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NOTE

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SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 12 August 1974, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Yakov MALIK
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1791)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Admission of new Members:
 - (a) Application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/11393);
 - (b) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations (S/11437).

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Tribute to the memory of nine Canadian members of the United Nations Emergency Force

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Before the Security Council adopts the agenda for today's meeting, I should like on behalf of the members of the Council to express our condolences on the tragic death of nine Canadian nationals taking part in the United Nations peace-keeping operation in the Middle East, resulting from the air disaster of 9 August in the territory of the Syrian Arab Republic.
2. In this connexion it should be noted that, according to a letter from the Chargé d'Affaires p.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations [S/11434], the air disaster coincided with a raid by the Israeli Air Force in the southern sector of Lebanon when a formation of Israeli fighter planes penetrated the air space of the Syrian Arab Republic and was being encountered by the Syrian Air Defence system.
3. The Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in a cable addressed to the Prime Minister of Canada, has expressed condolences on the tragic death of the nine Canadians serving with the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and has asked that those expressions of sympathy should be conveyed to the families of the

victims. I am sure that all members of the Council share the feelings expressed by the Secretary-General and will associate themselves with his letter to the Prime Minister of Canada.

Adoption of the Agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members:

- (a) Application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/11393);
- (b) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations (S/11437)

4. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The next question is the invitation to representatives of States who are not members of the Security Council. As President of the Council I have received letters and also oral requests from the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with respect to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and from the representatives of Portugal, Algeria, Togo, Guinea, Yugoslavia and Somalia, asking that their delegations should be invited to take part, without the right to vote, in the consideration of the item which has been included in the agenda which we have just adopted. The representatives of Algeria and Togo have asked to be invited to take part in the discussion on behalf of the non-aligned States Members of the United Nations and of the African Group of States respectively.

5. In accordance with established practice and with the Council's provisional rules of procedure, and if I hear no objections, I propose that the representatives I have just mentioned and the Chairman of the Special Committee should be invited to participate without the right to vote in the Council's consideration of the question of the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): In view of the limited number of seats at the Council table, I propose, in accordance with the Council's practice, to invite the representatives I have mentioned and also Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Chairman of the Special Committee, to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber

on the understanding that they will be invited to take places at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. S. A. Salim, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. J. Veiga Simão (Portugal), Mr. M. Taleb-Bendiab (Algeria), Mr. D. Togbé (Togo), Mr. P. Maddy (Guinea), Mr. C. Job (Yugoslavia) and Mr. A. H. Hussein (Somalia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

7. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council will now proceed to the consideration of item 2 of the agenda for today's meeting. The Council has before it for consideration the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to membership in the United Nations [S/11393] and also the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members [S/11437] containing the conclusions on this question reported in accordance with rule 59 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure.

8. I should also like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the fact that the following official Council documents are also of direct relevance to the question of the admission of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations, now under consideration:

(a) A letter from the Permanent Representative of Swaziland to the United Nations, as Chairman of the African Group, containing a letter from the members of the African Group—numbering more than 40 countries—expressing support for the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to membership in the United Nations [S/11407].

(b) A note by the Secretary-General, enclosing a memorandum from the Government of Portugal which was handed to him at the end of his recent visit to Portugal [S/11419].

(c) A letter from the representatives of the Arab delegations to the United Nations, supporting the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations [S/11426]. The letter is signed by representatives from 20 Arab countries.

(d) A letter from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, in his capacity as President of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, informing the President of the Security Council of the support of the entire Group of Non-Aligned Countries for the application of Guinea-Bissau for membership [S/11431].

(e) A letter from the acting Permanent Representative of Yemen to the United Nations, in his capacity as Chairman of the Asian Group, conveying the support of the Asian Group for the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for membership [S/11432].

(f) A letter dated 11 August 1974 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal [S/11438].

9. In accordance with a previous understanding among members of the Council and in the absence of any objection at this meeting, I propose that a decision should be taken first on the substance of the application under discussion for the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations, and then members of the Council and the representatives who have been invited to take part in this meeting can make statements.

10. As there is no objection, I take it that this procedure is approved.

11. I should now like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the draft resolution which is contained in paragraph 3 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members and the adoption of which the Committee recommends to the Security Council.

12. I now call on the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs to read out the draft resolution.

13. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs) (*translation from Russian*): The draft resolution which has been approved by the Committee on the Admission of New Members reads:

"The Security Council,

"Having examined the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to the United Nations [S/11393],

"Recommends to the General Assembly that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau be admitted to membership in the United Nations."

14. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution which has just been read out.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.¹

15. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I now give the floor to members of the Council who have expressed the wish to explain their vote after the vote.

16. Mr EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council has just taken a historic decision recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as a Member of the Organization. This is a decision for which my Government and my people have been ardently waiting for many years. I trust, then, that you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council will not object if I do not conceal my deep emotion at this solemn moment or if I stress the unalloyed pleasure and great joy that the people and Government of Mauritania feel today. These feelings stem

¹ See resolution 356 (1974).

from the common destiny of the Mauritanian and Guinean peoples, from the active solidarity that has always existed between our two countries and from our complete and sincere support for the principles of the independence and freedom of peoples.

17. Impelled by these feelings, my delegation has spared no effort for many months—in fact since 24 September 1973—to ensure that today's decision should be taken as early as possible. We should like to express our deep gratitude to the delegations which have given us their unstinting encouragement and support throughout the course of these efforts, and on behalf of Africa we should like to thank all those who have associated themselves with the Council's decision.

18. The recommendation we have just adopted is no mere act of charity. It is no more than a recognition of the right won by the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau to join the concert of sovereign nations assembled in the United Nations. Our decision was preceded by that of more than 90 nations which have already—either recently or longer ago—recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The fact is that the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde have been carrying on their heroic struggle for almost two decades now to recover their freedom and independence. This long struggle has taken a grievous toll in the suffering and trials which that African people has endured with admirable tenacity and courage. The struggle has necessitated a spirit of self-sacrifice. It has caused much tragedy and struck deep wounds which only time can heal. This lengthy struggle for freedom and independence has cost this brother people tens of thousands of its sons and daughters.

19. Among these martyrs to the sacred cause, and at the head of the list, is a great son of Africa, an outstanding figure in the world struggle for the freedom of peoples. I refer to Amílcar Cabral. An incomparable strategist, an inspired tactician, a profound theoretician, and a far-sighted statesman—Amílcar Cabral was all these.

20. A tireless fighter for the national cause, Amílcar Cabral began from his earliest youth a passionate quest for the forms of action and organization which would be most likely to speed the liberation of his people from the age-old colonial yoke. As a student at the Higher Institute of Agronomy in Lisbon in 1945, he already showed a great interest in the political and cultural trends which were shaking the whole world. His tireless activities subsequently took many forms but were always aimed at the same objective: restoration of the dignity, the freedom and the independence of all African peoples and of the whole world. His activities took a decisive turn when, on 19 September 1956, Amílcar Cabral, together with five comrades, founded the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). A tireless pilgrim for peace, Amílcar Cabral took part, after 1960, in all the international meetings devoted to the problems of Africa and oppressed peoples.

21. And on 22 January 1973 Amílcar Cabral fell on the field of honour. But he will be remembered in the hearts of all Africans and all other peace-loving persons throughout

the world. Our decision here today constitutes the concrete attainment of his aims.

22. We wished to avoid any tone of bitterness in our remarks today. We wish to turn to the future, to reaffirm the will of Africa to hold out the hand of friendship and brotherhood to all peoples and to the Portuguese people in particular. In this regard I should like to quote from the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau dated 24 September 1973:

“The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with which our people wishes to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship”.²

23. We are thus looking to the future. We wish to pay a tribute to the Portuguese people, to its courage and to its spirit of justice. We look to that people—which is heir to an ancient and brilliant civilization and which has given distinguished men to the world—to carry through to a successful and speedy conclusion the work of justice and reason it has just begun. We ask that people to recognize without further delay the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and to proceed to transfer power to the authentic representatives of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. We are persuaded that if it does so its real interests will be better served and its international prestige will be more rapidly restored and enhanced.

24. Our hope is that the example of Portugal may inspire the minorities of South Africa and Zimbabwe to cease clinging to the outmoded and criminal values and to try, while there is yet time, to rejoin honourably the great family of man. We trust that this hope is not in vain, and we remind those who need reminding that “return to reason is always reasonable” and that “recognizing one's faults is an act of generosity and courage”.

25. I think I shall not be digressing if I say that Portugal's immediate neighbour, Spain, will be the first to give practical application to the resolutions of our Organization in regard to the Territory of the Sahara, a Territory in regard to which my country, for very many good reasons sufficiently reiterated here at the United Nations, attaches the greatest importance.

26. Mauritania is a country that keeps its word. It has already accepted the resolutions of the United Nations. Despite the fact that its rights over the Sahara are well-founded and solidly based, Mauritania asks that Spain, the administering Power, take as soon as possible the measures necessary to put into effect the United Nations resolutions on that Territory.

27. In concluding this statement, I should like once again to congratulate the delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde on the decision just taken by the Security Council recommending the admission of that

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 107, document A/9196, annex I.

brother country to the United Nations and to reiterate our determination to continue with that country the close and fraternal co-operation that our peoples, our parties and our Governments have always maintained.

28. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, allow me first of all to thank you for taking speedy steps to bring before this Council the application of Guinea-Bissau for full membership of the United Nations.

29. It is now about one year since the United Nations took the historic decision to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau. During that period the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has had observer status in the United Nations. The events of the past year have shown that the United Nations was indeed wise to take that stand. As we speak today, more than 90 countries have recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The Kenya Government was among the many that welcomed the independence of our sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau at an early stage. As my Foreign Minister stated at the Twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, on 10 October 1973,³

“... I should like to hail the Declaration of Independence by the valiant freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau. After decades of the slaughter of innocent men, women and children; after incalculable loss of property; after indescribable sufferings and deprivation, the gallant people of Guinea-Bissau have finally achieved their independence by armed struggle.”

My Foreign Minister further stated:

“Kenya pledges unreserved support to the people of Guinea-Bissau for consolidating their independence. Recognizing the new State is not sufficient in itself; we must ensure that it receives every form of moral and material support, particularly from the African and non-aligned countries that consistently supported the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau. Kenya not only recognizes the new State of Guinea-Bissau, but is ready to offer any help that the new State may need.”

Kenya indeed gave its support to Guinea-Bissau and was happy also to welcome it into the Organization of African Unity as a full member.

30. My delegation is pleased now to support unreservedly the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as a full Member of the United Nations, as we have already shown by our positive vote on the draft resolution. The heroic peoples of Guinea-Bissau deserve this honour, and it is the hope of my delegation that all Member States of the United Nations will do whatever is possible in the months that lie ahead to give that brave people the support it needs in order to consolidate its independence and freedom.

31. When we are jubilantly supporting the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations, we cannot forget that other parts of Africa are still under Portuguese colonial oppression. As my President declared

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2147th meeting.

on the occasion of Kenya's independence and has repeated on many occasions, Kenya will not feel free as long as one inch of Africa remains under colonial oppression. The struggle is not over, but the beginning of the end is in sight.

32. We have noted the recent changes of attitude by the new Government of Portugal, and more particularly the recent statement declaring the intentions of that Government. We welcome those changes. We, like many others, believe nothing should be done to slow down the changes that the Government of Portugal is proposing. However, we deeply regret to note the slow speed and the apparent timidity with which that Government is proclaiming what it knows to be right and proper. Good actions taken too late are no good at all. That Government should know quite clearly that it has the support of all men and women of goodwill in the world in its effort to join them by freeing itself from the crimes of its history. The sooner it joins the rest of the human stream in the twentieth century the better. Courage is needed at this time, and any temptation to go slow should be resisted.

33. The remaining colonial Territories of Mozambique and Angola should be set free now. The evils of colonialism are such that after more than 400 years of Portuguese rule we are still being told that Guinea-Bissau will need support in establishing its own administration. It needs medical services, schools, roads and many other services that have not been developed by its colonial master. Colonialism has one known and irrefutable principle: the exploitation of one people by another. That is why we must appeal to all nations to give the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau all possible support in the months ahead.

34. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has a tremendous challenge ahead of it. After many years of struggle for its freedom, it has to start almost from nothing to build a new nation. It is here that the United Nations and all its agencies can do a great deal on behalf of the whole world to help the young Republic to set off properly on the road to reconstruction and nation-building. We believe and hope that when Portugal is free from its regrettable history it will find the free and independent people of Guinea-Bissau to be friends. If it takes the opportunity in the remaining Territories where people are still shedding blood to regain their freedom, Portugal now has the chance to find that the people may forgive the past even if they cannot forget it.

35. I have dealt at length on the remaining Portuguese colonies because I know that it is the wish of many people that Portugal should be helped to disengage itself quickly from its colonial stigma. Today we are discussing the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations, and this is not the right time to discuss the remaining parts of Africa still under colonial rule. But what we are saying applies equally to all the other parts under other Governments which practise this colonialism.

36. Finally, we look forward to co-operating with Guinea-Bissau in all the activities of the United Nations in the years to come.

37. Mr. NJINE (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like first of

all to pay a tribute to the memory of those who have fallen on the field of honour for the independence of Africa and for the dignity of all the peoples of the entire world. We also wish to pay a tribute to the courage of the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau guided by their intrepid leaders of the national party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde.

38. In supporting the draft resolution in document S/11437, which is now Security Council resolution 356 (1974), my delegation has only confirmed the constant support of the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon for the efforts to liberate African Territories from foreign domination. It has been our pleasant duty to make a contribution to this further step toward the universality of the United Nations.

39. My delegation notes with interest the declared intention of the present Portuguese leaders to support the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations and to apply all the Organization's decisions in the sphere of the decolonization of Territories administered by Portugal. May the winds of decolonization which have just swept over Guinea-Bissau soon reach the other Territories still under colonial domination. The Cameroon Government, consistent with past policy, is prepared to encourage all efforts to that end.

40. There can be no doubt that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which will soon become a Member of this Organization, will make an effective contribution in the search for solutions to the problems confronting the United Nations.

41. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): Over the past 14 months the Security Council has on a number of occasions met to recommend the admission of new States to our Organization. During that period of time we have approved the applications of five countries of Europe, America and Asia whose admission to the international community has contributed or will contribute to extend the universality and authority of the United Nations.

42. We have just voted unanimously in favour of the admission of a new State, an African State this time, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Allow me, Mr. President, to make some remarks here on a decision of whose extreme importance my country is fully aware and one by which we are most gratified.

43. In being born, so to speak, before our very eyes, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau invites us to reflect once again on the course of the great evolution marked by the colonial phenomenon. On the basis of the most usual interpretation of the term, and not without wondering, however, whether it is indeed somewhat narrow, I would describe that phenomenon as an undertaking of expansion and civilization which led certain countries of Europe, themselves profoundly shaped by the Greco-Roman conquest, to establish themselves overseas. A people of seafarers and traders, Portugal was one of the very first to embark upon the discovery of the world in the middle of the fifteenth century, the era in which its ships reached the coasts of Guinea-Bissau, among other lands. France and other States

did the same somewhat later. A superabundance of energy and of faith made my country a colonial Power up until the time when, as was natural, the process of decolonization prevailed.

44. I say that this was natural. Here I am repeating the very familiar formula of General de Gaulle when he was speaking of the great subject under discussion here today. In his view, it was in the very nature of things that the unilateral will of civilization and the influx of new ideas and the new needs that accompanied it should culminate in a dialogue. It was to be expected, it was even to be desired, that the colonized should question the colonizer and that they should together work out the procedures for the accession of the colonized to independence. It was historically necessary for the peoples of the world to awaken and to organize themselves within the conceptual and juridical framework of the nation-state. We here in this chamber know better than anyone that it is the nation-state which for better or for worse determines the essence of present-day international relations.

45. While at the beginning of the 1960s the exercise of self-determination was being completed more or less everywhere in Africa, making it possible for that continent to enrich the United Nations with new Members that were cordially welcomed by France, it had to be admitted that Portugal seemed to be lacking in the boldness and far-sightedness that would have brought it to recognize the necessities of the time. It was slow in joining the movement which other States had already joined. Our Organization was properly concerned over this situation. In March and in October of 1972, and again at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, France joined in the appeals by the friends of Africa and of the Portuguese nation, addressed to the Lisbon régime, in terms that became ever more pressing as the armed confrontations grew in Guinea-Bissau.

46. I need hardly stress that my country followed very favourably the events which led, last April, to the formation of a new Portuguese Government and to the more recent constitutional changes. It became possible to believe firmly that a political solution would be found to the conflict being played out in Guinea-Bissau and elsewhere, a solution based on the principle to which the United Nations is most dedicated, namely the right of peoples to self-determination and independent life. It was for this reason that on 9 June, in Bonn, France and its eight partners in the European Economic Community issued a communiqué welcoming the "democratic development in Portugal" and "the policy aimed at putting an end to the long-standing armed conflicts in Africa." The nine countries of the Community declared their "confidence in the outcome of the negotiations between the parties concerned aiming at the exercise of self-determination, with its consequences", and stated their "readiness to support that action".

47. Since that time, other developments have occurred to strengthen our faith in an early settlement of the problems involved in the decolonization of the Portuguese Territories in Africa. As everyone knows, one of the most important was the communiqué issued at the end of the recent visit to Lisbon of the Secretary-General [*see S/11419*], in which the Portuguese Government expressed very clear intentions.

It is encouraging to learn that Portugal and Guinea-Bissau are now finalizing such arrangements as are still necessary. The letter [S/11438] that the Portuguese Foreign Minister delivered to you, Mr. President, this morning, in which it was announced that Portugal will accord *de jure* recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as soon as the agreements concerning the progressive transfer of the administration have been concluded with the PAIGC, satisfies countries which, like mine, were concerned to see our proceedings go forward in the most harmonious fashion possible. I express here the hope that the current negotiations may soon be brought to a happy conclusion, thanks to the spirit of goodwill which assuredly inspires both parties, on the basis of independence, mutual respect, equality, and reciprocity of interests of the two Republics.

48. May I now, Mr. President, addressing the representatives of Guinea-Bissau, offer them our warmest congratulations. I said a moment ago that the State whose admission we now unanimously recommend to the United Nations was, so to speak, born before our very eyes. I was referring to the many meetings during the course of which the Security Council and the General Assembly took cognizance, directly or indirectly, over the past three years of the grave situation prevailing in Guinea-Bissau. I was thinking also, of course, of the strong personalities that that situation produced, among them Amílcar Cabral, whose tragic death appalled the United Nations, a man whom the Secretary-General described as "a great African patriot, known and respected by all," a man of whom the representative of Mauritania just now gave us an eloquent and moving portrait. The French Government was not unaware of the political endowments of Amílcar Cabral; it is likewise not unaware of those of his successors. A few hours ago my Government legally recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and announced that it would support its application for membership in the United Nations and the various international institutions. My Government—and here I refer to the terms of an official text issued this morning—"addresses to the young independent State and to its people its best wishes for happy development." My Government—and here I am quoting—hopes that "... its relations with the Government of Guinea-Bissau will be guided by the same spirit that already governs those that it maintains, in friendship, trust and co-operation, with the other countries of Africa." To that I would add that the other eight members of the European Economic Community have done as France has done, and at the same time, and that this is no mere coincidence, in the light of the spirit that had already imbued the positions that they had taken last June. A joint communiqué today reports the common action undertaken by the nine members and its positive results.

49. In conclusion may I say that no one can underestimate the fact that Guinea-Bissau is the first African country to which Portugal is going to restore its destiny and it will continue to retain this first place. This honour will be its due. History will perhaps say that action in one quarter will have assisted others to free themselves from an immobility which could not continue. Without surprise it will admire the fact that the combatants were thus the first to understand the need to engage in decisive dialogue. It will note, I believe, that Portugal looked to its deep roots to

find the way of freeing itself by freeing others. It will discover everywhere in the world the living trace of its language and of its work.

50. Having itself marked history and geography with its influence, France showed the way. With good reason France speaks here today and expresses how inspired it is by this demonstration of courage. I would not wish to end without addressing to Africa, an attentive mother with cares that are still too numerous, our most friendly wishes. I am convinced that the nation of Guinea-Bissau, the Portuguese nation, Africa and Europe will henceforth be able to devote themselves fully to the work of peace and co-operation for which they were made.

51. Mr. AL-SHAikhLY (Iraq): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend to you on behalf of the delegation of Iraq our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. Your rich experience in diplomacy and the political affairs of nations, your outstanding record in this Organization and your unequalled achievements in the service of your great country are all qualities enhancing your presidency. Welcoming you to the presidency of the Council is a very happy occasion for me in view of the excellent relations between our two countries, relations based on strong friendship, mutual respect, co-operation and benefit.

52. I should like to pay a particular tribute to Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, the Permanent Representative of Peru, for the outstanding manner in which he presided over our deliberations last month. Ambassador de Cuéllar, I am sure, has earned the admiration of all of us during the very difficult days of his presidency. His excellent services to this Council in the quest for peace in Cyprus deserve our deep appreciation.

53. Once again we welcome unanimously the recommendation for the admission to this Organization of a new Member, whose independence my Government recognized shortly after it was declared on 24 September 1973, in accordance with our firm policy of supporting the liberation movements in Africa. This is, indeed, a very happy occasion, and it should be particularly so in the case of Guinea-Bissau. This is because the emergence of Guinea-Bissau as an independent State was truly achieved through a heroic war of liberation in which no sacrifice was spared.

54. The struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for self-determination and independence under the leadership of PAIGC represents, in our view, a rich experience for all liberation movements struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The significance of that struggle has already taken its shape and I need hardly say that it left its definite imprint in the political and legal spheres of international relations.

55. Politically, classical colonialism can no longer be sustained. The freedom-loving peoples of the world should not today be expected to sit back and submit to the tyrannical will of the colonialists, whose logic is that of the dead past. Legally, the international community, as represented in this world Organization, is committed to and bound by the process of decolonization. Indeed, if proof is

still needed, the successful struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau is an example in point.

56. Iraq has had a long and active part in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, being a member of the Committee on Decolonization since its establishment in 1961. With the independence of each colony, Iraq feels a particular pleasure and satisfaction at seeing justice done, self-respect restored and legality enhanced.

57. As for Guinea-Bissau, we long ago expressed our deep conviction that a struggle of the kind that the PAIGC was waging was bound to be crowned with success. At this moment one cannot but recall the memory of that giant among freedom fighters, the late Amílcar Cabral, who was the Secretary-General of the PAIGC. In his last statement before an organ of this Organization, namely, the Fourth Committee, he said the following:

"The Africans, having rejected the idea of begging for freedom, which was contrary to their dignity and their sacred right to freedom and independence, have reaffirmed their steadfast decision to end colonial domination of their country, no matter what the sacrifices involved, and to conquer for themselves the opportunity to achieve in peace their own progress and happiness."⁴

Although the assassin's bullet prevented Cabral from seeing the success in his country of that determination he can now truly rest in peace, for his mission has been accomplished.

58. The Iraqi Government wishes to express its congratulations to the valiant people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, not only on their independence which was recognized very shortly after the emergence of their republic, but also on the occasion of the recommendation of their membership in our Organization. We look forward to co-operating with the delegation of Guinea-Bissau in the United Nations, and we are sure that it will make significant contributions to our endeavours for peace, progress and justice.

59. Mr. WOLTE (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): This is a happy day in the history of the Security Council. The Council has just unanimously recommended to the General Assembly the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations. Austria, with special pleasure, has joined with all the members of the Council in support of that decision.

60. It was a long, difficult and discouraging path that Guinea-Bissau had to follow towards independence. But the suffering and the sacrifices of the people for freedom were not to be in vain. The objectives of that struggle could not have been better described than they were by Amílcar Cabral, when, speaking before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly on 16 October 1972, he said that his country was fighting "for the liberation of peoples and

mankind and against oppression of all kinds in the interest of a better life in a world of peace, security and progress."⁵

61. Portugal has recognized the right of the peoples of its colonial Territories to self-determination and independence. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction with this decision on the part of the Portuguese Government and to emphasize the contribution which that decision has made to the process that has led to the emergence of a sovereign State. An important step has been taken to put an end to colonialism on the African continent. The United Nations as a whole therefore celebrates today the implementation of the purposes and principles which are the very essence of its existence.

62. In warmly supporting the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to the United Nations, my Government wishes to reaffirm its policy of support for newly independent nations and its warm sympathy for the cause they are fighting for. The Austrian Government and people wish Guinea-Bissau happiness and prosperity in its new life as an independent and free nation. We are convinced, as the Foreign Minister of Austria stated in a communication to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, that the bonds of friendship between our two countries will be strengthened by co-operation within the United Nations.

63. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The people of Guinea-Bissau, led by the PAIGC, proclaimed independence and founded the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in September 1973 after protracted armed struggle which dealt heavy blows at the colonial rule of Portugal. The experience of the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau has shown that the liberation and independence of Guinea-Bissau were neither a "favour" bestowed by the Portuguese colonialist authorities nor the outcome of "peaceful transition". The birth of Guinea-Bissau and the fall of the fascist régime in Portugal were important victories of the unremitting struggles waged by the people in the Portuguese colonies and the African countries.

64. In less than one year since its founding, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has been recognized by some 90 countries. The victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau has written a new chapter in the annals of the African people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and it will certainly exert far-reaching influence on the struggle of the people in southern Africa and other non-independent regions, encouraging them to carry on more valiant struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

65. The Chinese Government and people have always deeply sympathized with and rendered firm support and active assistance to the people of Guinea-Bissau in their protracted and heroic struggle for liberation. Upon the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the leaders of the Chinese Government sent messages of warm congratulations and recognition to the leaders of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Last March, China established formal diplomatic relations with the Republic

⁴ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th meeting, para. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 2.

of Guinea-Bissau at the ambassadorial level. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in their just struggle for the liberation of the entire territory and the complete independence of their motherland. On 5 August 1974, China's Foreign Minister sent a message of reply to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, expressing firm support for the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for membership in the United Nations. Please allow me to read this message:

"I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter concerning your country's application for membership in the United Nations and have the honour to inform you of the following.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China holds that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has fully met the requirements for membership in the United Nations as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and that the United Nations should admit the Republic of Guinea-Bissau into the Organization at an early date. The Chinese Government firmly supports the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for membership in the United Nations.

"Both China and Guinea-Bissau belong to the third world. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in their just struggle for the liberation of the entire territory and the complete independence of their motherland. Our two peoples will encourage and support each other in the common struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. I am convinced that the militant friendship and friendly co-operation between China and Guinea-Bissau will grow daily."

66. The great African continent is an important part of the third world. The African countries and peoples have grown ever stronger and are winning continuous new victories in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and big-Power hegemonism. An excellent situation prevails in the armed struggle of the people in the Portuguese colonies. The armed struggles and mass movements for national liberation waged by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and other parts of southern Africa are developing vigorously. The eleventh Summit Conference of the OAU held not long ago in Mogadiscio has given an impetus to the just struggle of the African people to strengthen their unity for the liberation of the entire African continent. It has voiced strong support for the sacred struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola for national liberation.

It solemnly declared:

"Africa fully supports the national liberation movements and their determination to fight till their peoples and countries of which they are the sole and genuine representatives achieve independence and total freedom."

It further pointed out that should the colonialist authorities ignore the just demands of the African people, "there will

be no other way but pursuit and intensification of the struggle for national liberation".

67. This solemn decision and just position have pointed out to the African people in their struggle for liberation the direction in which to pursue and intensify their struggle and expressed their unswerving determination to achieve the liberation of the whole of Africa. The Chinese delegation expresses its firm support for this. We maintain that the Portuguese authorities must respect the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, immediately and unconditionally withdraw all their colonial troops and cease all acts of interference in its internal affairs. We are deeply convinced that the just struggle of the people in the Portuguese colonies will continue to obtain strong support and assistance from the people of African countries and the rest of the world. So long as they strengthen their unity, persist in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and guard against the meddling and sabotage of all outside forces of aggression, they will certainly achieve complete national independence and liberation.

68. Following the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Government and people will unswervingly give firm support to the people of the Portuguese colonies and all the African countries and peoples in their just struggle for the complete liberation of the African continent.

69. Mr. MARPAUNG (Indonesia): It is with particular pleasure that my delegation has joined other members of the Council in voting in support of the draft resolution contained in document S/11437 recommending the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations. Being one of the initiators of the first Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955, which had sounded the clarion call for the struggle for national independence of peoples all over the world, Indonesia warmly welcomes the entry of Guinea-Bissau as a new Member of the United Nations, as we welcomed with equal joy its birth as an independent nation on 24 September 1973.

70. The process leading to the independence of Guinea-Bissau was a long and thorny road through almost two decades of political struggle and 10 years of determined armed struggle. Its entry now as a full-fledged partner in the work of our Organization for global peace and progress cannot but be greeted with joy by all members of the international community. Our joy is, however, not completely unmarred, as all of us most surely share the pain felt by the people of Guinea-Bissau caused by the absence of Amílcar Cabral, the beloved leader and founder of their independence movement. Amílcar Cabral's untimely death deprived him of seeing the crown of the long struggle to which he gave all his energies and even his life. His name, however, will long be remembered as a leader of great stature and a fighter for national independence, progress and dignity.

71. My delegation would have wished that Guinea-Bissau's entry to membership in our Organization could coincide with the satisfactory conclusion of the arrangements between Guinea-Bissau and Portugal concerning the transfer

of administration. My delegation certainly regrets that those hopes have failed to materialize. On the other hand, we are happy that failure to reach such arrangements did not preclude Portugal from supporting the admission of Guinea-Bissau to our Organization.

72. We hope that the developments in Guinea-Bissau may speed up the process of decolonization in Africa, not only of the Territories under Portuguese administration, but also of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

73. The admission of Guinea-Bissau should be welcomed with added satisfaction as it will bring us appreciably closer to the goal of universal membership of the United Nations. The attainment of that goal, which Indonesia has consistently supported throughout its membership in the Organization, will surely assist in the strengthening of the fabric of international peace and security, which the Charter is designed to promote.

74. My delegation believes that the United Nations involvement in the decolonization process of Guinea-Bissau, which had its beginnings in the early 1960s, should be continued and expanded in the form of all possible assistance in the field of economic development, education, health and nutrition, which will enable its people to establish a politically and economically viable nationhood.

75. As a member of the non-aligned group, Indonesia views with particular pleasure the imminent entry of Guinea-Bissau into our Organization. We are looking forward to the participation of the Guinea-Bissau delegation in the activities of the non-aligned group of nations within the United Nations and to the contributions of its ideas and initiatives to the efforts of the non-aligned countries to achieve more stable conditions of world peace and prosperity.

76. In conclusion, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to assure the delegation of Guinea-Bissau of its close co-operation in the common efforts of our Organization.

77. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Peru supported with great pleasure the resolution just adopted by the Security Council recommending to the General Assembly that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau be admitted to membership in the United Nations. My country has already recognized that country.

78. My Government believes that this resolution and the resolution that will doubtless be adopted by the General Assembly in the autumn form the well-deserved result of the long and courageous struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for their independence. Amílcar Cabral will always be the symbol of that struggle. He was the heroic leader who deserved to hold in his hands today the fruits of that victory which, in large measure, were truly his.

79. My delegation is pleased not only by the unanimity of the Council's vote but also by the fact that Portugal, thanks to the clear-sightedness of its new Government, has been linked in a positive manner with the independence of Guinea-Bissau. We believe that this position of Portugal is

indeed very promising and augurs well for a radical political change leading to the emancipation of the entire African continent.

80. We believe that at this truly historic moment when Guinea-Bissau is now gaining universal recognition for its independence our thoughts should be extended fraternally to the African peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, and that we should pledge to redouble our efforts and renew our vigilance until they achieve their independence.

81. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has taken great satisfaction in voting for the draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

82. The Byelorussian SSR has always been on the side of the peoples who are fighting for their freedom and national independence. And now it is with the deepest satisfaction that, on behalf of the Byelorussian SSR, we express our sincere congratulations to the people of Guinea-Bissau on this important event and wish it every success in building a new life under conditions of freedom and independence, in implementing socio-economic changes and in bringing progress and prosperity.

83. In welcoming the sovereign and independent State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau today, we cannot but recall the severe ordeals that fell to the lot of its people during the many decades of colonial domination. As in the case of many other peoples, Guinea-Bissau's road from political slavery to self-determination and independence was long and difficult. It was the road of the heroic people's selfless struggle under the leadership of PAIGC, a struggle which was crowned with a splendid victory—the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

84. In speaking of the birth of the newly independent sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau, the Byelorussian delegation wishes to point out that the emergence of this State is inseparably bound up with the anti-colonial struggle which has been and is being consistently waged by the countries of the socialist community and by all progressive and anti-imperialist forces. Assistance and support—moral, political and material—from these forces played a role of no small importance in the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau. This consistent phenomenon—the alliance of the countries of the socialist community with the world which has been engendered by the national liberation movement—is an outstanding historic factor of our time which is playing a colossal role in the life of today's society, and particularly in international relations.

85. In his statement of 27 November 1973 during a visit to India, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, said:

“The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet State have always stood and continue to stand on the side of the fighters for national freedom and independence. This political course is dictated by our

entire world outlook, which rejects both the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of one nation by another. This political course is rooted in the very nature of our socialist society, in which over 100 nations and nationalities live together as a harmonious family. It is enshrined in the Programme of our party which states: 'The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards a fraternal alliance with the peoples that have thrown off the colonial and quasi-colonial yoke as one of the cornerstones of its international policy'."

86. The Byelorussian delegation would also like to underline the importance of the struggle which has been and is being waged here in the United Nations to secure the final liquidation of colonialism as soon as possible and the complete emancipation of all colonial countries and peoples. The whole world is well aware of the struggle of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community and of other peace-loving States in the United Nations to put an end to colonialism. It was, in fact, the initiative of the Soviet Union that brought, in 1960, the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*], the struggle for the implementation of which has represented a major chapter in the history of the United Nations. Since then, more than 40 States of Asia, Africa and Latin America that were formerly colonial territories have gained independence and have become full-fledged Members of the United Nations. In one of his statements at the United Nations, Amílcar Cabral, the outstanding figure of the national liberation struggle and the founder and leader of the State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, said the following concerning the Organization's activities in support of the peoples fighting for their freedom against colonialism:

"The United Nations resolution on decolonization creates a new situation for our struggle. The colonial system, whose immediate and complete eradication is demanded by this resolution, has now become an international crime. Thus we now have a legal basis for eliminating colonial oppression in our country and for using all necessary means to eliminate that oppression."

87. The Soviet people's sympathy for and solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples against colonialism to gain their freedom and independence have been and continue to be shown in the most varied ways. These include, first of all, broad support for the Leninist foreign policy which *inter alia* provides for full and unconditional support for the struggle of the colonial peoples for their independence. They also include the activities of countless Soviet public organizations whose attention is focused on the same noble aims and objectives. It is well known that last year, on the basis of a United Nations decision [*General Assembly resolution 2911 (XXVII)*], the whole world instituted the practice of celebrating a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. The Byelorussian working people, together with all Soviet people, actively participated in its observance. They have unswervingly expressed and continue to express their solidarity with the freedom fighters of southern Africa and participate in the collection of money for the Soviet Peace Fund, part of which is channelled

through the Organization of African Unity to provide material assistance to the civilian population of the liberated areas of Africa and to the victims of the policies of *apartheid*.

88. When we consider the birth of the newly independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau, it is clear to everyone that this is the result of the struggle of that country's people and represents the success of its armed struggle for freedom and independence against the policy of colonialism and repression which was pursued by the former fascist Government of Portugal. At the same time, we must bear in mind a number of factors which play an important role and favour the rapid attainment of success by the national liberation struggle of the peoples. One such factor is the joining of forces between the working masses of the metropolitan countries and the peoples of the colonial Territories in their joint struggle aimed at putting an end to colonialism and racism.

89. It was precisely the collapse of the fascist régime in Portugal, resulting from the complete bankruptcy of that régime's colonial war in Africa, that created new conditions for a political settlement of the fate of Guinea-Bissau and other former Portuguese colonies. The end of the war in the African colonies was both a victory for the Portuguese people and an indication of the political foresight of Portugal's new leadership. Therefore one cannot but welcome the decision of the Portuguese Government, which has recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent State and also recognized the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola and other Territories and has expressed its readiness to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions in this respect.

90. Following the adoption of these important political decisions by the Government of Portugal, an even more crucial period begins—that of their practical realization and implementation.

91. The proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the adoption of the Security Council resolution recommending the admission of that young African State to membership in the United Nations constitute a major event, for they testify to a new triumph of the peoples in the struggle against colonialism. That is why this event has met with a very wide response among peace-loving countries and peoples. The great international prestige of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is shown by the fact that, having come into existence only last autumn, the Republic has already been recognized by more than 90 States. This African country is already a highly regarded member of the Organization of African Unity and has been admitted to membership in a number of the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

92. The anti-colonial struggle of the peoples is closely linked with the deepening process of international détente and the elimination of "hot spots" from the planet and with the struggle to ensure stable peace throughout the world, for the colonial and racist régimes are poisoning the international atmosphere by their existence and constitute hotbeds of military danger on these continents. Signifi-

cantly, it is precisely under the conditions of the process of détente that the united front of the African countries is growing stronger, as is the solidarity of all the non-aligned countries in the struggle to strengthen international peace and security.

93. In welcoming the decision just approved by the Council, we cannot but express our satisfaction at the foreign-policy objectives set forth in the programme of PAIGC, the ruling party of the independent and sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau. The PAIGC programme includes:

"Peaceful co-operation with all the nations of the world on the basis of the principles of mutual respect, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in domestic affairs, equal and mutual advantage and peaceful co-existence; the development of economic and cultural links with all peoples whose Governments approve and respect those principles; respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter; and non-alliance with military blocs."

94. The decision adopted today by the Security Council is unquestionably a new and important event in the life of the people of Guinea-Bissau and a major step forward in the great historical process of the national liberation of peoples from the fetters of colonialism and the realization of their deeply justified aspiration to decide their own destiny.

95. The sun of freedom and independence has risen over Guinea-Bissau. The day is not far off when it will shine over Angola, Mozambique and the other Territories which have suffered so much and their peoples will be able to settle their own destiny without hindrance. At the same time, our delegation considers it necessary to stress that the elimination of all the remaining colonial and racist régimes in Africa and in other parts of the world remains one of the most important tasks of the United Nations.

96. In supporting the admission of a new sovereign State—the Republic of Guinea-Bissau—the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR takes the opportunity to express its firm conviction that the time is not far off when other African peoples and their Territories which are still in a state of colonial and imperialist dependency will become completely free.

97. The admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly will help to bring the United Nations even nearer to universality.

98. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR expresses its confidence that the young sovereign African State of Guinea-Bissau will make a useful contribution to solving the tasks before the United Nations—the tasks of strengthening international peace and security and developing fruitful co-operation among all countries and peoples.

99. Mr. SCHAUFLE (United States of America): This is a moment of profound satisfaction for the United States. My Government warmly welcomes the agreement for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and strongly supports the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations.

100. In this connexion, I should like to inform the Council that the following statement by President Ford was issued at the White House today:

"The Government and the people of the United States welcome the agreement in principle reached on August 9 between the Portuguese Government and representatives of Guinea-Bissau. We extend our congratulations to the leaders of both Governments.

"We look forward to a productive and friendly relationship with Guinea-Bissau. I have instructed our representatives at the United Nations to support the application of Guinea-Bissau for membership in the United Nations."

101. The United States has fully supported the legitimate aspiration of the people of Guinea-Bissau to self-determination. We are pleased to have Guinea-Bissau take its rightful place among the sovereign and independent nations of the world community and assume full membership in the United Nations.

102. In the months and years ahead, the United States will do its utmost to strengthen and multiply the bonds of friendship, co-operation and goodwill between the Governments and peoples of our two countries. We look forward also to the constructive contributions that Guinea-Bissau will make to the important work of the United Nations.

103. My Government also wishes to congratulate the leaders of Guinea-Bissau and of Portugal for the statesmanship, fortitude and clear vision that they have demonstrated in achieving this momentous agreement. We have particularly noted that the mutual goodwill and shared aims which have characterized their negotiations have led not only to independence but also to the promise of a smooth and orderly transition beneficial to all peoples of the area. The new and constructive phase in the evolution of Portugal's relationship to the continent of Africa has already borne its first fruit.

104. Since the establishment of the United Nations nearly a generation ago, the founding Members have been joined by some 85 new nations. Embracing more than half the population of the globe, these new States have achieved full status in the society of nations, as symbolized by United Nations membership. The United States is proud of the contribution it has made to the continuing process of self-determination that has produced this impressive achievement in less than 30 years. Perhaps nothing we, the United Nations, have achieved in carrying out the principles of our Charter has had greater meaning than the fulfilment of the principle of self-determination.

105. In keeping with its long-standing support for self-determination, the United States strongly hopes that the evolution marked by the Security Council's action today in respect of Guinea-Bissau will continue, and that it will soon be reflected in additional achievements in the other African Territories. The decision to recommend the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations and the process by which this gratifying moment in history has been reached give us great encouragement for the future.

106. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): My delegation was happy to support today the recommendation by the Security Council to the General Assembly that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau be admitted to membership in the United Nations. This act is a symbolic one; it symbolizes the end of a long and a bitter struggle in the Territory of Guinea-Bissau, and for that reason is surely all the more gratifying to members of this Council, whose prime concern is the cause of international peace.

107. The British Government today issued the following statement, which, with your permission, Mr. President, I would read:

"It is with great pleasure that we have learnt that the Portuguese Government are ready to recognize Guinea-Bissau as an independent State and to arrange for the immediate transfer of administration in the Territory.

"Her Majesty's Government recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau forthwith and are ready to establish diplomatic relations with the new Government in due course. We unreservedly welcome this important step forward, about which we have been in close consultation with our colleagues in the European Community. There will be a warm welcome in Britain for the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and we look forward to close and friendly relations with this new West African State. We shall support Guinea-Bissau's application for full membership of the United Nations."

108. I would today like to pay a tribute to the statesmanship of all parties which has led to the ending of the conflict in Guinea-Bissau and to the removal of uncertainty about its future. We hope that, with independence finally achieved, the memories of conflict may soon disappear. We hope also that the new State may grow in strength and in unity, in friendship with its African neighbours, with Portugal, and indeed with the whole world community.

109. This is not the first Security Council meeting this year at which it has been our task to recommend the admission to the United Nations of a State born out of conflict. Early in June the Council unanimously recommended the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The forthcoming admission to the United Nations of both Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau represents the achievement of statehood by a hard and violent road. This experience may, however, enable those States to play their role in international affairs with a maturity in excess of what might otherwise be expected of newly-created nations.

110. This vote is important not only for what it achieves today, but also for what it might lead to in the future. I should like to take this opportunity to say that my delegation looks forward to an early and a satisfactory resolution of the status of the other Portuguese Territories in Africa on the basis of the recent statements by the Portuguese Government that it recognizes the rights of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence. Indeed, the fact that Guinea-Bissau has today the support and approval of the Government of Portugal in making this application is itself an indication of

the extent to which there has been a change. We accept totally the sincerity of the Portuguese Government in its declared intentions. The new policy in Portugal will have an effect in areas outside those Territories most immediately concerned, particularly in the rest of southern Africa. Today is therefore for us, and I think for the United Nations as a whole, a good omen for the future.

111. Finally, let me say that although my country has not had a long or a close association with Guinea-Bissau, this in no way diminishes our good wishes for its future prosperity. We look forward confidently to cordial relations in the years to come.

112. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In explanation of our vote, my delegation would like to refer to the resolution just adopted containing the Security Council's recommendation to the General Assembly that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau be admitted to membership in this Organization. My delegation wishes to place on record that it took great satisfaction in voting in favour of the decision taken by the Council.

113. In general, my delegation shares the pleasure that it expressed here whenever a recommendation is passed on to the General Assembly for the admission of a new Member to the United Nations, inasmuch as we have on repeated occasions maintained that every time a new State joins our Organization the principle of universality of the United Nations reaches further to its final fulfilment.

114. There are in fact a number of reasons why my delegation is pleased that Guinea-Bissau has been the beneficiary today of this recommendation by the Security Council. It is our firm hope that the next session of the General Assembly will complete the procedures necessary for its admission and that it will receive the approval of the entire international community.

115. One of the reasons that have encouraged my delegation has to do with the admirable tenacity with which the people of Guinea-Bissau, throughout a long struggle, has succeeded in winning its lawful right to exist as an independent and sovereign nation. There is in fact no reason why there should continue to exist anywhere in the world any form of colonial domination to the detriment of nations aspiring to self-determination. But it is also true that if a subjugated nation does not give expression to its yearning for independence, colonialism in that area may continue to exist for a long time.

116. With its admission to membership in the United Nations, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau will become one more small country forming part of our Organization, and this is an additional reason for the sympathy felt by my delegation.

117. It is worth while pondering somewhat the natural community of interests that the small countries share in protecting and supporting each other in a world in which the great and developed countries hold the greater power. Indeed, the domination of these latter are so great that when the United Nations was founded, special rights and prerogatives were granted to the five so-called great Powers.

It was firmly held at the time that a certain balance had to be established in order to maintain international peace and security, and that that balance had to be sought within a mechanism, and particularly in this Security Council, which made possible the taking of great decisions only through the agreement of the five great Powers.

118. Now without tampering with the balance of economic and military power which has been established, we must emphasize that peace and international security require assistance to another major area of the world: the poor and underdeveloped nations, which are overwhelmingly small countries. They are, in a sense, broad expanses of poverty and they are unstable—for there can be no stability in poverty—and they are potential sources of danger to international peace and security.

119. Today's world has shown us that to that assumption that came into existence with the United Nations—that only thanks to a certain understanding and harmony among the major Powers could world peace be preserved—we must add the proposition, which has been borne out by recent history, that peace can never truly be achieved without the determined participation of the small nations of the world. It is important for them all to be represented here in the United Nations, for they must be given a forum wherein they may set forth their problems and contribute to the maintenance of peace in the world, of which they form a part.

120. Costa Rica welcomes the emergence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to independent life. We wish its people and its leaders much success in the future, and indeed we look forward with pleasure to their forthcoming admission to the United Nations.

121. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): My delegation has been very glad to support the recommendation of the Committee on the Admission of New Members that the Council should recommend to the General Assembly that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau be admitted to membership of the United Nations. The Committee has carefully examined the application for membership that was submitted by the Chief Commissioner of the Council of State Commissioners of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Francisco Mendes, and has agreed unanimously that Guinea-Bissau is well qualified to become a Member of the United Nations. In this connexion we have taken note of the Chief Commissioner's solemn undertaking to accept the obligations set forth in the Charter and to carry them out.

122. The Australian Government has followed with deep interest and good will, both through its membership of the Special Committee on Decolonization and during the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the progress of Guinea-Bissau to independence, which it has now attained in spite of its tragic loss along the way of its first great leader, Amílcar Cabral. It was in order that the claims of Guinea-Bissau could be given the fullest hearing by the United Nations that my delegation supported the inscription of item 107 on the agenda of the last session of the General Assembly.⁶ On that occasion my delegation ex-

⁶ Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic.

pressed Australia's support for the aims and objectives of the national liberation movements striving to free the African peoples from colonialism, and looked forward to continuing contact between Australia and the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. This continuing contact was fully substantiated with the establishment of the Guinea-Bissau Observer Mission in New York and with the extension by the Australian Government of *de facto* recognition to Guinea-Bissau in June of this year.

123. The fact that Guinea-Bissau is today being recommended unanimously by this Council for membership in the United Nations results to a large extent, as we all recognize, from the dramatic transformation by Portugal of its policies towards the African Territories, a transformation that we had long sought. My Government has followed with close interest and understanding the rapid and constructive progress made in this direction since April of this year, and it took particular note of the communiqué issued in Lisbon on 3 August during the visit of the Secretary-General, in which Portugal's future intentions regarding its overseas Territories were elaborated. We have now learned, with approval, of the statement issued by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs on 11 August expressing the intention of Portugal to formalize the act of *de jure* recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in the near future, as soon as agreements between the Government of Portugal and the PAIGC for the progressive transfer of administration are concluded.

124. At 12.00 noon yesterday in Canberra, the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Don Willesee, announced the decision of the Australian Government to grant full *de jure* recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Recalling that Australia had already expressed its support of the aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau by extending *de facto* recognition to the Republic, Senator Willesee welcomed the decision of the Portuguese Government to recognize the new State in the near future. He said that Australia would support unreservedly Guinea-Bissau's admission to the United Nations and he expressed confidence that the cordial relations already established would be strengthened and amplified as Guinea-Bissau took its rightful place among the nations of the world.

125. Senator Willesee also looked forward with confidence to increasing momentum in the process of decolonization and the struggle against racism in southern Africa, and he appealed to all concerned to encourage an early and peaceful resolution of all the problems stemming from colonial occupation and racial abuse in that region. He added, in this connexion, that the declared intentions of the Portuguese Government in regard to the independence of its African Territories were particularly welcomed.

126. My delegation now looks forward to the early transformation of the Observer Mission of Guinea-Bissau into a Permanent Mission of a Member of the United Nations and we shall expect to continue and reinforce the cordial and fruitful contacts already established with its representatives.

127. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Speaking in my capacity as representative of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, I should like to express deep satisfaction at the Security Council's adoption of the decision to recommend to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly that the new and youngest African State—the Republic of Guinea-Bissau—be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

128. By this act yet another major step has been taken towards the complete emancipation of the African continent from colonial domination and its transformation into a continent of peoples free from colonial oppression, a continent of independent and sovereign States whose powerful voice is now heard clearly not only in the United Nations but also throughout the world.

129. Following the Leninist policy of the equality, freedom and independence of all peoples, the Soviet Union has consistently waged and continues to wage a struggle for the full, unconditional and final liquidation of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and for full equality of rights for all peoples, and that fact is well known to everybody. It is appropriate to recall in this connexion that more than 50 years ago the founder of the Soviet State, the great Lenin, gave the following instructions to the Soviet delegation to the international conference held at Genoa in 1922, in which the young Soviet Republic was participating for the first time. He wrote: "Our international programme should bring all oppressed colonial peoples into the international framework."

130. That is precisely why colonial peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and States that have embarked on the road of political independence and sovereignty have always found, continue to find and will always find that the Soviet Union is an ally and friend prepared to give the necessary assistance and support. Both bilaterally and in the United Nations, the Soviet Union has rendered and is constantly rendering consistent support to the developing States of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is well known that in its practical activity the USSR has always resolutely defended the oppressed peoples and has done everything possible to support their struggle for national liberation and independence. In confirmation of this I recall a statement made by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when he was awarded the International Lenin Prize "For strengthening peace among peoples". He stated:

"We have always believed, and believe today, that it is our inviolable duty, deriving from our communist convictions and our socialist morality, to give the broadest support to the peoples who are fighting for the just cause of freedom. This has always been so and always will be."

This is the Soviet Union's unchanging policy with regard to the colonial peoples' struggle for freedom and independence.

131. True to its policy of principle, the Soviet Union supported the heroic struggle of the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for complete liberation, freedom and national independence and gave it moral and political support and material assistance in its struggle. After the

proclamation of Guinea-Bissau's independence the Soviet Union immediately recognized that country as a new sovereign State and established diplomatic relations with it. Taking into account the relations of friendship and comprehensive co-operation which are developing between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the USSR also actively supported the application of the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for membership in the United Nations. The delegation of the USSR notes with satisfaction that the letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Chief Commissioner of the Council of State Commissioners of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau addressed to the Secretary-General stresses that "the Republic of Guinea-Bissau accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to carry out those obligations" [see S/11393].

132. Those who have sympathetically followed the fate of this country and have assisted the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau are well aware that the young and independent African State which we are today welcoming to membership in the United Nations was born in the fire of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa for the total liquidation of colonial domination in that continent. The people of that country have won their freedom as a result of their active and heroic armed struggle against colonial domination. In the struggle for the freedom of Guinea-Bissau a great son of that country's people, Amílcar Cabral, laid down his life; his name has already been mentioned here in the statements of a number of Security Council members. Many of us, including myself, met him and talked to him here in the United Nations and in Africa. We shall always remember that courageous revolutionary, that outstanding fighter against colonialism and for the freedom and independence of Guinea-Bissau and the freedom of all African peoples.

133. In September 1973, at its first session, the People's National Assembly, expressing the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau, solemnly proclaimed the independence of the State of Guinea-Bissau and approved its Constitution. The Constitution proclaims that Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign, democratic and anti-colonialist republic.⁷

134. The act proclaiming the independence of the State of Guinea-Bissau states that this country is building its relations with other States "on the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for national sovereignty, non-aggression and non-interference in internal affairs".⁸

135. It should be noted that the trend towards détente and the establishment of normal relations of co-operation among States with different social systems, which has become apparent in recent years as a result of the active joint efforts of the countries of the socialist community, is creating a more favourable situation for the national liberation movement and helping the peoples who are still

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 107, document A/9196 and Add.2, annex II, article 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, document A/9196 and Add.2, annex I.

under colonial oppression to throw off their colonial fetters and to gain independence and freedom.

136. All the progressive forces of the world have greeted the news of the birth of the new State with great satisfaction, quite rightly assessing its establishment as a new and important victory in the struggle of the African peoples for the complete liquidation of colonialism in Africa. At the twenty-eighth session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 3061 (XXVIII), welcomed the accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau, thereby creating the sovereign State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

137. The importance of the winning of national freedom and independence by the people of Guinea-Bissau can hardly be overstated. In a cable of congratulations to Aristides Pereira, General Secretary of PAIGC, on the occasion of the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev, stressed:

"The successes of the national liberation movement, inspired by your Party, constitute an important contribution to the struggle of the African peoples and of all anti-imperialist forces for the national liberation of oppressed peoples and for peace and social progress".

138. In their message of July of this year to the Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eleventh session, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N. V. Podgorny, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. N. Kosygin, noted that the year since the preceding session of OAU had been marked by major achievements of the African peoples in the struggle to consolidate their national sovereignty, to strengthen their political independence and economic self-sufficiency and to eliminate the last hotbeds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The message stated, among other things:

"The establishment of an independent African State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has been recognized by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, was an important achievement of the national liberation forces. The overthrow of the fascist régime in Portugal—and its collapse had, in large measure, been made inevitable by the successes of the national liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique—creates new and favourable conditions for the immediate exercise of the inalienable right of the peoples of these countries to sovereign and independent development."

139. In noting this connexion between the national liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola and the progressive changes in Portugal itself, one cannot help recalling the wise words of Karl Marx: "No people can be free if it oppresses other peoples".

140. In the short time since its creation, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has strengthened its international relations in every possible way. As has already been noted, it has gained

wide international recognition. Almost 90 States of the world have established diplomatic relations with it. The wide international prestige of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is also indicated by the fact that official statements of support for the admission of that State to membership in the United Nations have been received by the Security Council from 41 African States, the entire group of Asian countries in the United Nations, 20 Arab States and the entire group of non-aligned countries, whose Chairman, Ambassador Rahal, Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, has, as I have already reported, officially so notified the President of the Security Council on behalf of that group. In my capacity as Chairman of the group of socialist countries of Eastern Europe for August, I wish to announce officially that this group of countries also fully supports the admission of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations.

141. The young Republic has now securely entered the family of independent African States and has become a member of that important international body, the Organization of African Unity. The achievements and successes of the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in the social and economic development of the country are well known to the world.

142. The question of the membership of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in the United Nations was, of course, raised long ago by its broad participation in international life. This question was blocked until recently by the colonialist policy of the former fascist régime of Portugal and by a number of its allies and supporters in military and political blocs. The accession to power of the new Government in Portugal opens real possibilities for the liquidation of the hotbeds of tension and bastions of colonialism in southern Africa and creates new conditions for the realization of the right of the peoples who were formerly under Portugal's colonial domination to a sovereign and independent existence.

143. In this connexion the Soviet delegation welcomes the statement by the Government of Portugal concerning its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and also the recently published statement by the Government of Portugal concerning its readiness to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent State and to support its application for admission to membership in the United Nations.

144. In its foreign policy the Soviet Union unswervingly follows the teachings of the great Lenin: to strengthen its solidarity with the peoples struggling for national and social liberation and to give them the necessary assistance and support. This course has not been changed. It was again confirmed not very long ago by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and was reflected in the Programme of Peace and Friendship among Peoples which was confirmed by the Congress.

145. The recommendation of the Security Council that the General Assembly should admit the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations is an

important step which reflects the widespread recognition of this young independent State in Africa. We are convinced that in the very first days of the work of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly the Republic of Guinea-Bissau will enter the ranks of full-fledged Members of the United Nations. We shall joyfully welcome its representatives to the General Assembly and its organs and also to other United Nations organs and shall co-operate with them in the interests of strengthening peace and international security and liquidating the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism.

146. The USSR delegation expresses its conviction that in the near future the Security Council will also consider applications for the admission of other sovereign States which will be created in the territory of Portugal's former colonial possessions of Angola and Mozambique.

147. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the attainment of agreement between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on the establishment and development of relations of friendship and co-operation. This was reflected in a communiqué on the visit to the USSR of a State and Party delegation from the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in November 1973, in which the two parties made the following statement:

"After noting with satisfaction that the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau are successfully developing and growing stronger, the parties declared that they will continue to promote the expansion and co-operation between the two countries and to establish relations between their State and public organizations."

148. Before calling on the next speakers, I would like, in my capacity as PRESIDENT, to inform the members of the Security Council of the following. A letter from the representative of Morocco addressed to the President of the Security Council has been received; it contains a request that the Moroccan delegation should be invited to participate without the right to vote in the discussion of the item on the agenda for this meeting of the Council. In accordance with established practice and the provisional rules of procedure, I propose to invite the representative of Morocco to take part in the Council's consideration of the item under discussion without the right to vote.

It was so decided.

149. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I accordingly invite the distinguished representative of Morocco to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when his turn comes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. R. Lahlou (Morocco) took a place at the side of the Security Council Chamber.

150. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): A letter addressed to the President of the Security Council has

also been received from the Permanent Representative of Brazil, Ambassador Frazão; this letter has direct relevance to the item, now under discussion by the Council, concerning the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations. Since the letter was received in the course of the meeting and has not yet been issued as an official document, I shall ask the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs to read it out for the information of the Members of the Council.

151. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs): The letter reads:

[The speaker read the document which was subsequently distributed under the symbol S/11440.]

152. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The next speaker on my list for today's meeting is the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, also known as the Committee of 24. I invite the Chairman of that Committee, Ambassador Salim, to take the place reserved for him at the Council table and to make his statement.

153. Mr. SALIM (Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples): On behalf of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the opportunity to address the Security Council on this historic occasion on which we have just witnessed the unanimous acceptance by the Council of the application by the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to membership of the United Nations.

154. Allow me also to say, Mr. President, how happy and gratified I am to see you presiding over the deliberations of the Security Council on the occasion when the Council has adopted such an important decision. Your country's consistent and firm support for the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde for self-determination and independence is too well known to need elaboration. Your own personal commitment as a capable and effective representative of the Soviet Union espousing the cause of the colonial peoples in regard to self-determination and independence also needs no further elaboration.

155. The occasion is indeed a historic one, particularly for those of us in the Special Committee who have, since the inception of the Committee, followed closely the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau under the dynamic leadership of PAIGC towards the attainment of their complete liberation from the oppressive colonial rule and the ultimate proclamation in September last year of their full independence and national unity. That dramatic achievement followed more than a decade of suffering and bloodshed on the part of the people of the country through one of the most inhuman and brutal forms of repression ever perpetrated against a dependent people by a colonialist

régime. That momentous achievement demonstrated once and for all that colonial and alien domination of African peoples was doomed to irrevocable failure.

156. It is perhaps fitting for us today to pay a solemn tribute to those many gallant fighters of the colonial Territories who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of the freedom and liberty of their countries. Our particular thoughts go to our brother Amílcar Cabral, the former Secretary-General of PAIGC, a proud son of Africa, a great statesman of far-reaching views, for his outstanding contribution to the struggle for the emancipation of the colonial peoples. That we witness here today the initiation of action leading to the admission of Guinea-Bissau to membership of this Organization is itself a clear demonstration of the fact that the ideals to which Amílcar Cabral dedicated his life neither dissipated nor disappeared with him; on the contrary, these ideals continue to inspire many millions in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Namibia, Zimbabwe and elsewhere who are still suffering under colonial domination and yearning for their freedom and independence. It is such ideals and those of other heroes of African freedom like Eduardo Mondlane, the first President of FRELIMO, that ultimately brought Portuguese fascism to its graveyard on 25 April last. For who can deny the fact that it is the determination and dedication of the courageous peoples of the Portuguese-dominated Territories that have at last brought about the long-desired changes in the policies of Portugal, underscoring once again the fact that no repression, no violence, no murder could arrest the irreversible tide of the liberation struggle?

157. The victory achieved by the people of Guinea-Bissau is a great inspiration to all those engaged in the struggle for the liberation of the continent of Africa, particularly in those parts of Africa which are still under colonial domination. It gives the people of Africa fresh hope that their goal of the total liberation of the continent will soon be realized. The victory we are celebrating will help to strengthen and intensify the liberation struggle in the remaining colonial Territories. Above all, this is a victory for the people of Africa and the people elsewhere in the world who are fighting for justice. It is no less a victory for the Portuguese people.

158. Yet it is important to underscore the fact that the Security Council's recommendation today favouring the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations constitutes only part of the triumph of the people. Total triumph can come only with the final liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in the islands of Cape Verde and the attainment of unity between the people of Guinea-Bissau and those of Cape Verde. The objective of an independent and united State of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde has been the goal of PAIGC from its very inception. For the past 18 years PAIGC, under the able leadership first of Amílcar Cabral and now of its other distinguished leaders, has been pursuing this objective without equivocation. For more than 12 years an armed struggle has been waged in Guinea-Bissau. While there has been no armed struggle in the islands of Cape Verde, the degree of commitment to independence and unity has been no less emphatic, as reflected in the underground political organization and

mass mobilization of the people in the islands under the leadership of PAIGC.

159. Therefore it is my fervent hope that the Government of Portugal will take the necessary measures to decolonize the islands of Cape Verde and create conditions leading to the unification of the islands with the State whose membership in our Organization has today been recommended by the Security Council. Aware as I am of the firm determination of PAIGC to struggle by every available means against all attempts to create obstacles in the path of the freedom and unity of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, I wish to launch an earnest appeal to the Government of Portugal, whose goodwill we all welcome, to follow the road of decolonization to its logical conclusion and not to waver or succumb to temptations which can only create obstacles and cause unnecessary suffering.

160. It is no exaggeration to state that the evolving situation in Portugal and the categorical statements made by the Government of that country in recent days give great hope for optimism. In this connexion, I should like to note with particular satisfaction the recent communication received by the Secretary-General from the Government of Portugal setting out specific policies with respect to the Territories concerned. I believe this is a very positive communication. We pay a tribute to the people of Portugal for making such a communication possible. It is my sincere hope that the contents of that communication will be put into concrete action with the minimum possible delay. As with my appeal on the question of Cape Verde, I should like now to state in most emphatic terms that the time is now right for that Government to proceed forthwith, as it has undertaken so to do, to the speedy conclusion of the talks with the national liberation movements, the authentic representatives of the people, with a view to the expeditious transfer of power to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

161. Experience has taught us that the liberation movements are more than ready to assume their responsibilities. Needless to say, they have demonstrated the same resilience and determination in favour of genuine negotiations as they have shown when they have been compelled to engage in an armed struggle. But we are passing through a very delicate time when trust and good faith are equally important in an effort to bring to an end the 300 years of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. In that respect, nothing should be done to create doubts among the people of the Territories concerned as to the true intentions of the colonial Power. Much has been said of the possibility of holding a referendum. We take note of the fact that that issue is now almost dead. It cannot and could not be otherwise. For how can one seriously ask the people of Mozambique, the people of Angola and the peoples of the Islands of Cape Verde—after so much suffering and after making so many sacrifices for their freedom—whether or not they want that freedom? To paraphrase an eloquent statement made recently by our brother Samora Machel, the distinguished President of FRELIMO, how can you ask a slave who has already revolted whether or not he wants his freedom? Indeed, if I may refer to an analogy nearer home, I could say that asking the colonial people whether or not they

want their freedom is like asking the people of Portugal whether or not they want fascism in the aftermath of the events of 25 April. The Armed Forces Movement and the people of Portugal in general have categorically rejected fascism. That, indeed, was a referendum. Similarly, by organizing resistance, by taking up arms, the people of the Portuguese-dominated Territories have in no uncertain terms conveyed the message to Portugal, and indeed to the world, that they want liberation and not continued servitude. There should therefore be no equivocation on that point.

162. History is in the making. Those of us in the Special Committee rejoice at the changes that are taking place while being vigilant concerning any manoeuvres directed at thwarting the irreversible tide of liberation. We welcome the impending admission of Guinea-Bissau to the Organization as a common victory for the forces of freedom and humanity. We welcome the decision of the Government of Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations and in particular with the Special Committee in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

163. Our expectations and our hopes are that very soon we shall see the creation of the conditions in free Cape Verde defining the process of union between the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde in accordance with their legitimate aspirations and in conformity with the position adopted by the PAIGC from the beginning of the resistance. We are also confident that in the very near future your august Council will be considering the admission of Mozambique, under FRELIMO's undisputed leadership, and Angola, under the able leadership of their national liberation movements. Then we can all bear witness to a new chapter, a more positive chapter, a more dynamic chapter, in Africa's history and, indeed, in the history of Portugal—an era of friendship and co-operation between sovereign peoples.

164. I cannot conclude this statement without referring to the continued struggle and suffering of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. We at the United Nations should take this opportunity once again to pledge our continued support for and solidarity with the determined peoples of those Territories for the restoration of their fundamental human rights and the attainment of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. The international community should continue to bring pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia until such time as the total emancipation of the African peoples of the Territories has been achieved. Indeed, let the victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau serve as a warning to all those engaged in activities which are intended to frustrate the liberation struggle.

165. In expressing my appreciation to you, Mr. President, and to the members of the Council, for having invited me to take part in this discussion, I should like on behalf of the Special Committee to extend the Committee's warmest congratulations and best wishes to the new Republic on this occasion. We look forward to close collaboration with Guinea-Bissau in the work of the United Nations and

elsewhere towards the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

166. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the Chairman of the Special Committee for his statement and for the kind words which he addressed to me.

167. I now give the floor to the representatives of States which are not members of the Security Council wishing to speak at today's meeting. The first speaker on my list is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take the place reserved for him at the Council table and to make his statement.

168. Mr. VEIGA SIMÃO (Portugal): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your assuming the office of President of the Security Council for the month of August. I believe this is the tenth time you have been in this position, which shows how much of your life has been dedicated to the United Nations. By a fortunate coincidence, it was during this month that, following the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries after 50 years of separation, the President of the Republic of Portugal received the credentials of the new Soviet Ambassador to Lisbon.

169. I wish also to express to all the other members of the Security Council our deepest appreciation for being given the opportunity to address this meeting and also for the kind words many of the speakers have said about Portugal, its history and people.

170. The item on the Council's agenda—the application of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission to membership in the United Nations—is of historic importance to my country. Portugal sits before the highest organ of the Organization for the first time since the action taken by the Armed Forces Movement which restored democracy and freedom to 25 million people. Since 25 April, the Portuguese have been opening large and creative ways of modern democracy with faith and enthusiasm. It is the second Republic, under the leadership of President Spínola.

171. The programme of the Armed Forces Movement can be completely identified with the deep roots of democratic belief that have lived and never died in the heart of every Portuguese citizen, from the humble peasant in the most remote village to the intellectuals in academic societies.

172. As an obvious and logical consequence of that programme, our Head of State has proclaimed to the nation, in his historic message of 27 July, following the publication of a Constitutional Law by the Council of State, the right of the Portuguese Territories to self-determination and independence. This means that the Portuguese Government has started the decolonization process with the immediate acceptance of the right to political independence of the Territories under Portuguese administration on terms and dates to be decided by mutual consent.

173. As a token of democratic authenticity, Portugal will welcome the presence of United Nations observers in any electoral process to be carried out in those Territories.

174. The peoples shall be the masters of their own destinies, in freedom, peace and social justice.

175. Due to the fact that the conditions prevailing in each Territory are of different natures, it is only obvious that the ways for carrying out the process of decolonization will not be the same for all of them but will depend on specific circumstances.

176. The Portuguese Revolution of Flowers is a source of life, not a source of war or death. As in the past, when the Portuguese revealed new worlds to the old world, new nations are about to be born of Portugal, and we hope that those nations will stand for democracy and will be examples of non-racial societies where every citizen will have equal opportunities and where religion or colour will not be a cause of discrimination but will, instead, bring about creative dialogue in a permanent and fruitful contact among cultures.

177. It is in this context that, on behalf of my Government, I reaffirm our obligations with regard to the Charter of the United Nations and pledge full and close co-operation with its organs.

178. The Portuguese Government is prepared to develop the process of decolonization, to supply all the information requested by Article 73 *e* of the Charter, and to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and other relevant resolutions concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration.

179. In this regard, the communication presented by the Portuguese Foreign Minister to the Secretary-General during his historic visit to Lisbon is very clear: we are prepared immediately to transfer the administration to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, to accelerate the decolonization of the Cape Verde Islands in close co-operation with the competent organs of the United Nations, and to enter into formal negotiations with all the other liberation movements.

180. The programme of action sketched out by the President of the Republic can be compared, in its greatness, its responsibility and its love of humanity, to the gallant years of the epic Portuguese discoveries. From that speech I quote the following words of hope and faith:

"If, in the life and history of a nation, we can speak of a momentous hour, then it is surely when that nation recovers its vocation, its true physiognomy, its real personality, its genuine attitude to the world around it. Today this great hour has struck for Portugal. It is with the liveliest emotion that, before the Portuguese people, at home and overseas, in perfect coherence with our historic traditions and the ideals with which they have inspired us, I make the formal statement that the time has come to recognize the right of the populations of our overseas Territories to take their future into their own hands."

181. No people has suffered more deeply than the Portuguese through the mistakes made during 13 years of an endless and inglorious war. That war is now being

brought to an end, and in the case of Guinea-Bissau the forces on both sides are behaving as comrades-in-arms of sister nations of the Portuguese-speaking world.

182. Concerning the admission of Guinea-Bissau as a Member of the United Nations, I have the honour of reading the following message of my Government as presented in a letter addressed to you, Mr. President, by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Mário Soares [S/11438]:

"In the programmatic speech of the President of the Republic on 27 July last, and in the communication delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Portugal unequivocally expressed its free volition to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

"The recognition *de jure* of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau by Portugal will be effected at an early date. In keeping with this, necessary measures will be instituted for the purpose, once the agreements regarding the progressive transfer of administration, presently going on between the Portuguese Government and the PAIGC, have been definitely concluded.

"In these circumstances, the Portuguese Government, in agreement with the PAIGC, addressed a request to all friendly and allied countries to proceed with the immediate recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and facilitate the admission to the United Nations of this third Portuguese-speaking nation."

In fact, the Foreign Minister of Portugal has called on all the Ambassadors accredited in Lisbon to make this view known, and I understand that a number of friendly nations have announced their recognition in the last two days. The letter continues:

"The Portuguese Government wishes further to publicly express its intention of withdrawing, as rapidly as possible, its military effectives from the territory of Guinea-Bissau, leaving there, and that temporarily, only such of them as may be requested and determined by free and mutual agreement.

"The Portuguese Government stresses its intention, shared by the PAIGC, to establish and develop relations of active co-operation with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in the economic, cultural, technical, and other fields, on the basis of independence, mutual respect, equality and reciprocity of interests and harmonious relations between the citizens of the two Republics."

183. We are sure that in this way our country is making a solid contribution to peace and is once again writing a page in the history of mankind. We are proud in joining all the nations that stand for democratic ideals.

184. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Portugal for his statement and for his kind words about the Soviet Union and its representative in the Security Council.

185. The next speaker on the list is the representative of Somalia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

186. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): I thank you, Mr. President and all the members of the Council, very much for giving me this opportunity to address the Council on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Republic, Jaalle Mohammed Siad Barre.

187. Mr. President, first of all allow me to congratulate you on behalf of the Chairman of the OAU on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. I am confident that your wisdom and long experience will provide the necessary means of leadership to expedite the handling of the issues which are being brought to the consideration of the Council during the period of your chairmanship. I wish, on this occasion, to assure you and the members of the Council of the unqualified co-operation of the Organization of African Unity.

188. It gives me great pleasure to see your delegation presiding over the Council at the moment when admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is being discussed by the Council. This is significant because it was your delegation which was the prime mover of the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), as a result of which a large number of countries attained their independence and are today full-fledged Members of the United Nations.

189. However, this does not mean that the struggle for the total liquidation of the domination of man by man, whatever may be its degree or form, is over. It was for this reason that the Organization of African Unity, on whose behalf my country has the honour to speak, has taken right from the very beginning a firm and unswerving position with a view to liberating all countries and peoples from the yoke of foreign domination. The Organization of African Unity is particularly committed, as can be seen from the Lusaka and Mogadiscio Declarations, as well as from all the OAU summit meetings, to the freedom of those parts of Africa which are still subjected to the most obnoxious and nefarious type of domination—racial discrimination—and of the monstrosity of *apartheid*.

190. In this connexion, the OAU is pleased to note with gratification the invaluable efforts made by the Secretary-General for the implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions. I should be failing in my duty if I did not place on record, with equal appreciation, the special tribute due to the Committee on Decolonization, the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia for the commendable work they have done in their respective areas of activity designed to co-ordinate the efforts of the United Nations and the OAU for effective assistance to the liberation movements. These joint efforts have brought about remarkable achievements.

191. Last but not least, I wish to acknowledge the all-important role played by the non-aligned countries. Also, we cannot but recognize with deep gratitude the

contributions and assistance, both moral and material, given by many individual countries and non-governmental organizations to the liberation movements in their struggle for independence.

192. All the aforesaid efforts and contributions were not complementary, it should be emphasized, to the tremendous efforts, sacrifices and continuous struggles made and still being made by the peoples of the Territories concerned.

193. I should like to note that, as I am sure members of the Council are well aware, over 80 States Members of the United Nations had recognized the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau prior to the recent and well-received declaration of the new Government of Portugal. As of now, more than two thirds of the Member States have extended their recognition to this Republic. As a result, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau already enjoys full membership of the OAU and as such was elected to a vice-presidency at the recent OAU summit conference held in Mogadiscio. It is also a member of several specialized agencies of the United Nations.

194. The admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the community of nations will further enhance the principle of universality enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. I am therefore very happy to associate myself with those who took the floor before me in extending to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau my heartfelt congratulations on this happy event and to welcome the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as it comes among us in the assurance that it will make useful contributions to the work of the United Nations.

195. It is also our earnest hope that Mozambique, Angola and the other African Territories still under Portuguese control will join the United Nations as full-fledged members by the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. The attainment of their independence and their subsequent admission to the United Nations of those Territories will doubtlessly accelerate the process of eradicating foreign domination in all its ignoble forms from the remaining African territories, and especially from the southern part of the continent, where the last vestiges of fascism, *apartheid* and intolerable human injustices are perpetrated daily by unlawful minority régimes against the legitimate inhabitants of the area.

196. It is our belief that the recent radical change, since 25 April 1974, in Portugal's position vis-à-vis the African Territories under its administration will herald the opening of a new spirit of co-operation and understanding. While it is not our intention to underestimate the significant role played by the Government of Portugal, it would also be unfair not to recognize the great contribution which the liberation movements have made to bringing about such a change, a change which will be beneficial to both Portugal and the African Territories concerned. Had this change taken place earlier, the substantial loss of human life and property could have been avoided. Nevertheless, as the saying goes, "better late than never". We sincerely welcome the change and believe that without that change in Portugal's policy such losses would have continued unnecessarily.

197. In view of this new climate, I would like to quote the following cable sent by my President, Jaalle Siad, in his capacity as the current Chairman of the OAU, to the President of the Government of Portugal, General António de Spínola, on 28 July 1974:

"Your recognition of the independence of Guinea-Bissau, as well as your stated intention of granting independence to Mozambique, Angola and the other Territories under your administration, is the beginning of the restoration of normal relations not only between your country and the continent of Africa but in particular, between Portugal and the peoples of those Territories.

"This well-intentioned step will, without the shadow of a doubt, result in a new and ever-lasting spirit of co-operation and comprehension between Africa and Portugal.

"This new spirit will replace the hideous colonial era of those Territories of the last 500 years by a spirit of co-operation and understanding and will also contribute to the achievement of international peace and security.

"It is my sincere hope that the others who are depriving African and other peoples all over the world of their basic human rights will follow this new and realistic approach of the new Government of Portugal so that peace and prosperity will at last reign throughout the world, and mankind will achieve the long-cherished goal of living together in peace and respect."

198. Here it is fitting to point out that this spirit of co-operation and understanding, which my President has emphasized, are the direct confirmation of the objectives and ideals which the late Amílcar Cabral, the founder of the PAIGC, advocated and for which he died. The realization of these objectives has also been at the great loss of many leaders and many other freedom fighters of the liberation movements, and I wish to honour here and now all those who have paid with their lives in the supreme and just cause. Although they are dead, the names of these heroes will find their proper place in the annals of history.

199. Before concluding, I wish to welcome the statement just made by the representative of the Portuguese Government, in which he formally pledged the Portuguese Government to continue negotiations with the leaders of other African Territories under Portugal's administration in order to reach an immediate solution for the independence of those Territories.

200. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Somalia for his statement and for his kind words about the Soviet Union and its representative in the Security Council. I am also grateful to him for pointing out that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted by the United Nations on the initiative of the Soviet Union.

201. I invite the representative of Togo to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

202. Mr. TOGBE (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to speak in my capacity as President of the African Group for the present month.

203. At this meeting when the Security Council has considered the application for admission to the United Nations submitted by the sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the African Group, through me, wishes first of all to express its sincere gratitude to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Council and to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the very special diligence which you have shown in your consideration of this application for membership. The unanimity which has emerged in the Council is an indication of the decisive effects of your work.

204. In recommending to the forthcoming General Assembly session the admission of Guinea-Bissau to United Nations membership as a sovereign and independent State, the Security Council has taken a timely and apt decision in accordance with resolution 3061 (XXVIII) adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. That resolution clearly recognizes the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau, certain sectors of which were and remain illegally occupied by the foreign troops of Portugal.

205. The people of Guinea-Bissau won their independence with courage and an unshakable determination to resist to the end a redoubtable and contemptuous colonialist invader that was driven to commit the worst follies by the very prospect of its imminent defeat.

206. The people of Guinea-Bissau, in requesting admission to the United Nations, are asking for no more than the solemn and unequivocal recognition of their right to live in freedom and in peace, like all other Members of our Organization. That right cannot be the subject of any form of bargaining, for it is the cornerstone of our Organization, which does not recognize that any people has the right to dominate any other.

207. Even now as we are speaking the war is still going on in Guinea-Bissau. Enemy troops continue to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a free and peace-loving State. That is a contradictory and an unacceptable situation, one which requires that the Security Council reach a firm and speedy decision. It must, as a prior condition, order the immediate and complete evacuation of Portuguese troops from Guinea-Bissau. This is an excellent opportunity to test the good faith of the present leaders of Portugal who, after their recent talks with the Secretary-General, have declared that they are prepared fully to co-operate with our Organization with respect to the implementation of the provisions of the Charter.

208. The brilliant victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau over colonialism and its advocates represents an important and encouraging stage in the liberation of the African continent from all foreign domination. It is an eloquent example for all freedom fighters who are struggling for their freedom in Africa and elsewhere.

209. The present situation in Angola and Mozambique with the number of interracial incidents and confrontations over the past few days spur us to redouble our efforts and remain vigilant, because Portuguese imperialism and colonialism and their henchmen have not yet laid down their arms in Africa, and they are always prepared on any pretext to sow division, hatred and terror.

210. Today, all of Africa welcomes with pride the victory of these courageous freedom fighters. It pays a solemn and worthy tribute to the memory of all its heroes, and particularly to Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, and Eduardo Mondlane, Secretary-General of FRELIMO, both of whom were assassinated in a cowardly manner. It reaffirms once again its complete and unswerving support for the young Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and indeed for all the recognized African liberation movements.

211. The torch of freedom will continue to burn brightly everywhere in Africa until its complete liberation from the forces of foreign domination wherever they may be.

212. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Togo for his statement and for the kind words which he addressed to me.

213. The next speaker on my list is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

214. Mr. TALEB-BENDIAB (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, as representative of Algeria and on behalf of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries in the United Nations, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for allowing me to take part in the work of the Council concerning the application of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for membership in the United Nations. May I also say how pleased we are to see this meeting presided over by the representative of a great country which is a friend of ours and with which Algeria maintains friendly and fruitful relations.

215. The question now before the Council is of paramount importance for the non-aligned countries, which have always fought for the independence of peoples under colonial domination and exploitation. In their declaration on the struggle for national liberation, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, who met in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, stressed *inter alia* the following:

"The policy of non-alignment, one of the main aims of which is the struggle for independence and the safeguarding of national sovereignty, fully identifies with the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples against all forms of domination and exploitation."

That policy has always been based upon the fundamental principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and our policy of promoting the emancipation of the peoples of the world.

216. We can therefore only be pleased when the Security Council unanimously adopts a decision to recommend to

the General Assembly the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership of the United Nations. The history of that country, which has been marked by struggles and sacrifices, reminds us of how futile it is to obstruct the march of a people who are determined to win their freedom and national independence. That decision is quite justifiably the end result of the just struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau, who have constantly been supported by countless peoples of the world who cherish justice and peace. It also reflects a tangible fact, as a majority of Member States in our Organization have already recognized the independence of that young State.

217. We are pleased to emphasize the positive developments of the policy of the Government of Portugal, which has expressed its intention of co-operating with the United Nations in implementing the principles set forth in the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly intended to close a painful and depressing chapter in the history of colonialism. It is our hope, however, that the Portuguese Government will, without any ambiguity, give concrete expression to those policies in all areas under Portuguese domination.

218. We also wish to state that we greatly appreciate the efforts of the Organization and the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to implement the many decisions of our Organization on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples that are still under the colonial yoke.

219. We are very pleased to say that the decision just adopted by the Security Council is a source of great satisfaction to us. We welcome it and we shall have an opportunity to convey to the representatives of the fraternal country of Guinea-Bissau, a member of the family of non-aligned countries, our congratulations when the General Assembly confirms the recommendation of the Council.

220. I also wish to express the hope that the step just taken by the Security Council, which is most definitely following the course of history, will be taken in relation also to all other countries that are still under colonial domination.

221. The non-aligned countries will spare no effort in continuing to give their support to and expressing their solidarity with all those peoples that are fighting for their freedom and independence, and we shall be guided by a desire to promote peace and justice throughout the world.

222. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Algeria for the kind words about the Soviet Union.

223. I now invite the representative of Guinea to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

224. Mr. MADDY (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, as the Security Council gives favourable consideration to the request for admission to the United Nations of the independent State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, allow me on behalf of my delegation to

congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. I need not recall here the relations of friendship and of frank collaboration which have existed for years between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

225. The Security Council, the fundamental role of which is to preserve international peace and security through respect for the inalienable rights of peoples and States, has today taken yet another step of utmost historic importance. In recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the free State of Guinea-Bissau as a full-fledged Member of our Organization, we are repairing an injustice which my country, the Republic of Guinea, has always denounced.

226. If yesterday the theoreticians of colonialism could calmly and in the language of hatred speak or write in a vain attempt to evade the fact that oppression of man by man is an injustice which accumulates in memory and thus is ever present in men's minds, it is certain that today, more than ever before, the struggle for dignity proves that enslavement is for us all a disease for which there is only one treatment, freedom. In this regard the solemn act of 24 September 1973 at Madina-Boé speaks for itself.

227. There is no need to review the fighting and the struggle in which the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique have been engaged and are still engaged. We are sufficiently familiar with the fact that they were at the root of the events which took place on 24 April last, events which brought freedom and peace to the people of Portugal. In requesting admission to the United Nations, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau intends to help strengthen that peace which is so dear to us all. Did it not declare on 24 September 1973, in proclaiming its independence, that it accepted the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertook to discharge those obligations? The recognition of that country by more than 90 States Members of our Organization is proof that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is ready to co-operate in a frank and loyal manner with all States without distinction.

228. Freedom is like the light of the sun. It shines for everyone. Whoever tries to keep it for himself will have the least of it. Need I recall that all too often civilizations, after playing a predominant role in social development, have seen their values deteriorate and their influence shrink? Yet the causes of this decline of a civilization are none other than its own inability to adapt to the conditions and the changes flowing directly from developments which it has itself initiated. Such has been the tragedy of many colonial Powers, and such will be the fate of those who still turn deaf ears to the will of the peoples.

229. Beyond the traditional procedure which the Security Council is accomplishing today, we are promoting the equitable and dynamic progress of all peoples whose aspirations to sovereignty, independence, happiness and security are the prime movers of universal progress and the positive forces of development in world society. At the same time, we bow respectfully to the memory of all those

who laid down their lives for peace. In this glorious list of heroes, the figure of the late lamented Amílcar Cabral is ever present. Speaking to the seventh graduating class of the Gamal Abdel Nasser Polytechnic Institute in Conakry on 6 October 1973, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, the Guinean Head of State, said:

"The name that your class will bear, and which you must earn through your unconditional dedication to Africa and the socialist revolution, is that of the immortal fighter who, with outstanding courage, unquenchable resolution and vigorous loyalty to the objectives of the national liberation of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands under Portuguese colonial domination, gave his life so that Africa might live in freedom, dignity and prosperity. That name is the name of the founder of PAIGC, Comrade Amílcar Cabral."

230. With the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Africa and the other Member States of the United Nations, true to the fundamental principles of the Charter, will henceforward provide the proof that we wish to assume all our responsibilities in order to demonstrate that there is no superior race and no man of providence that can delay the prodigious acceleration of the process of the liberation of peoples.

231. Today, no matter how praiseworthy our efforts, they could not be complete or in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Charter if tomorrow Mozambique, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands were not quickly to rejoin the international community of independent countries. The same would be true if the elementary rights of Africans were to continue to be flouted in Rhodesia, in Namibia and in South Africa—to mention only those instances.

232. For the Republic of Guinea and brother African States, to accord unreserved support to the candidature of the sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau is more than a duty. It is to preserve their own dignity, their personality and their specific identity through what is greatest in man, freedom. Our peoples, historically united by the same misdeeds, marked by the same deficiencies, concerned by the same needs and cherishing the same hopes, have a vast potential wealth, and that is their capacity to expand their creative abilities, their authority and their desire to live in freedom, conceived as the means to ensure quickly a human progress commensurate with their ambitions.

233. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Guinea for his statement and for his kind words about the Soviet Union. I fully share his views concerning the friendly and fraternal relations existing between our two countries.

234. I invite the representative of Yugoslavia to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

235. Mr. JOB (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, may I first thank you and the Council for the decision to invite me to participate in the discussion of Guinea-Bissau's application for membership in the United Nations.

236. I should like to commence this short intervention by complimenting the Council on the historic and unanimous

decision it has taken today to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the heroic and trail-blazing Republic of Guinea-Bissau into the United Nations. That in itself makes this a great day and a great event to be both celebrated and taken as a most profound lesson.

237. It was very gratifying that the representative of Portugal, Ambassador José Veiga Simão, was able to state here his Government's support for the admission of Guinea-Bissau and that the Government of Portugal made that possible by its recent positive statement.

238. Let me also underline the constructive and dynamic contribution of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

239. The pending admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is a historic victory for Guinea-Bissau, for all our brothers, African nations united in the Organization of African Unity, for the whole non-aligned movement, for all those who fought and are fighting colonialism in any form anywhere, and for those who came to recognize that one cannot enslave without becoming a slave and that in our world the liquidation of one's own colonial rule and yoke over others is the only way for one to have a decent life and to command the respect one always wants and needs from the decent international community.

240. It is incumbent upon me, the representative of a country that survived, asserted its independence and was liberated through our own war of national liberation, to stress that we who are present here would not be able to sit around this table and celebrate the Council's just decision were it not for the heroism and sacrifice of the fighters of PAIGC, both dead and alive. And here the name of Amílcar Cabral stands out both as a fighting memory and as an exacting inspiration. Without their epic struggle, no developments such as the ones we are all happy about would take place. The positive evolution that took place in Portugal is itself a confirmation of the rightness of struggle, of wars of national liberation, of maintaining unremitting pressure and of springs of decency and constructive realism surviving even the longest night.

241. My delegation would like to express here our firm expectation that the negotiations will result in finding a formula containing a speedy, peaceful solution for the problem of the Cape Verde Islands in the context of the unity of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

242. It goes without saying that there is an equally firm expectation on our part that the Government of Portugal will on the basis of its declared policies make it possible, by appropriate deeds, for the Security Council soon to adopt recommendations similar to that of today concerning Mozambique and Angola also.

243. The present phase of success in the anti-colonial struggle—and we want it to be that way, and we are prepared to contribute by all means, as we always have—marks the beginning of the end. We have always considered it one struggle cross-linked, one front where any success or breakthrough in one sector leads to successes and victories in another. Nothing is isolated, and we must not permit a

situation to arise in which a movement in one part is accompanied by a freeze in another part. That is why Guinea-Bissau must be followed without delay by Mozambique and Angola and others. It is also why we are sure that, after the tremendous change in what were Portuguese colonies, our collective ability—the ability of the United Nations with respect to Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe and sanctions, Namibia, and *apartheid* in South Africa—is ten times greater than heretofore.

244. There is no need for me here today to explain how much the Yugoslav Government and the peoples of Yugoslavia cherish today's decision of the Council or to stress the warmth of their admiration for and congratulations to the representatives of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The Council is well aware of Yugoslavia's role in the fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism, imperialism and hegemony of any kind. We were fortunate in contributing what we could to the Council's historic meetings in Addis Ababa in 1972. We recognized the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, our brothers, on the very first day.

245. We pledge anew our solidarity with, and our support and assistance for, the national liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and others. We are sure that the success of their action today constitutes the best implementation of the decisions of its Fourth Conference of Heads of States or Government of Non-aligned Countries in Algeria last year, and that the new member of the non-aligned movement brings new added strength to it, soon to be followed by others.

246. Let me end, then, with a word about our world Organization. The fighters and Government of Guinea-Bissau know what a potent force on their side they had and have in the United Nations. Now the United Nations must continue doing for others what it has done and is doing for Guinea-Bissau. Their swelling of our ranks means the infusion of new strength into our Organization in its progress towards full universality.

247. This Organization is, then, uniquely endowed, motivated and obligated to wage a constant fight to keep the interests of the huge majority of States and peoples on the priority agenda of all decision-making processes and factors in the world and to wage a constant fight to prevent those interests being relegated to any low-priority shelves. That remains the only basis from which we can conduct any struggle to prevent the United Nations itself from being pushed aside to the margins of world politics. The prevention of that is in the vital interest, perceived or unperceived, of everyone. It is for that reason that Guinea-Bissau's struggle was a contribution to us all for our common good and security.

248. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I invite the representative of Morocco to take a place at the Security Council table and to make a statement.

249. Mr. LAHLOU (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Thank you, Mr. President. I believe I should be brief. On the occasion of this event of such great importance—consideration of the application of Guinea-Bissau for membership in the United Nations—the voices to

be heard are not just those of the representatives who have spoken. Indeed, there are very many other countries which, because they are members of certain groups or organizations, have explicitly or implicitly asked those who have spoken to represent them in the consideration of the matter before the Council. We think that is a good procedure. It certainly does show the cohesion which exists in the African Group at Headquarters. It is also an expression of the African unity embodied in the Organization of African Unity and of the harmony which reigns among the non-aligned countries.

250. It is difficult for my delegation to find the right words to convey our pleasure at seeing Guinea-Bissau, a free and sovereign country, coming to our Organization and joining us for the greater glory of the principles of the Charter. After a long and painful struggle, that country will in the near future mobilize its efforts to promote the economic and social development of its people. The co-operation of all countries will surely be extended to it, and first and foremost the co-operation of Portugal. A people cannot be accused of being intrinsically colonialist; colonialism is but the extension of a hateful past, a past that has been dark for some, benevolent for others, but a past which, under the rule of the United Nations, cannot be to the advantage of anyone.

251. "Conversation has its ramifications", says an Arab proverb. I believe that one member of the Council allowed himself to go off into ramifications. He brought up another case of colonialism, the Sahara. In fact, if my last idea is accepted, it must also be accepted that for a part of the territory of Morocco to remain under foreign domination is an anachronistic and a shocking fact. That, furthermore, is a matter that is well known to the Members of the United Nations, for the subject has constantly been before the United Nations ever since Morocco regained its independence in 1955. Ever since that date Morocco has consistently called for the restoration of its territorial integrity and the return of a part of its national territory.

252. Our claim is based primarily on irrefutable political and juridical considerations. When, in 1912, Morocco, at the end of its strength, was among the last to yield to the wave of colonialism, it assured the integrity of its territory in protectorate agreements that it was obliged to sign with the colonial Power. The protectorate broke up our territory into zones of influence, but the sovereignty of the King of Morocco over the entirety of his territory was never contested. Following the signing of a convention with Spain on 27 November 1912, a zone of Spanish influence was created over the regions to the south and north of the Moroccan territory, Sakia El-Hamra and Río de Oro, which was administered in the name of the Caliphate of the Sultan, that is, in the name of the representative of the King of Morocco.

253. It is true that in the north-west region of Africa there is a desire to create a solid entity, the Arab Maghreb. My country has always worked to bring about the achievement of that unity and sought to establish peaceful boundaries with our neighbours. Nothing, then, is more legitimate today than that we should count on the solidarity of those

neighbours to support us in the course we have entered upon to ensure the complete unity of our territory. In accordance with the principles of the Charter, my Sovereign, my Government and the people of Morocco have firmly resolved to recover that cherished part of our Sahara, and for this we prefer, over all other means, that of negotiation.

254. Finally, Mr. President, the Morocco delegation recognizes in you one who has always supported the struggle of oppressed peoples for their freedom. We likewise welcome the historic decision just taken by the Council over which you preside. We hail the courageous people of Guinea-Bissau, on this day which the news agencies have described as D-Day for Guinea-Bissau. We pay a deeply-felt tribute to the memory of the martyrs who selflessly shed their blood for the freedom of all of Africa, first and foremost the African hero Amílcar Cabral.

255. It is a source of deep joy for my country, which has always stood side by side with the fighters for freedom of Guinea-Bissau, to see that country join the concert of nations. We offer them our most heartfelt congratulations.

256. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that the President has received a request from the representative of Cyprus that the delegation of Cyprus should be given an opportunity to speak at today's meeting on the question under discussion. In accordance with established practice and the provisional rules of procedure, and in the absence of objections, I intend to invite the representative of Cyprus to participate without the right to vote in the Council's consideration of the question.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Z. Rossides (Cyprus) took a place at the Council table.

257. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Before calling on the representative of Cyprus, I shall give the floor to the representative of Mauritania, a member of the Council.

258. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): This is not a case of formally exercising the right of reply; quite the reverse, indeed, because it is not the custom of my delegation to exercise the right of reply against anyone in the United Nations, and particularly against the representative of a friendly country with which my country maintains very close relationships of brotherhood and co-operation.

259. I simply wanted to repeat what I said at the beginning of this meeting. I said that what we are now doing in the Security Council is an event of considerable importance. It is an event which will certainly have a significant impact on decolonization in general and on decolonization in Africa in particular. We voiced the hope that this event will give the necessary impetus so that all oppressed peoples, and especially the African peoples, that are still struggling for their freedom may succeed in recovering that freedom together with their dignity.

260. It was in this spirit that my delegation appealed to the administering Power, Spain, which now occupies the so-called Spanish Sahara, to implement, without further delay, the numerous resolutions of the United Nations adopted on 13 consecutive occasions by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority—resolutions, it must be recalled, that were supported not only by the majority of Member States represented here but also by all those directly or indirectly involved in the problem.

261. That being so, my delegation does not believe that any statement whatsoever concerning ownership of the Sahara should be such as to give any rights to anyone whatsoever or to facilitate decolonization. If that were the case, my delegation would have a great deal to say on the subject. But we believe that we have gone beyond that stage. What we should do now is ask the administering Power to hasten the pace of decolonization of this Territory as it has been asked to do by the United Nations.

262. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

263. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to participate in this meeting on Guinea-Bissau at this late hour. My purpose is to express, on behalf of my Government and the people of Cyprus, our profound gratification on this happy occasion of the unanimous recommendation by the Council to the General Assembly of the admission of Guinea-Bissau to full membership in the Organization. Needless to say, my country was one of the first to recognize Guinea-Bissau as a State. I am particularly happy to see one more Member from our brothers in the African continent and in the Organization of African Unity join the United Nations and bring its valuable contribution to the work of the Organization in the common cause of freedom, justice and peace in the world. We have a great

affinity with all the African countries, and particularly with Guinea-Bissau whose heroic struggle and self-sacrifice in fighting for its freedom has evoked our profound admiration. Indeed, we feel particularly gratified to note that the representative of Portugal has offered the full cooperation of his country for the establishment of a free Guinea-Bissau and for its progress in all fields, economic, technical, cultural and others, in a show of mutual respect and reciprocity of interests between the two republics and in the service of democratic ideals.

264. We hope that in the post-colonial period of Guinea-Bissau its people will find no further interference with their freedom, unity, progress and prosperity.

265. We look forward to seeing Angola and Mozambique also free and joining the United Nations. Thus the community of nations in this Organization will become more and more universal, as it was intended to be.

266. These words are expressed from the heart at a moment of great trial for Cyprus, and we do hope and wish for the people of Guinea-Bissau that they will find their post-colonial period a happy one and without the troubles that Cyprus is meeting with now.

267. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I have no further speakers on the list. The Security Council has concluded consideration of an important and urgent question. It has unanimously adopted a resolution recommending the admission to the United Nations of a new State—the 138th—the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The members of the Security Council may congratulate themselves on this decision and conclude today's meeting with the feeling of having discharged their duty.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.