

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.

6. It was to be hoped that in those Territories that were obtaining independence there would be unity between blacks and whites so that the white population could contribute to a democratic system of majority rule from which southern Africa would benefit. In that connexion, his delegation noted the assurance given at the 2262nd plenary meeting by the President of Somalia—the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—that the Portuguese should have no fear for the safety of their persons, property and interests in liberated Africa.

7. Australia hoped that the Angolan people, through their representatives, would speak with one voice, since the only course open was one of coalition.

8. The Government of Australia also wished to clarify its position with respect to the future of the people of Portuguese Timor. Australia believed that the right to self-determination must be the decisive factor in the consideration of the question of the Territory's independence. Thus, if, as it had been said, the people of Portuguese Timor wished to associate themselves with Indonesia, then Australia would welcome that fact provided that the decision was based on an internationally acceptable act of self-determination. The exercise of that right should proceed with deliberate speed even though due regard had to be given to practical aspects and to the fact that the people of the Territory might need time to define their aspirations and to organize themselves.

9. The question which must now be considered was the nature of the contribution of the Committee to the process of decolonization. In that connexion, his delegation assumed that due regard would be given to the new attitude of the Government of Portugal and to its commitment to negotiate with the various national liberation movements. His delegation hoped that the emphasis would be on negotiated solutions arrived at peacefully.

Mr. Suja (Czechoslovakia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

10. Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia) said that the revolution which had swept away the intransigent régime of Caetano had created a new Portugal with leaders courageous enough to recognize that their colonial policy was obsolete. Ethiopia welcomed the new Portuguese position on self-determination and independence for the peoples under its colonial domination because that change meant the advent of peace for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and for the people of Portugal. The heroic struggle carried out by the national liberation movements had not only resulted in the elimination of Portuguese control in vast areas of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola but had also forced the downfall of the Caetano régime by frustrating its colonial interests and making its military adventures in Africa costly. The Portuguese colonial empire had begun to crumble. Guinea-Bissau had been the first State to escape from the claws of Portuguese domination. Mozambique already had its Transitional Government and there was a provision for the transfer of all powers to its people in 1975. The decolonization of Angola was, however, a matter of concern to his delegation. Although it was gratified that the Government of Portugal had recognized the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence, it was disturbed by reports of the existence of white groups whose avowed aim was to disrupt order and stability and to deny the prospects of independence. The representatives of the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) and the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) had, in their statements in the Committee at its 2081st and 2084th meetings, contributed to a better understanding of the situation. Consequently, his delegation believed that the danger presented by those extremist Fascist groups should not be minimized and that Portugal must display the same determination towards those groups as

it had done in Mozambique. Similarly, regrettable as the disunity in the ranks of the national liberation movements of Angola might be, the apparent differences between them should not be regarded as so insurmountable as to delay for the people of Angola what had been achieved by their brothers in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

11. Ethiopia welcomed the change in Portuguese policy and the United Nations must be prepared to encourage and assist Portugal in accelerating momentum towards independence so that more of Africa would be free. His delegation was among those that believed that the international community should exercise caution lest it strengthen the hands of reactionary elements in Portugal who might seize upon any opportunity to attempt to thwart the gains made in freeing Africa.

12. Mr. HUSAIN (Bangladesh) said that his people, having made tremendous sacrifices for their own liberation, were full of goodwill towards people struggling for their inalienable right to self-determination. The sacrifice of the peoples who had been under Portuguese colonial domination had had its inevitable effect on the Portuguese people themselves. A stage had been reached when the world could look forward with confidence to the day when the relationship between Portugal and its former colonial possessions would be transformed into an association of free nations. He was glad to note that those in charge of Portugal's policies had progressive views. Clear evidence of that had been provided by the solemn reaffirmation by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal in the General Assembly (2239th plenary meeting) of what Portugal's constitutional law now guaranteed, namely, the full recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. He welcomed the declaration by the Government of Portugal that it would fulfil its obligations to the Non-Self-Governing Territories in accordance with the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolutions on the granting of independence to colonial Territories and peoples (see A/9694-S/11419, annex).

13. The process of decolonization in various parts of the Portuguese overseas Territories had been rapid, though far from uniform. Guinea-Bissau had taken its rightful place in the United Nations; Mozambique had set out on the road to full independence with an agreed programme during the transition period. His delegation hoped that ways could be found before long to achieve a speedy end to colonial rule in Angola and the other Territories, in consultation with the acknowledged representatives of the liberation movements. There was a need for constant vigilance on the part of the international community and of the Government of Portugal to overcome threats from reactionary elements inside and outside the Territories to disrupt and impede the orderly process of decolonization. He hoped that independence would come to all the Portuguese colonies very soon and that it would be meaningful in terms of the progress and well-being of all the inhabitants without any racial or other discrimination.

14. The responsibility of the world community would not cease with the attainment of independence by those colonial peoples. If their political independence was to be consolidated and their economic viability assured, the United Nations and its agencies must provide support by mobilizing the necessary resources through concerted international action.

15. Perhaps the most vital effect of those momentous changes in southern Africa was the effect on the remaining portions of entrenched colonialism in southern Africa. The international community must not relax its efforts to further consolidate and intensify its efforts to eradicate *apartheid*, racism and exploitation once and for all so as to enable all the inhabitants of those Territories to live as free and equal citizens of a free country.

16. Mr. YAN (Philippines) noted that the debate on item 66 had begun on a happy note that year. It had been most gratify-

ing to hear the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal in the General Assembly (2239th plenary meeting) and the representative of Portugal in the Committee (2080th meeting) reiterate their Government's full co-operation and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. His country, which had been one of the most consistent advocates of the liberation of the oppressed people under Portuguese domination and of all colonial countries and peoples was particularly heartened by that solemn declaration.

17. His delegation was also very pleased with the Portuguese Government's reaffirmation of its desire to see the speedy evolution of free and independent governments in its African Territories, in accordance with its memorandum to the Secretary-General of 3 August 1974 (A/9694-S/11419, annex); he was particularly pleased to note the Lusaka agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO (A/9769, annex).

18. It was his delegation's fervent hope that the good example set by Portugal would be followed by the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

19. Mr. HARKETT (Morocco) paid a tribute to the memory of the martyrs of Guinea-Bissau, including Amílcar Cabral. Morocco had always supported the cause of all peoples oppressed by colonialism and racism and had rejoiced at the great victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau. It had been a victory of not only that people but also the Portuguese people, whose leaders he also saluted.

20. His delegation had noted with satisfaction the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal at the 2239th plenary meeting, in which he had reiterated his Government's willingness to decolonize all Territories still under Portuguese administration. It also welcomed the agreement reached in Lusaka between the Government of Portugal and leaders of FRELIMO, the sole authentic representatives of the people of Mozambique, in which the date of 25 June 1975 had been set for the proclamation of Mozambique's independence (*ibid.*).

21. While waiting for that historic day, Africa would continue to be vigilant and would support the people of Mozambique against any efforts by those who were trying to hold back or change the current situation. The United Nations should issue a vigorous denunciation and condemnation of the reactionary elements that had provoked an attempted rebellion at Lourenço Marques a few weeks previously. The Government of Portugal should be congratulated for having known how to respect its undertakings and for having had the courage to put down the attempted rebellion by the Portuguese Fascists.

22. His delegation had observed with satisfaction Portugal's *de jure* recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau but felt it should be made quite clear that the independence of Guinea-Bissau could not be considered complete until the people of the Cape Verde Islands, whose sole legitimate and authentic representative was the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), exercised their right to self-determination. His delegation also felt that negotiations should be begun immediately between the legitimate representatives of São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola and the Portuguese authorities with a view to the granting of independence. He stressed that the only valid spokesmen were the leaders of the liberation movements recognized by OAU. It would not be proper to admit representatives of the European colony to the negotiations on future agreements, because no valid solution could be found on a multiracial basis and the institutions that would emerge in Angola must be truly African. The uneasiness of the European colony about its future was understandable, but that colony must adjust itself to a new situation and must live in a new decolonized society.

23. He hoped that all the Territories administered by Portugal would be liberated in 1975, thanks to the unshakable determination, resistance and sacrifices of the people of those Territories. In their legitimate fight for freedom, those peoples had found constant support in OAU. Part of the territory of Morocco, which was an African country and a member of the OAU Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, was still under colonial domination. His country was honoured to be among the African countries that always provided active support to liberation movements. Immense progress had been made on decolonization; it was to be hoped that in 1975 Mozambique, Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe would be admitted as Members of the United Nations.

24. Mr. PARKSUWAN (Thailand) said that his Government's position on the Portuguese occupation of African Territories was well known and had been stated at sessions of the General Assembly and in other international gatherings. The purposes of the Charter would not be realized until the last traces of colonialism had been eliminated. The subjugation of peoples could not be viewed with indifference by the people of his country, which, as a follower of the doctrine of Buddhism, believed in the dignity and equality of all men and women regardless of their beliefs or colour.

25. His delegation had noted with satisfaction the various reports submitted on the subject by the Secretary-General and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; it fully endorsed the recommendations in the reports. Peace and international security would be meaningless until colonialism, racism and racial discrimination were eradicated.

26. As the Foreign Minister of Thailand had said on 1 October in the general debate (2251st plenary meeting), the changes that had taken place in the Territories under Portuguese domination had begun a new era of hope in the struggle of millions of Africans for freedom and independence. The victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau was a source of inspiration for those who were fighting for the liberation of the African continent.

27. His delegation was glad to see what was happening in the Territories under Portuguese domination; it hoped that the principle of self-determination would soon be extended to Mozambique, Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and the other Territories under Portuguese domination.

28. His delegation hoped that the example of the recent developments in Portugal would serve as a valuable lesson to the minority racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It addressed an urgent appeal to nations still practising *apartheid*, oppression and colonialism to adhere to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on those matters. Thailand unreservedly supported the just struggle of the African peoples for freedom and independence and the preservation of their natural resources, and called upon all international organizations to exert every effort to assist them in their legitimate struggle.

29. Mr. TROTTA (Italy) congratulated the officers of the Committee and emphasized the particular significance of the election of the representative of Guinea-Bissau as Rapporteur. He felt that, with the admission of three new Members, the United Nations had taken a further step towards universality at the current session.

30. His Government expressed its deep satisfaction with the positive development of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration. The Algiers agreements between PAIGC and Portugal, signed on 26 August, and the Lusaka agreement of 7 September had been concluded through the good offices of the United Nations and, in particular, of certain African countries, such as Algeria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

31. Certain difficulties remained with regard to Angola, but Portugal's profound determination to recognize the right to independence of its African Territories should be noted. All countries should encourage Portugal to bring to a successful conclusion the process of the complete decolonization of all the Territories under its administration.
32. Italy was glad to have contributed to the process of negotiations between Portugal and FRELIMO and was convinced that the difficulties of the transitional period in Mozambique and those which still existed in Angola would be overcome and that both Angola and Mozambique would soon take their rightful places in the international community.
33. Mr. SIDIK (Indonesia) welcomed the three new Members of the United Nations. His sole regret was that the leader of PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral, was not alive to celebrate the victory of his cause.
34. His delegation welcomed the attitude of the Portuguese Government with regard to decolonization, and its pledge to collaborate fully with the United Nations and to proceed to decolonize the Territories under Portuguese administration by agreement with the legitimate representatives of their respective peoples.
35. The first concrete results of that policy were the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Lusaka agreement. In that respect, the assistance given by the Secretary-General and by the United Republic of Tanzania, Algeria, and Zambia in those negotiations deserved mention.
36. The progress in the process of decolonization was due primarily to the gallant and relentless struggle of the peoples of those Territories. However, the swiftness with which the new Government of Portugal had co-operated with the liberation movements was also praiseworthy.
37. The investiture of the Transitional Government of Mozambique on 20 September had been a historic event. He expressed his country's satisfaction at the fact that the attempt by a small minority to prevent that event from taking place had been thwarted. While the Transitional Government would have to solve certain problems, such as political education, the agreement concluded at Lusaka between Portugal and FRELIMO demonstrated that both sides were prepared to collaborate in a constructive and judicious manner. His delegation trusted that Mozambique would attain full independence without hindrance.
38. In Angola, the situation was different. It was the view of his delegation that, although many important preparatory steps had yet to be taken for a transitional government to be formed, the process of decolonization should be undertaken without delay. An essential part of that process was that the entire range of public opinion in the Territory should be consulted in order to ensure that the new government of an independent Angola would enjoy the support of the majority of the population. In that connexion, his delegation was pleased to note the statement by the representative of FNLA at the 2084th meeting indicating that FNLA intended to work towards a peaceful transition to independence by all elements of Angolan society.
39. His delegation was opposed to any attempt to fragment the Territory of Angola. The General Assembly had often expressed its concern for the territorial integrity of the southern African Territories. Fortunately, the Government of Portugal was also aware of an obligation to preserve the territorial integrity of Angola.
40. With regard to the Cape Verde Islands, it was important to note that in reaffirming its fidelity to the principle of self-determination and independence and guaranteeing the full freedom of all political parties, including PAIGC, in the electoral campaign for the Constituent Assembly Portugal had committed itself to the decolonization of that Territory.
41. His delegation hoped that conditions in São Tomé and Príncipe would soon lead to negotiations between Portugal and the representatives of the people of that Territory. The representative of the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (MLSTP) had stated at the 2080th meeting that his movement was prepared to undertake negotiations with the Portuguese Government.
42. Earlier in the meeting, the representative of Australia had referred to the question of Portuguese Timor and the possibility of that Territory being united with Indonesia. Indonesia would like to see the people of Portuguese Timor exercise their right to self-determination in an orderly and peaceful manner in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. If the people of Portuguese Timor decided to unite with the people of Indonesia after a period of 400 years of separation imposed upon them by colonial domination, Indonesia was prepared to collaborate with them to that end. It was the view of the Government of Indonesia that such an association should be in conformity with the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia, which, *inter alia*, laid down that Indonesia was a unitary State.
43. The process being witnessed in the Portuguese Territories had wide implications. One year previously, Africa had appeared to be a solid bastion of colonialism and racism. Now that bastion was collapsing and it was inevitable that that development would have its effect on the remaining enclaves of colonialism and racism in the world. His delegation hoped that the example of the harmonious change now taking place in the Portuguese Territories would hasten the complete eradication of those twin evils.
44. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan) congratulated the officers of the Committee and, in particular, the Rapporteur, the representative of Guinea-Bissau, a country which had just achieved independence. Furthermore, he expressed satisfaction at the admission of three new Members to the United Nations, particularly, that of the Asian brother State of Bangladesh.
45. Afghanistan had always supported the struggle of peoples for self-determination and independence and was particularly pleased at the changes that had recently taken place in Portugal. Portugal was divesting itself of its colonial past and its international isolation would be ended.
46. As well as granting independence to Guinea-Bissau, Portugal had reached agreement with FRELIMO regarding the establishment of a Transitional Government in Mozambique. It was to be hoped that before 25 June 1975, the date fixed for independence, all necessary steps would be taken to enable the people of Mozambique to enjoy their freedom without interference from minority groups which were opposed to the process of decolonization.
47. With regard to Angola, his delegation felt that any delay in the process of decolonization in that Territory would be contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant United Nations resolutions. Portugal had recognized the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence and that recognition should be followed by negotiations with the liberation movements.
48. From the process which had taken place in the Portuguese Territories after years of colonial wars and the exploitation of their natural resources by the colonial régime, it could be concluded that all peoples still under colonial and alien domination had the inalienable right to self-determination and independence and that their struggle would inevitably triumph; that colonial domination must be ended in all parts of the world; that the principle of the sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources should be observed, in

other words that the natural resources of the colonial Territories should not be exploited when the peoples of those territories had not exercised their right to self-determination; that all States that had given assistance to the former régime in Portugal, thereby strengthening its colonial domination in Africa, had contravened the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 5, of the Charter, which stated that Members of the United Nations should refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations was taking preventive or enforcement action; and, finally, that the former colonial Powers had an obligation to compensate the peoples of the colonial Territories for the exploitation of the natural resources of those Territories during the period of their subjugation.

49. Recent developments in the field of decolonization clearly demonstrated the effectiveness of the United Nations in ensuring the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination. However, the United Nations still had to devise effective means of eradicating the inhuman policies of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government and the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The loss of an ally such as Portugal would undoubtedly hasten the moment when those régimes would be obliged to comply with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia) resumed the Chair.

50. Mr. NANDAN (Fiji), said that, as a member of the Special Committee, his delegation had followed with keen interest the events in the Portuguese Territories of southern Africa.

51. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique for their courageous and unrelenting struggle. It also recognized the important role played by the new Portuguese Government in that process.

52. In Guinea-Bissau, energies should henceforth be directed towards nation-building. A date had already been set for the independence of Mozambique and it was to be hoped that a satisfactory settlement would be negotiated shortly in Angola. However, the future well-being of those Territories depended in no small measure on the assistance and understanding of all the Members of the United Nations. His delegation hoped that the United Nations and its affiliated agencies, as well as its Members, individually and collectively, would make economic and developmental assistance available to those Territories.

53. The peaceful progress towards freedom and independence that had taken place in the Portuguese Territories should serve as an example to those Territories in southern Africa and other parts of the world which were still under colonial domination. The illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, in the case of Namibia, must recognize that man's determination to be free could not be suppressed forever.

54. Mrs. MOLLAEVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) observed that the Soviet Union was constantly endeavouring to consolidate the principle of peaceful coexistence and to achieve a reduction in international tension. In recent years, the struggle of the subjugated peoples of Africa to achieve their independence had been intensified. The liberation of Guinea-Bissau, which had emerged as a new nation, constituted an outstanding victory in that struggle. Mr. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Mr. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in their messages of congratulations on the occasion of the first anniversary of the independence of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September, had emphasized that the process of national liberation was irreversible, despite the

great difficulties faced by the Government of Portugal and the liberation movements of Mozambique and Angola not only because of the complexity of the situation, but also on account of the actions of the reactionary forces in those Territories and the interference of outside forces. The racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa constituted a special danger because of the massive efforts they were making to impede the acceleration of the process of decolonization. On 6 October 1974, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Brezhnev had declared that the socialist countries considered it their international duty to give full support and assistance to the anti-colonialist struggle, which was one of the motive forces of contemporary history.

55. The Soviet Union, like all socialist countries, supported all the anti-colonialist measures and resolutions of the United Nations. It undertook initiatives, submitted proposals and formulated appeals to international public opinion calling for decisive action in the struggle to eliminate colonial domination once and for all. The joint Soviet-Cuban declaration issued at Havana on 4 February 1974 requested the total and full implementation of the anti-colonialist resolutions of the United Nations.

56. The United Nations should adopt all necessary measures to ensure that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples were implemented without delay.

57. The Soviet Union, like many African delegations, had learned with satisfaction of the policy of the new Government of Portugal in the sphere of decolonization. His delegation hoped that the Government of Portugal would adopt the necessary measures to ensure that the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination were able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence as soon as possible. The Soviet Union, both within and outside the United Nations, supported the just demands of the peoples of Africa to achieve their liberation. The United Nations and progressive forces should also focus their attention on the urgent problems of liberation from the colonial yoke and from racism faced by the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the speedy elimination of racism in South Africa.

58. Mr. OUCIF (Algeria) observed that, although his Government had taken note with satisfaction of the attitude of the new Portuguese Government with regard to the decolonization of its remaining possessions, he was obliged to emphasize the fact that Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe constituted a source of concern. The representative of PAIGC, in a statement to the Committee at the 2088th meeting, had mentioned the manoeuvres of Portugal to separate Guinea-Bissau from the Cape Verde Islands, thus ignoring the Algiers agreements, in which the right of those islands to independence had been recognized. He pointed out that the Portuguese Government was sending troops to the Cape Verde Islands, for the purpose, according to the representative of PAIGC, of provoking dissension among the population so as to incite it to oppose independence.

59. With regard to São Tomé and Príncipe, a delegation of the Portuguese Government had held talks with a delegation of MLSTP from 28 September to 3 October, in Libreville, and the two parties had signed a communiqué¹ recognizing the need to proceed immediately to decolonize the Territory. The communiqué also indicated that MLSTP considered that the following conditions should first be met: first, official and immediate recognition of MLSTP as the sole and legitimate representative of the people of São Tomé and Príncipe and, consequently, the only body authorized to discuss with the Portuguese Government the time-table for decolonization;

¹ Subsequently circulated in document A/C.4/778.

and second, a statement by the Portuguese Government announcing its decision immediately to initiate negotiations with MLSTP, the date and place of such negotiations to be fixed by agreement between the parties concerned. In conclusion, he pointed out that, although the Committee had made a substantial contribution to the process of decolonization, its work was not over, since other peoples were still suffering under the yoke of the colonial system, and consequently, the Committee must redouble its efforts to thwart the plans of the last beneficiaries of colonialism.

60. Mr. SCHOLTEN (Netherlands) said that, on the long road towards decolonization, serious and discouraging setbacks were often encountered. At times, however, events occurred with irresistible force, as in the case of the Territories under Portuguese domination, and the results were highly encouraging. Thus, FRELIMO was to be congratulated on the signing of the agreement reached with Portugal at Lusaka and on the installation of the Transitional Government in Mozambique, which clearly demonstrated the spirit of co-operation prevailing between the two parties. His delegation hoped that a similar situation would soon be achieved in Angola.

61. The various problems affecting southern Africa were necessarily interdependent. The changes that had occurred would undoubtedly influence the situation in other areas, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, where the illegal régime still held power. It was also to be hoped that those changes would encourage the South African Government to review its basic position not only with regard to Namibia but also in respect of South Africa itself, where human rights were still being denied to the majority of the inhabitants.

62. The Netherlands considered that the struggle for freedom in Africa had contributed to the process of democratization in Portugal and understood that the new Government of Portugal, as indicated in a memorandum to the Secretary-General (A/9694-S/11419, annex), would respect the rights of the peoples of Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. He also wished to express his delegation's appreciation of the manner in which the Portuguese delegation had participated in the Committee's consideration of the question (see 2080th meeting), a fact which augured well for the success of the process of decolonization undertaken by the Government of Portugal. In the light of the tensions that still existed in Mozambique and Angola, his delegation wished to emphasize that on the road to freedom it was essential that no one should attain a privileged position at the expense of others. For those reasons, it hoped that the white minority groups would accept the new political situation and thus contribute to the formation of the multiracial societies envisaged by the liberation movements.

63. The development of those young nations was certainly no easy matter and they should be able to count on assistance from the United Nations. In that connexion, his delegation

had suggested at the twenty-eighth session (2065th meeting) that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) should provide assistance to the peoples of the liberated areas of Africa. The Governing Council of UNDP, at its eighteenth session, had adopted a consensus decision to that effect² and, in the meantime, the Netherlands had contributed \$1.5 million for that purpose. In addition, bilateral assistance would be given to FRELIMO and to Angola, in the amount of \$1 million in each case, through the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. A similar amount would be made available to Guinea-Bissau in 1974 and such assistance would be continued in 1975.

64. Mr. BRUNO (Uruguay) expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the radical changes that had occurred in the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination as a result of the new attitude adopted by Portugal. The objective for which the colonial peoples had fought for so long appeared to be within reach, as was demonstrated by the fact that Guinea-Bissau had attained its independence, Mozambique was advancing towards that goal and the groundwork had been laid for the initiation of negotiations in respect of Angola as soon as possible. The principle of self-determination constituted an indispensable prerequisite for the peaceful coexistence of peoples and their full enjoyment of independence and sovereign rights. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay had said at the 2240th plenary meeting, his delegation hoped that more African peoples would soon attain independence. It also agreed with those who held that colonialism as currently practised did not even produce favourable economic results for the colonialists and only incurred the condemnation of the nations which represented the vast majority of mankind.

65. In that connexion, emphasis should also be placed on the importance of the participation in any process of decolonization of the people of the Territory which was to achieve its independence, on the one hand, and of the administering Power, on the other hand, as well as on the useful role that the United Nations had played in that regard. The fundamental difference between international law in the pre-war period and contemporary international law lay in the affirmation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples, which was embodied in the Charter and in the resolutions of the General Assembly, in particular resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the implementation of which had been one of the most important activities of the United Nations. However, the process of decolonization was not yet complete and the Committee should redouble its efforts to bring it to a successful conclusion by adopting effective measures which were consistent with the Charter and the Declaration and appropriate in the light of recent events.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

² Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 2A, chap. III, para. 136.