

## 2085th meeting

Tuesday, 8 October 1974, at 10.40 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2085

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. Mrs. MYKLEVOLL (Norway) said that, unlike previous years, when, owing to the persistent refusal of Portugal to participate in the work of the Committee, the consideration of the question of Territories under Portuguese domination had been a most frustrating experience, at the current session the Committee's discussions were taking place in an atmosphere of optimism and co-operation. After 48 years of uninterrupted dictatorship, Portugal had a new Government which had abandoned the colonial policies of the former régime and had fully recognized the right of the people of the colonies to self-determination and independence. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal had said at the 2239th plenary meeting, the collapse of the former régime had been the result of a persistent struggle on the part of the Portuguese people against a dictatorial régime which had turned its back on the realities of the contemporary world, a world in which interdependence was increasing daily, and which had made a *tabula rasa* of the major events of the second part of the twentieth century.
2. In that connexion, her delegation wished to pay a tribute to the democratic forces in Portugal, which for many years had actively and courageously opposed the dictatorship at home and the colonial wars abroad. In his statement at the 2241st plenary meeting the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway had already expressed the satisfaction of his Government at the important decisions taken by the new Portuguese Government to ensure the rapid and peaceful implementation of self-determination and independence for the peoples of the African Territories. She herself also wished to pay a special tribute to the national liberation movements, whose resilience, dedication and sacrifice had made the new situation possible.
3. The co-operation between the new Portuguese Government and the African liberation movements had resulted in significant advances towards the full implementation of the principles of self-determination and independence. Guinea-Bissau was already a fully fledged member of the international community. Mozambique would achieve its independence in June 1975 and, in the meantime, the Transitional Government had already been established. As for Angola, negotiations with the liberation movements would soon begin and it was to be hoped that they would be imbued with the same constructive spirit as the negotiations with Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. In that connexion, her delegation hoped that the differences existing between those taking part in the negotiations would soon be resolved and that the results achieved to date would not be upset by elements unwilling to accept the realities of modern Africa. Mindless bloodshed and the exacerbation of racial tension was all that those elements could possibly achieve.
4. Once self-determination and independence had been achieved, attention should be directed to the pressing problems created by the war-shattered economies of the new States. The national liberation movements had already made considerable progress in that direction through their reconstruction programmes. However, more extensive bilateral and multilateral aid programmes would be necessary, and it was to be hoped that the competent organs of the United Nations would initiate and carry out assistance projects for Guinea-Bissau and the other Portuguese Territories which were now approaching nationhood. For its part, Norway was ready to do its share in the common effort, as it had done in the past. Moreover, it sincerely hoped that any changes in the situation in all those Territories would soon lead to an improvement in the deteriorating situation in other parts of southern Africa, notably Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.
5. Mr. NEPIYVODA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the changes that had occurred in the situation in the Portuguese Territories during the past year. The overthrow of the fascist régime represented a victory for the oppressed colonial peoples and for their national liberation movements, whose struggle had contributed to that overthrow.
6. His delegation welcomed the decision of the Government of Portugal to put an end to colonialism and stressed the need for that decision to be implemented in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations. It also welcomed the achievements of the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. In particular, it wished to emphasize the success achieved by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), following the course mapped out by Amílcar Cabral, and to congratulate Guinea-Bissau on its admission to membership of the United Nations and to wish it success in its future development. Its victory was the victory of all anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces, which the socialist countries were continuing and would continue to support.
7. The events that had taken place in Portugal showed that the march of history could not be halted. The victory that had been won demonstrated the link between the anti-colonialist struggle and the lessening of international tensions, which was the product of the policy of détente and of establishing normal relations between States having different systems of government. New possibilities were thereby opened up in the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. However, the collapse of the last colonial empire, while a cause for rejoicing, did not mean that the struggle was over. With the fall of the Portuguese empire, only one link had been broken in the chains oppressing southern Africa. The fight had become even more urgent, because the enemies of the peoples of the Portuguese Territories were already placing obstacles in their path. A decision should now be reached as to how to put an end to the resistance offered by those who supported racism and *apartheid*, which had quite justly been declared to be crimes against humanity. His country would continue to lend its support in that struggle.
8. Mr. ZIMBA (Zambia), on behalf of his delegation, welcomed the representatives of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, whose presence was an irrefutable proof that

no power could hold back the tide of independence and national liberation.

9. With regard to the question of Territories under Portuguese domination, his delegation was gratified by the progressive developments witnessed in the situation in the Portuguese Territories. Those developments were the direct result of the armed struggle in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and Mozambique, and of the struggle of the progressive forces in Portugal. The downfall of the reactionary Caetano clique opened up new possibilities of achieving self-determination and independence in those Territories, and freedom and democracy in Portugal itself.

10. It was significant that the organizations which prior to 25 April 1974 had been described as "terrorist" had now irrevocably asserted their right to represent their peoples as the only custodians of their freedoms and destinies. His country welcomed the agreement concerning the independence of Mozambique signed at Lusaka on 7 September by the Government of Portugal and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) (A/9769, annex I), which had led to the subsequent formation of the Transitional Government. However, he noted with disappointment the obstacles which some Governments, particularly the racist South African Government, were endeavouring to put in the way of the independence of Mozambique and Angola, as well as the desperate manoeuvres carried out by a few reactionary settlers who were trying to unleash violence against the peace-loving peoples of those emerging States. In fact, there were powerful economic and strategic interests which were trying to delay the decolonization process and prevent the defeat of international imperialism in those Territories, particularly in Angola. They would not succeed, however, since the peoples of the Portuguese Territories would not give up their armed struggle. The monopolists and racists should accept the inevitability of the African revolution and assist the liberation movements, rather than attempt to subvert them.

11. With regard to Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe, he hoped that negotiations for their independence would soon begin between the Government of Portugal and the nationalist leaders. That independence should consist in the complete transfer of all political and economic power to the representatives of the people, and there should be no traces of neo-colonialist relationships. It was to be hoped that the new Portugal would honour its international obligations in that regard.

12. Finally, he wished to call upon the international community to provide economic assistance to the liberation movements in solving the problems of those Territories; such assistance, in the case of Mozambique, would go a long way towards helping the Government headed by FRELIMO to rebuild the economy plundered by the racist settlers.

13. Mr. ELLIOTT (Canada) observed that no one who had participated in the deliberations of the Committee during the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly would have dared to predict then that the work of the current session would begin on the positive and encouraging note which marked the consideration of the item currently before the Committee. His Government had greeted with relief and deep satisfaction the announcement some five months earlier by the Government of Portugal of its intention to renounce its previous colonial policy. His country had also warmly welcomed the subsequent pledges by that Government of full co-operation with the United Nations in implementing the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the various United Nations resolutions concerning Territories under Portuguese administration. As had once again been emphasized during the Secretary-General's visit to Portugal in August, that involved specific and explicit

recognition by Portugal of the right to self-determination and independence of all overseas Territories under its administration.

14. If those pledges and affirmations by the Portuguese Government were highly encouraging, the progress made in the subsequent decisions and agreements had so far been equally impressive. In recent months Guinea-Bissau had achieved total independence and had been admitted to the United Nations; one month earlier an agreement had been signed in Lusaka between Portugal and FRELIMO for the progressive transfer of power, which was to culminate in the complete independence of Mozambique in June 1975. Pursuant to that agreement, the Transitional Government had been established, in which the majority of posts were held by members of FRELIMO. His delegation congratulated the Government of Portugal on the resolution with which it had begun to implement its new policy, and commended the former liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, which were now the responsible governing elements, on the statesmanlike manner in which they had translated their liberation campaigns into positive and effective dedication to the demanding tasks of independent administration. Last, but by no means least, he congratulated the parties on the stern but healthy realism reflected in the agreement on the progressive and orderly transfer of powers and the preparation of full independence, for instance in the provisions of the Lusaka agreement (*ibid.*), which envisaged joint action, as required, by Portugal and FRELIMO, to ensure in Mozambique vital conditions of genuine independence such as effective guarantees against discrimination on any grounds, maintenance of public order, and economic and financial stability. His delegation hoped that pattern of early and constructive consultation would be repeated in the Territories remaining under Portuguese domination. Negotiations concerning all the remaining Territories should begin as soon as possible, with a view to an early solution of the outstanding problems; it was important that there should be an early solution, but there must be no unduly precipitate action. The objective must be to proceed without prejudicing the stability and territorial integrity of those countries. With the participation of the relevant United Nations machinery in that historic process, the desirable balance between rapid transition and orderly progress could assuredly be achieved. His country recognized and appreciated the important role which the Secretary-General had played and continued to play in promoting the decolonization process in the Territories which were the subject of the agenda item now under consideration. Furthermore, it noted with appreciation the helpful good offices lent by neighbouring States and the Government of Algeria.

15. With regard to the comments made concerning the decolonization process as such, his delegation considered that there was need for some amplification. It had been said that successful results had been achieved solely by armed struggle. If that interpretation were to be accepted without qualification, it would constitute a very discouraging background for action. The decolonization process had indeed been spearheaded by the will and determination of the peoples concerned to enjoy in full measure their rights to self-determination and independence. In some cases, progress towards independence had been advanced by the military successes of the liberation movements. It in no way derogated from his delegation's respect for the courage and sacrifice displayed in the pursuit of those struggles to acknowledge that there were also, happily, many instances where the administering Powers, recognizing and accepting the process of self-determination, had taken deliberate and commendable decisions to co-operate in bringing the peoples of the Territories concerned to independence.

16. It was a source of great satisfaction for his country that armed conflict in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique had ended

and that several new independent States might in the near future be enabled to join the Organization without further conflict. Canada had consistently urged that decolonization should be effected in a peaceful manner, with the administering Powers acknowledging their responsibilities to the peoples of the Territories concerned and to the world community.

17. The Canadian Government had warmly welcomed Guinea-Bissau to the community of nations and looked forward to welcoming the new Governments of the Territories moving towards full independence. Canada was already co-operating in the development of Guinea-Bissau. In that connexion, he referred to a recently approved grant of \$100,000 for education, medical assistance and other such projects in that country. Any request which might be received from the Governments of other States as they achieved independence would be sympathetically considered. In recent months, new pages had been turned in the history of decolonization with regard to southern Africa. It was to be hoped that the remaining régimes in that region would make it possible successfully to close that chapter without delay or equivocation.

18. Mr. BELEN (Turkey) recalled that one year had elapsed since his delegation had called on the Portuguese Government in power at that time to cease its obstinate flouting of the virtually unanimous resolutions of the General Assembly and to realize that it was impossible to continue dominating an African population of over 15 million persons. For that reason, his delegation had been one of the first to welcome the positive change in the Portuguese régime and had given its full support to the new régime in Lisbon from the very first day. He congratulated the Portuguese people on its active and courageous opposition to a colonial war in which it had been obliged to participate. He paid a special tribute to the valiant peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique for their dedication and for the sacrifices made in the struggle for independence and liberation. The Government of Turkey had recognized the new State of Guinea-Bissau on 2 August 1974, and in a statement issued the same day had recalled that it had supported from the outset the struggle of the peoples of Africa for independence and had defended their legitimate cause in the United Nations and other international forums. He also paid a tribute to the memory of Amílcar Cabral, and recalled the special 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 and by the Secretary-General. The independence of Guinea-Bissau, the creation of the Transitional Government in Mozambique and Portugal's undertaking to grant self-determination and independence to Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe were tangible signs of the progress made in decolonization. There was every reason to hope that that would be the beginning of a new phase of co-operation and mutual understanding among the former antagonists. Turkey was prepared to do everything possible to help the new Governments to build their future.

19. Mr. TAKASUGI (Japan) said that the change of government in Portugal in April 1974 and the subsequent positive steps taken by the Portuguese Government for the decolonization of all its overseas Territories were a source of relief and satisfaction for all those who opposed colonialism and constituted a glorious triumph for the African peoples in their valiant struggle against colonial domination and oppression. His delegation paid a tribute to the African patriots who had endured long and severe suffering and hardship and had even sacrificed their lives in the heroic struggle for freedom and independence. The recognition by the Portuguese Government of the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples of all its overseas Territories opened a new chapter in the history of the struggle of the peoples under colonial domination and oppression and was a source of con-

siderable encouragement to the peoples of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. The prompt and effective implementation of the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples of those Territories would remove a long-standing source of tension and conflict and would contribute in large measure to strengthening and consolidating international peace and security.

20. His delegation hoped that the United Nations would continue to play a great role in the decolonization process—with the continuing co-operation of the Special Committee—in close consultation with the administering Powers, the representatives of the indigenous people, and the African countries which had already offered their good offices or other forms of assistance in bringing about an agreement between Portugal and the leaders of the national liberation movements.

21. The Japanese Government welcomed the independence of Guinea-Bissau, a country which it had recognized on 21 August. The new Republic would play a constructive role in the family of nations and Japan looked forward to enjoying friendly relations with Guinea-Bissau in all fields, both within and outside the United Nations.

22. His delegation had welcomed the Lusaka agreement and the formation of the Transitional Government in Mozambique, which guaranteed the irreversible advance towards complete independence. It was happy to note that the new President of Portugal had reiterated, in his inaugural speech, his Government's commitments regarding the complete independence of Mozambique.

23. With regard to the remaining Portuguese Territories, including Angola, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, he hoped that Portugal would take further concrete steps to enter into negotiations as soon as possible with the genuine representatives of the Territories, with a view to accelerating the implementation of its pledges. In that regard, he took note with satisfaction of the memorandum addressed to the Secretary-General by the Government of Portugal on 3 August (A/9694-S/11419, annex) and the pledges made by the new President of Portugal concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration, which were reflected in that memorandum.

24. In view of the complexity of the situation in Angola and possibly other areas, his delegation considered it imperative for States Members of the United Nations to co-operate more closely with the parties directly concerned in order to help to create favourable conditions which would facilitate the process of decolonization.

25. Japan, which had refrained from co-operating with the Portuguese authorities in the African Territories, was prepared to make an appropriate contribution to the emerging States for the reconstruction and development programmes they might need for their economic independence. It contributed to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; in the financial year 1974, its contribution had been \$100,000, representing an increase of \$20,000 over the previous year. The Government of Japan would continue to support that Programme, which was obviously an important one.

26. He expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the fact that the long-pending question of Territories under Portuguese administration was at last being settled by peaceful means through negotiations between the parties directly concerned which had led—or would lead—to complete freedom and full independence for the peoples of all the Territories.

27. Finally, his delegation sincerely hoped that the remaining southern African problems would be solved without delay and by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of

the United Nations Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

28. Mr. BALDE (Guinea) congratulated the officers of the Committee and particularly the Rapporteur, who came from a recently liberated country. He had carefully studied chapter VII of the report of the Special Committee (A/9623/Add.1 (parts I and II)). As a result of the Special Committee's unflagging efforts, the colonial question had won a broad international audience. History was a codification of the changing fortunes of mankind's struggle against subjugation and domination. After five centuries of colonial rule, the emergence of PAIGC, FRELIMO, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (MLSTP) had, among other things, brought about the liberation of Portugal after 50 years of fascism, during which the Africans had been subjected to genocide and torture and the Portuguese people to poverty and frustration in order to satisfy the insane ambitions of an oligarchical clique. Amílcar Cabral, who had said that only by fighting would the Portuguese colonies liberate themselves and liberate Portugal, had been proved right by the events of 25 April 1974.

29. The African Liberation movements had restored democracy to the metropolitan country and had shown it that, from a cultural, historical, geographical and demographic standpoint, it was bound to Africa by nothing but colonialism.

30. In the face of those obvious facts, would finance capital be permitted to block the advance of Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe towards independence and the attainment of complete sovereignty by Mozambique?

31. The people of Portugal were organizing political parties and had initiated a process aimed at achieving democracy in actual practice. However, there were still many conflicts in influential Lisbon circles, which had been echoed in a disquieting manner in the African Territories and had resulted in acts of terrorism against the population and the revival of a militaristic view of authority. There were some people in Portugal who made no secret of their concern at what they cynically referred to as the "rapid development" of the situation in the colonies. The abortive uprising of the white racists in Mozambique was a sample of the reaction that could be expected if power was not effectively and unconditionally restored to the people. So long as the freedom of some was merely an exercise in rhetoric for others, there would continue to be disturbances, confusion, disorder and attempts at partition in Africa. The enemies of democracy, who were well aware that they were racing against time, were behaving in a brazenly arrogant manner and engaging in ceaseless provocations, protected as they were by their accomplices. Inasmuch as the former agents of the Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE) had been given refuge in Rhodesia and South Africa, how could one be certain that Mozambique would in fact attain independence in 1975 and that Angola would do so at an early date? Would the armed whites in Lourenço Marques and the other urban centres simply disappear? Might it not be said that, five months after Portugal's return to normal political life, the status quo—a situation in which some people were citizens and others merely subjects—continued to exist in Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe and the Cape Verde Islands?

32. If all peoples were equal, who gave one people the right to engage in negotiations and discussions about the freedom and dignity of others?

33. The Armed Forces Movement that had taken power in Portugal realized that the forces of reaction would not let themselves be defeated so easily. The fascists, who still had much room for manoeuvre within the repressive systems in Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, must not be given an opportunity to react. As far as Angola was concerned, silence

and inaction could lead to a war whose victim would be the defenceless African population.

34. The democratic forces in Portugal and the Portuguese people were the natural allies of the peoples of Africa. However, world opinion must realize that failure to grant immediate and unconditional independence to the Portuguese Territories could prove dangerous. Freedom was not a matter for negotiations; it was a right enjoyed by peoples. Independence was something that was obtained by conquest, not granted, and the peoples of the Portuguese Territories had demonstrated clearly in the language of arms and with the sacrifice of human lives that they were determined to live in freedom and dignity. The process which had begun in the Territories under Portuguese domination would be judged by the speed with which it was carried out and by its human content.

35. Guinea reaffirmed its steadfast and total support for the forces of peace and democracy in Portugal.

36. Mr. KARINGI (Kenya) said that his country had followed with keen interest the dramatic changes that had taken place in Portugal since 25 April 1974 and, in particular, Portugal's new policy towards her African Territories. His delegation was delighted that the new progressive administration had entered the contemporary world by recognizing the right of peoples to independence and self-determination.

37. Kenya's attainment of independence had been preceded by a long and bitter struggle. The people and Government of Kenya had always given moral and material support to the cause of national liberation and to the southern African liberation movements. They were therefore particularly gratified that the delegation of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau was present in the United Nations and that the Committee's Rapporteur was a national of that country. It was to be hoped that an independent Mozambique could be welcomed into the Organization at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. In that connexion, mention should be made of the role played by the Secretary-General in making possible the agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO, signed at Lusaka on 7 September, and the agreements between Portugal and PAIGC, signed at Algiers on 26 August.

38. At the same time, it was sad to reflect that some of the heroes who had fallen in the struggle to liberate the Portuguese Territories, such as Eduardo Mondlane and Amílcar Cabral, had not lived to see the fruition of their efforts.

39. His delegation congratulated the new Government of Portugal for what it had achieved so far. The thwarting of the recent attempt by a few racists to seize power in Mozambique with the support of other southern African régimes was clear evidence of the serious intentions of the Portuguese Government. The same was true of the statement by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 2239th plenary meeting, reaffirming his Government's commitment to decolonization. His delegation appealed to all peace-loving countries to support, economically or otherwise, the security and continued existence of Mozambique and the other nations that were on the threshold of independence.

40. In spite of the advances that had been made, however, the process of decolonization had just begun. His delegation called for the early opening of talks with the peoples of Angola, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe and other Territories still under Portuguese domination. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, must be implemented without delay, not only in Africa but throughout the world. Such excuses as the lack of unity of purpose in certain Territories could not be accepted as reasons for delaying the granting of independence.

41. The changes that had taken place in the Portuguese Territories heralded the end of the era of colonial domination

in Africa and the beginning of a new era in which the task at hand would be the economic development of such war-devastated countries as Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. His delegation urged the United Nations to study the possibility of establishing a special fund specifically geared to the reconstruction and promotion of their ruined economies.

42. The racist régimes in southern Africa could not turn a blind eye to the dramatic changes that had taken place in neighbouring countries. His delegation hoped not only that South Africa and Southern Rhodesia would refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Mozambique but that the overturn in the Portuguese Territories would prove a lesson to them and prompt them to initiate reforms which would spare that part of Africa from otherwise certain bloodshed. Such bloodshed could be prevented only by granting the black majority their inalienable human rights and observing the noble principles embodied in the United Nations Charter.

43. Mr. ELIASSEN (Denmark) expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the admission of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations. With regard to the item under discussion, his delegation was pleased to note that the Portuguese Government had said that it was prepared to fulfil its obligations under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514(XV). That intention had already found expression in the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the establishment of the Transitional Government in Mozambique and the contacts which had been made with regard to Angola. Those achievements had resulted from the determination and the sacrifices of the peoples and liberation movements of those Territories. The sympathy shown and the assistance provided by the international community, either bilaterally or through the United Nations, had also been a contributing factor. Furthermore, Portugal's new policy deserved support and must be allowed the time needed for its implementation. His delegation hoped that it would soon be possible to welcome Mozambique and Angola, too, to membership in the United Nations. In that connexion, it might be helpful for the Portuguese Government, in consultation with the Angolan people, to set a time-table for Angola's attainment of independence, as had been done in the case of Mozambique.

44. His Government, which had always recognized that each colonial Territory had its own special features, trusted that the Portuguese Government would take into account the aspirations, priorities and wishes of the peoples of the Ter-

ritories as well as the various statements made on the subject, including that made by the Secretary-General during his visit to Lisbon. It was also to be hoped that recent developments would contribute to a solution of other major problems in southern Africa.

45. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia) recalled that, when the principle of self-determination had been formulated as a right in the late 1940s and early 1950s, some people had contended that it was a collective right and therefore should not be included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in taking that position, they had ignored the fact that trade unions and the family were also protected by collective rights and yet were mentioned in the Declaration. Some had also argued that the Portuguese Territories were merely provinces of Portugal, overlooking the fact that they had different cultures, languages and customs. The reason such statements had been made was, of course, that the colonial Powers regarded themselves as a ruling class. Fortunately, the recent events in Portugal signalled the beginning of a new era, particularly for the Portuguese people, whose liberation had also grown out of the struggle waged by the African freedom fighters. Hence, in order to encourage the present Portuguese Government to speed the process of liberation, it must be borne in mind that the people of Portugal had also been a victim. Portugal should be treated with forbearance rather than harshly criticized, so that that attitude and the new spirit prevailing among African peoples would help to usher in a new era. Politics depended on economics, and it would be dangerous to pull down an economic structure, even one created by exploiters, if there was no new structure to set up in its place. Life and not destruction was what was needed. The world must not forget the laying waste of Dresden, Coventry, Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the Second World War and the partition of Viet-Nam and Korea. The peoples of Africa must learn from those past errors so that they would not suffer the same fate.

46. He urged the liberation movements to show the greatest possible forbearance and the Government of Portugal to accelerate the transfer of power and take a more constructive attitude. He hoped that the colonial situation in the rest of southern Africa would soon be eliminated so that the Trusteeship Council chamber could be used for other constructive purposes.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*

## 2086th meeting

Wednesday, 9 October 1974, at 10.40 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2086

### 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. MUKHTAR (Sudan) felt that events had taken a hopeful course since the coup d'état which had toppled the fascist Caetano régime in Portugal the previous April. The current developments would not have been possible without

the arduous and persistent struggle of the African national liberation movements, the support given by the African population and the moral and material support of other peace-loving peoples. The constant defeats inflicted on the Portuguese colonial armies by the liberation forces had brought home to the Portuguese people the reality of a dishonourable war. The victory of the Portuguese people over dictatorship was a major contribution by Africa to the emancipation of oppressed peoples throughout the world. The Portuguese people had never been confused with the Caetano régime in the matter of decolonization, and it had been realized that, given the opportunity, Africa and Portugal would work together for peaceful coexistence and racial harmony. The joy