

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

**1633<sup>rd</sup>**

MEETING: 1 FEBRUARY 1972

ADDIS ABABA

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## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD MEETING

Held in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, on Tuesday, 1 February 1972, at 3.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Rahmatalla ABDULLA (Sudan).

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1633)

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

*The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have received document S/10605, which reproduces the text of a letter of today's date from the representatives of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, requesting that the Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to Mr. Johnny Eduardo.

2. As I hear no objection, I take it that this further request is acceptable to the Council.

*It was so decided.*

3. The PRESIDENT: The first name on the list of speakers this afternoon is that of the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. AMRANI (Libyan Arab Republic): It is a great honour for me to attend this special series of meetings of the Security Council, and on behalf of the Libyan Arab Republic and its leader Colonel Moamer al Kadhafi, Chief of the Revolutionary Council, I should like to pay a tribute to and salute the sincere efforts made to have this session take place in the home of the Organization of African Unity.

5. The Libyan Arab Republic has great respect for the decision to hold this session in Africa and expresses the necessity for future sessions of this nature to tackle the very many problems now existing in Africa. Furthermore, we feel that African countries expect and deserve more attention from the world community.

6. The Libyan Arab Republic has always supported and will continue to support, respect and abide by all the recommendations and resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council to eliminate colonialism, racism and oppression, and it considers that all resolutions adopted in this respect serve humanity, integrity and the liberty of all countries concerned.

7. The Libyan Arab Republic, which has just invited and sponsored the convening of the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held in the period between 12 and 19 January 1972 in the city of Benghazi, renews its obligation and commitments towards all liberation movements world-wide, in particular to Zimbabwe, Azania, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and will continue to support their heroic struggle fully, and will equally support and abide by any resolutions adopted by this Council in this respect.

8. The Libyan Arab Republic considers itself, and truly is, along with other brother States in Africa, a home for freedom fighters and for those who struggle for their basic human necessities.

9. The Libyan Arab Republic, as a revolutionary State, wishes to declare that any resolution adopted by the Security Council will be meaningless unless it is coupled with concrete, vigorous action by various means to achieve implementation of that resolution.

10. We are all aware that some countries in Africa are struggling for their independence, some are struggling against racial discrimination and for majority rule and some are struggling for a better way of life and economic stability. Yet every day we witness immense efforts being made by colonialism, imperialism and socialist imperialism to hinder all these forms of struggle by means of conspiracy and subversive actions. These actions, we feel, are immoral and inhuman.

11. We are also witnessing in Africa a very grave form of conspiracy against African countries aimed at disrupting relations and spreading mistrust and hatred among them.

12. African countries all share common problems, aims and goals; traditionally no outside force has been able to split the people of Africa no matter how hard it has tried.

13. Africa is suffering and will continue to suffer from what we call infiltrators. Let me ask these questions: Who has divided Africa into north and south, east and west, central east and central west? Obviously the answer is the infiltrators. Who will benefit from any friction created between any two African countries? Who hinders and creates obstacles to any form of unity among African groups of countries? The answer obviously is the infiltrators. However, Africa is quite well aware that most of its problems come from the outside.

14. The Libyan Arab Republic wishes to note that a number of appropriate resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council, achieved by the great devotion of freedom-loving individuals and groups of nations. Yet, to our deep regret, these resolutions have never been implemented because of the contradicting interests of the big Powers.

15. Some day we should like to witness the elimination of big-Power competition and the game of areas of influence, which in no way serves the liberation and well-being of the countries of the world.

16. The Libyan Arab Republic strongly urges those big Powers to change, now and forever, this foolish attitude and outlook, whereby the map of the world is regarded as divided into areas of interest and influence, if they sincerely wish to make a contribution and fulfil their basic obligations towards those countries which suffer humiliation, segregation and oppression. Africa expects that its problems can be solved only if this is done.

17. Last but not least, I wish to thank the Ethiopian Government and people for the great efforts they have made to make this session a success for Africa.

18. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now proceed to hear the statements of persons mentioned in document S/10602/Rev.2, as approved and modified at our meeting this morning.

19. The next speaker invited to address the Council in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure is Mr. Mueshihange, whom I now invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

20. Mr. MUESHIHANGE: I feel honoured to be allowed to address this historic meeting of the Security Council, in the first series of meetings of its kind to be held on the African Continent. First of all, I should like to express on behalf of SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organization) and the Namibian people my most profound and heartfelt gratitude to His Imperial Majesty and to the Government and the people of Ethiopia, who enabled this historic meeting to convene in this great capital city of Ethiopia. President Ould Daddah of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, deserves a great tribute for his efforts and his contribution in making the meeting of the Security

Council in Africa a reality. I would be failing in my duty if I did not express my gratitude to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Comrade Diallo Telli, whose untiring efforts and devotion to the liberation of Africa is unparalleled. Furthermore, Sir, let me express my high regard for you as the President of the Security Council, for your distinguished career in your own country and for your dedication to the liberation struggle in Africa and elsewhere.

21. This is not the first time a Namibian has been given an opportunity to appear before the Security Council; as a matter of fact, Mr. Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO, was given the privilege of addressing the Council in the past. It is important to note at this juncture that the Namibian case has been one of the most burning issues before the United Nations. Resolution after resolution has been adopted by both the Security Council and the General Assembly, but without any substantial effect, for our oppressor remains adamantly defiant towards the United Nations and has found a way of deliberately failing to meet its obligations, that is, to give the Namibian people their legitimate rights to independence and self-determination. Since the oppression and suffering of the Namibian people under the sceptre of the diabolical system of *apartheid* is well known to the members of the Security Council, I should not like to spend time going into the details of what my people are made to suffer. However, in the final analysis I will never cease informing the international community about the seriousness of the oppression of my people, ruthlessly undertaken by the fascist apostles of white supremacy.

22. Although the South African racist Foreign Minister, Mr. Hilgard Muller, stated before the Security Council in September 1971 [*1584th meeting*], that there is peace in South West Africa and that people who talk about oppression and repression in South West Africa are misinformed, there were more anti-South African activities in Namibia during the year 1971 than at any other time in our history. In order to prove his case Mr. Muller referred to statements made by some newsmen who visited Namibia at the invitation of the South African Government and who, because of misinformation which they received from the racist Government and lack of understanding of the Namibian people, subsequently wrote articles like those dictated and authorized by the South African censorship. Instead of depending on the support of the people in Namibia, the fascist Government tries to use reactionary international journalists in order not only to mislead world public opinion about its acceptability by the people of Namibia but also to cover up its heinous crimes of racial discrimination, economic exploitation and political oppression.

23. Moreover, before I go any further I should like to bring to the attention of the Security Council the attitude or rather a position taken by some powerful countries in the west, some of which are members of the Council, that as long as South Africa is powerful enough to protect foreign investments, and as long as the oppression of Africans in Namibia and in South Africa makes it possible for the international companies to make the highest profits, South Africa not only should remain in Namibia as an

oppressor but also should be provided with modern weapons in order to maintain its colonialism forever.

24. The South African arsenal is being reinforced with modern armaments from its major trading partners who cannot deny this fact before the Security Council. Additionally, the increase of foreign investments in Namibia clearly indicated that Security Council resolution 283 (1970) has been grossly violated and has therefore failed to achieve its intended objectives. The resolution called upon all States

“to withhold from their nationals or companies of their nationality not under direct governmental control, government loans, credit guarantees and other forms of financial support that would be used to facilitate trade or commerce with Namibia”

and

“to discourage their nationals or companies of their nationality not under direct governmental control from investing or obtaining concessions in Namibia, and to this end to withhold protection of such investment against claims of a future lawful government of Namibia”.

So far, among the major South African trading partners only the United States of America has indicated a willingness to uphold resolution 283 (1970). However, it should be noted with some grave disappointment that the American companies continue to participate in exploitation of Namibian national wealth and that the American Government has done little if anything to discourage those companies from indulging in the great profits made by the west at the cost of the oppression of Namibian people.

25. As I said before, the economic opportunists in the west are careless about the suffering of Namibians as long as their commercial interest is protected. It is these Powers which not only encourage South Africa to ignore the United Nations resolutions but also help the racists economically and militarily. The Namibian people are aware of this and the future will tell what we are able to do to destroy the myth that South Africa maintains stability there.

26. Needless to say, although so many resolutions have been passed by the United Nations against South Africa calling upon it to co-operate with the United Nations in order to solve the Namibian impasse, *apartheid*, Bantustans, Bantu education acts, pass laws, anti-terrorism acts and other oppressive laws are still practised in Namibia. In other words, all resolutions of the United Nations have been too weak and have failed to make South Africa hear. The only course of action which the United Nations should pursue is to hit the racists where it hurts. A serious warning to those who make it their hobby to veto any strong measures against South Africa has to be given, for the Namibian people are no longer going to build up the interests of those who make it their duty to advance the cause of our enemy. As is shown by current events in Namibia, we will hit even harder than strikes by workers at foreign interests which stand in our way to freedom and self-determination.

27. Going back to the assertion that South Africa maintains peace in Namibia and that the people accept it, I should like the Security Council to bear in mind the current events in Namibia. More especially, after the decision of the International Court of Justice<sup>1</sup> that South Africa is illegally in Namibia, the Namibian people came out as one and rejected out of hand the contention that South Africa is wanted there.

28. Apart from the revolution carried out by the Namibian people through SWAPO, many Namibians challenged South Africa peacefully. They are the students, teachers, church leaders and, lately, the workers. All these important pressure groups said “no” to the contention that South Africa is wanted in Namibia. They demanded that, being illegally in Namibia, South Africa should withdraw its administration from that country. While in the past our oppressors took advantage of the silence of our people and maintained they were happy with the present administration, this is no longer the case. The voice of our people is heard the world over and their ideals are expressed in their anti-colonialist activities.

29. Additionally, the workers of Namibia are now on strike. I mean Namibian workers from all Namibian ethnic groups, not only Ovambos as is said by the South African mass media. That misleading news is designed to show the world that the Namibian workers are not united. Nothing is further from the truth. At any rate, an attempt was made to divide the workers on ethnic grounds, but it failed, as Herero, Nama and Damara workers refused to become victims of “divide and rule”. To be exact, on 18 December 1971, Mr. M. C. Botha, the South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, flew to Namibia to confer with the so-called Damara Chief Minister on the possibility of forcing Damara people to go to work, but only 15 people showed up at the meeting where Mr. Botha and his Bantustan puppet minister were supposed to speak. In other words, the colonial tactics of “divide and rule” failed completely. After his failure with the Damaras, Mr. Botha went to Grootfontein, where he replaced SWANLA (the South West African Native Labour Association) with new organs which will perform the same function as SWANLA but under different names. Besides, the SWANLA officials tried to force an agreement on the Bantustan puppet chiefs without consulting the workers. The puppets refused to make any concession which might infuriate the workers, so that the stalemate continues as strikes still go on.

30. After the failure to stop the strikes through intrigues, the South African Government resorted to the use of force. Accordingly, some 2,000 troops were brought to the northern region alone, with orders to shoot anybody who encouraged the strikers to hold out. Because of intimidation and provocation from the troops, blood has already been shed. As I am speaking now, at least eight people have been massacred, several wounded and 120 detained in the northern region, when the South African soldiers provoked

<sup>1</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.*

the people in order to find an excuse for shooting and killing them.

31. Meanwhile, the workers' leaders are also now behind bars; churchmen, teachers and students are all under constant surveillance and intimidation. In fact, one German missionary who at the present moment is in this hall was expelled from the country because of his anti-apartheid activities. In the presence of 2,000 soldiers in the northern region alone, and due to the fact that the workers who demanded to go home were shipped somewhere else at gunpoint, there is high tension in Namibia, and the situation is critical.

32. Among other things, the workers demanded the withdrawal of the illegal South African Government from Namibia, the end of all racist laws, and independence for Namibia under "one man, one vote". But the facts were deliberately distorted to make it look as though the workers were only opposed to contract labour. Since all peaceful endeavours and the many United Nations resolutions failed to bring a meaningful change in Namibia, the Namibian people resorted to an armed struggle. Our oppressors publicly admitted our military actions and went so far as to threaten to invade the neighbouring independent Republic of Zambia after our enemy militarily failed to stop our fighting men from inflicting casualties among the enemy soldiers.

33. It is obvious that internally there is no peace and security in Namibia as long as the South African authority is there. Externally there is no peace and security in southern Africa as long as South Africa not only threatens to invade peaceful States but also has gone further by planting mines on Zambian soil. We are not fighting from outside Namibia. We are fighting in Namibia and from within Namibia. Being too weak to stop us, South Africa found the excuse that we were fighting from outside and held that, therefore, it should commit aggression against another State.

34. Before I go any further I should like to take this opportunity seriously to inform the countries with economic interests in Namibia that from now on, until Namibia is free, we will make it difficult for foreign investors who benefit from our oppression to operate there. Therefore I caution the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, Canada and others with heavy economic interests in South Africa and in Namibia that from now on their companies will be operating there at their own risk. As we are able to bring about an economic standstill through strikes and as we are able to blow enemy troops to pieces, we are, as a matter of fact, also able to sabotage any industrial complex in Namibia. The myth that South Africa is powerful enough to provide security for international companies has already vanished. If anybody entertains such ideas he is misleading himself, if not behind the times.

35. As the situation is now critical in Namibia, because of the absence of internal peace and security, thus endangering human life, and as international peace and security is being threatened, because of the aggression committed by South

Africa against peace-loving countries, SWAPO proposes that the Security Council take the following steps.

36. First, we understand that it is the Council's intention to make a common declaration dealing with all the problems on the agenda, but we should like to remind the members of the Council that the uprising of the Namibian people requires due attention and special consideration. Accordingly, we urge the Council to take into serious consideration the situation now existing in Namibia and to take special measures and strong action to deal with the Namibian problems, which require a special and urgent review by the Council. At present, the heroic people of Namibia fighting for the national salvation of Namibia are subjected to killings, intimidation, deportation, surveillance and torture. We urge the Security Council to adopt a separate but strong resolution on Namibia. This resolution should endorse the position of the Organization of African Unity eloquently expressed by its current Chairman, President Ould Daddah of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, who said:

"a committee composed of the members of the Security Council, and above all, of its permanent members, would immediately find ways and means of taking charge of the administration of this Territory and of leading it to self-determination and independence in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council",

and who proposed:

"that a council composed of members of the Security Council, including necessarily the five permanent members, should be entrusted with the administration of Namibia and should make all the arrangements to ensure its effective administration" [1627th meeting, paras. 43 and 44].

This proposal can be applied only if the members of the Security Council can adopt a resolution which will invoke Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

37. Secondly, Chapter VII of the Charter should be invoked as a last resort to maintain peace and security and to safeguard the rights of the Namibian people. Consequently United Nations forces should be sent to Namibia to replace the oppressive South African forces, which should be withdrawn from Namibia immediately.

38. Thirdly, the United Nations Council for Namibia should be strengthened in order that it may discharge its responsibility, that is, take over the government of Namibia and prepare the country for independence.

39. Fourthly, the members of the Security Council should be committed to support the United Nations Council for Namibia and should recognize it as the legal authority in Namibia. Accordingly the United Nations Council for Namibia should be given all necessary assistance, including military backing, to go to Namibia as soon as possible, before it is too late.

40. Fifthly, a special fund should be set up to support the families of the gaoled strike leaders, as well as other

strikers. To ensure that assistance reaches the right people, the Security Council should provide protection according to Chapter VII of the Charter for those who distribute those funds.

41. Sixthly, since all peaceful means have been exhausted according to the Charter, the Security Council should adopt a strong resolution, and back it up with immediate action. Accordingly, military action against South Africa should be taken pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter, as the last alternative and the last resort to save Namibians from being butchered. The big Powers should make sure that the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Namibia are implemented.

42. Seventhly, the Security Council should set up an international labour commission composed of members of the recognized international labour movements. That commission should be given the protection of the Security Council's material assistance and should proceed to Namibia to investigate the situation of the workers in Namibia and help in finding a meaningful solution to the labour problem there.

43. Finally, but not least, I wish to thank OAU for its material assistance and moral support which enables us to continue the struggle for our freedom and independence. Also, my sincere thanks go to the non-African countries and international organizations which support us in our arduous struggle for independence. We resolutely support the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, South Africa, the Comoro Islands and so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) and the other struggling people in Asia and Latin America, as well as the Palestinian people, who are struggling for their rights to self-determination and are fighting against imperialism. I would fail to fulfil my duty if I did not express our unwavering solidarity with the people of Zambia, Tanzania, Guinea, Senegal, Congo, Zaïre, Viet-Nam and the Arab Republic of Egypt, who are facing imperialist plots designed to undermine their independence and economic development.

44. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Mr. Hamadziripi to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

45. Mr. HAMADZIRIPI: May we express our gratitude at the opportunity accorded our Party to address this historic meeting of the Security Council.

46. We should like to draw the attention of the Security Council to a letter written by the President of our Party, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, who, as you are all aware, is at present serving a so-called criminal sentence in Salisbury's maximum security prison for his relentless opposition to the Smith racist régime. With your permission, I would like to read this letter which was smuggled out of prison and is addressed to the Security Council and was sent to the Secretary-General through our national chairman in Lusaka:

"In pursuance of our memorandum submitted to the Security Council<sup>2</sup> regarding the recent Anglo-Rhodesian

proposals<sup>3</sup> now endorsed by the House of Commons and the House of Lords in Great Britain, I wish to draw your attention to the following points which clearly state our position and attitude:

"1. The present Anglo-Rhodesian proposals are based on racialism, minority rule, white supremacy, colonialism and paternalism in direct conflict with the Charter of the United Nations;

"2. If the United Nations accepts the British grant of independence to 240,000 Rhodesian whites at the expense of 5,500,000 Rhodesian blacks, this would logically mean the endorsement of racialism, minority rule, white supremacy, colonialism and paternalism by the United Nations;

"3. Since the handing over of the Rhodesian issue to the United Nations after the consummation of a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian whites was intended to safeguard the interests of the African majority in Rhodesia, the United Nations should continue to play that role until that purpose is achieved;

"4. The present British intention to grant legal independence to the Rhodesian white minority has the serious effect of reversing the present healthy trend of global decolonization which was one of the main gains of the last World War in which millions of people died to do away with the outmoded and antiquated principles of racialism, minority rule, white supremacy, colonialism and paternalism on which the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals are based;

"5. Although the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals contain an elaborate declaration of rights presumed to protect the African from arbitrary, unfair or unjust treatment, the very fact that all effective power is left entirely in the hands of an interested white minority Government which, by any stretch of the imagination, cannot be an impartial judge in its own cause, and which is highly sensitive to the political pressures of an equally interested white minority electorate, makes a complete mockery of such a declaration;

"6. The financial aid contained in the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals for African junior, secondary and technical education and for economic development in the so-called Tribal Trust Lands is calculated to palliate political repression with economic and educational development, and to sell palatably racialism, minority rule, white supremacy, colonialism and paternalism to the Rhodesian African and the world at large, and thus effectively cheat the African out of his legitimate claim to self-determination;

"7. The fundamental British assumption implicit in the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals that the Rhodesian white minority will, with the passage of time, facilitate the establishment of majority rule in Rhodesia is not only naive and unrealistic, but also basically dishonest in its

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year*, 1605th meeting, para. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

conception, and tragic in its consequences, since history has demonstrated again and again that a minority in a position of power will inevitably move heaven and earth to see that it maintains that position even at the expense of the majority;

"8. The voting qualifications as contained in the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals are purposely calculated to enfranchise the majority of white adults, but to disenfranchise the majority of African adults, and that since both economy and education in Rhodesia are deliberately depressed against the African it is naive to maintain that voting qualifications are the same for both black and white;

"9. The British Prime Minister's assertion that among Britain's duties as a nation is included the duty to grant legal independence to Rhodesia is not only highly cynical concerning the fundamental rights of the black people of Rhodesia, but also implies that Britain as a nation has a right to deprive 5,500,000 Africans of their right to self-determination in favour of 240,000 Rhodesian whites;

"10. The oft-suggested external safeguards by the British or the United Nations in the form of British or United Nations troops to be stationed in or outside Rhodesia to ensure that the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals are honoured cannot be effective because such troops are sensitive and subject to political pressures and sensibilities of their home countries, which may not always coincide with the fundamental interests of the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"We would therefore urge the United Nations to take a serious view of the present British intention to grant legal independence to Rhodesia under white minority rule. This would not only create another South Africa, which Britain did in 1910, but it will have far-reaching consequences which all of us may have to regret for a long time to come."

47. In addition, the events of the past few weeks have been adequately reported and dealt with by most of the Foreign Ministers and representatives who have already addressed the Council.

48. With regard to the Pearce Commission, currently testing opinion in Zimbabwe on the Home-Smith settlement, I trust that no further indication is required by this Council of the overwhelming and resounding rejection by the Africans in Zimbabwe of the proposals, and that the blood already shed by 19 of our people is adequate testimony to the total rejection of the proposals.

49. We have had enough talk. We have had enough resolutions. We have suffered too much for far too long. Patience we have had; reasonable we have been. We have now drawn the line. Enough, we say. We were not party to the decision to form the now defunct Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, nor to its dissolution. We were never consulted on the unilateral declaration of independence, nor on the settlement now being made to legalize it. We have now said in the clearest of terms: no, no more.

50. There is only one thing we want: our country. We want it and we shall have it, with or without another veto in this Council of any resolution on Zimbabwe. We shall have our country, by the only means that developments have left us: armed struggle. I should like to assure everyone here that from now on things will never be the same again. The people of Zimbabwe are determined to carry on the armed struggle to the bitter end, and to this extent the challenge before this Council is whether the external international community will stand by and watch the massacre in Rhodesia of not only the black people this time.

51. This historic meeting of the Security Council should not aim at adopting the kind of resolution on Zimbabwe that would escape another veto from the United Kingdom. On the contrary, we urge action, strong action, by the Council. After all, a people are about to be blackmailed, delivered at the altar of expediency by the Home-Smith proposals and the Pearce Commission. We, the people of Zimbabwe, have rejected the proposals and strongly urged the withdrawal of the Pearce Commission. Some people here have tried to create the impression that the Africans in Zimbabwe would like the Pearce Commission to continue its work in Rhodesia. Our President, in his letter that I have just read, has quite clearly called for the withdrawal of the Commission. The Zimbabwe African Trade Union has done likewise, and I should now like to quote from the memorandum submitted to the Pearce Commission by the African National Council, the ANC. This memorandum has, I understand, already been submitted as evidence to this Council. I shall quote from page 2:

"The test of acceptability:

"The ANC has serious misgivings about the methods now adopted for the testing of public opinion. We believe that the only democratic method of testing such opinion is on the basis of 'one man, one vote' and universal adult suffrage, as we made clear in our own published preliminary reaction to the settlement proposals. We are sceptical of the present test, not because we question the impartiality and integrity of the British Commission, but because we believe that no Commission can function properly in the present atmosphere where a minority régime will never permit a fair testing of public opinion."

52. Once again we, too, take the opportunity of strongly rejecting the settlement proposals and calling for an immediate withdrawal of the Pearce Commission. After all, the British Government has vetoed every resolution to date in this Council on Rhodesia. The only peace in Zimbabwe will come from an immediate release of Comrade Sithole and Comrade Nkomo. They are the only national leaders; they are our leaders and they will bring peace to Zimbabwe.

53. We urge this Council to reject the Home-Smith settlement proposals and to urge the British Government to withdraw the Pearce Commission immediately. We also call upon this Council to condemn the recent killings of our people. We request this Council to urge the British Government to release Sithole and Nkomo and all political prisoners from detention immediately. Without this there cannot be peace in Zimbabwe. We urge the members of this

Council to come forward and help us with assistance and aid, material and financial, at this our eleventh hour of the struggle.

54. May we also take advantage of this opportunity to thank the Council warmly for the invitation to address this meeting. It would be unfair not to mention here also the efforts of the Secretary-General of OAU, Comrade Diallo Telli, the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee, and the staff working for OAU in their unusual stations in relation to African liberation in Zimbabwe. We thank them for their untiring devotion and the aid they always afford us.

55. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Mr. Portlako Leballo to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

56. Mr. LEBALLO: On behalf of the oppressed people of Azania under the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania I salute the members of the Security Council at this historic meeting on African soil.

57. I believe that you all come from countries where human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and enjoyed and therefore there is relative peace in your countries. I cannot say the same for myself and my country. There is no peace for me and my people in Azania. I come from Azania, and, as I presume you all know, the Government of racist South Africa does not subscribe to Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations and proves daily in its deeds that it does not respect human rights and basic freedoms as prescribed in that Article. This is a very sore point for us, and, we hope, for you also.

58. The policies of the racist Government of South Africa should need no introduction here. I want to state briefly what those policies mean to the oppressed people of that country as seen by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and in the light of the needs and aspirations of the majority of the people of Azania.

59. It is a criminal offence in racist South Africa to advocate government based on universal adult suffrage or to seek even peaceful change in the political, economic or social spheres. It is unlawful to oppose white minority domination or foreign exploitation. It is criminal to organize strikes or boycotts to obtain legal or social redress. No one is allowed to disagree with the racist doctrine and practices of *apartheid*. Africans are expected to agree to their own subjection, and if they do not agree they are called communists and are flung into prison.

60. It is man's natural right to earn a living. In racist South Africa no African person can exercise that right without permission from the white minority Government. When he is allowed to work, the Government tells him where and for whom he should work, what kind of work and which of its categories he should perform, how long he should remain in that job and what wages he should earn. He cannot choose or bargain. He must only comply or suffer the consequences of his refusal. And the consequences are legion. To deny man the right to work is to deny him the right to life. That

is an outrage, but it is precisely what racism and capitalism are doing to the African people in South Africa.

61. At all levels, African workers are not allowed to organize themselves into trade unions to look after their collective interests. They are not allowed to discuss their grievances. They are not allowed to negotiate with their employers. They are not allowed to strike for any reason. That is because they have no right to live and no right to work. Those called "communists" by the Government are not even allowed to speak to other people. They need official authority to speak to their relatives. They are not allowed to receive visitors or to visit anyone. They are not allowed to work, except as a special concession, and when this has been grudgingly given they are subjected to all sorts of taboos.

62. Therefore, we, the people of Azania, totally aware of the fact that since 1946 the Security Council and the international community have repeatedly appealed to successive white minority régimes in South Africa to abandon racism, the basis of the diabolical policies of *apartheid*, also aware of the fact that for over 300 years we Azanians ourselves have resolutely resisted racist colonialism, fascist aggression and oppression, painfully aware that all appeals by the Security Council and the international community have fallen on deaf ears and that our own just struggle for liberation has often achieved notable victories and also met with serious set-backs, realizing that the South African fascist régime continues with sheer impertinence and licentious impunity to escalate its iniquities and savage atrocities against Azanians in the hope of perpetuating our colonialist and racist enslavement, realizing that this barbarism has rudely shocked the conscience of mankind and taxed our endurance, further realizing that this oppression and exploitation enjoys the overt blessing of some international elements which nevertheless claim hypocritically to be committed to the cause of human freedom and dignity, while they are actually hostile to it, deeply conscious of the deleterious effects of the policies of *apartheid* upon our lives and upon our fundamental rights in Azania to control our own destiny, are fully satisfied that these constitute flagrant violations of fundamental freedoms and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

63. We should also like to point out that the real power in South Africa today under fascist premier John Vorster is the BOSS—the Bureau of State Security—which has even extended its evil tentacles beyond South Africa to the United Kingdom and other countries to interfere with the civil rights and liberties of their citizens as well as of Azanian freedom fighters there. Yet we are astounded that the British Government should acquiesce in this well-known criminal operation, which has been reported in its own newspapers and has been raised in its own Parliament.

64. This intensification of oppression, arrests without trial, banishments, tortures, murders, massacres such as those of Sharpeville in 1960 and executions of Africans almost every week should have shocked the Security Council into positive action long ago. These ghastly occurrences have become the order of the day in South Africa. The fascist régime in Pretoria does what it likes



against humanity with the barely disguised support of the imperialist Powers, led by the United States. The United States is engaged in a global war strategy of action against peoples of the world—in Viet-Nam, in the Middle East where it supports the racist, Zionist régime of Israel in an aggression against Arab peoples. For instance, the coup and subsequent massacres in Lesotho in 1970 were engineered and carried out by agents of the South African and British Governments with the collusion of the United States, West Germany and Israel.

65. South African soldiers and police are today facing African freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Mozambique and have frequently violated Zambian territory. Yet nothing has been done by the Security Council, apparently because the United States, the United Kingdom, France and their ally West Germany are deeply involved in supporting the South African-Portuguese-Rhodesian axis, financially, economically, politically and militarily. The United Kingdom and France are now competing with one another to supply devastating weapons to South Africa for use against the African people.

66. Imperialist France is viciously oppressing the colonial peoples of the Comoro Islands and Djibouti—the so-called “French Territory of the Afars and the Issas”—and denying them the right of self-determination. This is in addition to the sale of arms to the savage Boers, the scum of Europe, in my own country. In this, France has been arrogant and unashamedly reactionary and she must be condemned outright.

67. Also, we are not afraid to point out that the Soviet Union is also collaborating with the imperialists, led by the United States, in seeking to destroy through internal division and subversion the unity of the liberation movements in Africa. This nefarious operation has been spear-headed by the Afro-Asian Peoples’ Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), which is nothing but the *agent provocateur* of the Soviet Union and seeks to split the liberation movements in Africa into so-called “authentic” and “inauthentic” organizations, denying them the right and the duty to enter into a broad united front in their struggle for national liberation. Through AAPSO, the Soviet Union effectively weakens African fighting forces and grants, even to those groups subservient to it, sham support. We therefore are obliged to use this occasion to appeal to the Soviet Union to cease this harmful and sinister policy of interference in the affairs of the African liberation movements.

68. On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and in accordance with the charter of the Organization of African Unity, I once again call on my countrymen in the ranks and the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa and other organizations and all the people of Azania who are opposed to the racist régime to join with us in a broad united front based on a protracted armed struggle of a people’s war. It is on record that we of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania have repeatedly appealed for unity in the struggle and we believe that unity can be achieved if outside interference ceases.

69. We therefore earnestly appeal to the United Nations to extend unqualified political, material and financial support to the Azanian liberation movement.

70. We appeal to the United Nations to demand the immediate and total release of all political prisoners in South Africa and particularly the lifting of the banning orders that have denied Mangaliso Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress, and others the right to leave South Africa.

71. We appeal to the United Nations to demand an end to the police harassment of Azanian political refugees and freedom fighters in Lesotho by the racist Pretoria régime in collaboration with the United Kingdom and their stooge, Chief Leabua Jonathan, and to prevail upon the puppet Lesotho Government to desist from its persecutions and harassment of political refugees and freedom fighters.

72. In conclusion, I wish to state that our main priority in Azania is the national liberation of our fatherland in a protracted armed struggle based on a people’s war of all those who oppose the enemy—the Pretoria *apartheid* clique, which is supported and backed by United States imperialism, the United Kingdom, France, West Germany and others. We would like to warn our Asian brethren in Japan against any further involvement with this racist clique. Despite the support for the *apartheid* régime by the imperialist Powers, we are confident that in the end victory is ours. There can be no compromise in our armed struggle nor apology. This struggle is being fought to the finish. In it either we shall go under and perish or emerge victorious as a sovereign African nation. Long live the African revolution.

73. The PRESIDENT: I learned in my school society that all statements should be addressed to the Chairman, and I believe that this is also true in the Security Council. I therefore request all future speakers not to address their statements directly to members of the Council, by use of either their face, their eyes or their fingers.

74. I now invite Mr. Alfredo Nzo to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

75. Mr. NZO: On behalf of the President of our organization, the African National Congress, its entire membership and all the oppressed people of South Africa, permit me to place on record our sincere thanks for the opportunity to appear before this all-important and leading organ of the United Nations, the Security Council, whose very name is a symbol of hope for the defence of the security of the peoples.

76. How has it been possible for this meeting to take place on the sacred soil of Africa? The defeat of German and Italian fascism and Japanese militarism and the subsequent emergence of the world socialist system created favourable conditions for the resolute advance of national liberation movements. The peoples of our continent, and also those in Asia, rose up in revolt against their colonial masters, who were forced to retreat in the face of the ever-mounting onslaught. The year 1960 is written down in the annals of history as the year of African independence. The immediate result of this revolutionary change was the ever-mounting

strength of the progressive voice of the peoples in organs such as the United Nations and its agencies and in many other international bodies. Gone for ever are the days when the hegemony of the imperialist countries in the United Nations gave them the right to dictate their will to other countries. This historic meeting of the Security Council is the direct result of the irrevocable change in the balance of forces in favour of progress. The venue itself, Addis Ababa, which has become known to the people of Africa as the cradle of their revolution, reflects this situation.

77. We of the African National Congress have followed with great attention the uncompromising stand at the United Nations of the independent African countries and their closest colleagues and comrades in arms in Asia, and especially the Republic of India, and in Latin America and the socialist countries, against the racist tormentor of our people, the fascist Republic of South Africa.

78. It is to the great credit of the Afro-Asian bloc that the fundamental right to a free life of all the colonially and racially oppressed people has been zealously defended in the United Nations. South Africa and Portugal have become the perpetual outcasts, despite the all-round support they receive from the imperialist countries, especially the United States, Britain and France.

79. At the same time we cannot fail to register our deep appreciation of the assistance rendered to the just cause of our people by the socialist countries. It was at the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union that the historic 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*] was adopted by the United Nations. There can be no doubt that this Declaration has had a great impact on the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples. As is known, it came at a time when the anti-colonial struggle of the African people had reached a high peak, and the support of progressive mankind was most timely.

80. Today the unity of the socialist countries and the Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations represents an impregnable bulwark against the strategic designs and machinations of the dark forces of imperialism and war. We highly appreciate the reassurances made to this present session by representatives of the Soviet Union [*1631st meeting*], China [*1630th meeting*] and Yugoslavia [*ibid.*] of the continued support by their Governments and peoples for the just struggle of our people.

81. We have often wondered why countries such as the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have not yet been admitted as States Members of the United Nations. Yet their admission would be in the interests of progress in that Organization. We urge that that situation should be put right, for the further enhancement of the prestige of the United Nations.

82. We have listened very carefully to the statements so far delivered during this session of the Security Council, and especially to the statements of representatives of African countries. Nobody can escape the conclusion that the solution of the problem of decolonization on our

continent has become very urgent indeed. The problem facing the racially oppressed people of South Africa is very well known to the members of the Council. Thanks to the activities of the United Nations agencies, such as the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, the Committee of Twenty-Four,<sup>4</sup> and so forth, a lot of documentation has been done, and is being done, on this question. The General Assembly has adopted numerous resolutions on these problems. However, the racist régime of South Africa has not only maintained its obstinate posture of rejection of these resolutions but is escalating its reactionary violence on our people. Briefly summarized, the situation in our country at the moment is as follows: First, the intensification of the oppressive *apartheid* system; secondly, the intensification of the repression of all anti-*apartheid* and revolutionary forces; thirdly, the aggravation of the political and economic crisis of the *apartheid* system of white domination and super-exploitation; and, fourthly, the further refinement and continuation of the enemy's counter-revolutionary offensive, as seen through the dialogue manoeuvre.

83. For the past decade the South African racist régime has, with the conspiracy of international imperialism, dangled a poisonous carrot in front of our people through the Bantustan programme. At the time they first put this scheme across, it is known that the onslaught of the ANC-led liberation movement and the international pressure against the criminal policies of the racist régime were so great that they were forced to put forward an alternative of separate development for all races in their so-called homelands, with a promise of eventual independence for the Africans in these areas. What are these Bantustan areas? They are the same arid areas which occupy 13 per cent of the land area of our country, as decreed by the Land Act of 1913. Then they were referred to as native reserves; now they are known as Bantustan areas. To these areas the racist régime is driving thousands of our people who had long settled in the urban areas.

84. It will be of interest to this Council to know that a specialist in *apartheid* has estimated that the Bantustans must have 181,000 job opportunities annually if the Africans are to be resettled from the white areas, but only 945 vacancies were created during the six years ending in 1969.

85. We view the Bantustans as nothing but an intensification of what we refer to as colonialism of a special type—a system which seeks to perpetuate the colonial-type oppression of our people in the Bantustans for the interests of imperialist white South Africa and those of international monopoly circles which reap super-profits from the intense economic exploitation of our people.

86. One of the aims of this political counter-revolutionary offensive is to destroy the influence of the ANC-led national liberation movement over the masses of our people and thus weaken their onslaught on the *apartheid* citadel.

87. The external policies of the South African *apartheid* régime are geared to serve the imperialist interests of the

<sup>4</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

capitalist monopoly groups in our country whilst at the same time they spearhead the aggressive neo-colonialist penetration of the independent African continent by international imperialism. During the middle 1960s it had dawned on the South African white minority ruling circles that the aggressive designs of this policy could not be realized whilst South Africa remained isolated, especially by the independent African countries which had been singled out as the main targets of this counter-revolutionary onslaught. The so-called outward-looking policy of the middle 1960s, which later developed into a policy of dialogue, is designed to extricate South Africa from the dilemma of isolation so that it can put its schemes into operation.

88. It is quite gratifying to note that the African countries were quick to see that the dialogue policy had been especially designed, on one hand, to divide and weaken the Organization of African Unity and expose the independent African countries to neo-colonialist penetration and, on the other, to isolate the revolutionary forces of change and render them ineffective.

89. The dialogue policy has been massively rejected by the African countries, although it is still necessary to remain vigilant. The South African fascist régime continues to press more and more for the success of this policy.

90. The collaboration between the terrorist régime of South Africa and international imperialism is too well known. It is this collaboration which made the fascist régime forcibly annex Namibia in violation of international law, and also makes it violate all United Nations decisions with impunity.

91. It is this collaboration which has made South Africa the centre of the aggressive unholy alliance in southern Africa, the other members of which are the colonial régime in Rhodesia and the fascist régime of Portugal. This collaboration has made South Africa strong enough to issue time and again bellicose threats against African countries, such as Tanzania and Zambia, for their so-called crime of resolutely supporting the national liberation movements.

92. As a member and leader of the unholy alliance, South Africa has also participated in Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea, Senegal and the People's Republic of the Congo. South Africa has been drawn into the aggressive NATO bloc and this no doubt militates against the security of the African continent.

93. It is therefore with full justification that we unequivocally condemn the imperialist circles in Britain, the United States, West Germany, Japan and France for their continued military and economic backing of the fascist régime of terror in South Africa.

94. Regarding our proposals, the African National Congress takes this opportunity to re-emphasize the urgent need for the implementation of all United Nations decisions adopted so far on the question of the violation of fundamental human rights by the South African régime of terror. Steps ought to be taken to ensure the adherence to these decisions by the imperialist countries. They must be

stopped from continuing to behave like international gangsters. In particular, we should like to urge the Security Council to adopt mandatory sanctions against South Africa which would be enforceable under the strict supervision of the Security Council.

95. We fully agree with the suggestions already made for the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. It is anomalous that a régime which represents only 15 per cent of the population in South Africa and which has amply demonstrated its contempt for the United Nations should continue to be a Member of that body.

96. We urge all progressive, peace-loving States of the United Nations to assist in all possible ways the revolutionary struggle of the people of South Africa.

97. Our strategic objective remains that of seizure of power from the white minority régime, using all revolutionary methods, including armed struggle. The victory of our struggle which has been long awaited not only by our people in South Africa but also by mankind in general, will ensure the destruction once and for all of the hotbed of imperialism and aggression on the continent of Africa. Our courageous people are fully conscious of this great internationalist task and they will certainly carry it out.

98. We reiterate our full support for the just struggles of our comrades-in-arms in beleaguered Viet-Nam and in the rest of Indo-China against the brutal American aggression; of our Arab and Palestinian brothers struggling against the imperialist-backed Israeli aggressors; of our brothers in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Comoro Islands. We also support the struggles of the Latin American peoples against American imperialism, and also the struggle of the black people in the United States itself for their national dignity.

99. In conclusion, we should like to express our appreciation to the United Nations and to the OAU Administrative Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Diallo Telli, for placing his high office at the service of liberation movements at all times.

100. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. George Silundika to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

101. Mr. SILUNDIKA: I should like to introduce myself. I represent Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

102. It is with a sense of gratification that we congratulate the Security Council for having taken the historical step of holding these meetings on African soil. We also congratulate the people of Ethiopia, His Imperial Majesty and the Government of Ethiopia for providing an opportunity to the Council to meet here in Addis Ababa.

103. We are as grateful to the Organization of African Unity for enabling us, the representatives of the struggling masses of Zimbabwe, to be here, as we are to the Security Council for allowing us to appear before it. The United Nations, and in particular this organ, the Security Council,

has a tremendous obligation to discharge, which is to bring about and ensure peace in all areas of the world.

104. Africa has the gloomiest prospect for peace. This is because of persistent and defiant British, Portuguese and French colonialism and of the South African *apartheid* régime. The British, Portuguese and South African régimes are by common, calculated and deliberate conspiracy planting and nurturing the seeds for an inevitable bloodbath whose explosion will affect not only the remaining non-independent territories of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), but the whole of independent Africa starting of course from those countries which border these Territories. The French are denying independence to the struggling Comoro people. We are speaking not of a horrible future which is still a figment of the imagination, but of one whose count-down has already started with tolls of African lives in the hands of fascist, racist British and Portuguese régimes, spelling the nearness of zero hour.

105. As the comrade freedom-fighters in Asia are beginning to see the bright horizon of freedom in their defeat of imperialism after decades and decades of bloody revolution and untold human sacrifices, the Government of the United Kingdom is busy transferring the scene of similar bloodbaths to southern Africa, through its entrenchment of racist régimes and its reinforcing of them by all sorts of military equipment on this and that excuse.

106. I may add here that it is in the character of the Government of the United Kingdom to establish areas of tension with which this world body has had to grapple over the years. We have the problem of Cyprus, which stands as a problem facing the world, the problem of India and Pakistan; the problem of the Middle East in which the Palestinian people are struggling for the settlement of their just rights, and many other areas where similar acts of the British have given this world body a great deal of trouble.

107. The deliberate creation of an international crisis by the United Kingdom in Zimbabwe, by its imposition over the Zimbabwe people of its unwanted foreign minority racist régime, is a matter that has been repeatedly and most ably exposed by the majority of the Members of the United Nations and expressed through resolutions.

108. Our task before this meeting of the Council is to reflect the current grave situation in Zimbabwe and its immediate causes. We believe the Security Council is conversant with the concrete fact that the mere appearance of the British Pearce Commission for the so-called test of acceptability of the British constitutional fraud sparked off an unprecedented wave of resentment, demonstrations and clamour for total rejection of the United Kingdom's constitutional machinations. This process is in progress. These are the true convictions and profoundest feelings of the Zimbabwe people. The Security Council is equally aware that the Smith racist régime took its full machinery of war and descended brutally on the unarmed men, women and children, murdering many of them. Nineteen lie dead and hundreds lie in hospitals.

109. Smith has made a public promise that he will carry out more murders. The United Kingdom Government,

through its spokesman, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, commended Ian Smith for carrying out all these murders of African people. In his statement to the House of Commons last week, Sir Alec Douglas-Home clearly endorsed the fascist acts of the Smith régime when he sadistically said he could not question the right of the Rhodesian régime to use the minimum of force to bring about law and order. We wish the Council to take special note of the attitude of the United Kingdom Government to these suppressive murderous acts of the Rhodesian racist régime. It regards them as the right of the régime. It is perhaps a tolerable diplomatic nicety, internationally, to continue to appeal to the United Kingdom to intervene impartially in Zimbabwe. We disagree with this approach. It is like a prayer to the devil at his altar. After all is said and done, the concrete reality remains that the racist régime in Rhodesia is a clear-cut physical expression of the United Kingdom Government on Zimbabwe soil. The two are indistinguishable. The possibility of the United Kingdom's ever acting impartially in Zimbabwe is therefore totally non-existent. The Council's efforts in support of the aim of the people of Zimbabwe to realize their inalienable rights are not frustrated because of the Ian Smith régime as such; the obstruction is in this Council: the representative of the United Kingdom. United Kingdom Governments have remained totally insensitive to any international appeals on the Zimbabwe question just as they were in the past to those of the people of Zimbabwe themselves. As a final demonstration of contempt for all these appeals, the United Kingdom régime has today openly conferred on Ian Smith the right to murder our people and assured the racist minority of permanent rule by devising the so-called Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional agreement.

110. We have taken up arms. Our comrades lie dead on the soil of our motherland following several battles with the fascist forces of foreign occupation—the racist régime of British settlers. This is the only way open to us to gain our freedom. We are committed and determined to develop and pursue the armed struggle to the decisive stage of total victory for our freedom. Some comrades of our vanguard forces are at present, as the Council is aware, lined up for execution in the death cells of the Rhodesian racist régime. These gallant comrades face murder for resisting fascism in the quest for freedom. We might just point out that the so-called Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional agreement is pointedly silent about the lives of these gallant fighters who have had the death sentence hanging over them for more than two years. The colonialist gaols in Rhodesia and the concentration camps are flooded with political detainees.

111. The current rising of the Zimbabwe masses against the November British constitutional fraud is red writing on the wall for an uglier bloody revolution. This is neither an empty threat nor just a slogan. We are truly and sincerely in the mood for a total armed revolution. We must be free. There is no other way. We wish to register this with this Security Council. We have no illusions about the sacrifices involved. They are the necessary cost for our freedom. The United Kingdom Government is free to reassure itself or remain naïve about this question because of the reinforcement it is giving to its régime in Rhodesia but we must declare that those fascist guns will not silence or suppress us into submission.

112. It is superfluous for us to restate our total and unreserved rejection of the recent United Kingdom constitutional document concerning Zimbabwe because we have declared this before; the overwhelming number of Members of the United Nations have also declared so and, what is most decisive, the people of Zimbabwe themselves have registered their big "no" to these proposals through the sacrifice of their lives, unarmed, defying the guns of the British racist settlers.

113. The Pearce Commission no longer has a purpose for continuing to masquerade on Zimbabwe soil as seekers of African opinion, even if the Commission should have been established in the first instance. If it has not yet been struck by the impact of African resistance, an impact which has reverberated the world over, then the Commission must be seeking to fabricate an answer which was the original purpose of its establishment—to produce a go-ahead for the so-called independence constitution. The Pearce Commission must therefore pack its bags and return to the United Kingdom rather than cause further resentment by looking for a needle in a haystack. We do not need a second or third party to interpret our opinions as though we are dumb or imbecile. We regard the establishment of a body to interpret our opinions and positions as a serious insult.

114. I should now like to make comments on some ideas being circulated here about the position of the Zimbabwe people on the Pearce Commission. It is being circulated for the convenience of the United Kingdom Government here that the African people of Zimbabwe would like the Pearce Commission to continue. I must say that this is a false position. The method of testing the acceptability of that constitution has been criticized. And when the African people of Zimbabwe say "no" they say "no" not only to the proposals but also to the Pearce Commission, which is part and parcel of the whole British machinery to bring about the planned deceit of the Zimbabwe people and of the world.

115. Apart from this, even if the Pearce Commission were impartial, it is important to note that the Zimbabwe people have absolutely no control over the interpretation that the United Kingdom Government and the Rhodesian régime will place on the report that Lord Pearce will make. Therefore, we cannot take a chance and endorse the continuation of the Pearce Commission because this would amount to our endorsing the consequences of its report, that is, the interpretation that the United Kingdom Government would feel free to make of the report of the Pearce Commission. After all, Lord Pearce is only a Commissioner. He is not the Government that will decide the final course of events. Therefore, we cannot take a chance. It is for this reason that we feel that the Pearce Commission must withdraw, because it is part and parcel of the machinery that is calculated to deceive the Zimbabwe people.

116. In Zimbabwe, we are facing an extremely preposterous situation. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the man who contrived the constitutional fraud against the Zimbabwe people, is the same man who appoints the Commission to pass verdict on his document and determines the circumstances under which the Commission should work. Lord

Pearce, the man who gave the legal go-ahead for the Smith régime as a *de facto* régime, is the man who is supposed today to determine the fact of that régime. Ian Smith's régime, the culprit under investigation, is the one supposed to provide facilities for the Commission investigating him. The Ian Smith régime has declared openly that, if the Commission returns a verdict of "no", then there will be no other attempt to bring another constitutional settlement. Sir Alec Douglas-Home has endorsed this position of Ian Smith. What is the purpose of the Pearce Commission, therefore? Just an item for providing a debating point for the British House of Commons and entertaining British readers? We cannot afford any longer to be a plaything of British colonialist politics. We are aware that a number of people are satisfied and give praise to the Zimbabwe people for registering a "no". It is true that we are grateful for that compliment, but it is not flattery that we want. It is the power that we want. Therefore we are more concerned with the instrument that would create the power that we need.

117. Briefly, as regards the constitutional proposals, I wish to say that under them, even if we 5 million Africans qualified as voters today, we would not smell the scent of freedom and majority control of government. The four pillars of power—the seats in the Legislative Assembly, the army, the civil administration and the judiciary—all remain unquestionably and undoubtedly in the hands of the racist minority. We, the Zimbabwe people, are being asked to rest on a promise to be fulfilled by Ian Smith after his death, perhaps when he has performed the miracle of resurrection after a thousand years. This is out of the question and is so much of an insult that it does not deserve even a moment's consideration. What we must have, as the majority in Zimbabwe and the natural owners of the country, is the real substance of power. This, in the circumstances, we must seize by force of arms. We cannot collaborate with an instrument of our own doom.

118. Smith, in an attempt to justify his murderous acts, has hatched a typical British psychological trick, that he would respect the views of one quietly spoken African rather than those of a thousand demonstrating Africans. Why should he respect such an approach before a Commission and fear it in a confrontation at a constitutional conference in the first instance? We are asking members of the Security Council to direct the following questions to the representative of the fascist régime of foreign occupation in Zimbabwe, the representative of the United Kingdom. First, if it was difficult for the Zimbabwe people to participate in the formulation of the so-called constitutional document, why should they be expected to understand it and approve of it now? Secondly, why should the people of Zimbabwe be asked to approve a document which they did not take part in formulating and which specifically precludes them from immediate effective control of power?

119. We have now made our position very clear on the grave situation obtaining in our country as a result of its continued foreign occupation by the United Kingdom through its fascist, racist agent, the settler régime. The Council could not fail to have noticed the assertion of the Zimbabwe people's leader Joshua Nkomo, that we stand by "no independence before majority rule" and that we

cannot bow down to a racist settlement. Equally, the Council could not have failed to take notice of the unified voice of the Zimbabwe people as expressed a few days ago by Bishop Muzorewa, calling attention to the fact that failure to heed the resounding "no" of the people of Zimbabwe is the surest guarantee of an inevitable revolution.

120. Therefore we are asking the Security Council, first, to demand the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Zimbabwe soil and to take note of the fact that the British constitutional proposals are silent on the continued presence of those troops; the Council should condemn the United Kingdom for the murderous military suppression of our people.

121. Secondly, we are asking the Council to ask the representative of the régime of foreign occupation in Zimbabwe, the representative of the United Kingdom in this Council, to table in this Council the unpublished financial documents Sir Alec Douglas-Home exchanged with Ian Smith on the day they signed the seal of oppression of the Zimbabwe people, 24 November 1971. These documents are a crucial factor in the conspiracy against the Zimbabwe people, because it is these financial pressures that led to the settlement and the United Kingdom's desire to offload its unemployment problem on Rhodesia, to exploit the Zimbabwe people yet further.

122. Thirdly, we ask the Council to condemn the United States, West Germany, Japan and France for deliberately sabotaging the United Nations programme of sanctions against the Rhodesian régime by stepping up trade with the régime and competing to the detriment of the Zimbabwe people. As if to defy this Council, as it is aware, a few days before the Council met, the United States Government announced its lifting of the embargo on Rhodesian chrome imports.

123. Fourthly, we ask the Council to resolve to assist the people of Zimbabwe financially and materially in their struggle to dislodge the British minority racist régime and establish a just and popular government. In this regard, we should like to point out that some members of this Council have already for many years taken the lead in giving assistance to the liberation movements in Africa. Among these are Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, the African States and indeed China and other countries that have continued to assist the Zimbabwe people. We cannot forget that in the western countries some of the people have by themselves also assisted the liberation movements, and their Governments must follow that example.

124. Fifthly, we ask the Council to reject unreservedly the Anglo-Rhodesian constitutional proposals, strengthen the programme of sanctions and ask Member States of the United Nations not to recognize the settler régime.

125. We are aware that some members of the Security Council in New York failed to support a resolution in support of the Zimbabwe peoples' rejection of the British constitutional proposals out of fear of the British argument that a commission had yet to establish the views of the people of Zimbabwe. That argument is no longer tenable.

We have registered our voice, even by sacrifice of our own blood in Zimbabwe. In any case, the Council should refuse to be used as an instrument of convenience by the United Kingdom on the Zimbabwe question. It cannot contrive a constitutional fraud on the one hand and be free to hand over the judgment of it to the world on the other. We therefore look forward to the fullest support from this Council for our cause of freedom, which ultimately is the cause of international peace.

126. We hope this is only a beginning for the Security Council to avail itself of the genuine voice of the Zimbabwe people in discussing the Zimbabwe question. We fully endorse the Council's decision which demanded the appearance of the leaders Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole before it [1604th meeting]. We hope the Council will press this issue.

127. Our appearance would be incomplete if we did not express our solidarity with our fighting brothers in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America and, indeed, our black brothers in the United States who are still suffering the same human degradation which was perpetrated on Africa when the slave trade was initiated here.

128. The PRESIDENT: I should like to make a brief announcement in connexion with a film which was referred to this morning. After adjournment of today's meeting a short film on Guinea (Bissau), entitled "*Témoignage*", will be shown.

129. I should also like to announce, on the subject of the rearrangement of the list of speakers, that owing to a reception the Secretary-General of the OAU will have to leave a little early. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to give him a chance to address us now, and to put off hearing the remaining two speakers until tomorrow morning.

130. I call on the representative of Belgium, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

131. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Do I understand correctly from what you said, Mr. President, that some of the persons who are to be heard pursuant to article 39 of the provisional rules of procedure will be speaking tomorrow morning instead of this evening?

132. The PRESIDENT: I have been advised that two representatives are going to speak after the statements of Council members tomorrow morning.

133. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I would prefer that the persons who were to speak under article 39 be heard this evening.

134. The PRESIDENT: In the light of the statement made by the representative of Belgium, may I ask the advice of the Council on this point?

135. Mr. GHALIB (Somalia): With all due respect to the reservation expressed by the representative of Belgium, I should like to support your ruling, Mr. President, because



you have given us ample explanation and I think we ought to accept your proposal. That is why I should like to appeal to my colleague the representative of Belgium to withdraw his proposal.

136. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium): (*interpretation from French*): I agree with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, but I should like to say, all the same, that the statements of the persons to be heard under article 39 should be separated from the statements of members of the Council.

137. The PRESIDENT: If there is no objection to the reservation expressed by the representative of Belgium, we shall proceed according to his suggestion that the statements of the persons to be heard under article 39 should be separated from the statements of Council members.

138. I now invite His Excellency Mr. Diallo Telli to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

139. Mr. DIALLO Telli (*interpretation from French*): On this day when the diplomatic head of the Democratic Republic of Sudan has assumed the Presidency of the United Nations Security Council in addition to his regular duties as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, we take particular pleasure, Mr. President, in repeating to you the friendly and sincere wishes of the OAU for the success of your Presidency, with the fervent hope that under your inspired leadership this Council will, in the common interest of Africa and the international community, take effective and genuinely historic decisions in the field of decolonization. Similarly, we should like to express our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Republic of Somalia and to his Permanent Representative to the United Nations, who played a decisive role in the Council's acceptance of the invitation of the OAU and the subsequent holding of this Security Council session here in Addis Ababa, headquarters of our organization.

140. On behalf of the secretariat of the OAU, I am happy to associate myself with all the distinguished African personalities who have spoken before me in bidding a warm welcome to Africa to the members of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and to express our appreciation and gratitude for the Council's decision to accept the invitation of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the OAU to meet on African soil to find appropriate solutions to the explosive problems with which we are so dangerously confronted.

141. The Organization of African Unity, faithful interpreter of the aspirations of the African peoples and of the grave concerns of their leaders, in taking the initiative of inviting the Security Council, quite clearly defined what it meant by that initiative and what it expected from this session of the Security Council on African soil: namely, the effective implementation of the numerous decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Council in the field of decolonization, the struggle against racial discrimination, and the elimination of the policy of *apartheid*. This is precisely why the African representatives have given the Council, ever since the beginning of its work

here, co-operation which we have no hesitation in describing as exceptional in every respect, to enable your deliberations, in the common interests of Africa and the United Nations, to be crowned with success in keeping with the vast hopes of the peoples and governments of Africa.

142. Indeed, through their solemn statements in your presence, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and the current President of the OAU, His Excellency Moktar Ould Daddah, speaking on behalf of the 41 Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at the very beginning of this session of the Council, offered an extensive range of concrete proposals and practical measures, both general and particular, all designed to enable the Council to shoulder its responsibilities towards 30 million Africans the victims of occupation, oppression and humiliation at the hands of the colonial racist authorities of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. These proposals were also to be taken up by the many Heads of State and Government of the OAU in the special messages which they have sent to the Council. Similarly, an impressive number of Foreign Ministers, of special representatives sent by their respective Governments, spokesmen of bodies working in the United Nations and elsewhere to promote decolonization and the leaders of the heroic national liberation movements, who often write some of the most glorious pages of the history of our continent in their own blood, have also submitted to the Council many concrete proposals on measures that should be adopted to find, for the crucial problems which the Council is discussing, just solutions in keeping with the common interest of Africa and the international community.

143. However, as members of the Council have no doubt noted, in spite of the diversity and range of the forms of expression, all the distinguished African orators agree essentially on a certain number of important points which we would hope would be constantly borne in mind by everyone whenever, individually, each Member of the supreme organ of the United Nations and the Council collectively, come to draw the necessary conclusions from this African session, conclusions which alone will determine the success that we long for or the failure, with its incalculable consequences, which we have such good grounds for fearing.

144. First, African speakers have been unanimous in stating clearly that what the OAU, its leaders and the people of Africa expect of the present meetings of the Council is not statements of the obvious, nor new declarations, quickly forgotten, of the classical conventional type, nor pious traditional resolutions, but concrete solutions to problems before the Council which would be in keeping with the principles of the Charter and susceptible of immediate or early application. Now, this ardent wish of the peoples and governments of Africa can perfectly well come true. It only depends on the political will of the Council and particularly on the nature and degree of co-operation of the permanent members.

145. Secondly, from the statements of African leaders and the authentic representatives of the peoples struggling for their liberation, and on the basis of the disappointing experience of the past and taking due account of the

effectiveness of so many praiseworthy efforts of the various organs of the United Nations which have been doomed to failure because they lacked authority and resources, it is clear that it is indispensable to get out of the rut of the past. It has now become clear that the effectiveness of United Nations action in the field of decolonization, in the struggle against racial discrimination and *apartheid*, depends upon the direct action of the Security Council and in particular the action of its permanent members, who alone possess the necessary political, diplomatic, economic and military resources, as well as the authority to implement the decisions of the United Nations. This assumption by the Security Council of direct responsibility for the application of all initiatives, of all resolutions and of all decisions of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, is without doubt a new and important factor that has emerged from the unanimous voice of African representatives who have uttered, in the Council's hearing, a cry for help and an appeal for justice for millions of their brothers and sisters who are still groaning under the yoke of colonial and racist domination in southern Africa and in the Portuguese colonies.

146. If the Security Council agrees to play this active role, not only in terms of decision-making, but also and particularly in terms of execution and supervision of all decisions in decolonization, then and then alone will the United Nations have found the only way of shouldering its political and moral responsibility and justifying the immense hopes placed in it by the peoples and governments of Africa. Such a radical transformation, which would restore to the Council its genuine prestige and authority as the supreme organ of the United Nations in this field of decolonization, so closely linked with peace and security in Africa and throughout the world, would place the whole problem of decolonization in a new context. If this were the case, the most optimistic hopes would be permissible. Thus, the Council would assume its obligations under the Charter fully and would have recourse to the whole range of resources laid down by it, and would easily find ways and means of getting the work of decolonization in the United Nations out of its present impasse, and thus, in this vital field, open up a new era of positive action which the Africans long for.

147. In such a context, with regard to Namibia, the Security Council, with the full co-operation of its permanent members, would easily find ways and means of taking over effectively the administration of the Territory to permit the people of Namibia to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. Similarly, and in the same circumstances, the Council could put an end, by concrete and appropriate measures, to the martyrdom of 5 million Rhodesians who have been handed over, bound hand and foot, to a handful of British settlers, and actively help the United Kingdom to break the present deadlock resulting from the resounding failure of its Rhodesian policy, and to realize the imperative need to associate the majority of Africans intimately with any true solution to the present grave crisis. In this regard the Security Council could help the Government of the United Kingdom, the administering Power, to organize a constitutional conference, with the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, outside the poisoned atmosphere of Rhodesia

and in a place offering all necessary guarantees for serious discussions, in order to permit the whole of the Rhodesian people to exercise freely, and on the basis of majority rule, its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The solution advocated by the current President of the OAU, and supported by many speakers, could itself create a new climate and do a great deal to accelerate the process of decolonization in Africa.

148. With regard to the grave situation in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies, there is no doubt that the Security Council, fully aware of the serious threats to international peace and security inherent in these situations, and resolved henceforth to shoulder all its responsibilities in the field of decolonization, would find in the many proposals made by the various speakers ways and means of bringing the Governments of Portugal and South Africa to see reason. Their only trump card has hitherto been the lack of political will on the part of certain great Powers, members of the Security Council, something which has been reflected in political, economic, diplomatic, financial and military assistance to the Portuguese and South African Governments. Accordingly, in the common interest of Africa and the international community, the Security Council would enable millions of Africans, still groaning under the colonial yoke of Portugal and the abominable régimes of South African *apartheid* and Rhodesian *apartheid*, to recover their liberty, honour and dignity.

149. In the interest of international peace and security of justice and the normal development of the African continent, the Council should not hesitate, in the face of the arrogance and the obstinacy of the Portuguese and South African Governments, to impose upon them, if necessary by appropriate methods, diplomatic straitjackets, in order to render them incapable of flouting any further the political and moral authority of the United Nations and of violating so seriously in Africa the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and to continue their policy of exploitation, oppression and humiliation, which is so liable, in the near future, to lead to a racial war that would have consequences which would be frightful in every respect.

150. Finally, if, with their backs to the wall and in desperation, the Portuguese and South African Governments resisted all the decisions and peaceful measures advocated by Africa in the Lusaka Manifesto<sup>5</sup> and any additional decisions which might emerge from the Security Council after its present discussions, it would remain for the Council to use political, economic and military sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, including in particular the expulsion or suspension of those two Governments from the United Nations until they bowed to the need for decolonization and put an end to their crimes, acts of aggression and their policy of genocide in Africa.

151. Of course, the most elementary realism obliges us to recognize that even at best, in a situation where the Security Council, heeding the appeal of Africa, would

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



agree, in keeping with its responsibilities under the Charter, to play a decisive role as the organ of execution and supervision of decisions on decolonization, a certain amount of time would be necessary to resolve the grave problems and misdeeds of colonialism and racism in Africa. Hence in the transitional period and before the African people recover their sovereign rights in full it is highly desirable for the Council to recognize explicitly at this session, following the example of the General Assembly of the legitimacy of the national liberation struggle and, as a logical consequence, to step up its financial, material and other assistance to African national liberation movements.

152. To this end the Security Council should begin by inviting the specialized agencies of the United Nations family to intensify each in its own field of competence, assistance to African refugees, and to the liberation movements and all victims of colonial occupation and racial oppression in Africa. The Council should in particular insist that the specialized agencies proceed beyond the framework of token assistance and earmark in practice a sizeable proportion of their respective budgets for the necessary assistance to all victims of colonial exploitation and racial oppression in Africa. The assistance of the specialized agencies already recommended by the General Assembly could judiciously be supplemented by the Security Council by its taking into account the proposal of the current President of the Organization of African Unity to create a special and substantial fund of the United Nations designed primarily to assist the liberation and also the national reconstruction of the territories ravaged by colonial pillage. Such an assistance fund, which would give more substance to the concept of international solidarity with the victims of colonial domination and racial oppression in Africa, would without any doubt constitute a major contribution by this session of the Security Council and would do a great deal towards meeting the hopes of African peoples and leaders.

153. Still within the framework of this increased United Nations assistance for decolonization, the Security Council could by all the means available to it, and if necessary by making appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly, call upon all States to take an active part in financing both the special fund of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa and the assistance fund recently created by the Organization of African Unity, to solve humanitarian, economic, social and cultural problems for the benefit of refugees and the peoples of regions liberated from foreign domination.

154. These various measures of assistance on the part of the international community, strengthening the parallel efforts of the Organization of African Unity, would without any doubt favourably affect the situation in southern Africa and hasten the process of the eradication of colonialism and racism. Similarly, the Security Council, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, could support by all appropriate means the necessary publicity for the national liberation struggle by substantially increasing the resources made available for this purpose to the Secretary-General within the framework of the normal activities of the Office of Public Information of the Secretariat of the United Nations.

155. There are many other practical and concrete measures which the Security Council might take right now within the framework of the new dynamic policy to promote decolonization. Thus it could and should take all measures necessary to call a halt on all fronts of the colonial war of the flagrant violations of international conventions on the treatment of prisoners of war by explicitly recognizing that a state of war exists right now in the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. Furthermore, the Security Council should without delay set up a watchdog committee of its own to supervise the application of all resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council to halt effectively deliveries of arms and equipment which make it possible for Portugal and South Africa to continue their acts of repression and genocidal wars against the African peoples under their domination.

156. The holding of the present meeting of the Security Council in Africa is in itself an important act of co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and we formally suggest that the Council, like the General Assembly, decide, in order to enhance its effectiveness, to institutionalize in the field of decolonization its co-operation with the Organization of African Unity for which the elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in Africa has been from its very inception and remains today more than ever the priority of priorities. In any case, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, would if necessary spare no effort and shrink from no sacrifice to co-operate unreservedly with the Security Council in anything positive and concrete it might do to promote decolonization.

157. For our part, we consider that such co-operation is not only necessary but a vital necessity because it is clear that there can be no question of liberating Africa without the participation of the Africans, and the Organization of African Unity, as the instrument of inter-African co-operation *par excellence* is the natural ally of any organization wishing to work effectively on the African continent for the benefit of the Africans. We therefore very much hope that the serious strengthening of co-operation between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity in this vital field of decolonization and the elimination of racial discrimination and *apartheid* will be one of the important results of this first meeting of the Security Council on African soil.

158. It is a fact that all the speakers that have taken part in this debate have, without exception, stressed the vital need for the United Nations, and, indeed, for Africa, to see to it that this meeting of the Security Council is successful. Of course, it is quite possible that such a wish may come true, but that will require of everyone—and particularly of some members of the Council—serious efforts; a lucid, real and consistent reappraisal of previous attitudes and acts of genuine courage. In any case, in spite of a sharp deterioration in the situation, which is now at boiling point in southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies, the Security Council, if only it shows imagination, boldness and wisdom, can still prevent the outbreak of conflagrations with all their unforeseeable consequences. But for us all every minute counts. We must act and act immediately to avoid

the worst. For its part, the Organization of African Unity is entirely ready to co-operate fully with the Council in the search for ways and means of putting out the fires kindled here and there by settlers blinded by hatred, prejudice and small-minded considerations of short-term material interests.

159. In any case, all are agreed that it would be tragic for Africa—but even more tragic for the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular—were this meeting of the Security Council in Africa to fail through a lack of political will or an obstinate and blind refusal to shoulder responsibilities in meeting the needs of the hour. To avoid the frightful alternative, the members of the Council would be well advised to ponder the wise words of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, who reminded us here in this very hall at the solemn opening of this session [1627th meeting] of the premature and shameful end of the League of Nations because of its inability to respect its principles and objectives and for having deserted by complicity the camp of right and justice, thus assisting the initial acts of aggression of budding fascism. Surely we can see, in this field of decolonization, disturbing parallels which make it the duty of all those who are friends of the United Nations to sound the alarm before it is too late.

160. It is our profound conviction that the common interest of Africa and the international community requires of the members of this Council that its present deliberations on African soil should be successful. In any event, this session will mark—it has already marked—a decisive turning point in the field of decolonization. The question which we raise and to which we expect from you a proper answer is whether your Council will be able to measure up to the requirements of the time or whether this session will confirm the tragic impotence of the United Nations.

161. Hopes, perhaps exaggerated hopes, have been placed by the people of Africa and their leaders in this session of the Council. It is important none the less for this vital fact to be constantly borne in mind by you. For our part, we certainly do have confidence, but this in no way detracts from our duty not to conceal from you our grave apprehensions. We hope, in our interest and in that of the Council, that the conclusions of your debates will prove that the Organization of African Unity was right to take the initiative of inviting you to Africa and that the General Assembly was right in approving almost unanimously our initiative and that, finally, proof will be furnished that your Council was right in holding for the first time in Africa a series of meetings devoted to an examination of practical and concrete solutions for one of the most important hot-beds of international tension, injustice and criminality.

162. It is in this context of fervent hope and genuine apprehension that, on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, we repeat our ardent hope that this first session of the Security Council in Africa, so often described as

historic, will actually prove to be so, to your honour, to the honour of the United Nations and for the good of Africa, by the nature, the quality, the boldness and the timeliness of the decisions and conclusions which will crown your deliberations.

163. The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Diallo Telli for the kind words which he expressed about my country. I am sure I can also speak for the Somali delegation in expressing gratitude for the compliments which he extended to it.

164. I understand that the representative of Guinea would like to give some background information on the film which will be presented after the meeting.

165. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): In the context of the information we intended to give the Council this morning I should like to bring to the attention of members some further information concerning the film. The title of the film, which is very succinct, is "*Témoignage*". It is a film taken from the programme "*Point et contrepoint*" of the French radio and television broadcasting system. It was filmed by the Office de radiodiffusion-télévision française in 1970. A team of film-makers went to the Portuguese part of Guinea, invited by the Government of Portugal. The other part of the film was taken in Guinea (Bissau), and covers the freedom fighters and therefore includes scenes taken on the spot, even on the battlefield.

166. As can be expected, the film, which was part of a whole and was shot in the spirit of "*Point et contrepoint*", was rejected by the Portuguese side for reasons which members of the Council can guess.

167. The African Party for Independence in Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) therefore bought the film in its complete version, the part taken from the Portuguese side as well as the part taken from the side of the liberation fighters. But since we do not want to detain the Council too long, we have decided to limit the showing of the film to the part which deals with the liberation fighters. The film that you will be seeing shortly deals only with the part concerning the liberation fighters.

168. I wanted to offer that explanation, which is perhaps necessary before the film is shown.

169. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like simply to thank the Ambassador of Guinea for his explanation. I cannot but note from what he has said that the Office de radiodiffusion-télévision française, an organ of the French Government, shows that France is much more liberal than Mr. Cabral led us to believe this morning [1632nd meeting].

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*