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President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).

AGENDA ITEM 105

**Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and of
the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: re-
port of the Secretary-General (*continued*)***

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/31/278/Add.1)

1. Mr. NASON (Ireland), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: On behalf of the Fifth Committee I have the honour to present, in document A/31/278/Add.1, part II of the Committee's report on agenda item 105.

2. The draft resolution which the Fifth Committee has voted to recommend to the General Assembly is contained in paragraph 5 of the report. In the first preambular paragraph it is recalled that the Secretary-General's authority to enter into commitments for the United Nations Emergency Force [UNEF] and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force [UNDOF], as extended by resolution 31/5, expires on 30 November 1976. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution would authorize the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for UNEF and UNDOF for a further period, from 1 to 21 December 1976, in order to allow additional time for the General Assembly to consider the Secretary-General's report on the financing of the two Forces. In operative paragraph 2 the Assembly would decide to continue to apportion the relevant expenses among Member States in accordance with resolutions 3374 B and C (XXX). I hope that the draft resolution will meet with the Assembly's approval.

* Resumed from the 41st meeting.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

3. The PRESIDENT: Interventions will therefore be limited to explanations of vote. I understand that some explanatory statements and reservations have already been made in the Fifth Committee in connexion with the draft resolution before us. An account of those statements may be found in the relevant summary records of the Committee.

4. I shall now call upon representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their votes before the vote.

5. Mr. EL SHEIBANI (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Libyan Arab Republic has stated its position on the financing of UNEF and UNDOF at meetings of the Security Council and the Fifth Committee.

6. The presence of the Forces is based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). My delegation thinks those two resolutions do not provide a basis for the settlement of the Palestine problem or the Middle East crisis. I should therefore like to place my delegation's position on record, and to state that the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic will not participate in the vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee in document A/31/278/Add.1.

7. Mr. KAPLLANI (Albania): The Albanian delegation has on previous occasions made it abundantly clear that it utterly disapproves of, and is resolutely against, UNEF and UNDOF. Therefore, in full conformity with that stand, and for the reasons my delegation explained lucidly at the Fifth Committee's 39th meeting, the Albanian delegation will vote against the draft resolution in paragraph 5 of document A/31/278/Add.1 pertaining to the financing of UNEF and UNDOF.

8. Mr. HAMZAH (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation has already very clearly stated its position on the financing of UNEF and of UNDOF and we have reaffirmed that the high cost to Member States of financing those Forces results from the continued Israeli aggression against Arab territories and Israel's refusal to withdraw from those lands, in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and numerous relevant resolutions. Bearing in mind that the draft resolution in document A/31/278/Add.1, like many other resolutions, does not differentiate between the aggressor and the victim of the aggression, my delegation will vote against the draft in the conviction that these costs should be borne by the racist and aggressive Zionist entity.

9. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen): Democratic Yemen's position has been made clear on previous occa-

sions, in particular in the Fifth Committee and in the plenary last year and again at this session. In conformity with that position my delegation will not participate in the vote on the draft resolution in document A/31/278/Add.1, on the financing of UNEF and of UNDOF.

10. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of its report [A/31/278/Add.1]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Albania, Syrian Arab Republic.

The draft resolution was adopted by 112 votes to 2 (resolution 31/5 B).¹

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (continued)*

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART II) (A/31/338/Add.1)

11. Mr. PFANZELTER (Austria), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to present part II of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12 [A/31/338/Add.1].

12. In paragraph 7 of the report the Second Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions: draft resolution I, entitled "Assistance to

the Comoros", and draft resolution II, entitled "Assistance to Mozambique". Both draft resolutions were adopted without a vote.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

13. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 7 of its report [A/31/338/Add.1].

14. Draft resolution I is entitled "Assistance to the Comoros". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution I?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 31/42).

15. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Assistance to Mozambique". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution II?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 31/43).

AGENDA ITEM 20

Election of twelve members of the World Food Council

16. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it, in document A/31/365, a note by the Secretary-General regarding the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council.

17. The 12 retiring members of the World Food Council are: Australia, Colombia, Cuba, France, Guatemala, Guinea, India, Libyan Arab Republic, Mali, Pakistan, Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

18. The following 12 States have been nominated by the Economic and Social Council: from the group of African States—Ivory Coast, Madagascar and Nigeria; from the group of Asian States—Pakistan and the Philippines; from the group of Latin American States—Cuba, Guatemala and Jamaica; from the group of Socialist States of Eastern Europe—Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; from the group of Western European and other States—Australia and France. If there is no objection, may I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to declare those countries elected to membership in the World Food Council for a term of three years?

It was so decided. (decision 31/309).

19. The PRESIDENT: I wish to congratulate those States which have just been elected members of the World Food Council.

AGENDA ITEM 26

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (continued)*

20. The PRESIDENT: In document A/31/340, the Security Council has recommended the admission of the

* Resumed from the 82nd meeting.

¹ The delegation of the Ivory Coast subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

* Resumed from the 80th meeting.

People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations. The relevant draft resolution has been circulated in document A/31/L.22 and Add.1. The General Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on that draft resolution. A recorded vote¹ is being requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 116 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 31/44).²

21. The PRESIDENT: I declare the People's Republic of Angola admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Angola was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

22. The PRESIDENT: I consider it an honour and a pleasure to offer, on behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf, sincere congratulations to the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola on its admission to membership in the United Nations and to extend it a warm welcome. I express the hope that the presence in the United Nations of the representatives of Angola will enable them to make a constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations in all its spheres.

23. I now call on the representative of Fiji to speak on behalf of the Asian group as its chairman.

² The delegations of Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Egypt, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

24. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): It is my privilege, on behalf of the Asian group of states, to extend a very warm welcome to the People's Republic of Angola upon its accession to membership in this Organization, and to offer it our very sincere and very warm congratulations. I take this opportunity, too, on behalf of the people and the Government of Fiji, to extend a very warm welcome to it.

25. It is always a source of pride and achievement for this Organization when a country achieves independence. It is also gratifying and a matter of great satisfaction to this Organization to welcome a new Member and to add another important voice to its deliberations. It is particularly gratifying and indeed significant that during this session of the General Assembly we welcome among us a country from Africa, a continent that has fought, and is still fighting, some of the worst manifestations of colonialism, a problem which has deeply concerned Members of this Organization for many years, and particularly during this, the thirty-first session.

26. The People's Republic of Angola brings with its independence not only the achievement of its people, but also the hope of an end to colonialism in other parts of Africa.

27. It is always the hope of this Organization that the "coming of age", so to speak, of a State has been a natural one. Unfortunately, all too often this has not been so, and a heavy price has been paid for independence. Angola has been no exception. The people of Angola have paid dearly to take their rightful place in this Organization. Angola is today faced with a problem of reconstruction. In spite of the will of its people and the natural resources it is endowed with, the task before it is an enormous one. However, freedom is the first step towards meaningful reconstruction and development, and we are confident that, with the goodwill that exists towards the People's Republic of Angola among the international community, its national reconstruction will be achieved with the help and understanding of all of us. We of the Asian region hope that the rest of Africa that is still colonized, or is under illegal or minority régimes, will yield to reality and to the inevitable and that there will be a transfer of power to their rightful peoples without the cost that has been borne by the people of Angola.

28. Although Angola is situated many, many thousands of miles from our shores, we feel we have a lot in common with it and that we have a lot we can share. This forum has provided us with a place to meet so that our peoples can co-operate and coexist to build a world of peace and justice.

29. With the admission of the People's Republic of Angola, a new African State of great importance will enter the United Nations. We are convinced that, like many other African countries before it, Angola will bring to our work a spirit of wisdom and generosity, and that it will contribute in the same constructive manner to achieving the purposes and principles of our Charter.

30. I take this opportunity once again, on behalf of the member countries of the Asian group, to extend a friendly hand to the People's Republic of Angola and to wish it

success in its endeavours nationally and in the international community.

31. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Bulgaria, chairman of the group of Eastern European States.

32. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): The General Assembly has just adopted a decision of great importance in admitting the People's Republic of Angola as a full Member of the United Nations. Historic justice has thus been restored to the valiant and freedom-loving people of Angola. From now on, the People's Republic of Angola will occupy its legitimate place in this world Organization, in full conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. Such a decision corresponds to the interests of peace and progress, and is conducive to the realization of the purposes and principles of our Organization.

33. I feel particularly gratified that I have the honour to welcome most cordially the representatives of the People's Republic of Angola on behalf of the countries of the Eastern European group of States. Great is our joy to see the representatives of the Angolan people take their rightful place in this hall. The countries of Eastern Europe have decisively and warmly supported the request of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to the United Nations, considering this request fully justified.

34. The admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations is a major event in international affairs. This young African State, which was born as a result of a long struggle against Portuguese colonialism, had been compelled to defend its independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty in a hard-fought battle against imperialist aggression.

35. The Angolan people paid a heavy price to win and strengthen their independence and to exercise their inalienable right freely to choose the road to their future development. On the eve of the victorious end of the anti-colonial war and immediately following the proclamation of independence, imperialism and racism rose up in a united front against this young African State. That is why the victory of the Angolan people over foreign intervention and the forces of internal reaction has been warmly hailed by the African States and all progressive mankind.

36. Today, the People's Republic of Angola, in consolidating its dearly won freedom and independence, represents an important factor for the strengthening of the independence and security of the young States in southern Africa. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the participation of the People's Republic of Angola in the work of the United Nations will further enhance the efficiency of our Organization in all spheres of its activities. There can be no doubt either that Angola's contribution will be particularly valuable and important in the implementation of the tasks related to the final liberation of the African continent from colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

37. The people of Angola are now focusing all their efforts on overcoming the under-development inherited from colonial domination and to redeem the heavy damages and losses inflicted upon them by the imperialist intervention

and the overt aggression by the South African racists. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola has proclaimed as its main domestic political task the carrying out of a radical socio-economic and political transformation in the interest of the Angolan people. We sincerely wish the People's Republic of Angola success in the building of the new society based on the principles of social justice and well-being for the working people.

38. We are happy to see that the international prestige of the People's Republic of Angola has been affirmed so quickly. The fact that the request of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations has commanded such wide support is eloquent proof of that. The People's Republic of Angola has been recognized by more than 100 States. It is a respected and active member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned movement. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola has established relations of sincere friendship and active co-operation with all the countries of Eastern Europe in the political, economic, technological and cultural fields, based on the principles of fraternal solidarity and on the United Nations Charter. Those close fraternal ties between free and independent Angola and the Eastern European States, established from the time of the inception of the People's Republic of Angola, have been further promoted during the recent visits to the USSR and Bulgaria of Mr. Antonio Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] and President of the People's Republic of Angola.

39. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly today convincingly demonstrates how absolutely correct were those who from the beginning have supported firmly and unconditionally the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations. We feel particularly gratified that the artificial barriers raised to prevent the admission of that young African State to full membership in the United Nations have been eliminated.

40. At the same time, we cannot but recall that there is no end to attempts to delay the admission to our Organization of another independent peace-loving State—the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Those attempts are in glaring contradiction with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. However, we are deeply convinced that the just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph in the very near future, and that we shall be able to welcome the representatives of the heroic Vietnamese people just as we are now welcoming our Angolan friends.

41. I should like, on behalf of the countries of Eastern Europe, once more to welcome warmly the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola and to express our conviction that the relations of most fruitful co-operation which exist between our countries will find their expression also in collaboration between our delegations in the United Nations, in the common efforts to strengthen the efficiency of our Organization in the interests of peace, social progress and viable international co-operation.

42. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guyana, chairman of the group of Latin American States.

43. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): It is for me today a signal honour, on behalf of the Latin American group of States at

the United Nations, to welcome the People's Republic of Angola into the fold of United Nations membership. For the people of Angola, having suffered as they have under persistent and prolonged colonial domination, the road to independence has been strewn with many obstacles. Yet, history itself can testify that liberation, like progress, is an irrepressible process.

44. Between the peoples of Latin America and Africa there are bridges of shared experience. The opportunities, as well as the challenges, of nationhood are familiar to the people of Latin America. The indissoluble human links between our two continents, Africa and Latin America, are of long standing; and our two continents, as part of the developing world, increasingly seek common cause through joint co-operative action to make a reality of our acknowledged interdependence. In this context, the people of Latin America are united with the people of Africa, of which Angola is a part, in pursuit of the universal objectives of peace, justice and progress.

45. We in Latin America have every confidence that the full realization of the universality of membership of this Organization can only enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations as we seek to find just and expeditious solutions to the manifold problems that confront today's troubled world. The admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations represents a further stage in the progress towards the goal of universality, a principle which is deeply cherished by all of us and for which we have so arduously fought in the General Assembly.

46. Allow me to observe that the struggle for freedom is not unfamiliar to the peoples of Latin America which have for so long been obliged to toil under the oppressive yoke of colonialism. We stand firmly in support of those who have had to fight for their freedom. The valiant struggles of such Latin American liberators and heroes as Simon Bolívar, José Martí, Cuffy, Benito Juárez and José de San Martín bear ample testimony to the contribution which Latin America has made towards the attainment of the goal of total freedom.

47. The People's Republic of Angola, which a little more than a fortnight ago celebrated the first anniversary of the recovery of its independence, has a positive and significant role to play in the deliberations of this Organization. We are confident that that Republic will make a constructive contribution.

48. Latin America salutes the People's Republic of Angola for its valour and welcomes it most fraternally to participate in our deliberations. As we seek to intensify our efforts geared towards the creation of an international system based on justice and equity, the group of Latin American States looks forward to a period of friendship and meaningful co-operation with the People's Republic of Angola.

49. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mauritius, chairman of the group of African States.

50. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): It gives me great pleasure personally, as permanent representative of Mauritius, on

behalf of the African group of States, over which I am honoured to preside this month, as well as on behalf of OAU, of which my Prime Minister has the privilege of serving as current Chairman, to extend a warm and brotherly welcome to the People's Republic of Angola as it becomes a full Member of the United Nations.

51. This must be a happy and proud day for the people and Government of Angola. It marks the culmination of their long and hard struggle to assume their rightful place in the international community. It also reflects their ultimate victory over the evil forces of domination, colonialism and imperialism—a resounding victory for freedom, peace and progress in the world. With great happiness and deep emotion I rejoice in congratulating them from the bottom of my heart on reaching this shining milestone on the road of self-fulfilment.

52. By the same token this is also a significant day for the United Nations. It brings us a step closer to the achievement of our goal of true universality of membership. It increases our collective resources for progress and effectiveness in finding common solutions to world problems. It also raises the hope that the voice of reason and right will finally prevail and that the world may soon be liberated from the tactics, dictation and obstruction of some of the great Powers.

53. One can only lament the delays, the harm and the damage done to our common objectives that are caused by such tactics and manoeuvres, knowing that the representatives of Angola could have been working with us with all their talents and strength since the beginning of this session of the General Assembly.

54. One must recall with regret the wastefulness and futile efforts that kept the rightful representatives of the people of China out of these halls for a quarter of a century. One must also point out with pain that a sister Eastern nation, which in moral, political and juridical terms is fully entitled to membership in our Organization, is today being subjected to such unjustified treatment in violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter. We feel confident that the course of history in this respect will be clear-cut and irreversible, that the right of all peace-loving peoples to be represented in this august body will sooner or later prevail.

55. We strongly believe that all our efforts here should be deployed to promote understanding and co-operation rather than division and confrontation, and to build for peace, justice, security and international co-operation and development for the benefit of all mankind.

56. It is a great satisfaction to know that Angola, because of its natural resources, its geographic position and the qualities of its people and its spirited leaders, can quickly overcome the natural initial difficulties of the post-independence era and of nation-building. It can also certainly have an important and constructive role to play in the field of economic, social and cultural development in strengthening international security and enhancing the welfare and prosperity of mankind.

57. We in the United Nations should offer Angola all the support and assistance that it may initially need in its

endeavour to heal the wounds and ravages of war, to stand fully on its feet and to give full expression to its great potential.

58. Long live the People's Republic of Angola!

59. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Malta, chairman of the group of Western European and other States.

60. Mr. GAUCI (Malta) (*interpretation from French*): Today it is the pleasant duty of the representative of the Republic of Malta, the European country that is closest to Africa, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, to welcome the Republic of Angola and to extend to it our warmest congratulations on this happy occasion. I do so with all the more pleasure because in inviting this one hundred and forty-sixth Member of our Organization to join us in our efforts to build a world of peace and justice, we are coming closer to a goal which we hold particularly dear, and which is of especial importance, namely, the goal of universality.

61. Nobody doubts that, regardless of differences in political, economic and social systems, the presence among us of all States without exception is necessary so that through co-operation and collaboration we can arrive at solutions that are acceptable to all and are accepted by all.

62. The admission of the Republic of Angola to the United Nations puts an end to one of the darkest chapters of the history of decolonization in Africa and is proof, were any needed, that the continuation of systems based on the domination of one people by another is no longer tolerated. It is also symbolic, because we are living at a time when the grave problems of southern Africa are of the utmost concern to the community of nations and when all our efforts must be directed to avoiding a bloody confrontation. We are convinced that the presence among us of the Republic of Angola is in accord not only with the criteria of justice but also with those of necessity. We cannot, therefore, but be pleased when its representatives solemnly affirm their profound attachment to the principles of our common Charter.

63. The entry of the Republic of Angola into the United Nations will reinforce the already influential voice of Africa in our Organization. This is a cause of satisfaction for the group of Western European and other States, which has always found that great continent to be a friendly and generous partner, desirous of contributing to the peaceful solution of conflicts.

64. I should like, therefore, in conclusion, to reaffirm our desire for frank and loyal co-operation with the Republic of Angola in the attainment of our common goal and to express to it, and to its courageous people, our cordial wishes for peace and prosperity.

65. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Democratic Yemen, who will speak on behalf of the Arab group.

66. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Arab group of States, I am

pleased to welcome the People's Republic of Angola as a full Member of this Organization.

67. The admission of Angola crowns with success a long and heroic struggle waged for many centuries by the Angolan people against colonialism, thereby enabling Angola to begin its new march as an independent and united State. Its admission to membership in our Organization is also a testimony to the long history of the peoples of the African continent in their struggle against colonialism and exploitation and represents the elimination of one of the last vestiges of colonialism.

68. We hail the Angolan people, its victory and its attempt to build a new future and to establish a progressive State of Angola capable of playing its role in the international arena.

69. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Sri Lanka, who will speak on behalf of the non-aligned countries.

70. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Sri Lanka): It gives me great pleasure to be here this morning to welcome the People's Republic of Angola to join us as a Member of this international brotherhood of the United Nations. The delegation of Sri Lanka was honoured to be one of the approximately 70 sponsors of the draft resolution—which was adopted a short while ago by this Assembly without a single dissentient voice—admitting the People's Republic of Angola to membership in this Organization and thereby taking us one step closer to the goal of universality, which all of us believe will be eventually fully achieved in the United Nations.

71. I appear here not only as the representative of my Government and my people but also as current Chairman of the group of 86 sovereign States Members of this Organization which belong to the Group of Non-Aligned States. I think that it is therefore pertinent for me particularly to single out the distinction which has been cast upon me to welcome the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations. It was only a few months ago—in August this year—that at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the 86 non-aligned nations Angola was represented by its Head of State, President Agostinho Neto, who came to my country, and it was at that Conference that Angola was unanimously elected to be a member of the 25-nation Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned group.

72. That Conference also unanimously adopted resolution 15, in which the Conference called upon "...all member States of the Non-Aligned Movement to support collectively Angola's application for membership to the United Nations" and urgently appealed "...to all member States of the United Nations to support the application for membership submitted by the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations." [see A/31/197, annex IV.]

73. It is with deep gratitude, therefore, that I come to this rostrum not only to welcome a sister nation, the People's Republic of Angola, but also to proclaim here that we have achieved the purposes we set out to achieve in Colombo when that resolution was adopted by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

74. I should like to be permitted to add one comment on the perhaps unique connexion between Angola and Sri Lanka: we were both colonies of the same colonial Power. It was in 1505, in the early sixteenth century, that the Portuguese settlers first came to Ceylon—as Sri Lanka was then known—and they were the first European settlers to set foot on our shores. It was at about the same time that the Portuguese arrived in Angola. Fortunately for us, the Portuguese were not able to dominate the whole of the island from which I come, but had to make way for their Dutch brothers to take over in 1635. But it took our Angolan brothers 450 years or more eventually to reassert their total independence, and we rejoice with Angola because we have had this historical bond and we very much appreciate the struggle that the Angolan people has waged valiantly, courageously and at great sacrifice during the last few years.

75. In this hall we have welcomed many new Members to admission during the last few years, but I hope that I shall not be taken amiss when I say that this morning we have admitted a country which has gone through considerable suffering in the achievement of that independence. We are happy to see its representatives sitting amongst us.

76. We extend to the Government and the people of the People's Republic of Angola our warmest good wishes. We are convinced that after Angola has bound up the wounds of war, after it has been able to husband its considerable natural resources and after it has built up the institutional structures which modern society demands, it will play a vital role not only in the affairs of southern Africa and of that continent, but indeed of the world.

77. One of the most important issues which has come up for discussion before the thirty-first session of the General Assembly is that of the events now unfolding in southern Africa. Angola, by its geographical position and by its valiant efforts, has proved to the international community that it is willing, ready and eminently competent to contribute its share to the solution of the problems of Zimbabwe and of South Africa itself. We of the non-aligned group are heartened by the fact that Angola has now taken its rightful place in the international community. We extend every good wish to the people of Angola and we are convinced that the entire international community as one will do all it can to ensure that Angola will be enabled not only to benefit from membership in this Organization and the United Nations system but even more to contribute, as I am sure it will, a degree of maturity, wisdom and international goodwill to the tasks which the international community, working through this Organization, has set for itself.

78. In conclusion, may I say that, with the admission of the People's Republic of Angola, we still have one isolated colony in Africa struggling for its independence. I refer to Zimbabwe. Angola is a neighbour of Zimbabwe and Angola will have a role to play in the early and speedy settlement of the problems that are facing that country, and we are convinced that in the case of Zimbabwe and in the case of Namibia, another Territory adjacent to Angola, the Government and the people of Angola will assume their rightful responsibilities and help us of the international community to find solutions which will not only justify what we in this

Assembly declared in 1960 when we adopted the Declaration on decolonization but also enable us fully to implement it without delay and with complete satisfaction to the peoples of Africa and of the world.

79. Mr. DA COSTA LOBO (Portugal): A few moments ago the People's Republic of Angola became the one hundred and forty-sixth Member of the United Nations.

80. The world being what it is today, when full participation in international life requires an increasing utilization of multilateral channels, we can say that the admission of a State in this Organization gives that State a higher status in the international community. As for the United Nations, which obviously aims at universality, the admission of a new Member brings it closer to what it should be. So, if we accept the two previous statements, I think that we can correctly conclude that this is a very important event for both Angola and the United Nations.

81. In this respect let me just add that for Portugal also, as a Member of the United Nations and as a friend of Angola, this occasion is in both respects a very important event and a source of deep satisfaction.

82. I should like to recall very briefly that on two previous occasions my country has expressed before organs of the United Nations its support for the admission of Angola to this Organization.

83. Although Portugal is not a member of the Security Council, our delegation appeared before that organ on 23 June 1976 in order to support Angola's request for admission to the United Nations. At that time the Permanent Representative of Portugal stated:

"The admission of Angola to the United Nations, if approved, will represent the last page of the record of decolonization of the African Territories under Portuguese administration, which, after a long and painful struggle for liberation, during the last few years obtained their independence and their right to become Members of the United Nations as well as full members of the international community".³

84. And less than two months ago, speaking in the general debate in the plenary General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal made the following statement:

"The Portuguese Government defends and actively supports admission of the People's Republic of Angola as a full Member of the United Nations. When a State remains outside the United Nations, it is always the United Nations that is incomplete". [22nd meeting, para. 270.]

85. If I may elaborate on that last observation, I would submit that, if every State, regardless of its size or geographical situation or the political affiliation of its Government, may contribute through its admission to the United Nations to rendering this Organization less incomplete, that contribution is particularly important in the case

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1932nd meeting*.

of a country in an area—an area that still includes two Non-Self-Governing Territories—that is certainly very insufficiently represented in the United Nations. The admission of Angola does not completely correct the situation, but it improves the situation and brings new hope for a further amelioration.

86. May I add that this event is taking place at a time when the consideration of the problems of southern Africa in the United Nations has acquired a particular significance, and I think that we should welcome the possibility of the participation of Angola in the discussion of these problems.

87. This is not the proper occasion to dwell at length on the historical, linguistic and cultural links between Portugal and Angola. I should like only to point out that if these links are important for the bilateral relations of those countries, they may also prove positive elements in their co-operation at the United Nations.

88. We hope that this co-operation, which naturally will take into account points of view and concerns of different regions of the world, will contribute to dealing more realistically with certain international problems, and consequently to the greater effectiveness of the United Nations. For our part, we look forward with deep interest to this co-operation, into which we intend to put the best of our efforts.

89. Mr. FERNANDES (Guinea-Bissau): It is a great pleasure for my delegation to welcome to the United Nations our friends from the People's Republic of Angola. We do that not only on behalf of our own Government, but also on behalf of the Governments of the Republic of Cape Verde, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

90. This is not the first time that I have had the privilege of speaking on behalf of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique; indeed, during the long struggle for national liberation I have had the opportunity to speak in many forums on behalf of PAIGC⁴ of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, MLSTP⁵ of Sao Tome and Principe, FRELIMO⁶ of Mozambique and MPLA of Angola.

91. Today I stand here welcoming to this world body the last member of an organization founded some 15 years ago and known as the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of Portuguese Colonies, encompassing all the ex-Portuguese African colonies. I should add that this occasion has a particular significance for me, since I witnessed the founding of the Conference as a young man involved in the hard and difficult struggle for the dignity of Africa.

92. It is not by accident that it is only now that the People's Republic of Angola is being admitted to this world body. Angola's path to liberty is covered with the blood of thousands and thousands of Angolans. It has been a particularly difficult path because Angola represents the crown jewel of international imperialism. Of all the

ex-Portuguese colonies, Angola was the major prize—Angola with its oil, diamonds, iron ore, uranium and coffee; Angola with natural resources that have hardly been touched yet. Angola was the country to conquer. Angola was the lifeboat of a dying colonialism, the lifesaver of a moribund imperialism.

93. Angola's importance goes far beyond Angola's own borders. Angola is the key to Namibia; Angola was the shortest way to Zimbabwe. Angola opened the doors to Soweto; indeed, Angola is South Africa itself. If it had not been for the victory of MPLA and the valiant struggle waged by FRELIMO, change would not have occurred so soon in southern Africa. It is now clear to everyone that, thanks to the sacrifices and the gallant struggle waged by MPLA, a new era is dawning on the southern African horizon. The day when the Africans in that part of the world will regain their dignity is now coming closer. The struggle will be hard, but a *vitória é certa*.

94. It was very sad for the delegations of ex-Portuguese colonies to see a State Member of the United Nations utilizing its veto power to prevent Angola from joining this world body. Fortunately this obstacle was overcome last week with an abstention in the Security Council. We do think that the time has come for the United States to forge a new relationship with Angola, a relationship based on respect for each other's sovereignty and each other's right to choose its own allies. As President Neto very ably put it in a poem:

"See, here are our hands
Open to the brotherhood of man,
United in certainty
For the future of man.
For right, for peace, for friendship".

95. Angola, because of its natural resources and its size, ranks among the very few countries in Africa—and probably in the third world—that can rapidly achieve a high degree of economic development and self-sufficiency. Are we, then, to assume that this natural wealth is somehow a curse rather than a blessing; that those who not only have refused to extend a helping hand to this young nation, but have actively worked to prevent its political independence from being achieved, would rather see it joining the ever-swelling number of poor nations? Are we to assume that that heroic country, in spite of its richness, is condemned to remain impoverished and dependent upon international solidarity? Has Angola been used to prove that the poor will always remain poor and the rich will grow even richer? Are ideology and cold-war tactics being used in an effort to halt the creation of a true, wealthy and sovereign nation in the very heart of Africa?

96. We do not know the answers to all those questions. We just have an eerie feeling that some occult and sinister force is trying to prevent Angola from joining the ranks of the wealthy nations and that interests are working hard to widen the gap between the poor and the rich nations.

97. During our association with MPLA over almost 20 years of struggle we have seen candid and honest leadership dedicated to the cause of Angola and to the cause of Africa. We have seen courageous fighters laying down their lives on

⁴ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

⁵ Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe.

⁶ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

the rugged path of independence, sacrificing their lives for an ideal. One has only to mention Hojy na Henda, among many others.

98. That ideal has partly been achieved, for Angola is now independent politically. However, the torch is still lit because *a luta continua*. That torch has not changed hands. It will be carried by the very same hands which were able to conquer political independence, to illuminate the darkest corners of ignorance, misery and disease. The vast majority of Angolans are today still lying and languishing in those dark corners of ignorance. Knowing the MPLA leadership as well as we know it, we feel very confident and very sure that *a luta continua e a vitória é certa*.

99. The struggle will continue because Namibia is not free. The struggle will continue because Zimbabwe is still dominated by a minority. The struggle will continue because the tragedy of Soweto still exists and a régime is massacring our brothers and sisters in the name of *apartheid*.

100. We are hoping that reason will prevail in the land of *apartheid* and that before too long Pretoria will come to its senses and prevent another war like the one which took place in Angola. But there ever should be another such war, the people will take things into their own hands and be victorious, as was MPLA.

101. Angola has shown us. It stands as an example to the world and demonstrates that with sacrifice and struggle the enemies of the people—whether they employ colonial machinations or manoeuvres or naked military aggression as did South Africa—can be defeated. MPLA has made Angola's victory a reality. With a committed and talented leadership, in particular the strong and determined Mr. Neto, Angola has won.

102. The Angolan struggle for independence began as a struggle against Portuguese colonialism but grew and became a struggle against the powerful forces of imperialism before Angola was able to achieve final victory. The struggle in Angola and the victory involved not just the defeating of Portuguese colonialism and its allies. The struggle in Angola has been and continues to be a commitment marked by sacrifice to build a new life for the people of Angola free of the exploitation of man by man.

103. The spirit of Angola was very important to the victory over colonialism. It reflects a commitment to solidarity and to support for the continuing struggle for freedom in southern Africa. This spirit was captured in the words of President Neto in a poem written some 20 years ago. He said:

“Our eyes the life-blood
are turned towards hands beckoning love in all the world
hands in the future—inspiring faith in the vitality of Africa,
the human land of Africa,
of far-flung Africa
regenerating under the sun of hope
creating bonds of brotherhood in freedom from want,
from the yearning for peace,
the blood and the seed.

For the future—here are our eyes
for peace—our voices
for peace—our hands
from Africa, united in love.”

104. Mr. CORREA DA COSTA (Brazil): Although Ambassador Jackson of Guyana has in his capacity as chairman of the group of Latin-American States had the opportunity to express to the Assembly the feelings of our region on the occasion of the admission of Angola to the United Nations, the Brazilian delegation wishes to add its own welcome to another Portuguese-speaking State as it joins our Organization.

105. Over the last two years we have had the pleasure of receiving in our midst Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. Those are nations to which we Brazilians are closely bound by ties of history and blood. The admission of Angola in 1976 completes the process of the accession of Portuguese-speaking African States to membership in the United Nations. With all those five countries Brazil maintains diplomatic, economic and cultural relations based on our linguistic and historical identity. We share with them common interests and aspirations as developing countries.

106. Admission to the United Nations completes the gradual process of international recognition of a new State. At the same time it is for that State the beginning of a new cycle of responsibilities within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations. To the Organization, the entry of each new Member represents a factor of strength which brings it ever closer to the goal of universality. It should therefore be a matter of rejoicing for all of us that a new State should seek admission to the United Nations, thus indicating its desire to contribute in a positive way to our efforts and to the achievement of the purposes of the United Nations. Our satisfaction is increased when an African State is involved, for we have all witnessed the creative contribution which independent Africa has made to our work.

107. Through its admission to the United Nations Angola acquires the possibility of utilizing manifold forms of co-operation and understanding through which its self-determination may be exercised without outside pressures and its national identity may be projected in our community of nations.

108. It is therefore with well-founded satisfaction that we warmly greet the new Member of the Organization.

109. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): On this occasion my delegation wishes to express its great satisfaction at the fact that the People's Republic of Angola has today by a unanimous vote of the General Assembly been admitted to membership in the United Nations, thus becoming the newest Member of the world Organization.

110. The admission of this newly liberated African country to our Organization is first and foremost a great tribute to its heroic struggle for freedom as well as to its policy of independence, non-alignment and dedication to the principles on which the United Nations is founded.

111. The entry of Angola into our Organization constitutes an important contribution to the struggle for the final liquidation of colonialism and racism, particularly in southern Africa, in which the United Nations must continue to play an active role. With Angola as its new Member, our Organization has made another significant step forward towards achieving universality, thus strengthening its role in international relations.

112. Even before its admission to the United Nations, the People's Republic of Angola had fully affirmed itself on the international scene—by its liberation struggle and its role in the fight for the final liquidation of colonialism and racism in southern Africa, and its admission to the ranks of OAU and, recently, to the non-aligned movement at the summit conference of non-aligned countries in Colombo, where it played an active role. We believe that Angola will make a significant contribution to the activities of the United Nations.

113. We wish to congratulate warmly the Foreign Minister, Mr. dos Santos, and the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, with which Yugoslavia maintains the most cordial relations, on the admission of their country to the United Nations, as one more victory for the people of Angola in the struggle for independence, for peace and security and for the building of equitable international relations freed from colonialism and from any form of domination.

114. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): After a long and cruel domination, lasting nearly five centuries and characterized by racial discrimination, slavery and domestic service, all based on colonialist and imperialist exploitation, the Angolan people, under the leadership of their distinguished party, MPLA, finally triumphed over all machinations and proclaimed its independence on 11 November 1975. The various stages which marked this heroic struggle are known to everyone and, despite the use of puppet organizations using the words "liberation" or "total independence" in their titles, such as FNLA⁷ or UNITA,⁸ the truth finally triumphed with Africa's victory in Luanda. The recognition of the People's Republic of Angola by more than 100 States Members of our Organization at the time was resounding proof of that reality, which is now indisputable. With regard to the legal foundation of this independence, won at such a price, this no longer needs to be demonstrated despite the Machiavellian attempts of the imperialists to challenge it.

115. Since the Security Council and the General Assembly have recognized that Angola's seat in the United Nations should no longer be vacant, the delegation of the Party-State of Guinea takes this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Angolan people, who have wrought their own freedom. The Guinean delegation includes in this tribute all the progressive Governments and organizations which have always given unconditional support to MPLA, because, without the courage and determination of the Angolan people, mobilized by MPLA, without the firmness of the African States wholly committed to the stubborn defence of the higher interests of Africa, and

without the invaluable contribution of certain friendly countries moved by the most selfless spirit of internationalism, such as Cuba and the Soviet Union, there can be no doubt that the imperialists would have added a striking victory to their sinister score. It follows that the wealth of experience accumulated through the independence of Angola should enable us to speed the liberation of southern Africa as well, for the intention of the imperialist conspiracy was nothing less than to make Angola and Mozambique a neo-colonialist *cordon sanitaire* to protect the minority racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, in defence of the interests of international imperialism.

116. On this day, which will go down in history, fighting Africa feels itself once again honoured in evoking the memory of the martyrs of Benguela, of Lobito and of Luambo, and in applauding the victory of Angola.

117. After Angola it will be the turn of southern Africa. The struggle continues.

118. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Among the countries of Africa which openly declared their alliance with the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of the Congo enjoys pride of place. Between our two countries, our two peoples and our two Heads of State there is such an affinity that the victory of MPLA and the independence of Angola have been perceived by the people of the Congo as a whole as their own victory, their own independence. The same is true today when the People's Republic of Angola has officially made its brilliant entry into the United Nations.

119. To those who maliciously wonder about the reasons for such enthusiasm, we would reply that the Congo sees in Angola the image of its own qualities: hated and despised by imperialism and colonialism, it has the will to defend a dearly bought independence and the determination to move forward with a view to promoting general development once peace and security have been restored.

120. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is a major component of the national policy of the People's Republic of the Congo, which regards the Angolan people's recent victory over the coalition of puppet, Fascist and racial-imperialist forces as a historic event of major importance.

121. Moreover, in the message he addressed to his counterpart, the Head of State of the People's Republic of Angola, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the independence of that fraternal country, the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Comrade Marien Ngouabi, hailed once again the constancy with which the Angolan people had manifested their support for those who were still fighting for their freedom from the colonialist and racist yoke, and expressed his great admiration for the decisive contribution made by the Angolan people to the great work of liberation of the oppressed peoples.

122. In truth, the relations between the peoples of the Congo and Angola do not date from today. To know how these two peoples have been nourished by the highest ideals we must necessarily look into the past and evoke a part of their common history, a period from the life of the ancient

⁷ Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola.

⁸ União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

Kingdom of the Congo, which, of course, included a large part of Angola.

123. In his "History of African Civilization", Frobenius, who contributed much to the destruction of the mistaken racist arguments of Gobineau concerning the supposed superiority of Western civilization over that of the so-called "primitive" peoples, writes:

"At the end of the Middle Ages, the first European navigators [discovered], in the Kingdom of the Congo, a teeming mass of people dressed in 'silk' and 'velvet'; great States, well-ordered down to the smallest details; powerful sovereigns and opulent industries. They were civilized to the very marrow of their bones!"⁹

Further on, the German ethnologist writes:

"... villages, the main streets of which were lined on each side for miles by four rows of palm trees, and the dwellings of which, each decorated in a charming manner, were so many works of art. Every man carried elaborate weapons of iron or copper, with inlaid blades, and with handles covered in snakeskin. Everywhere there were velvet and silk materials. Every cup, every pipe, every spoon, was a work of art fully worthy of comparison with the creations of the European Roman style... the manners, the moral law of the whole people, from the smallest child to the oldest man... were marked by dignity and grace..."¹⁰

124. What remains, in our day, of that picture with all its many aspects, ranging from power to glory, from charm to dignity, from harmony to peace? The reply imposed by the verdict of history is that slavery, colonialism and capitalist exploitation devoured everything.

125. However, they were unable to prevent the birth of the revolutionary conscience of the descendants of the ancient Kingdom of the Congo, who are increasingly fascinated by the ancient heroism.

126. The poet Agostinho Neto and the researcher Théophile Obenga, for example, seem to have found in their works the ways by which one may reach down to the roots of that civilization.

127. While the poet Agostinho Neto, in a song entitled "The Raising of the Colours", anticipates his revolutionary action and almost foretells Angola's admission to the United Nations, Théophile Obenga, in his "Pre-colonial Central Africa",¹¹ goes right back to the earliest times and describes with strict accuracy the successive phases in the everyday life of the ancient Kingdom of the Congo. If he pores over that past and the glorious exploits of the time in this way, it is by no means in order to lull himself with dreams of some kind of paradise lost, but rather to gain full possession of them so as better to use them in his relations with the present.

⁹ Léo Frobenius, *Histoire de la civilisation africaine*, 3rd ed. (Paris, Gallimard, 1952), p. 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹¹ Théophile Obenga, *Afrique centrale précoloniale: documents d'histoire vivante* (Paris, Présence africaine, 1974).

128. In the mind of the people, the poet is defined as a dreamer. This is not the case with Agostinho Neto, who became a man of action. To recover the freedom and dignity of his country had become for him an historical imperative. Born out of the ashes of colonialist and capitalist exploitation, and at the price of the blood of its best sons, the People's Republic of Angola is therefore necessarily the antithesis of all imperialist forces of oppression.

129. And it is the MPLA of President Agostinho Neto which, over the years, has been able to galvanize, channel and direct the revolutionary struggle of the Angolan people. It was able to rise to the height of that historic act by proclaiming, under fire from a coalition of puppet and imperialist-Fascist forces, the legal independence of Angola and by laying down, even now, the objective bases for true independence.

130. As I have tried to show, the total support of the People's Republic of the Congo for the People's Republic of Angola is not limited either to a time or to specific circumstances. It has its roots in the depths of the history of our two peoples, which share the same destiny. Moreover, for a year now, urged on by Presidents Marien Ngouabi and Agostinho Neto, the People's Republics of the Congo and Angola have embarked on the course of true co-operation based on strict respect for the independence of each State.

131. It will thus be understood why Congo felt like a dagger blow the veto cast against the admission of Angola to membership in the United Nations, just as it will be understood why it is today one of the first to greet with exultant enthusiasm the solemn admission of the People's Republic of Angola into the international community.

132. So much courage, so much daring, so much heroism cannot leave us indifferent. The extraordinary experience of its leaders, who so magnificently led the Angolan people to victory over a particularly harmful form of colonialism, will surely contribute to the positive solution of the problems facing our Organization.

133. For us it is a question of enriching the United Nations with the different contributions of new Members, and not of impoverishing it by ensuring the triumph of the right of veto. Ideological, linguistic and cultural differences, paradoxically, should be what makes the strength of the United Nations, for without them it would be difficult for us to seek, and especially to find, the elements for new spiritual progress.

134. We warmly welcome the presence in this Assembly of the first delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, led by Comrade José Eduardo dos Santos, Deputy Prime Minister.

135. The struggle continues. Imperialism will not succeed.

136. Mr. VERRET (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The Republic of Haiti could not have failed to support draft resolution A/31/L.22 and Add.1, especially because throughout our history we have consistently supported the struggle of peoples for independence. Bound to Africa by ties of blood and of history, the Republic of Haiti is happy and rejoices at the release of a sister Republic from the

chains of colonialism. On the occasion of this happy event for all peoples who love justice and liberty, the delegation of Haiti extends to the Republic of Angola and to its delegation present here its sincere wishes for success, and hopes that with its valuable contribution in various fields of human endeavour it will not fail to promote the work of peace and progress which the United Nations pursues.

137. Mr. CHESSON (Liberia): Today, to the satisfaction of all peace-loving peoples around the world, the news shall go forth from this podium that once again in the history of this great Organization, founded 31 years ago, the shackles of colonialism and slavery of the peoples of Africa have been broken and destroyed; once again, a people of our own kith and kin has been granted the fulfilment of its greatest aspiration—self-determination and freedom.

138. Liberia, one of the long-freed nations of Africa and a constant supporter of self-determination and freedom for all the peoples of this one world, happily rejoices with our brothers and sisters of the People's Republic of Angola. Liberia assures that great country and its people of its support and continued co-operation.

139. May success and peace crown Angola's every effort!

140. Mr. MUTUNGA (Kenya): It is a great joy for my delegation to welcome the sister State of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in our Organization. It has been my Government's view that Angola should have been admitted to the United Nations as soon as it became independent. We all know why its admission was delayed, and it is not my delegation's intention to open a debate on that matter on this happy occasion.

141. The peoples of Angola and Kenya have had a long common history; both our countries have waged bitter struggles to dislodge the colonialists from our soil. The brotherly bonds between our two peoples were amply demonstrated during the consultative meetings held by Angola's leaders in Kenya under the chairmanship of my President. What my President stated then I wish to reiterate now: Angola's independence is but one step towards the total decolonization of our beleaguered continent. We pledge ourselves to join hands with our brothers in Angola to work concertedly towards our ultimate goal of liberating every inch of Africa from the yoke of colonialists. We are confident that, with the admission of the People's Republic of Angola, our Organization will have new impetus to push for a just solution in the decolonization of the remaining colonial pockets in southern Africa.

142. It is my delegation's earnest hope that, with the admission of the People's Republic of Angola, the long-desired objective of universality of our Organization and the admission of the other States which still remain outside it will soon be achieved without much difficulty. We are convinced that the admission of those States will greatly enhance peace and make the Organization truly universal and international.

143. In concluding this short statement, I should like once again to welcome the People's Republic of Angola to membership in our Organization and to assure it of our full co-operation and support. I call on the other Member States

to extend their co-operation and render all possible assistance to the People's Republic of Angola in its efforts to reconstruct the country and rid itself of the effects of colonization.

144. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Angola, His Excellency Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, to address the General Assembly.

145. Mr. DOS SANTOS (Angola):¹² Recalling here the memory of our heroes who have fallen in the two wars of national liberation, we wish first, on behalf of the Angolan people, their vanguard, MPLA, the People's Republic of Angola and Comrade President Agostinho Neto, to express our natural joy and revolutionary pride at this further victory of being admitted as a Member of the United Nations.

146. Permit me to express to you, Sir, our most sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly.

147. We should like also to convey to the President of the previous session our appreciation and admiration for the way he discharged his difficult mandate.

148. To the Secretary-General we address our greetings and sincere thanks for the interest and effort he has devoted to the liberation of peoples and the special endeavour he made with a view to the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in this Organization.

149. The Angolan people had been victims of colonialism for almost 500 years, and for about 15 years, led by their vanguard, the MPLA, they waged the longest armed struggle for liberation that has taken place on the African continent.

150. Throughout those 15 years, many were the distinguished voices raised in this Assembly and in all the United Nations specialized bodies and agencies in defence of the Angolan people's legitimate aspiration to independence, freedom, peace and progress.

151. After the proclamation of our independence and when the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations was jeopardized by the imperialists and their direct or indirect collaborators, our young Republic had already earned the support of a large number of Member countries of this Organization. To them we extend our thanks.

152. Meanwhile, we make very special mention here of all the countries which, upholding the same ideological principles as those that guide the Angolan revolution, have long given unconditional support to our struggle. To them we express our most revolutionary greetings, our militant solidarity and this certainty: that the People's Republic of Angola will continue to fulfil its internationalist duties for peace and for freedom.

153. For many years now imperialism has been oppressing and exploiting the Angolan people, first through Portuguese

¹² Mr. dos Santos spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

colonialism and, more recently, through the intermediary of Angolan traitors and invading regular armies and mercenaries, with a view to establishing neo-colonialism in Angola.

154. During the Angolan people's first liberation war, not only did imperialism sustain the Portuguese colonial régime, which came to use arms from the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to exterminate our people, but it also promoted the setting up of puppet groups, a counter-revolutionary weapon to be used inside our country.

155. MPLA was organized under difficult conditions, at a time marked by a cruel colonialism, when forced labour, the total denial of human rights and the plunder of our wealth were the sole law and the only morality of the oppressors.

156. Overcoming all difficulties, MPLA succeeded in bringing together all truly nationalist forces and, laboriously, started the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

157. During that first long national war of liberation started on 4 February 1961, thousands upon thousands of compatriots perished, decimated by napalm, ruthlessly massacred, tortured in colonialist prisons or torn to pieces by counter-revolutionary bands in imperialist pay. Not even chemical warfare was overlooked by our enemies, who thus subjected thousands and thousands of Angolans to hunger and disease.

158. After the thwarting of its efforts to perpetuate colonialism as the intermediary for its interests, imperialism organized a vast plot to prevent the true liberation of the Angolan people. Indeed, with utter disregard for the most elementary principles of morality and legality, before and even after the proclamation of the independent and sovereign People's Republic of Angola, our country was subject to invasions supported and perpetrated by United Nations Member countries.

159. Imperialism, not satisfied with its invasion from our northern border, reinforced its contingents and war *matériel* there, sent bands of mercenaries to our country and invaded us in the south with Vorster's neo-Nazi and racist army.

160. Those invasions of Angola from the north and south were witnessed in silence by the majority of countries following our liberation process. At no moment did the United States and its satellites protest against such flagrant violations of international law and of our people's sovereignty.

161. Faced with the violence of the invasions, the People's Republic of Angola had no hesitation in appealing for internationalist solidarity from friendly and progressive countries.

162. Thus, as a result of our request, came the prompt internationalist response of the majority of socialist countries and of progressive African countries, the most outstanding without any question being the decisive support of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba.

163. In any event, in our proclamation of independence and our constitutional law, we define the socialist countries as our people's natural allies. This is why the Soviet and Cuban help, as well as that of other progressive countries and organizations of the world, not only stems from the ideological option of our revolution but is also part of the inalienable exercise of our sovereignty.

164. And it is surprising that those who either directly or indirectly plotted the invasion of our country should later come and protest the presence in Angola of forces which, at the request of our State, came for the purpose of driving out the invaders. We do not understand, therefore, why the Ford/Kissinger administration invoked the presence of Soviets and Cubans in our country as justification for non-recognition of the People's Republic of Angola. As a matter of fact, as regards the United States, that is a country which still maintains armed forces precisely on Cuban territory. Furthermore, it is a country which occupied the territory and measured the people of Viet Nam, a country which maintains armed forces in various independent countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany, and a country which has its armed forces, on land and sea, in so many parts of the world. ... the name of what morality and what right can imperialism challenge internationalist help for the People's Republic of Angola against invaders which it itself supported?

165. The Angolan people have always shown their admiration for the Chinese revolution. They do not yet understand how a socialist country, which China says it is, can support puppet groups who wanted to counter our people's liberation and who still want to attack our independence. Also incomprehensible is China's continued attitude of open opposition to the People's Republic of Angola. The unnatural alliance between the People's Republic of China and imperialism and South African racism assumed its most eloquent form in the fact that mercenaries paid in American dollars who were captured by the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, were killing Angolan people with Chinese weapons, made by the Chinese proletariat.

166. As we have been victims of the intentions of some and the lack of understanding of others, it is important to refer here to the principles which guide the foreign policy of our State.

167. On 11 November 1975, in the proclamation of our independence, it was reaffirmed that the sovereign People's Republic of Angola will maintain diplomatic relations with all countries in the world, on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of each State, respect for territorial integrity, non-aggression, equality, reciprocal advantage and peaceful coexistence.

168. And if we defend and fulfil those universally accepted principles, we are entitled to demand of others that they fulfil them in relation to our country.

169. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Angola is founded on the principles of non-alignment, which we have followed since the founding of MPLA. It is non-alignment seen as active and operative, that is, based on

solidarity with all oppressed peoples of the world, and the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, with a view to full self-determination and independence.

170. We emphasize, for obvious reasons, article 16 of our constitutional law, which states:

"The People's Republic of Angola shall not join any international military organization, nor shall it allow the installation of foreign military bases on its national territory."

171. In the text of the Proclamation of Independence, thanks are expressed to all the African peoples and countries that were at our side, to the socialist countries, to the Portuguese revolutionary forces and to the progressive organizations and Governments in Western countries which were able to understand and support the Angolan people's struggle.

172. In this way it is clear that we make a distinction between capitalist States which were and are able to understand our struggle and those which tolerate, promote, assist or practise a policy of direct or indirect aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

173. Also clearly expressed in the Proclamation and in the constitutional law is our adhesion to the principles of the charter of OAU and of the Charter of the United Nations.

174. Guaranteeing here and now our scrupulous fulfilment of the above principles, we express the hope that the historic mistakes committed against our people and State by some countries will be repaired in the future in the name of peace and the progress of mankind, because those are the values pursued by the Angolan revolution.

175. Our admission to the United Nations is not just a victory of the Angolan people; it is a victory of all peoples who love peace and freedom, a victory of all countries and progressive forces that supported our struggle.

176. Yet it is an incomplete victory, because we are not at the same time celebrating the admission to the United Nations of the glorious Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

177. It has been once again demonstrated that the veto has been exercised in this Organization more as a form of abuse of power than as a right. For this reason, we also regard the veto as anachronistic and we take the same position as those who are calling for an end to that prerogative, which is, in any event, contrary to the principle of the equality of States and Members of this Organization.

178. As regards the People's Republic of Angola, the use of the veto by the United States was above all an insult to the international community, to OAU and to the non-aligned movement. The People's Republic of Angola was, in fact, already a member of those two organizations, which incorporate a substantial number of countries in the world.

179. At the same time, both OAU and the non-aligned countries showed their unconditional support for the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic

of Angola, and also condemned the abuse of the right of veto by the United States.

180. Thus the Council of Ministers of OAU, meeting in Port Louis, Mauritius, at its twenty-seventh ordinary session, stated, among other considerations legitimizing the claim of the People's Republic of Angola to United Nations membership, that:

"... the veto of the United States of America against the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations constitutes a violation of the spirit of the UN Charter and complete disregard for the principle of universality thus constituting a challenge to all OAU member States". [See A/31/196 and Corr.1, annex, resolution CM/Res.492 (XXVIII).]

In its conclusions, it stated, among other things, that it:

"Strongly condemns the anachronistic stand taken by the United States of America which flouts the fundamental principles of international law as reflected by the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola". [Ibid.]

181. Also, at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, a resolution was drawn up on Angola's request for admission to membership in the United Nations.

182. The United States of America was condemned in that resolution, the veto being regarded as an outrage and a violation of the United Nations Charter and of the principle of universality, as well as an affront to all member States of the non-aligned movement. Nevertheless, the United States opposed its voice to that of the international community and, in a gesture of inadmissible abuse of power contrary to and in violation of the spirit of the United Nations Charter, sought of its own accord to impede the entry of the People's Republic of Angola into this Organization.

183. And now, out of mere caprice, the United States has decided to veto the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a way of opposing the legitimate rights of a people who have suffered in their flesh every form of aggression and violation perpetrated by the very country which now exercises the right of veto.

184. This is yet another reason why we consider it inadmissible that there should still be anyone within the international community who can sit by with folded arms when faced with the abuse of the veto by a country which, in the recent past, was also the oppressor of the Vietnamese people.

185. The Angolan people's victory over imperialism and its agents has had the practical effect of increasing the area of freedom and peace in the world. But imperialism cannot accept the fact of each people choosing its own destiny by itself and for itself. Hence it is still seeking, at all costs, to impede the irreversible advance of the Angolan revolution. Thus the threats and provocations against the People's Republic of Angola continue; close to our country's northern and southern borders, bases of puppet armies and

mercenaries are again being installed and violations of our territory are still taking place here and there, by the South African regular army among others.

186. Furthermore, the myth of the Cape route is still being insisted on, and the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa is being demagogically but ludicrously misrepresented as a threat to world peace.

187. Seeking to weaken the liberation struggles of the still oppressed peoples and knowing that the nationalists will pursue the struggle until final victory, the imperialists are trying to deceive revolutionaries with a purported policy of dialogue.

188. But meanwhile they continue direct or indirect support for the Salisbury and Pretoria régimes. And it must be asked here if it is by supplying armaments and nuclear reactors to the racist minorities in South Africa and so-called Rhodesia that one defends the legitimacy of the majorities.

189. Imperialism sees in the southern part of our continent a kind of reserve permitting it to pursue oppression and exploitation.

190. The plunder of our resources, with special emphasis on raw materials for military purposes, and the setting up of military bases to facilitate the policing of the world are decisive factors which explain the tragic situation now being experienced in southern Africa.

191. After the independence of Angola and Mozambique and the consequent reduction of imperialist zones of influence, together with the redoubled efforts of the patriots of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, the United States of America and South Africa, basing themselves on the fiction of an imminent danger, threw themselves into the adventure of creating a South Atlantic pact and drawing Latin American countries into it. We wish to have it clearly on record that this is an avowedly offensive military pact against southern Africa and therefore a threat to world peace, and should be vehemently condemned by all peace-loving peoples.

192. As is well known, the invasion we suffered from the north and south by regular armies, puppet movements and mercenary bands caused a drain on our country's economic activity.

193. The South African invasion alone destroyed a large number of bridges which are important for distribution networks of essential goods and ruined a large part of our stock of trucks, while the rest were stolen and taken across the border. The same happened to our fishing fleet.

194. Nor did factories, public institutions and so forth escape the bloody tide of Vorster's army, which, in the depths of despair and defeat, transformed its flight into a kind of revenge against our people. The wave of crimes did not fail to include the extermination of thousands upon thousands of head of cattle whenever it was not possible for the enemy to take them across the border.

195. Due compensation for the material damage caused to the People's Republic of Angola has already been de-

manded here of South Africa at the meeting on 26 March 1976,¹³ and this request was the subject of a recommendation. But the fact is that South Africa continues, as it has been doing for many years in relation to its illegal occupation of Namibia, to make a dead letter not only of the principles that guide the United Nations but also of any resolution or recommendation formulated here.

196. The Angolan people reiterate their demand in respect of the due reparations to be made by South Africa and hope that the Assembly will show solidarity with our claim, once again condemning the execrable Vorster régime which, in addition to oppressing, massacring and plundering the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, wished and still wishes to export the disgrace of our times to our free, independent and sovereign Angolan land.

197. The material damage suffered as a result of the South African invasion has already been estimated at a minimum of \$6.7 billion.

198. As world opinion is aware, our country and people also suffered invasion by bands of mercenaries who, as has been more than proved today, spread death and destruction and were engaged and paid by imperialism.

199. Considering the current phenomenon of the employment of mercenaries and the absolute necessity to punish all future manifestations of it, we think that the draft Luanda convention on the menace of mercenaries to Africa, calling for the prevention and suppression of this practice, which was drawn up by a commission of inquiry made up of eminent jurists and intellectuals from every continent and which has already been adopted by OAU and the non-alignment movement, merits due consideration and subsequent adoption by all international bodies.

200. But despite all difficulties, in the 12 months of independence, some of them lived in war, our people, our revolutionary vanguard, MPLA, and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, have been working intensively and selflessly to eliminate the aftermath of war and build the foundations of a new society. And in this first take-off for national reconstruction the reason for our victory has once again been proved: MPLA's identification with the masses of the people. Indeed, in every province of the country the people are engaging in the tasks of national reconstruction through voluntary work campaigns; agriculture is starting to be reborn out of chaos, and the same is true of industry, a sector which was virtually paralysed at the time of independence.

201. Having very recently passed our first year of independence, we take pride in having placed in our people's hands health and education which, now nationalized, have become free of charge. Banking has been nationalized. Large agricultural and industrial units abandoned by the colonialists have also been nationalized.

202. The people's power law having been promulgated, it has already started to be put into effect, so that power may indeed be exercised by the worker and the peasant.

¹³ See *Official Records of the Security Council*, 1900th meeting.

203. Our glorious armed forces have also undergone transformations and, from the guerrilla army that they were less than a year ago, they have now become a regular force, without, however, losing their revolutionary characteristics as a people's army existing to defend the people's interests.

204. To the losses suffered during the first liberation war must now be added the incalculable damage caused by the imperialist invasion. Today the Angolan people are waging their third struggle—perhaps the most difficult one—which is the struggle for national reconstruction.

205. Within the context of a practically destroyed economy, boycotted by certain capitalist countries and demographically weakened by the death of a large number of compatriots, among them highly valuable cadres, we proclaimed independence and started national reconstruction. We therefore count on the help of the international community and the United Nations and submit for the consideration of this Assembly the setting up of an international national reconstruction fund amounting to \$300 million which, we hope, will be well received among countries Members of this Organization.

206. During the first liberation war, thousands of Angolans found exile the only way to flee from colonial tyranny. In the second liberation war, too, many Angolans left the country, a large number of them because they were forced to do so by the puppets or because they were taken in by their demagoguery. The present number of refugees, who are now speeding up their return to our liberated country, is about 1 million. Our Government, in accordance with the limited means at its disposal, has been planning the requisite facilities for the return of such a large number of compatriots. We are already starting to benefit from the help of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, although this help falls very far short of meeting our minimum needs.

207. The present international situation is characterized by an appreciable change in the balance of forces in favour of national liberation, peace, progress, social justice and, in particular, the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, and is conducive to the consolidation of détente on a world-wide scale, the elimination of the threat of war and the progressive development of conditions favouring disarmament—all of which are absolute necessities.

208. The progress achieved in the fields just mentioned, together with the gradual tendency to abolish all manifestations of inequality, discrimination and exploitation in international economic relations through the effective establishment of a new world economic order, merits our unequivocal adhesion and consequent support.

209. The People's Republic of Angola, conscious of its responsibilities before Africa and the world, cannot fail to express from this international rostrum its total solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the whole world and particularly with those still subject to the colonial yoke, as in Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Djibouti and Puerto Rico.

210. We are especially concerned about Zimbabwe, where the colonial Power is avoiding its responsibilities by looking

upon an illegal régime like that of Ian Smith as a valid negotiator at the present talks taking place in Geneva. Smith and his group are nothing but British settlers and the Zimbabwean problem is a colonial question which can be discussed only between the nationalist forces and Great Britain. The views upheld by the true nationalists of Zimbabwe therefore deserve our unequivocal support.

211. We also avail ourselves of the opportunity to condemn most vehemently the violations of the territory of the People's Republic of Mozambique by Ian Smith's racist army.

212. With regard to Namibia, owing to its geographical position, it represents for international imperialism not only a source of wealth but also a support base for the countless acts of aggression to which our young Republic has been subject.

213. We therefore regard it as fundamental to give unreserved support to the conditions stipulated by the South West Africa People's Organization as a viable solution to Namibia's self-determination and independence, although we do not cease to consider that armed struggle is still the soundest way of winning the legitimate right of the peoples of southern Africa to independence in the face of the obstinacy of the minority, racist and Fascist Pretoria and Salisbury régimes.

214. The South African régime, together with certain well-known news agencies, is clamouring about thousands of Angolan "refugees" in Namibia, hiding the real facts, which are: the daily violations of our territory, the infiltration of armed bands with officers and training provided by mercenaries and South African army officers, the destruction of entire villages near the border, and the massacre and confinement of members of the defenceless population, including mingled elements from the defunct puppet groupings that went with the South African army during the military counter-offensive launched by our glorious armed forces and that are now transformed into and presented as "refugees".

215. In South Africa, where the people are still subjected to the ignominious *apartheid* system, the struggle is assuming new prospects and proportions, after the bloody events in Soweto. The South African people, directed and guided by their legitimate representative, the African National Congress of South Africa, will know how to destroy the current régime, the last bastion of racism and fascism on our continent.

216. Thus we once again affirm our unconditional support for and our solidarity as militants with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for their independence.

217. Within this context of the liberation of peoples, we do not wish to fail clearly to reaffirm: our militant solidarity with the fighting people of East Timor, under the correct leadership of their vanguard, FRETILIN,¹⁴ fighting weapons in hand in defence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, invaded by foreign regular forces; our uncondi-

¹⁴ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

tional support for the heroic struggle of the Saharan people, led by the Frente *Polisario*, against the occupation of their territory and for their right to self-determination and independence; our unreserved solidarity with the just and heroic struggle of the Arab people of Palestine against Zionism and for the restoration of their inalienable national rights, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole legitimate representative. And in this connexion we reiterate our demand for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab lands; our total support for the safeguarding of the unity and national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Comoros, which is clearly threatened by the manoeuvres of the French Government aimed at separating the island of Mayotte from the territory of the Comoros as a whole; our militant solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its legitimate struggle for the reunification of its territory, without any foreign interference; our unlimited support for the struggle of the people of the Somali Coast for their right to independence; our unconditional solidarity with the struggle of the Latin American peoples against neo-colonialism and imperialism and, in particular, Puerto Rico's struggle for independence, Panama's legitimate right to achieve total sovereignty over its Canal illegally occupied by the United States, the struggle of the progressive Governments of Guyana and Jamaica against the aggressive campaigns of destabilization organized by North American imperialism, and the just struggle of the Chilean people against Pinochet's criminal Fascist junta, which is violating with impunity the most elementary rights and aspirations of Chileans; and our support for the Cypriot people in the defence of their territorial integrity and their policy of non-alignment.

218. For the Angolan people, the two liberation wars they waged were in themselves an important contribution to

peace in southern Africa and the world. We therefore feel proud to be able to reaffirm in this Assembly that Angola, because it is a factor for peace, will be unsparing in its efforts, together with other States Members of the United Nations, to seek to eliminate the sources of tension which still exist in the world and particularly in Africa.

219. The glorious People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola will remain vigilant against all violations of our borders, ready to crush any new imperialist adventures aimed at hampering the consolidation of our independence. The armed forces will never direct their efforts outside our national territory. On the contrary, they will remain at the service of our people, national reconstruction and peace.

220. We must express thanks here for the great regret shown for the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola on this historic day for our people and our country.

221. We are living at a time when the international scene is characterized by the advance of the progressive forces and desperate imperialist attempts to halt the march of history. The Angolan people, MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola solemnly reiterate from this rostrum—on this first day of December, Angolan Pioneer's Day, the day of those who will continue our revolution—the intention to fight alongside the other peoples and progressive countries of the world against the exploitation of man by man and for freedom and peace.

222. It is not without reason, therefore, that we end with our people's watchwords: the struggle continues; victory is certain.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.