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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Algiers, Algeria,
on Monday, 20 June 1966, at 9.30 a.m.

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PRESENT:

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. COLLIER	(Sierra Leone)
<u>Members:</u>	Mr. GHAS	Afghanistan
	Mr. McCARTHY	Australia
	Mr. KARASIMEONOV	Bulgaria
	Mr. SANCHEZ	Chile
	Mr. MELLBIN	Denmark
	Mr. MEKASHA	Ethiopia
	Mr. GOBURDHUN	India
	Mr. ESFANDIARY	Iran
	Mr. ALJUBOURI	Iraq
	Mr. CARDUCCI-ARTENSIO	Italy
	Mr. KACOU	Ivory Coast
	Mr. RAKOTONIAINA	Madagascar
	Mr. THIAM	Mali
	Mr. SMIGANOWSKI	Poland
	Mr. WILLIAMS	Sierra Leone
	Mr. JOUEJATI	Syria
	Mr. KEDADI	Tunisia
	Mr. SHAKHOV	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
	Mr. MALECELA)	United Republic of Tanzania
	Mr. FOUM)	
	Mrs. ANDERSON	United States of America
	Mr. DIAZ-GONZALEZ	Venezuela
	Mr. JANJEVSKI	Yugoslavia
<u>Observers for Member States:</u>		
	Mr. ZFROUT	Algeria
	Mr. RIHA	Czechoslovakia
	Mr. de PINIES)	Spain
	Mr. ONDO)	
<u>Secretariat:</u>	Mr. CHACKO	Representative of the Secretary-General
	Mr. DADZIE	Secretary of the Committee

QUESTION OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA (FERNANDO POO AND RIO MUNI) (A/AC.109/L.282;
A/AC.109/185 1/)

The CHAIRMAN, drawing attention to the working paper contained in document A/AC.109/L.282, recalled that the Deputy Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, in his letter dated 16 June 1966 (A/AC.109/185) had requested permission for a Spanish delegation to be represented at the Special Committee's meetings in Algiers in an observer capacity and to take part in the discussions on Equatorial Guinea. In the absence of any objection, he would assume that the Committee had decided to accede to that request.

It was so agreed.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Spanish representative had requested permission to make a statement at that stage. If there was no objection he would be invited to do so.

It was so agreed.

Mr. de PINTE (Spain) thanked the Chairman and the members of the Special Committee on behalf of his delegation for allowing it to take part in the Committee's discussion of Equatorial Guinea. He also thanked the Government and people of Algeria for their generous hospitality. Algeria was not only close to Spain geographically; the two countries had even closer emotional ties and their proximity and history guaranteed that those ties would be strengthened in the future. He expressed admiration for the pains taken by the Government and people of Algeria - clear evidence of the country's potentialities - to arrange such a splendid welcome for the Committee entrusted with one of the most significant tasks of the United Nations: decolonization.

It was by no means the first time that Spain had participated in the Committee's work. Spain had taken part in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which had been in existence until the Special Committee had taken over its functions. Indeed, he had had the honour of serving as Vice-Chairman of that Committee in 1962 and Chairman in 1963. With the

1/ Originally issued in provisional form, under the symbol AF/109/L.35 and Add.1 (14 June 1966), during the Special Committee's visit to Africa.

(Mr. de Pinies, Spain)

establishment of the Committee of Seventeen under resolution 1654 (XVI) and the subsequent enlargement of its membership to twenty-four by resolution 1810 (XVII); when the Special Committee had acquired its present membership for the purpose of implementing resolution 1514 (XV), it had become evident that the consideration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was to be given new impetus. At no time had Spain hesitated to take part in its work. Why should it have hesitated? What nation knew more about colonization in the modern era than Spain?

It was true that Spain administered territories, but they were very few. It should be borne in mind, however, that Spain had never known colonialism as exploitation and did not understand it as such, and that not only had colonialism become rooted on the continent of Africa, which Spain loved, in Asia and in America, but it continued to exist on a strip of Spain's own beloved land which had been seized from it in one of the most scandalous actions in history. For 262 years Spain had been waiting for Gibraltar to be restored to it and he wished once again to express the appreciation of his Government and the Spanish people for the significant role being played by the Committee in its decolonization. He apologized to the Chairman for that brief explanation, but the place and the atmosphere had evoked in his mind what Spain had been saying for 262 years, unheeded by so many deaf ears. The achievement by so many countries of independence and membership in the international community had made them more receptive and the wrongs and the just grievances of Spain were now known to all the members of the Committee, for which he again thanked them.

It would be redundant to describe once again the situation in Equatorial Guinea, its political development and its constitutional progress. The members of the Committee were aware that it had an autonomous government. In addition to Mr. Mañueco, Deputy Representative of Spain, his delegation included Mr. Ondó, President of the Governing Council, and Mr. Gori, President of the General Assembly. Mr. Ondó was a well-known figure in the United Nations: after being exiled from his country, he had appeared as a petitioner more than four years earlier. He had been repatriated when the Spanish Government had announced the referendum for the establishment of self-government and had conducted his electoral campaign in complete freedom. Since he knew his people well and could express himself easily in his native tongue "fang", he had soon captivated them and they had elected him without hesitation. Mr. Gori, who was a man of great eloquence and what was known in

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(Mr. de Pinies, Spain)

English as a self-made man, was a person with a profound knowledge of the realities of his country. Mr. Ondó would make a statement at a later stage and he and Mr. Gori would be glad to explain any points concerning the item under discussion, should the members so request.

Spain had nothing to hide in Equatorial Guinea; in order to prove it and to enable the Committee to ascertain the true conditions in the Territory, the Spanish Government would be very pleased if the Committee or a representative group of members could visit Equatorial Guinea to see for themselves what those conditions were. If the Committee could not accept the invitation for the time being because such a visit had not been scheduled, he confidently hoped that it would be able to do so in the near future. The invitation had been extended; it was for the members to decide upon it. He had no doubt that they would realize the importance and significance of the offer.

The CHAIRMAN said that he would give the floor to Mr. Ondó Edú on the clear understanding that he would be speaking as a representative of Spain.

Mr. ONDO (Spain) said that he very much appreciated the opportunity which the Special Committee was giving him to take part in the consideration of the question of Equatorial Guinea, his beloved country.

He reminded the Committee that in November 1965 he had been present at the meetings of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly at the twentieth session and had made a statement in his capacity as President of the Governing Council of Equatorial Guinea.

He further recalled that years ago, too, he had taken part in the work of the Fourth Committee, but in very different circumstances. He had been a petitioner who was outside his country and had found it necessary, together with his compatriots, Mr. Atanasio N'Dongo, Mr. Jesus Oyono and Mr. Itanguino, to arrest the attention not only of the Spanish Government, but of the United Nations in that way. All that was past history. The Spanish Government had finally yielded to the appeal that it should grant self-government to Equatorial Guinea. Once self-government had been granted, he had come to New York, to the twentieth session of the General Assembly, and had provided full information on the electoral procedures and on the setting up of the Government. All that information appeared in the records of the Fourth Committee and his statement had been published as document A/C.4/656.

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(Mr. Ondó, Spain)

As head of the Government of Equatorial Guinea, he wished, through the Committee, to convey the most profound gratitude of his Government and people to the General Assembly for its adoption of resolution 2067 (XX). He had been informed of the contents of the resolution by the Spanish authorities. He considered it of particular importance that the United Nations had reaffirmed the right of the people of Equatorial Guinea to self-determination and independence, but he would be lacking in fairness if he failed to point out - in observance, as he had told the Fourth Committee on 9 November 1965, of that one very simple axiom he had learned inter alia from his teachers, past and present, namely, "noblesse oblige" - that a member of the Spanish Government had informed him, in his capacity as President of the Governing Council, that it was the stated, official intention of the Spanish Government that Equatorial Guinea should choose its own political course when it so desired, that is, total independence if it regarded that as the best solution for its problems.

It followed that, having accepted the principle of self-determination, there was nothing to prevent Equatorial Guinea from asking for independence if it so desired. In that connexion, he wished to inform the Committee that, while his people manifestly shared that aspiration, he still felt that, as he had said in November 1965, it was essential and advisable to go through a preparatory stage and it was to that end that he had asked the Committee to help and support them and to give them assistance. Equatorial Guinea needed technical and economic assistance it needed the aid of the International Bank for its development. It was easy enough to promote independence but it was very difficult to survive once independence had been attained. It was inadmissible that such a noble aspiration should be exploited by demagogues.

The elected representatives of the people of Guinea had certain responsibilities towards the people; they were bound by those responsibilities and could not evade them.

Those responsibilities were basically concerned with the desire to consolidate independence and future development in Equatorial Guinea on the basis of sound social and economic realities. He did not want his country, once independence had been achieved, to be exposed to economic penetration by any foreign Power; that would be a real form of neo-colonialism as evil as political penetration and more difficult to control.

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(Mr. Ondó, Spain)

He reiterated that he wanted independence, even immediate independence, but it was necessary for Equatorial Guinea to go on preparing for it, so that when independence came it would be in a position to survive and to withstand situations likely to frustrate independence. That was what it wanted from Spain and what he hoped the General Assembly would consider at its twenty-first session.

There was no doubt that Guinea had certain problems, but responsibility for resolving them lay with those who had been freely elected by the people of Guinea. A compatriot who was still living outside the country had appeared before the Committee several times. Guinea was now a self-governing territory which enjoyed freedom of action and there was nothing to prevent any Guinean from coming back to work for the future of his country. He, for his part, would like them to do so.

He was certainly not trying to hide anything from the United Nations or from the Committee which had been entrusted with the task of ensuring decolonization. Consequently, his Government had been particularly pleased about the invitation extended by the representative of Spain for the Committee to visit Equatorial Guinea, where it could see what the actual situation was and suggest what it regarded as the best solutions, which would be given careful study.

If the members of the Committee wanted any further particulars, the President of the Assembly, the representative parliament constituted by the people through elections which the United Nations had recognized as free and fair, was entirely at their disposal.

The CHAIRMAN said that delegates might, if they wished, discuss any points arising from the statements they had just heard, but emphasized that they were statements by representatives of the administering Power and not by petitioners.

Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that the statements that had been presented contained important points that would call for some time for study before they could be discussed. He therefore suggested that discussion on them should be deferred to a later meeting.

Mr. DIAZ-GONZALEZ (Venezuela) fully supported the proposal made by the representative of Tanzania. He thanked the President of the Governing Council of Equatorial Guinea and the President of the House of Representatives for having given testimony before the members of the Special Committee.

The CHAIRMAN suggested, in accordance with the proposal made by the representative of Tanzania, that discussion of the question be deferred to the next meeting.

It was so agreed.

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ADOPTION OF THE EIGHTY-FIFTH REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS
(A/AC.109/L.312) 2/

The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the eighty-fifth report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.312) which covered the Sub-Committee's consideration of four communications, three of which contained requests for hearings. The Sub-Committee had recommended that those requests be granted, and in the absence of any objection he would assume that the Special Committee had adopted the report.

It was so agreed.

QUESTION OF TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION (GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA): HEARING OF PETITIONERS

Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General (Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde) (PAIGC) (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)) and four associates took places at the petitioners' table.

Mr. CABRAL (Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC)), speaking at the invitation of the Chairman, said that he was pleased to come before the Special Committee for the second time, in order to describe the situation in so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. He wished to take that opportunity to convey to the members of the Special Committee, and through them to the United Nations, the cordial greetings of the leaders and freedom fighters of his country. The Special Committee was a living example to all international bodies; it was unfortunate that it could not visit the Territory to study the situation. The people of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands considered that the Committee was in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism.

He wished to pay a tribute also to the people of Algeria on behalf of all the freedom fighters of his country. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people was an example and a source of inspiration to all peoples fighting for their independence.

The situation in Guinea had developed considerably in the past year, but the crucial problem unfortunately remained unchanged. Another petitioner, Mr. Mario de Andrade, had already described the situation in the Portuguese Territories to

2/ Originally issued in provisional form, under the symbol AF/109/L.38 (20 June 1966), during the Special Committee's visit to Africa.

(Mr. Cabral, PAIGC)

the members of the Special Committee. The armed struggle was continuing in Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. The people of Guinea hated war, but war was being forced upon them by Portugal's refusal to recognize their most elementary rights. Moreover, by their struggle the people of Guinea were defending the cause of the United Nations, which was the cause of all mankind. Three years of armed combat had convinced the fighters that they were fighting not only Portuguese oppression but all regimes in which man was still being oppressed by man.

He was appearing before the Special Committee as a freedom fighter and not as a politician. His country's struggle, however, was a political struggle: its purpose was not to kill all the Portuguese soldiers or to win a war, but just to be free, and that was a political objective.

In order to assist the Committee in its work, he had brought with him several impartial witnesses who had no special connexion with so-called Portuguese Guinea and who were prepared to testify. He had also brought with him, as in the previous year; some documentary films which would do more to enlighten the members of the Special Committee on what was really happening in his country than any oral testimony.

The Chairman of his party had again been sentenced to solitary confinement, other leaders had recently been tortured and arbitrary arrests were still increasing.

On the morning of 5 June, ten bombers and four jet aircraft had bombed a small village in Guinea where a meeting of active leaders had been held the previous day. The village had been completely destroyed, seven persons had been killed and fifteen seriously wounded. The aircraft had been American B-26s and Fiats manufactured in the Federal Republic of Germany. Portugal, which was an underdeveloped country ranking last among the European nations, did not manufacture aircraft. Why, then, were the Western countries helping to bomb the people of Guinea? He did not understand the contradictions in the attitude taken by the United States, which proclaimed itself the friend of Africa but continued to help Salazar and the Portuguese criminals. The legitimate aspirations of the people of Guinea were in no way incompatible with those of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

He expressed the hope that the Special Committee - since it could not provide arms for the people of Guinea - would use its influence to see that they received international assistance for purposes of strengthening their economy and improving

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(Mr. Cabral, PAIGC)

public health and education. The areas of the country which had already been liberated were in urgent need of such assistance.

In conclusion, he declared that his country would fight to the end to achieve independence.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Cabral made a further statement.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) said that each of the witnesses present could describe what he had seen personally in Guinea. He suggested that each should make a short statement and then reply to any questions the members of the Special Committee might care to put to him. Those witnesses included French and Italian film makers and two Italian journalists. The Pravda correspondent, who was also to have testified, had just undergone an operation and would be unable to appear before the Special Committee. Also absent were two Netherlands Television technicians, who had been detained in the country.

He asked that, in order to save time, the comrades accompanying him, who had taken a direct part in the struggle, should be permitted to submit written statements later instead of the statements they had intended to make at the meeting, it being understood that they would gladly reply to any questions which might be put to them.

Mr. MEKASHA (Ethiopia) was grateful for the clear exposition of the petitioner, who was well known to the Ethiopian delegation as a champion of African freedom. His picture of the situation in so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands spoke for itself, and almost each day brought fresh evidence of Portuguese atrocities. However, the Ethiopian delegation was confident that the noble efforts of the freedom fighters would triumph.

The petitioner had said that a large portion of so-called Portuguese Guinea had been liberated and was in the hands of the nationalists. The Ethiopian representative wished for clarification on the administrative problems encountered in the liberated areas, and asked what assistance would be needed from the United Nations.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) thanked the Ethiopian representative for his brotherly words and expressed the admiration which he felt for Ethiopia, which had always managed to safeguard its independence, in spite of the fascist aggression to which it had been subjected. The administrative problems of the Territories of which he

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(Mr. Cabral, PAIGC)

was the spokesman were, indeed, fundamental issues. The Portuguese had been in the Territory for five centuries, and for five centuries the Portuguese had systematically acted in such a way as to prevent the local people from administering their own affairs. The population was 99.7 per cent illiterate. The problem of key personnel was therefore crucial. Efforts were being made to solve it with the help of the few national elements available and the experts supplied by African nations. The liberated regions had been divided into zones administered by the PAIGC. At the regional and zonal levels, the party was endeavouring to settle the administrative, health, education, economic and other problems. He hoped that his statement would enlighten the Committee. He thought, however, that some of his comrades were better qualified than he to report on certain specific aspects of the problem, and he asked the Chairman to give the floor, in particular, to Mrs. Joyce Lussu, who could give an account of the country's administrative problems and some aspects of its civil and social life.

Mrs. Joyce LUSSU said that she had recently returned from a journey to the southern part of so-called Portuguese Guinea. She had been mainly interested in the civil organization of the region. The war there was a harsh necessity and it was proceeding, all things considered, in circumstances which gave every ground for hope. It was still necessary, however, to establish a society capable of administering its own affairs in those areas. The Portuguese had so far prevented that. The 99.7 per cent of the population who were illiterate were ipso facto deprived of their civil rights. Under Portuguese law, Guinea was not a colony but a province, the inhabitants of which had the same rights as Portuguese citizens provided that they fulfilled the required conditions, which it was quite impossible for them to do. In fact, in order to vote, every Guinean citizen had to know Portuguese, be familiar with Portuguese custom and culture and submit financial guarantees. That being so, the vast majority of the population were actually governed by a colonial statute which had quickly reduced them to slavery, inasmuch as they were forced to accept inadmissible work contracts and in some cases were liable to deportation.

With the support of the population, the liberation army had managed to keep Portuguese troops out of the liberated zones. The occupying Power had no recourse but bombing. In fact, reconnaissance aircraft and bombers were the only vestiges of mechanization that the country owed to the Portuguese. Whole towns and villages

(Mrs. Joyce Lussu)

were bombed, either once or repeatedly, and rather than seeking safety in flight the local population was persisting in rebuilding them, with admirable tenacity.

The administration of the liberated regions was entrusted to two inter-regional administrative committees, subdivided into four regional committees in the north and six in the south. The regions were subdivided into sectors or provinces, each covering a certain number of villages or communes and administered by five party members and five representatives elected by the people. The whole population, men and women, took part in administrative activities and in the organization of production and distribution at the village level.

The local economy was still a subsistence economy, which sufficed to feed the population. Each committee organized communal work in the territory under its jurisdiction. There, as elsewhere, the women worked side by side with the men.

Education at all levels was one of the prime concerns of the committee, which was building schools in the forests to try to protect their pupils against enemy bombing, for it should be stressed that the Portuguese showed a predilection for attacking school sites.

At the inter-regional and regional committee levels, the administrative heads were appointed by the party. At the sectoral and communal levels, some administrators were appointed by the party, while others were elected according to democratic procedures. The relationship between the administrative services, the armed forces and the party was an extremely flexible one. There was no hierarchical crystallization, but constant osmosis between the military life and civilian life. It was an extremely interesting phenomenon to observe, to which men and women contributed equally. The regular army had been formed with the help of foreign countries. It was supplemented by groups of partisans in the maquis and by popular militias. Justice was dispensed by democratically elected committees, except in cases which called for the establishment of a special court.

To sum up, she had been able to see for herself that the foundations of a future democratic society were already laid and that that society was developing coherently, on the basis of exchanges between doctrine and experience.

Mr. MEEKASHA (Ethiopia) thanked the petitioners for their exhaustive answer to the first part of his question, and asked for fuller information on what help would be needed from the United Nations in health and education.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) said that in the public health field the main problem was that of doctors and medical supplies. During the last session of the Special Committee, the petitioners had asked the United Nations to intervene with the International Red Cross and other competent organizations to obtain medical assistance from them. They had also requested that the World Health Organization (WHO), either directly or through the agency of the neighbouring African countries, should find the means of sending doctors to their liberation movement. At present, the situation with regard to doctors and medical supplies was still very grave.

With regard to education, the party had established nearly a hundred schools in the liberated regions. The problem of teachers was acute, since for language reasons there could be no question of making use of foreign instructors. The party had published reading books, out of its own resources, and had bought some scientific works and mathematics textbooks, but its requirements in the way of books and educational equipment were still considerable. If UNESCO, for which he had the greatest admiration, could help his movement in that field, it would thereby be making a most effective contribution to the struggle against illiteracy.

Mr. MEYASHA (Ethiopia) requested further details of acts of oppression and atrocities committed in order to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous inhabitants.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) said that Portuguese reprisals mainly took the form of bombing isolated villages from the air, while in the big centres, the Portuguese settlers were still arresting and torturing patriots. To cite a specific case, Justin Vieyra, who had been on an assignment for Jeune Afrique in the north of the country, had been crossing the Farim River when some aircraft had flown over. Shortly after he had gone into the bombed village. The petitioners would give him the floor so that he could tell the members of the Committee of his experience.

Mr. Justin VIEYRA said that he had spent three days in the Guinean maquis, from 5 to 8 June 1966. He had been with some maquis leaders when, at about 5 o'clock on the morning of 5 June, his friend Nino had told him to run and lie down in the grass to escape the bombers. His terror had been such that he had been able to count only four bombers, but there had certainly been more of them. An hour later, he had gone into the bombed village. He had counted seven dead or dying, one of whom had been disembowelled. He had seen the corpses of a four-year-old child, a young woman and so forth, and a village devastated by bombing, for the aircraft had returned to the attack several times. While he was on the river, in the open, he had seen two jet aircraft machine-gunning the bombed village. The next day the same village had been looted.

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(Mr. Justin Vieyra)

During the four days he had spent on Guinean territory, it had been the atrocities which had struck him most of all. He appealed to those Africans who were unaware that war was at their door. A mistake was all that was needed for Dakar or any of the Guinean towns to suffer the same fate as the martyred village he had passed through. It should be noted above all that the Portuguese were not attacking soldiers but the civilian population in the villages, which showed the atrocity of that inhuman war.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) asked the Chairman to give the floor to the French film-maker, Isidro Romero, who had seen a child shot to pieces by Portuguese bullets and had brought back some revealing pictures of that scene of horror.

Mr. Isidro ROMERO said that, as a film-maker, he had travelled through northern and southern Guinea. In the southern part of the Territory he had been able to take some interesting shots. The group he was with had been waiting for a column coming to get arms. The column had arrived bearing on a stretcher two wounded, a man and a child, the sole survivors of a village that had been attacked by the Portuguese. The child had tried to run away. He had been shot down by a bullet in the heel, and then a Portuguese officer had come and given him what he had thought was the finishing stroke. The deadly bullet, passing through the child's ear, had torn out his cheek, but unfortunately for the Portuguese the child has survived to bear witness to their atrocities. The film that was to be shown to the Committee would illustrate that story.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) asked the Chairman to give the floor to another of his comrades, the Italian film-maker, Piero Nelli.

Mr. Piero NELLI said that he and his team had made their first stop in a village which the Portuguese had bombed immediately after their departure. The bombing had left a number of dead, including five girls. During its northward march, the team had passed through another village that had been completely destroyed by the Portuguese. While shooting the film they had seen aircraft bombing a third village a few miles away and had managed to film the bombing. They had later gone to the headquarters of the army of the north and had visited field hospitals there, where the wounded partisans were given treatment. It was true that the sight of soldiers wounded in a war had shocked him less than seeing the deliberate butchering of innocent women and children, so implacable were the laws of war. He concluded his statement by mentioning that all the documentary /...

(Mr. Piero Nelli)

films that were to be shown to the Committee had been shot during fifteen days in the maquis.

Mr. CAERAL (PAIGC) summed up all the statements that the Committee had just heard by saying that the Portuguese colonialists were not concentrating on the fighters but on the population of the villages. That was the main feature of the fighting that was going on in Guinea.

Mr. MEKASHA (Ethiopia) said that the African people in the Portuguese Territories had had no alternative but to resort to arms. Ethiopia would support them in their struggle until they achieved independence.

Mr. SANCHEZ (Chile) recalled the statement made by the petitioner before the Special Committee at its meeting in Addis Ababa in 1965 and the film which had been shown of the freedom fighters' struggle in Portuguese Guinea. The petitioner had once again provided valuable information and the Committee should have the opportunity of viewing the film to which he had referred.

He first wished to ask the petitioner what part of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands were controlled by the nationalist forces.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) thanked the representative of Chile and told him of the admiration which his people and his party felt for the Chilean Government and people, whose evolution towards progress was an example for all who were still struggling. The sympathetic words which the Chilean representative had addressed to his movement, both now and in the previous year, gave him the greatest encouragement.

The PAIGC did not yet control a single inch of the territory of the Cape Verde Islands. It was confining itself at present to consolidating its local organization in order to launch the armed struggle as soon as possible, since Portugal's attitude left it no other choice. Starvation and the brutality of the occupying Power had in fact become intolerable.

The PAIGC had, however, liberated almost half the Guinean territory, so much so that the enemy forces were obliged to keep to the confines of their barracks. All that the eye-witnesses who were with him had seen of the Portuguese had been their aircraft. Throughout the liberated regions, the people were in no danger of being arrested or massacred by Portuguese troops. It was only the air-raids that claimed victims.

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(Mr. Cabral, PAIGC)

In the rest of Guinea, large areas were outside Portuguese control. Some people regarded them as liberated. The PAIGC was less categorical, because it was not yet in control of them. The actual situation was that in the south the liberated regions were Catró, Fulacunde, about half the Xitoli region and the Boé region; in the north, the PAIGC controlled the Oio and Farim regions, about half the San Domingo region, approximately 30 per cent of the Canehungo region and approximately 25 per cent of the Gabu region. At Bissao the Portuguese no longer exercised any political or military control. In fact, all they held now was their own towns.

Mr. SANCHEZ (Chile) asked for information about the health, education and economic conditions in the liberated areas of Portuguese Guinea.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) said that he had already spoken about the problem of doctors and medical supplies. His party was trying to solve the problem. It had set up health centres at its bases for treatment of the less serious casualties and the general population. It had established a military hospital in the south and another in the north. Some medical orderlies who had been trained by the Portuguese at Bissao were in turn giving medical training to young volunteers of both sexes.

With regard to education, the liberated regions now had four times as many primary schools and pupils as under the Portuguese: there were over 8,000 children enrolled at school as against 2,000 at the time when education had been the responsibility of the occupying Power. The party was engaged in training cadres, both inside and outside the country. It was receiving foreign aid for that purpose. For the coming July it had organized a teachers finishing course in Guinea. The country's universities had all been mobilized to ensure the development of literary and scientific education, but textbooks and school equipment were lacking and that was a very serious problem.

As far as the country's economy was concerned, it could not even be called under-developed. It was not developed at all. Portugal had made Portuguese Guinea a colony whose business was slaves first and then factories. Monoculture had been the rule until now. Efforts were now being made to encourage new crops, in particular ground-nuts. Up to the present he himself had been the only agricultural expert in the country. He was awaiting the arrival of three colleagues from abroad and took advantage of the opportunity offered him to thank the countries which were willing to help with the training of agricultural specialists.

(Mr. Cabral, PAIGC).

The economy of so-called Portuguese Guinea was basically agricultural. The party had drawn up a report on the possibilities for the development of that economy and was starting to put the conclusions of its report into effect. Besides ground-nuts, the cultivation of other oil-bearing crops, manioc and sweet potatoes was being developed. The school children were going to carry out a tree-planting programme. Furthermore, the Territory possessed unexploited petroleum and bauxite resources. The party was counting on the co-operation of foreign countries and the United Nations to help it to exploit its resources and thus gradually to raise the level of living of the population, which was at present extremely low.

Mr. Piero NELLI said that he had managed to take some shots inside a field hospital in the north which was devoted mainly to the treatment of war casualties. He had seen some amazing things there: the morning was devoted to the medical care usually given to the wounded, injections, dressings and so forth... Then, young student nurses attended in rotation two-hour courses dealing not only with nursing and first aid but also with general therapy. He himself had been present at a clinical lecture on angina pectoris. On the night of 2-3 February 1966, immediately after he had crossed the frontier between Senegal and so-called Portuguese Guinea, he had seen a school in a forest where a sixteen-year-old youth was teaching soldiers and children to read.

The aspirations of the people had been expressed in very simple and naive terms by a peasant woman during a meeting held at the northern headquarters of the Guinean liberation army: "We want to open people's shops in the north of the country where purchases can be made by barter. We want our men to come back and work the land. We want the war to end, but we also want to win it, because this war is a just one, because this war has given us hospitals, schools and freedom, because this war gives us back the land that belongs to us."

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) thanked Mr. Nelli for having rectified an omission: in his statement he had failed to mention the people's shops where they could obtain manufactured goods from abroad in exchange for the agricultural products at their disposal. It was a barter system into which money did not enter. The manufactured goods of prime necessity came mainly from gifts.

Mr. Isidro ROMERO recalled the case of the wounded man he had seen beside the child of whom he had already spoken. The man, who was middle-aged, had

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(Mr. Isidro Romero)

received bazooka splinters in his leg ten days earlier. As the liberation army had no anti-gangrene serum, the man's leg was slowly rotting and the wound was crawling with huge worms. The members of the Special Committee would be able to see in the film that was to be shown to them some pictures that were not easy to stomach, dramatically illustrating the fighters' lack of medical supplies.

Mrs. Joyce LUSSU said that she had visited several schools in the liberated regions. The buildings were primitive: roofs of foliage and branches, tree trunks for tables and benches. Textbooks were lacking. The whole village, however, was taking part in an amazing way in the literacy campaign that had been undertaken. The teachers were very young people who had just completed their secondary education and were devoting two years to teaching before leaving for advanced study abroad.

She appealed to all to help those bush schools to obtain school equipment, paper and cotton fabric to make pinafores for the children.

Mr. SANCHEZ (Chile) said that, as a result of the information provided by the petitioners, the Special Committee had a clear picture of the situation in the liberated areas of Portuguese Guinea. His delegation would like the resolution dealing with the Portuguese Territories in Africa to include an appeal to the specialized agencies, such as UNESCO, WHO and UNICEF, to examine the situation in more detail with a view to advocating measures which would help the African population to regain its freedom.

Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran) expressed appreciation to Mr. Cabral whose record as a leader in the fight for freedom was well known. Mr. Cabral had already testified before the Special Committee in 1965 and had shown a film which had clearly depicted the people's impressive fight for independence; he had now, once again, provided the Committee with important information on the conditions prevailing in Portuguese Guinea. His delegation looked upon Mr. Cabral not as a petitioner but as a great statesman, under whose leadership much of the Territory had already been liberated.

He asked the petitioners to provide the Committee with information on the conditions prevailing in the liberated areas, with particular reference to the efforts made to free Portuguese Guinea.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) thanked the representative of Iran for his words of encouragement and sympathy and for the valuable support given by his country and his people. The day was not far off when the other half of Guinea's territory would be liberated and Guinea would be able to establish fraternal relations with the other free and independent countries.

Mrs. Joyce LUSSU said that there was no lack of food. The people of the southern regions were industrious and despite the lack of modern equipment they used highly advanced methods. Rice was cultivated as in Italy and production was so abundant that it was possible to build up stocks in the people's shops and the silos. The rice might be used as trading currency if the lack of communications did not make it impossible to transport. The country also produced ground-nut oil and palm oil. There was an abundance of livestock and poultry. The people were well fed, strong and healthy. The party was planning the country's agriculture in order to replace the monoculture system established by the Portuguese by a subsistence economy.

The liberation army had at its disposal a more than satisfactory supply of arms and, in particular, anti-aircraft batteries, bazookas and very efficient mortars, which enabled the fighters to drive off enemy bombers. The army was very well organized. It was closely linked with the population and there was no trace of hierarchical crystallization in it. The fighters had no ranks. They were not professional soldiers. The cadres were locally recruited and there were no foreign volunteers in the liberation army. Its advance was rational and coherent. Around the liberated zones, the popular army had the upper hand and the Portuguese avoided engagements. The Portuguese bases had been reinforced, but they were completely isolated and cut off, so much so that their provisions were brought by helicopter. The regular army, with the help of advance actions carried out by the partisans, made frequent forays into enemy territory. It should not be forgotten that the war had started only four years ago. Soon the liberation army would pursue its advance and seize the large towns; that would present not only military problems but political problems which all the forces of democracy would have to help in resolving.

Mr. Isidro ROMERO said that he had taken part, as a film-maker, in an ambush organized by the detachment of the liberation army which had launched an attack on the Portuguese town of Mançoa. The detachment had taken a road that some

(Mr. Isidro Romero)

African workers were repairing under the supervision of Portuguese soldiers. At about 1 p.m. it had attacked the lorries taking the Portuguese soldiers back to their barracks and had set fire to eleven enemy lorries and two automatic machine-guns. It had, of course, spared the lorry carrying the African labourers.

Mr. CARRAL (PAIGC) said that, in order to save time, instead of asking for Piero Nelli, who had also taken part in an important and dangerous engagement, to be given the floor, he would quote an extract from an article by the Portuguese journalist, Martinho Simoes, that had appeared in the Diario de Noticias for April 1966:

"I think 'sad' is the word that best describes the mission of the men who make up the mobile fighting units. Indeed, they must expect the most hostile living conditions. Clearing a way for themselves through the capim, tearing their flesh on the rough tarrafo (tamarisk), getting bogged down in the mud which covers large areas of the Guinean soil (how many times are they not forced to advance hand in hand or else 'swim' over the viscous substance), they have only themselves to rely on.

"They know that the enemy is on the watch for them, hidden in the dense vegetation. They know that the attack will come at any moment - or rather, in the worst circumstances: when some obstacle immobilizes them or when some mishap lowers the efficiency of their security system. They know that if the terrorists decide to take the offensive, it is because they have calculated beforehand that the situation is favourable to them, either because of their numerical superiority, or because of the quantity and quality of the arms at their disposal, or else because they occupy a favorable position. They know that ambush is an imminent danger. They know that they will not have a single moment of rest, however long the expedition lasts....

"... Meanwhile, in the barracks, the garrisons must constantly keep on the alert. The 'bandoleiros' (brigands) are cowards. They come, under cover of silence and the dark of night, hurl the instruments of death supplied to them in abundance by the Communists and flee back to their encampments in the neighbouring countries."

Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran) said that he was impressed by the intensive efforts being made, which were apparently effective since they prevented the Portuguese army from moving about freely. He had also been impressed by the information which the petitioners had provided earlier in reply to questions by the representatives of Ethiopia and Chile on health, education and other social conditions in the Territory. He supported the Chilean representative's suggestion - which his own delegation had made throughout the Committee's session - that an appeal should be made to the specialized agencies to provide aid to the freedom fighters, especially in Portuguese Guinea. Lastly, he assured the petitioners of his delegation's support for the fight for freedom in the Portuguese Territories.

Mr. CARDUCCI-ARTENISIO (Italy) recalled that he had had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Cabral at Addis Ababa and had been able then to express to him his sympathy and admiration. The Italian statements he had just heard had seemed to him extremely full and convincing. Mr. Cabral, too, had given a remarkable exposition of his point of view. He would nevertheless like some more information on the morale of the Portuguese troops and their state of mind. For example, he would like to know whether those troops were on the defensive or the offensive and whether there were any deserters.

Mr. CABRAL (PAIGC) thanked the representative of Italy for his words of sympathy, which, like the ones he had heard last year, were valuable encouragement for him. He hoped that the situation would soon enable him to establish fraternal relations with Italy. For the moment, he was very glad to have such loyal Italian friends at his side in the struggle.

The morale of the Portuguese troops was very low. They were taking part in the war because they did not know how to get out of it. Many soldiers deserted and turned up in Algeria with the forces of the liberation army. More recently, one of the deserters had said that at least 60 per cent of the soldiers in his barracks were tired of the war and wanted only to see the end of it. In that atmosphere there were constant conflicts between soldiers and men. For at least a year and a half the Portuguese had been on the defensive. In fact, their only offensives were directed against the civilian population, whom they bombed relentlessly. The liberation army, on the other hand, had made a point of constantly taking the offensive. That was the very principle of its struggle.

Mr. Piero NELLI told of two episodes at which he had been present in person. Firstly, he had taken part in the fighting near Mançoa, where the Guinean army had laid an ambush for the Portuguese troops. The troops had arrived. All their heavy fire had been concentrated on the liberation army detachment facing them, but they had confined themselves to remaining on the defensive. A group of about thirty freedom fighters had attacked a hundred men, four armoured trucks and two tanks. They had destroyed two trucks and put thirty to forty men out of action. The reason for the Portuguese failure to counter-attack was that they were not sure of the morale of their troops. Secondly, he had seen Portuguese troops disembarking on the other side of Farim and embarking in a gunboat guided by a helicopter. The soldiers had made their way through the bush, shooting at random. They had advanced in disarray, but had made no attempt to attack.

Mr. CARDUCCI-ARTENISIO (Italy) assured Mr. Cabral of his feelings of admiration and sympathy for himself and for his party. He could only reiterate what he had already told Dr. Mondlane at Dar es Salaam: if all his compatriots shared his broad judgement, his bravery and his political vision, no one could have any misgivings about his country's future.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.