

currently being voiced about the Territories other than Guinea-Bissau, there was reason for hope and optimism.

73. The liberation of the Portuguese Territories would mark another success for the Committee and should serve as a warning to those who attempted to stem the tide of history.

74. His delegation looked forward with hope and confidence to the successful conclusion of matters relating to the remaining Portuguese Territories. There would inevitably be difficulties, but, as long as the parties concerned were true to their purposes, all such difficulties could be overcome.

#### *Requests for hearings (continued)*

75. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received a request for a hearing on the question of Southern Rhodesia. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to have the communication circulated as an official document.

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

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*

<sup>2</sup> The communication was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/776.

## 2088th meeting

Thursday, 10 October 1974, at 3.15 p.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2088

### AGENDA ITEM 66

**Question of Territories under Portuguese domination (*continued*)** (A/9623/Add.1 (parts I and II), A/9694-S/11419, A/9697, A/9735, A/9769, A/9776, A/9788, A/9796, A/C.4/773)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. DUARTE (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) said that the accession to full independence of Guinea-Bissau and the formation of the Transitional Government of Mozambique, set up with a view to the attainment of independence by that Territory the following year, constituted a major development in the process of the liberation of the African peoples. He wished to thank all the Members of the United Nations who had given their firm support to the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the concert of sovereign nations. That event, which was the outcome of the struggle waged for years by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), would have favourable repercussions on the development of the struggle being waged under the banner of PAIGC in the Cape Verde Islands. His purpose in addressing the Committee was to discuss the problems relating to the process of decolonization in that archipelago.

2. The political and military struggle of the peoples under Portuguese colonialist domination had been the fundamental cause of the fall of the Fascist and colonialist Salazar-Caetano régime in Portugal. That event had not only transformed the political scene in Portugal itself but had also opened up new prospects for the acceleration of the process of decolonization in Africa and for the consolidation of the anti-colonialist movement throughout the world. It was an event which proved the correctness of the course of action proposed by PAIGC to the Portuguese Government ever since 1960; if Portugal had heeded that proposal, many lives would have been saved. Nevertheless, despite the great victory won by PAIGC with the signing at Algiers on 26 August of the agreements with the Portuguese Government concerning Guinea-Bissau and the progress made in Mozambique with the signing at Lusaka on 7 September of the agreement between that Government and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), it was necessary to maintain a position of firmness and vigilance with regard to the latest developments in the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe. It must not be forgotten that, despite the important political

changes which had taken place in Portugal, a coalition Government had been formed there which, by its very nature, was obliged to combat neo-fascist and neo-colonialist infiltration efforts, as demonstrated by recent events in Lisbon.

3. He cited in that connexion the statement made on 3 August 1974 by the Secretary-General of PAIGC, drawing attention to the efforts of certain elements in Portugal to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Portugal's African Territories and impose a neo-colonialist solution of the continuing conflict between those peoples and the Portuguese State. The Secretary-General of PAIGC had gone on to say that PAIGC was following with the closest attention the development of the political struggle in Cape Verde, that the repressive measures taken by the local Government against the unarmed people of the archipelago were totally at variance with the spirit of understanding displayed by the Party in suspending military operations against the colonial troops in Guinea-Bissau and that the Portuguese authorities should take the same position with regard to both of the Territories in respect of which they were conducting negotiations with the Party.

4. Since the fall of the Fascist Government in Portugal, significant political changes had occurred in the Cape Verde Islands, where the people were waging an increasingly determined struggle for independence under the banner of PAIGC. The support given by the overwhelming majority of the population of Cape Verde was taking the form of mass demonstrations and meetings, and PAIGC, which no longer had to operate in secret, was strengthening its organization in both urban centres and rural areas. Those of its members who had been political prisoners had now been released and were in the vanguard of the continuing struggle for independence. The offices of the former Portuguese police, the notorious Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE), had been closed and known Portuguese agents of that organization had been secretly returned to Portugal, because the inhabitants of the Cape Verde Islands wanted them to be punished in the Territory itself. However, the numerous Portuguese and non-Portuguese PIDE informers were still in the Cape Verde Islands and had not been punished. They were seeking, in close collaboration with officials of the colonial administration, to sabotage the liberation efforts of PAIGC.

5. Apart from the changes he had mentioned, it could be said that the situation in the Cape Verde Islands remained one of colonial rule, as described in the report made 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 at its 966th meeting, on 29 March 1974, by the representative of PAIGC. The new régime in Portugal was maintaining intact the colonial structure as it had existed prior to the fall of the Salazar-Caetano régime, despite the statement of 27 July 1974 by the former President of Portugal, Mr. de Spínola, reflected in the memorandum from the Government of Portugal (A/9694-S/11419, annex), and the Algiers agreements between the Portuguese Government and PAIGC reaffirming the right of the people of the Cape Verde Islands to self-determination and independence. The only step taken by the Portuguese Government to carry out its promise of decolonization of the Cape Verde Islands was the investiture, for the first time in history, of an indigenous Cape Verdian as Governor, an event which had taken place at Lisbon on 21 September. Perhaps the Portuguese Government had thought that by appointing an indigenous Cape Verdian to govern the people of the Territory—an individual who, it should be noted, had not been chosen by those people—it could convince them that it was taking a step towards decolonization. That investiture was, however, most inopportune, for the appropriate course of action at the current juncture was to reach agreement with PAIGC on ways and means of enabling the Cape Verdians to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence as recognized by the United Nations and by the Portuguese Government itself. It had been accompanied by a resurgence of provocations and repressive acts on the part of the Portuguese authorities in the Cape Verde Islands. The words of former President de Spínola on the occasion of the investiture of the Governor had been both threatening and ambiguous. He had said that Portugal would guarantee the people of the Cape Verde Islands complete freedom to choose the political status they desired and would resist, by force if necessary, any pressures which could jeopardize that freedom. He had then said to the new Governor that there were grave threats to the future of the people of the archipelago and that a clear distinction should be drawn between authentic decolonization and the hasty abandonment of the Cape Verde Islands to opportunists who were clearly inspired by neo-colonialist aims. That ambiguity was all the greater in that one of the three major objectives of the Armed Forces Movement was the decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration by a sure and speedy process, decided upon by agreement with the legitimate representatives of the will of the peoples concerned, and leading inevitably to independence. Moreover, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had assured the General Assembly at its current session (2239th plenary meeting) that Portugal solemnly reaffirmed its full recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and, to that end, was prepared to comply with its obligations under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Assembly's resolutions referring specifically to the Territories under Portuguese administration.

6. Did the former President of Portugal think that the situation in Cape Verde was dangerous because PAIGC, supported by the masses of the people, was opening the way to complete independence at an early date? It was legitimate to ask that question, for the only real threat was that represented by the neo-colonialist forces in Portugal which were seeking a form of pseudo-decolonization that would extend over a long period of time and would be tantamount to continued subjection to Portugal. The reply of the new Governor was significant: he had said, "Give us the opportunity to begin this long journey, even if the goal is distant and difficult to attain".

7. If those two statements were viewed in conjunction with statements made by Mr. de Spínola, the former President of Portugal, on 10 September, on the occasion of the ceremony

marking Portugal's recognition of the State of Guinea-Bissau, it could easily be seen that one of the targets of those threats was PAIGC, for the former President had openly defended the thesis that only a multiparty régime could guarantee the genuine decolonization and independence under "democracy" of the African countries ruled by Portugal. He had gone on to state that there could be no such thing as a single-party régime within a democratic system, and that if that was true for Portugal itself, it would be inconsistent to permit one-party régimes in the Territories undergoing the process of decolonization. When he had spoken of resisting pressures by force if necessary, he had doubtless been referring to the efforts currently being made by PAIGC in the Cape Verde Islands to put an end to the provocations, threats and manoeuvres aimed at transforming the process of decolonization into a neo-colonialist solution. Those manoeuvres were designed to keep Cape Verde within a Portuguese sphere of influence and were a flagrant contradiction of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which the Portuguese Government had undertaken to respect in the agreements signed at Algiers. Moreover, they disregarded the fact that the United Nations and OAU had solemnly recognized PAIGC as the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Cape Verde, in accordance with the clearly expressed will of the inhabitants of the archipelago. He drew attention in that connexion to the statement made at the 2080th meeting by the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, in which he had referred to the question of the Cape Verde Islands.

8. The local leader of PAIGC in Cape Verde had just reported a new wave of repression by the military and paramilitary forces, notably on the island of São Vicente, in the latter part of September. On 21 September there had been a confrontation between the people and the armed forces and police, who had been given orders to fire on the defenceless inhabitants. On 22 September a force of about 1,000 armed soldiers had conducted a search operation in the town of Mondelo, entering the homes of the inhabitants, breaking windows and leaving numbers of the civilian population seriously wounded. On 23 September another search operation had been conducted at Ribeira Bote, where the aggressors had again opened fire. On 25 September there had been confrontations between Cape Verdian and Portuguese soldiers at army headquarters in São Vicente. The Cape Verdian soldiers had demanded the weapons that had been taken away from them and they had then been fired upon. The people had taken the side of the Cape Verdian soldiers, provoking new confrontations with the military police, which had left several persons wounded. In protest against those colonialist-type acts of aggression, a general strike of employees and workers had been declared on São Vicente. Similar strikes were declared by the inhabitants of the other islands, and on several islands people's assemblies had been held to adopt motions condemning the repression. He read out the text of a cable sent by the Secretary-General of PAIGC to the Prime Minister of Portugal protesting those acts of repression (A/9788, annex).

9. It was thus clear that the neo-colonialist forces still existing in Portugal intended, by force of arms if necessary, to suppress PAIGC, which had given proof to the world of its ability and responsibility, had brought about the liberation of Guinea-Bissau and had gained the experience and accumulated the physical and material resources required for the liberation of the people of Cape Verde. PAIGC, it might be added, had demonstrated its goodwill towards the Portuguese people and the new régime in Portugal. Nothing could better illustrate the nature of the acts and intentions of PAIGC than the statement by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 2239th plenary meeting to the effect that during long years of war and privation PAIGC, whose leaders had given

many proofs of their maturity and sense of responsibility, had, by establishing its standing with the people and firmly maintaining the spirit of resistance, given effect to the principle of self-determination of the people whom it unquestionably represented.

10. A Portuguese military build-up of troops and equipment was currently taking place in Cape Verde. As a result of that build-up, many people had already been wounded and a number had been killed, including two members of PAIGC. Clearly, the aim of the build-up was to impede the mobilization of the people in favour of genuine decolonization under the direction of PAIGC.

11. Since 25 April 1974, the neo-colonialist forces in Portugal had been seeking desperately to create in Cape Verde small "nationalist" puppet groups, in the vain hope of setting up a chequer-board of parties, which according to them would ensure the attainment of "independence" in the long term and in a "democratic" manner. In fact, the neo-colonialist forces were trying to divert the people from the course set by PAIGC, which was struggling for complete independence in the near future, within a perspective of unity with Guinea-Bissau and Africa as a whole.

12. Recent statements by representatives of those puppet groups set forth positions suspiciously similar to one outlined by the Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination. The gist of that position was that Cape Verde had so many social and cultural ties with Portugal, was so dependent on Portuguese financial and technical assistance and was so far from attaining economic self-sufficiency that it was unrealistic to envisage immediate and complete independence and that the best course might therefore be for Cape Verde to content itself with an association with Portugal, whose Government would act as an impartial arbitrator of peaceful and orderly competition between a number of Cape Verdian political parties. It was thus clear that the Portuguese authorities rejected the recognition of PAIGC by the United Nations and OAU as the only legitimate representative of the people of Cape Verde, an attitude which was obviously inconsistent with point 5 of the Algiers agreements between Portugal and PAIGC, reaffirming the right of the Cape Verde Islands to self-determination and independence. Furthermore, the argument that social, cultural and economic factors made the association of Cape Verde with Portugal almost inevitable was invalid, for those factors had applied with equal force in the case of Guinea-Bissau, which had nevertheless attained complete independence. To use the results of colonialism as an argument for denying Cape Verde its independence would be a vicious circle. Cape Verde must assume responsibility for its own destiny and gradually overcome the colonial heritage of famine, poverty and under-development, with all the sacrifices which that task entailed. PAIGC sincerely wished to establish co-operation with the new Portugal, but that co-operation must be based on total independence and mutual respect.

13. The oppressed people of Cape Verde had unequivocally rejected the views expressed by the leaders of the puppet groups, who were the heads of large business enterprises, high colonial officials, large landowners and former PIDE informers. Consequently, those groups, in close co-operation with the neo-colonialist forces and the colonial authorities, were seeking to undermine PAIGC by circulating mendacious rumours about its policies and objectives, even going so far as to arrange for such calumnious propaganda to be disseminated in the churches. In order to frighten and demoralize the people, the enemies of PAIGC were seeking to convince them that independence would lead to starvation, because Cape Verde could not survive without Portuguese assistance. In order to lend credibility to that theory, tradesmen associated with neo-colonialist interests were deliber-

ately creating a shortage of essential food-stuffs, especially corn, which was the main staple, and sugar, and increasing food prices in a scandalous manner. Certain colonial administrators, who were very powerful because they were responsible for employing and dismissing workers and sold corn, were likewise engaging in anti-PAIGC propaganda. Lastly, neo-colonialist employers in Portugal were dismissing about 40,000 Cape Verdian workers, telling them to go and find work with PAIGC. The recent statement made in the Committee at the 2080th meeting by the representative of the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP) showed that such manoeuvres were not confined to Cape Verde.

14. The neo-colonial forces in Cape Verde were also seeking to call in question the legitimacy of PAIGC as the only valid representative of the Cape Verdian people in negotiations with Portugal. Such efforts were not only contrary to the vital interests and dignity of the people, they were also inconsistent with the Algiers agreements between Portugal and PAIGC, the resolution adopted on 5 April 1974 by the Special Committee (A/9623/Add.1 (part I), annex II B), and various resolutions of OAU, which had recognized PAIGC as early as 1965. Those instruments, which were entirely valid in international law, should eliminate all thoughts of holding a referendum; they established that PAIGC was the only authentic representative of the Cape Verdian people and the only entity capable of negotiating with Portugal and signing the agreement on the political process and constitutional and administrative structures for the transfer of power and the public administration to the organs freely chosen by the people. The people had already, on many occasions, forcefully expressed their support of PAIGC as their legitimate representative. Consequently, Portugal, in accordance with its previous declarations, should begin an irreversible process of decolonization and co-operate with PAIGC in creating the conditions necessary for the election of a constituent assembly, which would proclaim the sovereign State of Cape Verde, take a decision on unity with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, approve the political constitution of Cape Verde and elect a chief executive to govern the free and independent State of Cape Verde. To that end, it would be necessary to proceed, on the basis of an agreement between Portugal and PAIGC, to the creation of a transitional government, composed of a majority appointed by PAIGC and of Portuguese representatives appointed by the Portuguese Government. That transitional government, which would have legislative and executive functions, should progressively eliminate those elements in the various branches of the colonial administration which had thus far revealed a basically colonialist mentality and could thus not be relied upon to carry out decolonization in good faith. That would be the only way of ensuring the complete implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and OAU.

15. In view of the situation prevailing in Cape Verde, he wished to suggest that the General Assembly should send a special mission to Cape Verde to confirm the political facts he had described and the soundness of the positions taken by PAIGC. In reply to a cable from the Secretary-General of PAIGC to the President of the General Assembly (A/9788, annex), denouncing the repression carried out in Cape Verde on 21, 22, 23 and 25 September 1974, the Portuguese Mission to the United Nations had had a document circulated (A/9796) containing an 11-point explanation. The first three points, which sought to justify the repression, were not satisfactory, because serious repression, which had undeniable political significance, had in fact taken place. The military and paramilitary forces in Cape Verde had not sought to maintain public order but had in fact provoked and extended the repression, with the clear aim of impeding the progress of PAIGC. Moreover, the Portuguese Mission had taken the

opportunity to set out in the eight remaining points a complete programme for the decolonization of Cape Verde. PAIGC did not agree with that programme, because it denied the recognition of PAIGC by the United Nations and OAU and sought to legitimize phantom parties which were not representative and had never worked and were not currently working to free Cape Verde from colonialism. PAIGC, on the other hand, had to its credit 18 years of political struggle and almost 12 years of bitter armed struggle for that goal. All the Cape Verdian political prisoners freed after 25 April 1974 had been PAIGC militants or sympathizers. Point 8 of the document indicated clearly the anti-African course which Portugal was seeking to impose on Cape Verde. It must be remembered that decolonization in peace and liberty could not take place as long as devious political manoeuvres were going on and true nationalists were subject to repression.

16. Mr. GOMAH (Egypt) said that the long struggle of the people in the Portuguese Territories for freedom and independence was exemplified by the people of Guinea-Bissau, whose heavy burden of sacrifice at the hands of the Fascist imperialist forces had finally enabled the Territory to achieve statehood and membership of the United Nations.

17. It was to be hoped that a similar outcome would soon be witnessed in Mozambique, where FRELIMO was seeking to establish a State free from colonial domination and characterized by racial harmony. In Angola, the liberation movements should unite and thus overcome any attempts to impede the speedy attainment of full independence.

18. Despite the wave of independence surging through the Portuguese Territories, in the islands of Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe the two liberation movements concerned were still waging a struggle against Portuguese domination. His delegation paid a tribute to them and hoped that the Territories would soon be granted their freedom and independence.

19. The historic role of the United Nations in helping to eliminate Portuguese colonialism must continue during the transfer of power to the people of the Territories. That process involved both negotiations and the establishment of a national authority in the liberated Territories. With regard to negotiations, the United Nations should fully endorse the view of the liberation movements that it was the people themselves who must decide their own destiny. In the establishment of a national authority in each Territory, there was a need for vigilance against attempts to cause chaos and instability, such as the recent abortive plot in Mozambique. In the light of that situation, his delegation strongly supported the participation of the representatives of the liberation movements in the work of the Committee; their views should also be reaffirmed in any relevant draft resolutions adopted.

20. The United Nations must assume responsibility for providing the independent régimes in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola with adequate economic and technical assistance to help to consolidate their independence. The independent régimes in those Territories had the right to material support as a form of indemnity for long years of suffering and exploitation. The Second Committee and the specialized agencies most concerned should give special attention to that question.

21. While recent political developments in the Portuguese Territories gave grounds for optimism, there was a need to determine responsibility for past atrocities committed against the people of those Territories. Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, had described at the 929th meeting of the Special Committee, on 20 July 1973, how the Portuguese colonial army had repeatedly perpetrated collective massacres and acts of torture, destroyed villages, crops and cattle, using incendiary, napalm and fragmentation bombs and herbicides, set up Nazi-type concentration camps

called *aldeamentos*, and expelled those foreigners who had opposed such crimes. Mr. dos Santos had declared that the massacres were characteristic of a reaction against the great victories achieved under the leadership of FRELIMO. Furthermore, as reported in *The New York Times* of 11 May 1974, missionaries had accused Portugal of a massacre and of large-scale napalm bombing carried out earlier in 1974 by the Portuguese security forces in Mozambique.

22. The movement towards the independence of Guinéa-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola was a manifestation of the strong impetus of all freedom-loving forces both in Africa and elsewhere, and should serve as a warning to the remaining racist and colonialist forces in Africa that still harboured a nineteenth-century mentality of racial supremacy. They must hearken to the voice of reason; time was not on their side.

23. As the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated at the 2239th plenary meeting, the process of decolonization, so long delayed, had left behind it a long and useless war. It was therefore encouraging that the new Portuguese Government had reaffirmed the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, as well as its readiness to fulfil its obligations under the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolutions.

24. He wished to utter a warning to those who sought to suppress the struggle of the liberation movements, not only by force but also by casting doubt on the noble cause of freedom. Egypt, which had always supported the struggle to eliminate colonialism, intended to continue to do so regardless of the sacrifice involved, since it believed in the unity of the struggle for freedom and peace.

25. Mr. VLASCEANU (Romania) said that his delegation welcomed the decision to invite the representatives of the national liberation movements recognized by OAU to participate in the deliberations of the Committee and felt that the recognition of that practice in the draft resolution to be adopted by the Committee, accompanied by the provisions enabling the leaders of those movements to participate in all United Nations activities, including the plenary of the General Assembly, would be of great value.

26. The positive developments in the field of decolonization in Africa were a direct consequence of the struggle for liberation in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, a struggle which had culminated in the overthrow of the Fascist régime of Portugal by the democratic and progressive forces in that country and in the decision of the new Portuguese Government to put an end to the colonial war in Africa. Portugal's recognition of the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence and its declared intention of beginning negotiations with the representatives of the liberation movements gave reason to hope that full independence would soon be granted to all those Territories.

27. The proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and its admission to membership of the United Nations represented an historic victory for the people of that country under the leadership of PAIGC. Romania, which had always expressed its full support for the cause of the liberation of Guinea-Bissau, had decided to intensify and broaden the friendship and solidarity between the two countries. It was to be hoped that Portugal would proceed to take the necessary measures to transfer full political power to the people of the Cape Verde Islands, in accordance with the Algiers agreements concluded between Portugal and PAIGC. His delegation welcomed the signing of the Lusaka agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO for the transfer of political power to the people of Mozambique. The establishment of the Transitional Government and the commitment by Portugal to grant full independence to Mozambique in June 1975 were important steps towards the total independence and national

sovereignty of that country. Romania had constantly supported the struggle by FRELIMO for liberation, and the communiqué issued jointly by Romania and FRELIMO at Bucharest on 29 June 1973 had constituted the first international act of FRELIMO as the legitimate representative of the people of Mozambique. As President Ceaușescu had already said, Romania would continue to provide FRELIMO with full diplomatic and moral support to enable it to obtain full independence for Mozambique.

28. The attempts of an isolated minority in Mozambique to obstruct the decolonization process had demonstrated that the struggle to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism called for constant vigilance and firm action by the African States and progressive forces throughout the world. The United Nations, too, must concentrate its efforts in support of FRELIMO on overcoming difficulties created by the long colonial domination and the repression of the struggle for national liberation.

29. In the view of his delegation, the new Portuguese Government should put its declared policy of decolonization into effect by opening negotiations immediately with the representatives of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) in Angola and also with the authentic representatives of São Tomé and Príncipe with a view to transferring power to the people of those Territories. Romania had always supported both MPLA and FNLA in their struggle to obtain national independence at the earliest opportunity. The lack of unity among internal forces in Angola should not be used as a pretext for postponing the granting of independence to that country.

30. The United Nations must increase its efforts in support of the full and immediate independence of Mozambique, Angola and all other colonial Territories. Through its specialized agencies and other institutions, it must provide all necessary material assistance to the peoples of those Territories. It was the duty of the United Nations and the international community as a whole to provide practical assistance to recently liberated peoples for national reconstruction, the consolidation of new governmental structures and the eradication of the harmful vestiges of colonialism. The international organizations and specialized agencies must, in co-operation with the liberation movements, elaborate special programmes of assistance in the economic, cultural, health, vocational training and social assistance fields.

31. It was a known fact that Romania firmly supported the peoples' fight for freedom and national independence, against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism, against the policy of *apartheid* and against all forms of racial discrimination. It provided political, diplomatic and material support to the peoples of Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola, in accordance with agreements concluded with PAIGC, FRELIMO, MPLA and FNLA.

32. Mr. SHAHID-NOORAY (Iran) said that his delegation wished to commend the new Government of Portugal on its enlightened and far-reaching policy of granting independence to the Territories under its administration and its official undertaking to abide by United Nations decisions with respect to its remaining colonies. He earnestly hoped that the new policy would be fully applied to Angola, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, and that those who opposed self-determination and independence would draw the necessary conclusions from recent events.

33. He expressed satisfaction at the smooth and peaceful transfer of power in Mozambique, which was to lead to complete independence in 1975. Iran, which had always supported the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence, was firmly convinced that the process of decolonization in the Portuguese Territories in Africa would

strengthen peace and security in the region and in due course permit reconstruction and socio-economic development.

34. His delegation wished to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for the significant role he had played in assisting the negotiations with regard to Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. The United Nations could play a further role in the decolonization process in the remaining Territories under Portuguese rule and, together with its specialized agencies, should extend all possible technical and material assistance to Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and the remaining Portuguese Territories.

35. His delegation looked forward to the day when all the African peoples would have regained their right to self-determination and independence, and it would continue to support that noble objective.

36. Mr. BILÉ (Ivory Coast) said that his country, which had always opposed colonial exploitation, particularly welcomed the new Portuguese régime's recognition of the right to self-determination of the peoples in the Territories under its administration, its *de jure* recognition of the new State of Guinea-Bissau, and the establishment of the Transitional Government in Mozambique. He praised the constructive attitude of FRELIMO and the Portuguese authorities, which had resulted in the conclusion of the Lusaka agreement on 7 September.

37. The encouraging acceleration of decolonization in the Portuguese Territories marked a big step towards the independence of all the peoples of southern Africa. His country welcomed the recent events and congratulated the Portuguese Government on its realistic attitude and its courage in taking such important decisions. Yet the world community could not fully rejoice until all colonial Territories had attained full independence. In that regard, the Ivory Coast was greatly concerned over the recent tragic events in Mozambique, stemming from the irresponsible desire of the whites to impede the efforts towards decolonization and to sow the seeds of disorder in that country.

38. With regard to Angola, although the statements of the new Portuguese leaders left no doubt as to their desire to grant the Territory full independence, many factors threatened to intervene and certain elements might seize the opportunity to attempt the same adventure as that undertaken in Mozambique. His country was also concerned about the delay in the negotiations concerning Angola, the responsibility for which could be attributed to reactionary elements in that Territory. The struggle was clearly not yet over. It was therefore to be hoped that the parties concerned would display vigilance, caution and wisdom. Agreement and co-operation between the liberation movements was essential in order to enable the authorities to transfer power into safe hands; otherwise the decolonization process in Angola might be impeded. His delegation was, however, convinced that the liberation movements would reach a satisfactory solution; they must therefore have the courage to initiate a dialogue. Agreement between them should not, however, be made a pre-condition for the continuation of contacts between the Portuguese Government and the liberation movements and the Portuguese Government must not use the situation as a pretext for retaining power, but must find other means of accelerating the decolonization process. The convening of a constitutional conference with the participation of all interested parties, with a view to establishing an authority along the lines of the Transitional Government in Mozambique, could bring about the rapid accession of Angola to independence. The Ivory Coast, for its part, would co-operate with the new Portuguese leaders to that end.

39. He wished to pay a tribute to the heroic leader of Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar Cabral, whose name would always be linked with the liberation of his country.



40. With the national liberation struggle coming to an end, it was essential to provide the newly independent States with the material assistance they needed for their economic and social development. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ivory Coast had stated at the 2246th plenary meeting, financial and technical assistance would be essential in order to heal the wounds caused by war and to make independence viable. The Ivory Coast therefore proposed the establishment of a fund based on voluntary contributions from Member States. Precedents for such action already existed. His delegation, for its part, was ready to join with other delegations in examining the proposal.

41. Mr. ARTEAGA (Venezuela) said that at the current session the Committee had taken up the question of the Territories under Portuguese domination in an optimistic and promising atmosphere. That was because of the events of April 1974, which, after a prolonged period of exhortations from the United Nations, had led to a series of definite advances towards the full decolonization of vast areas of the African continent. Thus, anachronistic claims of domination were being rejected in a world that was becoming more just. Those events had proved that no country, however powerful, could thwart the will of peoples to free themselves from subjugation and become responsible for their own destinies.

42. That encouraging development was certainly welcomed in the United Nations which had exerted untiring efforts to achieve fulfilment of the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all areas under the colonial yoke. The Portuguese Territories had always received special attention in the Organization and the present turn of events boded well for the final liquidation of colonialism in southern Africa.

43. Undoubtedly, it had been primarily the representatives of the peoples of the Territories who, in their unceasing struggle, had made possible the recent welcome changes. His delegation expressed its admiration for them and paid a tribute to the new Government of Portugal for the attitude that it had assumed with respect to the colonial question.

44. Because of the foregoing, the emergence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent country and Member of the United Nations was particularly significant. Venezuela warmly greeted Guinea-Bissau and wished it success and prosperity as an independent nation.

45. His delegation also welcomed the agreement between FRELIMO and the Government of Portugal, which would shortly lead to independence for Mozambique. It would follow with interest the developments in Angola and hoped that all interested parties in that Territory would, as soon as possible, reach a final agreement for its independence. His delegation hoped that Portugal would take measures to ensure that the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe would also attain their right to self-determination and independence.

46. Mr. BADURINA (Yugoslavia) said that the long heroic struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola had borne fruit and the world was currently witnessing the disintegration of one of the oldest colonial empires in the world. That fruitful struggle had accelerated the process which had led to the events in Portugal itself and had contributed considerably to strengthening the democratic and progressive forces of that country. That strengthening had brought about the overthrow of the long-standing Fascist dictatorship and had restored democracy and freedom. His delegation paid a tribute to the new Government of Portugal, which, in addition to taking positive measures in its own country, had also undertaken a definitive solution of the problems of the Territories under its domination through direct negotiations with the representatives of the liberation movements. His delegation particularly wished to emphasize the fact that, at the time of the historic changes in Portugal,

Guinea-Bissau had already become an independent nation and had enjoyed wide international recognition; at that time, too, vast areas of Mozambique and Angola had been under the exclusive control of liberation movements. His delegation was happy to state that Yugoslavia had been among the first countries which, after the proclamation of independence of Guinea-Bissau, had recognized and undertaken diplomatic relations with that country.

47. His country hoped that the new Portuguese Government, in pursuance of its proclaimed policy to respect the United Nations Charter, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and numerous decisions of the Organization, would finally end colonialism and reach, as soon as possible, agreements with the liberation movements of Angola on the accession to independence of that large and important country still under Portuguese domination. At the same time, his delegation hoped that FNLA and MPLA would do all that was necessary to eliminate existing procedural difficulties in order to begin, in the near future, negotiations on Angola's accession to full independence. Yugoslavia was also convinced that the inhabitants of the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe would soon be given an opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. That right had been confirmed by the Portuguese Government in its official statements.

48. While not detracting from the role played by the new Government in Lisbon in the final achievement of independence for Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, his delegation wished to pay a special tribute to the fighters and leaders of the liberation movements of those Territories. The heroic struggle of members of PAIGC, FRELIMO, FNLA and MPLA, during which many of Africa's best sons had sacrificed their lives, had been a determining factor. Without that struggle, the peoples of the African Territories in question and the Portuguese people themselves would have continued, for several more years, to live under the yoke of one of the most reactionary régimes of Europe. One could not speak of sacrifices without mentioning the name of Amílcar Cabral who had been well known and highly regarded also in Yugoslavia and whose death was an irreparable loss not only for his people and the peoples of Africa, but also for all progressive and revolutionary forces in the world.

49. The international community should not forget that bastions of colonialism and imperialism still existed in southern Africa. In South Africa and Rhodesia, illegal white minority régimes continued to deprive the African populations of their most elementary human rights and to exploit them shamelessly by openly defying world public opinion and ignoring numerous decisions of the United Nations. The racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria were still pursuing their notorious policy of *apartheid* and had shown no signs of being ready to reconsider and change that reactionary policy. Furthermore, they had attempted, in collusion with colonialist elements in Angola and Mozambique who were not resigned to the changes taking place in those Territories, to create a situation aimed at preventing the accession of Angola and Mozambique to independence. Such behaviour by South Africa and Rhodesia was not new. It was well known that the régimes of those two countries had given proof, over several years, of their aggressive intentions against their African neighbours. His delegation regretted that in pursuing such a policy they enjoyed the full support of certain influential Powers without whose aid and co-operation they would have long ceased to exist.

50. The collusion of the racists of southern Africa with imperialist forces and international capital was a threat not only to the freedom and independence of African States, but also to international peace and security. The dangerous situation prevailing in southern Africa had implications extending

beyond that region and was thus a world problem, which made it necessary for the international community as a whole to examine the question thoroughly.

51. Being aware of that problem and guided by the fundamental principles and objectives of their policy, the non-aligned countries had drawn attention, at all their meetings, to the untenable nature of such a situation in southern Africa and had unreservedly supported the struggle of African peoples against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The United Nations, in particular the Security Council, had played and continued to play an important role in that struggle and the chances of finally eliminating those vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa had been considerably improved.

52. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, itself born of a bloody battle against Fascist occupation forces, would, together with all non-aligned and socialist countries, continue to give full moral, political and material support to the struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence.

53. Mr. SEIGNORET (Trinidad and Tobago) expressed his thanks to the representatives of the liberation movements for the information they had provided to the Committee and assured them of Trinidad and Tobago's fullest support in their just struggle.

54. The people of Portugal had been able to topple the former régime because the people of the Portuguese Territories in Africa had challenged that régime successfully on the field of battle. His Government wished the Portuguese people lasting success in their efforts to build democratic institutions and noted with satisfaction their concern to effect a speedy and orderly transfer of power to the people of the colonial Territories in Africa.

55. In the early period following the change of Government, the new Portuguese leaders had considered the possibility of delaying the transfer of power. However, on 24 July, some three months after the fall of the Caetano régime, the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations had informed the Chairman of the Special Committee of his Government's intention to co-operate fully with that Committee (see A/9623/Add.1 (part I), para. 23). A few days later, in a statement reflected in the memorandum of 3 August from the Portuguese Government (A/9624-S/11419, annex), the President of Portugal had unequivocally stated that Portugal accepted its obligations under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and pledged full co-operation with the United Nations. From the information available, it appeared that the Secretary-General had made an important personal contribution to the evolution of thinking that had taken place in Lisbon. It was important that there should be the widest possible awareness of the vital and unique role played by the United Nations in promoting orderly change.

56. However, the most important role in bringing about the current situation had been that played by the liberation movements themselves. Tribute was due to them because, even at the height of battle, they had never ceased to denounce war and had emphasized that they had resorted to armed struggle only because their peaceful attempts to win respect for their fundamental rights and legitimate aspirations had been answered with violent repression. They had patiently developed their ability not only to prosecute war, but also to provide technical and social services within liberated areas and to assume the necessary diplomatic tasks. The extent of the success of such efforts had been demonstrated by the wisdom with which the leadership of FRELIMO had responded to attempts by reactionary white settlers in Mozambique to prevent the orderly transfer of power and progress to independence. His delegation was happy to congratulate the leaders and people of Mozambique on the trans-

fer of power to the Transitional Government and to wish them peace and prosperity in the future.

57. Although the situation in Angola was not as clear-cut as in Mozambique in so far as relations among those engaged in the freedom struggle were concerned, his delegation strongly urged the Government of Portugal to sustain the momentum of the decolonization process by announcing and organizing immediately a conference between representatives of the Portuguese Government and of the Angolan liberation movements recognized by OAU. In doing so, the Portuguese authorities would be honouring their pledge of full co-operation with the United Nations. The task of that conference should be essentially to examine the modalities and time-table for the earliest transfer of power. The holding, or even the announcement of such a conference would also help to discourage the reactionary elements, which would be the only beneficiaries of further delay in the commencement of negotiations envisaged in the memorandum of 3 August 1974 (*ibid.*).

58. In his address to the Committee at the 2080th meeting, the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU had said that no valid solution could be found on the basis of mandatory multiracial institutions in Angola. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago endorsed that statement and also the opinion expressed by the Prime Minister of the Transitional Government of Mozambique that it was not a matter of organizing multiracial régimes or institutions, but of establishing anti-racial or anti-racist societies or institutions. It was to be hoped that the Lisbon authorities would adopt that idea and would continue to show the same courage as before in trusting to the honour and good judgement of the leaders of the struggle for freedom.

59. His delegation looked forward to hearing of the progress made in applying the principles of decolonization in Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe and Timor, and trusted that the Portuguese Government would avail itself of the valuable assistance which the United Nations could provide.

60. His delegation believed that the basis on which the General Assembly had adopted resolutions enjoining Members of the United Nations to impose trade and other embargoes on Portugal was disappearing. Consequently, it was ready to support all initiatives aimed at removing such embargoes totally, partially or conditionally. His delegation expected the Government of Portugal to adhere to the spirit and letter of its unequivocal and repeated declarations of intention to bring about rapid decolonization of its Territories, so that it would soon be possible for all countries to restore or establish ties of friendship and co-operation with Portugal.

61. Mr. GOSWAMI (India) said that India had always regarded colonialism as one of the worst forms of evil, since it had suffered from its ill-effects and had been second to none in fighting it. India firmly believed in the equality and independence of man, irrespective of his place of birth or the colour of his skin, and decolonization of subjugated people had always been a cardinal factor in India's policies.

62. While it had become clear to the rest of the world that the system of colonialism could not survive in modern times, the previous Fascist, dictatorial and oppressive Government of Portugal had not been able to face realities and had insisted on fighting needless bloody wars in its African Territories. The changes which had taken place in Portugal in April had been clearly overdue and the liberation struggles in Africa had largely contributed to them. His delegation was happy to note that Portugal had come to realize that the negative and unrealistic policies of oppression and obscurantism had brought their country to a position of sterile isolation. His delegation hoped that countries following the same attitude would learn that lesson of history.

63. His delegation wished to inform the Committee that in a joint communiqué issued in New York on 24 September 1974 at the conclusion of consultations between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of India and Portugal, the following had been stated with respect to the former Portuguese enclaves in India:

“In regard to bilateral relations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal stated that his Government was ready to recognize the full sovereignty of India over the former Portuguese territories of Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, which had become integral parts of the territory of India. The Minister of External Affairs of India expressed the appreciation of the Government of India.”

64. In 1973, the Indian Government had welcomed Guinea-Bissau's declaration of independence and had since established diplomatic relations with that country. India had quite naturally given its support for the withdrawal of the illegal Portuguese occupation forces in Guinea-Bissau when that question had been discussed in the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. Since then Portugal had gone through a process of liberation and had negotiated the withdrawal of its forces. His delegation welcomed the assurances given by Portugal on matters relating to decolonization and looked forward to their early implementation. Portugal had fulfilled its promise with respect to Guinea-Bissau and had already signed an agreement with FRELIMO at Lusaka, ensuring independence for Mozambique (A/9769, annex I). His delegation welcomed the Lusaka agreement and looked forward to the day when Mozambique and Angola would be Members of the United Nations.

65. It was essential that Portugal should fulfil its promise for the full recognition of the right of the people of the Cape Verde Islands to self-determination and independence and it should be prepared to implement the decisions of the United Nations in that regard.

66. His delegation was firmly convinced that the territorial unity and integrity of Angola must be fully preserved, and to that end Portugal should start negotiations with the liberation movements there as soon as possible. Lack of unity among

the liberating forces should not be used as grounds for delaying the process of self-determination and independence for the inhabitants of Angola.

67. With respect to São Tomé and Príncipe, India did not share the view that decolonization must be preceded by armed struggle. India had regained its independence by non-violent and peaceful means and was confident that that method could lead to the independence of São Tomé and Príncipe. His delegation hoped that the Portuguese Government would fulfil its assurances with respect to that Territory and implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of the Territories in Asia which were still under its administration.

68. The illegal racist régime in Zimbabwe should see the writing on the wall and the racist minority régime of Pretoria should realize that it could not indefinitely continue its abhorrent policies of *apartheid*. In that connexion, his delegation wished to inform the Committee that, because of South Africa's policy of *apartheid*, India had decided not to play that country in the final of the Davis Cup tennis tournament. That decision had been made despite the fact that India had reached the final after a long interval of years and had been looking forward with eagerness to winning the trophy for the first time.

69. His delegation saluted the freedom fighters and people of former Portuguese Territories whose dedication and sacrifice had led to the emergence of a new free Africa.

#### *Requests for hearings (continued) (A/C.4/776)*

70. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to a request for a hearing concerning Southern Rhodesia from the Reverend Canaan Banana of the African National Council of Zimbabwe (A/C.4/776). If he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.*

## 2089th meeting

Friday, 11 October 1974, at 10.45 a.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2089

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Sidik (Indonesia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

### AGENDA ITEM 66

**Question of Territories under Portuguese domination (continued)** (A/9623/Add.1 (parts I and II), A/9694-S/11419, A/9697, A/9735, A/9769, A/9776, A/9788, A/9796, A/C.4/773)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic) congratulated the officers of the Committee and said that Mr. Araújo's election as Rapporteur was a tribute to the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau against imperialism and colonialism. He welcomed the new Members of the United Nations and said that his country was ready to co-operate with them in strengthening their independence.

2. At the current session, consideration of item 66, relating to Territories under Portuguese domination, had taken on an entirely new complexion. There were encouraging signs that it would be possible to omit it from the agenda of the next session of the Assembly, and that representatives of Mozambique and Angola would be able to participate in the deliberations. The political changes in Portugal and the positive attitude of the new Portuguese Government had given new hope to mankind in its fight against colonialism.

3. The agreements concluded at Algiers on 26 August 1974 and at Lusaka on 7 September between Portugal and the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) respectively were historic events, but the triumph of the principle of self-determination of peoples would not be complete until the last Portuguese soldier was withdrawn from Angola, Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe.