opinion, is still being fought energetically by the peoples concerned, aware as they are of their right to self-determination.

19. Since 1961 the United Nations has been concerned with the problem of Territories under Portuguese domination. Several bodies have been set up in this connexion; I should like to mention in passing the Committee of Twenty-four<sup>2</sup> whose Chairman made a statement from this rostrum [1629th meeting] which I hope has been closely followed by the Council.

20. Indeed Portugal is becoming ever more obdurate, refusing to let go of one single part of what constitutes the last bastion of colonialism on African soil, rejecting any political solution aimed at putting an end to the fighting in its Territories and shamelessly proclaiming its determination to stifle by force of arms the claims of the peoples under its domination.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1866th meeting, para. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

21. What is worse, Portugal is taking the struggle beyond the frontiers of the Territories under its administration. Today it is attacking the young neighbouring States: the Republic of Zaire, Zambia, Senegal, Guinea and the United Republic of Tanzania. Your Council has repeatedly been seized with complaints from these States against aggression and violation of their Territories by Portuguese armed forces.

22. But the question before us now is how Portugal, a poor State, can sustain such a costly and lengthy colonial war and on such a vast scale in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

23. My Government is paying particular attention to the Angolan liberation movements. Permit me to remind you here that at the last Summit Conference of OAU held in June 1971, and on the initiative of my country, a resolution was adopted requesting the Heads of State of the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Congo and Zaire to do everything in their power to bring about a reconciliation between MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola) and FNLA (Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola).

24. I would reaffirm here that the Republic of Zaire, for its part, is always ready to organize a meeting with a view to reunifying these two movements which are determined to free their Territories from Portuguese colonialism. Within this context we should like to express our pleasure at the reconciliation which is being brought about between the Zimbabwe fighters of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) and we very much hope that this example will be followed by the Angolan fighters.

25. The Republic of Zaire, not only for political reasons but also for economic reasons has every interest in seeing Angola soon becoming a free and independent State. Indeed, in order to avoid having to transport its products through Territories under Portuguese domination, my country has been making heavy investments in harbour and road facilities which will enable it to avoid being affected by any possible reprisals. The struggle for the liberation of Angola further compels us to shelter more than 600,000 Angolans, one-tenth of the whole Angolan population, thus increasing the already very heavy economic, social and other burdens which we have to sustain.

26. But whatever these burdens may be, the Republic of Zaire is determined to continue its assistance to the liberation movements and thus to honour its commitments as an African country and its commitments under the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

27. Portugal must now recognize the liberation movements and negotiate with them the independence of their countries. No other country—and I wish to make this abundantly clear—is empowered to negotiate on their behalf. Any attempt towards autonomy granted to traitors to the African cause can only compromise the future of those Territories. Our appeal, we hope, will also be heeded by the allies of Portugal.

28. The last decade has marked a turning point in the history of the African continent, which has seen some 30 young States accede to international sovereignty. However, Rhodesia, a colony under the administrative responsibility of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, is still opposing this current of the emancipation of peoples. A dominant white majority has rebelled and proclaimed independence in order to perpetuate the supremacy of some 200,000 whites over about 5 million Africans and thus prevent for ever the latter from taking over the government of their country and running their own affairs.

29. As far back as 1961 the British Parliament had approved a new constitution for Southern Rhodesia which in fact eliminated the powers which had hitherto been reserved to Her Majesty's Government, powers which still protected Africans against the discriminatory measures proposed by the Government of the white minority settlers. This was the first step taken by London in its betrayal of the Zimbabwe people.

30. On 28 June 1962, on the initiative of the Afro-Asian States, the General Assembly adopted its first resolution on Southern Rhodesia [*resolution 1747 (XVI)*]. In this resolution the Assembly affirmed that Southern Rhodesia was not an autonomous Territory. It also called upon the London Government to prepare a new constitution for Rhodesia, a constitution which would guarantee the rights of the majority on the basis of the principle of "one man, one vote", and to restore to the Africans all their rights.

31. But the United Kingdom never believed for a single moment that it was bound by any resolution of the United Nations on this subject. It has constantly challenged the competence of the international organization in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia. This attitude on the part of the Administering Power must be denounced on every possible occasion.

32. In order to divert international public opinion, the United Kingdom has been undertaking at calculated intervals so-called negotiations with the Salisbury régime. For our part, we have never been misled by such diversionary tactics designed to gain time for the rebel leaders of Rhodesia and to consolidate their régime.

33. The recent agreements between London and Salisbury,<sup>3</sup> which caused the indignant reactions of the Zimbabwe people in recent days in Rhodesia following the mission of inquiry by the Pearce Commission, are a striking proof of the lack of sincerity on the part of the British authorities towards the Zimbabwe people. Indeed, nothing could be expected from negotiations which are being undertaken on behalf of a people without its participation. From now on the Zimbabwe fighters in their struggle can count only on the moral and material support of Africa.

34. The Government of Zaire for its part remains convinced that the responsibility of the administering Power

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

remains total in Rhodesia. It considers that the time has come for the United Kingdom to take appropriate measures to restore the rights of the majority African people, who have also just rejected by their well-known demonstrations the Anglo-Rhodesian agreements.

35. On 21 June 1971 the International Court of Justice handed down its well-known advisory opinion in the matter of Namibia,<sup>4</sup> thus confirming the General Assembly resolution of 27 October 1966 [resolution 2145 (XXI)], which put an end to the Mandate of South Africa over this Territory and placed it under the direct responsibility of the United Nations and appointed a Committee to take charge of its administration.

36. Most of the Members of our Organization believed that this opinion of the Court would open the way to a settlement of the Namibian question. However, there has been no change. On the contrary, indeed, new discriminatory measures have been taken, thus strengthening the power of the illegal South African régime in this Territory. Namibia has been simply and purely annexed and subjected to an *apartheid* régime.

37. In the view of my delegation, South Africa having failed to abide by its responsibilities under the United Nations Charter, it is now up to the United Nations to live up to its own responsibilities by rendering moral and material assistance to our Namibian brothers to enable them to recover their rights to freedom and self-determination. This is its duty under the Charter.

38. In this respect the proposal made here by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, His Excellency Moktar Ould Daddah, is obviously a vital necessity. The permanent members of the Security Council should take over directly the administration of Namibia to lead it to total independence. The great Powers cannot any longer shirk their responsibilities.

39. However, we must recognize that the considerable interests of these Powers in South Africa link them closely with the policy of the Pretoria Government. It is with bitterness that we have to face the facts: South Africa is by no means disturbed in its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of *apartheid* is being applied with growing severity. That policy—and this can never be over-emphasized—is only a very short-term view of the future of our continent.

40. The prospects of the South African economy make it necessary for its development to integrate the African peoples within the chain of production and distribution. To ensure this, the requirements of education, job training, social integration, mobility of labour within the different professional categories and the complementing of intelligence and goodwill all must be met and satisfied.

41. However, the most enlightened economists are apprehensive about a purely technical analysis like this—even if it

should force *Homo economicus* to get closer to each other. It is indeed consummate cynicism to consider human beings as simple spokes in the vast wheel of development.

42. As we have seen, economic requirements would be sufficient in themselves to condemn *apartheid*. But there is more: African authenticity. We call "African authenticity" the complex of cultural, moral, philosophical and, indeed, ethical values which have made it possible for the African peoples to pass through the ages, and which, today more than in the past, have made them resolutely set their foot on the path of universal civilization. These values which have made it possible for us to survive for thousands of years are also a guarantee of progress, that is to say, of our dynamic participation in the future of mankind. The immense contribution of African civilization, in what is most unique and authentic about it, is undeniable. To wish to pen this civilization into reserves as is being done by the Pretoria Government, on the false pretext of separate development, is to run counter to all the unifying trends of our time and is a preparation for a painful awakening.

43. That is why the Republic of Zaire, in the face of the negative attitude of Pretoria, refuses to undertake any dialogue with South Africa. *Apartheid* is a moral, economic and philosophical aberration and can lead only to conflicts whose scope and dimensions we cannot even conceive.

44. The meeting of the Security Council in Addis Ababa is an event of vital importance for the future of this continent, because upon the results of this meeting depend the destiny of tens of millions of Africans who still groan under the yoke of colonization, whether avowed or not. Fighting Africa has its eyes turned towards you.

45. On behalf of my delegation I would like to express the hope that this meeting will not be considered by posterity as a simple historical or touristic fact or event, but rather that it will leave its imprint on African soil. We hope that, by the nature of the decisions to be taken, it will mark a positive contribution on the part of the United Nations to the cause of the Organization of African Unity, that is to say, to the struggle which we have the duty to wage against humiliation, exploitation, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

46. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uganda to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

47. Mr. KIBEDI (Uganda): Mr. President, permit me to express my gratitude to you and to all members of the Security Council for acceding to our request to be allowed to address you on some of the most momentous and burning issues of our time. Permit me to observe, too, that it is only proper and fitting that for its historic series of meetings on African soil the Council should be presided over by such an illustrious son of Africa as yourself.

48. We appreciate the gesture of the Security Council in agreeing, in a historic move, to meet on African soil to discuss the urgent and sore problems that afflict this continent. Certainly, the choice of Addis Ababa was a sound one, as not many African capitals can boast of such a

<sup>4</sup> *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.*

long history of heroic struggle and ultimate triumph against the forces of foreign domination as Addis Ababa; nor is the proverbial hospitality of the great Ethiopian people, as fully expressed through His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I, easy to surpass.

49. It is fundamental to this series of meetings to ask: why has the Security Council decided to come all the way to Africa instead of passing resolutions on Africa in New York as it has always done? Is the purpose of meeting in Africa to give a symbolic demonstration of its concern for the African problems of decolonization and racial discrimination? If that were so without anything more, it would be of no avail; on the contrary, it might cause some disillusionment among the oppressed millions of Africa whose hopes, having been raised by the long journey of the Security Council to Africa, would soon be destroyed on the discovery that it has no intention of implementing in concrete action any of the relevant resolutions affecting their well-being.

50. It cannot be that the Security Council could come all this way for no other purpose than passing a number of resolutions whose only significance would be appearance in the world press followed by only silence. As the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania pointed out the other day [1627th meeting], already 128 resolutions on decolonization affecting this continent have been passed by the Security Council and the General Assembly. All that has been done in New York. For the mere passing of resolutions, therefore, it was not necessary for the Council to come here. The Council's series of meetings in Africa, on this continent long afflicted with grave injustices born of imperialist exploitation and racial intolerance, must be not merely to pass resolutions—those are already passed—but to take some concrete and bold steps towards translating the resolutions on decolonization and *apartheid* into action and by so doing not only do justice where it is due but also restore the shaken confidence of the world in the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council.

51. The departure of this Council at the close of this series of meetings must ideally mark the beginnings of a new and higher level of realization, by those in this Council who shoulder the responsibility, that if mankind is to survive it will not do so half free and half in bondage; that the injustices done to the weak have through history progressively led to destruction of human lives in senseless wars among the strong. Let it not be recorded by history that the Security Council at a historic session held on the African continent, far from having gone to decide on taking steps to implement its resolutions on African problems, in reality went for an African safari to savour the tropical sunshine and the exotic splendours of the tropics while it was snowing in New York.

52. It is not my intention to go through all the problems of decolonization in Africa or the abhorrent doctrine of *apartheid*. The records of the Security Council are full to the brim with not only facts but resolutions by the Council on them. It is the view of my delegation that this Council must now decide to take action to implement all those resolutions. Let me outline briefly the problem areas one by one.

53. The first one is Rhodesia. The views of my Government have already been extensively communicated to the Council by our Permanent Representative in New York. We have strongly held the so-called proposals for a settlement<sup>5</sup> to be totally unacceptable to the African masses in Zimbabwe. The so-called test of acceptability has run into grave problems. However, one must admit that the Pearce Commission has eminently succeeded in one thing, that is, in disclosing to the entire world the overwhelming opposition of the vast majority of Zimbabwe people to the Smith-Home proposals for a settlement. The opposition has been massively demonstrated not only by Africans but also by whites such as the former Premier of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Garfield Todd, and his daughter, who have had to be detained because they have dared to express their opposition to these proposals.

54. The ruthlessness and total disregard for human life which the Smith régime has shown in suppressing the free expression by African masses not only must be condemned but must also be recorded along with many other defects and evil practices which disqualify that régime from the leadership of Zimbabwe.

55. It is now imperative that the resolutions this Council has hitherto adopted on Southern Rhodesia be implemented, particularly resolution 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, which *inter alia*:

*"Calls upon the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power in the discharge of its responsibility, to take urgent and effective measures to bring to an end the illegal rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960."*

56. There has never been any doubt that the United Kingdom has the primary responsibility for Rhodesia. It claims it; and this Council recognizes it. However, what has been in doubt, what has never been resolved and now must be clearly determined, is the nature and extent of authority the United Kingdom has over Rhodesia. On the one hand, it claims it is its domestic responsibility, and rightly so, just as it has had responsibility for many a former colony on this continent and elsewhere. Yet, on the other hand, when pressed to exercise its full responsibility and authority over the rebellious régime of Ian Smith, it claims its authority is limited since it granted self-government to Rhodesia as long ago as 1923. This implies—an implication fortified by conduct—that the United Kingdom regards its authority in Rhodesia as insufficient to quell the rebellion.

57. We all know that, legally, the United Kingdom has the necessary authority to impose or revoke the constitution of a colony at any stage in its evolution short of independence. Therefore it must consent to exercise these powers in Rhodesia and take immediate steps to grant a constitution acceptable to the majority. If, on the other hand, it feels it cannot do so, politically or otherwise, then from

<sup>5</sup> See foot-note 3.

that time on the Security Council must assume full responsibility for Rhodesia and it must take steps to liberate the people of Zimbabwe from a minority racial dictatorship and grant them self-determination. That is the monumental task, the naked truth that this Council must face. The alternative is to take no action, to pass resolutions condemning Smith but in practice, by taking no action, to grant him time to consolidate his position. In addition, sanctions directed at Ian Smith's régime must not be slackened merely because of a prolonged state of affairs that gives him some *de facto* control over Rhodesia. To trade with the racist régime of Rhodesia is to give Smith and his henchmen strength, and no responsible member of this Council can gainsay the fact that it would be a betrayal of our collective responsibility, especially with regard to any of us who claim positions of leadership in the world community of nations. However, it has been demonstrated that sanctions provide no effective solution to the rebellion. Indeed there is no short cut to physical intervention by force to topple the racist régime of Ian Smith. Failure on the part of this Council to face up to that would be to discredit the role of the Council, which, because of the misuse of the veto by some of its permanent members, a distinguished British scholar of international law, the late Professor Brierly, described as a body that can neither decide nor act.

58. The United Kingdom has in the past ruled the largest empire this planet has ever witnessed. Over a period of nearly four centuries its empire has evolved, through well-known constitutional stages, to independent States. It made one exception in giving South Africa independence in 1910 when it was administered by a minority racist régime. The rights of the vast majority of the Africans were entrusted, as in the present Rhodesian proposals, to so-called entrenched clauses. The success of *apartheid* in destroying those constitutional safeguards should suffice to show that it is useless to expect Smith, who has already abrogated a constitution, to honour one which may bear, however remotely, any semblance of a threat to his minority rule. It is noteworthy that for the first time in 400 years the United Kingdom is not prepared to use force to suppress rebellion in a colony. With the exception of the American war of independence, in which the original 13 American colonies by force of arms defeated the British Army, the United Kingdom has never tolerated any colonial rebellion. Clive and Warren Hastings fought to subdue the princely states of India whenever they asserted independence. Boer wars were fought in the late nineteenth century to stop the Afrikaners' unilateral declaration of independence in South Africa. In Kenya the Mau Mau revolution was ruthlessly quelled to reassert British rule.

59. It is therefore our demand that, in accordance with this tradition, the United Kingdom must intervene in Rhodesia and do the following: (a) re-establish effective control over the administration of the Territory; (b) without loss of time, organize, as it has done before for all its former African colonies, a time-table for the attainment of independence; (c) re-affirm that independence in Rhodesia shall be on the basis of majority rule; (d) withdraw the Smith-Home proposed settlement in the light of its total rejection by the black masses of Rhodesia, and because it is patently unjust and designed to perpetuate minority rule in

Rhodesia; and (e) put an immediate stop to the brutal force and senseless death which is being daily inflicted upon the Africans as they exercise their rights of speech and assembly, and release political detainees. If the United Kingdom cannot take these steps, then it must surrender all its responsibilities and authority to the Security Council.

60. Turning now to the question of Namibia, it is a sad commentary on our times that the international community should feel helpless in the face of blatant violations of its professed ideals for self-determination, by a ruthless greedy racist régime in Pretoria. The merciless exploitation that goes on in Namibia by South Africa and other foreign interests is too well known to members of this Council for me to recount in detail. The question you must answer now as you sit on African soil is this: What steps can you, the Security Council, take to enforce the numerous resolutions you have adopted on Namibia?

61. In particular, we recall resolution 301 (1971) of 20 October 1971, by which the Council endorsed the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>6</sup> as expressed in its paragraph 133, which stated, among other things:

"that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory;"

62. We are alive to the sad reality that not only has South Africa refused to withdraw from Namibia, but it has in fact strengthened its venomous grasp on that territory. It must be admitted that short of physical presence by the forces of this Council in Namibia, South Africa will not quit. But we know that were it not for South Africa's friends giving it moral and material support, it would not long resist.

63. It is therefore appropriate to recall once again paragraph 133, subparagraph 2, of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, which the Security Council endorsed in New York and which states:

"that States Members of the United Nations are under obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of or concerning Namibia, and to refrain from any acts and in particular any dealings with the Government of South Africa implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to, such presence and administration;"

64. Any trade, any investment or other dealings by any Member State with South Africa in relation to Namibia detracts from the force and substance of that worthy resolution.

65. The Uganda delegation therefore proposes that in the case of Namibia this Council must take the following steps: (a) implement in concrete action its resolutions on Namibia; (b) in order to ensure direct, physical intervention in Namibia by United Nations forces and representatives, enforce the ruling of the International Court of Justice in

<sup>6</sup> See foot-note 4.

expelling the racist régime of South Africa from Namibia; (c) organize political machinery that will enable the people of Namibia to attain independence through self-determination; (d) ensure compliance by all States for the attainment of these objectives; and (e) ensure that foreign business interests operating or intending to operate in Namibia do not prejudice the Council's efforts to expel South Africa from that Territory.

66. I come now to the question of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), which are the Portuguese colonial Territories. It is the ardent hope of the Uganda delegation that this Council will find a way of implementing its resolutions on those Territories—in particular, a way to dissuade the allies and friends of Portugal from giving that poor country the material assistance it must have to maintain its tenuous hold on Africa. The fiction that those African Territories are part of European Portugal is so totally absurd that it must be rejected without any question. We salute the freedom fighters in those Territories and commend them to the assistance of this Council in the promotion of their just struggle to attain self-determination and their rightful independence.

67. As for *apartheid*, no deliberations of this Council on African soil would be complete without re-examining what steps should be taken to eliminate *apartheid* and racial intolerance in southern Africa. The shameless denial of elementary human rights to the African masses, the depth of human degradation, the high degree of brutality and poverty that is daily the lot of millions of Africans, cry out to humanity for alleviation and reform in southern Africa. Instead of talking to the oppressed black people of South Africa, the racist régime of South Africa has proposed a so-called dialogue with the black independent States. That is nothing but a swindle, and that is why it has been rejected by the Government of Uganda in conjunction with the overwhelming majority of the black independent States of the African continent.

68. A glance at document S/INF/26, of 18 January 1972, containing the text of resolutions adopted by the Security Council on African questions, shows that the Council has been seized of the question of racial conflict and *apartheid* in South Africa since 1 April 1960. Over a period of nearly 12 years this Council has adopted numerous resolutions condemning *apartheid* in its various forms and demanding that South Africa abandon those policies.

69. Yet, it is well known that South Africa over this period has gone from strength to strength; its economy, based on abundant African semi-slave labour, has boomed, and many members of this Council have had lucrative business with it. It is the duty of this Council, particularly of those members which have close ties with South Africa, to re-direct their priorities and use their economic power to force South Africa to change its policies. It is imperative to resolve the moral issue by positively denouncing *apartheid*, and having the conduct of States guided by this basic view in all their business dealings. This would not only be fulfilling a just need for the millions of oppressed Africans, but it would ultimately be in the best interests of those States that wish to continue business with South Africa on a long term basis.

70. This world, because of the forces unleashed by technology, is increasingly getting closer; we are all becoming more inter-dependent every day. We are all increasingly seeking a common standard of values, not only in the conduct of our international relations but also within our national jurisdiction.

71. The international community in the twentieth century holds the basic consensus that all men must be free to determine their destiny; that it is contrary to accepted norms of conduct for a State to practise such an intense doctrine of racial degradation and separation as the racist régime of South Africa does.

72. The United Nations, above all the Security Council, is the very embodiment and expression of mankind's basic values. Humanity looks upon you to uphold and fulfil its yearning for a better world. It is our earnest hope that you will rise to the occasion and translate, or at least begin positively to translate into concrete action the hundreds of resolutions that have been adopted. Today Africa looks to the Security Council not for words but for action.

73. In summing up, we must reaffirm that the imperialist and racist forces that are now oppressing the African peoples in southern Africa would be deceiving themselves if they thought that the black people would always remain docile and never rise up in arms to attain their rights. The masses of Zimbabwe and of Namibia have now risen in defence of their inalienable rights. The only way a racial holocaust can be avoided in southern Africa is for the Security Council to prevail upon the racist forces operating in southern Africa to give up and to concede the rights of the African peoples there.

74. The attention of the entire world is focused upon your efforts, Mr. President, and that of the Security Council, in Africa, on Africa. I wish the Security Council fruitful and constructive deliberations in its historic session on our mother continent.

75. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

76. Mr. ELINAWINGA (United Republic of Tanzania): The decision of the Security Council to hold a special series of meetings in Africa has not failed to attract the attention of the Governments and the people of this continent. It is logical that the Council should be having its meetings to discuss African problems on African soil, not far from the theatre of racist imperialist suppression in Rhodesia and South Africa; near Namibia, where the South African Fascist régime forcibly continues to occupy that international Territory; and, finally, in this continent which continues to suffer from the arrogance of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau).

77. Africa constitutes one third of the United Nations membership. We are in a unique position in the modern world. Is it not a fact that the greatest concentration of moribund colonialism still remains in our continent? How about the policies of *apartheid*, aggression, occupation, humiliation and denial of fundamental human rights



through a policy of fascism perpetrated against our people? Should the international community not take effective, appropriate and efficient action to resolve them? It is the belief of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania that adequate steps have to be taken and that this is no longer the time for oratory and phrase-mongering.

78. Guided by this spirit, I shall be very brief. The Security Council has all the information material and assessments to come out of these meetings as a friend of the African people. It must strive to uphold the cause of justice and adhere to the fundamental principles and provisions of the Charter, which, to our knowledge, have never supported or tolerated aggression, colonialism, occupation, racial discrimination, repression. Nor can the Charter be reconciled with the persistent rejection of the Council's directives as manifested by the arrogant refusal of the Fascist-colonialist régimes of southern Africa and Portugal to abide by any of the Council's decisions and pronouncements. There is a danger that unless the Council comes out with ways and means of implementing its voluminous decisions, that confidence which mankind may still have in the Security Council, will disappear never to appear again.

79. Tanzania believes that the Council's attention of necessity should be directed towards the effective implementation of all the relevant General Assembly and Security Council decisions on Rhodesia, Namibia, the Portuguese colonies, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

80. On Rhodesia, we have time and time again warned the United Kingdom Government that it cannot abdicate its responsibilities as the administering Power of that territory. The situation in this British colony is grave indeed. The British Government must be asked immediately to abrogate the much-hated Home-Smith betrayal in the so-called proposals for the so-called settlement. If some section of the international community had any doubts last November as to the African attitude on the so-called proposals, events in the colony have amply vindicated the total African opposition to the British Government's manoeuvres. The Pearce Commission has witnessed sufficient evidence of the total rejection by the people of Southern Rhodesia of this sell-out. It is futile for the British Government to pretend that that has not taken place. Her Majesty's Government must withdraw the Pearce Commission immediately. Furthermore, it must take steps to crush the Smith rebellion, restore normalcy in the colony and transfer power in accordance with the universal principles, enabling power to be freely exercised by the majority, and not to impose a minority racist régime on a people which, like any other human beings, is determined to resist until final victory.

81. While on this question let me address a few words to our colleagues of the United Kingdom. We know you have the veto. You have already used it and no doubt you will make full use of it in the future. But has it ever occurred to you that a veto does not, cannot and will not compromise the determination of Africa to free Rhodesia? Rhodesia shall be free, for Africa is determined that it should be free.

82. We are in full agreement with the suggestion which has already been made on our behalf by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, His Excellency

President Ould Daddah [1627th meeting]. I am referring to the international territory of Namibia, which is the responsibility of the United Nations and hence of your Council, which is charged with the primary responsibility of the maintenance of international peace and security. The United Nations should without further delay immediately take over the administration of Namibia. We therefore call on the Council to pronounce itself here and now on African soil on this suggestion by the Organization of African Unity.

83. The continued occupation of Namibia by the Fascist *apartheid* régime of South Africa is a clear example of the dangers inherent in the failure of the world community to deal effectively and unambiguously with the régime so outrightly condemned by all the freedom and peace loving peoples of the world. However, the fact that South Africa still continues to defy the world body with impunity in itself manifests the collaboration between the régime and the international monopoly capitalists for the exploitation of the human and natural resources of that vast African territory. Thus we find that these monopolist capitalist imperialist interests have always sought to frustrate appropriate measures designed to remove the forcible occupation of Namibia by the South African minority régime contrary to all the Council's decisions. Should the Security Council tolerate this sad state of affairs? My delegation believes that the distinguished members of this august body should draw the necessary conclusion and do the needful. South Africa has to be expelled from Namibia. It is there illegally, forcibly and arrogantly.

84. We support the proposition that the time has come for South Africa and the Lisbon authorities to be forced to come to reason. Meeting on African soil, your Council Mr. President, has already had an opportunity to feel the despicable role Portugal and South Africa play in our continent. These régimes constitute a permanent threat to our peace and security. They pursue a policy of aggression. They deny the humanity of man. They attack and menace the peace and stability and territorial integrity of free African States. Lisbon and Pretoria have no respect for the United Nations and through their mischief have given ample proof of their utter disloyalty to the Charter. Are these insufficient grounds to expel Portugal and Pretoria from our Organization? If so, we in Africa shall be grateful to hear from the distinguished members of the Council what criterion prevails for the continued tolerance and membership in the United Nations of these two outlaws, who stand condemned before the bar of world public opinion.

85. It is not my wish to prolong your deliberations, since we require action and not moral pronouncements. Africa has time and again invited the NATO Powers who sustain our oppressors and the United Nations, which has the role of ensuring a peaceful and just world, to join us in our efforts to erase the colonialist and racist menace from the continent. We prefer peaceful solutions to these problems. You, distinguished gentlemen, can help us achieve that. But we wish to reiterate before this noble rostrum that the cause of our liberation is not merchandise on which we can barter. We shall fight. Africa will fight. No matter how long it takes, and notwithstanding the sacrifices involved, we shall not compromise. We are fighting for justice. Our cau

is your cause. It is to uphold the provisions of the Charter. We invite you to join us in this struggle, which is our struggle and your struggle. We invite the NATO Powers as well as the Western monopolies to discard their consideration of short-term, misguided interests. We invite the United Kingdom and France and those who still persist in doing so contrary to United Nations decisions to desist from arming these régimes. If they genuinely prefer friendship with the African continent, they are invited to be on the side of justice. Finally, we invite the Security Council and, through you, Mr. President and eminent statesmen, the entire international community, to offer maximum material, moral and general unconditional support to the liberation struggle, which, after all, is our common fight against the enemies of our Charter.

86. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): First of all, allow me to express sincere thanks to the Ethiopian Government for providing facilities for the holding of the current meetings of the Security Council in Africa. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend cordial greetings and high respects to His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I, to his Excellency President Moktar Ould Daddah, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, and to the fraternal Ethiopian people and the entire African people.

87. At the request of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations has decided to hold in Africa special meetings of the Security Council to discuss the urgent questions with which Africa is confronted. This is the first time that the Council is holding meetings in Africa in the 27 years since the founding of the United Nations, and it represents a victory for the African countries struggling to win and safeguard national independence. The Chinese delegation is glad to see the holding in Africa of meetings of the Council and hopes that they will make their due contributions.

88. The Chinese delegation has listened carefully to the important speeches made by His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I and President Ould Daddah, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization, and the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia as well as the Foreign Ministers and representatives of many African countries. Now the Chinese delegation would like to make the following observations.

89. First, in the 27 years since the Second World War, the face of Africa has undergone tremendous changes. The African continent is one of the cradles of world civilization, and the industrious and talented African people have made outstanding contributions in the creation of ancient world cultures. With the invasion of European colonialists in the fifteenth century Africa was unfortunately reduced to an object of plunder by the colonialists, who enslaved the African people and traded in "negro slaves", and Africa became a "paradise of Western adventurers", trampled upon and carved up at will by the imperialists. It should be pointed out that it is the blood and sweat of the African people that nurtured modern capitalism in its early dawn. Imperialist and colonialist oppression and exploitation brought dire calamities to the African people and plunged

Africa into darkness for a long period of time. But where there is oppression there is resistance. The heroic African people have never yielded; they have launched wave upon wave of resistance against imperialist and colonialist invasion and rule, and thus written brilliant chapters in the history of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the people of the world. Now, the tide of history has changed. After the Second World War the political consciousness of the African people rose and the national independence movements on the African continent mounted as they had never done before, and a series of countries won independence one after another. Africa, which was for long slanderously called the "dark continent" by the western colonialists, has become today a forefront ablaze with the struggle against imperialism.

90. Secondly, the present situation in Africa is very good. Those countries that have won independence are waging persistent struggles to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, consolidate national independence and safeguard State sovereignty, eliminate colonialist forces and develop national economy and culture, and are winning continuous victories. More and more African countries are becoming further united to oppose jointly the aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying by imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. At the international forums of the third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the representatives of many African countries, together with those of small and medium-sized countries of other continents, strongly voiced the opposition of the Third World to the power politics and hegemony of the super-Powers. The eighth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity adopted anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist resolutions opposing the activities of mercenary troops in Africa, protecting the national resources of the African continent and its coastal waters and advocating the eradication of colonialism in Africa. African countries are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. In areas which have not yet gained independence, mass struggles against colonialist rule and racial discrimination and for winning national independence are developing vigorously. The armed struggles in many areas are growing in depth. At present, the national liberation movement in Africa is converging with that in Asia and Latin America to form a powerful torrent of revolutionary struggle pounding the reactionary rule of imperialism. The development of the situation in Africa is eloquent proof that it is an irresistible historical trend of the world today that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution.

91. Thirdly, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are not reconciled to their defeat in Africa and are trying to stage a come-back; and social-imperialism is actively infiltrating into Africa in an attempt to contend with colonialism and neo-colonialism for spheres of influence. While engaging in political deception, they are either buying over traitors to carry out subversive activities and undermine the independence of African countries, or organizing mercenary troops to commit flagrant armed invasion, or employing

these different tactics at the same time. Their scheming and disruptive activities are seriously threatening the independence and security of the African countries. This is an urgent problem Africa is now faced with. At the same time, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, are giving political, economic and military aid to the white racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and to the Portuguese colonialist authorities, and supporting them in forming a reactionary military alliance for the joint suppression of the national liberation struggles of the people of Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies, in an attempt to perpetuate their colonialist plunder of southern Africa and to direct military threats and armed provocations against neighbouring independent African countries. This is another urgent problem now facing Africa.

92. Fourthly, according to the purposes and principles of its Charter, the United Nations should support the African people's just cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and winning and safeguarding national independence. However, as a result of obstruction and disruption by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the United Nations in the past failed to play the role it should, but instead did things detrimental to the desires and interest of the African people. It was under the flag of the United Nations that imperialist aggressors overthrew the legitimate government of the Congo in the early days of its independence, which was led by its national hero Lumumba. And Lumumba himself was murdered in cold blood. It is not useless to review this bitter historical lesson today when the African people are facing the tasks of a grave struggle. The United Nations must not be allowed to do anything again to harm the interests of the African people.

93. Fifthly, in 1964 the Chinese Government announced the five principles guiding its relations with African countries. They are: in the first place, to support the African peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence; in the second place, to support the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the Governments of the African countries; in the third place, to support the desire of the African peoples to achieve unity and solidarity in the manner of their choice; in the fourth place, to support the African countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation; finally, the Chinese Government holds that the sovereignty of African countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed. The Chinese Government has unswervingly abided by the above five principles. It firmly maintains that scheming activities by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to undermine the independence and sovereignty of African countries must be checked effectively, and that the white racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialist rule must be brought to an immediate end, so that the people of Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), and so forth, may achieve national independence free from any outside interference.

94. The heroic people of Zimbabwe have won the sympathy and support of the revolutionary people throughout the world for the mammoth demonstrations and protests which have recently spread to all parts of the country against the so-called "agreement" between the United Kingdom and the white racist régime of Rhodesia and for winning national independence. As is known to all, the Rhodesian white racist régime is a direct outcome of the British colonialist policy, and the so-called "agreement on the settlement of the Rhodesian independence dispute" is an out-and-out fraud. The heroic struggle of the Zimbabwe people has not only declared the total bankruptcy of this so-called "agreement", but once again forcefully demonstrated its strong will to overthrow colonialist rule and immediately achieve national independence.

95. The colonialist authorities of South Africa are still illegally occupying Namibia and are intensifying their efforts to push their policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and brutally repress the national liberation movement of the people of Namibia. The recent general strike staged by the broad masses of the workers of Namibia against the racial oppression and cruel exploitation by the colonialist authorities of South Africa has further demonstrated the heroic spirit of the people of Namibia in waging unrelenting struggles for national liberation.

96. The Portuguese Government is obdurately maintaining its colonial rule, carrying on barbarous, genocidal colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and has even blatantly launched armed invasions into independent African States. The armed struggles vigorously waged by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have dealt heavy blows at the Portuguese colonial authorities. Their just struggles have won the active support of the African countries and the people of the whole world and are continuously winning new victories.

97. The racial discrimination and *apartheid* existing in southern Africa and other areas is the outcome of colonialist and imperialist policies. The struggles of the peoples of southern Africa against racial discrimination and *apartheid* and against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism are converging to form an irresistible current. It should be pointed out that the white racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonial authorities dare to defy world condemnation and stubbornly push their brutal colonial rule and barbarous policy of racial discrimination mainly because they have the political, economic and military support of a handful of countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. The practice of the African people's struggle against racial discrimination proves that only by totally overthrowing colonial rule and achieving national liberation can the evils of racial discrimination be eradicated.

98. The Chinese Government and people have always regarded the African people's struggle as a tremendous support to them. They firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) in their struggle for national liberation; they firmly support the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle against white colonialist rule and racial discrimination. The Chinese

Government and people will unswervingly stand together with the African countries and the entire African people, in a joint struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, safeguard national independence and win national liberation.

99. The Chinese delegation holds that the Security Council must sternly condemn the atrocities committed by the Rhodesian racist régime against the Zimbabwe people and categorically reject the fraud of the so-called "agreement" concocted by the United Kingdom in collaboration with the Rhodesian racist régime; that it must sternly condemn the Portuguese and South African colonialist authorities for their crimes of repressing national liberation movements and pushing the policies of *apartheid*; and that it must sternly condemn the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries for their acts of supporting Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese colonialists. The Security Council should further strengthen and expand the sanctions against Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese colonialists. In order to fulfil its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council should call upon the Governments and the peoples of all countries to give active support and solidarity to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in their just struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racial discrimination and *apartheid* and for national independence.

100. In conclusion, the Chinese delegation would like to point out the following: The affairs of Africa can be settled only by the African countries and people themselves and the Security Council must respect the desires of the African countries and people in solving the urgent problems now confronting them. The African people is a great people. With its own hands the African people will in the end smash all the shackles imposed by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and win the final victory of its struggle for national liberation.

101. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): It is with a deep sense of a highly important occasion that we are participating in these meetings of the Security Council. Its first series of meetings in Africa is indeed a historic event. It is being held in response to a request of the Organization of African Unity—representing 41 African countries, almost one third of the total membership of the United Nations—that we hold meetings in Africa early in 1972.

102. Let me point out at the very outset that the constant and active support which my Government and delegation have given to this substantive and most timely action is in keeping with the well-known policy of my country. It is a policy of sincere, fully-engaged and steadfast friendship with African nations and their just cause, a policy of full understanding and support of their epic struggle—which has much in common with our own liberation struggle—a platform of equal co-operation with African States and nations. My country will continue to support their efforts to achieve full emancipation and secure national independence and sovereignty and economic and social development. We are likewise rendering our assistance to the liberation movements still fighting against colonial enslave-

ment, imperialism and hegemony. That remains our firm commitment. Together, in a concerted action of the non-aligned countries, within the framework of the United Nations and all its relevant bodies and specialized agencies, we are fighting for the implementation of the noble principles of the Charter of the United Nations to rid this great continent of the evils and crimes of colonialism, racial discrimination, foreign occupation, and ruthless exploitation.

103. As we see it, as we experience it, Africa does not merely need help; it is itself helping us all. Let me mention a few recent instances of a major and historic contribution by Africa to a better world and more democratic international relations: the irresistible liberation tide of African nations after the Second World War resulting in the successful emancipation of the greatest part of their countries; the ever increasing presence and activity of African Members in the world Organization; the success in taking large parts of Africa out of direct bloc rivalries and thus contributing to the overcoming or at least not deepening of the divisions of the world. The so-called advanced continents have for centuries been engaged in wars, producing unaccountable hecatombs of human sacrifice. Free African countries only gain by comparison. And here we should especially bear in mind the fact that practically all the African problems on our agenda were, or still are, inflicted upon Africa from abroad, or else are further aggravated by outside interference.

104. At the same time, we cannot but be impressed by the solidarity of Africa, especially as expressed in the Organization of African Unity, on the central issues of colonialism, emancipation and development.

105. In a very short historical span Africa has produced the most impressive number of leaders, statesmen and international figures of the highest order. The wisdom and untiring efforts shown by you, Mr. President, who were so instrumental in making this series of meetings possible, are an example of the statesmanship from which we are all benefiting. It is most proper and fitting to hold these meetings on the problems of Africa on African soil in an African capital under the chairmanship of distinguished Africans.

106. We were moved by the profound and far-sighted address of our host, the Emperor of Ethiopia, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I [1627th meeting]. As you all know, President Tito and His Imperial Majesty have established a warm and lasting personal relationship, reflecting at the same time the strong bonds of friendship between Ethiopia and Yugoslavia. The early example of Ethiopia and its courageous and undaunted Emperor inspired us all in Europe and in the whole world in defending and maintaining our independence and liberty.

107. We listened with admiration to the presentation by the President of Mauritania, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, His Excellency Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah [*ibid.*]. As one of its outstanding leaders he expressed in a lucid and comprehensive way the strivings and demands of modern Africa, and advanced several serious, specific and important proposals to which we should all give our closest and most immediate attention.

108. Last Saturday we had the privilege of listening to the moving and forthright address by the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic, Mohamed Siad Barre, who so generously invited the members of the Council to his country, a country whose independence was achieved with the contribution and assistance of the United Nations.

109. The Secretary-General's presence at these meetings and his address [*ibid.*] have evidenced the closeness of the world Organization to Africa and its inseparable links with this great continent.

110. Any one who listened to His Imperial Majesty's address and who followed the impressive speeches by the current Chairman of OAU, by the President of Somalia and by other African statesmen, cabinet ministers and other representatives of African States, cannot but be once again most acutely reminded of the magnitude and urgency of African problems of which this body and other organs of the United Nations are currently seized. The same goes for the utmost importance of their solution for the well-being of the entire world and for the preservation of peace and international security not only in Africa, but also for all of us. Hence, the grave responsibility of the Security Council, the United Nations and, indeed, the whole international community and every individual member, to exert maximum efforts to this end.

111. The Yugoslav delegation would like to mention the fact that nine African issues now appear on our agenda; that, for example, out of 59 Council meetings in 1971, 33 were devoted to problems of Africa; and that since 1960 the Security Council has adopted some 40 important resolutions on Africa. This proves conclusively that the impact and challenge of the unresolved questions of Africa is being recognized.

112. If we are to meet effectively our responsibilities in this field, then we must all proceed from the essential reality that African problems are central to the security and peace of the world. Except at our common and immediate peril, their solution must not be postponed.

113. Many a world crisis has in the past and more recently arisen on the soil of Africa. We are all witnessing new efforts to stem the great African surge of liberation and the attempts of imperialists and all kinds of neo-colonialists to protect old and win new footholds and positions in Africa. There is the alarmingly intensified competition to establish military presence in the oceans and the seas around Africa. The strategic military and economic interests of some great, and colonial, Powers are at the root of their aiding and abetting the abhorrent racist régime of South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia; they constitute also the real cause for the present tragic situation in Southern Rhodesia. Their aid makes possible the continuation of the criminal colonial rule of Portugal over Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). All this is evidence that those African problems—which represent hot-beds of tension and potential conflagrations that can engulf us all—are being more and more compounded by new negative trends. This, in turn, is contributing to the entrenchment of racist, terrorist régimes over a large part of Africa. They serve non-African

interests in an intensified and militarized mixture of old and new attempts at keeping old and gaining new spheres of influence and lucrative economic exploitation.

114. There is an evident harmony of interests, only more so, between racist and colonial régimes, military machines and big monopolies of some of the most industrialized countries. We all know, for example, that the contention that sanctions and embargoes are in themselves necessarily unrealistic, ineffective and that as such should be dismantled, is voiced most often precisely by those who violate them. Not only does this unholy alliance, which is contrary to all the decisions of the Security Council, enable the oppressive, Nazi-like régimes to survive the ever-mounting opposition and struggle of the peoples of Africa, it helps them also to increase their military and economic capacities, to attempt to extend *apartheid* policies into ever-wider Territories: Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. Only a calculating policy of the so-called realism and *real-politik*—a policy that has never failed to ignite conflagrations—can place these outlaw Governments in a position of arrogance, threatening and inflicting acts of aggression, of blackmailing free African countries and of endangering their national independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and, at the same time, jeopardizing the peace and security of the whole world.

115. All this was clearly stated and specific measures were requested to change the situation radically in the historic documents expressing the will of the great majority of Members of the United Nations and the international community. Let me only mention here the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the programme of action for the full implementation of that Declaration, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 2621 (XXV) and 2734 (XXV)*], the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa,<sup>7</sup> the different resolutions and declarations of the Organization of African Unity, and those adopted by the Third Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Lusaka.

116. It is therefore evident that the global aspects of African problems make it incumbent upon the Security Council to persist in evolving means for combating all obstacles standing in the way of their resolution. It is to this end that we are now meeting in Addis Ababa and are addressing ourselves to all the African issues on the Council's agenda. We are being asked to consider the implementation of various pertinent resolutions adopted by the Security Council. There is every reason for our coming here. We are aware of, and in fact quite undisturbed by, the hypocritical attitude of some of those who, allegedly for reasons of mere economy and for the sake of the United Nations budget, were against having our Council respond to the request of African countries to hold meetings in Addis Ababa. Some of them, more often than not, are indifferent to having huge sums spent daily to strengthen the régimes of *apartheid*, terror and exploitation.

117. At this point of our deliberations, we wish just to state our comprehensive position. Our views on specific

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

questions of *apartheid* in South Africa and Namibia, on the right of the people of Zimbabwe to become the masters in their own country, the Portuguese colonial oppression, the complaints made by Guinea, Senegal and Zambia against the aggression of Portugal and South Africa and others, are well known. We have clearly and succinctly expressed them on many occasions. When it comes to such injustices and crimes as are perpetrated against Africa, Yugoslavia, whose peoples were also victims of foreign domination and who have won their freedom through their liberation struggle, feels very close to the cause of African peoples. This is reflected in our approach to all African issues. We strongly feel that the needs, suggestions and requests voiced by the representatives of African States demand our immediate and utmost attention. They should be, and as far as we are concerned are, the paramount and guiding consideration.

118. In the course of our meetings here, I reserve my right to address myself to some of those burning questions, more specifically, when the Council proceeds to the concrete discussion concerning draft documents which will be presented to it.

119. Allow me now to indicate what, in our opinion, this series of meetings has already accomplished, and what it should strive to accomplish.

120. First, by coming to Addis Ababa we wanted to demonstrate to the world that the United Nations and the Security Council will persevere in the closest consideration of African questions and will unremittingly continue to do so until the battle for the liberation of this continent is crowned with success. My delegation expresses the fervent hope that that will be accomplished.

121. Second, in giving the representatives of African States and liberation movements this opportunity to address the Council on their soil, we must sense anew the urgency of our African agenda. We hope that this will influence those who, instead of promoting, are obstructing the African cause to change their policies and attitudes.

122. Third, by facilitating the appearance and participation in our deliberations of many African liberation-movement representatives, we are thus lending them our additional support. They, and not the oppressive minority régimes, truly represent the African peoples. The United Nations has long ago recognized their legitimacy, the legitimacy of their struggle by all necessary means to liberate their countries. Through specific measures, like the establishing of special passport and visa procedures, the setting up of a special fund for training and with the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia, for the first time in the history of international relations we have squarely placed the world Organization on the side of such movements. But it is our firm belief that this should be only the beginning of our endeavours. Now we are in a position to take further and bolder steps for the achievement of liberation and independence of Namibia and other African Territories still under the colonial yoke.

123. Fourth, to achieve that we should review the implementation of different clauses of the Council's resolutions and undertake to devise new ways to ensure the

necessary compliance. We are all familiar with the violations of decisions on sanctions against the Smith régime, on measures against any recognition of and assistance to the illegal occupation of Namibia, on the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa and on assisting in any way the Portuguese enslavement of African territories, particularly through deliveries of arms and other means of enabling the Portuguese colonialists to wage war against African nations. The Security Council, unlike any other United Nations body, makes decisions which are mandatory on all Members under Article 25 of the Charter. We must arrest the erosion of the authority of the United Nations and the Security Council and promote their effectiveness by finding ways and means of making the members of the Council and Members of the United Nations respect those binding decisions.

124. Fifth, we must face the fact that the flagrant violations of the decisions on sanctions, arms embargoes and so on only encourage Pretoria, Smith and the Portuguese régime to embark on new oppressive actions, such as the ominous policy of Pretoria of perpetuating and intensifying criminal practices of *apartheid*, the introducing of *apartheid* policies into Namibia, the forcing of the black majority in Southern Rhodesia to validate an instrument of their own further enslavement, and acts of aggression and intimidation against Guinea, Senegal and Zambia. If those violations persist we may see those régimes attempt even newer adventures of conquest. Therefore we should consider what sanctions should be automatically applied to anyone violating them.

125. Sixth, the United Nations and the Security Council must increasingly be able to become effective enough to apply Chapter VII of the Charter, entitled "Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression", particularly Articles 41 and 42. Surely the world Organization would be justified in employing all relevant measures provided by the Charter against those who brazenly defy its resolutions and decisions, and particularly the resolutions of this Council, and against those whose acts constitute a clear potential threat to peace and security and an affront to the conscience of the world.

126. Seventh, we have to find ways, for example, to persuade the United Kingdom to meet its responsibilities as the administering Power in Southern Rhodesia. With African countries ready to help, with the minority régime of white racists battling against 5 million black Africans, with the African population constantly opposing colonial and racist oppression—as has been evidenced specially in recent weeks and days—the position that the United Kingdom is powerless and that it cannot effectively intervene is simply untenable. It is not a lack of power and the means to bring down the Smith régime, which the United Kingdom Government itself has pronounced a "rebellious" one, but a lack of political will on the part of the administering Power. It is a question of whether one is on the side of justice and progress, a question of how one defines one's own interests.

127. Eighth, world opinion was deeply disappointed by the United States decision to return to the importing of chrome from Southern Rhodesia. We should exercise every



effort to make the United States, especially in the light of the developing situation, rescind that most unfortunate decision.

128. Ninth, several previous speakers, expressing the concern of independent African countries, have advanced some specific suggestions and proposals about Southern Rhodesia: for example, that the Security Council should condemn the acts of brutality and repression against the African people of Southern Rhodesia by the illegal régime; that it should call upon the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to take effective and immediate measures to safeguard the lives and welfare of the African majority in that country against further such acts; and that it should call upon the United Kingdom Government to withdraw immediately the Pearce Commission from the territory of Southern Rhodesia. The Yugoslav delegation endorses those proposals.

129. Tenth, the resolutions of the Security Council, as far as the formulating of specific measures is concerned, have so far been mostly limited to restraining ones. Rereading those resolutions now, we note the preponderance of operative terms such as "terminate", "cease", "withdraw", "formally declare", "withhold" and "discourage". We must now turn to more positive, more active measures. The establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia and help to liberation movements were the first steps in the right direction; but we must do more. With regard to Namibia, we consider that the proposal of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, President Ould Daddah, that the Security Council should assume direct responsibility for Namibia merits our closest attention and support. We might consider the feasibility of recognizing the independence of the countries which are still under colonial occupation. We must help the liberation movements in various African countries in their struggle for national liberation and against colonialism and racial discrimination, through greater and more direct and comprehensive moral, political and material assistance.

130. Eleventh, while continuing our common struggle against colonialism, racism and so on, we must not lose sight of the grave dangers of neo-colonialism through economic and technological enslavement. The world community long ago recognized its obligation to assist the development of less developed countries in the interest of all. The new concept of economic security is gaining ground. We must utilize all the instruments at our disposal in all economic and financial bodies of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to prevent African countries—which are burdened so much with the repayment of loans—from having to accept further loans under difficult terms. We must, in terms of trade and development financing, create the most favourable conditions to facilitate their speedier economic growth and their economic and social development.

131. Twelfth, in order to make it possible for the Security Council to be effectively, directly and continuously engaged in following the implementation of its own resolutions and decisions on African issues, we might consider both present and new practices: to mention a few, holding periodic meetings, sending missions, establishing special

reporting and monitoring techniques and so on. Here we could build on the already existing structure of co-operation between the Organization of African Unity and various United Nations bodies and we could develop it further.

132. In short, we shall not accomplish our task here, we shall not discharge our obligations, and we shall not rise to this historic occasion if we leave the hospitable soil of Africa without giving its peoples tangible reasons not only for hoping but for knowing and being assured that the United Nations—and the Security Council—will be a more effective instrument of the international community, and their strong ally, in achieving the complete liberation and the full and equal progress of Africa as a whole. Africa demands and deserves nothing less. This is not only the need of Africa, but the need and moral duty of the entire international community.

133. Finally, what we are deciding here is not only the fate of African nations but also the fate of the basic provisions of the United Nations Charter, as well as the discharging of the highest responsibilities of this body. The United Nations and Africa are inextricably linked. We simply must not fail, for there is no more time, no room for failure, which would dangerously undermine the role and image of the United Nations.

134. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council is meeting today in Ethiopia at the invitation of the Organization of African Unity. The link between the United Nations and the regional African body, despite its short existence, has already attained outstanding importance and is evident today with particular relevance to the presence in this continent of the body which, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

135. It is reasonable that it should be so. The United Nations, from the historical point of view, is still very young, and the same can be said of almost all the countries members of OAU. It has been rightly said that international bodies are what their members want them to be, and it is precisely from the regenerating thrust and brisk impetus of its new African Members that the United Nations is entitled to expect a constructive contribution and new ideas which, adequately combined with the maturity and experience of older countries, will revitalize its action and convert the United Nations into what its creators hoped it would be.

136. Argentina is pleased to be attending this series of meetings of the Security Council in Africa. From the very outset, we supported this initiative, not only because of the circumstances to which I have just referred but also because in OAU we see the equivalent on African soil of the American regional organization to which we have belonged since it was created. Despite all of the features which are peculiar to each, it would be impossible to find two more similar bodies than OAU and the Organization of American States. One began to develop at the end of the last century and is beyond question the dean of regional organizations. The other is less than a decade old, but its machinery is similar, its ideals of peace and development are the same, and its objectives are shared in common with ours. It is

perhaps useful to recall that the experience of OAS proved particularly useful in the elaboration of the principles and procedures which were proclaimed in the Charter of OAU, signed on 25 May 1963. I feel sure I express the feelings of all of the American countries when I raise my hope that the contacts between the two regional organizations of continental scope existing in the world will be intensified to the full, and I express my conviction that those ties will be exceedingly fruitful and equally beneficial to all the countries members of both organizations.

137. It is also appropriate that these meetings of the Security Council be held in Addis Ababa—not only because it is the headquarters of OAU but also because it is the capital of a State with an ancient civilization, whose history has traversed very difficult periods but which always reacted with energy and renewed determination. Among the known virtues of its people, we should like to emphasize with particular pleasure, the generous hospitality that we are enjoying.

138. The one who for years has guided the destiny of Ethiopia, His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I, an able statesman whose perennial intellectual youth injects vigour into the wide experiences he has lived through, has been a fitting interpreter of the views of his people. The important statement he made to this Council at the inaugural meeting [1627th meeting] was an unquestioned testimony to the strength of his spirit and the maturity of his approach to the delicate questions discussed in the United Nations.

139. May I be permitted also to express our gratitude to the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, His Excellency Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah who, in his capacity as the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, addressed the Security Council for the second time [*ibid.*]. His statements will be a valuable contribution to the ordering of our work.

140. The African problems of which the Security Council is now seized actually boil down to one, and one alone: decolonization. One way or another, the colonial problems that still persist in Africa today are the source of the conflicts that have required and still require the attention of the Council.

141. Nowhere else can a single word—colonialism—arouse such intense emotions and touch the most intimate feelings of all its peoples as in the continent that has welcomed us in its midst today. It is a self-evident fact that colonialism, that imperialist phenomenon which reached its culmination in this region in the second half of the past century, is today in the last stages of its existence. No one today questions the fact that colonialism—at least in its classical manifestations—is a fortuitous and reprehensible institution, and one to whose final elimination the efforts of the international community should be directed.

142. But this truth, which now appears so clear and indisputable, did not win acceptance without a struggle, nor was it always a universally accepted concept. We need not go too far back in history to see that the first years of the United Nations, from the drafting of the Charter of San

Francisco, itself, witnessed serious disputes and heated debates which, in the last analysis, were based on different value judgements concerning the existence of colonial situations and, consequently, on the role that the United Nations should play in their regard.

143. It is a source of pride and satisfaction for the Argentine Republic to have been an active and strong participant in the continuing struggle that was carried on over those years—when the membership of the United Nations was very different from what it is today—to pave the way for and accelerate the progress towards self-government and independence of many Territories which today are full and worthy Members of our Organization. At that time, the countries of Latin America were the leaders of a movement that step by step, stage after stage, began acquiring an accelerated impetus and whose pace was stepped up as new independent States added their contribution, until it became a torrent that could not be held back.

144. The anti-colonialist position of the Argentine Republic, therefore, is not a belated or rhetorical one. We joined the United Nations in 1945, reflecting a tradition of emancipation deeply rooted in our history, the fruit of our colonial experience and of our own war for independence, which we won thanks to the sacrifice of our people and the blood shed by our men and women. With a spirit tempered in struggle, however, our hands were extended in generous gesture towards all countries of the world, without excluding, of course, the former metropolitan country, Spain. The links with the mother country were soon restored and gave rise to an intimate and fruitful relationship between our two countries, an example of the fact that the ties between former colonies and dominant Powers can develop into an advantageous relationship when based on mutual respect, on sincere co-operation, on common ideals of peace and progress.

145. The anti-colonial vocation of Argentina, however, does not derive only from our origin. It is also fed by the continuing presence in our territory, even at this time, of a residue of this historical stage of imperial expansion. This is not the occasion, and certainly it is not my intention, to refer to the problem of the Malvinas Islands, a problem in which we are engaged in negotiations with the occupying Power in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX). I did, however, wish to remind the Council that, after more than 160 years of independent life, as far as the Argentine Republic is concerned, the question of colonialism is not merely theoretical and a burden which falls upon others. It is a reality which we experience in our own flesh, a still open wound which we trust will finally be healed in the not too distant future.

146. Today it is a truism to say that the hour of colonialism has passed beyond recall. After the arduous struggles to which I referred a few minutes ago, the United Nations can rightfully claim for itself the honour of constituting one of the fundamental motivating forces of this historic event. When succeeding generations pass their judgement on the successes and failures of the United Nations, we are sure that its activities in this area will weigh heavily on the positive side of the scales.



147. It would be unjust, however, to overlook the fact that the colonial Powers, at least some of them, can also rightfully point out with satisfaction to their part in this process. The United Kingdom and France, to name only the principal Powers, are entitled to recognition of the fact that above and beyond errors and mistakes—sometimes very serious in nature—they too had the foresight to understand that the trend towards emancipation could not be held back and that it was better to give up in good time something that could not be preserved than to fight in vain to hold what the peoples themselves and the international community were not prepared to tolerate indefinitely. The peaceful transfer of power to the legitimate representatives of the peoples of their former colonies and the creation of a new relationship on a footing of absolute equality and sovereignty, constitute the basis of a harmonious and friendly coexistence between the two parties that cannot help but favour the interests of both sides.

148. It is, therefore, regrettable that not all of the colonial Powers have properly understood the historical moment in which we live. The Territories under Portuguese administration in southern Africa are an anachronism, the survival of which is due only to very special circumstances that cannot last indefinitely. We sincerely believe that Portugal's policy is mistaken. On various occasions in the course of the debates in the General Assembly on this question, we have said that all subsequent arrangements, no matter how ingenious and deserving, are no substitute for full and complete independence, and that only on the basis of such independence can there be created, between Portugal and its African Territories, a fraternal and fruitful relationship, where results will of necessity benefit not only the Territories themselves, but also, and in particular, Portugal itself.

149. In the course of this statement I have been referring to colonialism in its classical form. We should, however, take into account that the struggle for independence is not ended by the attainment of legal independence. It must be transformed into reality by the force of facts, and safeguarded from all efforts at foreign domination, which in one way or another constitute manifestations of so-called neo-colonialism.

150. The source of these attempts at subjugation is not necessarily found in the former colonial Powers. Imperialism and desires for hegemony are not the heritage of any particular system, doctrine or nation; nor are they exercised only over the developing countries. Nor are they always to be found in well-known procedures of economic penetration. Ideological penetration also is placed at the service of expansionist interests; and the encouragement of subversion in independent States is another instrument of this policy.

151. In a world in which ambitions or thirst for power and supremacy have not been eliminated, countries must be more alert than ever in preserving their sovereignty. For this reason it is not possible to accept the alleged existence of "limited sovereignties" as advanced in a doctrine recently promulgated and which, of course, is to be applied to all States except the State proclaiming it.

152. The Republic of Argentina, just as it is a zealous protector of its own sovereignty, which in the course of its

century-and-a-half of existence has been threatened at various times, also practices an open-door policy towards all countries of the world. In carrying out this policy we are not affected by the characteristic features of any Government or the political and economic system it follows.

153. We do not believe in the existence of ideological frontiers. We require only—and this categorically—that relations be based on scrupulous and absolute observance of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. Argentina, which has converted that principle into one of the pillars of its foreign policy, demands a similar attitude on the part of all countries, and just so long as the situation is such we are prepared to maintain, and do in practice maintain, relations with any country member of the international community regardless of its political and social philosophy, its system of government or its geographical position.

154. We belong to a country which emerged to independent life unfurling the banners of freedom and equality among all men, a country which can endorse with full justice the words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, "*Ogni uomo è mio fratello*"—"Every man is my brother".

155. These ideals were integrated into the internal legal order in Argentina, and were the guidelines for the course Argentina was to follow in its foreign policy. In 1813, only three years after emancipation, we were one of the first countries of the world to condemn slavery and by specific legislative decree to proclaim the immediate application of the principle of freedom to all persons subjugated to such terrible servitude.

156. But more: in laying down the foundations of our national organization in 1852 the Argentine Constitution provided without distinction or discrimination of any kind "the benefits of freedom for all men of the world who may wish to live on Argentinian soil".

157. In accordance with these legal rules, which are of the highest importance in our country—for they are nothing other than a living reflection of the Argentine soul and being—our people and all its successive governments have repudiated most categorically any discriminatory and segregationist practices, be they *apartheid*, the oppression of minorities, religious prejudice or any other manifestations, regardless of where they occur. The presence of the numerous communities which live and work in the Republic of Argentina in peace and harmony, contributing to the formation of their own culture and national development, is eloquent testimony to this.

158. The situation in Rhodesia, a theme of burning current interest, is one of the matters of deepest concern to the Security Council. Events decisive to its future are occurring right now in that Territory and we are all following with the greatest attention developments there.

159. With regard to Rhodesia the United Nations has not evaded its responsibilities under the Charter, and in this connexion it has over more than five years adopted a series of measures which continue in full force. Argentina has supported and respected in the strictest possible manner the

resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council on this question, and when it was a member of the Council for the two-year period 1966-1967 it had an opportunity to state clearly and unequivocally its views on the future fate of the Territory. Again, in the General Assembly we have not been remiss in making known in all candour our views on this particular question.

160. In due course we formally conveyed to the Secretariat two communications concerning our position. In the first, dated 18 January 1966 [S/7094], the Argentine Government conveyed its decision to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2022 (XX) and Security Council resolution 217 (1965). In the second, dated 15 March 1966 [S/7094/Add.1], we transmitted the text of Decree No. 1196 M.87 of 18 February 1966, under which we ordered the suspension of any economic relations with Southern Rhodesia. It should be emphasized that as a basis for that measure we expressly recorded the support of Argentina for the aforesaid United Nations resolutions in accordance with our traditional position concerning situations that are incompatible with the principles of self-determination and equal rights of all peoples.

161. Economic sanctions against Rhodesia have always met with our decisive support. In this connexion we have actively collaborated in the work of the Committee on Sanctions, established by Security Council resolution 253 (1968). The most recent evidence of our position concerning that Territory is to be found in our delegation's favourable vote in the General Assembly on 10 December 1971, when resolution 2796 (XXVI) was adopted, and, in the Security Council on 30 December 1971, when the draft resolution submitted by Burundi, the Syrian Arab Republic, Sierra Leone and Somalia [S/10489] was under consideration.

162. Our attitude on this problem has, then, always been clear and unambiguous. We believe that in the case of Rhodesia there are at stake principles which are universally accepted and are particularly cherished by the Republic of Argentina. We do not seek to court majority support nor to increase anyone's difficulties. We are inspired exclusively by the defence and support of the principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and which are valued most highly by the people and Government of Argentina.

163. All this does not mean that we are unaware of the complexities of the situation, the difficulties and obstacles that have studded the history of this question and which still exist in the process of leading this Territory towards the successful attainment of its goals, or of the limited margin for manoeuvring available to the Administering Power in this problem.

164. These are all facts and realities that we cannot overlook and which we should take into particular account—but with the same sincerity with which my delegation recognizes these facts we must make it emphatically clear in the most precise and categorical terms that we cannot conceive of the future of Rhodesia in any form other than the gaining of full independence based on majority rule and respect for the rights of each of its inhabitants without discrimination or exclusivity of any

kind. Only on this foundation will it be possible to build a peaceful and prosperous Rhodesia to be incorporated into the international community as a free and sovereign State and which will occupy the seat reserved for it in the United Nations and in the Organization of African Unity.

165. Another source of tension which is inevitably mentioned whenever colonial questions are examined is the case of Namibia. The Argentine approach to this problem is that of the United Nations. Or, expressed in other terms, the position which has been emerging through the many decisions taken by various organs of the United Nations.

166. We have no qualms either regarding the legitimacy or the need to apply this body of resolutions, in the drafting of many of which my delegation played an active role. From the legal standpoint, we consider that the situation has been correctly set forth in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) which, after reaffirming the international status of the Territory, decided to put an end to the Mandate over it and established that the United Nations had direct responsibility over it.

167. Guided by this decision of the General Assembly, the Security Council later adopted resolution 283 (1970). In complying with its provisions, the Argentine Government communicated to the South African Government the fact "that it does not recognize any authority of South Africa over Namibia and that it considers South Africa's continued presence in Namibia illegal" [see S/10020, of 5 December 1970].

168. Consistent with that course of conduct, the Argentine delegation participated intensively in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Sub-Committee on Namibia, the conclusions of which, in broad general terms, resulted in Security Council resolution 301 (1971), which was introduced by you, Mr. President, and is the most recent resolution dealing with this question, a resolution which incorporated a number of Argentine suggestions. This resolution is of particular importance since it might constitute the embryo of a new stage in the relationship of the United Nations with Namibia. Its purpose is to take *de facto* and *de jure* steps to initiate the transfer of the administration of Namibia to the United Nations within the general framework of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and similar resolutions.

169. In addition, we have supported any initiative to strengthen the United Nations Council for Namibia, and also more particularly to promote the functioning of the United Nations Fund for Namibia, in the conviction that the training of the indigenous inhabitants is one of the fundamental pillars on which the independence and sovereignty of a nation should rest.

170. On 21 June 1971 the International Court of Justice handed down an advisory opinion, which may well be termed historic. In that opinion, the highest legal body of this Organization established in all clarity the unlawful nature of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia and its obligation to withdraw its administration from the Territory immediately, thus putting an end to the occupation of Namibia. During the course of the debate

which was held in the Security Council in October 1971, we emphasized the legal and moral weight of that document, which Argentina supported, and it does not seem necessary to dwell on this aspect of the problem.

171. I do consider it essential, however, to repeat one fundamental point to which I have already referred on previous occasions. The question of Namibia has reached an extreme point where stock taking is called for. On the one hand, we have exhausted all legal possibilities. The International Court of Justice has confirmed the validity of the decisions taken by the United Nations, and there is nothing more to be expected from that high tribunal. On the other hand, we have a body of resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council which we have without exception always supported and whose validity it is just as well to repeat, we do not challenge. Far from it, we trust that they will help to serve the future of Namibia.

172. None the less, the results obtained so far do not entitle us to be unduly optimistic. Through the course of the so-called "strong" resolutions we have produced a verbal escalation which, so far, has not been translated into any concrete fact to bring independence to Namibia. For us in the Argentine delegation, more important than the hardness of the language or the dialectical satisfactions, there stands the fate of the Namibian people.

173. Very often in the Security Council we hear exhortations to recognize the realities of certain situations and to the need to proceed with political realism in dealing with such situations. Very well, reality—the sad reality, I would even say—concerning Namibia is showing us with all clarity that its people is still deprived of its right to self-determination and independence. Our responsibility and our obligation to that territory are to explore every possibility and to attempt every possible new course of action likely to lead it as soon as possible to independent and sovereign life. But all this without abdicating any principle or relegating to oblivion any of the resolutions we have already adopted. Our position is clear, and we shall never tire of repeating it: we want Namibia to attain a full measure of independence and to preserve intact its territorial integrity which is very important, and, as a free and sovereign State, it should become a Member of the United Nations.

174. Guided by this sole objective, we shall redouble our efforts, collaborating closely with the African delegations in the search for any solution which will make it possible to make that goal a reality, as has been the case with respect to the intensive consultations which led to the presentation of draft resolution S/10376/Rev.1, which the Council has before it for its consideration.

175. Today we are experiencing a very special moment in international relations. In the political arena the weakening of old alliances and the emergence of new, fresh understandings motivated by many deep-rooted reasons are sketching out a world system different from that which obtained during the first half of the twentieth century.

176. Argentina, for whom Latin America is its primary field of action, hopes to work very closely with the

countries of Africa in the pursuit of an order which will permit the active participation of all the members of the international community. In other words, this would be a system with clear, pluralistic features. Only thus will we ensure the flexibility indispensable in a world governed by the principle of national wills. Within this framework, Africa and Latin America, Argentina and each and every one of the African States, have a preponderant role to play.

177. Daily brought into closer interrelationship by the prodigious advances of science and technology, our peoples understand that only within a framework that will ensure the authentic individual expression of nations will peace be guaranteed—peace, which is the basis of the development that we seek. Regional and interregional co-operation are based on that foundation. Only through positive economic, scientific and technological agreements shall we be able to achieve the joint objectives of progress, common to all.

178. National sovereignty and international co-operation are the two fundamental concepts which define the foreign policies of the developing countries. In this undertaking, the developing countries have a very special burden of responsibility. If for improperly understood selfish interests they do not discharge their obligations and remain indifferent to the widening technological gap, they will be fostering the seeds of the pronounced economic imbalance and social backwardness that already exist and which, if accentuated, will constitute the principal threat to international peace and security.

179. In conclusion, I should like to express my Government's most fervent hope that our continents, perhaps at one time linked in land terms, will become members of, and have their proper weight in, the international system that will hold sway in the twenty-first century. That is the challenge that together we confront.

#### **Tribute to the memory of King Mahendra of Nepal**

180. The PRESIDENT: It is my sad duty to inform the Council of the death early this morning of King Mahendra of Nepal. The late King was a firm believer in, and a staunch supporter of, the United Nations. His Government's complete respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter is characterized by the success of its foreign policy, which was fully expressed in debates in this Council on crucial political issues while Nepal served as a member in 1969 and 1970.

181. I am sure the members of the Council will wish me, as President, to convey to the people and the Government of Nepal, and to the Royal family, the Council's condolences on the untimely and irreparable loss they have suffered.

*On the proposal of the President, the members of the Council observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of King Mahendra of Nepal.*

## Statement by the President

182. The PRESIDENT: I have received today a message dated 31 January 1972 from Mr. Anwar Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, addressed to the President of the Security Council, reading as follows:

"I wish to seize the opportunity of the meeting of the Security Council for the first time on African soil to express our thanks and gratitude to Your Excellency and the members of the Council for their consent. It is undoubtedly a historic event. I sincerely hope that the present series of meetings will further strengthen the faith of the peoples of the world in the United Nations as an instrument for peace, justice and progress. As the peoples of Africa more than any other peoples of the world have suffered from colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, they are looking forward to the Security Council's taking the long-awaited effective measures to ensure the full implementation of all resolutions adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Only thus can justice and respect for international law be maintained.

"I wish as well sincerely to welcome the reaffirmation of the recognition by the United Nations of the legiti-

macy of the struggle of the oppressed peoples, wherever they are, to obtain freedom and liberation of their lands.

"I further wish to reaffirm Egypt's commitment to the struggle against colonialism and racialism and for the total liberation of Africa and Arab lands, and to this end Egypt will continue to provide increased moral and material assistance to the liberation movements.

"I seize this opportunity to send my greetings to Your Excellency and the members of the Security Council, with my sincere wishes for every success in your deliberations."

183. The text of this message will be issued, as usual, as a press release for the information of the United Nations.

184. Tomorrow morning and afternoon the Council will invite those persons listed in the document submitted by the three African members of the Council [*S/10602/Rev.1*] to make their statements. They will be expected to take the floor when called upon to speak. Should they be absent then, they will not be given a hearing.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*