



Chairman: Mr. Zdeněk ČERNÍK
(Czechoslovakia).

AGENDA ITEM 65

**Question of Territories under Portuguese administration
(continued) (A/8723/Add.3, A/8758, A/C.4/745,
A/C.4/747)**

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. AL-JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic) said that it was clear from the statement made by the representative of Portugal in the Fourth Committee (1975th meeting) and from the information contained in the report 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 (see A/8723/Add.3) that there had been no change in the position of the Lisbon Government. It was most regrettable to note that all sources of information confirmed that the situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) was deteriorating and that the colonial Power was becoming more aggressive in its attempts to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the people of the Territories and in its assaults on the neighbouring African countries.

2. The people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were living under régimes which offered them no hope of peaceful emancipation. As a result, they had to choose between folding their arms, bemoaning their fate and resigning themselves to living perpetually as slaves in their own native land or taking up arms and fighting for their freedom and self-determination.

3. The Syrian delegation recognized the virtues of peaceful evolution and would have liked Portugal to face realities and bow to the legitimate demands of the peoples of the Territories under its occupation, but unfortunately none of that had happened. The Lisbon régime had chosen the path of repression in utter defiance of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and all other relevant resolutions.

4. In the light of prevailing circumstances, it was sheer hypocrisy on the part of certain States to continue preaching the doctrine of non-violence while at the same time extending their economic, military and political support to the Portuguese oppressors. It was no secret that Portugal's intransigence was made possible by the military assistance it was receiving from some countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), from Israel and from the racist régime in

South Africa. The whole world knew that Portugal, the poorest of the European countries, could not afford to continue the genocidal war it was waging against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) without that support. To illustrate that point, one had only to refer to the information contained in the report of the Special Committee, which demonstrated the full responsibility of some members of NATO, allies of Portugal, and of Israel for supplying Portugal with a variety of weapons ranging from the Israeli UZI submachine gun to F-84 fighter planes. The time had come for the United Nations to take action to put an end to the intolerable hypocrisy of Portugal's allies.

5. In addition to supplying the Portuguese colonialists with arms, their allies had now established joint economic enterprises aimed at consolidating their control over the peoples of the region, such as the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric complex in Mozambique and the Cunene River project in Angola. The two projects were designed mainly to provide the economic base for white minority hegemony over the peoples and countries of the area. In the opinion of the Syrian delegation, the reasons for the close collaboration between certain Western Powers and Portugal were: the fact that those Powers had substantial strategic and economic interests in the Territories occupied by Portugal and had to protect those interests; the importance of maintaining a Western presence in that part of the African continent to exert pressure on the whole of Africa; and the belief that the struggle against Portuguese rule in the Territories was a threat to Western interests in all of Africa.

6. All the efforts to make Portugal accept the inexorable process of decolonization had had no effect thus far. New means had to be found to cope with the problem, the most stubborn ever faced by the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

7. His delegation had viewed with great satisfaction the series of meetings held by the Special Committee in Africa. Furthermore, it considered the visit of the Special Mission established by that Committee to the liberated areas an event of utmost importance. It was to be hoped that the excellent report submitted by the Mission (A/8723/Add.3, annex I) would be accorded the attention it deserved by the competent organs and institutions inside and outside the United Nations. He also welcomed the historic decision of the Fourth Committee (1975th meeting) to allow representatives of the liberation movements to participate in the general debate on items relating to their respective countries.

8. The liberation movement had reached a critical point. It was to be hoped that the United Nations and the agencies particularly concerned with the struggle for freedom would offer all possible assistance to the liberation fronts. The Syrian Arab Republic, faithful to its principles, continued to support, as always, the just struggle of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and considered itself involved in the struggle for freedom, justice and self-determination until final victory.

9. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) reaffirmed his country's consistently strong support for the peoples and countries under colonial rule. His Government had never hesitated to reject the fiction that the Territories under Portuguese rule were overseas provinces and had always held that they were colonies whose peoples, in protest against the denial of their rights, had a right to rebel as the peoples of Latin America had done over a century and a half earlier. His delegation regarded the Territories as Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). For that reason and because the peoples of the Territories had no other means of fighting for their rights, his Government supported the national liberation movements.

10. He recalled that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, Mr. Antonio José Lucio-Paredes, in his statement in the current session of the General Assembly (2038th plenary meeting), had said that the existence of colonial régimes was a threat to the principle of universality and that Ecuador, in line with its tradition and democratic system of government, had always opposed any political system which departed from the principles of self-determination and self-government. He had gone on to say that Ecuador had always rejected colonialism, which threatened the freedom of peoples and was undeniably a cause of friction among the members of the international community, jeopardizing international peace and security. The era of colonialism should be definitively ended and his Government accordingly favoured any effort to secure the political independence of the peoples under colonial rule and recognized their right to become free and independent nations in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

11. He recalled that in the early years of the United Nations, when the colonial Powers claimed that Chapter XI of the Charter was a simple declaration, Ecuador had strongly upheld the unity and indivisibility of the Charter. At that time, Ecuador had fought against the restrictive way in which the colonial Powers had attempted to apply paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. In 1954, he himself had given an interpretation of Article 73 of the Charter to the effect that States administering Non-Self-Governing Territories did not have sovereignty over them; they merely held an administrative mandate which was subject to the condition that they lead the peoples of the territories to full self-government. He had also represented Ecuador

when the United Nations had defined the factors to be taken into account in order to determine when a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained full self-government, thus placing a restraint on the abuse by the colonial Powers of their authority. At the time of the massacres carried out by Portugal in Angola in 1961, the Republic of Liberia had brought the question before the Security Council, where Ecuador had opposed the argument that the Council was not competent to deal with it under paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. At that time, Ecuador had repudiated the Portuguese claim that there was no rebel nationalist movement fighting for independence, but only terrorist bands whose weapons had been supplied by international communism. In response to the Portuguese claim, 44 States had signed a letter¹ which stated that hundreds of people had been killed and fundamental human rights had been denied by the Portuguese administration in Angola. At that time, Ecuador had found it difficult to accept that the 44 signatory countries, representing very different regions, political systems, religions and degrees of development, were willing instruments of international communism. On the contrary, Ecuador had maintained that those States were expressing a new international conscience which felt that recognition of the right of all oppressed peoples to opt for their independence was a prerequisite for peace.

12. He recalled further that at the General Assembly's seventeenth session, he had pointed out that the national liberation movements in Africa had emerged in a continent which was in the throes of nation-building. Between 1955 and 1962, 28 African States had been admitted to membership of the United Nations and the States which had suffered under colonial rule could not be expected to remain indifferent to the fate of their brothers who had not yet attained independence. He had said at the time that Ecuador understood the vehemence and passion with which the representatives of the African States discussed colonial problems and noted that there was strong African anti-colonialist unity. The danger to peace and security from the continuation of colonialism and the arms race of the racist Powers was obviously more than mere rhetoric.

13. Moreover, he recalled that in a statement in the Fourth Committee in 1969² he had said that Portugal, a small country, far away from the African territories, the least economically developed of the European countries, could only sustain a costly colonial war on three fronts because it was in an "unholy alliance" with the other colonialists of southern Africa and their sympathizers. Nevertheless, the fighting potential of the peoples under its rule remained strong, as he himself had been able to verify in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. He had added that his Government was prepared to give full support to any measure to promote the

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961*, document S/4816 and Add. 1 and 2.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Fourth Committee, 1829th meeting, para. 8.*

self-determination of the African peoples under racist rule and to favour measures to enable them to achieve full self-government, uphold their right to freedom and safeguard their dignity.

14. Furthermore, he recalled that in 1969 he had stated in the Special Committee, on behalf of his Government, that colonialism was a superstructure for political domination of an infrastructure of economic domination and that the United Nations Charter had eliminated the concept of colonies, a racist form of collective domination. According to the exegesis of Article 73 of the Charter which he had given in 1954, the administering Powers had no sovereignty over Non-Self-Governing Territories and peoples and even less over the Trust Territories. Those Territories were like incomplete States, possessing only two of the three elements of statehood, people and territory; sovereignty was suspended until the administering Power should have fulfilled its obligation to lead the people to full self-government. The principle of self-determination, expressed in the slogan "one man, one vote" was an essential requisite for any change in the status of colonial countries and peoples.

15. For those reasons, his delegation condemned any design to frustrate the will of the people by constitutional manoeuvrings, as had been attempted in Rhodesia, and the imposition of barriers to their economic self-determination and enjoyment of their natural resources. Ecuador would maintain that policy as unswervingly in the future as it had done in the past.

16. Finally, as a clear indication of the Ecuadorian position, his Government has authorized one of its officials to be a member of a Special Mission of the Special Committee; that official had carried out his functions independently. The highly important opinions expressed in the report of the Special Mission (see A/8723/Add.3, annex I) were not, of course, exactly those of the Ecuadorian Government, since the official, in fulfilling his mission, was representing a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly.

17. Mr. MICAJKOV (Yugoslavia) commended the Committee's first decision of the year (1975th meeting), namely, to grant observer status to the liberation movements of southern Africa and welcomed the legitimate representative of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

18. As a member of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Yugoslav Parliament, he said that all statements made by Yugoslav representatives had reflected, above all, the efforts of his Government to establish permanent and stable bonds between the United Nations, the liberation movements in southern Africa and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

19. He congratulated the members of the Special Mission of the Special Committee which had visited Guinea (Bissau), and commended them for having accomplished their task successfully. The Mission represented a manifestation of the determination of the

United Nations to increase its assistance to colonial peoples in their legitimate struggle for independence and freedom. The report of the Special Mission (see A/8723/Add.3, annex I) was a vivid testimony of that; moreover, it painted a sad picture of the sufferings of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination. The Mission had been particularly impressed by the determination shown by the people of Guinea (Bissau) to persist in their struggle under the leadership of PAIGC and the wholehearted cooperation PAIGC was receiving from the population of the liberated areas. The Mission had also had an opportunity to witness the devastation and misery caused by Portugal, particularly by its indiscriminate bombing of villages and the use of napalm to destroy crops. That situation had also been observed by missions from other countries which had visited the liberated areas in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). He himself, during a visit to some African countries, had had an opportunity to meet and talk to representatives of liberation movements and was convinced not only of the justice of their struggle but also that the moment of total liberation was drawing near.

20. In the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Mission there were various interesting proposals regarding immediate and future United Nations commitments to Guinea (Bissau), which, in his opinion, could equally be applied to the situation and the problems in Mozambique and Angola. They included: that when considering questions concerning Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), consideration should also be given to the possibility of recognizing PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA as authentic representatives of the peoples of those Territories; that the international community should take specific and urgent measures to exert pressure on Portugal to put an end to acts of repression against those peoples and immediately withdrawing its forces from the Territories; that Portugal's allies should stop providing weapons and any type of financial or economic assistance to Portugal; that material assistance should be given, as a matter of urgency, to the people in their fight against hunger and disease and in support of their reconstruction plans; that the findings of, and information provided by, the Special Mission of the Special Committee and by other visiting missions should be brought to the attention of the international community with a view to increasing diplomatic and political pressure on the Government of Portugal to comply with and accept the numerous decisions of the United Nations; that the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly should invite the Special Committee to send similar visiting missions to other liberated areas in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

21. In the past Yugoslavia had granted considerable material assistance to liberation movements and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia had established a special fund for assistance to liberation movements which received contributions from Yugoslav citizens, enterprises, social and political organizations. All the peoples of Yugoslavia would continue to give moral and material support to the liberation

movements of southern Africa until colonialism had been definitively eradicated and the peoples of those Territories had attained their freedom and independence.

22. Mr. ALI (Chad) congratulated the Special Committee on the well-documented work it had submitted and on the objectivity of its findings. The importance of the question of Territories under Portuguese administration required that it should be examined further on the basis of the Special Committee's report (A/8723/Add.3) on the one hand, and the Secretary-General's report (A/8758), on the other.

23. The fact that the Committee was holding another debate on the item was significant, for it emphasized the persistence of an evil which must be implacably fought, and the fight would continue until the evil had been totally and permanently eradicated. The fight should be waged to the end in all States which loved peace, freedom and justice.

24. The Republic of Chad scrupulously complied with OAU resolutions and participated in the assistance that organization provided for recognized African liberation movements. It maintained no relations with Portugal.

25. It was well known that the Government of Portugal, despite the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) and other relevant United Nations resolutions, rather than leading the inhabitants of the Territories under its administration progressively to self-determination and independence, continued to crush the liberation movements of the Territories and tried to stifle the legitimate aspirations of their populations to be free.

26. In the meantime, it was destroying villages and crops with impunity by generalized bombing and the inhuman use of napalm, with the open complicity of some great Powers which supported it materially by providing it with the means of destruction and morally by voting against any attempt to put an end to the savage acts of the Lisbon régime.

27. His delegation unreservedly endorsed the conclusions and recommendations in the Special Committee's report. It hoped that at the current session pertinent resolutions would be adopted urging the Government of Portugal to abandon those Territories immediately and totally, that the hypocrisy of the Powers associated with Portugal would give way to understanding and that, in the near future, the international community would be able to welcome the valiant peoples of the Territories still under foreign domination, who would have to be helped and supported in rebuilding their nations so that they could play their full part in international affairs.

28. Mr. NEPIYVODA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that Portugal, a poor country which was recognized as the most backward in Europe, had the largest colonial empire in the world. Its military expenditure accounted for half its total budget and it was

obvious that on its own it would be unable to maintain an army of 150,000 men. To do that, it depended on its NATO allies.

29. The high profits of foreign monopolies were explained by the privileges granted by the colonial Powers, by racial discrimination and by the very low salaries they paid. It was obvious that in exchange for those privileges they assisted Portugal in its fight against liberation movements. Portugal was also helped by NATO in its unceasing provocation of neighbouring African countries.

30. Together with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the Lisbon régime was protecting the international monopolies. It received more than \$500 million from the United States for the lease of the military base in the Azores. The countries which supported it were clearly listed in chapter V of the report of the Special Committee concerning agenda item 67 (see A/8723 (Part III)). It must be emphasized, however, that the machinations of the colonial Powers or NATO countries could not destroy the liberation movements. More than two thirds of Guinea (Bissau), one third of Angola and one quarter of Mozambique had been liberated. That success had shocked Portugal and the countries which gave it economic support. Nevertheless, NATO support continued to increase. Its forces were bombing the liberated areas and spraying herbicides to destroy crops. Many of those herbicides came from the United States. Portuguese aggression against independent African States had been brought to the attention of the Security Council, which had adopted resolutions issuing warnings to Portugal. Year after year, the General Assembly insisted that its resolution 1514 (XV) should be implemented but whenever effective measures were proposed to try to stop the struggle against liberation movements and aggressions against African countries, the NATO allies tried to weaken the resolutions and, if they could not do so, to nullify their practical effect.

31. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic fully supported the just demands of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held at Rabat in June 1972. Portugal should halt its wars in Africa and its armed provocation against independent African countries. Reactionary forces were using every possible means to crush the liberation movements. Accordingly, it was necessary to unmask those who supported the Portuguese fascists, not merely by condemning them, but also by providing material and concrete support to the liberation movements, as the Soviet Union did. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic had always expressed its solidarity with colonial peoples and would always support and assist them.

32. Mr. ROSAS (Chile) recalled that 12 years ago the General Assembly had declared in resolution 1514 (XV) that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples. Although the resolution had been effective, there had recently been an increase in violations of fundamental rights, the principles of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations in colonial Territories. Moreover, there was now an

alliance of colonialist countries whose military power, designed to exterminate the nationalist forces, was growing constantly.

33. The Chilean delegation had always disagreed with Portugal's position that its colonies were Portuguese provinces and that freedom fighters were terrorists. It resolutely supported the right of peoples to self-determination as a basic condition for international coexistence and a fundamental principle of the United Nations. It held the view that colonialism and racism were crimes against humanity and that that position should be formalized in legal instruments that were binding on States. It was also imperative to ascertain the harm which those crimes and their ramifications, such as neo-colonialism, imperialism and *apartheid*, did to international peace and security.

34. The United Nations should intensify its efforts and resolutely support the national liberation movements, which were rebelling against an unjust situation where small foreign minorities benefited from the resources of the oppressed peoples while the latter were mired in poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy. The colonial Powers should also be urged to comply fully with the principles and purposes of the Charter. Chile ardently wished to see the delegations of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde take their seats as full Members; however, that would be impossible so long as Portugal continued to receive military assistance from other Powers enabling it to perpetuate its colonial rule. The most honourable course for Portugal would be to transfer power peacefully to the peoples of the Territories it illegally administered, thereby ceasing to aggravate the critical and explosive situation now prevailing in that part of Africa.

35. The meetings held in Africa in 1972 by the Security Council and the Special Committee had provided a better understanding of the prevailing situation and had facilitated contact with the representatives of the national liberation movements. The dispatch of a Special Mission of the Special Committee to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) had been particularly valuable, for the Mission had been able to form an accurate impression of the situation at first hand. Moreover, the Fourth Committee's decision at the 1975th meeting to grant observer status to the representatives of the liberation movements had been of historic significance and the logical consequence of the General Assembly's decisions concerning the legitimacy of those movements.

36. The people and Government of Chile supported the valiant efforts of the African national liberation movements, which were endeavouring to forge their own destinies and protect their natural and human resources from all types of exploitation.

37. Mr. OGOLA (Uganda) said that, in a sense, the Fourth Committee had for several years been dealing with the question of terrorism which appeared on the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly and which had been assigned to the Sixth

Committee (agenda item 92); it was doing so, for example, under the title "Question of the Territories under Portuguese administration" and others. Indeed, in those Territories one of the most brutal forms of terrorism was being practised against innocent peoples in the name of "civilization".

38. The Portuguese fascist authorities had deployed all imaginable means to subdue the peoples of those Territories. Indifferent to the horror with which world opinion watched their actions, they had dropped bombs, burned with napalm and resorted to chemical warfare. Why did a small and desperately poor country like Portugal persist in a war that had caused incalculable loss of life and property? Firstly, a misplaced illusion. Portugal wanted to convince itself that the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were extensions of its own territory and referred to them as "overseas provinces". The other factor was the support provided by the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism embodied in NATO.

39. For that reason, his country viewed with disappointment the Cabora Bassa dam project. The project did not symbolize progress. On the contrary, it symbolized the great illusions in which imperialism indulged. The true purpose of Cabora Bassa was to perpetuate white minority domination over the majority of Africans throughout southern Africa. The scheme required the eviction of several thousands of Africans, whose fate when they left their homes was nobody's concern, and whose places would be filled by European settlers whom Portugal was busy recruiting. The electricity generated would later supply power to the industries of South Africa and Rhodesia, Portugal's major partners in the oppression of Africans.

40. There were countries which had seen the danger behind the Cabora Bassa project and had withheld cooperation from Portugal; it was to be hoped that they would not be deflected from their resolute stand by any incentives which might be offered.

41. The report of the Special Committee (see A/8723/Add.3) was of considerable interest and reflected the dedication of that Committee. Worthy of particular admiration was the act of courage represented by the visit of the Committee's Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) proving conclusively that those Territories were fully controlled by the liberation movements, which were the true representatives of the people. His delegation fully endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee and hoped that they would find unequivocal endorsement in the Fourth Committee.

42. Mr. CHETTRI (Bhutan) said that during the past two decades the progress made in decolonization had been significant. However, there were still vast areas in Africa where people lived under foreign occupation. Despite the fact that the United Nations had repeatedly recognized the right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and independence, and despite the pressure of world public opinion, Portugal continued to suppress the national

liberation movements in those Territories and to violate the human rights of the population.

43. The people of Bhutan, who had been fortunate to have escaped colonialism, supported all peoples who were struggling to free themselves from the colonial yoke and win their independence. It was ironical that while the winds of freedom and independence were blowing across the entire continent, Portugal was tightening its grip on the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) under the untenable pretext that those Territories were its overseas provinces. In view of Portugal's persistent refusal to comply with the United Nations resolutions, the Organization, with the assistance of all peace-loving countries, must redouble its efforts to help the peoples of those Territories to liberate themselves from foreign rule so that they could live in freedom and dignity.

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

44. The CHAIRMAN recalled that at its 1978th meeting, the Committee had decided to grant the request for a hearing (A/C.4/747) from the representatives of the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO) concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration.

At the Chairman's invitation, Mr. Faustino Arcanjo Kambeu, Mrs. Gwendoline Gumane and Mr. Artur Xavier Lambo Vilankulu, representatives of the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO), took places at the Committee table.

45. Mr. KAMBEU (Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO)) said that the existence of an international forum was a source of strength to the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique in its legitimate struggle and COREMO felt that it would have failed all peace-loving States if it did not fight for and win its independence. It also hoped that those States would help it in its struggle for self-determination and national independence.

46. Moreover, COREMO was convinced that its struggle against colonial oppression and racism in Mozambique was an integral part of the world-wide struggle for human rights and dignity guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations, and hoped that the General Assembly, at its twenty-seventh session, would take positive steps to accelerate the liberation of the millions of Africans who were oppressed by Portugal and the racist minority régimes of southern Africa.

47. The United Nations had been established to promote international peace and security and to struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Nevertheless, colonialism and imperialism continued to flourish. Some Member States had tried by all means to destroy peace and social progress for other countries and peoples, and time and again had failed to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

48. However, COREMO had no intention of suing the Portuguese Government for peace. It believed that the primary responsibility for its struggle for freedom lay with the people of Mozambique themselves. There were 8 million of them and they were capable of fighting for and gaining their own freedom. The principles of Pan-Africanism had always guided COREMO and its main core was formed by the African population. However, there were other national groups which at the present time were victims of fascist oppression and, like the Africans, were subjected to constant police surveillance and intimidation. They formed part of the oppressed majority of Mozambique and their destiny was inseparable from that of the African people of Mozambique, and COREMO extended a welcome to them. It was true that some members of minority groups did not understand the policy of COREMO and sold themselves to the Portuguese; nevertheless, the policy of COREMO to strive for the unity of all oppressed and exploited peoples remained unchanged.

49. In the past, the people of Mozambique had endeavoured to attain freedom and self-determination by means of petitions, demonstrations, strikes, appeals and pleas. Unfortunately, the reaction of the Portuguese Government had been violent. The general explanation of that reaction was to be found in the political atmosphere rather than in physical or geographical factors.

50. In a colonial type of situation, armed struggle became feasible only if there was utter disillusionment on the part of the majority of the population with regard to the prospects of achieving freedom by non-violent methods and when the prevailing social and political system was unable to satisfy the demands and aspirations of the masses. Throughout the centuries, the strategy of political reform and constitutional farce had been applied, but at the beginning of the 1960s that method had been played out. The colonialist and imperialist forces and the forces of liberty and change had reached the point of armed confrontation. The decision to take up arms, therefore, had not been taken overnight, but only after a series of attempts to achieve just change by peaceful means.

51. Experience had shown that social and political concessions or reforms granted under pressure could be cancelled by the colonial Government. The unacceptability of the policy of so-called reforms had caused the people of Mozambique to resort to revolutionary violence in their own defence. Neither COREMO nor the people of the Territory took pleasure in killing and being killed, but the Portuguese Government refused to meet their demands for self-determination and independence. The opinion of the people of Mozambique and of the United Nations, as expressed in the resolutions of its organs and specialized agencies, confirmed that armed struggle was the only alternative. The people of Mozambique were merely exercising their right to self-defence and their right to struggle against colonialist aggression. Furthermore, all countries and peoples, large and small, had the right to decide upon their own destiny and to fight against

a social system which oppressed, humiliated, excluded and exploited them and which had shown itself to be incapable of satisfying the needs and aspirations of the great majority of the people.

52. He drew attention to the campaign of misrepresentation undertaken by the Portuguese press and propaganda and reflected in part in the international press. During the last eight years of combat in Mozambique, the world had been told that large numbers of freedom fighters had been killed, captured or had surrendered to the "forces of order", namely, the colonial troops. It had also been told that rural populations informed those troops about the movements of freedom fighters, which implied that the colonialists enjoyed the massive support of the people and that the guerrillas had imposed a reign of coercion on the rural populations, who had collaborated and participated in the struggle out of fear. At the same time, the Portuguese press was issuing communiqués stating that losses on its side had only been minor and that large numbers of "terrorists" from abroad had been wiped out. Those allegations were false and malicious. The truth of the matter was that the strength of the liberation movement was derived from the African population and that the safety of the guerrillas and organizers depended on their support; furthermore, most of the volunteer recruits came from the rural populations who knew that COREMO was fighting for them. Every African peasant and worker who took part in the struggle under the leadership of COREMO or helped it in any way was conscious that he was contributing to a just cause and either supported the movement or joined the guerrilla forces voluntarily. When the members of COREMO arrived in a place, they called together the inhabitants and explained the causes and objectives of the struggle but never forced them to collaborate or participate in it. They only asked them to maintain absolute secrecy with regard to the movements of the revolutionary forces.

53. During "punitive expeditions" the freedom fighters helped villagers to defend their crops and villages against indiscriminate air attacks. Despite the limited resources at their disposal, the guerrillas were ready to help the civilian population in every way and provided them with medicines, shelter and agricultural implements, free of charge.

54. For those and other reasons, the rural populations trusted the guerrillas and placed their lives and hopes for a better future in their hands. For example, when the organizing units of COREMO left a region, the inhabitants were obviously distressed at their departure and all wished to go with them. However, COREMO did not encourage the rural populations to follow its forces to the mountains and forest because its capacity to face air raids was still not satisfactory. Only in extreme cases had the rural population been allowed to accompany the forces.

55. Portuguese fascist propaganda also accused and attacked neighbouring African States which recognized the legitimacy of the struggle by FRELIMO for the liberation of the people. It had become a part of the

Portuguese colonial strategy to promote attacks against neighbouring African countries. It happened in particular when colonial troops were suffering at the hands of the forces of the Mozambique liberation movement. If the Portuguese Government had destroyed, as it claimed to have destroyed, all terrorist units and camps, why did it need to use helicopters, jets and bombers and why was it attacking, threatening and exerting pressure on Zambia, Senegal, the United Republic of Tanzania and other African States?

56. It would be remembered that in the previous year the Portuguese colonial régime had placed an embargo on goods to and from Zambia, after COREMO forces had carried out a successful campaign against the Portuguese colonies in the Cabora Bassa region; furthermore, the Portuguese had abducted five Zambian nationals (see the *Zambia Daily Mail* of 8 March 1971). In March of 1972, world public opinion had again been shocked by the Portuguese aggression against the United Republic of Tanzania. As a result of the Portuguese Government's persistent violation of the territorial integrity of Zambia, it had been announced in August 1972 that all Zambian villages on the borders of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique would be evacuated (*Times of Zambia*, 18 August 1972).

57. There were many cases of vandalism and torture. Mr. Antonio Khembo, a former driver for the administrator of Mopeia in the province of Zambezia, had been subjected to untold suffering before being buried alive in January 1972. After being detained for six months without trial, his fingers were severed one by one in the course of an interrogation that lasted for a month. Not satisfied with that inhuman treatment, the Portuguese troops went so far as to cut off his testicles when he refused to rape his own daughter before a unit of Portuguese soldiers and a crowd of Africans. His only crime was that he was suspected of being an organizing member of COREMO in the area.

58. On 30 July 1972, the Portuguese fascist police had arrested Mr. Chico Meke, a shopkeeper at the Zambwe post in the province of Tete. Mr. Meke had served a five-year prison sentence in Machava prison, in the province of Lourenço Marques, and had been "released" on 10 July, as a result of the "amnesty" granted to political prisoners by the Caetano Government. Before his release, Mr. Meke had undertaken not to make contact with terrorist groups and to lead a peaceful life under the Lusitanian flag in the so-called protected villages in the Zambwe region—the "protected villages" were military positions and places surrounded by barbed-wire fences where rural populations were being grouped in a vain attempt to prevent them from having contact with members of guerrilla units. Early in the morning of 30 July 1972, Mr. Meke had been re-arrested on the grounds that his "questionable movements were endangering the security of the village". One of his ears was cut off and he was scalped before he was shot dead.

59. Both COREMO and the people of Mozambique were aware of the many problems involved in their armed struggle and had made a thorough study of the

nature of the evil to which they were being subjected. The COREMO delegation therefore hoped that at its current session the General Assembly would be able to prescribe measures to dislodge the Portuguese colonialists from the Territory and to take practical action to protect independent African States, such as Senegal, the Republic of Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zambia against violations of their territorial integrity by Portuguese colonialist troops.

60. All were aware that the appeal to international public opinion, the denunciation of Portuguese colonialism clearly expressed by the United Nations and the OAU, and the direct and repeated appeals to the Portuguese Government by neutral countries and individuals, had not brought about any change in the colonial situation in the African Territories under Portuguese administration.

61. Guerrilla warfare had therefore emerged as the best way of fighting, since the enemy was very powerful and must be destroyed little by little. Accordingly, in recent years COREMO had given priority to mobilizing and educating the masses politically, consolidating its position among the people in the countryside, and gradually penetrating into urban areas. The people of Mozambique wished to establish in their land a government of Africans, by Africans and for Africans. That was why the colonialist imperialists and their henchmen had accused them of racism, but was government of Europeans, by Europeans and for Europeans in Europe held to be racist?

62. The Portuguese and their commercial and political allies were determined that Mozambique should be ruled for the benefit of foreign interests. On the other hand, the Mozambicans cared only for the interests of the Mozambican masses. The problem in Mozambique was one of self-determination as against foreign domination, and its people were ready to die for the achievement of that goal, as had been shown in the struggle which they had been waging for 500 years. The very nature of the war implied loss of life and many brave comrades had made the ultimate sacrifice for Mozambique. That was inevitable and before the final objective could be gained many more would have to give their lives.

63. Some big countries were aligned with Portugal, which, without the active support of members of NATO, would not have been able to defy the will and decisions of the United Nations. Mozambique had never wronged the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, South Africa and others, and for that reason it was impossible to understand why they were being parties to Mozambique's oppression and exploitation.

64. Mozambique had a message for the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America: it considered itself a part of the so-called third world; it knew that the majority of countries in the third world had always stood by its side and was grateful to them.

65. His delegation could not, as a matter of course, reveal all the details of its past work and plans, its

achievements and preparations, since many of its men were within reach of the enemy. The fact that some members could enter the Cabora Bassa area, a maximum security zone, and deal a crushing blow to the enemy soldiers was in itself clear evidence that COREMO had firm roots among the masses.

66. Mozambique was a country where education was not the duty of all citizens but a privilege for the few. As the first step in the educational programme, the Central Committee of COREMO had decided, early in the current year, to establish an autonomous institution—the Mozambique Social Services Centre, to provide not only the most elementary things for civilian populations but also education for the children of Mozambique in those parts where COREMO exercised political control; at the same time scholarships to foreign institutions of higher education would be arranged for those Mozambicans with suitable qualifications.

67. The other field in which COREMO was becoming more active was that of health. It had started to organize its own medical services with little or no resources. For the time being it had to rely on the services of one qualified African doctor and a few nurses. Experience had taught that a preventive medicine campaign was also necessary.

68. Thus the immediate tasks of the Mozambique Social Services Centre were to provide: relief service for civilian populations in the bush, education opportunities for young Mozambicans, care for orphans, and health facilities for the civilian populations under the direct responsibility of COREMO.

69. Finally, there was need to emphasize three points. Firstly, Mozambique was faced with a very serious problem: the white settlers with firm support from Lisbon and the imperialist camp were determined to see to it that the 8 million Africans should be ruled by the white man, for the primary benefit of the white settlers. Secondly, the stand of the people of Mozambique under the leadership of COREMO was crystal clear: the struggle was not a movement for civil rights and they were not asking for the Portuguese Government's favours, privileges or reforms; the present fight was aimed at achieving full self-determination and the armed conflict expressed the general and deep desire for freedom. Thirdly, COREMO had a message and a warning to all economic interests in Mozambique: the people of Mozambique were not at all interested in money which deprived them of freedom and independence; they wanted political power to ensure that they did not remain helpless victims of the racism and the theory of white supremacy which they had endured since the fifteenth century.

70. Mrs. GUMANE (Mozambique Women's Council and COREMO) said that the Mozambique Women's Council had joined the revolution to fight alongside of the men. When the Portuguese first landed in Mozambique 450 years before, the local population had welcomed them with open arms. But their presumed civilizing mission had been a fraud. Education was compulsory for Portuguese children up to a certain

age, but African children were given no opportunity to study. The sole interest of the Portuguese was to exploit them in order to transform them into servile citizens.

71. Those most harmed by the colonial exploitation had been the women. The men were able to emigrate to neighbouring countries and to educate themselves by attending night-school, while the women were obliged to cultivate cotton, sugar and cashew, products in which the State was interested; they were left no time in which to cultivate crops necessary for their own subsistence and that of their families. Another custom of the white farmers in the rural areas was to ask the "chief" to designate groups of entire families—men, women and children—to work on the cotton plantations at the time of harvest.

72. While the men of Mozambique were fighting against the Portuguese, the women were combating the social ills which had been the legacy of the colonialists. In the areas controlled by COREMO they were tackling in a small way the task of teaching the children of the villages to read and write. After the bitter colonial experience, Mozambique wished to be master of its own destiny and was quite prepared to face the dangers which that entailed; it did not desire peace at the price of servitude. The people of Mozambique hoped that the United Nations could ensure effective compliance with the just resolutions that it had adopted.

73. Mr. VENEGAS TAMAYO (Colombia) noted that the representative of COREMO had stated that there

were 8 million blacks under the control of the whites and he wished to know how many whites there were in Mozambique.

74. Mr. VILANKULU (COREMO) said that, as far as he knew, there were 200,000 Portuguese in Mozambique and, in addition, 40,000 soldiers deployed in the territory.

75. Mr. KAMBEU (COREMO) agreed that it was impossible to determine with certainty, because in two areas, *Colonato* Limpopo and Cabora Bassa, there were projects to establish white settlements. In the latter area, where South African farmers had already been installed, there were plans to establish around 1 million white settlers.

Mr. Kambeu, Mrs. Gumane and Mr. Vilankulu withdrew.

Requests for hearings (continued)

76. The CHAIRMAN said that he had received a request for a hearing with regard to the Territories of southern Africa. If there were no objections he would assume that the Committee wished the communication to be circulated as a Committee document which would be examined in due course.

It was so decided.³

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

³ The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/749.

