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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. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): Since 1961 Portugal has been turning a deaf ear to all the just demands of the colonial peoples under its administration, as well as to the demands of the large majority of States Members of the international community. In the Territories under its domination, the most sinister oppression continues unabated: patriots are arrested and tortured, murders are organized, concentration camps are established, and large-scale military operations are waged against the liberation forces. The reactionary Lisbon régime has been unsuccessfully trying to conceal all this under the mask of a so-called revision of the political and administrative statutes of the Territories. In fact, by means of these measures Portugal is endeavouring to strengthen its position even further and to perpetuate its colonial rule. Under these circumstances, and in the absence of any prospect of prevailing upon Portugal to abandon its reactionary policies, the colonial peoples under its rule have been compelled to take up arms as the only means of realizing their inalienable rights.

2. The first decisive success achieved in this struggle is the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The People's National Assembly proclaimed the independence of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973. The proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau marks yet another great victory won by the colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom, independence and national sovereignty. By their self-sacrificing armed struggle, the people of Guinea-Bissau have succeeded in liberating a large part of the territory of their country and creating favourable conditions for the proclamation of independence. This victory has been won under the guidance of

the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC] on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, in particular, the principles of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. There are also a number of other decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council to this effect, especially General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972 and Security Council resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972. On the basis of all these facts and arguments, and in accordance with its constant and well-known active support to the struggle of colonial peoples for liberation, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia recognized the new sovereign Republic immediately after its proclamation.

3. The new State has emerged as a result of a long struggle for independence in which it has enjoyed the support of the majority of the States Members of the United Nations. It has already been recognized by more than 70 countries, and we are convinced that their example will be followed by other States as well.

4. Irrespective of all this and regardless of its military defeats, the reactionary régime in Lisbon refuses to withdraw its armed forces from some of the still non-liberated parts of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This act of the Portuguese colonialists actually amounts to aggression against a sovereign, democratic, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist Republic, whose foreign policy is founded on non-alignment and the promotion of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with all States in the world that are prepared to recognize its independence on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect, national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

5. We hope that an end will be put to the support that the Portuguese reactionaries receive from some of the biggest Western countries. With a view to securing their interests and under the pretext of Portugal's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], these countries are affording all-out political, military and material support to the reactionary Lisbon régime. It would be superfluous to point out that in addition to the aforementioned countries the illegal régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury are also providing assistance and giving full support to Portugal in an attempt, by so doing, to consolidate their own positions. In this context we would like to appeal to the Governments of the countries taking part in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe not to allow Portugal, which is guilty of aggression against a sovereign State and is waging colonial wars in Africa, to benefit from the strengthening of security and co-operation in Europe.

\* Resumed from the 2158th meeting.

6. Considering this aggression to be a serious matter, my delegation, together with almost half of the membership of the world Organization, has requested that the General Assembly consider as a matter of urgency the presence of the armed forces of Portugal in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an aggression against a sovereign and independent State, an aggression that threatens not only the people of Guinea-Bissau but also all Africa, and thereby peace and security in the world as well [A/9196 and Add.1 and 2]. If no stop is put to this aggression against the independent State of Guinea-Bissau there will remain the possibility of an extension of aggressive actions by Portuguese colonialists to other neighbouring independent African countries as well. The Portuguese colonialists had already perpetrated aggressive actions and armed attacks against the republics of Guinea and Senegal, for which Portugal was condemned by the Security Council. We should not turn a blind eye to the danger of a repetition of such armed attacks now when it has become crystal clear that the days of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, as everywhere else in the world, are numbered.

7. My Government, together with the Governments of other non-aligned countries and on the basis of the decisions of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries<sup>1</sup>, is ready to lend full and active support to the efforts aimed at putting an end to Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. We are also convinced that, in considering this matter, the predominant majority of Members of the United Nations will not only give full support to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in its struggle against foreign aggression but that it will also take concrete steps that will compel the reactionary régime in Lisbon to show respect for international norms and for the principles of the Charter of our Organization.

8. The General Assembly should, in our opinion, welcome the recent accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau; strongly condemn the policies of the Government of Portugal in perpetuating its illegal occupation of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the repeated acts of aggression committed by its armed forces against the people of the new republic; demand that Portugal desist forthwith from further violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau by immediately withdrawing its forces from those territories; draw the attention of the Security Council to the critical situation resulting from the illegal presence of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau and to the urgent need for taking, as a matter of priority, all effective steps to restore the territorial integrity of the Republic; invite all Member States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to render all necessary assistance to the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its national reconstruction and development programmes; and decide to keep the situation under continuous review.

9. Finally, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the summit Conference of non-aligned countries also examined very carefully the situation of the peoples under the Portuguese reactionary yoke and concluded that they were the victims of the most

serious forms of exploitation, oppression and destruction inflicted upon them by the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. The summit Conference observed that the collusion of the segregationist and colonialist régimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia and the many forms of aid that such régimes received from certain countries reflected the strategic aims of reactionary and imperialist forces in the region. Therefore we, together with other non-aligned countries, believe that armed struggle is the only way of ending the colonial domination of Portugal and we are convinced that the efforts of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola to liberate themselves from colonial domination will also be crowned with success.

10. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): In adopting the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations stated that "the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible" [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. The correctness of this conclusion was confirmed yet again by the proclamation on 24 September 1973 of the formation of a new independent State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, as a result of the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. By this act the people, led by PAIGC, indicated their determination to put an end to colonial domination once and for all, for they had chosen the way of freedom, independence, progress and national rebirth.

11. As we all know, approximately 70 Members of the United Nations have already recognized this new State and have demonstrated their solidarity with the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for the complete liberation of their country from the Portuguese colonial troops which are still occupying part of their territory.

12. The wide recognition of the new State confirms that the world was ready for this act, for the people of Guinea-Bissau had long been exercising *de facto* sovereignty over the liberated areas. In adopting a constitution proclaiming Guinea-Bissau to be a "sovereign, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist republic" [*see A/9196 and Add.2, annex II*], the People's National Assembly gave a political assessment of the real successes of the national liberation struggle and the profound transformations which have taken place in this territory, about which the United Nations has first-hand information.

13. Certain representatives of former and present metropolitan countries with ancient colonialist traditions cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the people of Guinea-Bissau have achieved independence in an armed struggle, in defiance of the will of Portugal, and they try to divert the United Nations from consideration of the substance of the matter. But the substance of the matter is that Portugal must end its unlawful occupation of a part of the territory of this African State. It is common knowledge that Portugal was resorting to camouflage when it described its colonial possessions, which are situated thousands of kilometres from Lisbon, as its so-called "overseas territories", i.e. as a part of Portugal; it is trying to keep possession of those territories simply by means of the guns and bombers which it obtains from the NATO arsenal. Furthermore, in league with the racist régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia, which the African peoples have aptly dubbed

<sup>1</sup> Held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

“the unholy alliance”, the colonialists are committing acts of armed provocation against independent African States and are organizing the physical liquidation of the leaders of the national liberation movement.

14. Is it not surprising that a small, backward country like Portugal, with an extremely reactionary Fascist-type régime and with neither powerful economic nor military potential, has been waging colonial wars for so many years? Colonialist Portugal would scarcely have been able to wage those wars had it not been a member of NATO and had it not enjoyed the comprehensive support of the countries which form that bloc?

15. But why is Portugal, like the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia, receiving political, financial and military support designed to keep the African peoples in the shackles of colonial slavery? The facts show that imperialist circles and the international monopolies which are growing rich on colonial exploitation are concerned to preserve the colonial order. Under the pretext of “aid”, and taking advantage of the weakness of Portuguese capital, foreign corporations have penetrated and continue to penetrate the Portuguese colonies, and rob the colonies of their wealth, principally by means of the rapacious plundering of their natural resources. Militarist Powers also have an interest in the preservation of the colonies; they desire, “just in case”, to have bases for the struggle against the national liberation movement and for their aggression against the peoples of Africa.

16. Thus, the attempts to preserve the bastions of colonialism must be explained as fear of the national liberation movement of the peoples of the African continent and a desire to perpetuate the ruthless exploitation of people and natural resources; a similar construction may be put on the feverish efforts of the opponents of peace and international security to keep alive at any cost the smouldering embers of the ceaseless armed conflicts on the African continent.

17. At the same time as they deliver armaments to the colonial troops, the allies of the racist régimes hypocritically urge the oppressed peoples to liberate themselves from the shackles of colonialism by peaceful means.

18. It may be asked whose fault it is that a peaceful settlement has not been achieved in Guinea-Bissau. Everyone remembers that, as recently as the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Amílcar Cabral, the acknowledged leader of the people of Guinea-Bissau, proposed that agreement should be reached by peaceful means on the granting of independence to the people of Guinea-Bissau. But what answer did the Portuguese colonialists give? They had Amílcar Cabral killed by hired murderers.

19. However, it is not the will of the oppressors, but the will of the people which decides the question of independence. The right of nations to self-determination, as it is embodied in the United Nations Charter and proclaimed in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, does not depend on the willingness or unwillingness of the colonialists to acknowledge that right.

20. The people of Guinea-Bissau were able to stand their ground and to win their independence in the lengthy struggle against the Lisbon régime, which enjoyed the support of its NATO partners. The terrorism, genocide and other barbarous means of warfare employed by the oppressors were unable to break the will of the people for freedom and independence.

21. The people of Guinea-Bissau, through their elected People's National Assembly, have proclaimed the formation of their independent State, and it is the duty of the United Nations to help that State to exercise its sovereignty over the territory, a part of which is still occupied by Portugal.

22. It must also be stressed that in the struggle for the full exercise of sovereignty over the whole of their territory, the patriots of Guinea-Bissau are acting not only in the interests of their own people but also in the interests of other African States, in the interests of the complete decolonization of the African continent.

23. Indeed, which is more in keeping with the interests of the African States and the cause of peace: the perpetuation of Portugal's colonial domination, even if only over a part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau—a domination which has more than once threatened the security of neighbouring States, or the formation of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has solemnly proclaimed:

“As regards international relations, the State of Guinea-Bissau wishes to maintain and develop ties of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with its neighbours—the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal—with all independent African States and with all States throughout the world which recognize its sovereignty and support the national liberation struggle of our people.” [*A/9196 and Add.2, annex I.*]

24. Thanks to the efforts of the freedom fighters, this small country is able to carry out profound social and economic reforms which facilitate the reorganization of the whole social life of the people. Hospitals and schools for the local inhabitants have already appeared, and the efforts to eliminate illiteracy have been stepped up. General elections for the local organs of power and for the People's National Assembly were held from August to October 1972. It is perfectly natural that the socialist countries and all those who waged the struggle in the United Nations for the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization and who are now striving to achieve its full implementation should do everything in their power to contribute to and assist the efforts of the people of Guinea-Bissau to liberate their country once and for all from the Portuguese armed forces and to carry out social reforms in the territory of the Republic.

25. The 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 which travelled to Guinea-Bissau last year noted that a number of States Members of the United Nations, including the Ukrainian SSR, were helping to provide such assistance. For example, in recent years more than 130 specialists for Guinea-Bissau have been trained in

our Republic. Bearing in mind the assertion of V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, that it is essential "to support any liberation movement in the colonies not only with words but with deeds"<sup>2</sup> we will continue to support the peoples struggling for their liberation from colonial oppression. We are certain that the day is not far off when, with the active support of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces, the cause of the liberation of peoples from colonial and racial oppression will finally triumph.

26. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, as a sponsor of the draft resolution on this item [*A/L.702 and Add.1-6*], considers that the time has now come for the United Nations publicly to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Portuguese forces of occupation from Guinea-Bissau. The General Assembly must draw the Security Council's attention to the critical situation brought about by the refusal of the Portuguese Government to withdraw its troops from the territory of this independent African State, which had the misfortune to be a Portuguese colony.

27. We also consider that the General Assembly should call upon all States categorically to reject any claims on the part of Portugal that it represents the interests of Guinea-Bissau and is competent to make all arrangements affecting the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

28. The policy of the Portuguese ruling circles in Africa is absurd and has no future. The national liberation struggle has wiped from the face of the earth colonial empires which seemed much more solid and impregnable than the decrepit Portuguese engine of colonial oppression. Neither the Lisbon régime nor its NATO protectors should count on being able to check the mighty wave of the national liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies. As for the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, it is recognized and supported by a majority of the Members of the United Nations and will be able to defend its sovereignty and independence.

29. We fully support the just demand of many States Members of the United Nations and of world public opinion that military co-operation with colonialist Portugal should be halted.

30. We all know that the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa held earlier this year in Oslo, in which Ukrainian experts took part, stressed in its conclusions [*see A/9061, annex*] the urgent need for the United Nations to take action to end this military and economic co-operation and to impose an international embargo on the supply of arms and military *matériel* to Portugal, including aircraft and other means of transport, capable of being used for transporting military personnel to the colonies.

31. At its tenth session, the Organization of African Unity also categorically demanded the withdrawal of the occupying troops from the lands which had been seized and called for more assistance and support for the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa for the speedy elimination of colonialism and racism.

32. The peoples of Guinea-Bissau and of the African continent and the forces of peace and progress on our planet expect the United Nations to adopt a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Portuguese troops occupying a part of the territory of this young independent State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and the cessation of Portuguese aggression.

33. Mr. GABRE-SELLASSIE (Ethiopia): The emergence of an independent and sovereign Republic of Guinea-Bissau is yet another landmark in the unrelenting struggle of colonial peoples to regain their freedom and human dignity. This is not only a victory for the people of the new sovereign Republic, who have sacrificed so much in a valiant struggle against their former subjugator, but it is also a triumph of right over wrong, of justice over systematic oppression. It is, moreover, a courageous implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), by the oppressed peoples themselves in a singular exercise of self-help.

34. One hardly needs to be exhaustive in appraising the damage done by several centuries of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, which by now is common knowledge. In a nut-shell, the civilizing mission of Portuguese colonialism contented itself over the centuries with enslaving the peoples of its African colonies as a cheap labour force, plundering the resources of those lands for the sole benefit of Portugal, obliterating the cultural heritage of the indigenous peoples and dehumanizing them in the process.

35. The admission of Portugal to membership in the United Nations in 1956 was perhaps a mixed blessing. On the one hand, through its membership in the United Nations, Portugal gained the privilege and status of participating in the councils of nations. On the other hand, because of this very membership Portugal could no longer remain a Herculean power whose territorial possessions ostensibly stretched from metropolitan Portugal to its far-flung colonies in east, south and west Africa. Portugal's membership in the United Nations entailed its being called to account for the manner of its administration of its colonies, including the progress of the colonial peoples towards self-determination and independence. Portugal has to date persistently refused to discharge this particular obligation.

36. The indigenous peoples of the Portuguese colonies, encouraged by the wind of change, launched their struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau about the same time that Portugal was admitted to membership in the United Nations. The history of Portugal's participation in this Organization has therefore come to be characterized as a chronicle of continuous defiance of the authority of this Organization; at the same time, the Portuguese Government remains obsessed with carrying on a war of extermination in its African colonies.

37. We have stated repeatedly in the various organs of the United Nations that the defiance of Portuguese colonialism is maintained by the diplomatic support and generous military assistance granted to Portugal by some of the wealthiest nations of the world, most of which are concurrently

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, 4th ed., vol. 31, p. 185.



members of a gigantic military alliance. The supporters of Portugal persist in their misguided posture, knowing full well that they are doing so in clear violation of their obligations under the Charter and in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

38. It is against the sombre colonial record of Portugal and its continuous defiance of the authority of this Organization that my delegation hails the triumph of the embattled people of Guinea-Bissau in establishing an independent and sovereign Republic on their own motherland after an unrelenting struggle carried on over a period of 17 years.

39. One can well understand the attempt by the representative of Portugal to dismiss the reality in Guinea-Bissau with a derogatory appellation of what is clearly unpalatable to Lisbon and with the citation of seemingly irrefutable legal arguments and equally transparent insinuations.

40. To take my last point first, of all the European States which carved out colonies in the African continent, only Portugal remains oblivious to the radical changes brought about by the inexorable tide of history. The fact that, since the founding of the United Nations in 1945, hundreds of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America have been emancipated and nearly 40 new States have emerged to independence appears to lose its significance in Portugal. With the exception of those areas in which colonialism is resisting the forces of historical change, almost all the peoples of former European colonies in Africa have by now exercised their right to self-determination and independence. Yet, to date, Portugal alone can boast colonial possessions in Africa and tenaciously adhere to the long-discarded and obsolescent concept of the so-called Overseas Provinces.

41. The Portuguese Government obstinately continues to resist any reorientation of its colonial policies, in utter disregard of the Charter obligations it willingly undertook when it was admitted to membership in the United Nations in 1956.

42. The pretence of the Portuguese Government that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau does not exist and that the facts established by the Special Mission are mere fiction is, indeed, in excess of the usual resourcefulness of Lisbon. Over a year prior to the founding of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the Special Mission visited, despite Portuguese intimidation, the liberated areas of that country, and, having ascertained all the facts, it compiled its report.<sup>3</sup> The authenticity of this remarkable report is now questioned only by Portugal and perhaps by a few of its closest allies. But, however much Portugal and perhaps some others might be disenchanted by the emergence of the sovereign Republic in the former colony, Guinea-Bissau is a legally constituted State, fulfilling the requirements of international law.

43. I should like to recall here that the representative of Portugal has invoked legal arguments in his opposition to the inclusion in the agenda of the item under discussion [2156th meeting].

44. We were told by the representative of Portugal that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau does not fulfil the requirements of international law for statehood and therefore it does not exist. This position seems to my delegation to ignore the facts of the situation. Apart from the factual report of the Special Mission and the visits by independent persons, journalists and parliamentarians referred to therein, surely the Constitution that established the new Republic cannot be considered either ethereal or to have been promulgated in some celestial body. The people of Guinea-Bissau, having liberated the larger part of their country—not overnight as the Portuguese representative would have us believe, but after 17 years of sustained struggle—and having established effective authority in the liberated areas, have exercised their legitimate right to self-determination and independence. Denied by Portugal of their legitimate rights, despite the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the numerous resolutions and declarations of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the people of Guinea-Bissau were left with no alternative but to seize and wield their sovereign authority by their own arduous struggle. By so doing they gave yet another expression to the adage that freedom is seldom granted but often won. It is indeed on the basis of the foregoing considerations that some 65 Governments, including my own, have accorded recognition to the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

45. The allegations that the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau are mere “terrorists” and their sovereign State a “paper republic” thus tend to be wishful thinking and must be dismissed as unworthy of serious response.

46. Furthermore, the contention that the Governments which have recognized the new Republic are, in effect, intervening in the internal affairs of Portugal is simply a flight in the face of reality. I say this for two reasons: first, except for the Portuguese Government, no one has ever seriously entertained the illusion that Portuguese colonies in Africa, the so-called Overseas Provinces, are in fact an integral part of Portugal; secondly, whatever right the Portuguese Government might have had as a colonial administrator, it has forfeited this right by its systematic violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of its principal organs. In spite of its illegal and forcible occupation of a vast area in Africa, surely Portugal cannot claim to have any moral or legitimate authority in those regions. No one has, therefore, accorded recognition to a seceding province of metropolitan Portugal over which the Portuguese Government can claim legitimate authority.

47. The independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is now an established fact. The protection of this new State from Portuguese aggression and an illegal occupation of certain sectors of its territory is a matter of great urgency. The rendering of all possible assistance to this young State as it goes through the initial experience of statehood is no less pressing. The draft resolution circulated in document A/L.702 and Add. 1-6, of which my delegation is a sponsor, is intended to meet these requirements. Every effort has been made to formulate this draft in clear language, and my delegation is privileged to commend it for adoption. We are convinced that the adoption of the present draft will not only fulfil the Charter obligations but, by encouraging the

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1)*, chap. X, annex I.

liberation movements in the rest of the Portuguese-occupied Territories to intensify their struggle, will also help to achieve yet another victory for the United Nations in the cause of freedom, human dignity and justice.

48. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly of the United Nations is today dealing with an item on its agenda that had not been, and indeed could not have been, planned for at the opening of the twenty-eighth session.

49. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was finally proclaimed on 24 September 1973 by the elected People's National Assembly on the initiative of PAIGC. We consider the creation of this State to be an historic event in the struggle being waged by the African peoples, in which they have made many sacrifices, in order to achieve their right to self-determination and national independence.

50. The German Democratic Republic has always politically, morally and materially supported the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against colonialism and neo-colonialism. This assistance to the national liberation movements also includes active support of PAIGC. To speak of that Party without recalling Amílcar Cabral is unimaginable. Mr. Cabral made several visits to Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, the last a mere few months before his death. He was well known in my country. We are aware of the personal part that he played in the liberation of his country. It is logical, therefore, that on 2 October last the German Democratic Republic should have recognized the State of Guinea-Bissau and declared itself ready to establish diplomatic relations with it. In adopting that decision, the Government of my country was guided by the fact that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, recently created, was born from the struggle against the illegal Portuguese régime and by achieving the right of the people of Guinea-Bissau to decide for themselves.

51. This Republic has all the characteristics of a State. In the course of their arduous struggles over the years and under the leadership of PAIGC, the people of Guinea-Bissau gradually created a democratic State in the major portion of the country. Later, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was recognized by more than 70 Members of the United Nations.

52. This development was entirely in keeping with the decisions and the resolutions of the United Nations with regard to the liquidation of colonialism. I would refer the Assembly particularly to the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. That resolution affirms the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence.

53. During the last 13 years—that is to say, since that resolution was adopted—the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Security Council and other United Nations organs, have more than once had to deal with the refusal of Portugal to grant independence to the oppressed African peoples, including the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Portugal was constantly urged to put an end to its colonial régime and to fulfil the purposes and principles

of the Charter of the United Nations. It is generally known that Portugal ignores all such resolutions of the United Nations. What is even worse, by applying the most brutal methods and means Portugal endeavours to perpetuate its colonial régime. The General Assembly and other United Nations organs have repeatedly stigmatized as crimes Portugal's cruel military actions against the oppressed peoples and have constantly affirmed the legality of the liberation movements and of their struggle, whatever form it takes.

54. We raise our voice against Portugal, not as Portugal but as a colonial Power and an aggressor. The German Democratic Republic strongly condemns Portugal's colonial policies, since these constitute a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. Portugal is acting contrary to the right of peoples to self-determination. It is constantly violating the territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau, and it is responsible for the aggression against that new State. According to Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations, it is incumbent on Portugal to leave the occupied regions of Guinea-Bissau, since they form part of the territory of another State.

55. This legal situation cannot be changed by the statements of the representative of Portugal, who, in fact, defends in the General Assembly the old colonial and imperialist doctrine that might gives the right to occupy foreign territories and to oppress other peoples. That theory was applied in an era long past and is completely at variance with a democratic order under international law as it exists today.

56. What we must do now is give effect to the right of oppressed peoples in colonies to exercise self-determination. It is a matter of achieving their national independence and recognizing their States as subjects of international law, having the same rights and duties as other sovereign States.

57. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is entitled to call on other States and the United Nations to ensure that its territorial integrity is defended against Portugal's aggression. There can be no doubts on that score, having regard to the present state of affairs and the legal position.

58. The overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations agree that Portugal's scorn for the United Nations and the will of its Members cannot be tolerated any longer. That is why we consider it imperative that States which have supported Portugal in the past and are still doing so and thereby helping in its colonial and aggressive policies should put an end to such support, particularly since in the United Nations the representatives of those States constantly profess respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and declare themselves opposed to colonialism and the oppression of other peoples.

59. Very often, in this General Assembly, we hear a legitimate appeal for decisive measures to wipe out colonialist and imperialist policies for ever. But we believe that all States Members of the United Nations, when dealing with this item on the agenda, should be pleased to have the possibility of truly contributing to bringing an end to the colonialist régime of Portugal and its aggression. An affir-

mative vote on the draft resolution before us and recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau by other States constitute true and effective action, from the political point of view, in support of the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau against the Portuguese aggressors and in support of the liberation struggle of all oppressed peoples. This is the obvious practical corollary of the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination.

60. For its part, the German Democratic Republic will continue to do all in its power to support the just struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau in its efforts to achieve total liberation and independence.

61. The representative of Mauritius and other representatives have already explained the draft resolution before us in so convincing a fashion that I am able to conclude my statement at this point.

62. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Since Zambia is a country which is flanked on its eastern and western borders by the Portuguese-dominated Territories of Mozambique and Angola, it was with the greatest pleasure that we received the news of the proclamation on 24 September 1973 of the independent and sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of PAIGC. When we recall the words of the assassinated leader of PAIGC, Mr. Amílcar Cabral, when he addressed the Fourth Committee last year,<sup>4</sup> nothing could be a more fitting honour to him than the realization of the statehood of Guinea-Bissau.

63. Mr. Cabral was an agricultural engineer who set out to obtain for his people an improved political status and better living conditions. For this limited initial objective, he tried peaceful methods of effecting change, through petitions, protest marches and workers' strikes. These methods did not work. There was no alternative for Cabral but to resort to open warfare—having in mind as his ultimate goal the total liberation of his people and country from Portuguese colonial rule.

64. While at home, Cabral kept up military pressures against the occupation forces of Portugal; abroad, he visited many capitals of the world pleading the cause of his country, canvassing for moral and material support and winning the acclaim of all as leader of the most successful liberation movement in Africa south of the Sahara.

65. Mr. Cabral never gave up hope for a negotiated settlement. But as this two-pronged campaign entered its seventeenth year, he was cut down, the victim of an assassin's bullet, at the age of 48.

66. When the liberation struggle started in Angola, and then later in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the General Assembly decided under resolution 1542 (XV) that all Territories under Portuguese administration should be considered as Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. We are all aware of how on many occasions Portugal has failed, as a Member of this Organization, to comply with its obligation to steer these Territories to self-determination and independence. Portugal, instead, has clung to its antiquated policy that these

Territories are mere provinces of metropolitan Portugal and has intensified its diabolic wars against the liberation movements there.

67. In 1969, 14 African leaders promulgated the Manifesto on Southern Africa (Lusaka Manifesto),<sup>5</sup> in which a reasonable offer was made to Portugal and other colonial Powers in Africa, providing an alternative *modus operandi* for solving the problems of the Territories still under colonial rule. That offer called upon Portugal to negotiate with the liberation movements for a peaceful settlement of their legitimate and inalienable right to self-determination, rather than through armed struggle. This has been repeated by the General Assembly on a number of occasions. Under resolution 2918 (XXVII) the General Assembly deemed it imperative that Portugal should initiate at an early date negotiations with the liberation movements in Territories still under its administration.

68. Portugal, as we are all aware, not only has ignored these reasonable offers but has intensified its repression and its denial to the people of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

69. In resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". All colonial Powers—and I emphasize the word "all", which includes Portugal—were called upon to take immediate steps to transfer all powers to the people of Territories not yet independent.

70. That was 13 years ago. As is well known, Portugal finds itself in the position of being the only colonial Power—in the classical sense of the term—which is unwilling to comply with the 1960 Declaration. Portugal has, instead, waged a savage colonial war against the people of the Territories under its control, including—then—Guinea-Bissau, whose only crime has been the desire to be free. Portugal has carried out acts of aggression against the independent African States that share their borders with those Territories still under its foreign domination. The General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies have repeatedly condemned Portugal for its failure to comply with their resolutions and decisions.

71. The people of Guinea-Bissau has therefore refused to submit to Portuguese subjugation and has, through armed struggle, liberated three quarters of Guinea-Bissau; and this culminated in the very happy news of the proclamation by PAIGC; on 24 September 1973, of the sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau. This statehood has now been confirmed by the over 60 countries which have recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

72. I will not deal with the many examples which those who have spoken before me have so eloquently given with

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th meeting.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

regard to precedents confirming the Statehood of Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau is now a fact of life. It is an independent sovereign State. The task before this Assembly is therefore to take appropriate and urgent action to bring about an end to Portuguese aggression against any part of Guinea-Bissau.

73. Only two days ago, on Monday, 29 October 1973 [2158th meeting], the Ambassador of Guinea, Madame Cissé, read out in this Assembly a communication that had just been received from PAIGC drawing our attention to further acts of aggression by Portugal against Guinea-Bissau. We heard of saturation bombings and the disembarkation of air-borne troops by Portugal on the soil of Guinea-Bissau, events that have all resulted in the death of civilians in that country.

74. These events make it even more imperative and urgent that the Security Council must be immediately appraised, under Article 11, of the Charter of this serious breach of the peace by Portugal. The Security Council must take immediate measures that will ensure an end to Portuguese aggression to enable Guinea-Bissau to proceed with the task of national construction in an atmosphere of peace.

75. My delegation has often stated that a country as poor as Portugal would never be able to carry on its wars in Africa for more than a decade. Portugal is sustained by the military and financial assistance that it receives mainly from its NATO allies.

76. In August 1973, the Pentagon disclosed before the United States Sub-Committee on Africa of the House of Representatives that, for the past three years, some Portuguese Air Force officials, mostly fighter pilots, received training in the United States and at United States bases in West Germany. As a matter of fact, the Pentagon disclosure indicated that such training of Portuguese military personnel dates as far back as seven years. The Pentagon also confirmed that the United States Government has been providing financial assistance, in one form or another, to Portugal to enable her to purchase helicopters and light aircraft that are used by Portugal in Guinea-Bissau and also in Angola and Mozambique.

77. Through the co-operation of the liberation movements, fragments of NATO arms used by Portugal in the Portuguese-dominated Territories have publicly been displayed in Lusaka and their origins identified. Furthermore, a number of international correspondents who have visited Angola and Mozambique have found concrete evidence in these territories of the source of the arms used by Portugal against liberation movements. Yet the suppliers of these weapons and other forms of assistance to Portugal come before this august body to deny that they supply any such arms. They in fact do not only deny this charge but even lecture to us about their belief in and adherence to resolving colonial problems by peaceful means. This kind of hypocrisy is intolerable when the same people are supplying Portugal with the means to engage in the savage brutalisation of the peoples of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and those still under Portugal's domination in the colonial territories of Angola and Mozambique.

78. My own President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, has often pointed out that Zambia cannot consider itself free until every inch of Africa has been freed from colonial and minority rule. The historic act by the People's National Assembly in proclaiming Guinea-Bissau as an independent State was indeed a logical sequel to long gruelling years of armed struggle by the people under the leadership of PAIGC against enormous military odds. Zambia will, therefore, endeavour to do everything in its power, and within the confines of its limitations, to assist Guinea-Bissau to consolidate its statehood.

79. The record of resolutions and decisions shows that the United Nations has been an interested and concerned party in these developments. As a matter of fact, both the United Nations and its family of specialized agencies have played a significant role as a source of moral and material support—support which the General Assembly pledged as recently as last year to continue to provide to the people of Guinea-Bissau [resolution 2918 (XXVII)].

80. It is difficult to imagine how anyone here could wish to obstruct the collective resolve of Member States to see to it that the United Nations fulfils this pledge towards the people of Guinea-Bissau.

81. The proposals in draft resolution A/L.702 and Add.1-6, of which Zambia is a happy sponsor, contain reasonable and justifiable provisions that should find favour with all States Members of this Organization. This draft provides an excellent opportunity for persuading Portugal to respect and indeed honour the decisions taken by this Organization.

82. Many of us here often pay lip-service to the ideals of the United Nations while, at the same time, playing a part in making the Charter a mere scrap of paper. Only truth and realism can bring us the new start we need in improving the image of the United Nations as a world body capable of resolving problems such as the one presently under consideration. My delegation therefore commends the draft resolution and hopes that it will be widely supported.

83. Mr. NKUNDABAGENZI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): On 22 October 1973, when adopting for inclusion in the agenda, to be discussed in plenary meetings on a priority basis, the question of the 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, the General Assembly, by an affirmative vote of 88 to 7, with 20 abstentions [2156th meeting], put in motion the process of doing justice to the people of Guinea-Bissau.

84. When pleading for recognition of the honour and dignity of this people, I am only falling into step with the Organization, which has not only started consideration of this question, but has already, in resolution 1514 (XV), recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination and to free and dignified self-government.

85. Anyone who might accuse me of repeating old arguments that have been already stated in this Assembly whenever it was a question of stigmatizing the evil deeds of Portuguese colonialism on African territory, I would



answer merely that when you speak to the deaf—who are, unfortunately, also mute and blind—then you have to be patient. But the deafness, the blindness and the stubbornness of Portugal that we all know so well have prevented Portugal from bowing to the evidence.

86. History teaches us that all revolutionary movements acting comprehensively, as the liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere do, must inevitably win in the end. Thus on 24 September 1973 the people of Guinea-Bissau, standing behind their valiant leaders, broke the chains of the Portuguese slave-masters and declared their national independence. In so doing they were only exercising their legitimate and natural rights, so often recognized by this august Assembly.

87. We know full well the structure of resolution 1514 (XV), which lays down the principle that all countries and territories under foreign domination should have the right freely to govern themselves. We know, furthermore, how numerous are the resolutions adopted by this Assembly and by the Security Council which have reiterated, whenever necessary, that same right. I will only repeat resolution 312 (1972) of 4 February 1972 adopted by the Security Council, actually meeting on African soil, which states that the Security Council,

“... ”

“*Seriously concerned* at the repeated violations by the armed forces of Portugal of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States,

“*Deeply disturbed* at the reported use of chemical substances by Portugal in its colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau),

“*Recognizing* the legitimacy of the struggle of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in their demand for the achievement of self-determination and independence,

“1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and independence, as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right;

“2. *Condemns* the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and all other relevant resolutions of the Security Council;

“... ”

88. The stubbornness of Portugal, therefore, is not new. Its pitiless attacks on the independent Territories, sowing death and destruction, are not new. What Portugal is doing now in Guinea-Bissau it did yesterday against Senegal and the day before yesterday against the Republic of Guinea, and we are convinced, since we are accustomed to such behaviour, that Portugal will also carry out similar attacks against other parts of Africa.

89. Thus on 24 September 1973 the people of Guinea-Bissau only exercised their rights as recognized, naturally and legitimately, by this Assembly. Rwanda, which had

never ceased to encourage the valiant patriots of that country, warmly welcomed that event, which obviously was a new and glorious page written by Africa in its struggle for total liberation. It is common knowledge—and Portugal should not forget this—how Africa was partitioned among the imperialist Powers at the Congress of Berlin, held in 1884 and 1885, in which the African countries participated only as the sacrificial victims being immolated. As far as Africa is concerned, we have not forgotten, and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau still less.

90. If the term “Portuguese Territories” which Lisbon very generously gives to Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique were to be taken purely as a qualifying phrase, we would reply that Guinea-Bissau is and always will be African, not only because of its geographical location but also because of its traditions and its deep aspirations. And if in the eyes of Portugal the word “Portuguese” is a possessive qualification, then I can only repeat what others have already stated and restated here, that Portugal is totally blind, or is terrified of facing realities, because the idea of colonial territories belongs in dreams and in fiction.

91. Adducing a series of pseudo-legal arguments, the representative of Portugal barefacedly stated here that Guinea-Bissau was only a paper republic. My delegation wishes to reassure him that we and others, fortunately, know full well that the recognition of a new State by other States is a sovereign act; it is not to be had for the asking. More than 70 States, that is to say, more than half of the Members of this Organization, have already recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Doubtless others will follow in their footsteps. We have never thought of asking Portugal to recognize Guinea-Bissau; that would be asking too much. All we ask Portugal to do is immediately to withdraw its troops from a sovereign Territory and to put an end to its acts of aggression, and we call upon the United Nations, whose resolutions have so often been flouted, to force Portugal to obey.

92. We all know that international law postulates that for there to be a State there must be a territory, a people organized in a society and an authority capable of assuming external and domestic State functions, including in particular the establishment of effective material and legal order. I would add to that the notion of legitimacy.

93. As all previous speakers have quite justifiably stressed here, those conditions are fully realized in the case of Guinea-Bissau. The territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which covers 36,125 square kilometres, has as its northern neighbour the Republic of Senegal, which constitutes its northern border; to the south and east lies the Republic of Guinea-Conakry and to the west is the Atlantic Ocean. Those conditions, therefore, are met and Portugal can in no way challenge them.

94. The people of Guinea-Bissau, standing behind PAIGC, share that common desire to struggle for independence. Therefore, again, the formal and primary conditions exist: the will to act and to act in concert, the will to act in concert for a benefit that is shared jointly by all those living in the territory. The inhabitants of Guinea-Bissau feel—and the proof is that they have just proclaimed themselves independent—that will and determination to be free.

95. When Portugal tells us that the peoples of Guinea-Bissau do not follow their leaders does it want to make us believe that it is waging a colonial war against one man—the man who is the President of that Party—or against only two men? How is it, then, that in all these years Portugal has never been able to wipe out that minority? There is the lie that Portugal is telling us. The truth is that the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, rallying around their leaders, embarked on an irreversible process of self-determination that culminated in this solemn act, the proclamation of their national independence.

96. We are told that this power is not effective. But in that case, could Portugal tell us whether it exercises any effective power, if Portugal will allow me to derive an argument *a contrario*? Is Portugal exercising effective power militarily? Is this an occupation? What then becomes of the concept of legitimacy? Is it legitimate for a country thousands of miles from the area where these acts of aggression are being committed to claim to hold in its grip part of a continent of which it forms no part? This is absolutely shameful.

97. As a matter of fact, all peace-loving countries know that Portugal is only obediently carrying out, in certain parts of Africa, a plan of global subjugation and enslavement of peoples that was worked out by international imperialism. It is those imperialists who are providing Portugal with all military and financial resources and encouraging it to continue to sow death and desolation, not only in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau but in all the areas of Africa it continues to occupy. We therefore beg the friends of Portugal to abandon that country to its stubborn course and to refuse to assist it in the immoral aims it pursues and defends in Guinea-Bissau and elsewhere.

98. The overwhelming majority that supported the inclusion of this item in the agenda is a good indication of the path to be followed, that of reason, right and justice. A unanimous decision of the Assembly should make Portugal unable to continue its practice of sowing death in certain areas of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau—Portugal, whose arrogance towards this international Organization has been amply demonstrated, being equalled only by its scornfulness.

99. But we should also like to beseech the international Organization and its specialized agencies to come to the aid of our sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau, to assist it materially and financially so that its recently acquired independence can be consolidated.

100. Portugal, a sworn enemy of Africa, is the guilty party. An affirmative and unanimous vote in this Assembly on draft resolution A/L.702 will do justice to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

101. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): The General Assembly is now seized of the question of the 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. It was on the initiative of over 60 Powers [A/9196 and Add.1 and 2] that this item was urgently included in the agenda of the General Assembly for discussion in plenary meetings. The gist of the matter lies in the fact that the attention of the General

Assembly is being drawn to acts of aggression committed by the old colonial forces against a newly-independent Republic.

102. The birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is indeed an historical event in the liberation movements on the African continent and constitutes a deadly blow to the colonial policy of Portugal. As is known, the Mongolian People's Republic has always followed with sympathy and solidarity the legitimate struggle of the peoples under Portuguese domination and has firmly stood on their side. In keeping with its policy of all-round support to the colonial peoples for their freedom and national independence, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic wholeheartedly welcomed the emergence of the new African State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and was among the first to recognize it.

103. Despite the fact that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed as a result of the victory of the legitimate struggle of the people of that country, and as a result of the genuine, democratic expression of the will of that people, and despite the world-wide recognition accorded that Republic, the Portuguese authorities have refused to accept this reality, and, completely ignoring this true expression of the aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, have intensified their military activities against the people of the Republic. They have added new acts of aggression to their old colonial war. The military operations of a large number of Portuguese regular forces on the territory of Guinea-Bissau, and the presence of their colonial authorities in certain parts of the country, constitute not only a gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that independent State, but also a serious threat to the peace and security of the region.

104. For that reason, my delegation, together with other delegations representing nearly 60 countries, proposed the inclusion of the question under consideration in the agenda of the current General Assembly session as an important and urgent item, in the hope that the United Nations would take effective steps to ensure the removal of the illegal colonial presence from the territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the restoration of the territorial integrity of that country.

105. The recent debate in the Fourth Committee on the question of the Territories under Portuguese domination has revealed to the full extent the most inhuman, cruel methods of warfare employed by the Portuguese colonialists against the African populations of the Territories. The use of napalm and chemical substances, the genocidal massacre of civilians and the use of means of mass destruction pose a grave challenge to the United Nations and to world public opinion.

106. The United Nations and the world community should not leave Portugal unpunished. My delegation has always advocated the extension of United Nations sanctions to Portugal as long as the Portuguese colonialists persist in their colonial and aggressive policies. In connexion with the consideration of the question before us, I wish to reiterate the position of my delegation that sanctions should be applied to bring Portugal to its senses and to halt

the assistance it receives from its allies and from international monopolies.

107. Previous representatives have already spoken about the role played by certain Powers that are allies of Portugal in NATO and by powerful vested interests in supplying and financing the 300,000 Portuguese troops operating in Mozambique, Angola and certain parts of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau. It is this aid from imperialist and reactionary forces that has enabled Portugal to persist in waging colonial war on several fronts in Africa for more than 10 years and to defy the efforts of the United Nations and all progressive forces to bring down the colonial domination and inhuman exploitation in that region. It is therefore most essential that effective measures should be taken to ensure compliance with the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council by all those States to force Portugal to give up its colonial and aggressive policy once and for all.

108. The proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which already enjoys recognition by more than half the Member States of the United Nations, has dealt a serious blow to colonialism in Africa and marked a new stage in the national liberation movements of the African peoples. As article 1 of the Constitution of the Republic proclaims:

“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.*]

Article 3 of the Constitution reads as follows:

“The State shall have as its objective the complete liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde from colonialism, their unification into one State in accordance with the will of the people and the building of a society that shall create the political, economic and cultural conditions needed to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and all forms of subordination of the human being to degrading interests for the benefit of any individual, group or class.” [*Ibid.*]

109. Accordingly, the people of Guinea-Bissau in the liberated areas under the guidance of PAIGC, the vanguard of its just struggle, now not only continue the liberation war against Portuguese occupiers but have also successfully embarked upon constructing a new life and creating the material basis for national development and economic and social progress.

110. We are fully aware that in this noble endeavour the people of Guinea-Bissau need more than ever moral and material help that will help to promote the consolidation of the gains of the victorious struggle, State sovereignty and national reconstruction. My delegation joins in an appeal to all Member States, the specialized agencies and other organizations, to render all the necessary assistance to the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic will do their best to contribute to the cause of complete victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and to the elimination of the economic and social consequences of prolonged colonial domination.

111. In conclusion, I wish to express the hope that the draft resolution submitted by over 60 powers and contained in document A/L.702 and Add.1-6, of which Mongolia has the honour to be a sponsor, will receive wide support and that immediate action will follow to remove Portuguese aggression and restore the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

112. Mr. IPOTO EYEBU BAKAND'ASI (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Many delegations have spoken in the Assembly on 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”.

113. This shows, as well as anything could, the particular attention that their Governments attach to the maintenance of international peace and security and their concern to spare the lives of innocent victims, which the Portuguese military forces do not and will not hesitate to take in the State of Guinea-Bissau. The delegation of Zaire would like to associate itself with these other delegations.

114. Before this I should like to remind the Assembly of what President Mobutu said on the same subject in the General Assembly on 4 October 1973. I quote:

“the struggle for African liberation also has its moments of satisfaction, and it was with enthusiasm that we welcomed the birth of a new independent State, Guinea-Bissau. Zaire hastens to support the candidacy of that new State for membership in our Organization.

“It is obvious that Portugal feels that it has been undermined by this new victory for Africa. For, despite its belonging to NATO, despite the quantities of weapons and troops used to keep Guinea-Bissau under its thumb, the daughters and sons of that country have just thrown Portuguese colonialism out of their national territory. Thus any new intervention on the part of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau will have to be considered as aggression, pure and simple, against an independent State.” [*2140th meeting, paras. 128-129.*]

115. Portugal continues to violate the United Nations Charter. It places a distorted interpretation on Chapter XI without this giving rise to reaction on the part of its allies and friends, which as founding Members of the Organization should have complete respect for the Charter. To those who, in our view, bear the same responsibility as Portugal, to those who are arming Portugal so that it can intensify its acts of barbarism in Africa, to those who are giving substantial financial assistance in order to perpetuate domination over the black peoples, to those—yes, to those—we say that we shall never tire of reminding them of the spirit in which Chapter XI was introduced in the Charter of the Organization.

116. You may rest assured, I shall not attempt to seek this spirit in the considerations which were formulated at the time by supposedly anti-colonialist States. The statement of the representative of the United Kingdom at the San Francisco Conference, as reproduced in the United Nations publication entitled *Progress of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under the Charter*, has the double advantage of being

precise and of expressing the views of a State which to this day is a great colonial State. I quote:

“Out of our experience, and that of other Colonial Powers, there have been gradually evolved certain general principles. . . . One general principle can be laid down which applies to all dependent territories. In every area, whether backward or advanced, there must be a duty on Colonial Powers to train and educate the indigenous peoples to govern themselves. And that . . . is the main purpose of Colonial Government. . . . What do these peoples want? . . . they want liberty. Let us give them liberty. They want justice. Let us give them justice. They want all that we comprehend in the term ‘free institutions’. Let us give them that. Let us train them, educate them, let us give them the benefit of our resources and our experience. Let us help them to climb the rungs of the ladder of self-government.”<sup>6</sup>

So much for Chapter XI of the Charter.

117. Portugal is stubborn in its refusal to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council with regard to the Territories under its domination.

118. On 14 December 1973 we shall be marking the thirteenth anniversary of the Assembly's adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That document, which at a very appropriate time made explicit the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, has done nothing to change the conduct of the colonialist Portuguese régime with regard to the Territories and peoples under its domination. The resolutions adopted by the Security Council are purely and simply disregarded, while the appeals to Portugal to enter into negotiations with the authentic representatives of the peoples it has colonized have been cries in the wilderness.

119. In the meantime, Portuguese military forces continue illegally to occupy part of the national territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau; they continue to massacre the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, as we are reminded by the valiant and poignant testimony of the Reverend Father Hastings with regard to the large-scale massacres perpetrated by Portugal in Mozambique in its determination to preserve the mirage of a colonial empire, contrary to the current of liberation which is channelling the aspirations of the peoples.

120. Zaire condemns these acts of violence, which constitute real State terrorism against peoples that are asking only for their rehabilitation as free men and their right to self-determination and national independence.

121. Previous speakers have exposed the sources of Portugal's force, superior to its own capacity, and the arrogance which contrasts so markedly with its known nature. I should like in turn to remind you that it is Portugal's membership of NATO and the financial and material assistance which its allies and friends give it in exchange for certain advantages that are not very noble in comparison

with the world dreamt of by the authors of the Charter, that is, a world from which war would be banished for ever. Alas!

122. It is time to call a halt to the deliberate attempts at weakening the Organization and erecting obstacles to it at every step. As President Mobutu said on 4 October 1973:

“Severe criticism is often levelled at [the United Nations] from many quarters—by some because it does not fully meet their aspirations, and by others because it is not at their beck and call.

“For our part, without passing any value judgements on the United Nations—and we are certainly far from wishing to make an assessment of it here—we do note in Zaire that the achievements of the United Nations are more positive than are its shortcomings. We hope that, thanks to it and through it, we shall be able to do more to promote co-operation among the inhabitants of our planet in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields, for the building of a better, fairer and more just world, in absolute respect for the authenticity of everyone.” [2140th meeting, paras. 205-206.]

123. The situation in Guinea-Bissau calls for more urgent and energetic measures on the part of the Security Council before it is too late. In this regard, operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/L.702, although soberly worded, clearly reflects this wish.

124. In Africa the specter of war exists because of the acts of aggression committed by Portuguese troops against the people of Guinea-Bissau and against the African States which are neighbours of the Territories under Portuguese domination; because of British complicity with the white settlers of Rhodesia; because of the extreme racism which has been instituted by the white minority of South Africa in order better to enslave the coloured peoples; and, finally, because of the continuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the champions of the abominable policy of *apartheid*.

125. Fortunately, however, Africa has right and reason on its side, plus its wisdom and courage; and it will not yield as easily as one might think to becoming an arena for aggressors and their allies and friends, who are so nostalgic for a past which has disappeared for ever.

126. Where are the delegations of the countries whose representatives framed the Charter of our Organization?

127. Where are the delegations of those countries which so resolutely committed their peoples “to reaffirm [their] faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”?

128. Let those who call themselves our friends prove it today by voting in favour of the draft resolution submitted by more than 40 delegations, including my own, in document A/L.702 and Add.1-6.

<sup>6</sup> See United Nations publication, Sales No. 60.VI.B.1, vol. 3, pp. 1-2.