

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, and Mr. Mangalam Chacko, Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs*

30. Mr. TEYMOUR (Egypt) proposed that the Committee observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of the two great leaders who had died.

*On the proposal of the representative of Egypt, the members of the Committee observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Amílcar Cabral and Mr. Mangalam Chacko.*

#### *Organization of work (A/C.4/758, A/C.4/759)*

31. The CHAIRMAN first informed the Committee that a number of members had suggested that the Committee should consider as a matter of priority agenda item 71 (Question of Territories under Portuguese administration). He felt that until he had held consultations it was

inappropriate for the Committee to take a decision on the order in which the other items should be considered.

32. Secondly, he drew attention to document A/C.4/759, in which the Chairman of the Special Committee recommended that the Fourth Committee should invite the leaders of those national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa which were recognized by the Organization of African Unity to continue to participate as observers in its proceedings relating to their respective countries. In that connexion, he announced that a statement of the administrative and financial implications of that recommendation would be circulated shortly. Accordingly, he suggested that a decision on that matter should be postponed.

33. If he heard no objection, he would assume that the Committee accepted his suggestions.

*It was so agreed.*

*The meeting rose at 5 p.m.*

## 2027th meeting

Thursday, 27 September 1973, at 3.45 p.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Leonardo DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela).

A/C.4/SR.2027

#### *Organization of work (continued) (A/C.4/758, A/C.4/759, A/C.4/L.1033)*

1. Mr. DA COSTA LOBO (Portugal) pointed out that, at the twenty-seventh session (1975th meeting), his delegation had emphasized the illegal nature of the invitation extended to representatives of particular political movements to participate as observers in the work of the Committee. At that time a number of delegations had expressed their opposition to the extending of such invitations, but the proposal had finally been approved and the representatives of the political movements in question had participated at the preceding session. However, the breaking of a rule of the Committee's work did not affect the essence of that rule, and the arguments advanced against the decision taken at the twenty-seventh session continued to be valid at the current session. Consequently the Government of Portugal categorically rejected the proposal contained in document A/C.4/759.

2. Mr. STEWARD (South Africa) said that the Committee had decided the previous year, at its 1975th meeting, to invite representatives of political movements to participate "in an observer capacity" in the Committee's proceedings, after a perfectly reasonable request for a legal opinion to interpret that ambiguous and unprecedented proposal had been overridden by the Committee majority. The Committee was now requested to repeat that decision, although he noted that the individuals had emerged from behind the smokescreen of "observer capacity", to be described in

document A/C.4/L.1033 as observers. The proposal had been and remained illegal. There was no constitutional provision for participation in the debates of the General Assembly or its Committees by representatives of mere political movements in any capacity; only Member States could be represented and only States and international organizations could qualify for observer status. The United Nations was an organization of sovereign States, not a forum for dissidents. The programmes of the movements to which the Committee wished to accord observer status were based on force and the violent overthrow of Governments of States Members of the Organization. The United Nations had been established to prevent force and violence, not to promote them. There was no moral or legal justification within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations for granting any status whatever to those movements, whose objectives were the antithesis of those of the Organization.

3. There was no scarcity throughout the world of dissident movements, dedicated to violent change and illegal action, and thus the Committee would be naïve to assume that the precedent which it was in the process of establishing would be overlooked by other movements in the future. The political implications of that decision would be far-reaching, and countries that were prepared to close their eyes to the commission of an unconstitutional act today would not consider themselves immune from similar treatment in future. It was not surprising, given the unconstitutional basis for the expenditure, that the Advisory Com-

mittee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions had expressed serious reservations with regard to that decision, as indicated in paragraph 4 of document A/C.4/L.1033.

4. If the United Nations was prepared to compromise its fundamental principles for the sake of the narrow political advantage of a few States, it was not surprising that its reputation was being called into question. The South African delegation continued to be strongly opposed to the unconstitutional action contemplated.

5. Mr. UDUMYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) congratulated the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Bahamas on their admission into the Organization at the current session. The admission of the German Democratic Republic was an acknowledgement of the important role which that socialist State could play in the work of the Organization. The admission of the Bahamas, a State which had recently attained independence, constituted a further example of the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

6. He supported the proposal contained in document A/C.4/759 and was convinced that the participation of representatives of national liberation movements in the Committee's discussion of matters concerning them would be as useful at the current session as it had been at the previous one.

7. Mr. SCHAUFLE (United States of America) said that the position of his delegation on the question of inviting seven representatives of liberation movements from the Territories under Portuguese administration, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia as observers at a cost not to exceed \$13,400 should not be construed as an endorsement by the United States of colonial policies in Africa.

8. At the twenty-seventh session (1976th meeting) the United States delegation had argued that there should have been more careful examination of the implications of such a decision. He expressed his belief that neither the United Nations nor any other international institution was competent to determine or alter the status of political movements under international law. Consequently, all members of the Committee should consider the risks involved in establishing such a broad precedent, which could in the future result in interference in the internal affairs of other Member States.

9. Mr. REFADI (Libya), speaking on a point of order, said that the Committee was concerned not with the substantive issue of the status of the liberation movements but merely with the financial arrangements for enabling representatives of those movements to participate in the work of the Committee. It was therefore pointless to reopen the debate on that question.

10. Mr. HINCHCLIFFE (United Kingdom) said that he wished it to go on record that his Government's position on the question of the participation of representatives of liberation movements was the same as the position it had explained at the preceding session and that the remarks made by the United Kingdom representative at the 1976th

meeting, held on 2 October 1972, applied in their entirety to the current situation.

11. Mrs. DE VINCENZI (Brazil) said that her delegation's position concerning the question of participation by representatives of national liberation movements had not changed and that if a vote had been taken on the question, its vote would have been the same as at the preceding session.

12. The CHAIRMAN said that it was his understanding that the Committee wished to adopt the proposal in document A/C.4/759 and that the reservations expressed by a number of delegations would be duly reflected in the summary record of the meeting. With regard to the financial implications of adopting the proposal (A/C.4/L.1033), it was his understanding that the Committee agreed to authorize the Rapporteur to submit the Committee's report on the question to the General Assembly.

*It was so decided.*<sup>1</sup>

13. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Chairman of the Special Committee had informed him that the representatives of a number of national liberation movements were already in New York. In order not to delay the work of the Fourth Committee, if there was no objection, he would take it that members were prepared to hear them at the following meeting.

*It was so decided.*

#### AGENDA ITEM 71

**Question of Territories under Portuguese administration (A/9023/Add.3, A/9048, A/9053, A/9061, A/9079, A/9085, A/9089, A/9099, A/9111, A/9113, A/9132)**

#### GENERAL DEBATE

14. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria), speaking in his capacity as 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 chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee, covering its work during 1973 relating to the question of Territories under Portuguese administration (A/9023/Add.3).

15. In performing the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly in its resolution 2908 (XXVII) of continuing "to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not attained independence" and formulating "specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism", the Special Committee had taken into consideration the various relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

16. In its consideration of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration, the Special Committee

<sup>1</sup> The report was submitted to the General Assembly as document A/9174.

had had the benefit of receiving first-hand information from representatives of the respective national liberation movements. That information had been taken fully into account by the Special Committee and had been reflected in a resolution on the item, reproduced in chapter IX, paragraph 26, of its report. The Special Committee had also paid due regard to the recommendations of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973, and to the statements made during the special meeting of the Special Committee held on 23 May 1973 (914th meeting) in observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights (see General Assembly resolution 2911 (XXVII)). The resolution adopted by the Special Committee recommended that Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system should, when dealing with matters pertaining to the Territories, ensure the representation of those Territories by the liberation movements concerned in an appropriate capacity and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity. The Special Committee also drew the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need for taking all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation by Portugal of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and of the related decisions of the United Nations. In addition, the Special Committee made a number of general recommendations of a political and economic nature, calling upon all States to suspend all aid to or transactions with Portugal which contributed to the exploitation of the Territories and to render to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination all the political, diplomatic and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle.

17. He drew the Fourth Committee's attention to the text of the consensus reproduced in paragraph 27 of the same chapter of the report. The consensus had been adopted by the Special Committee on the basis of the information furnished by the Reverend Adrian Hastings concerning the massacre of hundreds of villagers in Mozambique by Portuguese troops. That information had given further proof of the Portuguese Government's total disregard for human life and basic moral values. The Special Committee had held that Portugal had no right to deny to the international community the opportunity to carry out an on-the-spot investigation at the site of the massacre, through the competent organs of the United Nations and with the co-operation of the national liberation movements concerned.

18. The situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration was steadily deteriorating, and there was not the slightest indication, in the view of the Special Committee, that the Government of Portugal was prepared to heed the voice of reason. He was confident that the Special Committee's recommendations and decisions in chapter IX of its report would serve as a basis for the Fourth Committee's course of action on that important item.

19. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania), speaking in his capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee, transmitted to the Fourth Committee the following telegram from Mr. Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of the

Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC):

"Having returned today from our country, have honour transmit following message to Fourth Committee:

"First Popular National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau met 23 and 24 September in Boé liberated areas in eastern part of country. Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of PAIGC, delivered inaugural address. Assembly, expressing will of people, proclaimed State of Guinea-Bissau 24 September at 8.55 a.m. GMT. State of Guinea-Bissau was given a Constitution, and Assembly elected 15-member Council of State under presidency of our comrade, Luis Cabral, Assistant Secretary-General of our party. On proposal of Council of State, Assembly approved appointment of first executive body of Guinea-Bissau, a Council of Commissioners of State consisting of eight Commissioners and eight Deputy Commissioners. Comrade Francisco Mendes (Chico Té), member of Permanent Secretariat of Executive Committee of PAIGC, is presiding officer of Council in his capacity as Chief Commissioner.

"In this new situation, position of Portuguese colonialists as foreign aggressors against our people has been confirmed. Our representative, da Luz, *en route* with relevant documents."

He requested that the text should be circulated as an official United Nations document.

20. Speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, he announced that his Government had recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

21. The statements made by the representatives of Portugal and South Africa were self-contradictory, since they spoke of the United Nations Charter, legality and morality, whereas the policies of their respective Governments had been repeatedly condemned by the General Assembly. It was incredible that South Africa should question the decisions of the Fourth Committee and assert that those decisions had diminished the prestige of the United Nations. On the contrary, in adopting anti-colonialist policies, the United Nations was simply reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter. Far from impairing the prestige of the United Nations, the decisions of the Fourth Committee gave greater hope to the peoples fighting for national liberation.

22. Any impairment of the Organization's prestige and of the confidence of peoples in the United Nations was the result of the toleration of the existence of régimes such as those of South Africa and Portugal, which were not only systematically violating all the resolutions of the United Nations but committing barbarous massacres as well.

23. When the Fourth Committee took a decision such as permitting the participation of observers, that at least showed that the United Nations was on the side of justice.

24. The CHAIRMAN expressed satisfaction at the news announced by the Chairman of the Special Committee and wished the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau success in its struggle for the final attainment of liberty. If there was no

objection, the text of the telegram from the Secretary-General of PAIGC would be circulated as an official document, in accordance with the proposal made by the Chairman of the Special Committee.

*It was so decided.<sup>2</sup>*

25. Mr. LESSING (German Democratic Republic) said that even before becoming a Member of the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic, true to the principles of its foreign policy and the purposes of the United Nations, had fought for the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, not only with words but also with action to support the national liberation movements. Now that it was a Member of the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic considered it an important task to participate actively in the work of the Fourth Committee. In doing so, it would be guided by the aims of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other follow-up resolutions, all the more so since it had always advocated the elimination of colonialism in all its forms.

26. He quoted a communication from his Government to the Secretary-General, dated 18 September 1973, which affirmed the urgency of the final elimination of all forms of colonial rule and of racism and emphatically condemned the crimes committed by Portuguese mercenaries in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

27. The presence of Portugal in Mozambique, Angola and part of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands ran counter to the basic principles of international law, and the acts committed by Portuguese mercenaries constituted a violation of the human rights of those oppressed peoples and a permanent danger to the security and territorial integrity of neighbouring States. The essential pre-condition for the presence of Portugal in Africa was the economic and military support it was receiving from some allied States; without such support the ruling circles of Portugal would be unable to maintain their domination in the colonial Territories against the mounting resistance of the population.

28. No alliance and no commitment could justify a violation of the Charter and of the pertinent United Nations resolutions.

29. The German Democratic Republic supported the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in recent years which reaffirmed the right to independence of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands and confirmed the legitimacy of their fight for freedom and self-determination. The German Democratic Republic seconded the efforts of the Special Committee to recruit more effective support for those peoples in their struggle. In particular, it supported General

Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII), which recognized the liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau as the only legitimate representatives of those peoples. Similarly, it welcomed the establishment of a free Government of the people of Guinea-Bissau as a practical expression of its right to self-determination.

30. The purpose of that resolution should be achieved through full implementation of the measures and resolutions on the elimination of the remnants of colonialism. The United Nations could promote negotiations by reaffirming the legitimacy of the armed struggle of those peoples to attain independence. In that context, the German Democratic Republic attached great importance to the results of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, and of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973.

31. So long as the Portuguese Government refused to negotiate with the national liberation movements, the United Nations should take effective measures against Portugal and its allies in order to halt military assistance to that country.

32. His Government was determined to continue supporting the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands and to render them assistance.

#### *Organization of work*

33. The CHAIRMAN informed the members of the Committee that the President of the General Assembly had requested him to remind those delegations that had not yet done so to submit lists of delegation members as soon as possible.

34. He also suggested that the Committee should devote eight meetings to consideration of the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, so that the general debate on that item might be completed on 9 October. He therefore requested those members that wished to participate in the debate to put their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

35. Lastly, he announced that the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) had asked permission to show the Committee photographs from the areas in which that movement was active in Angola. If there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee granted the request.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.*

<sup>2</sup> The text of the telegram was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/760.