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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 107

Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic (continued)

1. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): As is well known, the Hungarian delegation, together with the delegations of a great number of other States Members of the United Nations, signed the letter of 12 October 1973 addressed to the President of the General Assembly [A/9196], which requested inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, as an important and urgent question, of the item entitled "Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic".
2. Both in the General Committee and in the Assembly my delegation voted for the inclusion of this item in the agenda.
3. Ever since the admission of the Hungarian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations, the activities of the Hungarian delegation have been aimed basically at expressing unequivocally the Hungarian people's and the Hungarian Government's consistent, principled and practical policy of giving moral and material support to the peoples who struggle for freedom and independence against colonialism and imperialism. Together with the other anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the world, we stand for the taking of effective measures by the world Organization to enable the peoples still under colonial rule to win their right to self-determination and independence without any pre-conditions or further delay.
4. On 24 September 1973 a new chapter in the worldwide struggle waged for the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism was begun. On that day the 120-member People's National Assembly, which represents the vast majority of the population of Guinea-Bissau and which

was elected in the course of last year, proclaimed the birth of the State of Guinea-Bissau as a sovereign, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist republic. The proclamation of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau was not something unexpected, because its coming had been announced last year, when nearly three quarters of the Territory was already firmly controlled by the liberation movement under the direction of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC].

5. The emergence of the new State is the result of the heroic struggle which the people of Guinea-Bissau have been waging against the Portuguese colonialists and their allies for the past 17 years. The peace-loving peoples of the whole world are pleased to see that despite Portugal's ruthless armed intervention and the large-scale military assistance provided by its allies—first of all, some of the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—and despite the active support rendered by the racist Government of South Africa and the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, the people of Guinea-Bissau, under the guidance of the PAIGC, have dealt the Portuguese colonialists a decisive blow.

6. The newly founded State exercises firm internal control. Nothing proves this better than the existence and functioning of a well organized machinery of State administration in the liberated areas. Many steps have been taken to promote the political, economic, social and cultural interests of the population. A system of primary education has been established, and free medical services have been organized. The new State has done more in the interests of the population in 17 years than the Portuguese colonialists have done in 500 years.

7. Owing to the attacks of the Portuguese armed forces, it is under the circumstances of fighting against the enemy that the decisions of the People's National Assembly, this constitutionally elected supreme organ of power, are carried out. Local administrative councils are being developed and the supply of consumer goods improved. Doctors, engineers and other specialists recently graduated from universities abroad take up jobs one after another.

8. We deeply regret that Amílcar Cabral, the founding father of PAIGC, which in 1963 started the armed struggle against Portuguese domination, the man who, on a firm ideological basis, was able to create the necessary harmony between armed struggle and political work among the popular masses, did not live to see the proclamation of the new State. He met the same fate as did many other patriots fighting for the independence of their country and for the right of their people to self-determination; he was killed by an assassin in the pay of

colonialist, imperialist interests. To his people and the democratic and peace-loving forces of the whole world Amílcar Cabral will remain a symbol of the fighters for independence and for the liquidation of the colonial system.

9. It is beyond any doubt that, as a result of the formation of the Republic, both the internal situation as well as the international position of Guinea-Bissau are expected to strengthen further. It is a moral duty of the United Nations to promote this process by all available means.

10. All peoples, among them the people of Guinea-Bissau, have the right to self-determination and independence. This is laid down explicitly in Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter of the United Nations. And the provisions of chapters XI, XII and XIII confirm the right of colonial peoples to self-government. The Hungarian delegation shares the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Member States that the people of Guinea-Bissau has the inalienable right of self-determination and independence, as defined by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the well-known Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

11. So far, the United Nations has given the people of Guinea-Bissau considerable support in its struggle against the Portuguese colonialists and their allies. In April 1972 a Special Mission of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples visited the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau and could see for itself that the liberation movement, PAIGC, "... exercises free *de facto* administrative control in those areas, and is effectively protecting the interests of the inhabitants in spite of Portuguese activities" [see A/8723/Rev.1,¹ chap. X, para. 36 (4)]. for this very reason it has recognized PAIGC as the only legitimate representative of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. This was confirmed, among others, by General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII), stating that "... the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those Territories...".

12. By its resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972, the Security Council invited Portugal to put an end immediately to its military operations against Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and to all its repressive practices, and to make it possible for the peoples of these Territories to exercise their right of self-determination and independence.

13. But Portugal, ignoring again the Security Council resolution and the wishes of world public opinion, stepped up its military activity and other repressive activities against the Territories in question.

14. Portugal has no right whatsoever to keep these African Territories under its military occupation or to exploit their material and human resources contrary to the definite wishes of the broad masses of the population and the resolu-

tions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The occupation by Portugal of certain sectors of its one-time colony is illegal, and its activities there qualify as acts of aggression. This attitude of Portugal is a threat to international peace and security.

15. That is why the Hungarian delegation has undertaken to sponsor the draft resolution before the plenary meeting of the General Assembly in document A/L.702, and holds the view that the United Nations should take urgent and effective steps to ensure that the Portuguese colonialists put an end immediately to their acts of aggression against Guinea-Bissau and should take the necessary measures to promote the development of the young African State.

16. Mr. UDUMYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The proclamation of the new sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau is a major historic event that marks a glorious milestone in the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for national independence and freedom. The emergence of this independent African republic is the natural outcome of the long armed struggle for liberation waged against the Portuguese colonialists by the patriots of this country under the leadership of PAIGC.

17. The successful offensive launched by the people's liberation army against the Portuguese colonialists had led to the patriots' gaining control over most of the territory of their country, where they have begun to build a new and free life. Local administrative organs, schools, hospitals and co-operatives have been established in the liberated areas.

18. The visit of a United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau in April 1972 confirmed the existence in the liberated areas of organs of popular authority, and an efficiently functioning State structure. The population has enthusiastically welcomed and supported all the measures taken by PAIGC. The first general election to the National People's Assembly held in all liberated areas demonstrated the determination of the people to consolidate their gains.

19. On 23 and 24 September of this year, the first session of this people's parliament was held in one of the liberated areas. Expressing the sovereign will of the people, it solemnly proclaimed the State of Guinea-Bissau and adopted a constitution which stresses that "Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist republic, fighting for complete liberation, the unity of Guinea and the Cape Verde archipelago and the social advancement of its people" [see A/9196 and Add.2, annex II].

20. All progressive forces in the world have enthusiastically welcomed the news of the birth of this new State, rightly regarding this event as an important and major step forward in the struggle of the African peoples for complete national liberation.

21. Up to now, more than 70 countries have recognized the new sovereign African State of Guinea-Bissau.

22. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for their freedom

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23.

and independence and will continue to give them assistance and support. In keeping with its peace-loving foreign policy of equality and friendship between all States and in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples, the Soviet Union has recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and has stated that it is prepared to establish diplomatic relations.

23. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, sent a congratulatory telegram to the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Aristides Pereira. The telegram stressed that "the successes of the national liberation movement inspired by your party represent an important contribution to the struggle of the African peoples and of all anti-imperialist forces for the national liberation of oppressed peoples and for peace and social progress".

24. Lisbon, relying on assistance from its allies, has tried in every way to stave off defeat. Terror, genocide, scorched-earth tactics—there is no method to which the colonialist military clique has not resorted in an effort to break the will to freedom and independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau. Using mercenaries and traitors, the Portuguese oppressors murdered the outstanding fighter for freedom and national liberation, Amílcar Cabral, the Secretary-General of PAIGC. In response to this monstrous crime, the people of Guinea-Bissau redoubled their efforts in the struggle against the Portuguese enslavers. The proclamation of Guinea-Bissau as an independent State is clear proof of the correctness of the political line which Amílcar Cabral and his supporters followed unswervingly and confirms the indisputable fact that neither the Portuguese oppressors nor the imperialist forces standing behind them and helping them can, however hard they try, succeed in preserving the remnants of colonialism. History has already rendered its final and irreversible verdict on colonialism, racism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of oppression of one country by another.

25. The establishment of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau marks the end of one of the most important stages in the battle for independence of this African people. The struggle waged by the people of Guinea-Bissau has now entered a new stage. Its final objective is the complete liberation of the homeland from colonialism and the expulsion of the Portuguese oppressors from those parts of the country which they still occupy.

26. The Soviet delegation considers that the United Nations can and should make a contribution to strengthening the independence of the young African State of Guinea-Bissau. The Soviet Union joined in sponsoring a proposal by the African countries for the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic" [A/9196 and Add.1 and 2]. We supported the proposal that the General Assembly should consider this question as a priority item with a view to halting the war which Portugal is waging against the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and bringing about the expulsion of the Portuguese armed forces from the area they occupy and the restoration of the territorial integrity of this sovereign State.

27. The proclamation by the People's National Assembly of the State of Guinea-Bissau stated:

"From the historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, authorities and organs of the Portuguese colonial State which exercise any political, military or administrative authority in our territory are illegal, and their acts are null and void." [see A/9196 and Add.2, annex I.]

28. As a number of representatives have pointed out, Portugal's war against Guinea-Bissau is linked with the constant acts of aggression being committed by Portugal against other independent African States and with the bloody wars it is waging against the national liberation forces in Angola and Mozambique, that is to say, it is linked with the presence of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

29. Portuguese colonialism in Africa is an historical anachronism, a shameful blot on human society; it is characterized by acts of aggression by the Portuguese oppressors against sovereign African States, the mass murder of the civilian population in Mozambique, barbarous and bloody terror by the colonialist Fascists using napalm and chemical weapons against the patriots who are fighting for the freedom and independence of their countries.

30. As has frequently been noted in decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly, all these acts of the Portuguese colonialists constitute a serious threat to peace and security in Africa.

31. In the Fourth Committee, during the debate just concluded on the question of Portuguese colonies in Africa, not only were the acts of genocide being committed by the Portuguese oppressors in Africa exposed but the real truth about those acts was disclosed and the position of Portugal's friends and allies on the colonial war was unmasked.

32. It is no secret that Portugal still enjoys the support of certain influential States belonging to NATO and of their international corporations.

33. In an effort to maintain its position in Africa, Portugal is strengthening its political, economic and military relations with two other colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa, to wit, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

34. The support which Portugal receives from the military and political forces of the NATO countries, the imperialist monopolies and the racists in southern Africa is one of the main reasons for its continuing occupation of a number of territories which belong by right to the African peoples and for its non-compliance with the Security Council and General Assembly decisions calling for recognition of the right of the peoples under its colonial rule to self-determination and independence, a halt to the colonial wars and all acts of repression against those peoples, and the withdrawal of all armed forces which are being used to crush the national liberation movements in Africa.

35. As a result, the peoples of Africa have been forced to wage a difficult struggle against Portuguese colonialism, but their struggle is just and legitimate and there is no question that they will triumph. The time is not far off when

the people of Guinea-Bissau will also achieve the complete liberation of their homeland from the Portuguese colonialists. It is the task and the duty of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to provide the African peoples with effective assistance in this struggle.

36. The United Nations should heed the just demands of the African peoples as expressed, in particular, in the decisions of the tenth session of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity and should take immediate action to achieve the complete elimination of colonialism and racism in Africa. In order to put an end to Portugal's colonialist presence on the African continent it is essential, on the one hand, to adopt the strongest measures against the Portuguese aggressors at the international level and, on the other hand, to provide more effective moral and material assistance and support to the national liberation movements.

37. The measures we have in mind have already been set forth in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, notably in the 1970 programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] and in the recommendations of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

38. The termination of the help being given to Portugal by its friends and allies is the most important pre-condition for the elimination of Portuguese colonialism.

39. At the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly we have heard numerous appeals to the countries which are helping Portugal in its colonial wars against African peoples to end all the material and moral support they are systematically providing to Portugal. It is not the first time that such appeals have been heard in the General Assembly, but on this occasion they have sounded firmer and more decisive. We would venture to hope that they will at last find a positive response.

40. The Soviet Union fully supports the struggle of the African peoples against the colonial régime of Portugal. The Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights was widely observed in our country during the past year. The USSR is ready to continue its co-operation with all countries in fulfilling the duty of the United Nations to give effective support to the struggle of the African peoples for freedom and independence. The help and support provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the people of Guinea-Bissau in its heroic struggle for national independence have met with warm appreciation and gratitude from that people.

41. Luiz Cabral, Chairman of the Council of State of Guinea-Bissau, stated at a meeting of the People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau:

"The victories won by our people and the proclamation of our new State were likewise the fruit of the concrete assistance given us throughout these long years of struggle by the socialist countries. Our sincere thanks

therefore go to the peoples and Governments of those countries for their assistance and solidarity, which are the natural expression of the principles governing the way of life and the actions of those countries in the international sphere. In particular we have to express our thanks and solidarity with the people, the Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, whose unconditional assistance was and will continue to be decisive for the defence of our emerging State and the total liberation of our people.

"The sacrifices made by the great people of the Soviet Union to provide our people, and all peoples struggling against colonialism and racism, with the assistance they need for their defence and the development of their liberation operations place the Soviet people, its great Party and its Government in the vanguard among the unconditional friends of the oppressed peoples." [*See A/9196/Add.1, annex V.*]

42. The Soviet people will continue to provide help and support to the patriots of Guinea-Bissau in their just struggle for the complete liberation of their country from Portuguese colonialism.

43. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, speaking on the occasion of the presentation to him of the International Lenin Prize for Strengthening Peace among Peoples, said:

"We have always considered and still consider today that it is a sacred duty deriving from our Communist convictions and socialist morality to provide the broadest possible support to peoples which are waging a just struggle for freedom. That has always been the case, and it will continue to be so in the future."

44. Mr. ESONO MICA (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The people and Government of Equatorial Guinea welcomed with great pleasure the news disseminated by PAIGC when the People's National Assembly met for the first time on 23 and 24 September of this year and informed the whole world of the official proclamation of the independence of its territory. That is a reality we all must bear in mind during our deliberations so that the United Nations may truly be the focal point for universal understanding and solidarity.

45. My delegation feels that the time has come for the Portuguese Government to resign itself to defeat and without further ado to withdraw its forces which have been illegally occupying certain sectors of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, thus enabling the United Nations to carry out in full freedom a thorough review of the way in which the programme of the Special Committee on decolonization has been put into effect.

46. Many countries throughout the world have still to be liberated from colonial rule. As regards the frivolous arguments put forward year after year by the Government of Lisbon, which has the effrontery to consider as overseas provinces territories situated on another continent at a distance of more than 10,000 kilometres, I am happy to inform representatives that our position is not that Portugal should grant independence to Guinea-Bissau but that it should immediately and unconditionally withdraw its mil-

itary forces, which are illegally occupying certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a free and sovereign country. Portugal should refrain from committing any acts of aggression during the withdrawal of its forces, which were deservedly defeated. Portugal and Guinea-Bissau are two countries, free and independent of each other. Therefore nothing empowers either of them illegally to maintain its troops on the territory of the other.

47. My country, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, achieved its sovereignty on 12 October 1968. In his inaugural address, our President-for-Life, His Excellency Don Francisco Macías Nguema Biyogo, said, among other things:

"The Republic of Equatorial Guinea will not feel independent while its brothers of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique suffer under the colonial yoke and while South Africa will not change its brutal and inhuman policy of racism and oppression against the sovereignty of the peoples of Namibia and Rhodesia."

48. My delegation believes, therefore, that it would be useful if an event such as the one that has taken place in Guinea-Bissau were to be repeated in all the parts of the world that are still struggling for their independence and freedom, although we would prefer to see the progressive liberation of all the countries that Portugal continues absurdly to call "overseas provinces", thus flouting the most elementary rules of human rights.

49. We know that the world will understand us and, consequently, will facilitate the majority approval of the draft resolution [A/L.702 and Add.1-3] submitted by 61 Member States of this Organization and of which my country is a sponsor.

50. My Government condemns the indifference on the part of certain States of the international community in the face of the tragic drama suffered by the countries under the colonial yoke and also from the policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia.

51. We have not taken the floor in order to prompt the Government of Portugal to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau. We would, however, without inventing fallacies as Portugal does, point to the defeat that the troops of that country have suffered, a defeat brought about by the valiant people of the noted leader Amílcar Cabral, who was assassinated in a cowardly way by the Portuguese. The shedding of the blood of that worthy son of Africa, whom only treachery and murder could eliminate, as cunningly arranged by the Portuguese Government, resulted in the victory we are celebrating today, the freedom of his country.

52. All States accredited to this Organization, with the exception of Portugal and South Africa, are familiar with the historic resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Under that resolution, adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the legitimacy of the struggle of the liberation movements, among them PAIGC, has been recognized. That struggle has been recognized as legal by this Assembly and by the Organization; therefore the decision

adopted by that movement is legal and should be recognized and respected, because it contributes further to the maintenance of international peace.

53. In that connexion, my delegation appeals to the members of NATO, which provide military assistance to Portugal so that it may continue its policy of maintaining its empire on the African continent, because that in no way contributes to the maintenance of world peace so frequently advocated from this rostrum.

54. We, the African countries, are not absurdly ambitious to seek the greater extension of our territories nor do we declare Oporto to be a province of an African country. For this reason I sincerely hope that our draft resolution will be adopted by the majority of the Members of this Organization, particularly those countries that are our African friends and also other peace-loving countries that reject the illegal occupation of territories.

55. My Government will continue to support, without reservation, all political movements struggling for freedom and the maintenance of the independence of their peoples, so that they may become true instruments of peace, justice and progress for all mankind.

56. We are convinced that the Government of Lisbon is not aware of what is taking place in the international community and it might be desirable for that Government's representative to the United Nations to inform it of the truth. He should not try to deceive his Government about what is taking place in order to keep his post. The Government of the great comrade, His Excellency President-for-Life Don Francisco Macías Nguema Biyogo, states: "The existence of colonialism is not compatible with international peace, much less with justice and freedom." Echoing those words of the leader of my country, I am convinced that, once a country has expressed its wish to assume the duties and responsibilities of its independence, to deny it freedom, obliges it to resort to force, which will result in self-determination.

57. At this crucial time we know very well that Portugal, its eyes bathed in tears, is not able to vote for the independence of Guinea-Bissau, but we wish it to be placed on record that we are not requesting Portugal to do so. Guinea-Bissau has achieved its independence by imitating the action taken by the United States of America vis-à-vis England. We see that today those two countries are friends. We hope that in time Portugal will follow the English example. The Portuguese Government should be aware that Guinea-Bissau, the youngest State of Africa, has been recognized at present by more than 70 States Members of our Organization, which means that any aggression by Portugal, no matter how small, would automatically constitute a threat to world peace, and therefore a defiance of the countries that acknowledged the freedom and independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Mr. Njiné (Cameroon), Vice-President, took the chair.

58. *Mr. RABETAFIKA* (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The spirit in which the Charter of the United Nations was drafted, the solemn commitments which we have sub-

scribed to on the basis of the Charter, and the historic declarations dealing with decolonization, international security and friendly relations between States require that our primary task here is not to defend the doubtful and uncertain rights of States, but rather the rights of peoples, in particular of the colonial, oppressed and exploited peoples. A government can always find arguments that seem relevant in order to defend its own position whether it is legitimate or not, but a people such as the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau must, at this crucial moment in its history, resort to our Organization in order to ensure the respect and guarantee of its right to exist, its right to independence, its right to remove any obstacle to the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms and its right to condemn and fight any foreign interference in the determination of its own destiny.

59. If the Guinean people had not been the victims of narrow, legalistic formulas that have no political substance, and of a fictitious solidarity which is equivalent to a denial of rights, we would not be here to defend its interests; but since part of our community does not wish to draw the logical conclusion from a natural political process, it is up to us to remind the international conscience that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] cannot be disregarded and that the colonialist Powers must accept the consequences of their impenitence.

60. As for us, we feel that the consideration by our Assembly of the item entitled "Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic" results directly from the implementation of the principles contained in that Declaration, which has been accepted by all anti-colonialists throughout the world.

61. Indeed, it is not really a question of supporting the rights of peoples to independence, while certain Powers hope that this right can be watered down by fallacious and egocentric considerations. Rather, we must recognize the legality of everything that can be done in order to recover this right and ensure its full enjoyment from the point of view of United Nations procedure and legal practice.

62. When the granting of independence encounters incomprehension and obtuseness that have no valid justification, it is quite natural that a people, long misled by false promises based on theories arising from a disquieting and anachronistic megalomania, should take their destinies into their own hands. No delegation sincerely attached to the respect for the rights of peoples will dare to reproach the people of Guinea-Bissau because they no longer want a concession which has become the illusion of the century and because, in their turn, after generations of humiliation and patience and 10 years of armed struggle, they want to take a decision to defend their honour and uphold their responsibilities: the decision to proclaim their independence from Portugal.

63. Furthermore, is it not true that this very same General Assembly, as recently as last year, affirmed that the national liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau is the true representative of the genuine aspirations of the people of this Territory? Is it not equally true that, when we dealt with matters

concerning the Territory, we were told that it should be represented by its liberation movement? It follows, therefore, that if the Assembly is to apply paragraph 2 of resolution 2918 (XXVII) to the letter, it should take no account of the wild statements of Portugal. It further follows therefrom that the Assembly, and the United Nations as a whole, should pay a tribute to the people of Guinea-Bissau for the sacrifices and the efforts that it is making, efforts undertaken in legality and in democracy to strengthen further its identity. The proclamation of independence dated 24 September 1973 expresses this identity and also the sovereign responsibility assumed by the Guinean people, both internally as well as with respect to foreign relations, as is proven by the Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

64. In this connexion, we must bear in mind that Portuguese sovereignty over Guinea-Bissau is merely a fiction that is painfully sustained only by the arguments of Portugal, arguments which have already been rejected by the General Assembly and which are without any real basis. Portuguese sovereignty has been challenged by the Special Mission of 1972 which confirmed without question the existence of liberated areas, the effective control by the Guinean people over two thirds of their territory, and the effectiveness of their administrative, economic and social organization. It is also challenged by the people of Guinea-Bissau themselves, who have chosen to be Guineans of Africa rather than Portuguese of Guinea and have set up their own democratic structures in order to exercise their sovereignty, ignoring a Constitution that has been granted, imposed and sometimes accepted by puppets in the pay of foreigners. It has, finally, also been contested by some 70 States, which have recognized the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau and maintain that only the Guinean people are the depositaries of legal sovereignty, to the exclusion of any other body, particularly when this body is alien and extra-territorial in every sense of the term.

65. In the wording of item 107 of the agenda, we have sought to link well-known and obvious facts, examine their interaction, place them in the single context of self-determination and the right to independence, and encourage an international reaction to foreign occupation, illegal presence and aggression.

66. This wording is not unusual and is not the fruit of an aggressive imagination. It repeats almost word for word what the late Amílcar Cabral said to the Security Council during the meetings it held in Africa in February 1972, and particularly at its 1632nd meeting. Mr. Cabral¹ then stated that the population of the territory had already reached the stage of self-determination after nine years of armed struggle and that the situation in Guinea-Bissau was comparable to that of an independent State certain parts of whose national territory were occupied by foreign armed forces.² In proposing the wording of item 107 as presented to us, we are honoured to consider ourselves as the executors of the testament of the late Amílcar Cabral.

67. In order to justify its presence in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Portugal has invoked constitutional, juridical, historical, political, economic, social and cultural con-

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, 1632nd meeting, para. 70.*

siderations and has resorted to a whole array of implausible arguments, such as only a deranged mind could muster, in order to defend the worst of causes. Portugal's arguments can only influence some of its friends and faithful allies. As for us, we should like to recall the following five facts:

(a) It is sometimes useful to refer to history, provided such a reference is not imbued with outmoded romanticism or bad taste, or merely the indulgence of a wild imagination;

(b) The pseudo-juridical straitjacket which is being thrust upon Guinea-Bissau has no justification in fact and constitutes a challenge to the conception of the political evolution of peoples recognized by the civilized world;

(c) The Constitution of 1972 concerns Portugal and not Guinea-Bissau, whose people were not consulted in accordance with the rules of democracy and who have completely ignored it by adopting a Constitution more in conformity with their own political nature and their aspirations;

(d) It is hardly conceivable that in the twentieth century a people as responsible and proud as the people of Guinea-Bissau should accept a cultural alienation of the kind which Portugal has the effrontery to impose upon it;

(e) The military and political allies of Portugal and the multinational and transnational companies certainly hope that Portugal will maintain its presence in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. However, their aims will be completely frustrated because, according to the proclamation of independence: "The State of Guinea-Bissau adheres to the principles of non-alignment" and "All treaties, conventions, agreements, alliances and concessions . . . entered into in the past by the Portuguese colonialists will be submitted . . . [for revision] in accordance with the interests of our peoples" [see A/9196 and Add.2, annex I].

68. Thus, the presence of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau cannot be supported by any *a posteriori* justification. Let Portugal's allies draw the necessary conclusions. They cannot, in all decency, become accomplices in an illegitimate, precarious and short-lived occupation.

69. Let us recall that in several of its resolutions the Assembly has invited, and even requested, and at times even required that Portugal withdraw its military and other forces which are being used in the colonial war and that it cease its acts of oppression against the people of Guinea-Bissau. Without mentioning the threat to the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as represented by the military presence of Portugal, we can say that this presence, because of the new situation created in the Territory, constitutes a veritable challenge to the authority of the Assembly and to the United Nations. There is no doubt of the nature and purpose of this presence. It is a colonial presence, encouraged by the forces of imperialism that wish to perpetuate the exploitation and domination of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

70. On the basis of the rights of peoples, the principles of the Charter dealing with the sovereignty and integrity of States, the principles adopted by the General Assembly for the liberation of the colonial countries and peoples, and the decisions taken by this very Assembly regarding the Portuguese presence in Guinea-Bissau, it is our imperative duty to

condemn the illegal and continuous occupation by Portugal of part of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and to demand most vigorously that Portugal withdraw immediately its armed forces and its military administration from this Territory.

71. Such measures are absolutely essential if we are to put an end to this type of arrogance, which borders on complacency.

72. The Security Council will have to assume its responsibilities; but at this point it is for the General Assembly, which is the most representative and democratic body of the United Nations, to adopt a decision on this matter which involves its fundamental principles. Otherwise the Assembly may well run the risk of seeing its authority undermined.

73. We are dealing here with a matter which is of the greatest interest to States Members of the Organization, namely, the question of aggression. It is very easy to elude this question by asserting that there is, as yet, no precise acceptable definition of aggression. But if we have to rationalize in order to take action then no real action would be possible and we would run the risk ourselves of being guilty of blindness and frivolity.

74. It is impossible to deny that the occupation of a foreign territory is an act of aggression, that the threat of a military presence to the political independence of a State constitutes an act of aggression, that the deployment of military or other forces in the ratio of one soldier to every 20 inhabitants in order to threaten the sovereignty of an independent State, is an act of aggression, that the bombing and machine-gunning of a territory and its people is an act of aggression, and that the persistence of foreign economic interests and their acts of exploitation committed without the agreement of the host State are also acts of aggression. Because of all these misdeeds committed by Portugal against Guinea-Bissau, as of 24 September 1973, Guinea-Bissau has *de facto* and *de jure* ceased to be subject to Portuguese authority.

75. We are aware of the grave nature of the accusations we are making against Portugal, but these are not gratuitous accusations. They are supported by facts that have been admitted by Portugal itself—naturally in a different context, in a kind of context that is cynically called "the improvement of Guinea-Bissau". We feel that the acts that I have mentioned, the list of which is by no means exhaustive, represent crimes against international peace, which affect international responsibility.

76. The Security Council, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, will, we are sure, deal with this matter at the appropriate time. But the General Assembly, under the provisions of Article 11, paragraph 3, can—and I would even say that it is its responsibility to do so—focus attention on the situation created by the illegal occupation by Portugal of part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau, and through such aggression against the Republic itself.

77. This item goes beyond the framework of decolonization. It concerns more particularly international security, and in this connexion I should like to quote paragraph 4 of

the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was adopted on 16 December 1970 [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]; and in which the General Assembly:

“Solemnly reaffirms that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country”.

This paragraph is quite clear and cannot be interpreted ambiguously. It remains to be seen whether Portugal, which claims vociferously the privilege of being a Member of our Organization, is still determined to violate systematically the principles contained in this paragraph or whether it is ready to implement in good faith the obligations which derive therefrom. We must decide, in the light of Portugal's reactions, whether it is ready and willing to fulfil these obligations.

78. We will not allow Portugal to dodge continually its obligations under various types of pretexts. We will not allow the negative attitude of Portugal towards our Organization to threaten international security in our region. We will not allow a situation where one State, supported by political and military allies, subjects the people of Guinea-Bissau to compulsion and to threats, in violation of the provisions of the Charter. We shall not allow the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to be deprived of the right to live in freedom, a right which Portugal, to its great shame, has been unable to secure for it, in five centuries of so-called historic presence and in a century of direct colonization.

79. In any case, the State of Guinea-Bissau will re-establish itself with the assistance of the progressive, peace-loving forces of the world, and will take up the challenge thrown down to it so that the occupier cannot benefit from this situation and so that international peace and security can be maintained.

80. Mr. LUDWICZAK (Poland): Our General Assembly has decided to discuss as a matter of priority the important and urgent question concerning the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by those forces against the people of that State.

81. The rightfulness of this decision is beyond any doubt. The importance of the problem to the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, subjected to the intensified acts of aggression and violation of human rights, as well as the importance of the problem to the peace and security of the whole region fully justify the priority that has been granted to it. The urgent need to render the necessary assistance to the newly born Republic is an additional reason for considering it as a matter of priority.

82. The declaration of independence of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973, its proclamation as a sovereign, republican, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist State, is an event of great historical importance. It indicates that the struggle for the liberation of colonial peoples, the liqui-

ation of the remnants of colonialism in Africa, and the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) has now entered a qualitatively new phase. It constitutes an important turning point in the progress already achieved by the liberation movements—in spite of repressions designed to prevent colonial countries and peoples from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

83. The present situation with regard to Guinea-Bissau may be summed up briefly in the following points.

84. The people of Guinea-Bissau have attained independence and self-determination as a result of the 17 years of political and armed struggle organized by their liberation movement, PAIGC, the party headed until January last by the outstanding African leader and freedom fighter, the late Amílcar Cabral, the party which is the *de facto*, sole and authentic representative of that heroic people.

85. In the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau the people of that independent State, who exercise full control over three quarters of their national territory, have constructed a new life, possess a stable and durable political and administrative organization, a comprehensive social and cultural structure, a judicial system, a steadily growing economy and national armed forces.

86. The newly established State of Guinea-Bissau is an independent and sovereign State. Its independence has now been recognized by more than 70 States, including my own country, Poland.

87. Portugal is waging war on the people of that sovereign and independent State. One fourth of the national territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is still occupied by foreign, namely Portuguese, armed forces, whose presence there is illegal and constitutes an open act of aggression against the people of that State. The presence of foreign armed forces on the national territory of Guinea-Bissau and their intensified acts of aggression constitute also a serious threat to the peace and security in the region.

88. There is an urgent need to take appropriate action within our Organization aimed at restoring the territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau.

89. The dangerous situation resulting from the illegal presence of Portuguese armed forces in certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is an important political issue now before our Organization. We must take an objective reassessment of that situation as well as of our actions to deal with it. The seriousness of the situation requires such a reassessment.

90. Portugal, in order to preserve its colonial domination over Guinea-Bissau, has persistently refused to negotiate with the national liberation movement, PAIGC, with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The Government of Portugal has persistently refused to comply with the relevant provisions of the numerous resolutions

and recommendations of the General Assembly as well as the decisions of the Security Council. Portugal refused to observe its international obligations stemming from the Charter of the United Nations.

91. Instead, Portugal has intensified acts of aggression and escalated violence and repressive measures against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The Portuguese armed forces are committing atrocities in the independent State of Guinea-Bissau. They have been resorting to widespread bombings of the civilian population, to the destruction of whole villages and to the criminal use of napalm and chemical substances.

92. The Government of Portugal has been resorting to the use of military force and acts of aggression not only against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde but also against other independent African States bordering Guinea-Bissau. The recurrent armed attacks against Senegal, as stated in the report of the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 (1971):

“... cause considerable loss of human life, as well as material damage; they create a climate of insecurity and instability and ... [imply] a threat to peace and security in the region”.³

93. Portugal is bearing a tremendous burden in waging its aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau, a burden which it could not afford had it not been for the active political, military, financial and economic assistance it receives from certain NATO countries. It could not afford this burden without the continued collaboration of South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia—collaboration designed to perpetuate colonialist domination in that region of Africa.

94. It is the considered opinion of the delegation of Poland that the continued and intensified acts of aggression committed by Portuguese armed forces against the people of Guinea-Bissau warrant the close attention of the Security Council. It is a matter of great importance and urgency to do all within the power of the United Nations to bring that aggression to an end.

95. My country, Poland, with its own national experience of having suffered under foreign occupation, fully understands the aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

96. Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, in a message to Luiz Cabral, Chairman of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, stated, on the occasion of the recent accession to independence of his people:

“The independence of your country has been won as a result of protracted heroic struggle waged against the forces of colonialism by the people of Guinea-Bissau—under the leadership of the PAIGC. That struggle, which without fail will lead to a complete liberation of your country, has been enjoying and will continue to enjoy the sympathy and support of the entire progressive world, including those of the Polish people”.

97. Poland supports the national liberation struggle as a matter of principle. Solidarity with that struggle—moral, political and material support for that struggle—constitutes one of the guiding principles of our foreign policy.

98. In the view of my delegation, as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.702 and Add.1-4], we are confronted with four main tasks.

99. First, all efforts must be made to give real help to the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde in their legitimate struggle against the Portuguese aggression; to put an end to aggression by immediately withdrawing Portuguese armed forces from the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

100. Secondly, all possible measures must be taken to isolate effectively the Portuguese colonial régime and to put an end to any activities that enable Portugal to continue and intensify the aggression and repression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. We definitely must go beyond verbal condemnation and appeals.

101. Thirdly, all effective steps should be taken to restore and guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

102. Fourthly, as provided in the draft resolution before us, concerted efforts should be made within the United Nations system to render necessary assistance to the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its national reconstruction and development programmes.

103. In concluding my statement, I wish to reaffirm Poland's position concerning the situation resulting from the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau: the proclamation of the new sovereign and independent African State confirms the legitimacy of the armed struggle for national liberation; the presence of Portugal in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is in contravention of the basic principles of international law and is therefore illegal; acts of aggression committed by Portuguese armed forces constitute a danger to the security and territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau and neighbouring States. Poland stands fully in support of the aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. We reaffirm our solidarity with their just struggle and shall spare no efforts to contribute to the only possible and just solution: that is, the prompt restoration of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Poland is convinced that the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde will bring their legitimate struggle to a victorious end. The United Nations has the duty to assist in bringing this about.

104. Mr. CHUANG Yer (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In the western part of the African continent, the people of Guinea-Bissau, who have experienced untold sufferings from Portuguese colonialist rule for centuries, have liberated most of their national territory through unswerving struggles, and held the first meeting of the People's National Assembly in the liberated region of Boé in Guinea-Bissau not long ago. The meeting adopted a Constitution, elected the Council of State, and solemnly proclaimed to the whole world the founding of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement No. 3, para. 123.

105. Since the birth of the Republic, it has received the warm welcome of all the justice-upholding countries and peoples in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the rest of the world. Within the short period of just over one month, it has been recognized by some 70 countries. This forcefully demonstrates that the people of Guinea-Bissau have won increasingly great international support and sympathy in their struggles.

106. The Chinese Government and people have always deeply sympathized with and firmly supported the people of Guinea-Bissau in their just struggle and provided assistance to them within our capabilities. Shortly after the founding of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Chou En-lai, Premier of the Council of State of the People's Republic of China, and Chi Peng-fei, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent telegrams to the leaders of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on 30 September on behalf of the Chinese Government and people to express our warm congratulations to them and give recognition to the Republic.

107. The founding of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a great and significant event in the annals of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles of the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America, a signal victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau in opposing the Portuguese colonialist rule, and a new milestone in their course to win national liberation. This victory scored by the people of Guinea-Bissau will certainly have a far-reaching impact on the peoples in the non-independent regions, encouraging them to carry on even more valiant struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for greater new victories.

108. The people of Guinea-Bissau have never ceased their struggle for national independence and liberation. Since the fifteenth century, the Portuguese colonialists have resorted to terrifying and brutal means to occupy the beautiful and fertile land of Guinea-Bissau. They have used the local people as slaves for trade, depriving them of all their political rights. They have occupied large tracts of fertile land, farms and mines, forcing the local people to move to arid areas where they have to live a life not even suitable for beasts. They have subjected the local people to bloody suppression and exorbitant exploitation. It was on the sweat and death of the people of Guinea-Bissau and other colonies that the Portuguese colonialists fattened themselves and founded their so-called "civilization".

109. The people of Guinea-Bissau have ceaselessly carried on heroic resistance to the oppression and exploitation of the Portuguese colonialists. The armed insurrection that took place in Bolama in 1908 swept the whole area of Bissau and lasted for nine years, greatly shaking the Portuguese colonialist rule. The large-scale armed uprisings in 1920, 1932 and 1939 dealt heavy blows at the Portuguese colonialist authorities. Thereafter, mass movement and armed struggle kept on surging forward, wave upon wave.

110. The people of Guinea-Bissau, led by PAIGC, started arduous armed struggle in 1963. At the outset they could only use bows and arrows, knives and shotguns and a few pistols to deal with the Portuguese colonialist troops armed with modern equipment. They set up bases in the forests and carried on armed struggle. It is under such

conditions and by relying on the masses of the people, persevering in struggle and winning international support and assistance that their patriotic armed force for liberation has grown from a small force to a big one and become ever stronger in the fight.

111. This fact has eloquently shown that the founding of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is not a favour bestowed by the Portuguese colonialist authorities, nor is it the result of any "peaceful transition". It has been won through fighting with guns and is a brilliant result of the hard fight waged by the people of Guinea-Bissau at the cost of blood.

112. The founding of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has thrown the Portuguese colonialists into a panic. A few days ago the representative of the Portuguese colonialist authorities made outcries at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, shamelessly slandering and vilifying the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The fact is that the people of Guinea-Bissau already have a strong armed force and have liberated over two thirds of the national Territory with more than half of the population. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has established administrative organs at various levels in the vast liberated areas, effectively exercising government power. The mission sent to Guinea-Bissau by the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization in 1972 has provided us with eloquent proof in its report.

113. The outcries of slander by the Portuguese colonialists are nothing strange. The historical process shows that whenever a new revolutionary régime emerges on the horizon, the reactionary forces invariably bring all kinds of false charges against it and create various pretexts to reject and strangle it. However, new revolutions are invincible, and the reactionary forces will eventually end up in failure. One may recall that in 1958, when the Algerian people proclaimed the founding of their provisional government, some people absurdly called it "a government in exile". Are there not some gentlemen now who also assert that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is a "government in exile", supported by outside forces?

114. But none of these slanders and lies can stand the test of history. They have long been shattered in Algeria by the victory of the people's revolutionary struggle. The independent, sovereign State, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, has increasingly become an indestructible, progressive force of the third world, enjoying high international prestige.

115. Today the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has firmly stood up, and no force on earth can stop the advance of the wheel of history. Likewise, the lawful seat of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations will certainly be restored. All schemes of obstruction and sabotage are bound to be defeated by the joint efforts of all countries and peoples that uphold truth and justice.

116. To date the Portuguese colonialist authorities are still occupying certain sectors of the territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and are waging a barbarous war of aggression against it. This is a naked aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau, a sovereign State, and poses a serious threat to peace and security in that region. Such criminal

acts on the part of the Portuguese colonialist authorities can in no way be tolerated by all those countries and peoples that uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

117. The Chinese delegation maintains that the Portuguese colonialist authorities must be condemned for their war of aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau, and must be forced to stop their war of aggression immediately. World imperialism must be strongly condemned for its support to the Portuguese colonialist authorities. The Portuguese colonialist authorities must immediately withdraw all their aggressive troops and military installations from Guinea-Bissau, and the specialized agencies of the United Nations should continue to give energetic political and material assistance and support to the people of Guinea-Bissau.

118. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, continue to support the just struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau. We are deeply convinced that the people of Guinea-Bissau, who have already proclaimed independence, will be able to drive out completely the Portuguese colonialists and win new victories in liberating their national territory so long as they uphold unity and persistently carry out their armed struggle on the basis of the important victories already attained. They will thus build Guinea-Bissau into a progressive and prosperous country.

119. Mr. PAVLOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The very fact of the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item concerning the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is evidence of the widespread recognition of this new sovereign State throughout the world and demonstrates the all-round support which it enjoys. This, in our view, is an expression of the most important trends and patterns of our time. Firstly, we see a growing intolerance in the United Nations itself and among progressive world opinion of the policy of colonialist banditry, acts of aggression and the seizure of foreign territory. Secondly, we see the positive progress achieved in the international situation and the vigorous implementation of the Programme of Peace adopted at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These developments have made an enormous contribution to the establishment of favourable conditions for the complete and final elimination of colonialism and for the struggle of working people for a better life, democracy and national independence.

120. All this applies in full measure to the Portuguese colonies, which have witnessed yet another increase and extension of the national liberation movement against the colonialists. The logical outcome of this struggle was the birth of a new independent State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has already been recognized by more than 70 countries.

121. The proclamation and the prompt and almost unanimous recognition of the new State will unquestionably serve as a powerful and inspiring stimulus to the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau in their selfless struggle for the final expulsion of the Portuguese occupiers from the country and for their freedom and prosperity. In this noble cause

the working people of Guinea-Bissau and the other countries fighting against foreign aggression have always enjoyed and will continue to enjoy the vigorous support and assistance of the Soviet people and all opponents of colonialism and the seizure of foreign territory.

122. The Byelorussian SSR, in accordance with its peaceful foreign policy based on the equality of peoples and friendship among all States and in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples, has always condemned Portugal's colonial policy and actively supported the national liberation movements, which express the will of peoples for freedom, independence and national rebirth. That is why our delegation readily became a sponsor of the draft resolution on this item, "Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic" [*A/L.704 and Add.1-4*]. This draft assesses the new situation in Guinea-Bissau, strongly condemns the Portuguese Government's policy of occupying certain sectors of the new State and sternly condemns acts of aggression against its freedom-loving people. It also contains a demand that Portugal should immediately withdraw its armed forces from the occupied territories.

123. The adoption and effective implementation of the draft resolution would bring honour to the United Nations and would be a major contribution to the historic cause of the speedy elimination of the remaining hotbeds of colonialism and the outlawing of acts of aggression as vicious and unworthy means of solving international problems. The Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau also acts in the spirit of this positive policy; in one of its first statements it stressed that the fundamental task of the country's foreign policy, in conjunction with the other States of the continent, was the speedy elimination of the vestiges of colonialism in Africa. That position will inevitably meet with the understanding and support of all progressive mankind.

124. The behaviour of the Portuguese delegation to the United Nations seems utterly outmoded and untenable when viewed against the background of the events in Guinea-Bissau and the constructive nature of our debate. When he spoke in connexion with the adoption of the agenda [*2156th meeting*], the representative of Portugal merely showed that he does not see or does not want to see what is happening outside his colonial home. He spoke of some kind of "colonial law". But on 24 September of this year Portugal ceased to be the administering Power of the Territory of Guinea-Bissau and became a foreign aggressor illegally occupying foreign territory. This is clearly brought out in the Proclamation by the People's National Assembly of the State of Guinea-Bissau:

"From the historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, authorities and organs of the Portuguese colonial State which exercise any political, military or administrative authority in our territory are illegal and their acts are null and void. Consequently, from that moment on, the Portuguese State had no right to assume any obligations or commitments in relation to our country." [*see A/9196 and Add.2, annex I.*]

125. Thus, the point is that Portugal is obliged to leave the foreign territory at once and not to prevent the new State from freely shaping its own destiny.

126. Our delegation would also like to draw attention to the pretext which the Portuguese Government uses to conceal its position. In his statement the representative of Portugal scornfully called the participants in the national liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau "terrorists" and the national movement itself a "subversive act", thereby grossly insulting all national liberation movements in colonies and dependent countries. Furthermore, by this action the representative of Portugal displayed utter contempt for and disrespect towards the United Nations, which on the basis of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—has repeatedly affirmed the inalienable right of the people of Guinea-Bissau to self-determination and independence.

127. It is perfectly obvious that backward Portugal would never have dared to throw down such an open and brazen challenge to world public opinion, the principles of the United Nations Charter and United Nations decisions if it did not enjoy the military and economic support and assistance of the imperialist States, especially the countries of the NATO bloc. The Portuguese army of occupation in Guinea-Bissau, which, according to the estimate made by the Special Committee on decolonization, comprises 45,000 officers and men, is armed with NATO weapons. Airfields and other military installations are being built in the occupied Territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and in the Cape Verde Islands; they can be used at any time against other independent African countries. Imperialist monopolies are operating freely in the Portuguese colonies and in the occupied Territory of Guinea-Bissau; the Portuguese Government opens wide its doors to them in order to ensure that they take part in the suppression of the national liberation movement. By arming Portugal's colonies and occupied Territories, the imperialist States are pursuing far-reaching political, economic and military goals.

128. That is why, in our view, it is essential to do everything possible to broaden international condemnation of the Portuguese colonial occupation régime and its accomplices, intensify their isolation and put an end to all aggressive designs directed against freedom-loving peoples and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Security Council should draw attention as quickly as possible to the very critical situation resulting from the illegal presence of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau and should immediately take all necessary and effective steps to restore the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. That can be done only if Portugal immediately withdraws its occupation troops from the lands of the new Republic which it seized.

129. Our delegation wishes to express its deep satisfaction at seeing among the sponsors of the proposal and the resolution on the item "Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic" countries with various social systems from all the continents of our planet—Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. If the States Members of

the United Nations show such clear unanimity in dealing with this and other items on the agenda of the General Assembly, then our community of nations will certainly become even more effective and authoritative in the eyes of the peoples of the world.

130. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR demands that Portugal should immediately withdraw its occupation troops from the Territory of Guinea-Bissau and from the Cape Verde Islands and, at the same time, urges all States Members of the United Nations to render the necessary assistance to the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in its national reconstruction and development programmes.

131. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The appearance on the political map of Africa of the new independent State of Guinea-Bissau, as a result of the determination of the people of that country to decide on its own destiny on the basis of its sacred right to self-determination and independence, confirms once again that the irreversible process of the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism has practically entered its final phase. The final consequences of the colonialist system are thus gradually being eliminated. They constitute an offence to mankind and civilization. A major need of our time is the establishment of new relations in the world aimed at eliminating the domination of other people and ensuring full respect for independent and national sovereignty, the renunciation of a policy of force and *diktat*, and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny in accordance with their national aspirations.

132. The Romanian delegation expresses its strong conviction that the hastening of these progressive changes in present-day society will lead in the near future to the total victory of the peoples of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, who are struggling against colonialist and racist régimes in order to accede to their national independence. In this regard, we believe that the United Nations should play a still more effective role in supporting the new progressive trends, in affirming new relations between States and in establishing new principles in international life.

133. The illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against that State have concerned the international community in the past. However, under present conditions this situation goes far beyond the colonial context. The United Nations is now facing a new situation, created by the violation of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, by the intensification of attacks against its national independence and the flagrant violation of rules of international law. Such acts, which are a permanent source of tension and conflict and which endanger peace and security on the African continent and in the whole world, are none the less being perpetuated by the same colonialist and racist régimes which cynically continue flouting the demands of the international community.

134. The United Nations has also had occasion in the past to note and to condemn the illegal presence of Portuguese troops on the Territory of Guinea-Bissau. Many resolutions adopted by the United Nations have recognized the inalien-

able right of the people of Guinea-Bissau to independence and endorsed the legitimacy of its struggle for national liberation, requesting the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from its territory. Portugal, trampling underfoot the demands of the United Nations and acting against the will of the people of that Territory, refuses to withdraw its troops from the Territory of Guinea-Bissau and the islands of Cape Verde and commits acts of aggression against the new State, hindering peaceful construction in that country and also endangering peace on the continent.

135. Portugal, a Member of this Organization, by its action continues to undermine the authority of the Organization, disregarding its obligations assumed under the Charter as well as resolutions adopted on the Territories under Portuguese domination. The reasons invoked by the representative of Portugal and his attempts to argue in favour of the anachronistic colonial policy have been met with general disapproval. Great efforts are not required in order to understand their lack of consistency. What has in fact been the real evolution of Guinea-Bissau towards the organization of its State? Seventeen years ago the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, continuing their age-old resistance against Portuguese domination, took the decision to accede by force to independence. This struggle has always been widely supported within the United Nations by the Member States. Since the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations has firmly committed itself and the efforts of the international community to achieving the liquidation of colonialism, including colonialism in Guinea-Bissau, by reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of that Territory to independence.

136. The Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*] confirmed the right of the oppressed peoples—and therefore the right of the people of Guinea-Bissau as well—to accede to their independence. Taking into account the undeniable fact that the peoples under colonial domination have the right to decide on their own destiny, the General Assembly solemnly recognized the right of the national liberation movements of the peoples of the colonies to receive assistance from other States and international organizations in their struggle to achieve their national independence. Recognizing the success obtained by the liberation movements in the struggle for the achievement of the aspirations of the peoples of the colonies, the General Assembly went still further and, by resolution 2918 (XXVII), recognized PAIGC as the only legitimate representative of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, with all the political and legal consequences entailed in that action on the international level.

137. In the liberated areas, which cover three quarters of the Territory, PAIGC has carried out vast political, organizational and administrative activities in order to liquidate the vestiges of colonial domination and to build up the economy of the country. The Special Mission of the United Nations bore witness to that. In April of 1972, after its visit to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, it confirmed the resolve of the people of that country to build a new life and the existence of organizational and administrative structures which are typical of a new State. Pursuing its struggle for the total liberation of the country, together with its

activities of peaceful reconstruction in the liberated areas, and as a consequence of Portugal's refusal to comply with the provisions of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) concerning negotiations to be undertaken between the Portuguese Government and PAIGC on the granting of independence, the people of Guinea-Bissau, under the direction of PAIGC, resolutely undertook the completion of the process of liberation of the country and the organization of its structures. Thus, during the democratic elections organized in the liberated areas, the People's National Assembly was constituted in 1972 on the basis of the principle that power derived from the people's will and in the interests of the people, with the task of proclaiming independence and electing governing bodies.

138. On 24 September last, the People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau discharged its first historic mission by proclaiming the independence of the State. In this way, the *de facto* exercise of the sovereignty of the people within the country was reconciled with the need for political as well as State representation on the international level.

139. In brief, that describes the evolution and the appearance of a new State as an expression of the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau and its very close relationship with the United Nations, which must give it all the support necessary for it to consolidate its national independence. This reality makes very clear the disguised objectives underlying the affirmations, which have been unique in our debates, that the United Nations is really facing something fictional.

140. The proclamation of the Republic expresses the will of the people of that country, a country which is sovereign in the exercise of its sacred right to self-determination and independence, recognized by the international community and by the United Nations. It crowns the heroic struggle waged by PAIGC for liberation from foreign domination and for free and independent development on the road to its economic and social progress. The proclamation of the birth of a new State affirms, for instance, that Guinea-Bissau assumes its responsibility to create the material foundations for the development of an advanced economy, thus laying the foundations for the development of culture, science and technology in order to raise the economic and social well-being of the population.

141. However, the peaceful activities of this heroic people continue to be hindered by the Portuguese military forces which are wrongly occupying certain sectors of the territory of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and which are committing acts of aggression against the people and the country, thus violating the most basic norms of international law.

142. The Romanian delegation considers that the natural consequence of the political reality of Guinea-Bissau and of the process of recognition of the new independent State—70 countries have already granted recognition—should be the withdrawal of Portuguese forces from the territory of the new State and the end of the acts of aggression against that State. The United Nations must force Portugal to respect the rules of international law, to renounce its colonial practices and, in general, to revise its entire policy towards the African territories.

143. These changes make it necessary for the United Nations to discharge one of its fundamental duties—namely, to safeguard the inalienable right of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands to shape their destinies in accordance with their national aspirations. It is only thus that the United Nations may become a true instrument for the definitive eradication of colonialism and neo-colonial practices, for the establishment of a climate of international peace and co-operation.

144. We feel that it is fair to call upon the United Nations to act strongly so that the people of Guinea-Bissau may consolidate and defend its national independence and in freedom and sovereignty dispose of its natural wealth, enjoying the necessary assistance in the realization of its programmes of peaceful reconstruction, because we are strongly convinced that the safeguarding of peace and international security should be based on respect for the sacred right of every people and every State to existence, to freedom, to sovereignty and to national independence, and in that respect the United Nations has the duty of acting resolutely.

145. Sympathy, understanding, solidarity, multilateral support for the peoples struggling in the fight for freedom and the consolidation of independence are essential aspects of the foreign policy of the Romanian Government.

146. In the spirit of solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the peoples for the definitive liquidation of colonialism, the Romanian people has always supported the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. Relations of co-operation and assistance between Romania and the people of Guinea-Bissau have found their partial expression also in the joint communiqué signed in Bucharest in 1972 with Amílcar Cabral, founder and lamented leader of PAIGC, a document which represents the first act of recognition of PAIGC on the international level.

147. In the conviction that the eradication of the final vestiges of colonialism constitutes one of the fundamental needs of our time to which all the progressive forces of today should contribute, the President of the Council of State of the Republic of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, on 28 July 1973, assured the General Secretary of PAIGC, Mr. Aristides Pereira, that:

“... socialist Romania will also in future provide its political, diplomatic and material assistance in the struggle for freedom, independence and liberation from abominable Portuguese domination waged by the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands”.

148. On 28 September 1973, the Council of State and the Romanian Government decided to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent and sovereign State. The Romanian people welcomed with satisfaction the proclamation of the people of Guinea-Bissau, which reflected the will of the people to live in their country in freedom and independence and expressed the conviction that the moment is not far off when the whole of the territory of the country will be liberated. In the telegram sent on that occasion to the President of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Luiz Cabral, President Ceau-

sescu expressed as follows the position of Romania on the sovereign act of the people of Guinea-Bissau:

“Waging alone a major struggle for national and social liberation, the Romanian people, prompted by feelings of international solidarity, has constantly supported and will continue actively to support the struggle of oppressed peoples for the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the efforts of countries liberated from foreign domination to consolidate their independence and their national sovereignty. . . . We use this very happy occasion also to reaffirm our decision to continue to expand and deepen relations of solidarity and friendship with PAIGC as a basis for broad co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, to continue permanently and multilaterally to support its just struggle for the independent economic and social development of the country, for the earliest possible liquidation of the consequences of colonial domination.”

149. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm that the Romanian delegation welcomes the new prospects before the people of Guinea-Bissau, achieved at the cost of so many sacrifices and with bravery. We bear witness to the resolve of the people of Guinea-Bissau to eliminate completely the final consequences of Portuguese domination and to build a new free and independent life. The Romanian delegation, one of the sponsors of the draft resolution on the item under consideration, will strongly support United Nations actions aimed at restoring the territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau, creating the required conditions so that the people of that country may devote all their efforts to the implementation of the peaceful reconstruction of their country. It will also support the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a sovereign and independent State, as a Member of the United Nations.

150. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*translation from Russian*): The Bulgarian delegation was among those which requested the inclusion of the item under consideration in the agenda for the twenty-eighth session. Indeed, it was appropriate to do so in view of the critical situation created as a result of the illegal occupation of part of the territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the open aggression against its people by Portugal. The United Nations must consider these brazen acts by one of its Member States, acts which are incompatible with the Charter, and take appropriate measures to put an end to that occupation and aggression.

151. This question is at the same time a new one and an old one. For years in succession, the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations organs have been considering the problem of Portuguese colonialism and the colonial war which Portugal is waging with foreign assistance against the African peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique.

152. We now have before us for consideration the question of Portuguese aggression against the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

153. As we know, on 23 and 24 September 1973 the first People's National Assembly of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau announced the independence of that country. That

historic act was possible thanks to the selfless and heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands against Portuguese colonialism. For that reason, it was rightly greeted by all progressive and peace-loving mankind as an expression of a most valuable victory by one people in its struggle for freedom and independence.

154. A great many States Members of the United Nations have recognized the new State; it is receiving increasing support and international recognition.

155. We know, too, that Portugal has refused to recognize the right of that people to self-determination and independence, a right laid down in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Since the proclamation of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Portugal has continued its aggression and occupation and refuses to recognize the right of the people to an independent existence.

156. This constitutes an unlawful occupation of part of the territory of an independent State. The continuing military actions of the Portuguese colonialist troops in that country represent open aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau. This colonialist policy and aggression of Portugal are being supported in the most active way by the imperialist States, and primarily by certain NATO States.

157. All these irrefutable facts are known to the United Nations. United Nations bodies have taken a number of decisions condemning Portuguese colonialism and urging Portugal to grant to the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique the right to self-determination and independence. Portugal, however, is not implementing the decisions of the United Nations. It is continuing, more systematically and more deliberately than ever, to violate its responsibilities under the Charter, as well as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and many of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

158. Portugal is one of three States Members of the United Nations, the others being South Africa and Israel, which the United Nations has frequently condemned for their policies of aggression, occupation of foreign territories, colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and refusal to grant to other peoples the right to an independent sovereign existence. For many years Portugal has had recourse to brute force, repression and mass murder in order to impose its colonialist policies on the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. Portugal is constantly extending its colonial war in Africa, in which more than 160,000 troops are now engaged. Portuguese colonialists, following the example of the Hitlerite Fascist hordes, are resorting to murder, terror, mass butchery, the expulsion of inhabitants from their villages and the use of chemical defoliants against the indigenous inhabitants.

159. It has long been known that a little country like Portugal could not so persistently and so actively pursue its colonialist policies and its colonial war in Africa were it not for the massive military, political, diplomatic and economic assistance and support it receives from the Western countries. Imperialist circles are supporting Portugal because it is

implementing their strategic plans in Africa, which are directed against the national liberation movements and against the sovereign and independent States of Africa. Portugal's aggression against the Republic of Guinea committed in November 1970 is still fresh in our memory, and we are all familiar with Portugal's aggressive actions against Senegal, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire and Congo.

160. Portugal is enabling foreign imperialist monopolies to continue their merciless plundering of the natural resources of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

161. We are all familiar with that notorious "diabolical alliance" of the colonialist and racist régimes in Africa—the alliance between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. They are attacking the most sacred principles of humanity, the principles of free and independent existence and of the elimination, once and for all, of the vestiges of the shameful colonialist system, and they have joined forces against the national liberation movements. This so-called alliance has frequently been condemned by our Organization.

162. The people of Guinea-Bissau, under the firm and wise leadership of its party, PAIGC, and its outstanding leader Mr. Amílcar Cabral, has for 17 years now been organizing on a broad basis its political and military struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The unchallenged victories of PAIGC have created the prerequisites for a radical reconstruction of the political, economic and social system of the people in the liberated areas on the basis of anti-imperialism and social progress. This is one of the clearest examples in the history of the African national liberation struggle and of national democratic revolutions. The Special Mission of the Special Committee on decolonization, which visited the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau in April 1972, made it possible for the United Nations to establish for the first time that PAIGC was the true and lawful representative of the people of Guinea-Bissau and to call upon Portugal to put an end to its colonialist war by entering into negotiations with PAIGC for the granting of independence to that country.

163. Instead of doing that, Portugal has intensified its actions against the people of Guinea-Bissau. The murder of that outstanding African leader and son of Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar Cabral, was part of the colonialist and imperialist designs and was an unsuccessful attempt to arrest the unswerving and irreversible course of history, deprive the people of their right to achieve their independence, and weaken the African anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolution. The people of Guinea-Bissau, under the wise leadership of PAIGC, is continuing its struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The proclamation of the independent, sovereign Republic is the best way of expressing the people's veneration for the memory of their great compatriot and leader Amílcar Cabral.

164. We have no doubt at all that the people of Guinea-Bissau will continue the struggle for the full liberation of their territory from Portuguese occupation until they have finally eliminated that aggression. It is a difficult but a just struggle against the designs of the aggressor, and for that reason it will be supported by an ever-greater number of

countries. The United Nations will not remain aloof. Now it must act with all available means to defend the right of the new State to an independent existence and to bridle the Portuguese aggressor once and for all. The United Nations must firmly condemn Portugal and oblige it to put an end immediately to its violations of and encroachments on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the new State and withdraw its troops from the areas which it is still unlawfully occupying.

165. Portugal's aggression against the sovereign Republic of Guinea-Bissau and its unlawful occupation of part of the territory of that country are violations of Article 11, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter. For that reason the Security Council must take immediate measures calling for the restoration of the territorial integrity of the new State.

166. In order to obtain the cessation of Portugal's aggression against Guinea-Bissau and to put an end to Portugal's colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and other Territories the United Nations must demand of Portugal's allies that they put an end to all the support and assistance they are giving to Portugal's aggression and colonialism.

167. The People's Republic of Bulgaria condemns, in the most categorical terms, the aggression of Portugal against the people of Guinea-Bissau.

168. The Bulgarian Government and people have always given full support to the people of Guinea-Bissau and to its party, PAIGC, against Portuguese colonialism and the designs of imperialism. For that reason they welcomed that remarkable event, the proclamation of the new Republic, and this was reflected in Bulgaria's recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, its Government and party, in their struggle to liberate fully and finally their homeland from Portuguese occupation and to confirm and strengthen the sovereignty and independence of this new African Republic.

169. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Guinea has requested the floor in order to make a brief statement. If I hear no objection I shall call on her.

170. Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): I have just received this morning, from the information service of PAIGC, the following communication on new criminal aggressions by Portugal against the young Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The telegram reads:

"The dismissal of General Spinola, Commander-in-Chief of the expeditionary forces of Portuguese aggression against our country, marked the end of the dream of the ultra-colonialists of Lisbon who in 1968, still under the régime and reign of Salazar, believed that it was possible to stop the resistance of our people by means of a mixed policy of 'smiles and blood', in which demagoguery and attempts at corruption went together with assassination and genocide of populations regarded as indomitable. After five years of a 'mission of sovereignty', the General had to return to Portugal, leaving his troops in the most difficult situation that they had ever experienced in our country.

"The failure of his criminal action, to which he gave the ridiculous and demagogic name of a policy for a

'better Guinea', imposed on the person who replaced him a change of tactics. Since he himself, like his predecessor, was experienced in African wars—with several years of campaigning in Angola, where he was known for the massacres which he ordered and directed in the north in 1961 and in the east in 1965—the present commander of the colonialist Portuguese Government's forces of aggression, General Bettencourt Rodrigues, is also what is known in Lisbon as a 'pure militarist'. And not being able any longer to use his resources and capacity as a 'great military chief' against our popular army, which has reduced his men to a posture of desperate defence, the enemy commander-in-chief opted for an already undisguised and bloody policy of genocide and terrorism against the civilian population of Guinea-Bissau.

"As previously, and in view of the forced immobilization to which his troops are reduced, most of the operations now carried out by the Bissau general staff fall to the air force. These actions consisted mainly of saturation bombings against whole areas and, more rarely, of disembarkations of helicopter-borne troops.

"The criminal action of the Portuguese air force which is commonly known to have been reinforced on the arrival in Bissau of the new enemy commander-in-chief—which coincided with the historic proclamation of 24 September—are directed in particular against the sectors of Balana, Cubucare and Tombali in the south, Nhacra, Sara and Mores in the north, and Boé in the east. The number of victims, in relation to the intensity of the bombings, is none the less small, which demonstrates the effectiveness of the measures taken by those officials of PAIGC who are responsible for civil defence. The victims are mainly women, children and the aged. In the Tombali sector alone, some 40 villages have been hit in bombings by Portuguese aircraft. It is in that sector also that the greatest number of victims has been recorded: 23 dead, including 4 women, 8 children and 6 aged persons.

"These bombings are generally carried out from a high altitude by jets. A new fact is that after the bombings aircraft equipped with powerful loud speakers sometimes appear. They threaten even more severe reprisals against the civilian population.

"This intensification of the criminal action of the air force of the Portuguese aggressors has nevertheless not affected the morale of the population, whose determination has only increased with the historic proclamation of 24 September. They continue to give their total support to the fighters, who increasingly inflict stinging defeats on the foreign invaders.

"Thus, in the Cubucare sector, to the south, during two ambushes carried out on 7 October and 13 October on the route between Cadique and Iemberem, a unit of our PAIGC armed forces destroyed two Berliet trucks and killed 18 of the enemy, including a Portuguese captain. An important quantity of provisions was captured. On 19 October, in the Cubisseco sector, in the south, a commando unit of the local armed forces of PAIGC wiped out a detachment composed of 11 Portuguese soldiers in the vicinity of the important fortified Empada camp, and seized the automatic rifles with which they were equipped. On 23 October an infantry unit of the people's army of Guinea-Bissau

conducted an ambush on the Olossato-Bissora road, in the Mores sector, in the centre of the country, and blew up four Portuguese army trucks. The enemy suffered more than 20 deaths. Helicopters intervening under the protection of jets evacuated several wounded.

"In the same period, several important actions were carried out in the enemy's rear. On 5 October a vehicle blew up on an anti-tank mine installed by militants inside the fortified camp of Catio, the main urban centre of the south. The explosion caused great panic among the occupying troops. Two enemy soldiers perished. On 7 October, anti-personnel mines killed one and wounded six at the port of the Tchuguê camp on the right bank of the river Balana. On 21 October, a Perliet truck was destroyed in the neighbouring port of Cubumbam, the enemy suffering further losses. On 24 October, commandos managed to make their way inside the colonialist installations at Cubumbam, completely destroying a supply depot.

"Furthermore, between 10 and 25 October, numerous artillery actions against the Portuguese army garrisons have been carried out in all the still occupied areas. Among the garrisons most badly hit by these actions were, in particular, those of Mato de Com in the north of the country, Bedanda and Cameconde in the south, and Sare Aliu, Ponte Caium, Camadjaba, Dulombi and Candjadudo in the east. The action against Mato de Com resulted in 17 enemy dead. Also, on 24 October, a harassing action was carried out against Cubumbam, where, with the aid of powerful bazookas, the fighters of PAIGC destroyed most of the installations and occupied them."

171. Before concluding, I should like to thank my colleague the Ambassador of Uganda, who authorized me to take some of his time in order to enable me to report to the Assembly on these new developments and these new Portuguese aggressions against the young Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

172. Mr. IBINGIRA (Uganda): I am happy that I should be called upon to speak as I was pleased to see that you, representing a sister State in Africa, should have been elected as one of the Vice-Presidents for this session of the General Assembly because your qualities certainly entitle you to such a vote of confidence from the group to which you belong.

173. May I request you to transmit to our President my warmest personal appreciation and that of my delegation for the exemplary manner in which he is guiding the proceedings of this session.

174. The statement just made by the representative of Guinea, Ambassador Cissé, makes it even more imperative that this Assembly should not only speedily vote for this draft resolution but also that all those countries which have boldly and rightly come forward to recognize the brave new Republic of Guinea-Bissau should take practical steps to ensure its security against the aggression of Portuguese terrorists. It seems to us that the policy of Portugal exists in a time-machine that somehow manages to persuade itself that it can carry out policies of the 1800s when, in fact, we are living in the space age of the twentieth century.

175. My delegation was one of those in the General Committee which sought the introduction of this item for debate, and in doing so it wished to assure the recognition and territorial inviolability of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau. On 24 September 1973, the People's National Assembly of the State of Guinea-Bissau proclaimed its statehood as an independent, sovereign State, free from the shackles of Portuguese colonialism. Six days later—that is, two days more than it took the United States to recognize the State of Panama—on 30 September the Government of the Republic of Uganda recognized the existence of Guinea-Bissau as an independent, sovereign State and therefore ceased to recognize the legality of Portuguese sovereignty over Guinea-Bissau as part of its colonial empire.

176. My purpose in standing here is not so much to talk to my brothers and colleagues from the 70 States which have already recognized this fact, but to deny our detractors the opportunity of keeping a calm conscience, of feeling that they have gotten away with it, when they either vote or abstain, on the grounds of rather archaic arguments in which they invoke either precedent or legality. I shall therefore direct my remarks principally to them.

177. We hold that the case for the acceptance and recognition of Guinea-Bissau as an independent, sovereign State is overwhelming. It is historical as well as legal, political and philosophical. It is, in fact, unanswerable.

178. Let me first take up the historical precedents, some of which have been mentioned from this rostrum. None of us is unaware of the revolution of 1776 launched from the original 13 American colonies against their colonial rulers from the United Kingdom. Even as long as two centuries ago, the colonial people in the 13 American colonies of Britain—despite the close links of kinship and language, despite those bonds of common origin—found it intolerable to accept the dictates of a government that they had not voluntarily chosen to guide their destiny.

179. During that war, in which British forces and British maritime power were harnessed to crush the American revolutionary forces, the United Kingdom continued to proclaim to the world—which, at that time of course meant Europe—that the 13 American colonies were still subject to British jurisdiction, and that consequently no State should have any dealings with them, let alone recognize their existence as an independent State.

180. In the same way today, 200 years later, when after many years—not just two years—of protracted armed struggle the people of Guinea-Bissau, through their People's National Assembly, have proclaimed their independence as a sovereign State, Portugal still proclaims that Guinea-Bissau is part and parcel of Portuguese territory and has no existence as an independent State.

181. And yet we know that the claim of sovereignty by a colonial Power over a colony which has by armed struggle acquired its independence has never stopped other independent nations from either assisting the new State or from recognizing it.

182. Thus in 1778, only a short while after the American colonies had proclaimed their independence, France, a

major European Power, recognized the existence of the independent United States and intervened militarily and by all other means on its behalf, and it was followed in this by other European Powers.

183. The formal proclamation of independence by the 13 American colonies was made to retrieve their political and human rights in spite of the fact that at that time there was no comparable organized international community, such as there is today, in spite of the fact that there was no comparable universal declaration of human rights, as we now have, and that there was none of the concerted efforts by the world community to establish standards of common justice and human equality. How much more so, we must ask, when all these things exist today should we not unhesitatingly accord recognition and acceptance to the birth of Guinea-Bissau as an independent, sovereign State?

184. The historical precedents of the South American republics are no less illustrative. In 1822 Brazil took up arms against Portuguese colonial rule. It is well known that Portugal continued to insist for several years that Brazil was still its colonial empire despite the fact that Portuguese arms had failed to curb Brazilian nationalism and revolutionary forces.

185. The Portuguese claim did not stop other Powers in Europe, as well as the United States, from recognizing the existence of Brazil as an independent, sovereign State.

186. Spain, too, which had colonized most of Latin America, lost many of its colonies there, not through the constitutional means of granting them independence, but by these colonies seizing their independence by force of arms, through revolution.

187. Such was the case with Argentina, which declared its independence in the year it embarked on the revolutionary struggle of 1810. So did Colombia in 1810, Paraguay in 1811, Chile in 1818, Peru in 1821, Ecuador in 1822 and Bolivia in 1825.

188. In all these cases for over a decade Spain continued to claim sovereignty over each one of them. But because Spain was incapable of re-establishing its rule over any of them its claims did not deter other Powers from recognizing these States as independent, sovereign States. Thus, the United States recognized them in 1822 as did Great Britain in 1825, to be followed by other European Powers.

189. However, those who plead for the Portuguese still claim that it is too early to determine whether Guinea-Bissau has really successfully established itself against the Portuguese. They might perhaps point out that in the case of the Latin American colonies it took nearly a decade for other States to accord recognition to them as independent States.

190. But we state categorically that this is a false claim. We must remember that France recognized the United States within a very brief time after it declared itself independent; we must also remember that the United States recognized Panama immediately after Panama seceded from Colombia by armed struggle in 1903.

191. In any event, at the time of these colonial struggles for independence more than 150 years ago, there were no articulately formulated principles binding upon the colonial Powers to lead their colonies to independent statehood and self-determination. There was no Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations imposing such an obligation on all colonial Powers, there was no Universal Declaration of Human Rights, because, as the Assembly knows, indeed, there was no United Nations.

192. The time it took, therefore, to recognize the secession of Spanish colonies as independent States cannot be a guide for us more than 150 years later, today.

193. What must surely be a guide and what is of critical importance is the fact that they seceded by force of arms to regain their political rights, just as Guinea-Bissau has done and, in so doing, they were recognized and assisted by many States in pursuit of their inalienable rights, just as more than 70 States have already recognized that fact with Guinea-Bissau.

194. On the grounds of historical precedent, therefore, it must be clear that Guinea-Bissau is not unique in the steps it has taken, it is not the first country to obtain its statehood by force of arms against its colonial rulers.

195. If this principle was followed 200 years ago by so many Member States of this Organization from two continents, it must surely apply with even greater force today, and the denial of its application to Guinea-Bissau would introduce a very relative standard of judgement that can only spell disaster for a community of nations that seeks a common standard of justice.

196. Our second ground on the basis of which we seek an injunction against Portugal from interfering in the sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau is a legal one. It is accepted in international law, by most if not all of us, perhaps except for Portugal, that there are four conditions for the existence of a State. In order for a State to come into existence, and I quote from the impeccable authority of Oppenheim's *International Law*, volume I, on "Peace": "First a State must have a people". No one can contest the claim that Guinea-Bissau has a people, if as people we define the word to mean the aggregate of males and females, both young and old.

197. 'Second, a State must have a country or a territory in which its people have settled down, and it is immaterial whether the country is small or large.

198. Third, it must have a government, that is to say, one or more persons who are the representatives of the people and rule according to the law of the land.

199. And fourth, there must be a sovereign government, where sovereignty means supreme authority and is independent of any other authority.

200. It is our view that these four conditions that must exist before a State comes into being are fulfilled in the case of Guinea-Bissau. There has been a great many reports, official and unofficial, that confirm the existence of those prerequisites. For our purposes, at the moment, let us rely in particular on the report of the Special Mission established

by the Special Committee which visited Guinea-Bissau and appears as annex I of chapter X of document A/8723/Rev.1. The Special Mission that went to Guinea-Bissau was internationally composed; it did not consist of anyone from Guinea-Bissau. The Chairman was from Ecuador, one of the members was from Sweden, another from Tunisia. They were accompanied by two officers of the United Nations Secretariat, one from Senegal and the other from Japan. I will quote from the report of the Chairman of the Special Mission:

“Our first and main impression was that the existence of the so-called ‘Liberated Areas’ is an undeniable fact of life, despite the persistent denials of the Portuguese which have created doubts among their closest allies . . . We found the same situation everywhere: the established presence of admirably well-organized guerilla forces; overwhelming support among the people of the villages, hamlets and settlements for those who are fighting bravely to free them; comprehensive administrative organization covering every facet of community life.”
[A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I, appendix II.]

201. It should surely be self-evident that this Assembly can realize at once that a people exists in Guinea-Bissau, that there is a country, a territory, in which these people live and there is a government that represents the people and rules according to its laws and that, finally, that government has supreme authority over its people to enable it to carry out the above organization.

202. The report of the Special Mission made it abundantly clear that what was being organized in Guinea-Bissau was not merely an insurgent force limited to military skirmishes against overwhelming Portuguese military power, but rather it was the existence of a Guinea-Bissau where the vast majority of the population supported the armed struggle, accepted its leadership and helped it to carry out comprehensive social organization in government, education, health and other related matters. The report leaves a very distinct impression that even before Guinea-Bissau established itself as an independent country by proclamation, through the vanguard of its party, the PAIGC, and its valiant leaders, headed by Amílcar Cabral, the hero who was killed, it had already attained the *de facto* attributes of an independent State.

203. In annex II of document A/9196 of 15 October 1973, the Assembly will find the Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau that sets out in specific detail the organs of statehood and the composition of its government, giving additional force to the argument that all the conditions of statehood concerning a people, a country, a government and sovereignty are completely met by this brave new African Republic.

204. But there might be another argument for those who deny the independence of Guinea-Bissau. We have heard it before both in the General Committee and here, that Guinea-Bissau is still a Portuguese colony under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. As I stated here on 19 October last year,⁴ and I repeat now, the view of our delegation is

that Portuguese colonialism can no longer be covered by Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories; for that reason we argued that Portuguese colonies should declare unilateral independence by force of arms and that the Members of this Organization should recognize their nationhood. We are happy that this has come to pass.

205. For Chapter XI of the Charter to confer legality on any colonial rule such a rule must be for the purposes stipulated in the Chapter. Let me quote Article 73*b*, concerning the obligation of a colonial Power:

“to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions . . .”.

206. Who among us can, with sincerity and not mere polemics, contend that Portugal has taken, quoting the operative words, “due account of the political aspirations of the peoples” of Guinea-Bissau? Or that Portugal has assisted in the “progressive development of their free political institutions”?

207. The interpretation of this Chapter must be read in the light of two most important criteria: first, the resolutions that have been adopted by this Organization, particularly the General Assembly, demanding that the objective of colonial rule be the development of colonial Territories towards self-government and independence. In particular there is the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 15 December 1960, followed by General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972, and Security Council resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972, both of which reaffirm the rights of the people of Guinea-Bissau to self-determination and independence from Portuguese colonialism.

208. The second important criterion in interpreting Chapter XI of the Charter is for us to examine what its application has meant in practice among the colonial Powers and subject peoples. It is axiomatic that the British and the French, which had the biggest colonial empires of all time, scattered over many continents, particularly in Africa and Asia, have interpreted it to mean the granting of independence to colonial countries.

209. It is significant that even today, when there is a stalemate over Rhodesia, Britain still accepts in principle the goal of independence and self-determination for the people of Zimbabwe, as the proper interpretation of this Chapter. Lesser colonial Powers in Africa, like Belgium, have recognized it to mean independence and self-determination for their colonies. This, therefore, has been the interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter in practice.

210. I would like to challenge those who say that Portuguese colonialism can be justified or defended on a legal basis under Chapter XI, to quote as a precedent. Please do not quote Portugal as a precedent, because we know that it is not. Portuguese colonialism, postulating as it does that its colonies are permanently part of metropolitan Portugal, is something unknown to the jurisprudence of our contemporary international community.

⁴ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2068th meeting.

211. In the circumstances it was inevitable—and we applaud it—that the people of Guinea-Bissau, under the exemplary leadership of Amílcar Cabral and his successors, took up arms and fought a protracted bitter struggle, establishing a new State by overthrowing Portuguese colonial rule. The least we can do here is to recognize this fact by voting for a draft resolution that recognizes Guinea-Bissau's territorial inviolability, as an independent sovereign State.

212. Finally, the third ground on which we come before the Assembly to defend the independence and territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau is a political and philosophical premise. When everything is said and done, as great philosophers have remarked before us, man, being a political animal, has the right to determine his own destiny.

213. While we can cite legal precedents or quote those from history, one thing must remain paramount: that laws, whether they be local or international, are not an end in themselves, but are established and can be changed to express the collective will of humanity.

214. Law can never be an end in itself, for if man, in changing times, became enslaved to unchanging legal doctrines, then the function of law in society would cease to exist.

215. The stage is set, by technology, for a tremendous conflict among the nations of the world, unless we in the Assembly and in this Organization can establish, within the framework of our international community, a minimum set of values to which all of us must subscribe.

216. How can we say that a Cypriot fighting for the liberation of his country from Britain, for example, or an Algerian struggling to regain his sovereign power from France, is a terrorist, and yet say that the colonial soldier who will mercilessly hunt him down to maintain colonial rule is a patriot?

217. How can it be just for the great people of the United States to take up arms and proclaim their independence from British colonial rule, or for Brazil to do the same against Portugal, and yet be illegal for the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau to take up arms to do likewise against a European colonial Power?

218. How can it be right when one set of people acquire territory by force of arms, or acquire it and seek to colonize it by force of arms, and yet be wrong when a people robbed of their land, or part of their sovereignty, take up arms to regain control? What standards are we seeking to apply? That is the question.

219. We have adopted far too many resolutions. We have made far too many declarations. But I think that the moment of truth has arrived. Does the Assembly stand for the freedom of Guinea-Bissau or does it stand for human bondage in the twentieth century? We realize that we have outgrown being a planetary community. Today, some of the super-Powers are adding a galactic or cosmic dimension, as man goes to the stars. But all this technology, all these achievements, will come to nought unless mankind, now and urgently, subscribes to a common denominator of justice.

220. This is the opportunity, this is the time, to prove it by acknowledging the independence of Guinea-Bissau and rejecting the outmoded colonialism of archaic Portuguese power.

221. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Uganda for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country. The message of the representative of Uganda will be transmitted to the President of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.