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SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

1675th

MEETING: 21 NOVEMBER 1972

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 21 November 1972, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSÉ (Guinea).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1675)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration:

Letter dated 7 November 1972 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zaire and Zambia (S/10828).

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration:

Letter dated 7 November 1972, addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zaire and Zambia (S/10828)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decision taken by the Security Council at its 1672nd, 1673rd and 1674th meetings, I invite the representatives of Burundi, Ethiopia, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Uganda, Morocco and Cuba to participate in the debate on the item before the Council without the right to vote.

2. In view of the limited number of places at the Council table, and in accordance with the usual practice, I invite those representatives to take the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber, on the understanding that they will be called to the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. N. Terence (Burundi), Mr. Z. Gabre-Sellassie (Ethiopia), Mr. R. Weeks (Liberia), Mr. B. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. E. Ogbu (Nigeria), Mr. I. Taylor-Kamara (Sierra Leone), Mr. S. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. R. Driss (Tunisia), Mr. J. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. G. Ibingira (Uganda), Mr. M. Zentar (Morocco) and Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba) took the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. The delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan had submitted a draft resolution [S/10834] to the Council. However, the sponsors of that draft resolution have now submitted two new draft resolutions, in documents S/10838 and S/10839, to replace their first draft.

5. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council also to document S/10836, a letter dated 15 November 1972 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Council; and to document S/10837, a letter dated 20 November from the representative of Portugal to the President of the Council.

6. The first name inscribed on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, first of all I should like to express to you, as well as to members of the Security Council, my warmest thanks for allowing me to participate, without the right to vote, in the debate on the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination. You thus enable me to fulfil a duty to the Organization of African Unity, which has entrusted Tunisia, as well as Liberia, Sierra Leone and Madagascar, with the task of pleading the cause of those Territories before the Security Council in order that they may, with the Council's assistance, enjoy their right to self-determination and independence.

8. I wish also to express to the liberation movements of those countries which are still fighting for their sacred right the active solidarity of my country, which was privy to the struggles and disappointments of the Security Council and,

finally, through negotiation, was able to achieve its independence in successive stages, and to establish with France the closest ties of friendship and co-operation, which today enable us to cite our experience for the consideration of others.

9. On behalf of my country and its President, Mr. Bourguiba, among whose first acts after independence was to proclaim the rights of women, I should like to address to you, Madam President, our fraternal congratulations on your accession to the presidency of this august international body. It is natural to feel proud on seeing for the first time a woman, a worthy representative of our continent, Africa, take on the heavy burden of guiding the work of the Council. Your devotion, your sense of what is fitting, your great experience—the value of which does not depend on the number of years it covers—as well as your courage, your courtesy and your well-known calmness, today serve the noblest of causes, the United Nations Charter: that is to say, peace, the rights of the peoples and universal co-operation. The homage that we pay to you is well deserved, and we also express our best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your country, Guinea. I cannot conceal that a feeling of concern, frustration and doubt about the political will of certain members of this Council would have counselled us not to take part in this debate, which runs the risk of resembling other debates of this kind and leading to the deadlock of veto and confrontation. May your charm win their hearts and enlighten the judgement of the influential members of this body, so that the moderation of the members of the liberation movements, one of whose most illustrious spokesmen, Mr. dos Santos, unequivocally confirmed, after Mr. Cabral, the desire for negotiations, will prevail.

10. It is a matter not of adding fuel to the flames, provoking condemnations or committing the sacrilege of closing the door to dialogue, but of seeking by way of discussion to create by the common will the conditions for the liberation of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola so that once they become free within the Organization of African Unity they may contribute to the development of Africa, an Africa friendly to Portugal, once the colonial dispute is liquidated and the era of co-operation begins. Our purpose is certainly not the adoption of a resolution but a reconciliation, with equality of rights. Until that happy day comes, the struggle will continue and international efforts will be multiplied tirelessly at every level.

11. Portugal should think about the vote on resolution 2918 (XXVII) which was adopted by the General Assembly some days ago by 98 votes to 6, with 8 abstentions. The 98 votes in favour were not the votes of the African countries or their traditional friends only. Many NATO countries, for example, voted in favour of that resolution. The day will come when even countries which abstained or voted against will change their votes. The day will come when Portugal itself, whatever the declarations made at present by its Government and its representatives, will support the entry of Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Angola into the United Nations. We are not worried about the future. It is the length of the struggle, the magnitude of the human suffering, the growth of the hatred, the

persistence of the violence—all those efforts that are wasted on confrontation, whereas they should be spent on co-operation: that is what concerns us.

12. It is the duty of everyone, the duty of the allies of Portugal, to become the friends of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, to respond to sacrilege with prayer, to meet despair with a smile at fate. This is our course, which does not undermine the future, to recall an expression of General de Gaulle's. Can the representative of Portugal join us in this spirit, instead of ignoring the work of the Council in a spirit of scorn and disdain for the rights, which are nevertheless inalienable, of our brothers in Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola and act in accordance with the will of the universal community, which was clearly expressed in the latest resolution of the General Assembly and supported by friendly and urgent negotiations continued unceasingly by the allies of Portugal?

13. Here I should like to mention the statement made by our friend Mr. Longierstaey of Belgium at the preceding meeting, which is on these lines and is encouraging.

14. Since the adoption of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) the General Assembly and the Security Council have proclaimed on several occasions the inalienable right of the peoples under Portuguese domination to self-determination, freedom and independence. They have recognized the legitimacy of the struggle carried out by the liberation movements, which are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique.

15. The General Assembly has many times condemned the persistent refusal of Portugal to comply with the relevant resolutions of our Organization. Specific recommendations have been addressed to the Lisbon Government concerning a solution in those Territories, a solution in conformity with United Nations resolutions.

16. Despite all our decisions and our appeals, the situation continues to deteriorate. Portuguese colonialism plunges blindly into an insensate policy which generates suffering and bloodshed. It refuses to respect and implement United Nations resolutions. It blindly wages an absurd and useless war which overflows into the territories of neighbouring independent States. It hardens and intensifies its military operations, thus aggravating a situation which has been repeatedly described as constituting a serious threat to international peace and security.

17. Oppressed and deprived of their rights to freedom and independence, the 15 million people of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique have been forced to resist and to take up arms against foreign domination. The struggle to which they are committed is a struggle for a just cause. It is a part of the vast current which has swept through the world since the San Francisco Conference. This struggle follows the tide of history and any attempt to resist this movement is destined to failure, because when a people takes up arms against occupation no force can destroy its resistance and its determination.

18. Our African brothers in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique know that freedom cannot in any case be a gift. They are determined to pay the price demanded in order to enjoy it.
19. The Special Mission which went to Guinea (Bissau) this year,¹ and of which my country was a member, enabled us to know the breadth of colonialist oppression and assess and admire the success of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) in its struggle for liberation and reconstruction. That mission provided us with most important information which constitutes irrefutable proof of the new situation in Guinea (Bissau) and the work of renovation undertaken by PAIGC in the vast liberated areas. The efforts of PAIGC deserve our fullest admiration.
20. We also admire the freedom fighters in Mozambique and Angola, whose struggle is not limited to armed action; they have started also the reconstruction of their country on new bases, in accordance with the wishes of the people they represent. We listened most attentively and with great interest to the statements made in this Council and in the Fourth Committee by the representatives of the liberation movements. They described to us the situation prevailing in their countries; they informed us of the will and determination of their peoples to go on until victory is finally theirs. A few days ago a major offensive took place in the city of Tete. It was waged successfully by the liberation movement of Mozambique. Furthermore, those representatives presented to us many specific proposals, for the measures which should be adopted to accelerate the decolonization process. These are the voices of the African people who are fighting, the voices of peoples that deserve to be among us as full-fledged members and that should occupy—and will in the near future occupy—the seats to which they are entitled.
21. We believe that, given that evolution, the Council should not hesitate to take new measures to support the liberation movements and to adopt effective measures to make Portugal comply with United Nations decisions.
22. Given the action of the liberation movements, has not the time come for the Lisbon Government to face the facts and to realize that this war leads nowhere and that it is fighting against the inevitable? It must understand that the prestige and grandeur of a nation are not measured by the size of its colonial empire, but rather reside in respect for the defence of the noble ideals of our Charter.
23. The courage and determination of the freedom fighters should lead Portugal to proceed rapidly to decolonization by way of negotiations with the genuine representatives of the liberation movements. Thus it would have turned a page in history and would have replaced the relations of dependence and subordination by ties of friendship, equality and mutual interest. To that end it must create the conditions propitious to a discussion not of measures to consolidate the *status quo* but of the modalities for accession to independence.
24. We have tried, but in vain, to find in the recent statements of the Portuguese authorities any element which could be interpreted as a sincere desire of Portugal to start the process of decolonization. It continues to cling desperately to legal fictions that Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique are Portuguese provinces and are an integral part of Portuguese territory, and to maintain that the problems which arise there are solely within its national competence. Its obstinacy in sinking ever deeper in a useless war and in not recognizing the right of the peoples of these Territories to independence is not likely to facilitate matters.
25. The massive vote in the General Assembly—and I continue to repeat this—on resolution 2918 (XXVII) regarding the Portuguese colonies is significant in more than one way. The overwhelming majority of Member States pronounced themselves, on 14 November last, in favour of freedom and justice, and we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all those who have supported us in this battle against colonialism, this battle for co-operation. It was an active and thinking majority which expressed itself, not a “mechanical” majority, as the Portuguese Ambassador claims in his letter addressed to the Council and published in document S/10833.
26. Despite its very limited resources, Portugal wages, with powerful means and because of the assistance of some of its allies, a colonial war on three different fronts. It imposes on the Portuguese people a gigantic financial effort to maintain its colonial war. It is a real tragedy for the people of Portugal—once so attentive to the meaning and message of history—to find itself today, because of the blindness of its leaders, in a war where young Portuguese die stupidly every day.
27. From 1960 to 1971, the funds allocated to colonial wars rose from 1,670 million escudos to 10,392.8 million escudos. These funds represent approximately 58 per cent of the Portuguese budget. There can be no doubt that only the generous economic and military assistance of South Africa, the illegal régime of Ian Smith, certain economic interests, and some Members of the United Nations enable Portugal to meet such expenditures. Once again we appeal to those States Members of the United Nations which can still heed appeals to reason to stop encouraging Portugal arrogantly to continue its colonial war. Once again we appeal to those States to join other countries in the action of collective persuasion which they are carrying out and, if need be, to strengthen that action by adequate measures likely to make Portugal give up this policy of defiance and to recognize the right of all peoples under its domination to self-determination. We urge those States to use their influence to set Portugal on the path of reason and of a sounder concept of international relations.
28. It is in Portugal's interests to conform to the requirements of history so as to establish with the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique relations based not on exploitation, subjection and domination, but on mutual respect and mutual interest. Portugal must understand that a military victory is impossible. It must accept a compromise situation based on the principle of self-determination and freedom.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23*, vol. III, chap. X, annex I.

29. Mr. dos Santos and Mr. Cabral, respectively Vice-President of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) and Secretary-General of PAIGC, stated here that their movements were prepared to start negotiations with Portugal. Portugal has everything to gain by agreeing to these negotiations without further delay, so as to start the process of the decolonization of the Portuguese colonies. Why could we not, if this could lead to a solution, assist Portugal to make the necessary effort finally to rejoin the concert of enlightened nations, to reform, to remake itself, and to become integrated into the world of co-operation and understanding?
30. Such negotiations could put an end to the sufferings on both sides and to violence and could start an era of co-operation between Portugal and these African countries which are today dominated by it, and therefore between Portugal and its allies, particularly its European allies, and between Portugal and Africa.
31. That is the course of moderation, an appeal to common sense, laying odds on the future. To maintain the *status quo* is certainly a natural principle, recognized by physical nature as well as by social nature, which applies to politics and relations between peoples and States. Those who find that this is in their interest will justify themselves in the name of acquired rights or ideals of peace, humanity, civilization or other such symbols, and will cling to them. Portugal will thus defend its colonial domination in the name of self-determination, even the national independence of Portugal. Enlightenment consists in understanding that when the *status quo* becomes intolerable, the one who suffers from it ends up by saying "no", no matter what sacrifices he may have to make. Enlightenment consists in understanding that by rejecting the appeals of the moderates, by rejecting an honourable way out, by refusing the counsels of reason, one always ends up by regretting missed opportunities.
32. Alas, we must note that history is composed of missed opportunities; perhaps that is the secret of its movement. Alas, we must recognize that major changes have always been effected in suffering and tears. But, since Tunisia is a country that believes in reason, we want to hope against all hope that it will not always be thus, that it will not be so this time, that history will not hesitate to turn the corner.
33. Can historical precedents inspire Portugal and make it understand that it is futile to try to run counter to the current of history? Is not one of the most significant precedents to be found in the privileged relations which today unite France and Tunisia?
34. It is time that in that part of Africa the escalation of peace finally replace the horrors and sufferings of war. To fulfil our hopes, we should count on the assistance of all States, and in particular the assistance of the great Powers having both the authority and the political, diplomatic and economic means to help us.
35. May I conclude by quoting from a speech pronounced in June at Rabat by President Bourguiba at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity:
- "... When the international community increasingly demands understanding and harmony, it is scandalous that there are remnants of the colonial era which cast their shadow on the map of Africa. Sooner or later, the frontiers of reproach and isolation will close around those islands of hatred and racism. Victory we have never doubted, but we fear that the traditions of tension and violence will change the content and meaning of our ethics.
- "The domination of South Africa over Namibia, the racist régime's domination of Rhodesia and Portugal's domination over several African Territories are for us a source of concern. They are blemishes on the face of Europe, the home of the Declaration on Human Rights and the cradle of an envied mankind.
- "May we believe that the European community, edified by the examples of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Great Britain, which have all decolonized more or less successfully, will find the ways and means to enable Portugal to repatriate its last soldier and its last settler while providing it with a place and a status to be defined within the European community?
- "The only peaceful means that would put an end to the bloodshed would be looking for a solution in this direction. It would also be the only means of a useful dialogue which could start a new era—that of the reconciliation of Africa with Europe for the greater well-being of Europeans and Africans."
36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Tunisia for the very kind words he addressed to me and to my country.
37. I now invite the representative of Burundi to take a place at the Council table and make his statement.
38. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Our determination to consider the problem of Africa and colonialism as one that should occupy the central place in international conferences impels us to commence our statement with a preliminary chapter which represented an integral part of our statement in the General Assembly a few weeks ago, in the debate on the granting of independence to peoples under foreign domination on the marginal place accorded colonial problems by the successive summit meetings of the past twelve months. In recent months, the world has witnessed a record number of successive summits at which the great Powers have powerfully pleaded first of all their respective interests and, next, those of their allies.
39. In addition to their direct tête-à-têtes aimed at smoothing out their differences of view, the Heads of State of the most powerful eight countries dispatch emissaries, some to go the rounds of foreign chancelleries, some to reduce the intensity of war here and there, some to strengthen the chances of regional conferences devoted to peace, and some to strengthen the cohesion of monetary, economic and commercial alliances.

40. Is it not strange that colonized Africa and the other parts of the world undergoing the same lot as our continent, instead of being the figurehead, are relegated to oblivion? Is there any matter for graver concern than the colonial and racist wars that have raged continuously for more than a decade? Could one imagine any more formidable hotbeds of international conflagration at this time than the regions where there is constant confrontation between races from continents which by virtue of the imperatives and accidents of history are doomed to complement and co-operate with one another?

41. Hence the silence observed by the 10 or so summit meetings held in the space of a year, the most recent of which was held in Paris by the members of the expanded Europe, is likely to intrigue if not frustrate African and intercontinental circles, which, for their part, and quite rightly, give the agonizing colonial and racial problems the primacy they deserve.

42. Being commissioned to appear here by the Organization of African Unity, my delegation has good reason to appreciate highly the confidence and honour thus shown it by enabling it to participate in the debate of the Security Council on the Territories under Portuguese rule. Our legitimate satisfaction is to be explained by four factors.

43. First, the prestigious and brilliant assemblage before which it is my privilege to plead the colonial cause is made up of members with whom I rubbed shoulders daily in the course of two years of hard work in the discharge of this high mission. In addition to the many events which enabled us all to forge close bonds both inside and outside that body, multiple circumstances outside it have helped us forge closer bonds of friendship. And, no longer being newcomers to the frequent trials and occasional joys, so to speak, experienced in this body, we are pleased that the members of this organ will lend us an attentive and benevolent ear.

44. Secondly, the Security Council has opened its present series of meetings under the most auspicious conditions. Your presidency, Madam President, is more than a symbol; it is a commemoration. On the eve of the second anniversary of the rebuff administered to the Portuguese forces of aggression, you have been called upon to preside over the very fate that is to be that of the same Portugal, and the verdict that is about to be pronounced against it.

45. The date of 22 November 1970 represented an important milestone for Guinea, Africa, and the Security Council, which during marathon night meetings, decided to send, for the first time, a mission of inquiry to your country. Our membership of the Security Council, representing Burundi, which is so devoted to Guinea, gave our task a special significance. We have endeavoured to discharge it in the light of the fraternal criteria that I have just mentioned.

46. I have therefore been directed to convey to you a vibrant message of enthusiastic congratulations, addressed, through you, Madam President, to your distinguished Head of State, to his Government and to his courageous people,

by Mr. Michel Micombero, the President of the Republic, and by Mr. Albin Nyamoya, Head of the Government, on behalf of the entire Burundi nation which, tomorrow, will be intimately associated in the joy and pomp marking the resounding victory bravely won by the Guinean people.

47. As for your fame, Madam President, it has now spread across continents. That Africa should enthusiastically echo your accession to so distinguished an office might be attributed to the chauvinism of a continent which is the cradle of a lady who has scaled the summit of honour and success. That Europe should give wide publicity to this news, not without admiration and respect, may be explained by geographic, historic and cultural factors. But your renown has spread to the four corners of the world, as one can see from the newspaper *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires of 3 November: "A woman, the mother of six children, is now the first lady President of the Security Council of the United Nations . . . This is the first time that a woman has presided over the Security Council."

48. What is impressive about this event, as we see it, resides, Madam President, in your merits, your talents and your personal qualities, which were the deciding factors in the exercise of your brilliant successive careers as mother, educator, stateswoman and diplomat, which served you as a sure and powerful springboard in your climb to the summit that you have reached this month.

49. Your meteoric rise, in the flower of your youth, to the summit of supreme international responsibility, as well as on the chessboard of Africa, provides living testimony of African democracy. Africa regards it as a matter of honour to entrust responsibilities, no matter how high or burdensome, to the sons and daughters of Africa, who know that they must rise above themselves in order to make up for the past and to ensure the future. What more sublime ideal could there be for those who are supposed to be the cream of the African peoples than to act as the fine flower of our society, as part of the shining halo of glory with which our young continent is being progressively crowned?

50. Beyond Africa, your renown represents both an incentive and a reassurance for all women who in the past have been accustomed to being regarded as perpetual minors where their rights are concerned, and adults where their faults are concerned. Your impressive photograph, which appeared on page 1 of the leading German newspaper *Die Welt*, dated 4/5 November 1972, must have had a salutary effect in a country where, in the time of Bismarck, women were constrained by the programme of the famous three "K's": *Kirche, Kinder, Küche*—in other words "Church, Children and Kitchen", where Nietzsche, the philosopher, suggested that women were a "problem to be solved by pregnancy".

51. Thus, we are witnessing more the triumph of democracy than that of women. At the very heart of the political and diplomatic crusade unleashed by the people of Africa against the inveterate colonialism of Portugal, you, Madam President, are thus conducting yourself like a soldier. But in the complexity of this battle, we have more than a soldier; we have an African Joan of Arc.

52. Immediately following the proclamation of our Republic, and impelled by your fervent African vocation, you hastened to the aid of your sisters in Burundi. Six years ago your energetic work in promotion of the Union of Burundi Women led you to labour in our country for seven whole months and to travel the length and breadth of Burundi to help fan the nationalist and patriotic flames of the women's movement. And do you not refer to Burundi as your second home, since you have devoted to it the best of yourself, placing it, quite aptly, immediately after Guinea, which has succeeded in surviving the repeated difficult obstacles scattered along the way to its present thriving state? The active participation of representatives of the Union of Burundi Women in conferences of the Association of African Women, of which you are the president, provides the best proof of its maturity. Today, having risen to the status of all the integrated organs of the Party, such as the Rwagasore Revolutionary Youth and the Union of Burundi Workers, the Union of Burundi Women participates on an equal footing in the work of national construction, and these three combined movements are a veritable spearhead of our ideals, both politically and economically. This evolution alone suffices to represent the best tribute we owe Your Excellency who has so much at heart the fate of the Union of Burundi Women.

53. Thus, in the light of the impressive achievements of your career and your influence on the course of events in Africa and in the world, what force could prevent you from proclaiming "*Nigra sum sed formosa*": "I am black but beautiful", as Nakeda, the prestigious Queen of Ethiopia, widely known as the Queen of Saba, whose glorious reign took place in 960 B.C., described herself.

54. Thirdly, this august Council began its consideration of the Portuguese colonies on the day when a permanent member was commemorating the first anniversary of its triumphal return to the United Nations on 15 November 1971. Since that fateful day when it was the subject of an enthusiastic welcome, the People's Republic of China has become a lively cross-roads of international politics. The constant wave of visits to that country by Heads of State and Government, by Ministers and Ambassadors from super giants to the most modest Powers, in the space of a year has vindicated the view I expressed before the General Assembly three days before the historic and resounding vote of 25 October 1971 when I said:

"That immense country, provided it recovers its rights, will bring to bear a power and an influence which will have a great impact on the world. Burundi certainly hails the imminent arrival of that country with joy and confidence. We see it as an element which, together with the effectiveness of the United Nations, and for the same reasons, is henceforth essential to the general equilibrium . . . I am convinced that it is an element which, in today's world and the world of tomorrow, is essential to the human race, to the development of the universe, to its equilibrium, to its progress and to its peace."²

55. At the solemn ceremony in the course of which China was reinstated in its lawful rights, I expressed myself as

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1975th meeting, para. 80.

follows in my address of welcome on the role devolving upon it in the concert of nations:

" . . . For world public opinion, that country has suddenly become one of the main actors . . . As for the foreign States, whether they are from the allied camp . . . or from the third world, they are witnessing a world which has embarked upon a political era where China . . . from now on firmly guides its own destiny".³

56. Imbued with the hope that China's arrival on the international arena means its increased part in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, it is incumbent upon us to link the current thaw to the forthcoming end of colonial exploitation. The rapid pace characterizing the present relations between the United States and China only goes part way towards satisfying our hopes as expressed at the 1599th meeting, when the Chinese delegation was welcomed by the Security Council last November.

57. On behalf of the Burundi Government I had earnestly appealed to the representatives of the two countries in the hope that their presence in the Security Council would help to shorten the distance between Peking and Washington and to accelerate their rapprochement.

58. I hope that the general diplomatic movement towards Peking, a movement highlighted by the journeys of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan to that capital, will reach a supreme level in the near future for the benefit of mankind and the strengthening of the brotherhood between two States and peoples that used to be closely linked; I refer here to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China.

59. Unfortunately, despite this improvement in the world situation, thanks to the summit meetings between the giants, the position of Africa is undergoing only a small improvement and this will continue to be the case as long as it is treated like a poor relation and its crucial problems, such as the interminable colonial rule of Portugal, are not placed in the vanguard of negotiations for world détente.

60. It is perhaps one of the accidents of history that Mr. Huang Hua, Ambassador of this same People's Republic of China, presided over the Security Council in September with the virtuosity worthy of a veteran of international organizations and with an equanimity by the Chinese people in particular and deeply rooted in the refinements of oriental civilizations in general.

61. Further, as the humble and fortunate spokesman of the Government and people of Burundi, I feel justified in mentioning the excellent state of the close relations and fruitful co-operation between Bujumbura and Peking.

62. Fourthly, Mr. de Guiringaud—representative of another Government with which Bujumbura enjoys harmonious relations contributing to the economic well-being of our country—distinguished himself by a skilful diplomatic performance. The Ambassador of France's tenure in office

³ *Ibid.*, 1982nd meeting, para. 75.

was marked by a further condemnation of Portugal by the Security Council. The correctness of France's attitude with regard to the Portuguese aggression against Senegal has restored the esteem that the African peoples feel for the political virtues of that country and its leaders. But this faith would be fully justified and would reach its full meaning only if the position of France on the colonial question undergoes no regression and if it should assume a major role in accelerating the irreversible anti-colonial movement.

63. It will be a glorious episode indeed in French history if the gesture made in October were to presage France's determination to assume a preponderant decolonizing role in the Atlantic Alliance, just as General de Gaulle was the first in this Organization to defy the taboos against China, to cross the Rubicon, thus acting in accordance with the original destiny and the genius peculiar to France.

64. The successive journeys to our continent by the President of the French Republic, the third of which began yesterday in former French West Africa, is an earnest demonstration of the general determination to foster the privileged relations freely entered into between the former Metropolitan country and the young States in sacred and mutual respect of their respective sovereignties. Does the Lisbon Government dare to show itself impervious to so edifying an example provided by the former master and its dependants in their present complementary and fruitful co-operation?

65. When one considers that the Viet-Nam war has already lasted for well over a decade and that the Middle Eastern powder keg explodes with dismaying regularity, the human conscience is forced to revolt. When teachers and history books described the intermittent hundred years war among the European Powers, we found it extraordinarily long and we imputed it to the political incapability of certain mediaeval ages. But if one considers the Portuguese colonial wars that have been going on since the seventeenth century, we find that they amount to an appalling 310 years. Despite the wars of attrition that Lisbon has been pitilessly waging against the peoples of Africa for three centuries, despite the use of napalm, Portugal has proved incapable of taming the unbreakable nationalist will. That inexhaustible resistance to aggression dates from time immemorial.

66. This unshakable determination to safeguard the honour and prestige of Africa was already clearly manifested in Ann Nzingha, the Queen of Matamba, in Angola in 1662. Although immortalized by her glorious military exploits against the Portuguese expeditions, successive Governments of Lisbon have done their best to relegate to obscurity this Maid of Orleans of Angola.

67. Despite the successive defeats that Queen Nzingha inflicted on the Portuguese, she did not deprive them of the right and the privilege of engaging in trade in Angola itself. However, when the sovereignty of her country was at stake she preferred to accept the greatest sacrifices, even at the risk of her life, rather than to agree to Portuguese domination and Portugal's demands. I quote an extract

from volume I of the book *World's Great Men of Color* by J. A. Rogers:

"She fought in a war that dragged on for years. Her amazons were terrible in battle and whenever the Portuguese saw them they were struck with fear. Finally, the Portuguese were victorious and offered to let her stay on the throne, if she would pay annual tribute. Rather than submit to this extortion, she fled into the bush, and gathering up another army, repelled the invaders for the next 18 years, refusing even to consider any overtures."⁴

This freedom fighter was not only a model of African nationalism; she also completely honoured her legal obligations. Free of any xenophobia, she concluded many commercial treaties with Portugal. Fully aware of the obligations flowing therefrom, she respected both the spirit and the letter of the sacred principle governing both international law and bilateral and multilateral treaties, to the effect that *pacta sunt servanda*:

"She strictly observed her treaties with the Portuguese, but she could not be induced, even by her priests, to pay tribute or recognize the over-lordship of the Portuguese."⁵

As can be seen from that text, this celebrated African figure, concerned to safeguard the independence of her country, did not hesitate when the Portuguese tried to infringe it to regard as null and void previous treaties which she considered to fall under the principle *rebus sic stantibus*.

68. The historical episode I have just mentioned is rich in valuable lessons. Although three centuries old, it still has meaning for the present phase of the national liberation struggle. If the Queen of Angola was the prototype of African nationalism, today her spirit has become a powerful incentive to those who are her worthy heirs in this noble mission of liberation.

69. Preferring the underground struggle to the throne and renouncing the pleasures of the palace for the dangers of war, this first Joan of Arc of Africa serves as an edifying example to the present nationalists of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and a harsh lesson to Portugal. Like Queen Nzingha, the nationalists have no alternative but to speed up liberation and devote themselves to it despite all obstacles and all trials, and to arm themselves with an implacable determination to attain their ultimate objective. As for Portugal, whose Utopian pretensions allege that the national liberation movements will finally crumble away, it has only to understand that the collapse of its colonial empire is a foregone conclusion, despite the desperate efforts to prevent it.

70. Portugal's apparent allies in the present colonial crusade are those who in the final analysis most gravely undermine Portugal's vital interests. One need hardly be a virtuoso economist or a military genius in the Napoleonic style to see how extremely vulnerable Portugal would be without the financial and military support of its allies.

⁴ New York, Macmillan, 1972, p. 140.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Journalists and economists, politicians and strategists, all agree that Portugal's economy would soon founder and its military expeditions in Africa soon collapse if the Governments representing its principal support should cease to support Lisbon. If Portugal should have to fall back on its own resources, it would have to ask itself whence came the miraculous power which enabled it to maintain a colossal army of metropolitan mercenaries, and all this despite its stagnating economy, which is no longer a secret and which at best is marking time.

71. My delegation does not believe itself empowered to play a role which is rightly that of the political, military, intellectual or religious élite, of the youth in the universities and of the trade unionists—in brief, that of the people of Portugal, to whom the Lisbon Government is responsible for the thoughtless squandering of vast human and material resources in a sterile war which everyone knows is doomed to failure. There has never yet been an exception to the rule that dominated peoples are inevitably victorious in colonial wars, throughout the whole history of revolutionary liberation struggles from the first shot fired at Lexington, Massachusetts, on 19 April 1775, which unleashed the American Revolution, down to our own days.

72. If today Portugal is incapable of following in the steps of Europe, whose economic progress is constantly advancing, what will become of that country when the pillars of the Portuguese economy—Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)—are returned to their rightful owners?

73. It is to be expected, indeed, that the great financial magnates, the diehard political-military hierarchy, will be reluctant to heed that bitter warning of history. A victim of its colonialist obsession, Portugal is incapable even of following the example of European States of a similar size to its own—or even of smaller States. Belgium offers a useful parallel. It is smaller in size than Portugal, having 30,507 square kilometres compared with a little over 91,721 square kilometres, and it is in fact the same size as my own country, Burundi. Its population is roughly the same as that of Portugal: about 10 million. Yet in regard to economic and industrial development Belgium and Portugal are as different as chalk and cheese. This striking difference between two countries that might reasonably be expected to compete with one another can be explained only by the diversion of immense fortunes to pay for campaigns and military operations on a distant continent and simultaneously on three fronts far removed one from the other. This contrast is also attributable to the centrifugal obsession which impels Portugal to strip itself at home in order to win colonial and military victories.

74. What a strange paradox is Portugal's attitude. It is a European country, but impervious to trends in its own continent; foreign to Africa, yet it wishes to continue its hold on Africa.

75. It is a matter of public notoriety that Lisbon finds its principal source of support within the Atlantic Alliance. Certain members of that organization which lavish on Portugal various kinds of resources destined for the war of oppression in Africa are themselves former colonial Powers.

Those States, on their own initiative and obeying new national imperatives in the Territories under their domination, have given up their own colonies. The United Kingdom itself is, after centuries of rule over a world empire, in the process of yielding up its last bastions, to judge from all appearances. If such powerful countries, willingly or unwillingly, gave up their colonial possessions, it was because they were seeking first of all to safeguard their vital interests, for want of a better alternative.

76. It seems legitimate to me to raise the question of whether it is through excessive altruism that they are showering aid on Portugal enabling it to continue its rule in the colonies. Or is it that they have decided themselves to avoid the dangers and risks involved in their domination of other peoples but are not reconciled with this definitive divorce from their former Territories; hence the assistance they lavish on Portugal to enable it indefinitely to occupy its Territories?

77. No doubt blinded by its passion to retain its African holdings as part of its metropolitan area, and to do so at all costs, Lisbon is unable to take a sound, long-term view of the matter. Otherwise, how could that Government not be disillusioned by its own proclivity to push further along a road and into a situation so dangerous that many countries which were in the same position hastened to turn back?

78. Hence the justification for the apt reflection of Madelin, who affirmed and wondered at the same time: "Bonaparté was apparently offering to come and save them, but who would then save them from that saviour?"

79. When Portugal suffers a triple defeat on the military level in Africa, it will also suffer heavy losses on another triple front: the friendship of the former colonies which will have torn their independence from Portugal at the price of fire and blood, the popularity of the citizens it will have strangled economically and the solidarity of the Europeans whose integration it is sacrificing in order to focus on its colonies. When the bell tolls for the end of its colonies, the ones who today are supporting it will be the first to say "after me, the flood". Portugal will then be reduced to going it alone and looking to its own resources to catch up with the economic, industrial and technological progress of the other European countries.

80. If the Lisbon régime has thus far succeeded in exploiting public opinion, the people are gradually beginning to emerge from the lethargy imposed on them by force and to shake off the carefully maintained ignorance of the facts.

81. If the indispensable salvation of those who today by their support of all kinds are encouraging Portugal to cling indefinitely to its colonial prey really rested on this adventurous enterprise, for what other reasons would those other Powers have opted for national honour rather than the perpetuation of colonial trophies?

82. Hence the simple deduction: Portugal will eventually succumb to the snares laid by its apparently generous supporters.

83. I turn now to the subterfuge or the myth of racial assimilation. For years various United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies have expressed indignation against the grotesque claim that Angola, Mozambique and Bissau are an integral part of Portugal. Despite the fact that such a theory is a revolting jest, Portugal regards it as a highly original invention if not a heroic exploit. The Portuguese or the foreigners who dare to challenge so naïve an aberration incur the wrath of the extreme right and are accused of *lèse-majesté*. Thus the contents of the letter dated 15 November from the representative of Portugal to the President of the Security Council contained in document S/10833 calls for an outcry. The letter claims that there are no territories under Portuguese domination, but territories where fortunate races live in fraternity, thanks to the gospel spread among them by the magnanimity of the explorers and colonial pioneers.

84. The Portuguese genius is, indeed, extraordinary in that it remains impervious to scruples and immune to shame. This explains the animosity and anxiety which have become the hallmark of its reactions.

85. In its recourse to expedients that have become current coin, it is now striving to cultivate another bigotry which is euphemistically baptized "racial assimilation". The Lisbon régime is trying to accredit this subterfuge which is no less absurd than the so-called theory of the "Portuguese overseas provinces". Portuguese political and diplomatic circles brandish the system of *assimilados* everywhere as if to exempt them from granting independence to the African Territories. The zealous partisans of this sham racial integration are pleased to flaunt it with such assiduity and such gall that they give the clear impression that they regard it as a substitute for national sovereignty. Even supposing that this much-vaunted assimilation were to be fully realized, would the Africans themselves be so bemused by it as to yield up their sacrosanct right to human freedom for a Portuguese identity, or rather a Portuguese label?

86. I turn now to the system of the *indigenato*, a replica of *apartheid*, or Portuguese *apartheid*. The blackout imposed throughout the colonies makes it impossible for the outside world to penetrate the nature of the aberrant system of the *indigenato*, which is nothing other than the vile system of *apartheid*. In stigmatizing and disclosing this definition, the Burundi delegation in no way insists that all indigenous persons under Portuguese domination should be given the status of *assimilados*. Aware that they enjoy a full and complete identity and personality—of which they are most proud—the black Africans, far from aspiring to assimilation as their ultimate end, regard it as nothing less than an obstacle intended to divert them and a bait to lure them from their true objective.

87. Furthermore, this so-called assimilation that the Pretorians dispatched to Africa are attempting to popularize, far from being a civilizing assimilation has degenerated into a depersonalizing mission by the simple fact that it is setting about with excessive fervour to "acculturate" peoples despite the fact that they have their own cultural traditions, which in some cases go back thousands of years.

88. The law of 12 November 1927, confirmed in 1952, provides the most flagrant testimony of this outrageous depersonalization, when it stipulates that:

"Individuals and descendants of the black race who do not meet the following conditions shall be regarded as *indigenas*:

"1. Speak Portuguese.

"2. Not practise the characteristic customs of their civilization.

"3. Exercise a profession in trade or industry, or possess goods enabling them to live."

89. The great aversion that the attempts at assimilation inspire in its intended victims shows how harmful this is to the most fundamental human values. If this system encounters vigorous hostility, it is because it goes against everything that is most sacred to man, in seeking to deprive him of his true personality and clothe him in Portuguese colours and personality. The fierce resistance to such dehumanization reflects, without the shadow of a doubt, the irrevocable determination of these peoples which are reacting with a profound sense of their ancient pride.

90. What is an *assimilado*? It is doubtless necessary to paint his portrait so that this august Council and the world may be in a better position to sympathize with the African nations that Portugal is trying to strip of their personality. An *assimilado* is a "white negro" who gives himself foreign airs, who stands aloof from the traditional African values and even runs them down in the eyes of his foreign masters; a man without a country, on whom "Portuguesation" has lavished substantial economic benefits and who thus owes his unconditional loyalty to Lisbon. This is the price one must pay in order to become a Portuguese citizen.

91. The strictness of the administrative provisions under the "Statute of Portuguese indigenous inhabitants of the provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique" was further strengthened in 1954. Professor Moreira Andriano made a bold statement on this on pages 22 and 23 of his work entitled "*Administração da justiça aos Indigenas*".⁶

92. This system consists of dividing the colonial societies into two categories: the *indigenas* and the *assimilados*. The first are deprived of all rights of citizenship, reduced to the status of sub-men; they represent almost the totality of Africa. In Mozambique, the *indigenas* alone represent more than 99 per cent of the inhabitants who have lost their status as citizens. *Indigenato* or Portuguese *apartheid* is still based on the obscurantist theory to the effect that Africans are so inferior that they are not yet worthy of becoming citizens of glorious Portugal from the cultural, linguistic or intellectual point of view.

93. In the light of these dreadful facts, one could hardly better unmask the artifice of the presumptuous Portuguese

⁶ Lisbon, Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1955. I hope that I will not be branded an outcast for not pronouncing the quotation in the Portuguese fashion, as, to be considered a Portuguese citizen, one must learn Portuguese.

fiction, a pure sham of racial integration, which, in the final analysis, is tantamount to a mere alibi whose object is to put off indefinitely the granting of independence and is primarily concerned with satisfying a handful of opportunists whose objective is blind obedience to the colonial régime.

94. There is no reason why the Security Council should encroach on the jurisdiction of the Sixth Committee, which is entrusted by the General Assembly with dealing with the question of terrorism. Nevertheless, there can be no inconsistency in bringing together colonialism and terrorism, which in fact overlap and are interrelated. Given the universal outrage of terrorism and the tremendous efforts to find a solution to the problems of colonialism, what Government on the continent of Africa, which has suffered for so long the most savage terrorism and has been traumatized by colonial violence, would not welcome initiatives to remedy the situation? If attempts to find an antidote to terrorism are to be fruitful, care must be taken lest it prove self-defeating. Unless all the ramifications are considered, there is a danger of coming up against obstacles to a global solution.

95. Circles outside Africa have in recent years been appalled by the hijacking of civilian aircraft and by attempts on the lives of diplomats, culminating in the Munich tragedy, which gave rise to universal indignation. It goes without saying that my Government in no way condones either aerial piracy, which may well give rise to terrible human disasters, or attempts on the lives of ambassadors, who ought to be particularly closely protected because of their high and sacred mission—*sancti habentur legati*, as a Roman adage has it. Imbued with humanitarian and juridical principles governing relations between States and the inviolability of both diplomatic agents and civilian passengers, the Government of Burundi is far from condoning acts of terrorism against envoys of other States and passengers.

96. In refusing to associate ourselves with the violence in these areas, we are at the same time aware that there are not only two categories of terrorism. In our time the terrorist phenomenon constitutes a vast network of which Portuguese colonialism is the worst aspect. In my concern to dispel any possible ambiguity as regards the terrorist nature of Portugal's exactions in Africa, I shall draw an equation between the colonialism of that country and terrorism. The implacable ferocity of the colonial exploitation is corroborated by an article by Jean de la Guérevière in *Le Monde*, dated 3 November 1972, the title of which alone is sufficient to reveal the blind frenzy of Lisbon's terrorist campaign:

“Mozambique—any day can be a My Lai: Portugal's war against the nationalists of Mozambique is not comparable with that in the Far East in the means of destruction used, in the losses sustained . . . or in the attention of public opinion.

“The revealing photos taken by certain alleged Portuguese in the course of operations—in which one often sees, for example, white soldiers posing in front of the decapitated heads of Africans—will doubtless never find

takers among the big weeklies; yet, for the coloured population of Africa, called ‘Portuguese’, any day can be a My Lai . . .

“In many cases African civilians are the victims of the anger of the soldiers after the explosion of a mine placed in their path by the nationalists. It also happens that certain killings are organized in cold blood: on 4 November 1971, 16 persons, of whom 9 were children, were burned alive in the village of Antonio in the region of Mucumbura.”

97. La Fontaine's fable of the wolf and the lamb is still topical, it would seem. According to the fiction that the victim becomes the aggressor and vice versa, how often have the high command and the Government of Portugal not described the nationalists as “terrorists”, either when recounting skirmishes or counting the bodies of freedom fighters fallen on the battle field while resisting the troops of aggression?

98. The régime in Pretoria, to up the stakes, promulgated in June 1967, the Terrorism Act in South Africa, to crush black citizens seeking their human rights.

99. It follows that racial and colonial terror is more serious than any other type of terrorism, as is testified to by the many facts I have adduced. In the circumstances any tendency to isolate colonialism from the world terrorist network would be tantamount to an ostrich-like policy, while the hoped-for effects would be hypothetical.

100. At the Security Council meetings in Addis Ababa, on behalf of the Government of Burundi I tried to sketch a global plan for the total and definitive liberation of Africa. That platform, which I placed before the Council in my delegation's statement on 3 February last [*1632nd meeting*], comprises, among other things, the holding of a world conference on decolonization. As protagonists of an international forum on colonial terrorism, we noted, without interest, the proposals of the United States for a similar conference on terrorism. Colonialism being an integral part and the most tragic manifestation of this sad phenomenon, the steps that will be taken in this context and at all phases must necessarily place colonialism at the centre of the negotiations if the human community really intends to place an effective and complete prohibition on terrorism.

101. I am grateful to you, Madam President, and to my colleagues for the patience and kindness they have shown me and I crave their indulgence for the extreme length of my statement, which was necessitated by the gravity and urgency of the colonial problem.

102. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Burundi for the words of praise he was good enough to address to me and through me to my country and my Government.

103. I now invite the representative of Nigeria to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

104. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): Madam President, it is for me a pleasant duty to congratulate you on your assumption of the duties as the President of this body. Your sterling qualities as a stateswoman and diplomat eminently qualify you for discharging effectively the duties attendant upon your high office. It is a source of pride not only for Africa for having produced a lady of your calibre as the first President of the Security Council but for all womankind.

105. We note with regret that the conditions in the African Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), still under Portuguese colonial domination, have not improved. Rather than comply with the earnest wish of the people for self-determination, Portugal continues to suppress them. Rather than implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for the granting of independence to those Territories, Portugal continues to pursue its genocidal war against the African populace.

106. Those Territories, like other former colonies that have since become independent and are Members of this Organization, fall under the category mentioned in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. Article 73 (b) requires Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for dependent Territories "to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples...". Resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the General Assembly in 1960 further elaborated the principle enshrined in Chapter XI of the Charter. The resolution, in its paragraph 2, stressed that all peoples have the right to self-determination and, by virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely determine their economic, social and cultural development. Portugal, instead of complying with that important Article of the Charter and the historic resolution 1514 (XV), clings to the myth of "overseas provinces in Africa". What would happen if African countries declared "overseas provinces in Europe"? Resulting from this myth, the Portuguese policy in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde is calculated to deculturize the indigenous populations so that they may acquiesce in the barefaced rape of their political, social and economic freedom.

107. As admitted by the Portuguese Government that loudly complains about the activities of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to liberate themselves, the more Portugal tries to suppress the yearning for freedom and self-determination the more resolved the people become.

108. At its historic meetings in Addis Ababa at the beginning of this year, the Security Council once again laid down the guidelines for Portuguese withdrawal from the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). In paragraph 4 of resolution 312 (1972) adopted on 4 February 1972, in Addis Ababa, the Security Council called on Portugal:

"(a) To recognize immediately the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"(b) To cease immediately the colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau);

"(c) To withdraw all its armed forces as presently employed for the purpose of the repression of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau);

"(d) To promulgate an unconditional political amnesty and the restoration of democratic political rights;

"(e) To transfer power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)".

109. From the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four⁷ and from information available to us from other sources, it is clear that the Portuguese Government has not taken any steps to implement that resolution. Rather, the Portuguese Government has intensified its policy of assimilation, pretending that it is thereby giving the Territories greater autonomy. The so-called constitutional reform relating to the overseas territories has not in any way lessened the authoritarian control from Lisbon, and even the Portuguese settlers, who cannot be accused of being biased against Portugal, have themselves expressed concern over the absurd situation whereby there is a wide divergence between the theory of assimilation and the practice. In any case, the so-called constitutional reform has no provision for the participation of the great majority of the population in the political life of the Territories.

110. Moreover, Portugal has intensified its war of extermination waged against the indigenous people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Not only has Portuguese military expenditure in the Territories continued to increase; Portugal has also intensified its recruitment of the local people, who are being forced to fight against their brothers. The nature of the war being waged by Portugal against the heroic nationalists was clearly manifested in the report of the Mission of the Committee of Twenty-Four that visited Guinea (Bissau) early this year. In order to prevent the Mission from accomplishing its task, the Portuguese resorted to aerial bombings with napalm and fragmentation bombs, launching attacks on heavily populated villages as well as forest zones. If the Portuguese could resort to these acts of terrorism and genocide at a time when they knew that international observers were likely to be in Guinea (Bissau), one can imagine the constant fear under which the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde live.

111. The visit of the Special Mission of the Committee of Twenty-Four to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) has shed new light on the status of the liberation struggle in the Territories which Portugal continues forcibly to occupy in Africa. First, the visit has enabled this Organization to compile firsthand information on the progress which has

⁷ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; for the report see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23*, vol. III, chap. X.

been made by the nationalists of these Territories. Secondly, it has provided concrete evidence of the great determination of the people to liberate themselves, no matter the cost. Thirdly, it has shown the extent to which Portugal would go in preventing the acquisition of independent information by the international community.

112. We are all aware that Portugal, which is a poor country, could not have been able to afford the wastage of its resources in prosecuting a war which it cannot win had it not been for the constant support which it receives from some of its NATO allies. We are often told that NATO weapons are not meant for use by Portugal in its losing battle in Africa. However, concrete evidence has shown that, in fact, Portugal does use these weapons in Africa, and so far nothing has been done by members of the alliance to ensure that the organization does not indirectly foot the bill for Portugal's colonial war. With the assurance of this support, is it any wonder that the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Caetano, should be more uncompromising in his recent statement, proclaiming his unshakable determination to remain in Africa?

113. As long as powerful Members of the United Nations, under one guise or the other, continue to finance Portuguese African adventures directly by participation in such imperialist schemes as the Cabora Bassa dam and the Cunene River project, or indirectly by extending long-term credit to prop up Portugal's tottering economy, so long will they stand condemned by international opinion as the abettors of the enslavement of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

114. Referring to his country's presence in the African Territories, the Foreign Minister of Portugal said on 2 October this year:

"... That is why we find it difficult to understand that this system should be labelled as colonial, since the colonial system is essentially a system of dependency, subordination and economic exploitation of one territory for the benefit of another, under the same sovereignty."⁸

115. Every Member of this Organization, except Portugal, knows that the situation in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde has all the attributes of colonialism mentioned by the Portuguese Foreign Minister. These Territories are dependent on Lisbon; they are subordinated to the Lisbon Government; they are exploited by the Lisbon Government for the benefit of Portugal; and, what is more, the indigenous population is being systematically exterminated to create sufficient land for the Portuguese. In the circumstances, it is clear that there is need for a total rethinking of policy in Lisbon.

116. An offer of a peaceful settlement of the problem posed by Portuguese colonialism in Africa was made by the Organization of African Unity in 1969 in the Lusaka Manifesto. Portugal responded negatively. The offer has

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2048th meeting, para. 48.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

been repeated this year by the General Assembly in its resolution 2918 (XXVII) adopted on 14 November 1972, barely a week ago. In paragraph 3 of the resolution the General Assembly:

"Deems it imperative that negotiations should be initiated at an early date between the Government of Portugal and the national liberation movements referred to above with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique...".

The resolution called on the Secretary-General to provide such assistance as may be necessary with respect to the negotiations.

117. If Portugal is interested in a peaceful solution of the colonial question in Africa, it should immediately take advantage of the offer in resolution 2918 (XXVII). The Security Council, whose responsibility it is to promote international peace and security, must ensure that Portugal stops all measures which disturb the peace and security of the African continent. The Security Council must ensure that Portugal ceases its campaign of destruction in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde; that Portugal withdraws its armed forces from these Territories and enables the people to determine, in a free atmosphere, the political future of their countries. It should immediately comply with the resolutions of the United Nations and enable the people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. As long as Portugal refuses to carry out these steps, the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde are entitled to expect the total support of the Security Council in their struggle.

118. The Nigerian delegation noted with keen interest the following statement which was made in this Council last Friday by the Ambassador of Belgium, and which was quoted earlier today:

"... We continue to regret that Portugal should deny to the peoples under its administration in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) the exercise of a right which is theirs under the Charter and under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), reaffirmed by the Council in various of its own resolutions since 1963. The time has come to tell Portugal, kindly but firmly, that it must recognize this right without delay and renounce a policy which has run its course..." [1674th meeting, para. 77].

119. If Portugal will not listen to the pleadings of African nations, we hope that it can listen to the advice of a fellow NATO member and ex-colonial Power like Belgium. We expect other NATO Powers to follow the example of Belgium and speak firmly to Portugal, as its time is really running out.

120. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

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