



Chairman: Mr. Zdeněk ČERNÍK
(Czechoslovakia).

AGENDA ITEM 65

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration
(continued) (A/8723/Add.3, A/8758 and Add.1,
A/C.4/745).

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded)

1. The CHAIRMAN acting in accordance with the decision taken by the Committee at its 1975th meeting and on the basis of the relevant information transmitted by the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in New York, invited the representative of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) to participate in the Committee's work on the present item as an observer.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), took a place at the Committee table.

2. Mr. Marcelino DOS SANTOS (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO)) congratulated the Chairman and officers, for whom FRELIMO had the greatest respect, on their election. He was sure that under their leadership the Committee's work in support of peoples who were longing for freedom, justice and peace, would be successful. He also extended particular thanks to the representatives of those countries which throughout the struggle had striven to defend the rights of his people.

3. He wished the new Secretary-General of the United Nations every success in his task and paid a tribute to his predecessor, who had consistently and firmly defended the interests of the oppressed peoples.

4. He also paid a tribute to two former leaders of Africa, President William Tubman of Liberia, whose name would always be linked with the problem of decolonization, and Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana and the father of African liberation, who had struggled throughout his life for African unity. He requested the delegations of Liberia and Ghana to accept his respectful tributes to their former Presidents. Thanks were due also to the President and the people of Guinea for having preserved African dignity in granting President Nkrumah the place and honour he deserved at a difficult time in his life.

5. He welcomed the People's Republic of China to the United Nations; the restoration of its lawful rights had been a victory which would strengthen the United Nations.

6. His organization was both pleased and proud to address the Committee in an observer capacity. The political import of the decision to grant observer status to liberation movements could escape no one. The decision was above all a political statement of United Nations recognition of the fact that FRELIMO represented the Mozambican people and Mozambique itself. The United Nations was thereby recognizing and forcing international recognition of the situation in his country. It further implied international recognition of the fact that Portugal was no longer able to administer its colonies; that political control in those countries was exercised by the relevant political organizations; and that those organizations controlled vast areas of the countries which they represented. In other words, they were the executors of the right of sovereignty of the peoples to which they belonged. That was why their representatives had taken a place in the Committee. On behalf of the Mozambican people and FRELIMO, he welcomed the historic decision, which would unquestionably enable his people to play a fuller part in shaping the destiny of mankind.

7. It was true that not all Members had voted in favour of the decision to grant observer status to the representatives of the liberation movements. Notwithstanding the reasons which had led certain States to abstain or even to oppose the decision, the fact remained that his presence in the Committee represented a victory for the principles inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations concerning the right of peoples and nations to be free and independent and concerning fundamental human rights. It also represented a new stage in the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly in 1960. It was therefore a victory for the United Nations and for everyone. He wished to express his warmest congratulations and heartfelt gratitude to all those who had worked to make that victory possible, and particularly to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Having granted the leaders of the national liberation movements a place alongside African Heads of State at Rabat in June 1972, the OAU had been able to obtain the agreement of all the countries at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries at Georgetown, and now of the United Nations, on that point.

8. Appreciation was also due to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation

of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the constant defender of the interests of the peoples struggling against colonialism. By denouncing colonial and racist oppression, by endeavouring to unmask the political and legal manoeuvres of the colonialist and racist régimes, by constantly denouncing the collusion of certain States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and national and international institutions with those régimes, by its militant action which, in particular, had led it to undertake the historic visit to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), it had enabled the United Nations to uphold its principles and, despite all obstacles, to take the steps which had now led to the participation of the representatives of the liberation movements in the debates of the Fourth Committee.

9. With regard to the United Nations Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau), he wished to repeat what he had said during the meeting of the Special Committee at Lusaka in April 1972. The Mission had provided the United Nations with new ways of contributing to the struggle to eliminate the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa. He thanked Ecuador, Sweden and Tunisia which, by allowing their representatives to take part in the official Mission, had enabled the United Nations to tell the world of the situation in Guinea (Bissau).

10. He expressed gratitude to all States which both within the United Nations and outside, had upheld the justice of FRELIMO's cause and pleaded for world-wide recognition of its representative nature. Lastly, he paid a tribute to all the national and international organizations whose efforts had been instrumental in securing its place in the concert of nations. Without wishing to underestimate the contribution of any particular organization, he would mention in particular the role played by the World Council of Churches and by the World Peace Council, which, in 1971, had submitted to the Fourth Committee a legal and political evaluation of the situation in the Portuguese Territories,¹ which had proved that the various organizations were the legitimate representatives of their peoples and countries.

11. Eight years of armed struggle for national liberation had restored to his people their dignity and pride and had conferred on his organization an uncontested and uncontested leading role. They were now entering the ninth year of armed struggle and looked towards the future with hope and optimism. The fact that their activities were constantly successful confirmed that their cause was just and their methods proper.

12. On 25 July, the struggle had been extended for the first time to the province of Manica and Sofala. The relevance of that development could be seen from the importance of the province. It was one of the richest, from the agricultural, mining and industrial points of view. Huge foreign concerns were exploiting the natural wealth and manpower. In addition, it was an important communications centre for Southern

Rhodesia and Portugal. It was in Beira, the capital of that province, that the Portuguese supreme military command in Mozambique was based. Such factors gave the province of Manica and Sofala a strategic importance. Hence the outbreak of armed struggle in the province constituted a further severe defeat for Portuguese colonialism. In addition, on 18 September the artillery of the armed forces of his organization had brought down 11 Portuguese aircraft and 7 helicopters in the Portuguese military air base of Mueda in the province of Cabo Delgado, thereby demonstrating their fire power.

13. Such military victories showed the level of development of the armed forces, the courage and ability of the freedom fighters and the determination of the people to struggle to regain independence. Yet the dimension and importance of the struggle should not be measured by the number of Portuguese soldiers who had fallen upon Mozambican soil or by the number of vehicles which had been destroyed or aircraft which had been brought down; the dimension of the fight was revealed in the awareness of the people of their unity, of their existence as a national entity and as Mozambicans, and of their duty towards themselves and towards the international community.

14. The situation in Mozambique was characterized by two main factors. Portuguese colonialism still occupied one part of the country and maintained its administration there, but had lost political control to FRELIMO. In the other part, the liberated areas, FRELIMO held political and administrative power. More than a million Mozambicans worked and lived in the liberated areas, which covered more than a quarter of the country or more than 200,000 square kilometres; on the ruins of the colonial State they were building a new State based on the interests of the masses where man, having escaped the alienation of exploitation, was rediscovering himself.

15. Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the Mozambican people had set out on the path to economic and social development. The first concern had been to ensure a minimum level of agricultural production whereby the nutritional requirements of the population could be met and the means to acquire indispensable manufactured goods, which had completely disappeared with the withdrawal of the Portuguese traders, could be procured through the export of a certain amount of surplus produce. In addition to boosting agricultural production, however, it was also necessary to change the structure of production. In the past, production had been governed by the principles of the colonial agreement. Products destined for the colonial economy, such as cotton and oilseeds, had to be replaced by others which would provide suitable nourishment for the population when, for obvious reasons, the traditional market for the former had disappeared and FRELIMO had neither the means nor the techniques required to make use of them. Thus, in the liberated areas, the production of cotton had been halted; that of oilseeds had been reduced during a short period but had increased again when markets had begun to appear in friendly countries.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Fourth Committee, 1946th meeting.*

16. On the other hand, there had been considerable development of food crops. One reason was that the people had been freed from colonial constraints which, subjecting them to forced labour and the production of specific crops, had prevented them from growing what they needed. Another was that they were now producing for themselves. Political mobilization to promote a co-operative system of production had broadened the base of the peasant mutual aid and co-operative movement. That had improved the efficiency of the productive effort and led to greater diversification of production. Agricultural production in the liberated areas had surpassed the level of production in colonial times in many respects, despite the continued state of war, bombing and the use of chemical products, herbicides and defoliants by Portuguese colonialism. In addition to agriculture, there was now stock breeding, fishing and cottage industry.

17. The export trade had already been organized in the Cabo Delgado province and was being organized in the other provinces. Over 1,000 tons had been exported in the last year. Sesame, castor oil, peanuts and cashews had accounted for over two thirds of the export trade, the rest being composed of dried fish, tobacco, wax and other products.

18. In September a delegation from his organization had had an opportunity to participate in the meeting of the Technical Committee of Experts of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), where it had explained its problems concerning economic development in the liberated areas. A meeting would be held shortly between ECA experts and the members of his organization in charge of production, with a view to studying and working out plans for economic development.

19. In the matter of health, there were in each province medical centres which co-ordinated the work of various lesser centres scattered throughout the region. In the western region of Niassa, for example, there was a central regional hospital, 7 district medical posts and 9 first-aid posts. In the Cabo Delgado province there was a central hospital, 17 district posts and 60 first-aid posts, with a staff of almost 340. Vaccination campaigns were being undertaken and elementary health education was provided to the population.

20. The educational programmes were designed to combat ignorance and train cadres for present and future tasks. There were at present 160 primary schools, with 20,000 pupils and 250 teachers. There was one secondary school with 133 pupils. An adult literacy campaign was being pursued throughout the country. The figures might seem absurdly low, but they assumed their proper significance if it was borne in mind that for the most part schools had not existed until they had been introduced by FRELIMO. Members of the Committee had had an opportunity to observe the situation in the film which had been shown them.

21. Now, as before, the Portuguese policy was one of opposition to freedom, justice and social progress;

however, no one could deny that the colonial policy of the Portuguese Government had been a total failure. Mr. Caetano, the Prime Minister, had been unable to adopt a policy different from that of his predecessor, indeed, he had sunk more deeply into the mire of colonial war. His army had met with defeat after defeat and the growing burden of the war had heaped economic difficulties of increasing seriousness upon Portugal. Emigration had risen considerably: young people in particular were leaving Portugal for other European countries in order to avoid taking part in the colonial wars; their exodus was such that the total population was dwindling. At the same time, denied all rights, oppressed, forbidden to speak and seeing the way blocked to any peaceful realization of their aspirations to justice, freedom and democracy, the Portuguese people were resorting more and more to violence in order to achieve their aims. The so-called constitutional changes designed to introduce a new colonial policy, had deceived no one, neither the people of the Portuguese colonies, nor the Portuguese people nor the international community.

22. The Portuguese Government found its capacity for action restricted: as a French journalist had said, the Prime Minister did not know which way to turn. History afforded various examples of the dangers inherent in such situations. In the case of Portugal, violence had become the rule and criminal ventures seemed to be the trend of official policy. His organization had recently submitted to a group of experts of the Commission on Human Rights at Dar es Salaam a startling picture of the crimes currently being perpetrated by Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, which ranged from widespread mass murder and the systematic massacring of the whole population of villages to refined methods of torture and increasingly barbaric behaviour. The most recent episodes had been brought to the notice of world public opinion by a Portuguese priest, Father Luis Alfonso da Costa, who had made statements to the press in various European countries describing the massacres perpetrated in the province of Tete; his revelations had been widely disseminated in press reports.

23. Since the beginning of the year, the Portuguese army had begun to use chemical weapons in the liberated areas. According to a report in the *Sunday Times*, the herbicide used was Convolvotox, which was produced in South Africa and released by South African aircraft piloted by South African mercenaries and escorted by Portuguese aircraft. Thus the war of colonial aggression waged by the Portuguese Government against the people of Mozambique had become a war of genocide and "ecocide".

24. In desperation, the Portuguese Government had stepped up its attacks on Mozambique's neighbours; it was continuously violating their territorial sovereignty and increasing the threat to peace and security in the continent.

25. At the same time, Portugal was strengthening its alliances with the South African and Southern Rhodesian régimes, whose direct participation in the

colonial war in Mozambique was increasing. South African and Southern Rhodesian troops, aircraft and helicopters were more and more in evidence in the military operations. Furthermore, on the grounds that defence was at stake, Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were asking the Western Powers to help them defend the Indian Ocean against the peoples of the region.

26. Notwithstanding the horror they inspired, such policies should not surprise anyone, for they were part of the very fabric of colonialism. As far as the international community was concerned, the desire to end such crimes must imply a willingness to place adequate resources at the disposal of those struggling to put an end to Portuguese colonialism and, first and foremost, to provide the Mozambican people with the resources they needed to carry out their programme of national liberation.

27. His organization was convinced that the place accorded to it within the United Nations constituted a legal and political recognition at the international level of the role it was playing in its own country. It also believed that FRELIMO alone could bring about the observance in Mozambique of the values defined and defended by the United Nations. In view of the fact that the greatness of the United Nations depended on the extent to which its members put the principles of the Organization into practice, the following questions might legitimately be asked. Who in Mozambique was defending the right of nations to be free and independent? Who in Mozambique was defending human freedom and dignity? Who in Mozambique, in the war between the Mozambican people and Portuguese colonialism, observed the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949? Who in Mozambique was helping to eliminate ignorance, poverty and disease? Who in Mozambique was defending the right of peoples to exercise sovereignty over their natural resources and to enjoy the fruits of their labour?

28. He ventured to suggest that FRELIMO represented the United Nations in Mozambique and that it was under the banner of FRELIMO that the Mozambican people could express their wishes for freedom and independence and could take their place within the international community. It was for that reason that he wished to address more particularly the States Members of the United Nations which had not supported the decision to accord to the representatives of his organization the status of observer. There were certain aspects and nuances of the colonial situation that might escape the awareness of some; but for those who were living through such situations and endeavouring to put an end to the scourge of colonialism, every aspect and every nuance was transparently clear. An imperfect grasp of the realities of a situation in no way diminished its tragic nature and the urgent need for a solution to the problems.

29. As far as the States which had opposed the granting of the status of observer were concerned, he feared that only future developments would reveal how mistaken their position was. The States in question had

no doubt acted in that way out of respect for their alliance with Portugal; moreover FRELIMO and the Mozambican people considered that every people and every nation had a right to enter into alliances, provided such alliances did not entail violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations or disregard of fundamental human rights. No State had the right, out of deference to its alliance with Portugal, to oppose the right of the Mozambican people to be free and independent, particularly in the light of the refusal of the Portuguese fascist colonial régime to allow the Portuguese people themselves any freedom. He would therefore like to ask the United States, the United Kingdom, France and a number of other States whether they sincerely believed that the political, economic and military aid which they extended directly to Portugal was not inconsistent with the principles embodied in their own constitutions and in the Charter of the United Nations.

30. It was the impression of the Mozambican people and FRELIMO that the interests of such countries lay not in the preservation of oppressive régimes but in the establishment of new relations based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of each people and each nation on a basis of equality. He hoped that such States would come to understand the requirements of the contemporary world and would enable the world Organization to flourish by ensuring the implementation of the right of peoples and nations to be free and independent, in the interests of peace, social progress and universal brotherhood.

31. Participating in the work of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly for the first time, FRELIMO was aware of its responsibilities, particularly with regard to the need to secure respect for the principles of the Charter. First and foremost, however, it desired independence and had therefore turned to armed struggle and the task of reconstruction in the liberated areas where it had to exercise political and administrative control and provide all the social services required for the welfare of the people. Those were the facts and they determined its ability to co-operate with the international community in promoting progress in the world.

32. In order to attain independence, FRELIMO was prepared to negotiate with the Portuguese Government on condition that that Government formally recognized Mozambique's right to self-determination and independence. Only on that basis would it be possible to negotiate arrangements for the implementation of those rights.

33. He wished to avail himself of the opportunity to express his deepest gratitude to the people, organizations and Governments which had assisted FRELIMO and enabled it to follow a course of action which had led to its presence in the Fourth Committee as the legitimate representative of the people and country of Mozambique. His organization wished to pay a special tribute to the efforts of OAU to enable the liberation movements to carry on their task of national liberation successfully, and to the President in office for the role

he had played at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at Rabat. Thanks were due also to the socialist countries, whose contribution had been vital to the success of the national liberation struggle. The countries of Asia and Latin America had also given their support and pledged to continue it. He thanked all the popular forces within the Western countries which had mobilized public opinion and provided FRELIMO with the moral and material support it needed to demonstrate the justice and rightness of its cause. He fully appreciated the activities of the national and international organizations which supported FRELIMO. Appreciation was also due to certain Western countries which had put respect for the principles laid down in their constitutions and in the Charter before their alliances with Portugal. Those countries were Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands. Other Western European States should follow their example.

34. The CHAIRMAN, speaking on behalf of the Committee, thanked the Vice-President of FRELIMO for his informative statement. In view of the importance of that statement, he suggested that it should be reproduced *in extenso*, with the usual understanding concerning the financial implications.

*It was so decided.*²

35. Mr. OULD SIDI BABA (Morocco) said that the high moral content and moderation of the FRELIMO representative's statement were equalled only by the firmness and energy with which FRELIMO was waging its struggle against colonial domination. His delegation supported the Chairman's suggestion that the statement should be reproduced *in extenso*.

36. The voice which the Committee had just heard, speaking on behalf of Mozambique, was also that of Africa and his delegation asked all the friends of Africa, whatever their spiritual and philosophical tendencies might be, to give favourable consideration to the just cause of FRELIMO.

37. His delegation thanked FRELIMO for the expression of appreciation extended to His Majesty King Hassan II in his capacity as President of the Organization of African Unity.

38. Mr. TEYMOUR (Egypt) associated his delegation with the Moroccan delegation's expression of gratitude for the informative statement made by the representative of FRELIMO. His delegation also thanked FRELIMO for the instructive film which had been shown about its activities and its struggle against Portuguese colonialism. It would be well if the Chairman could arrange for the film to be shown again, in some way that would enable more people to attend the showing. It was also essential that sufficient publicity should be given to the film so that it would be seen by the largest possible number of Members.

39. The CHAIRMAN said that he would speak to the Secretariat about the possibility of showing the film in a larger room.

40. Mr. BENYAHIA (Algeria) said that his delegation regarded the FRELIMO statement as an important contribution to the work of the Fourth Committee.

41. In discussing the agenda item at a previous meeting (1984th meeting), his delegation, while stressing its awareness of realities, had called upon certain Members of the Organization to overcome their reluctance and to adopt a sympathetic attitude to the demand of the peoples suffering under Portuguese oppression. In so doing, his delegation had hoped that those States would give evidence of a more favourable position. It had therefore been surprised to note the reluctance shown by certain States at the previous meeting with respect to a procedural matter. His delegation had been all the more surprised, since Mr. Amílcar Cabral and Mr. dos Santos had made moderate statements and, while stressing the difficulties and problems faced by their movements, had emphasized that they were not guided in their struggle by any feeling of hatred towards the States in question. Mr. Cabral had even said that, whatever support those States might give Portugal, PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) would never confuse them with Portuguese domination (1986th meeting). His delegation therefore welcomed the Committee's decision to reproduce *in extenso* the statements of the representatives of PAIGC and FRELIMO. At the same time, it reiterated its appeal to the States concerned to recognize the reality of the situation in Africa in the light of the valuable information given by the authentic representatives of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique.

42. Mr. ABDULLEH (Somalia) associated his delegation with the thanks expressed by the representatives of Egypt, Morocco and Algeria to the FRELIMO representative for his valuable statement.

43. The question under discussion concerned the demand of peoples seeking freedom. The representative of Portugal, the country responsible for the denial of that human right, was not present at the meeting and had been absent since the beginning of the debate. During the Committee's discussion of the Organization of its work, the Portuguese representative had naively claimed that his country's overseas Territories were not open for discussion by the Committee, a claim which his delegation had put forward every year. The representatives of South Africa and Portugal had objected to the proposal of the Chairman of the Special Committee (A/C.4/744) that the representatives of national liberation movements should be granted the status of observer in the relevant bodies of the United Nations. The Portuguese representative had indicated clearly to the Committee that the presence of members of the liberation movements in that forum would be harmful to his country's interests and he had consequently absented himself from the Committee's meetings. The delegation of Somalia wished to make it clear, however, that the representatives of the liberation movements would continue to participate in the Committee's meetings until the peoples of the Territories under consideration finally won their freedom.

² See paras. 2 to 33, above.

44. His delegation had been most surprised by the fact that some members—he was not referring to Portugal or South Africa—had expressed doubts regarding the legality of the decision adopted by the Committee at its 1975th meeting. He would remind those countries which had taken an ambiguous stand in the voting that what was at issue was primarily a human and political question. Colonialism and neo-colonialism were founded not on legal considerations or moral principles, but on all that was base and vile in man. In his delegation's view, the sterile debates in the Committee were unwittingly destroying the meaning and spirit of the Charter. He would submit that the words of the Charter had no meaning for those countries which had it in their power to put an end to the horrors which Portugal was inflicting upon the African peoples.

45. The only course open to the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) in order to achieve dignity and freedom was that of violence. In 1969, when the leaders of Africa had offered their goodwill in the Lusaka Manifesto,³ the minority régimes in southern Africa had ignored that expression of good faith. The Manifesto had been calculated to give the oppressors in that region a last chance to abandon their colonialist dreams. That chance had been rejected and the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) were now imbued with a spirit of violence. That was the new spirit of Africa and it nourished the inevitable African revolution.

46. The Mogadiscio Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of East and Central Africa which had brought the Lusaka Manifesto up to date, had been no accident. In it the African leaders had declared that the only way left to liberate colonial Africa was by armed struggle, to which they would continue to give their full support. The results of that philosophy were already seen in the Portuguese Territories. It was only through violence and armed struggle that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) had liberated vast areas in their countries and it was only through that process that final victory would be achieved. The peoples of the Territories concerned would assess the Committee's performance not by resolutions alone but by the moral and material support given to them by the United Nations.

47. Portugal's NATO allies, which supplied that country with the weapons used to kill Africans, should reconsider their position. It was a fact of history that wars of liberation were never lost. If those States respected the provisions of the Charter, they should take steps to reverse their position. Otherwise, they should remain neutral, realizing that it was merely a question of time before the peoples of the Territories concerned would gain independence. It was essential to remember that the liberation movements were the sole representatives of the peoples concerned, that they had liberated large areas of their countries and that they were playing the role of governments. They should

therefore be accorded more effective recognition than was the case at present.

48. Mr. FOURATI (Tunisia) said that it was a matter for regret and concern that, 12 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, millions of Africans in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde were still suffering from arbitrary and humiliating foreign domination. The brave struggle of the peoples of those Territories for their right to self-determination was part of the current of history. Any attempt, direct or indirect, to subvert that movement was doomed to failure.

49. The report of the Special Mission of the Special Committee to Guinea (Bissau) provided valuable information (see A/8723/Add.3, annex I). Clearly both FRELIMO and PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) were the authentic representatives of their peoples and as such deserved the Committee's support.

50. Despite repeated condemnations by the United Nations, Portugal still refused to change its ways, clutching desperately at legal fictions to conceal unjustifiable policies. With the aid of modern arms and equipment it was waging war against the African peoples and had even violated the territorial integrity and security of neighbouring independent States. It refused to consider any political settlement and shamelessly affirmed its intention to use force to stifle the claims of the people under its domination.

51. Nevertheless, experience had shown that colonial Powers always ended by recognizing the right to self-determination. The earlier such an attitude was adopted by a colonial Power, the better were its chances of establishing a fruitful relationship based on friendship, co-operation and respect with its former colonies.

52. In the interests of international peace and security, justice and freedom, the Security Council should not hesitate to adopt further measures, including those laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter, to prevent Portugal from continuing to flout the authority of the United Nations by a policy that well might lead to a racial war with unforeseeable consequences.

53. Portugal was still receiving substantial economic and military assistance from South Africa, the illegal Smith régime, certain economic interests and various Member States. He appealed to the States that were still helping Portugal to join the other countries in trying to persuade Portugal, adopting, if necessary, suitable measures that would induce Portugal to abandon its colonial policy. Portugal itself would be the first to benefit from such a step. It should realize that a decisive military victory was impossible and should accept a compromise.

54. The Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated in the General Assembly 2048th plenary meeting that to reject the principle of self-determination would

³ Manifesto on Southern Africa. For the text, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

be to deny the dignity of man. It was acts, however, not words that were needed. His delegation appealed to Portugal to recognize forthwith the right of the peoples under its administration to self-determination. Until it did so, it was the duty of the United Nations to show its determination to eradicate colonialism by increasing its moral and material support for the liberation movements until their final victory. His own country would continue to support those who were struggling for freedom and justice.

55. Mr. STAWIARSKI (Poland) recalled the decisions taken by the various United Nations bodies that had debated the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration. Despite the repeated requests to Portugal to end its oppression and exploitation of the peoples of those Territories, Portugal had defied the United Nations, argued that the Territories were overseas provinces of its own and contested the right of the United Nations to discuss the matter. At the same time it had intensified its colonial war against the peoples of those Territories who had taken up arms against it.

56. The history of that barbarous war was one of repugnant crimes committed by the Portuguese colonialists. At the present stage of history, with its prospects for lasting peaceful co-existence and *détente* in international affairs, Portugal's anachronistic and criminal policy was unjustifiable by any political, moral or legal standard and was a real danger to international peace and security. That policy had rightly been condemned by public opinion and by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations.

57. Portugal had been able to wage its costly colonial war only with the political, military and economic help of certain Western countries, its allies in NATO. It was not surprising that, despite anti-colonialist statements by their representatives, those countries were considered accomplices in the war.

58. It was the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and not the position of Portugal and its supporters, that was now the key factor in the situation. In the last few years the liberation movements had gained ground, not only on the battlefield but also in organizing administration, education and health services in the liberated areas of their Territories.

59. Poland vigorously condemned colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, and sympathized with the legitimate struggle of oppressed peoples. It therefore supported the proposal of the Soviet representative for a United Nations week of solidarity with the colonial peoples of Africa (1981st meeting). Such a venture would help to mobilize public opinion and hence accelerate the process of decolonization.

60. Poland was giving increasing moral, political and material support to the liberation movements of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique and strengthening its contacts with the leaders of those movements. His delegation welcomed the presence of

the representatives of PAIGC and FRELIMO as observers and hoped to see a representative of the Angolan people attend also. Their participation would help the Committee to arrive at decisions designed to restore freedom and independence to the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola. His delegation would support any such decision. The proposals put forward by the representatives of PAIGC and FRELIMO deserved the most serious consideration.

61. He reiterated the hope already expressed by the Permanent Representative of Poland that the leaders of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola would soon be representing their countries as independent States Members of the United Nations.

62. Mr. TALBOT (Guyana) said that his delegation deplored the fact that the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration had been before the Committee for more than a decade, and that such progress as had been made had had to be made against the determined and vicious opposition of the Government of Portugal.

63. The freedom-fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) had maintained a valiant struggle for independence. They deserved admiration and encouragement manifested in concrete support. His delegation considered that the granting of observer status to the representatives of the liberation movements at the meetings of the Committee (1975th meeting) was a token of such support.

64. The Committee could, by its resolutions, impress upon world opinion and even perhaps upon Portugal and its supporters the legitimacy of the demands of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) for independence. The proposal of the representative of Kuwait (1984th meeting) for an annual pledging conference to raise funds for the liberation struggles in southern Africa was worthy of serious consideration. Meanwhile, individuals could make contributions direct to the liberation movements; his own country had already committed itself to such an annual contribution.

65. The obligation placed upon the Government of Portugal by Article 73 of the Charter was clear; Portugal, however, continued to disregard United Nations demands for information on its policies in the Territories under its administration. It had become all the more urgent to denounce the Government of Portugal in the strongest possible terms in view of the recent misrepresentations to the General Assembly by the representative of that country, who had made a blatant attempt to justify its vicious and inhuman practices by claiming that the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were overseas provinces enjoying the same system of legal, political, social and ethnic values as the mother country. The fact was that those so-called overseas provinces which comprised larger territory and more people than Portugal had only 60 representatives out of a total of 500 members of the electoral college which elected the President of Portugal. Moreover, the fact that the so-called overseas

provinces and Portugal each had its own currency and exchange controls showed that they did not constitute a unitary State.

66. Portugal and its NATO associates were perpetuating a vicious colonial system in which the people of Africa were subordinated and exploited. By discussing the matter, the United Nations was in no way intervening in Portugal's domestic affairs, for Portugal had breached the trust placed upon it by the Charter by attempting unilaterally to exclude the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

67. Even if his delegation were to agree with the contention of the Portuguese representative in the General Assembly (2048th plenary meeting) that, except in cases of self-defence, all wars were unjust, it still held that Portugal's presence and policies in southern Africa were unjustifiable. Portugal had established its slaving stations and prolonged its trespass in southern Africa by violence, and its continued presence against the wishes of the people gave rise to the right of self-defence and indeed to a legitimate right to evict, if necessary by force.

68. His delegation rejected the proposition that no desire for justice or reform could legitimize the use of force by one State or group of States against another. The United Nations had been founded to create peace based on justice, and to that end it had provided under Chapter VII of the Charter for the taking up of arms. Those to whom justice under the Charter was an ideal worth fighting for had no choice but to act to end the threat to international peace and security created by the injustice of racist and imperialist exploiters. The Portuguese intervention in the General Assembly had been calculated to suggest to Member States that supported the peoples of Africa against Portuguese domination that they were misguided and were in fact supporting criminals and acting in violation of the Charter.

69. His delegation expressed its deep appreciation to the members of the Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau) for their courage and dedication in undertaking the mission, and commended the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for having brought the Mission into being. The report of the Mission (see A/8723/Add.3, annex I) had revealed with frightening clarity the misrepresentations of the Government of

Portugal. The wanton bombings of African villages, the murder of women and children, the indiscriminate use of chemicals and herbicides in Africa by the imperialist tyrants of Portugal and their collaboration with other racist régimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa were well documented. Those measures were clearly calculated to frighten the people of Africa into abandoning their just struggle and even their demands for freedom.

70. In formulating conventions on terrorism the United Nations would do well to bear in mind the need to institute measures to curb the administration of terror by imperialist Powers.

71. His delegation was prepared to support the strongest possible measures against Portugal to end its tyranny over the peoples of Africa and proposed that such measures should be undertaken both nationally and internationally.

72. Mr. LÖFGREN (Sweden) thanked the representatives who had expressed their appreciation of the work of the Special Mission of the Special Committee to Guinea (Bissau). The Mission's visit had brought solidarity and hope for the future to the people of Guinea (Bissau), although he recalled with sadness that it had also brought loss of human life and destruction. He hoped that the Mission had helped to bring peace and freedom nearer.

73. The CHAIRMAN declared the general debate on the item closed.

Requests for hearings (continued)

REQUEST CONCERNING NAMIBIA (AGENDA ITEM 64), TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION (AGENDA ITEM 65) AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA (AGENDA ITEM 66) (A/C.4/749)

74. The CHAIRMAN announced that he had received a request for a hearing from the World Peace Council on the questions of Namibia, Territories under Portuguese Administration and Southern Rhodesia (A/C.4/749). If there were no objections, he would assume that the Committee agreed to grant the request.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.