

2081st meeting

Wednesday, 2 October 1974, at 3.25 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2081

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/C.4/773)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. KHAN (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique), speaking on behalf of the Central Committee of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), expressed his appreciation of the opportunity to inform the Committee once again of the situation in Mozambique, which had changed considerably since the previous year. FRELIMO was also indebted to the General Assembly for having entrusted to the Committee the task of investigating the massacres perpetrated by the former Portuguese Government. Fortunately, the new Government in Lisbon had categorically rejected the fascist position of its predecessor and had implemented a policy of democratization and liberation which heralded the salvation of Portugal.
2. Following the assumption of power by the new Government, contacts had been established between that Government and FRELIMO at Lusaka, with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the situation in the Territory. While agreeing in principle to a cease-fire, FRELIMO had considered that such a step depended on the settlement of the broader question of the Territory's political future, and in particular on the readiness of the Portuguese Government to recognize FRELIMO as the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Mozambique, to grant independence to Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO and to agree to the transfer of power to that organization.
3. Following those talks, the representatives of the Portuguese Government and FRELIMO had issued a joint communiqué stating that it had been agreed that a cease-fire was dependent on a general agreement being reached, that the talks would be suspended to enable the Portuguese delegation to consult its Government, and that the talks would be resumed at Lusaka in the first two weeks of July. However, the subsequent changes in the Portuguese Government had made it necessary to postpone the talks. Consequently, after contact had been made secretly with the new Government, it had been decided to resume the talks at Lusaka, beginning on 5 September. That meeting had culminated in the drafting of a programme of action relating to the future of the Territory. He read out the agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO, signed at Lusaka on 7 September 1974 (A/9769, annex I).
4. Upon the signing of the agreement, the FRELIMO forces had been ordered to observe a cease-fire and thus the process of decolonization had begun. A white racist group had attempted to undermine the agreement by seizing control of the radio station in Lourenço Marques, but the only result had been to demonstrate that neither the people of Portugal nor the people of Mozambique were willing to be used to defend capitalism and imperialism. Without any instructions from FRELIMO, the people of Mozambique had taken steps to frustrate the attempted coup. According to some reports, the military authorities in Mozambique had taken no immediate action, in the hope that the provocation would simply lose momentum. Following the failure of the attempt, some thousands of Portuguese settlers had fled to South Africa, but some of them had since contacted the Mozambique authorities with a view to returning to the Territory.
5. The atmosphere of co-operation and harmony had become general throughout the Territory, although tension had continued in Lourenço Marques, where a number of malcontents and agitators had made use of fire-arms at night, drawing a reaction from some Mozambicans. With the situation restored to normal, it had remained only to await the date of the transfer of power to FRELIMO and to appoint Ministers. The official date had been 25 September. However, that date had been announced publicly only as a tactic to prevent incidents on the actual date, 15 September, which had been known only to the Secretary-General and the signatories to the agreement. As it had not been possible to effect the transfer on 15 September, it had been postponed until 20 September, the day on which the main body of the armed forces had converged on Lourenço Marques which was already under the control of FRELIMO commando units. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Governments of Zambia, Algeria and Swaziland had sent large delegations to the ceremony, as had the Governments of Portugal and the United Republic of Tanzania, and a representative of the Secretary-General had been present. The ceremony had been held at Lourenço Marques.
6. Some days before, FRELIMO had held a press conference at which it had outlined the policy which it would follow and the outlook for the future. The journalists had asked about the troop movements rumoured to have taken place along the southern border with South Africa, and the President of FRELIMO, Mr. Samora Moises Machel, had replied that that question should be addressed to the South African Minister for Defence.
7. FRELIMO had designated the principal members of the Transitional Government, whose names had been made available to the Secretariat (A/9776).
8. The Lusaka agreement had created a new climate in Mozambique, and the President of FRELIMO, in a message to the people of Mozambique and to the Portuguese army in Mozambique, had denounced the small group of white reactionaries who had occupied the radio station at Lourenço Marques, calling them bandits and criminals. He had accused the group of wishing to stir up racial conflict, thus creating a pretext for internationalizing the war and endangering the joint national reconstruction effort.
9. The President of FRELIMO had stated that his organization would never tolerate a racial conflict and had urged the population at large not to confuse that small group of criminals with the white population in general, most of whom identified themselves with the country's true aspirations and wished to contribute to the building of an independent Mozambique. He had asked the white population, which he described as consisting basically of honest workers who also had a stake in the struggle against exploitation and in building a new country, to be on guard against the reactionary forces of colonialism and fascism, which were trying to use them to protect the privileges of an exploiting minority.

10. The President of FRELIMO had warned Mozambique's neighbours, whom the rebels wished to involve in their manoeuvres, that neither FRELIMO, nor its allies, nor the international community would tolerate imperialist aggression against Mozambique. He had also pointed out that FRELIMO, although weary of fighting, would not hesitate to defend the country's independence and territorial integrity.

11. In the same address, the President of FRELIMO had described the signing of the Lusaka agreement as stretching out a hand to the Portuguese troops in Africa betokening peace and had urged them to fight ceaselessly against the common enemies who were opposed to peace, friendship and co-operation between Mozambique and Portugal. He had asked them to take immediate action to neutralize the agents of reaction and subversion in urban areas not yet occupied by the forces of FRELIMO. He had solemnly reaffirmed that FRELIMO would abide by the Lusaka agreement and would faithfully follow the political line that had guided it through 10 years of combat. He had said that FRELIMO's struggle had never been one waged against a race or a people but had been against colonialism, capitalism and imperialism, and he had repeated that the establishment of the democratic power of the people in an independent Mozambique would require the solidarity of all the country's inhabitants, who must exercise active vigilance and revolutionary discipline with a clear political consciousness.

12. Fortunately, the message of the President of FRELIMO had had the desired effect, and the cease-fire was currently being observed throughout Mozambique.

13. Mozambique having initiated the process of decolonization and being on the way to achieving its final goal of independence, FRELIMO wished to thank all the progressive and democratic forces that had made it possible: the Secretary-General, who had played such an important role in the negotiations with Portugal; the socialist countries, which had been the natural allies of FRELIMO from the outset; all peace-loving peoples and the progressive forces of the Western Hemisphere, which had aided the fighters in Mozambique and whose ranks had recently included even members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Thanks were also due to comrades in arms in Africa who had participated, from the very beginning, in the struggle of FRELIMO, to the forces of Asia and Latin America and to the comrades of FRELIMO in Indo-China, whose struggle had been an ever-present inspiration. Unfortunately, the struggle against colonialism was far from over. Future developments in Portugal would be an important test for democracy, and it was to be hoped that that country's Government would be able to find a solution to the problem of Angola. The new leaders of Portugal were honourable and there was every reason to have confidence in their ability to find an early solution to the problem of Angola, which would take the interests of its people into account without over-emphasizing any differences that might exist between the liberation movements.

14. FRELIMO most particularly thanked the peoples of the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, to whom Mozambique was greatly indebted. Those peoples had been victims of Portuguese aggression, and some of them had paid with their lives for their devotion to the cause of anti-colonialism.

15. Thanks to the assistance of peace-loving peoples throughout the world, peace and brotherhood now reigned in Mozambique. FRELIMO, through the representative of Portugal, sent a message of peace and friendship to the people of Portugal.

16. Mr. TULA (Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola) said that he wished to voice the appreciation of the Angolan people and of the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) of the important role played by United Nations organs in the decolonization process and the unceas-

ing diplomatic and economic support given by Member States to the Angolan people from the moment they had begun their struggle for freedom and independence 14 years before.

17. His organization had followed with the greatest interest the events that had shaken the Portuguese empire and fascist régime. If the Portuguese people were currently enjoying the fundamental freedoms, it was unquestionably because of the difficult struggle that had been waged by the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, with the aid of most States Members of the United Nations. The people of Angola were proud to have played an important role—contributing even their blood—in liberating the Portuguese people from the fascist régime to which they had been subjected for nearly half a century.

18. He therefore trusted that the Portuguese people and the international community would not prove ungrateful and ignore his people's suffering, but would join them in the struggle for total victory for the peoples under Portuguese colonial domination. Despite the declarations of good intentions made by the new leaders in Lisbon, it was necessary for all involved, including the Portuguese people, to close ranks in order to prevent the fascist, reactionary forces from returning to power. In that connexion, FNLA hoped that the present authorities in Lisbon would clarify their position regarding the fascist, unrepresentative white minority entrenched in Angola, which was continuing to slaughter the African inhabitants. FNLA would not tolerate the massacre of the Angolan people. More effective measures must be taken for their protection, and the ultimate responsibility for so doing rested with the new régime in Portugal.

19. With regard to the broader question of the decolonization of Angola, he hoped that the Committee would be good enough to grant a hearing at an early date to the FNLA official responsible for foreign affairs, who would state the Central Committee's position on the matter. He wished to extend warm congratulations to the fraternal people of Guinea-Bissau on their attainment of independence and to the people of Mozambique for their victory, under the leadership of FRELIMO, over the Portuguese colonialist forces.

20. Mr. SCARABÔTOLO (Brazil) said that Guinea-Bissau's attainment of independence had made a great impression on Brazilian public opinion, which had regarded it as the first positive step in the over-all process of decolonizing the Territories under Portuguese domination. He recalled in that connexion that Brazil had been the first Portuguese colony to attain political freedom. The justified pride with which Brazil had celebrated the 150th anniversary of its independence had not been for one moment clouded by hatred or resentment of the people which had given Brazil its language and culture and had contributed so greatly in shaping its particular view of the world. That language, culture and special vision, planted in Brazilian soil, had blended with the immense, generous contribution of Africa to mould what was today the civilization of Brazil.

21. His delegation was fully aware that the work of the Committee at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly was beginning at a time of great historical importance—the approaching end of the colonial era—which had a very special meaning for Brazilians. He wished to express to Portugal once again his country's profound conviction that Portugal would proceed wisely and sincerely with the process of decolonization begun with the independence of Guinea-Bissau. Brazil also hoped that other countries and peoples still under foreign domination would soon be seated at the Committee's table. To Portuguese-speaking Africans Brazil offered its support in their struggle for emancipation and full political sovereignty. He wished to record his country's great satisfaction at the news of the agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO, signed at Lusaka on 7 September, which laid

the foundation for the proclamation of the independence of Mozambique.

22. He recalled the statement by the head of the Brazilian delegation, at the opening of the general debate at the current session (2238th plenary meeting), that his country was concerned with helping to build the future of free nations, so that Brazilians could once again live on an equal footing with peoples that had been among the most generous sources of the Brazilian way of life.

23. It was most important at that moment for the competent United Nations organs to initiate concrete economic, technical and financial plans and projects designed to help the newly independent States in their post-colonial life. His delegation believed that that specific help was the responsibility of the international community as a whole and constituted a logical follow-up to the efforts undertaken for so many years by the

United Nations in support of the independence of colonial countries and peoples. Brazil was ready to co-operate with the new nations to the extent that they desired in order to speed the process of building their new States. He informed the Committee that on 10 September Brazil had opened an embassy in Guinea-Bissau.

24. It was from that perspective that Brazil viewed the attainment of independence by the new Portuguese-speaking African nations; it was a perspective founded on a historical vision of deep-rooted racial and cultural affinities and was therefore realistic and eminently pragmatic, since the Brazilian people had for many years faced the same type of problems that were now beginning to arise for their African brothers.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

2082nd meeting

Thursday, 3 October 1974, at 10.50 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2082

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/C.4/773)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. DORJI (Bhutan) warmly welcomed the representatives of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, whose admission to the United Nations bore witness to the universality of the Organization. His delegation was particularly pleased that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were in the process of achieving full statehood as independent members of the community of nations.

2. His country's position on the question of decolonization was well known to all. The twin evils of colonialism and racial discrimination were an impediment to peace and ran counter to the Charter of the United Nations. The objectives of the Charter would remain unfulfilled until the last vestiges of colonialism were eliminated. The subjugation of peoples could not be viewed with indifference by the people of Bhutan, who, following the doctrine of Buddhism, believed in the dignity and equality of all men and women, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

3. His delegation had noted with satisfaction the various reports submitted 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 and fully supported the recommendations contained therein. International peace and security, which had preoccupied the world for so long, would have little meaning unless colonialism, racism and racial discrimination were eliminated.

4. In conclusion, his delegation warmly welcomed the enlightened policy followed by the Portuguese Government in granting independence to Guinea-Bissau and in preparing the way for the granting of independence to Mozambique and Angola. It had set a great example for others to follow. His delegation would continue to support the principle of decolonization.

5. Mr. ROSS (Liberia) said that his delegation wished to commend the people of Guinea-Bissau for their courage, sacrifices and determination. Like the people of Algeria, they had had to take up arms through necessity to throw off the colonial yoke. It was also a matter for satisfaction that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was fulfilling its role by assisting in the liberation of Territories still under colonial domination.

6. Liberia had been one of the first countries to recognize Guinea-Bissau. He requested that the Committee should observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, a great patriot who had led his people to the threshold of independence, but had been assassinated just before Guinea-Bissau had declared its sovereign independence.

7. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Liberia, in a statement to the General Assembly at its 2251st plenary meeting, had pointed out that it was the Liberian Government, through its representative in the Security Council, which in February 1961 had first brought to the attention of the United Nations the deplorable situation in the Portuguese Territories.¹ Liberia was therefore particularly gratified that Guinea-Bissau had become a Member of the United Nations and eagerly awaited the independence of Mozambique and its admission to the Organization within the following year.

8. His delegation decried colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, fascism and any kind of ideology that tended to destroy the dignity of man. Some years previously, the representative of Liberia had drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter by the racist minority Government of South Africa and had called for the expulsion of South Africa from the General Assembly.² At that time, the great Powers had taken the position that, while South Africa's actions against the majority population of South Africa and Namibia, at that time known as South West Africa, were in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, it was for the

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 934th meeting, paras. 2-10.*

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Special Political Committee, 272nd meeting, paras. 3-6.*