

63. His delegation wished to inform the Committee that in a joint communiqué issued in New York on 24 September 1974 at the conclusion of consultations between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of India and Portugal, the following had been stated with respect to the former Portuguese enclaves in India:

“In regard to bilateral relations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal stated that his Government was ready to recognize the full sovereignty of India over the former Portuguese territories of Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, which had become integral parts of the territory of India. The Minister of External Affairs of India expressed the appreciation of the Government of India.”

64. In 1973, the Indian Government had welcomed Guinea-Bissau's declaration of independence and had since established diplomatic relations with that country. India had quite naturally given its support for the withdrawal of the illegal Portuguese occupation forces in Guinea-Bissau when that question had been discussed in the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. Since then Portugal had gone through a process of liberation and had negotiated the withdrawal of its forces. His delegation welcomed the assurances given by Portugal on matters relating to decolonization and looked forward to their early implementation. Portugal had fulfilled its promise with respect to Guinea-Bissau and had already signed an agreement with FRELIMO at Lusaka, ensuring independence for Mozambique (A/9769, annex I). His delegation welcomed the Lusaka agreement and looked forward to the day when Mozambique and Angola would be Members of the United Nations.

65. It was essential that Portugal should fulfil its promise for the full recognition of the right of the people of the Cape Verde Islands to self-determination and independence and it should be prepared to implement the decisions of the United Nations in that regard.

66. His delegation was firmly convinced that the territorial unity and integrity of Angola must be fully preserved, and to that end Portugal should start negotiations with the liberation movements there as soon as possible. Lack of unity among

the liberating forces should not be used as grounds for delaying the process of self-determination and independence for the inhabitants of Angola.

67. With respect to São Tomé and Príncipe, India did not share the view that decolonization must be preceded by armed struggle. India had regained its independence by non-violent and peaceful means and was confident that that method could lead to the independence of São Tomé and Príncipe. His delegation hoped that the Portuguese Government would fulfil its assurances with respect to that Territory and implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of the Territories in Asia which were still under its administration.

68. The illegal racist régime in Zimbabwe should see the writing on the wall and the racist minority régime of Pretoria should realize that it could not indefinitely continue its abhorrent policies of *apartheid*. In that connexion, his delegation wished to inform the Committee that, because of South Africa's policy of *apartheid*, India had decided not to play that country in the final of the Davis Cup tennis tournament. That decision had been made despite the fact that India had reached the final after a long interval of years and had been looking forward with eagerness to winning the trophy for the first time.

69. His delegation saluted the freedom fighters and people of former Portuguese Territories whose dedication and sacrifice had led to the emergence of a new free Africa.

Requests for hearings (continued) (A/C.4/776)

70. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to a request for a hearing concerning Southern Rhodesia from the Reverend Canaan Banana of the African National Council of Zimbabwe (A/C.4/776). If he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

2089th meeting

Friday, 11 October 1974, at 10.45 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2089

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Sidik (Indonesia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Territories under Portuguese domination (continued) (A/9623/Add.1 (parts I and II), A/9694-S/11419, A/9697, A/9735, A/9769, A/9776, A/9788, A/9796, A/C.4/773)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic) congratulated the officers of the Committee and said that Mr. Araújo's election as Rapporteur was a tribute to the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau against imperialism and colonialism. He welcomed the new Members of the United Nations and said that his country was ready to co-operate with them in strengthening their independence.

2. At the current session, consideration of item 66, relating to Territories under Portuguese domination, had taken on an entirely new complexion. There were encouraging signs that it would be possible to omit it from the agenda of the next session of the Assembly, and that representatives of Mozambique and Angola would be able to participate in the deliberations. The political changes in Portugal and the positive attitude of the new Portuguese Government had given new hope to mankind in its fight against colonialism.

3. The agreements concluded at Algiers on 26 August 1974 and at Lusaka on 7 September between Portugal and the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) respectively were historic events, but the triumph of the principle of self-determination of peoples would not be complete until the last Portuguese soldier was withdrawn from Angola, Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe.

4. The position taken in the United Nations by the Syrian Arab Republic had always been clearly in favour of the freedom of peoples and against imperialism and colonialism. His country had always supported the fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and it felt that their victory was also a victory for the principles of the Charter. He wished to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the outstanding role he had played in the negotiations with Portugal.
5. The installation of a new minority régime in Africa must be avoided at all costs. In their statements at the 2081st and 2084th meetings, the representatives of the liberation movements in Angola had again called upon Portugal to state its intentions more clearly with respect to the independence of that Territory, whose situation should not be regarded as different from that of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.
6. The Syrian Arab Republic, which was engaged in a struggle against Zionist imperialism and Israeli aggression, reaffirmed its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and stated that, just as it had supported their struggle for independence, so it would continue to give them proof of loyalty and friendship on their road to national progress.
7. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone), as an African, expressed special satisfaction at the election of a representative of Guinea-Bissau, which had just attained independence and joined the Organization, as Rapporteur of the Committee.
8. Her country had been impressed by the swiftness and determination with which the Portuguese armed forces had restored freedom of speech and movement to their countrymen. The new Portuguese Government had clearly demonstrated its goodwill towards the African Territories to which Portugal had stubbornly clung for centuries. Nevertheless, Sierra Leone believed that there was no reason why the unification of all political organizations should be a prerequisite for the granting of independence to Angola, as that would delay independence. It hoped that the Government of Portugal would take the necessary steps to initiate negotiations, not only with the authentic representatives of Angola but also with the representatives of the other Territories still under Portuguese administration.
9. What had happened in Portugal was not an accident. Most of the new leaders had been actively involved in the colonial wars, which they had come to realize were useless and unjustified and only served to contribute to Portugal's economic backwardness.
10. The victory won by the liberation movements was due fundamentally to the courage and determination of their members, but also to the moral and material support they had received from the United Nations and from the world community as a whole.
11. The role played by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, especially since 1972, in the decolonization of the Portuguese Territories should not be forgotten: it had sent a visiting mission to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, recommended that the national liberation movements be granted observer status, recognized the liberation movements of the Portuguese Territories as the authentic representatives of the peoples of those Territories and recommended that they be enabled to participate in the consideration of questions pertaining to those Territories; it had demanded that negotiations be initiated between Portugal and the national liberation movements, urged Portugal to put an immediate end to its colonial wars and called for the setting up of a commission of inquiry into the Mozambique massacres. Those decisions of the Special Committee had been incorporated into resolutions of the General Assembly and had received substantial support. Sierra Leone was particularly grateful to the specialized agencies, which had taken practical steps to facilitate the presence of the liberation movements in discussions dealing with matters pertaining to their respective Territories.
12. At the same time, it was true that there had always been a minority group in the General Assembly which, hiding behind the facade of legality, had voted against or abstained on all resolutions affecting colonialism. The history of the adoption of Security Council resolution 322 (1972) showed that certain delegations had succeeded in watering down the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII). Those delegations had accepted the fact that Guinea-Bissau should occupy its rightful place in the community of nations because Portugal had said so. In a word, it would appear that the administering Power was always right.
13. With regard to the Territories under Portuguese domination, a crack had appeared in the wall of colonialism, but vigilance must be maintained and the struggle continued until the wall crumbled in ruins.
14. Ms. WHITE (United States of America) expressed her Government's deep satisfaction with the progress of the process of decolonization in Portuguese-speaking Africa during the past five months. The leaders of Guinea-Bissau and FRELIMO should be commended for the sense of realism and compromise they had shown in their negotiations with Portugal, and they should be wished success in the task of establishing new institutions and policies to execute the will of their peoples. With respect to Mozambique, her delegation hoped that its evolution towards independence would be a peaceful one and that it, too, might take its place in the Organization the following year. As for Angola, it hoped that the various liberation movements could resolve their differences so that decolonization could proceed and the structures for self-government be established.
15. Other African Governments and leaders that had helped to arrange the negotiations concerning Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, as well as the Secretary-General, who had lent his good offices, deserved the Committee's thanks for their past efforts and their encouragement for the future. The United States, for its part, hoped to see the process of decolonization reach a peaceful conclusion with the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa determining their own future.
16. Mr. CISSÉ (Mali) observed that the people of Guinea-Bissau had waged their heroic struggle for liberation under the PAIGC flag and under the leadership of Amílcar Cabral, to whom he paid a tribute. History had always demonstrated the invincibility of peoples fighting for their freedom, as was evidenced by the events which had occurred in Portugal. The victories of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique, together with the organized resistance of the Portuguese people, had thus led to the defeat of half a century of fascism. The repeal of article 1 of the 1933 Constitution (see A/9697), the recognition of the State of Guinea-Bissau and the Algiers and Lusaka agreements were events of great historic importance in the decolonization process and would contribute to the establishment of a new type of bond between Africa and Portugal. Nevertheless, the process would not be devoid of obstacles, as could be seen from the events which had occurred at Lourenço Marques and Lisbon after the signing of the Lusaka agreement on 7 September. The firmness with which the reactionary and racist elements in Lourenço Marques had been neutralized had saved the situation and strengthened the feeling of trust between the Portuguese armed forces and the liberation movements.
17. With regard to Angola, his delegation stressed the need to create favourable conditions for negotiations between the

Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA), which were the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people, so as to bring about that Territory's independence. In order to safeguard the territorial integrity and national identity of Angola, the idea of government with tribal participation must be categorically rejected.

18. In São Tomé and Príncipe, the Portuguese Government must put an end to the acts of vandalism by the settlers and the military, which were jeopardizing the declaration of 25 April 1974 of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, and it should accede to the request of the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé en Príncipe (MLSTP) that it transfer power in that Territory.

19. As for the Cape Verde Islands, there was nothing to prevent their independence within the framework of a nation united to Guinea, since the undisputed representative in that case was PAIGC, within whose framework the peoples of those two Territories had forged a common destiny during their years of struggle.

20. It was to be hoped that the new régime in Lisbon would establish a time-table of meetings, which, through open negotiations, would lead to independence for the Territories under Portuguese domination in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned and with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. In that connexion, he expressed satisfaction at the statements by Portuguese representatives to the effect that the Portuguese Government would respect United Nations decisions and resolutions concerning decolonization; he was also pleased by the Portuguese Foreign Minister's condemnation at the 2239th plenary meeting of the continued existence of discriminatory social systems such as *apartheid*. Thus, when the Portuguese colonial Territories were completely liberated, the new Portugal would again occupy its place in the concert of nations.

21. Mr. PAQUI (Dahomey) said that the changes that had occurred in the status of the Territories under Portuguese domination since the twenty-eighth session had surpassed all expectations. No one could have foreseen that the reactionary and retrograde régime of Salazar and Caetano would tumble so easily. In freeing the people of Portugal, the youth of the Portuguese army had affirmed their desire to accept and implement the United Nations resolutions on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

22. His delegation regarded sympathetically the efforts of the new régime in Portugal to free itself of the burden which had for so long weighed down the policies of reactionary Portugal. Particular attention must be drawn to Mr. de Spínola's amendment of article 1 of the Constitution (*ibid.*), the communiqué issued as a result of the Secretary-General's visit to Lisbon in August (see A/9623/Add.1 (part I), par. 24) and the statement by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs before the General Assembly at its 2239th plenary meeting. Also worthy of note were the negotiations with the representatives of PAIGC, which had led to the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the talks between FRELIMO and the representatives of the Lisbon régime, which had resulted in the establishment of the Transitional Government in Mozambique, and the statements of intent by the authorities of the new Portugal. However, it should not be forgotten that the forces of reaction still had not accepted defeat and were planning their revenge, as recent events in Portugal demonstrated.

23. His delegation believed that until the Cape Verde Islands were free, independence for Guinea-Bissau was no more than a partial victory, since PAIGC included elements from both Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. Simi-

larly, until Mozambique achieved complete independence without foreign interference and until the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe as well as Angola were freed, it would be naive to relax one's efforts and claim victory. In the case of Angola, his delegation believed that nothing—neither the divisions among the liberation movements in the Territory, nor the myriad small groups which emerged daily, nor the substantial white population living there—could justify the slightest delay in the granting of independence. Although the efforts being made by the progressive elements in the new Portugal deserved recognition, his delegation believed that much still remained to be done and that it would be a tragic mistake to relax one's guard.

24. His delegation could not, therefore, join in issuing a certificate of good conduct to Portugal until every inch of African soil was freed. It was also convinced that the progressive elements in Portugal would do everything in their power to honour their commitments and thus restore to Portugal its rightful position in the United Nations and to instil confidence throughout the African continent, so that Portugal could play its proper role in Africa, to which it was bound by its geographical position and by historical ties.

25. Mr. SIMITXHIU (Albania) said that the Albanian people had always vigorously supported the struggle of the African peoples to gain their freedom and the multilateral efforts being made by the recently liberated African countries to build a new life and strengthen their national independence. It welcomed every one of the victories won by those peoples on the path to free and sovereign development. It should be recalled that the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the recognition of the independence of Mozambique had not been achieved through "goodwill" or "peaceful initiatives" on the part of the colonialists. On the contrary, they had been the product of the long, difficult and heroic struggle for freedom undertaken by the courageous peoples of those countries, the struggle waged by the peoples of the other Portuguese colonies, and the solidarity and multilateral support given by the freedom-loving African peoples and other nations. That struggle had forced the colonialists to sign the Algiers and Lusaka agreements. All the same, the peoples of the Portuguese colonies had a great deal further to go. The domination and barbarous exploitation of several millions of people were still going on. The imperialists and their lackeys, the colonialists and the neo-colonialists were using every means available to them to prevent and delay the complete decolonization of the Portuguese colonies.

26. The right of the people of Mozambique to independence had already been recognized, but it would not be finally affirmed until 25 July 1975. The criminal adventure of a handful of racists and Fascist reactionaries in the city of Lourenço Marques directed against the Transitional Government showed that the colonialists were seeking to regain lost ground.

27. The colonial structure was being maintained in Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé and Príncipe, and the colonialists were still armed and were constantly threatening the indigenous inhabitants. Emphasis had rightly been placed by certain African delegations on the need to be increasingly watchful of the moves of the colonialists in the current stage of decolonization, for no colonial country had ever been known to give up its colonies voluntarily.

28. The monopolies of certain imperialist Powers were inextricably tied to the Portuguese colonialists by their interest in the joint exploitation of the vast natural resources of the African colonies and in the use of those Territories for strategic military and expansionist purposes. Were it not for those important interests, some of the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, would not be so concerned over the proclamation of full independence for the

Portuguese colonies in Africa and would not have supplied modern mass-extinction weapons to the former Fascist colonialist régime of Salazar and Caetano for the purpose of suppressing the national liberation struggle of the African peoples in those colonies. Similarly, the Fascist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had been joined like Siamese twins to the Portuguese colonialists. The imperialists had been moving heaven and earth to prolong the life of colonialism and to prevent the oppressed peoples from gaining their freedom and independence. To attain their goal, they had resorted to all kinds of political machinations and absurd subterfuges. They claimed that, owing to certain territorial features of Angola, the granting of independence to the Angolan people was not an immediate necessity. Everyone was aware of the political manoeuvres involved in "decolonization by stages", the granting of independence by means of a referendum held in the presence and under the control of foreign occupation troops, and the establishment of a State "federated" with Portugal. His delegation, like many others, was certain that the African peoples still under colonial domination were in every way capable of building their own future without colonialist protection. The colonialists and their imperialist patrons were wholly responsible for the poverty, the backwardness and the destruction of the age-old traditions and culture of the African peoples. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé and Príncipe, like those of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, wanted complete freedom and independence.

29. The protracted struggle of the colonized peoples for their independence and freedom was an integral part of the great struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. If those peoples were to fulfil their national aspirations, that struggle must be waged with determination, using every possible means and not hesitating in the face of any obstacle or manoeuvre. The fraternal nations of Africa that had already won their freedom were growing daily more conscious of the fact that their victories would not be completely safe so long as colonialism persisted in even one African country. They were also becoming increasingly aware of the dangers inherent in the policies of the new colonialists, the United States and the Soviet Union, which were sabotaging the expanding struggle for national liberation.

30. The Albanian people were fully convinced that the peoples of Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe would soon win their independence, despite persecution and repression on the part of the reactionaries and the flagrant interference of the imperialist Powers. The just armed struggle of the African peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke would topple the minority racist régimes, the régimes of oppression and exploitation, and the imperialists and colonialists. That was an inevitable historical process.

31. Mr. ABOU-ASSI (Lebanon) observed that the great victories represented by the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO signed at Lusaka gave rise to high hopes that the process of decolonization was nearing an end in Africa. Lebanon welcomed those victories because it had never wavered in its support of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In addition, the statement made by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 2239th plenary meeting had given some grounds for optimism.

32. One must not forget that the liberation struggle was fraught with danger and that the African peoples waging that struggle must make enormous sacrifices to uphold their rights and defend their territorial integrity and unity. The international community must help those peoples to attain full independence.

33. The attitude hitherto manifested by the Government of Portugal towards the national liberation movements, which it had branded as terrorists, had now been shown up in all its sterility. The statement made in London on 24 May by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning the establishment of personal contacts with the leaders of the liberation movements had opened up new horizons. The colonial countries should follow Portugal's example, because, as experience had shown, the aspirations of peoples to self-determination and independence must be fulfilled and wars of liberation inevitably culminated in the defeat of colonialism. The advance towards liberation was an irreversible process.

34. The Lebanese Government reaffirmed its support for the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and was anxiously awaiting the day when every people would be free and would occupy its rightful place in the international community.

Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia) took the Chair.

35. Mr. EVUNA OWONO (Equatorial Guinea) said that the recent events in Portugal and its colonies were not the result of mere chance but the logical result of the armed war waged by the colonial peoples of the African continent. The anti-colonial struggle, in which its initiator, the illustrious Amílcar Cabral, had given his life, deserved the full moral and material assistance of the world's peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples. His Government would spare no effort to support the legitimate cause of the colonial peoples until complete decolonization had been achieved.

36. His Government wondered what difficulties had prevented Portugal from granting independence to Cape Verde, a Territory clearly linked to Guinea-Bissau by its traditions, customs and culture and strongly joined to the new republic by PAIGC in a common struggle. It hoped that the Government of Portugal would clarify its intentions concerning the Cape Verde Islands. Similarly, his delegation hoped that Portugal would not ignore the cases of some of its colonies merely because no armed struggle was going on in them. If the proclamation of Mozambique's independence had already been decided upon, the same thing should happen with the Territories of Angola, Cabinda and São Tomé and Príncipe.

37. His delegation believed that the decolonization of all the African Territories under Portuguese colonial domination would constitute a decisive step towards restraining and perhaps breaking up the illegal systems of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. A very important measure in that connexion would be Portugal's recognition that all the political liberation movements of its Territories that had been recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were representative of the true indigenous peoples of those Territories. If Portugal acted without the support of OAU, it ran the risk of committing political errors.

38. The latest events in Mozambique showed the need to take preventive measures to transfer power to the true nationalists, since only a feeling of pure nationalism could defend the cause of the peoples who were defenceless against the interests created by colonialism.

39. His Government believed that where the decolonization of any Territory was concerned, its independence must not be made conditional on any economic or social situations. It made a definitive appeal to Portugal to grant independence immediately to all Territories under its colonial domination. It was too late for Portugal to try and justify itself as a good administering Power, and while the old Portugal had admittedly changed, it could not take a step backwards by establishing another type of colonial system in the new Portugal. In saying that, his delegation was not trying to break up any subsequent relations between the Territories and their administering Power, for it believed that Portugal had the right

and duty to give assistance to its colonies after their independence; that would give the Portugal of today a privileged position not only among its Territories but also with all African Governments.

40. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) said that during the long years of struggle of the African peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, Tunisia had been unsparing in helping the fraternal African peoples to gain liberation. Nevertheless, when the struggle for liberation had reached its climax, his delegation had constantly advocated dialogue and negotiation.

41. The Caetano régime, which had for so long oppressed the peoples of Portugal and the African Territories under Portuguese domination, had been finally overthrown by the pressure of the liberation movements and Portuguese freedom-loving and peace-loving forces. The advent of a new era in Portugal had brought about a situation that would have been inconceivable under the old Fascist régime of Caetano. In recognizing the right of the Territories under its domination to independence and self-determination, the Government of Portugal had not only done justice to the oppressed peoples of Africa but had also reconciled itself with freedom and democracy. In the light of the new situation, Tunisia had decided to renew its diplomatic relations with Portugal, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the eleventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Mogadiscio in June 1974.

42. Guinea-Bissau was already an active Member of the United Nations. In Mozambique, an agreement between FRELIMO and the Government of Portugal had just been signed, and his delegation was certain that the period ending 21 June 1975, the official date of the proclamation of Mozambique's independence, would be used by the Transitional Government to initiate its work of reconstruction and development of the country. The people of the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe had always aspired to self-determination and independence, and their legitimate aspirations should be satisfied. His delegation hoped that negotiations between the legitimate representatives of the people of São Tomé and Príncipe and Portugal would be undertaken without delay, with a view to granting independence to those Territories. The head of the new Government of Portugal had also proclaimed unequivocally the right of the people of São Tomé and Príncipe to self-determination and independence, and his delegation hoped that the way to the establishment of the republic of São Tomé and Príncipe would be opened through short and decisive negotiations.

43. In Angola, the Angolan fighters had written one of the brightest pages of the history of decolonization of Africa and had won the right to represent their people and be considered the sole legitimate participants in the negotiations to be undertaken without delay for Angola's accession to independence as soon as possible.

44. His delegation was convinced that the new Portuguese Government, in co-operation with the authentic representatives of the Angolan people, would embark without delay on the last stage of its policy of decolonization in Angola, and to that end, the Angolan people and all of free Africa would do their utmost to help it reach the only possible solution, namely, the complete and total independence of Angola, with its natural corollary, absolute respect for its territorial integrity.

45. His delegation believed that international organizations, and in particular the specialized agencies, should come to the aid of the newly independent African peoples and give them all the assistance necessary for carrying out their reconstruction and development projects. In addition, Tunisia believed that there should be a re-examination of the economic and other sanctions directed against Portugal. Those sanctions

had been necessary during the Caetano régime, but the time had come to consider lifting the embargo against Portugal.

46. In conclusion, he recalled the words spoken at the 2262nd plenary meeting by Mr. Siad Barre, the Somali Head of State and current Chairman of OAU, who had declared that Africa was prepared for friendly co-operation with Portugal and its people and that Portugal need not fear for the safety of its nationals; those who had been settlers would be able to live in peace and prosperity, provided that they were willing to respect the laws of the country in which they lived, and the Portuguese would enjoy greater peace in liberated Africa than in Africa under Portuguese colonial domination. Africans, who had been victims of racial discrimination for centuries, were very careful not to practise racism themselves.

47. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana) recalled that his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs had said in the General Assembly at its 2249th plenary meeting that the current trends of Portuguese policy were to be applauded and that Portugal should be assured of the support of the international community for all the constructive programmes in furtherance of those trends.

48. The new situation constituted a victory for the progressive forces of Portugal and also a triumph for the General Assembly and its various organs dealing directly or indirectly with the question of decolonization. The true victory, however, belonged to the African people, the freedom fighters who had, with a spirit of sacrifice and with great integrity, fought tirelessly against the Portuguese armed forces to win their freedom and who, in one of the classic examples of historical irony, had also liberated the Portuguese from themselves. But the victory was only partial, for there still remained many peoples for which independence was still only an aspiration. Africa could not be partly free. As the Prime Minister of Guyana had said on 26 August 1974, when a mission from the United Nations Council for Namibia had visited Guyana, "we are convinced that our freedom is threatened while others, such as our brothers in Namibia and other parts of southern Africa, remain in shackles" (see A/9624/Add.1, para. 26).

49. The independence of Guinea-Bissau and the impending independence of Mozambique, which would come on 25 June 1975, were, however, only part of a process which should advance rapidly. The Government of Portugal had fully recognized the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence and had stated its readiness to implement the decisions of the United Nations in the matter. However, some white reactionaries of Angola, trying to frustrate that Territory's advance towards independence, were responsible for a campaign of agitation which the international community watched with sorrow. His delegation believed that the Government of Portugal had the unquestionable responsibility to control those reactionaries and, in conformity with its pledge of pursuing a policy of decolonization, to respect fully the unity and territorial integrity of Angola.

50. With respect to São Tomé and Príncipe, his delegation was equally pleased at the recognition by the Government of Portugal of the right of those Territories to self-determination and independence and trusted that Portugal would soon take specific steps to ensure that they achieved independence.

51. With regard to the Cape Verde Islands, Guyana welcomed the agreements signed at Algiers between PAIGC and Portugal, and called upon Portugal to enter into consultation as soon as possible with PAIGC, the legitimate, recognized representative of the people of those Islands, with a view to arranging the transfer of power to them.

52. However, the international community should provide those new nations, including Guinea-Bissau, with massive economic and technical assistance, which they would man-

ifestly require in their efforts at construction and reconstruction in order to avoid economic ruin in their first years. His delegation also called on the specialized agencies to participate in that vital task. For its part, the Government of Guyana was ready to assist in every way that it could.

53. The lesson of Portugal and its colonial epoch was that no force could stop an organized people struggling for their freedom. His delegation hoped that that lesson would not be lost on that final bastion of racism and oppression in Africa, the Fascist minority in Johannesburg.

54. Mr. LESSING (German Democratic Republic) said that the German Democratic Republic, as a socialist country, condemned all forms of exploitation and regarded colonialism and its various manifestations as a crime against their victims. They violated the Charter of the United Nations, the recognized principles of human rights and the legitimate right of all peoples to independence and self-determination. Although various international problems remained unsolved and some hotbeds of conflict still threatened international peace and security, the main trend at the time was towards détente and the settlement of conflicts by political means. That situation facilitated the struggle for independence and freedom. The remnants of colonialism in all their forms and manifestations were therefore particularly anachronistic and repugnant. For all those reasons, the German Democratic Republic would always oppose colonialism, as it had done in the past. It had given and continued to give political, moral and material support to all peoples struggling to achieve independence and self-determination, which, in the case of the African continent, meant support for the liberation movements recognized by OAU. As a logical consequence of its anti-colonialist stand, the German Democratic Republic had always supported the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and, at the twenty-eighth session, had been a sponsor of General Assembly resolution 3113 (XXVIII) on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration. Since that time, as a result of the courageous struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese Territories and of the democratic forces in Portugal, the Fascist régime in Portugal had fallen. The new Government of Portugal had stated in various declarations that it was prepared to grant independence and self-determination to the peoples of its Territories, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and all subsequent relevant decisions of the United Nations.

55. The German Democratic Republic welcomed those developments, and considered that the independence of Guinea-Bissau was an important step towards the fulfilment of the pledges of the new Portuguese Government. The German Democratic Republic was particularly pleased at the success of PAIGC, the party of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, with which the German Democratic Republic, along with other socialist countries, had for many years maintained close ties.

56. The experience of the people of Guinea-Bissau had proved once again that courage, unity and perseverance and the correct use of political action and armed struggle when necessary were the means of achieving ultimate success against colonialism.

57. The German Democratic Republic deeply regretted that during the responsible and serious debate in the Committee slanderous references had been made to the Soviet Union, a country to which the African liberation movements had reason to be grateful for the valuable assistance which it had rendered them in the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and which was the initiator of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

58. His Government welcomed the conclusion of the Lusaka agreement and congratulated the people of Mozambique on the victory they had achieved under the leadership of FRELIMO, with which the German Democratic Republic had always maintained the friendliest relations.

59. The representative of FRELIMO at the United Nations had confirmed at the 2081st meeting that the Government of Portugal was complying fully with the Lusaka agreement and was genuinely co-operating with FRELIMO to repress Fascist sedition. His Government assumed that the findings of the Commission of Inquiry on the Reported Massacres in Mozambique would furnish evidence, once again, that colonialism could engender terrible crimes. He felt that the persons responsible for those massacres should be duly punished.

60. His delegation hoped that an independent Mozambique would become a State Member of the United Nations at the next session. Progress was slower in the case of Angola and the remaining Portuguese colonies. His Government hoped that the Government of Portugal would expedite the process and, above all, speedily commence negotiations with the legitimate representatives of Angola, the liberation movements recognized by OAU and the legitimate representatives of the other Portuguese Territories.

61. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic agreed with the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, among others, that the question of *apartheid* was not only a humanitarian issue but a problem of national liberation and decolonization. It therefore felt that the question of *apartheid* should be considered in the Fourth Committee. His Government supported the liberation movements in southern Africa and co-operated with the Special Committee on *Apartheid* which, from 24 to 29 May 1974, had met in his country's capital, Berlin. The process of liberation of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies would have a favourable influence on the situation in southern Africa. However, it should not be forgotten that not only the multinational corporations and some Western Powers but also the South African régime had interests in Mozambique and, more especially, in Angola. That was particularly true in the case of the areas of Cassinga and Cunene in Angola, where South African companies participated in the exploitation of mineral resources. Petrangol, the largest petroleum company in Angola, worked in close co-operation with various South African companies. For all those reasons, the racist régime would undoubtedly seek to prevent genuine independence in that Territory.

62. His delegation hoped that the United Nations would do everything possible to assist the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle for independence and freedom.

63. The German Democratic Republic would continue to support the liberation movements, as in the past, and would co-operate to the fullest possible extent in the development of those newly independent States.

64. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq) stated that world attention had been concentrated on the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination, whose peoples, through the freedom fighters, had opposed the savage, cruel practices of the colonial Power. Fortunately, Portugal had taken positive steps in recognizing Guinea-Bissau, setting a date for independence in Mozambique and pledging to continue to implement that policy, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal had stated at the 2239th plenary meeting. However, his delegation wished to emphasize that the Government of Portugal had the grave responsibility of suppressing attempts by the white minority to seize power. Consequently, it called on Portugal to keep to the date set for Mozambique's accession to independence, and to begin negotiations with a view to granting

independence to the Cape Verde Islands and Angola. In that connexion, he said that the Government of Portugal, together with the liberation movements, should put an end to attempts by the white minority to impede the process of decolonization, in the same way as FRELIMO and Portugal had co-operated in achieving a solution to the situation in Mozambique. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq had stated at the 2262nd plenary meeting, it was to be hoped that following the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the transfer of power to FRELIMO as a prelude to the proclamation of independence in that Territory, the other Territories under Portuguese

domination would soon achieve independence. Such a situation would be a triumph for the Portuguese people and would enable Portugal to establish relations of friendship and co-operation with all nations of the world. His delegation wished to pay tribute to the freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonies, in particular to the memory of Amílcar Cabral, whose struggle was an example to his people and to other nations, and to place on record its appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

2090th meeting

Monday, 14 October 1974, at 10.40 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2090.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Territories under Portuguese domination (continued) (A/9623/Add.1 (parts I and II), A/9694-S/11419, A/9697, A/9735, A/9769, A/9776, A/9788, A/9796, A/C.4/773)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) said that when Amílcar Cabral had stated before the Fourth Committee at the twenty-seventh session (1986th meeting) that the struggle for complete liberation of his people was in the best interests of the people of Portugal, no one could have foreseen that the development which had brought a basic change in the political course taken by Lisbon in relation to its Territories would have been so swift. Nevertheless, the downfall of the obsolete colonial régime could not be regarded as a mere accident; it was, rather, the result of a determined and vigorous campaign carried out by the masses. The struggle against the common enemy of racism and colonialism had ripened both inside Portugal and where the colonial war was being waged against the patriots of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Angola and the other Territories.

2. The progressive world had welcomed the realistic approach of the new Government of Portugal which, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, had recognized the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence. Even though concrete deeds testified to the intentions of the new Government of Portugal, the process of decolonization could not be regarded as completed. The Government of Portugal had recognized the independence of Guinea-Bissau and on 10 September had concluded an agreement with the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) concerning the Transitional Government in Mozambique and the date of Mozambique's independence (A/9769, annex I). With respect to Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and the other Territories, his delegation hoped that Portugal would proceed in the same way as in the cases of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique and, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal had said at the 2239th plenary meeting, would find a solution which would ensure an independent future free of colonial and neo-colonial pressures and which would promote the progress and racial harmony of the peoples of those Territories.

3. The new situation in the Portuguese Territories, which not long before had served as a bridge-head of colonialism in

southern Africa, opened up possibilities for concentrated and organized action against that bastion and against its allies, the Governments of the main imperialist Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), whose moral, political and military assistance and huge capital investments in southern Africa helped the racist régimes to preserve their power. Pressure should be exerted on the Governments of the imperialist Powers for them to follow Portugal's example. Failing that, the international community should question the sincerity of those who welcomed the development in the Portuguese Territories while in fact doing their utmost to prevent a similar development from taking place in the African Territories governed by racist régimes which had been and continued to be under their responsibility.

4. Events had proved that the process of liberating peoples from the colonial yoke was a predetermined and irreversible one and that in the struggle for the implementation of the right to self-determination and independence the peoples who availed themselves of the assistance of the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and other democratic forces in the world were stronger than the weapons of the colonialists and their allies. The international détente also offered new possibilities to accelerate the process of the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and the fulfilment of the aims of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Czechoslovakia, together with other socialist countries, had always supported the national liberation movements and would continue to do everything within its power to assist the peoples of the Portuguese and other Territories in their struggle for independence and freedom and in their efforts to build a new life.

5. Mr. CAMPBELL (Australia) said that his delegation was deeply gratified to see that the negative attitude of confrontation and defiance previously assumed by Portugal had given way to co-operation and decolonization. The events that had taken place had been brought about especially by the dedicated campaigning and resistance of the liberation movements with the support of a united Africa. Portugal had improved its relations with Africa and had received the backing of Europe for its new policy and it might be hoped that the remaining colonial problems in southern Africa, more particularly the situation in Zimbabwe and Namibia, would attract the same solidarity. His delegation had understood that a people could reach the point where they had to fight for their human rights if those rights were not protected or were denied by law. It was not necessary to look any further than the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to understand that attitude.