



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/8549  
3 December 1971

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Twenty-sixth session  
Agenda item 67

QUESTION OF TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Yilma TADESSE (Ethiopia)

1. At its 1939th plenary meeting, on 25 September 1971, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the General Committee (A/8500), decided to include in the agenda of its twenty-sixth session an item entitled:

"Question of Territories under Portuguese administration:

(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

(b) Report of the Secretary-General

and to allocate the item to the Fourth Committee for consideration and report. In doing so, the General Assembly suggested that the relevant section of chapter XIII of the report of the Economic and Social Council concerning the question of the representation of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique in the Economic Commission for Africa should be considered by the Fourth Committee.

2. At its 1921st meeting, on 7 October, the Fourth Committee decided to give priority to the present item (item 67), together with two other items on its agenda, namely, the question of Namibia (item 66) and the question of Southern Rhodesia (item 68). At the same meeting, it decided further that a general debate should be held covering those three items, it being understood that members would be given an opportunity to make more than one statement, if they so desired, and

that individual draft resolutions on matters covered by the items would be considered separately after the conclusion of the general debate.

3. The Fourth Committee considered this item at its 1923rd to 1926th, 1928th to 1946th, 1949th and 1958th to 1961st meetings, between 11 October and 3 December 1971.

4. At the 1923rd meeting, on 11 October, the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples introduced the chapters of the report of that Committee relating to Territories under Portuguese administration (A/8423/Add.1 and 4).

5. In connexion with its consideration of the item, the Fourth Committee had before it the report submitted by the Secretary-General (A/8348 and Add.1) in pursuance of paragraph 15 of General Assembly resolution 2707 (XXV) of 14 December 1970. The Committee also had before it the note by the Secretary-General on the question of the representation of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique in the Economic Commission for Africa (E/5051), which the Economic and Social Council had transmitted to the General Assembly for appropriate action at the Assembly's twenty-sixth session.<sup>1/</sup> In addition, the Committee had before it a letter dated 2 December 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/C.4/742).

6. The Fourth Committee granted the following requests for hearing concerning the item:

<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Meeting at which request for hearing was granted</u>
Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General, and other representatives of the World Peace Council (A/C.4/736)	1922nd
Mr. Paul Touba, Directeur de Cabinet, Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE), member of the Union des populations de l'Angola (UPA) and Mr. Raymond F. Mbala, representative plenipotentiary, Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE) in New York (A/C.4/739)	1929th
Mr. Sharfudine M. Khan, representative in the United States of America, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) (A/C.4/739/Add.1)	1934th

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 3 (A/8403).

Meeting at which  
request for hearing  
was granted

Petitioner

Mr. I.B. Tabata, President, Unity Movement of South Africa	1953rd
Mr. Gil Fernandes, representative, Partido Africano da Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) (A/C.4/SR.1958)	1958th

7. At the 1930th meeting, on 25 October, Mr. Raymond F. Mbala, representative plenipotentiary of the Gouvernement révolutionnaire de L'Angola en exil (GRAE) in New York, made a statement. At the 1937th and 1938th meetings, on 1 November, Mr. Sharfudine M. Khan, representative in the United States of America of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), made a statement and replied to questions put to him by members of the Committee. At the 1946th meeting, on 8 November, statements were made by Mr. Romesh Chandra, Mr. Lucio Luzzatto, Mr. Emilson Randriamihasinoro and Mr. Nicolai Voshinin, of the World Peace Council. At the same meeting, Mr. Chandra and Mr. Luzzatto replied to questions put to them by a member of the Committee. At the 1954th meeting, on 23 November, Mr. I.B. Tabata, President of the Unity Movement of South Africa made a statement. At the 1958th meeting, on 30 November, Mr. Gil Fernandes, representative of the Partido Africano da Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) made a statement.

8. At the 1946th meeting, on 8 November, the Fourth Committee, on the proposal of the representatives of Somalia, Zambia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, decided, without objection, that the information furnished by the representatives of the World Peace Council should be disseminated in the publications of the Office of Public Information entitled The United Nations and Southern Africa and Objective: Justice.

9. The general debate covering the present item, together with the two other items referred to in paragraph 2 above, took place at the 1923rd to 1926th, 1928th to 1936th, and 1938th to 1945th meetings, between 11 October and 5 November.

10. At the 1959th meeting, on 1 December, the representatives of Ghana and India introduced a draft resolution on the item (A/C.4/L.992), which was finally sponsored by the following Member States: Afghanistan, Algeria, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Congo, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Liberia, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

/...

11. At the 1961st meeting, on 3 December, the Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.992) by a roll-call vote of 99 to 6, with 6 abstentions (see paragraph 12 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Brazil, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, France, Italy, Malawi.

#### RECOMMENDATION OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

12. The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

##### Question of Territories under Portuguese administration

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of Territories under Portuguese domination,<sup>2/</sup>

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General concerning the item,<sup>3/</sup>

---

<sup>2/</sup> A/8423/Add.1 and Add.4.

<sup>3/</sup> A/8348 and Add.1.

Having heard the statements of the petitioners<sup>4/</sup> and bearing in mind the views expressed by representatives of national liberation movements,<sup>5/</sup>

Reaffirming its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Recalling all previous resolutions concerning the question of Territories under Portuguese administration adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Deploing the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to recognize the inalienable right of the peoples in the Territories under its domination to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Gravely concerned at the critical and explosive situation created by that Government's further intensification of its military operations and other oppressive measures against the peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) who are struggling to attain their freedom and independence,

Deeply disturbed by the repeated occurrence of aggressive acts committed by Portugal against independent African States that border the Territories under its domination,

Deeply concerned at the continued and intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, are directly and indirectly assisting the Government of Portugal in its colonial wars and impeding the realization by the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination of their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence,

Deploing the policies of those States which, in disregard of the repeated appeals addressed to them by the United Nations, continue to provide Portugal with military and other assistance, which it uses to pursue its policies of colonial domination and oppression of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau),

---

<sup>4/</sup> A/C.4/SR.1930, 1937, 1938 and 1946.

<sup>5/</sup> A/8423/Add.1, annex.

Deeply concerned about any use of chemical substances by Portugal in its colonial wars against the peoples in the Territories under its domination,

Noting with concern that the constitutional changes introduced by the Portuguese Government in 1971 are not intended to lead to the exercise of self-determination and attainment of independence by the African people of the Territories, but are designed to perpetuate Portuguese domination,

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in those Territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes and the arrangements relating to the representation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) as associate members in the Economic Commission for Africa.<sup>6/</sup>

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence, as recognized by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right;
2. Strongly condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and all other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;
3. Condemns the colonial war being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and the violations by that Government of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring independent African States, thereby seriously disturbing international peace and security;
4. Condemns the indiscriminate bombing of civilians and the ruthless and wholesale destruction of villages and property being carried out by the Portuguese military forces in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau);
5. Condemns the collaboration among Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, designed to perpetuate colonialism and oppression in southern Africa, and the continued intervention of South African forces against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique;
6. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to refrain from the use of chemical substances in its colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), as such practice is contrary to the generally recognized rules

---

<sup>6/</sup> See E/5051.

of international law embodied in the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and the Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925,<sup>7/</sup> and to General Assembly resolution 2707 (XXV) of 14 December 1970;

7. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to treat the freedom-fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war in accordance with the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949,<sup>8/</sup> and to comply with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;<sup>9/</sup>

8. Appeals once again to all States, particularly to those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which continue to render assistance to Portugal, to withdraw any assistance that enables Portugal to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and to prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material to the Government of Portugal, as well as all supplies, equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition that it uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa;

9. Urgently calls upon the Government of Portugal to take the following steps:

(a) The immediate recognition of the right of the peoples under its administration to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;

(b) The immediate cessation of colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the withdrawal of military and other forces employed for that purpose and the elimination of all practices that violate the inalienable rights of the African populations, including arbitrary eviction and regrouping of the African population and the settlement of immigrants in the Territories;

---

<sup>7/</sup> League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.

<sup>8/</sup> United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75 (1950), No. 972.

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid., No. 973.

(c) The proclamation of an unconditional political amnesty, the restoration of democratic political rights and the transfer of all powers to freely elected institutions representative of the population, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV);

(d) The cessation of all attacks on, and violations of, the security and territorial integrity of neighbouring sovereign countries;

(e) The release of the men and property being held at present by Portugal following the attacks and violations committed against those sovereign States;

10. Calls upon all States to take immediate measures to put an end to all activities that help to exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein and to discourage their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that strengthen Portugal's domination over, and impede the implementation of the Declaration with respect to, those Territories;

11. Requests those Governments that have failed to prevent their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from participating in the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola to take all necessary measures to terminate their participation and to withdraw immediately from all activities related to these projects;

12. Approves the arrangements relating to the representation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) as associate members of the Economic Commission for Africa, as well as the list of the representatives of those Territories proposed by the Organization of African Unity;<sup>10/</sup>

13. Requests all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to render to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination, in particular the population in the liberated areas of those Territories, all moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

14. Draws the attention of the Security Council, in view of the further deterioration of the situation in the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) which seriously disturbs international peace and security, to the urgent necessity to consider taking all effective steps, in accordance with the relevant

---

<sup>10/</sup> E/5051, annex.



provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to secure the full and speedy implementation by Portugal of resolution 1514 (XV) and of the decisions of the Security Council concerning the Territories under Portuguese domination;

15. Invites the Secretary-General, within the framework of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and in consultation with the specialized agencies, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Governments of the host countries and the Organization of African Unity, to further intensify educational and training programmes for the people of the Territories under Portuguese domination, taking into account their needs for qualified administrative, technical and professional personnel to assume responsibility for the public administration and the economic and social development of their own countries, and to include information on the progress achieved in that regard in the report concerning that Programme submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session;

16. Notes with satisfaction the intention of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to send a group to visit the liberated areas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau);

17. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the present resolution to all States and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session on the steps taken or envisaged by States in the implementation of the various provisions contained therein;

18. Requests the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territories under review.

-----