

in Africa and the beginning of a new era in which the task at hand would be the economic development of such war-devastated countries as Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. His delegation urged the United Nations to study the possibility of establishing a special fund specifically geared to the reconstruction and promotion of their ruined economies.

42. The racist régimes in southern Africa could not turn a blind eye to the dramatic changes that had taken place in neighbouring countries. His delegation hoped not only that South Africa and Southern Rhodesia would refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Mozambique but that the overturn in the Portuguese Territories would prove a lesson to them and prompt them to initiate reforms which would spare that part of Africa from otherwise certain bloodshed. Such bloodshed could be prevented only by granting the black majority their inalienable human rights and observing the noble principles embodied in the United Nations Charter.

43. Mr. ELIASSEN (Denmark) expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the admission of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations. With regard to the item under discussion, his delegation was pleased to note that the Portuguese Government had said that it was prepared to fulfil its obligations under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514(XV). That intention had already found expression in the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the establishment of the Transitional Government in Mozambique and the contacts which had been made with regard to Angola. Those achievements had resulted from the determination and the sacrifices of the peoples and liberation movements of those Territories. The sympathy shown and the assistance provided by the international community, either bilaterally or through the United Nations, had also been a contributing factor. Furthermore, Portugal's new policy deserved support and must be allowed the time needed for its implementation. His delegation hoped that it would soon be possible to welcome Mozambique and Angola, too, to membership in the United Nations. In that connexion, it might be helpful for the Portuguese Government, in consultation with the Angolan people, to set a time-table for Angola's attainment of independence, as had been done in the case of Mozambique.

44. His Government, which had always recognized that each colonial Territory had its own special features, trusted that the Portuguese Government would take into account the aspirations, priorities and wishes of the peoples of the Ter-

ritories as well as the various statements made on the subject, including that made by the Secretary-General during his visit to Lisbon. It was also to be hoped that recent developments would contribute to a solution of other major problems in southern Africa.

45. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia) recalled that, when the principle of self-determination had been formulated as a right in the late 1940s and early 1950s, some people had contended that it was a collective right and therefore should not be included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in taking that position, they had ignored the fact that trade unions and the family were also protected by collective rights and yet were mentioned in the Declaration. Some had also argued that the Portuguese Territories were merely provinces of Portugal, overlooking the fact that they had different cultures, languages and customs. The reason such statements had been made was, of course, that the colonial Powers regarded themselves as a ruling class. Fortunately, the recent events in Portugal signalled the beginning of a new era, particularly for the Portuguese people, whose liberation had also grown out of the struggle waged by the African freedom fighters. Hence, in order to encourage the present Portuguese Government to speed the process of liberation, it must be borne in mind that the people of Portugal had also been a victim. Portugal should be treated with forbearance rather than harshly criticized, so that that attitude and the new spirit prevailing among African peoples would help to usher in a new era. Politics depended on economics, and it would be dangerous to pull down an economic structure, even one created by exploiters, if there was no new structure to set up in its place. Life and not destruction was what was needed. The world must not forget the laying waste of Dresden, Coventry, Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the Second World War and the partition of Viet-Nam and Korea. The peoples of Africa must learn from those past errors so that they would not suffer the same fate.

46. He urged the liberation movements to show the greatest possible forbearance and the Government of Portugal to accelerate the transfer of power and take a more constructive attitude. He hoped that the colonial situation in the rest of southern Africa would soon be eliminated so that the Trusteeship Council chamber could be used for other constructive purposes.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

2086th meeting

Wednesday, 9 October 1974, at 10.40 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2086

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. MUKHTAR (Sudan) felt that events had taken a hopeful course since the coup d'état which had toppled the fascist Caetano régime in Portugal the previous April. The current developments would not have been possible without

the arduous and persistent struggle of the African national liberation movements, the support given by the African population and the moral and material support of other peace-loving peoples. The constant defeats inflicted on the Portuguese colonial armies by the liberation forces had brought home to the Portuguese people the reality of a dishonourable war. The victory of the Portuguese people over dictatorship was a major contribution by Africa to the emancipation of oppressed peoples throughout the world. The Portuguese people had never been confused with the Caetano régime in the matter of decolonization, and it had been realized that, given the opportunity, Africa and Portugal would work together for peaceful coexistence and racial harmony. The joy

felt at the independence of Guinea-Bissau was dimmed by the absence of Amílcar Cabral, whose memory would always inspire the fight for liberation and genuine independence.

2. His delegation commended the Portuguese policy of decolonization as expressed in the memorandum handed to the Secretary-General during his visit to Lisbon (A/9694-S/11419, annex) and confirmed by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement before the General Assembly at its 2039th plenary meeting. The agreement between the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and the Portuguese Government signed at Lusaka on 7 September (A/9769, annex I) was a guarantee of the good intentions of the Portuguese authorities. However, relations with Portugal would not be easy and normal until the African peoples attained full independence and total sovereignty in their respective countries. He warned the Government of Portugal that his delegation would accept nothing less than the genuine transfer of power and consequent independence.

3. There could be no repetition of the attitude of the previous régime; it was time the Portuguese settlers in Africa understood that the process of decolonization was irreversible and that any attempt to frustrate it would be made at their peril. It was understandable that Portugal was experiencing certain difficulties, but they could be overcome. Understanding and sympathy had been shown for the obvious effort already made and Portugal had amply demonstrated its seriousness, but the forces of reaction and discord, both internal and external, were multiplying their efforts to frustrate what remained to be done. The riots and disorders in Mozambique were another example of such efforts; covert or overt action by the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia against Mozambique and Angola was a real danger to be reckoned with. While the commitment by the present Portuguese Government to preserve the unity and integrity of Angola and Mozambique was satisfactory, those racist régimes should be solemnly warned not to intervene in that process.

4. His delegation had always been willing to assist Portugal in its difficult task. He sincerely hoped that country would live up to its responsibilities in Angola, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe by transferring power to those to whom it belonged; until that task was accomplished, it would hardly be possible to speak of Afro-Portuguese co-operation or friendship.

5. He recalled the statement made in the General Assembly on 3 October by the Sudanese Minister for Foreign Affairs (2255th plenary meeting) to the effect that Africa hoped nothing would interfere with the plans and endeavours now being pursued in the Portuguese Territories and that there was now a possibility that a powerful State composed of Mozambique, Zambia and Angola would emerge and deliver the surrounding areas from an alien rule rejected by the majority of mankind.

6. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) observed that the current session of the General Assembly would go down in the annals of the United Nations as a historic one for the Fourth Committee as far as the Territories under Portuguese administration were concerned; a totally new situation had arisen in which the process of decolonization was being rapidly advanced by the Portuguese Government. Guinea-Bissau was already a Member of the United Nations; in Mozambique, FRELIMO had assumed leadership in the Government during the transitional period, and the country would become fully independent on 25 June 1975. The agreements between the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) and Portugal, signed at Algiers on 26 August 1974, and the agreement between FRELIMO and Portugal, signed at Lusaka on 7 September, were of paramount importance. Portugal and FRELIMO had undertaken to act jointly to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism, to create true racial harmony

and to defend the territorial integrity of Mozambique. Those were facts, not empty promises.

7. The Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had explicitly reaffirmed before the General Assembly at the 2239th plenary meeting that his country would adhere strictly to the process of decolonization; other speakers had said that what had happened was promising and that the policy of the new Portuguese Government deserved encouragement.

8. The Committee's attention had rightly been drawn to the fact that there were reactionary circles in Portugal and some of the Territories, which were trying to thwart the current policy; firm support and assistance must therefore be given to the democratic and revolutionary forces in Portugal which had instituted the policy of decolonization, since they were the guarantors of its execution. Anything else would only stall the process of decolonization and bring about a return to reaction and intransigence. Failure to support the democratic and revolutionary forces in Portugal at the present time would mean siding with the reactionary circles which opposed complete decolonization and betraying the genuine and legitimate interests of the peoples of the Territories aspiring to freedom and independence.

9. His delegation welcomed the events that had taken place in Portugal and its Territories, which were the result of the heroic struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola to attain freedom and independence and put an end to colonialism and racial discrimination. They were the result of long years of armed struggle against colonial forces, of concerted diplomatic and political action and, above all, of the determination and firm will of the colonial peoples to continue to fight through thick and thin until complete freedom was won. They were the result of the long and equally difficult struggle of the democratic and revolutionary forces in Portugal to eliminate once and for all the former fascist and colonialist régime and embark upon the path of progress and democracy.

10. The President of FRELIMO, in his message on the occasion of the investiture of the Transitional Government of Mozambique (A/C.4/773, annex), had reaffirmed the friendship uniting the people of Mozambique with the Portuguese people, particularly with the Portuguese democratic forces, a friendship forged in the common struggle against the colonialist-fascist régime. He had said that both peoples were facing the tremendous challenge of a unique historical situation, the simultaneous liberation of their peoples through a common victory against fascism and colonialism, and that neither had liberated the other but rather it had been mutual liberation through a parallel struggle.

11. The endeavour of the two peoples to effect those positive changes had enjoyed and would continue to enjoy the unconditional support and assistance of the countries of the socialist community so that the common struggle would end in success. The events in question had not occurred in isolation from the world revolutionary process. The current international political situation, in which the trend towards détente was becoming the dominant characteristic of international relations, created favourable conditions for a further intensification of the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples for free and independent national existence and development. The situation was one that some refused to recognize for fear of disclosing their fraudulent policies, which were aimed at domination and at dictating their nationalistic and chauvinistic interests to the developing countries and peoples; it was a situation that exercised a major influence in the modern world and added to the growing pressure exerted upon the racist and colonialist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which would ultimately ensure the victory of the national liberation struggle. Those were important facts and developments, involving the fate not only of Mozambique but of

Angola, Cape Verde and the other Territories as well. In turn, the accelerated pace of decolonization and the successful outcome of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique would also inspire the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and other regions to become free and independent and overthrow the colonialist and racist régimes.

12. It was the duty of the United Nations to support the efforts of the progressive and peace-loving peoples and forces of the world, including the new Government of Portugal, in order to liquidate colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in whatever forms or manifestations they appeared or reappeared.

13. In that connexion, his delegation had repeatedly emphasized the responsibility of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to assist in the decolonization process, for such assistance was needed by the colonial peoples and their liberation movements.

14. The Bulgarian Government and people had from the very beginning consistently supported the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese Territories and their liberation movements to attain independence; they had given them assistance and would continue to do so, since they considered that to be their international obligation as a socialist State, which cherished as its own the sacred right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. He recalled the statement made by the President of his country's Council of State on 8 September 1974, in commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, in which he had assured the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that in their struggle against the colonialist and neo-colonialist policies of imperialism, as well as in the implementation of democratic and progressive social changes, they could always rely on the understanding, solidarity and support of his country.

15. Mr. KLIMAS (Poland), after congratulating the officers of the Committee, and particularly the Rapporteur, who came from a Member State that had just joined the United Nations, pointed out that in 1974 new steps had been taken in the elimination of colonialism and racism. The heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau had been crowned with success. Without awaiting *de jure* confirmation of independence in the Algiers agreements, Poland had immediately recognized the new State and established diplomatic relations with it. With regard to Mozambique, Poland welcomed the installation of the Transitional Government in that Territory under the leadership of FRELIMO, the authentic representative of the people, and the fact that full independence was envisaged for 1975.

16. The successes of the struggle of the African national liberation movements and the positive changes that had taken place in Portugal, which were welcomed by his country, showed how important and effective could be the solidarity of the anti-colonialist front and the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. The armed struggle of the African peoples had accelerated the maturity and the political awareness of the Portuguese and of their armed forces and had facilitated the overthrow of the former régime.

17. Portugal had recognized the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence and, despite some hesitations and contradictory attitudes, his country believed that the progressive and democratic forces in Portugal would be able to bring to a conclusion the historic process of decolonization. His country had therefore established diplomatic relations with the new Portugal.

18. The triumph of decolonization was due to the continuous efforts of the United Nations and to the assistance given,

by the socialist countries in particular, to the struggles for national liberation. However, a solution to the colonial problem, which a short time earlier had seemed almost unattainable, could be achieved only within the broader framework of world-wide détente.

19. The independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Lusaka agreement on Mozambique had established the necessary conditions for the liberation in the near future of Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and the other colonies. Care should, however, be taken to ensure that the success achieved did not weaken the enthusiasm, unity and cohesion of the anti-colonial front. Constant vigilance was essential to counter any attempted action by the reactionary forces in Portugal and in the Territories still under Portuguese domination, where there were still powerful neo-colonial interests that would try to reverse the process of decolonization. It was to be hoped that the efforts being made to reconcile the various groups in Angola would produce positive results in the near future and that there would be no misunderstandings in negotiations between Portugal and the genuine representatives of that territory.

20. Poland was always prepared to support the struggle of peoples against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. Since the process of détente in the world was becoming irreversible, it was to be hoped that the Committee would be able to achieve its objective of bringing about the complete elimination of colonialism and the exercise for the inalienable right of peoples to live in freedom and progress.

21. Mr. ENAHORO (Nigeria) said that he was particularly happy to see a representative of Guinea-Bissau elected as an officer of the Fourth Committee. Nigeria had always done its utmost to speed the complete liberation of the entire African continent from colonial domination. The talks between the Territories and Portugal following the change of Government in Portugal had been encouraging. It was to be hoped that Mozambique, Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe would before long take their rightful places in the assembly of nations and make their contribution to the cause of international peace and security.

22. Although a Transitional Government had already been appointed in Mozambique, there was still uncertainty regarding Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé and Príncipe. The new Portuguese authorities had already stated their intention of granting the people of those Territories the right to determine their own future, but further steps must be taken. It would be helpful, for example, to draw up a definite time-table for granting independence to those Territories, whose liberation movements had fought for many years and would certainly not lay down their arms until a definite programme of action was submitted to them.

23. Although recent events certainly gave the Committee cause for satisfaction, it was understandable that some might react with impatience to the excuses made by the administering power for not pressing on with decolonization. The existence of a multiplicity of liberation movements or political organizations in Angola should not be an obstacle to its independence. Many Members of the United Nations had in the past been colonies that had had to fight for their independence, and there had been no cases in which independence had been made conditional on the unification of organizations that had resisted colonial rule. The path to independence in Angola might well prove a difficult one, but the decisions had to be taken by the Angolans themselves. The liberation movements in Angola had stated categorically that they were willing to negotiate with the Portuguese authorities with a view to reaching an agreement on independence, and the Government of Portugal should reaffirm its good intentions by accepting that invitation. The islands of São Tomé and Príncipe had also indicated that they were willing to negotiate.

24. In his delegation's opinion, holding a referendum in Angola and Cape Verde would unnecessarily prolong the anxieties that had clearly been expressed to Portugal. Nigeria fully supported the desires of the peoples of São Tomé and Príncipe and Cape Verde for independence and was convinced that both the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations would always be ready to assist in negotiations with the various Territories.

25. He welcomed the statement by the new President of Portugal that that country would honour its commitments regarding the right of the peoples of its colonial Territories to self-determination and independence. All Member States should encourage the peaceful transfer of power in order to promote the legitimate interests of the peoples in those Territories and guarantee racial harmony so as to ensure international peace and security.

26. Mrs. SZÜCS (Hungary) welcomed Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau as new Members of the United Nations. In recent months, significant events had taken place with regard to the Territories under Portuguese domination. The struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, encouraged by international solidarity and the changes that had occurred in Portugal, had created a situation that was favourable to new progress in the process of decolonization. An important part in the historic process of the disintegration of the colonial system, which had begun to gain impetus after the Second World War, had been played by the socialist countries, which had already shaken off the yoke of exploitation and foreign domination. The former colonies, once liberated, had become a significant factor in the anti-imperialist struggle, and the balance had shifted in favour of the forces of progress.

27. In 1919, almost 70 per cent of the world's population had lived in colonial Territories. By 1969, the figure had been reduced to 1 per cent. That process was also reflected in the increase in the membership of the United Nations. New forces had joined in the process of determining international policies. Cold-war topics had been dropped, and the United Nations was now concentrating more and more on problems relating to international peace and security. Among other things, the Organization had devoted its efforts to the task of eliminating the colonial system and had thus gained the respect of progressive public opinion.

28. The general climate of détente in international affairs had, in turn, improved conditions for eliminating the last vestiges of the colonial system. In common with all progressive forces, Hungary had welcomed the fall of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal and the beginning of the democratic transformation of that country. The first acts of the new Government in Portugal had included recognition of the right of the peoples of the colonial Territories to self-determination and independence as well as a declaration of Portugal's readiness to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It was to be hoped that all the Portuguese colonies would attain independence in the very near future, although the United Nations should not forget that colonial situations still existed and that racial discrimination was still being practised.

29. Her delegation was convinced that the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies would be able to guide their peoples in meeting the challenge of the future and that they would receive international support. The leaders of the new nations could count on support from the countries that had already been liberated, as was demonstrated by the firm stand taken by OAU on the matter.

30. PAIGC had emerged victorious in its struggle for the independence of Guinea-Bissau. However, that victory would not be complete without the independence of the Cape Verde Islands. In Mozambique and Angola, it could be said

that the struggle was still continuing. Her delegation believed that all the forces that maintained solidarity with the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe should continue the struggle for recognition of their right to complete independence.

31. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) said that at the mere mention of the words self-determination and independence there were some who wished to spread a cloak of silence over an empire that had lasted almost five centuries, despite its contradictions and thanks to the support given to it by allies who sought only their own interests; over a form of colonialism that had invoked the concept of multiracialism the better to exploit, repress and suppress genuine values, replacing them with those of a new hypothetical man; over the anticolonialist wars waged in servile obedience to the requirements of a military alliance; over the massacres perpetrated in the name of a mistaken concept of freedom, democracy and civilization. For all that, it was said, Portugal had been held up to international obloquy or, at the least, to the obloquy of those who placed principles above passing circumstances, and, as Portugal had given two proofs of its good faith, any spirit of revenge or reprisals should be laid aside. In fact, what was meant was that those who had grudged their support to censure Portugal when the international community had needed it now recognized that their attitude had served none of the purposes of the Charter except that of a doubtful solidarity.

32. Furthermore, how could one speak of revenge when until recently the solemn warnings given to Portugal had not been taken seriously. The best revenge, if that word had to be used, was the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and its unimpeded admission to the United Nations. That event represented a victory for the whole Guinean people, which, by its tenacity and spirit of revolutionary struggle, had compelled the progressive forces in Portugal to put an end to the illegal occupation and to recognize that Portugal could not prevail over the will of the Guinean people to exist as a sovereign nation.

33. It was therefore essential that the process of decolonization in the Territories under total or partial Portuguese domination should be accelerated and that that decolonization should be genuine and not result in a rearward defence of foreign economic, strategic or military interests. Vigilance must be exercised, with the help of the United Nations, to ensure that colonialism was not replaced by neo-colonialism, under cover of reconciliation, understanding and co-operation, words which were meaningless unless they were pronounced sincerely or reflected the interests of those who had been exploited. However difficult decolonization might be and even though such factors as internal policy, the protection of the interests of the minority, the safeguarding of the economy of the country—which in the present instance had been made dependent on international capitalism—and respect for international agreements must be taken into consideration, what had been done by political will could also be undone by it.

34. With regard to Angola, it was said that there were various disunited parties involved. However, in the view of OAU, there were only two liberation movements recognized as the authentic representatives of the Angolan people. Moreover, the existence of various parties had not prevented another colonial Power from holding constitutional conventions which had led to the independence of Tanganyika and Kenya. If that situation disturbed Portugal, it must be concluded that it wished to pursue a "see-saw" policy at the risk of disrupting the political life of Angola, or that it wished to promote the interests of minorities which could not manage to decide whether they were Angolans, Portuguese or mercenaries of international imperialism, or that foreign interests predominated to such an extent that it was essential to create a system

which would enable them to continue to carry out their activities to the detriment of Angolan national interests.

35. Madagascar regretted that it could not support the administering Power in any of the three cases. In the first case, it was tantamount to saying that Portugal would seize power openly or obliquely. In the second case, the undertaking not to be guided by discriminatory or racial considerations should be sufficient, if democratic principles were strictly applied. In the third case, concerning foreign interests, it was enough to say that neo-colonialism would not prevail. The progressive forces in Portugal would give better proof of their good faith by solving the three problems he had mentioned or by granting the Angolan people independence and the means of resolving the difficulties inherited from Portuguese colonialism.

36. In the case of Mozambique, those who sought to analyse the situation were accused of being iconoclasts. However, Mozambique would be independent, as a result of a decision by FRELIMO, which would certainly not be the scapegoat of the reactionary forces, particularly in that part of Africa where racism was entrenched. That was demonstrated by the tens of thousands of persons who apparently supported multiracialism, who were nevertheless fleeing to the bastion of *apartheid*, where they would find a discrimination which was acceptable because it was applied by the whites and which guaranteed their security and well-being. It must be recognized, however, that the events of September had not been isolated incidents; the complicity from which the eleventh-hour rebels had benefited gave rise to doubts about the supposed sincerity of the Portuguese reaction. The question arose whether, since the fascists had apparently disappeared, it was to be concluded that there was no longer any danger. Rather, Portugal should be warned that it was still responsible for order and security and that Africa would not tolerate for a second time seeing the legitimate aspirations of the African people flouted. There was no longer place for abuses, sanctions, shams or outward appearances. Revenge would consist in seeing Mozambique independent and its territorial integrity respected, and in seeing it freed from servile attitudes towards its racist neighbours and from the strategic demands of a military alliance which went beyond its natural framework.

37. Turning to another question, he said that when in 1972 the first reports of massacres in Mozambique had reached the United Nations, Portugal and its traditional allies had hastened to deny them. However, public indignation throughout the world had made it necessary to resort to the subterfuge of a commission of inquiry, although it was known in advance that such a commission could not count on the co-operation of Portugal and, consequently, that it would be easy to save face, since the commission would not be able to hear both sides nor to visit the places involved. The progressive forces in Portugal had since indicated the truth of the reports and the commission of inquiry had reached the unanimous conclusion that massacres had indeed taken place, one current of opinion claimed that the massacres should be forgotten in order not to jeopardize Portugal's goodwill and to pacify at least part of its military forces. That comedy should cease. A crime did not

stop being a crime for the sole reason that the criminal had been made to disappear or because some of his accomplices had redeemed themselves by an action which found favour in the eyes of those who at heart had never believed in the crime. If that had been so, why had there been a Nürnberg, why were some nations so sensitive when the question of the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes was mentioned, and why were war criminals still prosecuted? A defenceless people had suffered with their own flesh and now, in the name of a doubtful political realism, some wished to forget and to make the deed disappear. If justice was to founder because of the will of those who constantly proclaimed it, it was important to show some degree of shame and not reach the point of absurdity by absolving those guilty of crimes against mankind, if it was true that Africans were still part of mankind.

38. What he had said with regard to Angola and Mozambique also applied to the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe, since the questions relating to the Portuguese Territories must be considered as a whole and could not be subject to partial solutions based on the particular features of those Territories. Precisely because of those particular features, which the colonial Power was accustomed to use as a pretext to evade its responsibilities, the United Nations should take care to ensure that the commitments given were strictly carried out. The inhabitants of those Territories had an awareness of their own destiny and it was not for the colonial Power to impose on them a choice based on its own interests and on more global considerations. It was therefore to be hoped, in view of the fact that the progressive forces in Portugal had shown their acceptance of all the resolutions of the United Nations, of the obligations deriving from Chapter XI of the Charter, and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that before long the inhabitants of the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe would be restored to the great African family.

39. Madagascar had no intention of denying what had been done by the progressive forces in Portugal to normalize the situation in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique or questioning what had been accepted by the liberation movements. But certain truths must be stated and certain fundamental principles brought to mind so that in the future responsibility could not be evaded by saying that the conditions had been met, that no reservations had been made, and that responsibilities had been discharged, as Portuguese fascism had been wont to argue when its duties under Chapter XI of the Charter had been pointed out.

40. Madagascar wished to pay a tribute to the liberation movements, since the victory was theirs, and to remind the progressive forces in Portugal that it was thanks to Africa that they had been able to defeat the reactionary forces and that only by complying strictly with their commitments could they improve the image they wished to present to the world.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.