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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

**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. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Our General Assembly is at present considering agenda item 107. On this occasion I have the honour of making a statement on behalf of 18 delegations of the Arab States Members of the United Nations.

2. On 24 September last the people of Guinea-Bissau decided solemnly to proclaim the accession to independence and national sovereignty of the State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, after 17 years of struggle, suffering and sacrifice. That day marked a turning-point in the tremendous struggle waged for the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism.

3. The People's National Assembly, which was elected last year and represents the people of Guinea-Bissau, proclaimed the emergence of a new State as a sovereign, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Republic, whose primary objectives are the total liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and the creation of a union of the two territories so as to build an African country which is strong and moving towards progress.

4. The proclamation of the new State did not come as a surprise, since its emergence had already been announced to us last year after the visit of the United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau in April 1972. The report of the Mission<sup>1</sup> confirmed the existence in the liberated areas of popular organs of an effective State structure.

5. Thus, after all those years of battle, sacrifice and suffering which had been inflicted by one of the most repressive

colonial régimes, the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde finally threw off the yoke under which they had lived and affirmed their identity as an African people and their ability to govern themselves.

6. The colonialist Portuguese authorities have waged a persistent aggressive war against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. In the course of the last few years the Fascist authorities of Lisbon have intensified their barbarous struggle in a desperate attempt to avoid defeat. Not having succeeded in recovering control of the region—two thirds of which is already administered by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [*PAIGC*]<sup>1</sup>—the Portuguese authorities had recourse to extensive aerial bombings, destroying villages, schools and hospitals and massacring civilian populations, in a vain attempt to intimidate the people and to undermine its will to resist.

7. Besides its armed aggression, Portugal has engaged in plundering the resources of the new sovereign State, in assimilating its people through the imposition of alien social structures for the purpose of preventing the free development of the culture of the real people of Guinea-Bissau. After five centuries of the civilizing mission of Portugal, the population of Guinea-Bissau was 99.7 per cent illiterate, with only 14 university graduates.

8. The people of Guinea-Bissau has not been alone in its struggle against colonialism. Our General Assembly, the Security Council and various other organs of the United Nations have been at their side, supporting their just struggle. But Portugal, always ignoring United Nations resolutions and the wishes of world public opinion, has intensified its military and other activities of repression against the Territories in question.

9. On one of those African territories, namely Guinea-Bissau, the people, organized and led by *PAIGC*, undertook and successfully waged an heroic armed struggle to recover the inalienable right that had already been recognized as belonging to them by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Guinea-Bissau has become an independent and sovereign State. This is a fact. It is likewise true that, although the greater part of the people of Guinea-Bissau is today free and sovereign in the greater part of the national territory, the independence of the Republic is nevertheless being flagrantly violated by the same Portuguese Government, whose military forces continue not only to occupy illegally certain sectors of the new State, but also to perpetrate atrocious criminal acts against the population. Three days ago, the representative of Guinea read in this Assembly a press release concerning recent criminal aggressions on the part of Portugal against the young Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. X, annex I.

10. It does not strike us as at all strange to see the Portuguese Government persevering in its colonialist and aggressive policy. In this matter it has always been in the forefront. Its position with regard to Israel at the time of Israel's latest aggression, on 6 October, against the Syrian Arab Republic and Egypt, and the assistance it has given to Israel, prove the colonialist nature of that Government.

11. Portugal has no right whatsoever to keep that African territory under military occupation, nor to exploit its material and human resources. This is contrary to the will of the people of Guinea-Bissau and to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The occupation by Portugal of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is illegal and its activities, consequently, are acts of aggression. Portugal's attitude is a threat to international peace and security.

12. In the name of the principles of the Charter, the delegations of the Arab States energetically condemn Portugal's illegal occupation of a part of Guinea-Bissau and firmly demand that Portugal immediately withdraw its armed forces and its administration from the Territory.

13. Our Organization can no longer tolerate the continuation of Portugal's violation of the fundamental aims enshrined in the Charter. The time has come to take every effective collective measure to put an end to this threat to peace and to prevent new acts of aggression by Portugal against the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The international community must use every means at its disposal to compel Portugal to desist immediately from any new violation of its international obligations.

14. In order to bring an earlier end to Portuguese aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, the international community must perform another duty. I refer to the urgent necessity of initiating concerted action, on an international level, to assist the new State in its task of reconstruction and progress. We must urgently give material assistance to the population to help it in combating famine and disease.

15. To conclude, the delegations of the Arab States to the United Nations express the firm conviction that the people of Guinea-Bissau will successfully overcome every obstacle and difficulty along the course on which they have set out. The Arab delegations are certain that the draft resolution submitted by 65 delegations [*A/L.702 and Add.1-7*] will receive the support of the overwhelming majority of the Members of this Assembly.

16. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Yemen) (*interpretation from French*): Our brother Ambassador Haissam Kelani of the Syrian Arab Republic has just stated, on behalf of his own delegation and the other Arab delegations, our attitude in regard to agenda item 107.

17. I am speaking, however, and rather briefly, to emphasize in particular once more the great importance my delegation attaches to this question, and to give our unreserved support to the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau and solemnly greet the leaders of PAIGC.

18. The priority given to the discussion in plenary meetings of the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic not only is justified, but is also proof that the majority of Member States demand that our Organization take the necessary measures to put an end to that occupation.

19. The proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, on 24 September 1973, marks a stage of vital importance in the history of the liberation movements that are fighting for independence and human dignity. The heroic battle which has been and is being waged by the brother people of Guinea-Bissau once again proves that the struggle for independence is not only sacred but also essential for all peoples that remain under colonial domination or under the occupation of foreign forces.

20. The people of Guinea-Bissau, under the leadership of PAIGC, have now said that there is no force that can prevent the total liberation and accession to independence of a people which is determined to liberate its territory and is prepared to make great sacrifices for its country to be free at last. It has been said that independence is not given, it must be won. By its unflagging will to liberate its national territory from the colonial yoke of Portugal, which is the beneficiary of effective aid from its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*], and because of the unity of the African people, Guinea-Bissau has just won its right to life.

21. The glorious fighter Amílcar Cabral never lost confidence in the victory of his people. Colonialism believed that assassinating him would silence him; but today his words, his acts, his faith in his people, and his certainty of ultimate victory confirm how great was his personality and how great was his courage. His fellow-citizens and his friends, the leaders of the PAIGC, will continue the battle until the departure of the last soldier of the Portuguese colonialist army.

22. The forces of imperialism and colonialism, which wish to continue the policy of occupation and exploitation, can never—whatever they may do—halt the historical movement of the people of Guinea-Bissau. The Portuguese colonial authorities, together with their collaborators in Pretoria, Salisbury and Tel Aviv, are foredoomed. The victory of the forces of the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and the Middle East is an irrefutable fact. It is part of the new reality of geopolitics.

23. The colonial authorities of Lisbon are endeavouring to intensify their illegal military occupation of the territory of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Can anyone believe that they will thereby be able to intimidate that heroic people? Contemporary history is there to demolish that myth. The time for myths is past. The time of the myths of military superiority, of occupation by force, of punitive expeditions and of invincibility has passed. Our brothers in Guinea-Bissau, like our brothers who are fighting for independence in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Middle East, are daily giving increasing proof of this.

24. The Charter of the United Nations has always been violated by the Government of Portugal and by other

Governments of a similar nature—that is, those who practise a policy of military force, occupation and imperialist arrogance and scorn the resolutions of our Organization. Is it not time for those of us who respect the Charter to take a decision to apply Article 6? Why should there be any hesitation about giving an international lesson to the Government of Portugal, which defies the majority of our Assembly? The proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau should be interpreted within the context of Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, the United Nations should celebrate the victory achieved by the people of Guinea-Bissau, which we are certain will be a Member which will respect all the provisions of the Charter.

25. The Portuguese Government, which follows a fallacious and irresponsible policy, tries to ignore that political reality, but that does not prevent us from recognizing that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is an independent and sovereign State, and that Lisbon is flagrantly violating the independence of that State, not only by the illegal occupation of certain sectors but also by perpetrating criminal acts against the population of Guinea-Bissau. This is why the United Nations is called upon to take immediately the measures necessary to consolidate the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

26. My delegation notes that more than 70 countries—my own among them—have already recognized the new Republic. It is therefore fitting that we should ask that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau be seated among us and that the Assembly should demand the withdrawal of the Portuguese occupation forces. Portugal's defiance in continuing to occupy certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is not only defiance of the people of Guinea-Bissau; it is also defiance of the international community. It is time for us to act.

27. My delegation has the honour to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution before the General Assembly. We are certain the Assembly will adopt it by an overwhelming majority and that it will unreservedly condemn the illegal occupation of the territory of a sovereign and independent State. This will be a victory not only for the people of Guinea-Bissau but for all the peoples fighting for their independence, and it will be in accordance with the principles of the Charter as defined and upheld by Member States. Thus that heroic people will be able to count on the support of the international community so that it will be able to devote itself to the task of economic and social development.

28. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq): The question of Portuguese colonialism in Africa has been thoroughly and intensively discussed for the last 13 years. Since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have adopted several resolutions calling upon Portugal to abandon its colonial policies in the Territories under its domination and urging it to reach a peaceful settlement in consultation with the representatives of the peoples of those Territories. Instead of responding positively to these resolutions and to the pressure of international public opinion, Portugal has adopted policies of further repression and violence. It has gone to the extent of committing massacres of civilians and bombarding civilian

villages. The freedom fighters were convinced that Portugal would not yield to international pressure, that it would continue its colonial policies, and that the only way left to them was to take up arms to force the colonialists to recognize the rights of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and other Territories. The struggle was victorious, and the freedom fighters under the courageous and able leadership of PAIGC have been able to liberate large areas of their territory. Their successful armed struggle has achieved many important results.

29. PAIGC has provided the people of Guinea-Bissau with an administration which was able to achieve progress for them. Although PAIGC was engaged in the fighting against the Portuguese colonialists, this struggle did not prevent them from establishing schools, hospitals, and all other facilities that are necessary for the well-being of their people.

30. A Special Mission of the Special Committee had an opportunity to visit the liberated areas in Guinea-Bissau. Its report, which was approved by the Special Committee, contained very clear and undeniable evidence that the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau have achieved self-government under the wise leadership of PAIGC. The report also showed the strong links that exist between the people and PAIGC.

31. It is not only the Special Committee or its Special Mission that confirms the fact that PAIGC controls large areas of the Territory; scores of journalists from different parts of the world have done so too. These journalists have published articles and photographs of the liberated areas which they visited in Guinea-Bissau. These achievements have increased the contacts and the confidence of the people of Guinea-Bissau in their leadership. The people have accepted its political programme as the only means of ridding themselves of colonial domination and establishing a prosperous life.

32. PAIGC tried for a long time to reach a peaceful settlement with the colonial authorities and continued to attempt to do so after it had liberated large areas of their Territories from the yoke of Portuguese colonialism. Portugal, however, continued its same policies. It went to the extent of denying the existence of the national liberation movement. The great African patriot, Amílcar Cabral, was willing to achieve a peaceful settlement. The answer of the colonialists to this noble appeal was to assassinate him. Thus, PAIGC was forced to reach the conclusion that the declaration of independence was but a factual expression of the reality of the situation in Guinea-Bissau.

33. PAIGC is in control of large areas of Guinea-Bissau. It is in *de facto* control of the largest part of the Territory. The people of the Territory have the greatest confidence in PAIGC and its Government.

34. The Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is behaving according to the principles of international law. The last resolution adopted by the General Assembly, resolution 2918 (XXVII), confirmed that the national liberation movement is the authentic representative of Guinea-Bissau. The resolution requested Portugal to negotiate with the national liberation movement in order to implement the

right of the people to self-determination and independence. It demanded the immediate cessation by Portugal of its colonial war and the withdrawal of its military and other forces from the Territory. The Security Council adopted resolution 322 (1972) which confirmed the same principles. The late Amílcar Cabral was ready, as I stated before, to negotiate with Portuguese authorities. Portugal did not take any steps regarding these resolutions and appeals. While the Government of Portugal is not behaving according to the principles of international law, we note, on the other hand, that the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is abiding by these principles by bringing to the attention of the world community the illegal occupation by Portugal of parts of its Territory, and seeking the support of our Organization to put a quick end to this occupation.

35. In the view of my delegation, the draft resolution which is before the General Assembly and which we have the honour to sponsor [*A/L.702 and Add. 1-7*] is in conformity with the resolutions adopted previously by the Security Council and the General Assembly regarding Guinea-Bissau. Our Organization has the responsibility of maintaining peace and security in the world. It also should act according to the purposes and principles of the Charter. One of the fundamental principles of the Charter is the right of self-determination and independence. There will be no peace in the world if the colonial and imperial Powers continue to dominate peoples and to impose their stooges or alien elements on the peoples of the world. Peace should be built on the respect of the right of all peoples to live in freedom, without interference or domination.

36. We in the Arab world are facing the same arrogance of Powers as our brothers in Africa. It is not a matter of coincidence that we are facing an unholy alliance between the United States of America, South Africa, Portugal and Israel. All of these States are aiming for the same goal—that is—to perpetuate their domination and occupation. We hope that the world community will succeed in putting an end to foreign and alien domination, for these are the main factors that are disturbing peace and security in the world today.

37. Since the declaration of independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, we have noted important signs of solidarity in the world community. There is an increasing number of States that have recognized the Government of Guinea-Bissau, more than 70 States have already done so, including my own Government.

38. The General Committee adopted the item which we are discussing now. A draft resolution has been introduced by more than 60 delegations, among them my own. All these aspects of solidarity with the people of Guinea-Bissau will serve the cause of international peace based on justice and respect for the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

39. Finally, my delegation expresses its sincere hope that the General Assembly will vote by an overwhelming majority in favour of this draft resolution as an expression of its support for the cause of the peoples that have suffered and are still suffering from the atrocities and evils of colonialism and imperialism.

40. Mr. MALO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The proclamation of a new sovereign State as the result of a long and determined struggle for national liberation against a centuries-old occupation is always an important and very solemn event for a people that has finally been able to impose its will to live freely and independently. It is also an important event for all of progressive mankind. That is why the peace-loving States have whole-heartedly welcomed the decision of the first People's Assembly of Guinea-Bissau, which, meeting on 24 September last in the liberated areas, proclaimed the independence of the country and created the sovereign State.

41. The fact that in a very short time that new State has been recognized by more than 70 States, and that at the meeting of the General Assembly on 22 October [*2156th meeting*] 88 countries voted in favour of the inclusion in the agenda of the item we are now discussing, is in itself very significant and a source of encouragement to the new Republic proclaimed on the African continent.

42. The Albanian delegation wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to express from the rostrum of this Assembly the joy of the people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania on the proclamation of the independent and sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau. We should like to inform the General Assembly that Albania recognized the new State in a telegram sent on 16 October by the President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, to Mr. Francisco Mendes, President of the Council of Commissioners of the State of Guinea-Bissau. That telegram reads as follows:

“On the occasion of the proclamation of the national independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, on behalf of the people of Albania, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania as well as on my own behalf, our warmest greetings and best wishes. I also have the honour to inform you that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania recognizes Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands as an independent and sovereign State. The people of Albania, which has always supported the just armed struggle for liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands against the Portuguese colonizers, sincerely rejoices at this great victory of historic importance and whole-heartedly wishes you further victories in the struggle for the total liberation of the country and in building a new life.”

43. The proclamation of the sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau, this new anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Republic, is an act which has resulted from the unshakable will of a people struggling to live in freedom and independence, to rid itself once and for all of a centuries-old, anachronistic foreign domination, which smacks of the Middle Ages. It is the result of a long armed struggle, waged for 17 years by a small people left in unimaginable backwardness and exploited in the most shameless manner, a people which has been able to inflict successive defeats on the Portuguese colonizers and liberate large areas which now constitute two thirds of the territory, confining the enemy to the cities and finally taking the initiative away from them. Neither savage repressive measures nor the modern means of warfare with which



Portugal has been supplied by its allies the American imperialists, nor the actual genocide against the civilian population, not the chemical means used to destroy the vegetation, not the intrigues and manœuvres of the Portuguese colonizers, not their ignoble crimes—like the assassination in January this year of the eminent leader of PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral—have destroyed the will of that valiant peace-loving people.

44. Its response was a general counter-attack during this year by the revolutionary armed forces, the great victories won by them over the large forces of Portuguese colonizers, armed with modern weapons, the occupation of the strategic base of Guiledje and the recovery of a large number of weapons and other material. The crowning glory of these victories on the battlefield was the proclamation of the independence of the country and the creation of the new sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau, which, in our opinion, should take its rightful place in the United Nations as soon as possible.

45. The struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands to be free and independent is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples of Africa to root out colonialism. It proves that the process of the complete liberation of peoples under colonial domination is irreversible.

46. The creation of the State of Guinea-Bissau is in conformity with the purposes of the Charter. It is well known that for a long time the Security Council, the General Assembly and the relevant Committees have had to deal continually with the question of Portugal and its backward and Fascist Government, which, obstinately pursuing its colonial war, has most arrogantly defied the international community.

47. Contrary to this attitude of the colonialists, the leaders of the struggle for the liberation of Guinea-Bissau invited a Special Mission of the United Nations to go to the liberated territories. This Mission, which went to the liberated areas in April 1972, after its return presented a report which has been greatly appreciated by the majority of Member States. In its report the Special Mission recognized that the struggle for the liberation of territories was continuing to make progress, that Portugal no longer exercised effective administrative control over vast areas of Guinea-Bissau and that PAIGC enjoyed the support of the populations of the liberated areas, over which it freely exercised administrative control. The Mission emphasized the great efforts made in those areas to set up a new administration, to consolidate power and to develop education, health services and economic and social life as a whole.

48. Members of the Assembly will recall the cynical attitude of the Government of Portugal and of its representative here in regard to these findings. They will recall the venomous and insulting words of the representative of that country on 22 October in this Assembly directed against the sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau, calling it a fiction; against the people of Guinea-Bissau, representing them as a band of terrorists; against the United Nations Special Mission, representing it as a group of persons who have allowed themselves to be deceived; and against the majority of the Member States that have recognized the new State.

49. That language, coming as it does from the representative of a State that belongs to the Middle Ages, Portugal, does not surprise us. It is the language of the most authentic representatives of all the reactionary régimes in history. It brings to mind the language of representatives of the States that constituted the Holy Alliance at the beginning of the last century, who considered that the representatives of liberation movements in Europe were bandits. Nearer to our own times, it reminds representatives of the peoples and countries that waged a bloody and lengthy battle for national liberation against fascism of the language of the Nazis, who, despite the successive defeats inflicted on their armies by the partisan forces, continued to assert that there were no partisans, no resistance, no liberation armies, but only terrorists.

50. It seems that the Government of Portugal and its representatives are living in another age when they dare to make such declarations before this Assembly, where the majority of Member States were looked on not so long ago in the same way as the Lisbon Government now looks on the new State of Guinea-Bissau.

51. Whether or not the Portuguese colonialists and their allies wish it, the new State of Guinea-Bissau is now a reality that cannot be brought down either by Portugal or by any other force in the world. Its creation is a very important step and shows that the struggle for final victory and for the total liberation of the territories of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands has entered its decisive phase.

52. The occupation by Portuguese armed forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is an illegal act. The occupation and the acts of aggression committed against the people of the Republic are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and must be severely condemned. It is therefore the duty of our Organization to take every necessary measure to restore the territorial integrity of the Republic. We harbour no illusions that the Lisbon Government, which has shown the same scorn for the decisions of the United Nations as the racist régime of Pretoria and the Zionists in Israel, will heed the voice of reason of the majority of the international community.

53. It is not difficult to know whence Portugal, the poorest and most backward country in Europe and the weakest of all the colonial Powers, draws encouragement to dare to maintain its occupation of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, to continue to commit acts of aggression against the Republic and to defy with effrontery the independent countries of the African continent and the majority of the States Members of the United Nations. It is the United States and its allies that encourage Portugal. Thus, a small people like that of Guinea-Bissau has imposed its will, by its struggle to be free and independent, not only on Portugal but also on Portugal's NATO allies, and in the first place on the United States, to which the Lisbon Government has sold parts of the territory of Portugal, transforming that country into an aggressive base for the greatest imperialist Power of our time.

54. By acting in this way, the Portuguese colonialists who would stifle the new African Republic have endangered the vital interests of the Portuguese people themselves and have made Portugal an armoury and an accomplice in the

aggressive policy of American imperialism against the freedom of other peoples. In the course of the tragic events of this month, when the peoples of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic and the Palestinian people fought valiantly with singular self-sacrifice against the Israeli aggressors and occupiers, progressive mankind and freedom-loving States noted with repugnance the ignoble role of Portugal, which had become a base from which the United States sent and continues to send to Israel the most modern weapons to rescue it from the defeat which the armies of the Arab countries had inflicted on that aggressor State. In the new plot which the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have hatched with a view to undermining the Arab peoples' will to fight, to bring them to their knees and to maintain the former situation of "no war, no peace", Portugal has participated as a mercenary. That is a role which will always be despicable.

55. The delegation of Albania, which has always condemned the aggressive war of the Portuguese colonialists against the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique and has supported the liberation struggle of those peoples, energetically condemns the policy of the Lisbon Government in continuing to occupy certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as well as the repeated acts of aggression committed against the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

56. The delegation of Albania believes that this Assembly should severely condemn Portugal and those who assist it and that Member States to which freedom and national independence are dear must provide general support and necessary assistance to the new African State of Guinea-Bissau. They must shoulder their responsibilities in this matter by adopting sanctions to compel Portugal to withdraw immediately from the occupied territories of Guinea-Bissau. By acting in that way they will not only be providing effective support to the new Republic and its sorely tried people but will also be assisting the cause of security in Africa.

57. In conclusion, we should like to express the conviction that the State of Guinea-Bissau, by its indomitable struggle, will drive out the aggressive forces of the Portuguese colonialists from its entire territory and that the flag of the new Republic will always fly with pride alongside the flags of the other independent States of Africa. In this way, and because of its struggle and final victory over the colonialists, the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau will be of great assistance even to the Portuguese people, at present one of the most oppressed and exploited peoples, left in the greatest backwardness by a handful of anachronistic colonialists.

58. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): The draft resolution which is before this meeting seeks to extend the welcome of the United Nations to the new State of Guinea-Bissau, to condemn the Government of Portugal for its continuing aggression against this State, to call for appropriate action by the Security Council and to invite Member States and all United Nations bodies to assist Guinea-Bissau in the difficult task of development which it now faces. My delegation gives the fullest support to it.

59. Jamaica responded promptly to the news of the proclamation of independence of the State of Guinea-Bissau

and quickly extended our welcome and our recognition. We were among the first to do so. We have a proud record in the matter of our support of the struggle for freedom of the people of Africa and of the liberation movements; for, though we are a small country, we believe in the principle that freedom is indivisible, and that as long as there are people on this earth who are not free, none of us is really free.

60. In the recent discussions of *apartheid* in the Special Political Committee, our delegation welcomed the growing offensive led by the national liberation movements against Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, and referred to the significance of the admission of the liberation movements as observers in the United Nations. We look forward to the complete liberation of the people of Africa. And so we rejoiced with others when Guinea-Bissau proclaimed its freedom and we welcome it to the family of nations.

61. Much has been said in this discussion about the actual situation in Guinea-Bissau. And we have heard the comments of the spokesman for the Government of Portugal, which are designed to create doubts about the validity of the declaration of independence. But, understandably, my delegation looks elsewhere for information and for views on this issue.

62. The proclamation issued by the authorities of Guinea-Bissau tells us that after 17 years of political and armed struggle, the people of that country have constructed a new life and possess a constantly evolving administrative organization, social and cultural services, a judicial system, a steadily developing economy and national armed forces. It tells us also of the determination of the people of Guinea-Bissau to participate in international life, particularly in the United Nations, where they will be able to make their contribution to solving the fundamental problems of our times, both in Africa and in the world at large.

63. The Chairman of the Council of State of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Luiz Cabral, in his address on the occasion of the proclamation of independence, tells us: "Our State of Guinea-Bissau is a reality that no power on earth can destroy". And the representative of Madagascar, in his statement in this debate [2158th meeting], tells us that the people of Guinea-Bissau have shown that they prefer to be Guineans of Africa rather than Portuguese of Guinea.

64. It is small comfort to those who suffer now and to those who will die before this struggle is over, that the day will surely come when people throughout the world—and even in Portugal—will look back at these times and will marvel that it took so much sacrifice and so much suffering to establish in the 1970s a principle and a right that are so elementary and yet so basic.

65. For the freedom to be yourself, for men and for nations, is the most basic and fundamental of all rights; and the people of Guinea-Bissau, and other peoples of Africa now struggling for their freedom will join those who before have fought for and won this right. Speakers on this issue have recalled the cases of the United States of America, Algeria and Brazil. And there are many others.

66. The representative of Portugal tells us that his country was granted admission into the United Nations in 1955 as a sovereign State, with rights and obligations that were identical with those of other Members. We have seen no evidence, in the matters relating to the declaration of independence by Guinea-Bissau, or in other matters concerning the Portuguese-held Territories of Africa, of the awareness or acceptance by Portugal of those most sacred of all the obligations of Member States, which relate to the rights of people to self-determination and freedom.

67. We join with others who have sponsored the draft resolution in condemning the policies of the Government of Portugal, in continuing its occupation of parts of Guinea-Bissau and its acts of aggression against the people of that State.

68. What are the obligations and responsibilities of the United Nations in these matters and what are the responsibilities of Member countries?

69. It is the view of my delegation that for the United Nations, the emergence of the new State of Guinea-Bissau in the particular circumstances involved, represents an occurrence of symbolic significance.

70. This Organization is 28 years old. During this period a large number of countries have achieved independence and have become Members of the United Nations. For something like 10 years, the people of Guinea-Bissau have fought a war for their freedom. During this time, the United Nations has pronounced on the legitimacy of the liberation struggle, has appealed to Member countries to help the Territories involved in this fight, and has called on the Portuguese to withdraw their forces and to negotiate with the leaders of the liberation movement. Now, Guinea-Bissau has proclaimed its independence. This situation presents an opportunity to the United Nations and its membership to demonstrate in practical terms the true meaning of the brave and high-sounding words of the Charter and of the resolutions and pronouncements on the Portuguese Territories, and particularly those relating to the right of all people to self-determination.

71. Again, the United Nations system possesses resources which can be of the greatest assistance to the new State in its development efforts. What are the obligations and the responsibilities of Member States in all of this?

72. First, there are those among the membership of this Organization who have known the realities of colonialism and have gained their independence. It is our belief that they, from the depth of their own experience, should provide support and encouragement to the new State, against the problems of war and of development which face that State.

73. Then there are those who have exercised sovereignty over other Territories, but who now declare their adherence to the principle of the right to self-determination. Let us urge these countries, along with those others who are included under the title of "the developed countries", to mark the case of Guinea-Bissau and understand its significance. For there is a greater danger that in the pursuit of

propriety in the strictly legal sense, the effect of their actions may be the condoning and the perpetuation of injustice.

74. An opportunity exists for all of us to help to right a wrong that goes back across the centuries; and over this period the Portuguese presence in Guinea-Bissau has not conferred upon the people of that country those blessings, in the form of social and economic progress, which the colonial Power would have us believe are a part of the joy of that long association.

75. And so, the draft resolution calls on all Member States, as well as on the United Nations, "To render all necessary assistance to the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its national reconstruction and development programmes".

76. My delegation gives its full endorsement to the draft resolution and urges all Members to support it.

77. Mr. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone): The title of this item is not a figment of the imagination of its sponsors. Rather, we were merely echoing the words of that eminent son of Africa, that great fighter, Amílcar Cabral. When he appeared before the Security Council<sup>2</sup> during its meetings in February 1972, in Addis Ababa, Mr. Cabral told the Council that the people of Guinea-Bissau had already achieved self-determination through nine years of armed struggle and possessed all the component parts of a State in development. He said that the people would shortly elect regional councils and a people's national assembly. The creation of an elected national assembly, he felt, would represent a major step forward towards *de jure* recognition of the independence of Guinea-Bissau by foreign countries.

78. PAIGC has been considering such a significant step since 1969, but had preferred to wait until all the conditions existed before entering into what would be a new phase in the struggle for independence. The conditions had then been fulfilled and the people had already achieved self-determination by liberating more than two thirds of the Territory and by creating a sovereign political, economic, social and cultural entity. Amílcar Cabral concluded by saying that Guinea-Bissau was in fact an independent State, part of whose Territory was occupied by a foreign army.

79. On the proclamation of independence of the new State and its subsequent recognition by several States, it was only logical that the sponsors of the item should bring such an important matter before the United Nations with a view to getting the Government of Portugal to withdraw its armed forces, thus putting an end to a long period of armed repression and atrocities.

80. The General Assembly, on 20 December 1971, by 96 votes to 5, with 18 abstentions, adopted resolution 2878 (XXVI). That resolution called for the setting up of a Special Mission by the Special Committee to visit the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau. Last year the General Assembly adopted a resolution commending the work of the Special Committee by a large majority, particularly the dispatch of the Special Mission to visit the liberated areas [*resolution 2918 (XXVII)*].

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, 1632nd meeting*.



81. From the Special Mission's report we learnt—not for the first time—that Portugal as an administering Power was not fulfilling its obligations. As we know, an administering Power is under the obligation to promote to its utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of the Territories and, to that end, among other things, 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 according to the particular circumstances in each Territory and of its peoples and their varying stages of advancement. Instead, Portugal had continued to maintain the fiction that the Territories are overseas provinces and has persistently refused to recognize the inalienable right of the people to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

82. Moreover, in a futile attempt to suppress the national liberation movements, in Guinea-Bissau particularly, and to stifle the legitimate aspirations of their peoples to free themselves from colonial domination, the Government of Portugal had resorted to the extensive use of armed force, involving all the techniques of modern warfare, against the defenceless peoples of the Territory.

83. In Guinea-Bissau Portugal had succeeded in administering terror, and terror alone, especially by wide-spread and indiscriminate aerial bombardment, with the resultant loss of civilian life and, in particular, the destruction of schools, hospitals and villages. Crops and cattle have been destroyed by countless costly bombing raids.

84. In spite of incalculable hardships and sufferings, the will of the people to carry on the struggle until freedom and independence were won under PAIGC continued. The enthusiastic and whole-hearted support and co-operation given to PAIGC by the population of the liberated areas led to the recognition by the Special Committee of the *de facto* administrative control of PAIGC over the liberated areas.

85. PAIGC was engaged in a work of reconstruction in the liberated areas. That work of reconstruction had on the whole led to the establishment of political, administrative, judicial, social, health and educational institutions. Those areas therefore constitute a free and sovereign territory that is master of its own destiny. This was why the Special Committee adopted a special resolution on Guinea-Bissau on 13 April 1972, in Conakry, part of which reads:

“2. *Affirms* its recognition of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, as the only and authentic representative of the people of the Territory, and requests all States and specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take this into consideration when dealing with matters pertaining to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde;

“....

“5. *Expresses its conviction* that the successful accomplishment by the Special Mission of its task—establishing beyond any doubt the fact that *de facto* control in these areas is exercised by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the national liberation movement of the Territory—constitutes a

major contribution by the United Nations in the field of decolonization”.<sup>3</sup>

The report containing that resolution was neither questioned nor challenged, except, of course, by Portugal. It was adopted by the General Assembly by a large majority [*resolution 2918 (XXVII)*].

86. Up to this moment of speaking, about 70 or more States have recognized the independent State of Guinea-Bissau. The adoption of the General Committee's recommendation to discuss this item in the Assembly is in itself a recognition by a large number of States of the fact that the presence of Portuguese armed forces in Guinea-Bissau as of 24 September is illegal and that the military activities carried out by the forces there are acts of aggression which constitute a threat to the peace and security not only of Guinea-Bissau but also of States bordering that new State.

87. The argument put forward by some States for the delay in recognizing the newly-independent State have not been very convincing in the light of the report of the Special Mission. For example, certain States would recognize the new Government only under the conditions of, first, the existence of a people capable of building a State; secondly, the will of a national community; thirdly, the existence of a foreign territory; and, fourthly, the exercise of sovereignty in the Territory.

88. Others would recognize it only if the Government has reasonable survival prospects, if it exercises effective power over the major part of the national territory, and, moreover, if it has the loyalty and support of a majority of the population.

89. If, in spite of the report of the Special Mission and the evidence of journalists and several international visitors, one were to comment on the points raised by those who have failed to recognize the new Government, one would first of all wonder why States sometimes recognize other governments which come into existence by means of coup d'état where the population's loyalty and support are not sought because of the presence of guns. Why have governments recognized a handful of men as governments-in-exile even outside their territory, as frequently happened during the second world war? Even until recently, did not certain Powers here continue to recognize a small part of China, the majority of whose territory and population were under the full control of the Government of Mao Tse-tung? Simon Bolívar first declared the independence of Venezuela even before the struggle for independence began. That declaration was immediately recognized by certain States. In fact, although Venezuela declared its independence in July 1811, the administering Power did not recognize it until 1845. However, suffice it to say that, in my delegation's view, the new Government of Guinea-Bissau fulfils all the criteria for recognition. Its recognition by 70 sovereign States is enough testimony.

90. The Government of PAIGC may not control the towns, but it controls three-fourths of the area of the Territory. With regard to the question of population, PAIGC has 58,000 registered voters, of whom 52,000 are said to

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. X, para. 34.



have voted. The population of the whole Territory is about 600,000, half probably under voting age; the Portuguese, during their spring elections this year produced an electorate of 7,824, and 7,000 of these, mainly white, voted in the election of their so-called local assembly. Is there any question, then, which is the effective Government?

91. The continued arrogance displayed by Portugal on the question of its colonies is based solely on the military, financial and other help that it gets from its allies. For we know that Portugal itself is a backward and decadent country. The continued occupation of parts of the territory of Guinea-Bissau by Portugal's armed forces can only be possible if such aid continues. This is why our appeal here should be directed to Portugal's friends. Those of its friends which are quick to use their veto in the Security Council had better think again. For we believe that the continuing supply of military equipment to Portugal to reinforce the military power of its armies which are illegally occupying part of an independent territory is a condemnable act against that State. For even on Monday, 29 October [2158th meeting], the Permanent Representative of Guinea read out a statement which confirms that the Portuguese army in Guinea-Bissau was continuing acts of aggression and wanton destruction, thus posing a threat to the territorial integrity of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau. This gives urgency to the issue before this Assembly.

92. We are all acutely aware of the anxiety of the new Government to put into effect its plans of nation building. We also know that its prime objective is to complete the liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from colonialism and to unify the two into one State in accordance with the will of the people. We further know that the new Government is anxious to build a society that will 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 for the benefit of any individual group or class.

93. We are certain that these goals will be achieved with the active support and co-operation of all peace-loving and progressive forces. We believe that this new State should be given the chance to achieve these aims; and this can be done by swift action by this world body in taking effective collective measures to remove the threat to peace and territorial integrity posed by the illegal presence of Portuguese armed forces in the territory.

94. It is our hope that this Assembly, at the conclusion of this debate, will come to concrete decisions aimed at bringing justice and peace to a region which has been struggling against Portuguese colonial and armed aggression for over 10 years.

95. Let me conclude by quoting a few paragraphs from the preface written by the late Amílcar Cabral to Basil Davidson's book entitled *The Liberation of Guiné*. I feel that these paragraphs are not only significant but very true and relevant today. The preface was written in October 1968, at Boé, a town which the Portuguese Permanent Representative had claimed did not exist in Guinea-Bissau. It will be recalled, however, that the proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau took place at Boé.

"The situation we have succeeded in creating is rested on the actual reality of our country and our society. We do not like war; but this armed struggle has its advantages. Through it we are building a nation that is solid, conscious of itself. We have liberated more than two thirds of our national territory. We shall liberate the rest. We shall liberate the Cape Verde Islands. Step by step we construct our State. Our present position is that of an independent nation with a part of its national territory, notably the urban centres and the islands, still under foreign occupation. Through this struggle we have conquered the right to our own personality in the international field.

"Yes, indeed we know: there is a UN Charter, a right of all peoples to self-determination, an obligation on the part of the 'administering Power' to grant independence. But with us, the administering power is in the shelter of its fortified camps, administering only its colonial war. This power has become the aggressor, the terrorist, the criminal attempting genocide. That is the situation here, changed not at all by the political death of Salazar, but which, no matter what happens to the politics of Portugal, will develop only towards the complete liberation of our people, with or without the prior consent of the Portuguese government.

"No illusions, though. Everyone knows that Portugal does not make any aircraft, not even as toys for children. Our situation—this Portuguese aggression against our people—also involves the allies of Portugal, including Great Britain and the United States. And there too our struggle brings another gain; it teaches us to know the friends and enemies of our people of Africa.

"Basil Davidson came to us as a friend. In spite of the procolonialist position of Mr. Wilson's socialist government in its voting at the UN against the interests of our people and in support of Britain's ancient ally, we take encouragement from the belief that Davidson is not our only British friend. We count on the sympathy of the youth of Britain, of all those in Britain who love liberty and progress including, assuredly, members of the British government and parliament. We have the same thoughts about the United States."<sup>4</sup>

96. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of my country is speaking in this debate after all the aspects of this problem have been dealt with amply by previous speakers. We make no pretense, therefore, of presenting any new arguments, after all the irrefutable arguments which have been eloquently advanced and developed by so many delegations. However, our statement, while it is the expression of national solidarity with a sister country which is fighting for its freedom and territorial integrity, is justified by our attachment to the principles and purposes of the Charter, principles and purposes which are the very essence, the very core of this Organization.

97. The constitutional document by virtue of which we are gathered here is the Charter of the United Nations. Our countries have subscribed to it and have solemnly undertaken scrupulously to respect its principles and purposes.

<sup>4</sup> See Basil Davidson, *The Liberation of Guiné* (Harmondsworth, England, Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 13-14.

The Charter of the United Nations itself recognized that one of the principal purposes of the Organization was, in the words of Article 1, paragraph 2, the following: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ...".

98. It was on this basis that the United Nations made it its duty as stated in Article 73*b* of the Charter, "to take due account of the ... aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions ...".

99. This objective has been repeatedly reaffirmed by our Assembly, both in its general declarations and in resolutions dealing specifically with the Portuguese colonies. In 1960, the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly. The next year, the General Assembly established the Special Committee, whose task was not only to implement that resolution, but also to formulate recommendations on means of bringing about complete decolonization [*resolution 1654 (XVI)*].

100. While these important measures taken by the United Nations flowed from the relevant provisions of the Charter, they also derived, we must recognize, from the "wind of change" that began to blow across Africa in the 1960s. France, led by a man of exceptional stature, and Britain chose to remain true to themselves by breaking the spell under which slumbered what had come to be known as the colonial empires. Going along with the current of history, they transformed relationships of dependence and exploitation into relationships of equality, solid friendship and fruitful co-operation. The gigantic nature of the task and the importance of the stakes involved necessarily entailed agonizing reappraisals, which made the accomplishment of this task all the more praiseworthy. This is an example that should indeed be pondered by Portugal.

101. For his part, the President of the United States, John Kennedy, declared some time before his premature death:

"The southern part of our world—Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the countries of the emerging peoples—is a great battlefield for defending and extending freedom. Their revolution is the greatest in human history. They are seeking to put an end to injustice, tyranny and exploitation. What they are striving for is a beginning rather than an end, and their revolution is one of those that we support, whatever political or economic course they may choose."

102. This, through the voice of its illustrious President, reaffirms the attachment of the United States to the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and to the choice of their own destiny.

103. Thus, the principle of self-determination as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations has been applied or reaffirmed by those very countries that are the friends and allies of Portugal. In the United Nations itself, many resolutions have reaffirmed this principle by condemning the policy of force and repression pursued by Portugal in its colonial Territories, and have urged Portugal, in its turn, to

accord the peoples of those Territories their sacred right to self-determination and independence.

104. Portugal, however, has remained deaf to that appeal. It has persisted in its disregard of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, thus defying the international community and flouting the Charter of our Organization.

105. It was this intransigence of the colonialist authorities of Lisbon that convinced the nationalists in Guinea-Bissau that force was the only language Portugal could understand. It is certainly not with cheerfulness that a people resorts to armed struggle, with all that involves in terms of suffering and sacrifice. But the dignity and freedom of a people are something precious enough to justify such suffering and sacrifice. And while such a struggle is justified by the importance of the stakes involved and is in keeping with the relevant provisions of the Charter, which recognize that every people has the right to self-determination, the General Assembly, in resolution 2107 (XX), recognized its sacred and legitimate nature.

106. On 14 November 1972, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2918 (XXVII), paragraph 2, recognized "... 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".

107. Thus, the people of Guinea-Bissau, united within PAIGC, the legitimacy of whose struggle has been recognized and whose representative character has been affirmed, exercised its right to self-determination and, on 24 September 1973, proclaimed its independence. This is not a matter of improvisation, much less a matter of chance; it is the result of a long process of increasing awareness, of armed struggle and of nation-building.

108. After 10 years of struggle, suffering and sacrifice, PAIGC has liberated three quarters of the national territory, despite a blind repression in which Portugal has not shrunk from using both napalm and lethal chemical substances. While PAIGC was carrying on its struggle, it was at the same time setting up in the liberated areas new administrative structures designed to meet the real interests of the people and their desire for economic, social and cultural advancement. The achievements of PAIGC in the fields of education, health and economic development far surpass those claimed by Portugal after some five centuries of its "civilizing presence".

109. Portugal, frightened by the deepening and ever-sharper awareness of the people of Guinea-Bissau, and by the determination of the freedom fighters, hoped to put an end to its difficulties by the cowardly assassination of the great son of Africa, Comrade Amílcar Cabral. Portugal must indeed have been disappointed. It may have destroyed the body of that man, but certainly not his spirit and even less the ideals of liberty and dignity that inspire his people.

110. It is on the basis of these concrete and objective facts and on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Charter and the many resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council that some 60 delegations, including my

own, have submitted draft resolution A/L.702 and Add. 1-7 requesting the General Assembly to take immediate measures to bring to an end the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

111. The number of delegations sponsoring this draft resolution demonstrates, in our view, the profound concern aroused by this illegal occupation, and reflects the sincere desire of the peoples of Africa, and also of other continents, to see defended not only freedom, justice and the dignity of man, but also the territorial integrity of a sovereign and independent State.

112. When we consider Portuguese colonialism, of which this illegal occupation is a direct result, two questions immediately come to mind: how to explain the stubbornness of Portugal and its refusal to implement United Nations resolutions, and how that country can carry on a war on three fronts and obtain the necessary resources to finance it. The answer to these questions is simple: Portugal would never have been able to carry on its colonial wars if it had not been receiving constant and substantial assistance, on the one hand, from certain of its allies in NATO and, on the other hand, from South Africa and the rebel régime in Salisbury, with which it has concluded what has come to be known as an "unholy alliance". While it is easy for us to understand the attitude of South Africa and of the Southern Rhodesian rebels, we must say that we have some difficulty in explaining the position of the friends of Portugal in NATO, and this difficulty is particularly acute because some of these friends of Portugal have raised the standard of independence so high with regard to the winning of liberty by some countries. As a matter of fact, France and Great Britain were the initiators of that "wind of change" which I mentioned just now and which Portugal is systematically disregarding. We call upon them to use their moral influence and their material resources to make Portugal do what they themselves have done in similar circumstances. As for the United States, we should like to believe that its struggle for liberty and independence is still remembered and we ask it to accept this struggle for other peoples which are facing the same difficulties and vicissitudes.

113. We should also hope that the noble words of the late President Kennedy calling for liberty to be defended and extended will continue to guide delegations in the common search for a peace which would be all the more just because it is based on the Charter of the United Nations and the right of peoples to self-determination.

114. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): It is with a salute to the memory of Amílcar Cabral, founder of PAIGC that I begin my statement. Cabral fell on the field of honour. His sacrifice will not have been in vain. His dream is becoming a reality.

115. The people of Guinea-Bissau, after so many years of heroic struggle, solemnly proclaimed on 24 September 1973 through its People's National Assembly—democratically elected and enjoying the confidence of the people of Guinea-Bissau—the birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This historic act has aroused great interest in Africa and throughout the world because it is the keystone of the tireless efforts of a whole people which has been waging a

legitimate struggle for 17 years to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

116. The legitimacy of the action taken to this end by the people of Guinea-Bissau has been recognized more than once by the organs of our Organization, in particular by the General Assembly and the Security Council. On 2 November 1972 the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session adopted resolution 2908 (XXVII) which:

"Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples and peoples under alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal, and notes with satisfaction the progress made by the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories, particularly in Africa, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, towards the national independence of their countries".

117. In this context it should be stressed that the people of Guinea-Bissau has used all means, from peaceful action and a search for negotiation to armed struggle. Furthermore, PAIGC has embarked in the liberated territories on the work of rehabilitation and organization so as to help the country in the exercise of its national independence. The mission which went to Guinea-Bissau in April of last year under the auspices of the United Nations clearly recognized the immense work which has been undertaken in this field in the liberated territories, thanks to the action of PAIGC supported unanimously by the population.

118. The Security Council also took a decision in favour of the immediate recognition of the right of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence. Meeting on 4 February 1972 in the very heart of Africa, the Security Council adopted resolution 312 (1972), which in paragraph 4, called upon Portugal:

"(a) To recognize immediately the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"(b) To cease immediately the colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau);

"(c) To withdraw all its armed forces as presently employed for the purpose of the repression of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau);

"(d) To promulgate an unconditional political amnesty and the restoration of democratic political rights".

Subparagraph (e) of this section of the resolution should be borne in mind in the course of this debate. Portugal is therein called upon:

"To transfer power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)".

119. Today the people of Guinea-Bissau has taken a decision. It has elected a national assembly on the basis of universal suffrage. Portugal should therefore transfer power to this elected institution in accordance with the resolution

of the Security Council, but Portugal remains intransigent. It has preferred war to dialogue. Instead of an honourable conclusion, it seems to be trying to discredit itself even further and to put itself beyond the pale of mankind by the blood it is continuing to shed in Africa, to the detriment of its own interests, which would be better safeguarded if it were to establish new links of co-operation with the liberated countries, as other countries before Portugal have done without having cause to regret it.

120. From the moment its independence was proclaimed, many States in every continent have hastened to welcome the birth of the new Republic and to recognize it as a sovereign State. This series of recognitions puts Portugal and its supporters face to face with an unchallengeable reality, a truth that cannot be denied. It is difficult, certainly, but wrong not to take account of this.

121. The position of my Government, which has from the very first days recognized the new State of Guinea-Bissau, is not due to expediency or for the sake of political exploitation, or just out of chance circumstances, but is based upon our attachment to the principles of the Charter, on the General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and on our own conviction that colonialism has no further standing in our time. That is why my delegation, having supported the inclusion in the agenda of the item that we are now discussing, comes to this rostrum today to uphold once again the principles of the United Nations by supporting the new State of Guinea-Bissau and expressing its gratification at that State's accession to independence.

122. In the face of the incomprehension displayed by the Government of Portugal and its reactionary policy, it is unfortunate to note that the struggle in Guinea-Bissau is continuing and that the blood of its people will continue to be shed, just as the blood of the Portuguese themselves is being shed. The Government of Portugal and its supporters alone are responsible for this. What is clear is that the Government of Portugal continues to be reluctant to heed the voice of reason, and there is none so blind as he that will not see. The representative of Portugal in his statement strove to demonstrate that in the view of his Government there has never been a united people and a State bearing the name of Guinea-Bissau. He wanted to base his argument on an interpretation, which to say the least is an unfortunate one, of the rules of international law, an interpretation which flies in the face of the facts and which, if it were to be adopted and applied, would have the effect of plunging the world once again into the shadows of colonialism, relegating the peoples of the world to slavery and oppression.

123. But the world, we are sure, is aware of the realities of Guinea-Bissau, and the members of our Assembly will not be fooled by the various stratagems employed by the Government of Portugal to delay recognition of the new State.

124. The members of our Assembly will certainly recall the report of the Mission sent by the United Nations to the liberated areas in April 1972. This Mission, of which Tunisia had the honour of being a member, concluded that PAIGC was the authentic representative of the people of

Guinea-Bissau, that it controlled a large portion of the territory of that country and that it was doing everything it could to ensure the political, economic and social advancement of the population.

125. We consider that there is still time for our Organization, and for freedom-and-justice-loving peoples, to prevail upon Portugal to heed the voice of reason and to make its leaders understand that they cannot continue their aberrations without poisoning even more the situation and without flying in the face of humanity.

126. It is also the duty of the countries friendly to Portugal to take action of this kind in order to call a halt to the aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal stated, on 26 September last, that his country would appreciate as a mark of friendship the veto of one of the three Western Powers in the Security Council when the question of the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations came up. But there are certainly friendships that cannot run counter to acknowledged principles and perpetuate injustice and aggression.

127. Some countries have effective means of alleviating the sufferings of a people that is struggling and that will continue to struggle in order to put an end to foreign occupation. These countries cannot act otherwise. It would be in vain for them to wall themselves behind an archaic and legalistic line of argument, because it is an undeniable fact that the new Government set up by the people of Guinea-Bissau possesses all the attributes of a legal and sovereign Government. It exercises uncontested control over a large part of the territory. It has been established with the consent of the people and enjoys the confidence of the vast majority of the inhabitants of that country. This Government declares itself ready to respect the United Nations Charter and to assume its obligations towards other States. It is encouraging to see the leaders of the new State addressing themselves to the United Nations, which must support their cause unreservedly.

128. It only remains for us in these circumstances—and this goes for all peace-loving countries in the world which are concerned with respect for others—to ensure the application of resolution 2908 (XXVII) adopted by the General Assembly. This resolution requested—and I quote:

“... all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in the colonial Territories and to those living under alien domination—in particular to the national liberation movements of the Territories in Africa...”

129. It is an obligation for us now to provide all the necessary assistance and support to the young Republic of Guinea-Bissau for its programmes of national reconstruction and development. This is the subject of a draft resolution of which my country is co-sponsor.

130. No one can shirk the obligation to aid this young Republic. There are people crying out to the world that they are thirsting for liberty and justice. We must help them to rid themselves of the yoke of colonialism and to break this



vicious circle of incomprehension with which some people continue to surround them.

131. We have never seen a debate where a cause has been voiced and heeded with so much unanimity. The Assembly, in my view, is unanimous in calling for recognition of the rights of Guinea-Bissau. There is only one country that refuses this right, and it is Portugal. It is just a question of time. Tomorrow, Guinea-Bissau will be among us.

132. Mr. EHSASSI (Iran): Seventeen years ago, in a part of colonized Africa that was later recognized by the United Nations as the Portuguese-administered Territory of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, a genuine and inspiring struggle began. This was a peaceful political effort by a people who had regained its national consciousness despite an age-old colonial presence with all its adverse pressures on the most fundamental human rights and liberties. The people of Guinea-Bissau had taken an historic decision to commit itself to free its land under the banner of PAIGC.

133. The history of the 17-year-struggle for liberation, independence and human dignity waged by the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau is only too well known to this Assembly. It is the story of the agonies and sacrifices as well as victories and achievements of a people who had made up its mind and had organized itself under the leadership of a progressive political movement to obtain its freedom and to secure its future—a future free from the evils of colonial domination, repression and exploitation of man by man.

134. It is perhaps worthwhile to stress a specific aspect of the struggle of PAIGC, the party which was so ably established through the devotion and dedication of men such as Amílcar Cabral, the late Secretary-General of PAIGC.

135. From September 1956, the date on which the party was founded, through the events of the early 1960s, to the day of the proclamation of independence, a very significant aspect of the struggle has been the sense of realism with which the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau has always been identified. It has been realistic in the sense that it started with a peaceful political movement for the attainment of national liberation and independence, a first step in the right direction after some five centuries of colonial domination and exploitation.

136. But what was the colonialists' reaction? Faced with the stiffened determination of the people of Guinea-Bissau to achieve its lawful rights, the Portuguese colonialists decided to stifle the just and legitimate aspirations of the people who had united under PAIGC.

137. The intransigence of the Portuguese colonialists could not stop the irreversible process of the liberation of a nation whose political awareness was the main basis of its determination to realize its national aspirations. It resulted only in the inescapable evolution of the peaceful movement into a struggle for survival against the forces of evil which, not satisfied with political suppression, had launched an extensive campaign of police and military repression.

138. In December 1962 the voice of PAIGC, the authentic representative of the true aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, was heard here

at the Headquarters of the United Nations two years after the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This resolution, which laid down the international legal principles to define the status of all Non-Self-Governing and dependent Territories and the inalienable rights of colonial peoples throughout the world, reaffirmed the illegality of the baseless claims of the Portuguese colonialists over their so-called overseas provinces. The late valiant leader of PAIGC reflected again the realistic stand taken by his party in the proposals he had put forward for negotiations with the Portuguese delegation to find a peaceful solution to stop the armed confrontation.

139. Ten years later, in October 1972, this voice of reason, based on irrefutable facts, was again echoed in the General Assembly. In his remarkable statement made on the verge of the final victory of his people, Amílcar Cabral called once more for a peaceful settlement to stop the military operations perpetrated by Portugal to prolong its illegal aggression.

140. But the frustration of the colonialists authorities led them to commit yet another crime. In an attempt to challenge the irresistible forces of change, they hoped to suppress the movement for liberation and dignity by assassinating the founder and organizer of PAIGC. However, the course of events since January 1973 and the historic proclamation of independence by the people of Guinea-Bissau have demonstrated the failure of this infamous scheme.

141. During the last 10 years of the struggle of Guinea-Bissau for liberation and independence, the United Nations has had this question under continuous review and consideration. Several resolutions were adopted reaffirming the inalienable rights of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and other Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of the struggle by those peoples to achieve those rights.

142. The defiant refusal of Portugal to implement the decisions of the United Nations and its persistent refusal to fulfil its international obligations under the Charter created a mood of frustration as well as a deep concern over the future of the Territories under its domination. This was further amplified by the obstructionist policies of certain Member States, which chose to support the colonialists' position instead of pursuing the call of conscience repeatedly expressed in the resolutions of the General Assembly.

143. However, even the frustration of the world Organization did not delay the inevitable process of decolonization and liberation of the masses which had suffered under the Portuguese colonial yoke but were determined to free themselves.

144. The time has now come for the United Nations to focus its attention on the true nature of the Portuguese aggression against the people and the Territory of Guinea-Bissau and to act realistically. In this connexion certain facts, such as the report of the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas prior to the declaration of independence, and the reports of the independent and impartial groups of journalists, film-makers, politicians, scientists, writers, artists and photographers of various nationalities who visited that

country on their own initiative, should also be taken into consideration.

145. As we see it, the speedy withdrawal of Portuguese forces from the Territory of Guinea-Bissau is demanded by the overwhelming majority of the Members of our Organization, and the time has come for the United Nations to prevent any attempt to undermine its decisions by supporting the people of Guinea-Bissau in attaining its full independence.

146. Efforts should also be made within the United Nations system to aid Guinea-Bissau in its national reconstruction and development programmes.

147. Iran, as a member of the Special Committee on decolonization since its very inception, has been in a position to make a close appraisal of the situation prevailing in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde as well as in the other colonial Territories in Africa and elsewhere. In taking the decision to support the just cause of the people of Guinea-Bissau, my delegation has borne in mind the collective efforts of the bodies within the United Nations connected with the process of decolonization and, in particular, those of the last two years which have considerably helped to enlighten the United Nations and the world public opinion.

148. To conclude, my delegation is hopeful that other Member States will also extend their support in upholding the cause of justice and the principles of the United Nations Charter on the basis of the facts which have been established by the United Nations bodies concerned.

149. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt): It is an honour for my delegation to welcome in this august body the independence of the sister-Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which my country recognized upon the declaration of its independence. Egypt, as you know, was a sponsor of the request for the inclusion in the agenda of the item under discussion [*A/9196 and Add. 2*]. In so doing, the delegation of Egypt reiterated the position it has always adopted vis-à-vis decolonization, the independence of peoples struggling for freedom, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and respect for human rights and the dignity of man.

150. In taking the floor today to celebrate this memorable event, and in welcoming the birth of the new State of Guinea-Bissau after years of heroic struggle, Egypt welcomes the legitimate struggle for liberty and welcomes these true sons of Africa, who, in exercising their inherent right to self-determination, thus broke the chains of the Portuguese colonialists, loudly reminding Portugal that slavery is doomed also in Angola, as well as in Mozambique.

151. In taking the floor today I cannot forget—indeed, how can we forget?—our brother the late Amílcar Cabral, then Secretary-General of PAIGC, who devoted his life to the independence of his people. Our joy would have been greater had he lived to celebrate with us this historic moment. But Amílcar Cabral, who died a few months ago, is still alive in the memory of each of us. His actions, his thoughts and the spirit which animated his struggle will always remain to guide all those who continue the fight

against colonialism, racism and foreign occupation in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere.

152. Portugal, with all the armaments it gets, could not subordinate any longer the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau, who with great courage have hoisted their flag. In so doing, the people of Guinea-Bissau, through the People's National Assembly, declared on 24 September 1973:

“The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with which our people wishes to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship.

“... it declares its willingness to negotiate a solution which will put an end to the aggression of the Portuguese colonial government that is illegally occupying part of our national territory and committing acts of genocide against our populations.” [*A/9196, annex I.*]

153. But the Portuguese Government, in collusion with the South African régime and with the military help it receives from the régime, is still behaving in an imperialistic manner. It has allied itself with the forces of destruction, inflicting suffering, deprivation and massacres on the African population, the most recent example of which was the Wiriyamu massacre in Mozambique, where 400 men, women and children were slaughtered by Portuguese troops in cold blood.

154. Portugal is still continuing its desperate aggression against the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau by occupying a part of its territory. We have condemned Portugal for its colonial policy, and repeatedly expressed here our indignation at and condemnation of its illegal occupation of part of the territory of our sister-State, Guinea-Bissau.

155. This collusion existing between colonial Portugal and the racist régime of South Africa is part of a plan to oppress the people of southern Africa. At the same time, in northern Africa the South African régime extends its military co-operation to Israel as an expression of its sympathy and affinity with Israel. It supplied Israel with 50 military jet aircraft, of which one was shot down recently during the fighting in which the Egyptian people was engaged in defence of the sacred land of Africa on the north-east of the continent.

156. We are confident that the people of Africa, wherever they are, will in the end triumph over oppression, colonialism, aggression and racism.

157. The situation resulting from the continued illegal occupation of some parts of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and from acts of aggression committed by Portugal is an explosive one which not only is contrary to the Charter but threatens international peace and security. I will not dwell now on the historical background of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau or go into the details of the developments which have occurred there. But these are the facts: The people of Guinea-Bissau, after succeeding in assuming control over its own territory, has declared its independence, which has been recognized by more than 60 countries. The people of Guinea-Bissau is now compelled to continue the

fight against the illegal occupation of some sectors of its sacred territory by the aggressive forces of Portugal.

158. Having said that, we first of all recommend to this Assembly the adoption of draft resolution A/L.702. Secondly, we urge all Member States to recognize the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, in the light of the recognition extended to it by a substantial number of States. Thirdly, Egypt urges Member States to extend all assistance to Guinea-Bissau so that it can suppress by every means the aggression of Portugal and its illegal occupation of sectors of its territory.

159. Despite the Charter, despite United Nations resolutions, despite the new, modern, contemporary values to which humanity is attached today, certain parts of Africa are still unfortunately subjected to forcible attempts to crush the struggle of the liberation movement or to intimidate, threaten and even attack African peoples and their new-found independence. This neo-colonialism is desperately trying to bring the process of independence and the emancipation of African peoples to a halt. It might therefore be appropriate for me to end my statement by quoting the late Amílcar Cabral, who said, on 8 January 1973:

"We also reaffirm our faith in the unreserved moral and political support of the independent States of Africa and of all other anti-colonialist and anti-racist forces on all continents for the decisions that will be taken by our People's National Assembly and for the just cause of the independence and progress of our people".<sup>5</sup>

*Mr. Driss (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

160. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Although my friend and colleague the Ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic eloquently and cogently spoke on behalf of the group of Arab States earlier this afternoon, and although my delegation whole-heartedly subscribes to and endorses the views spelled out by him, my delegation, in view of the magnitude of the item which is being discussed in the General Assembly, would like to spell out some of its views as well.

161. We in Kuwait in fact rejoice as we reflect on the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which gives birth to an era in which fictitious arguments by Portugal must give way to realities. The independence of Guinea-Bissau shattered many myths put forward by Portugal. Lisbon indeed suffers from self-delusion and mental aberration. Moreover, it has the temerity to advocate the absurd theory of "overseas provinces". It is unable to adjust itself to the logic of geography, culture, colour and aspirations. But sanity is not the mark of medieval colonialism.

162. Who could, in this century, tolerate the contention of Lisbon that Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola are an integral part of Portugal proper? Who is able to resist the indignation incurred by such a bizarre fallacy? All that Lisbon need do to cure this political lunacy is to use the remedy prescribed in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The General Assembly, in its historic resolution 1514 (XV), called upon Portugal to grant independence to its colonies in

Africa. The Security Council during its meetings in Addis Ababa adopted, on 4 February 1972, resolution 312 (1972), which

"Calls upon Portugal:

"(a) To recognize immediately the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"(b) To cease immediately the colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)".

163. Last year the General Assembly adopted its resolution 2908 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972, which:

"Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples and peoples under alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal, and notes with satisfaction the progress made by the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories, particularly in Africa, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, towards the national independence of their countries".

164. The historic Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Algiers unreservedly endorsed the cause of liberty embraced by the liberation movements.

165. A great figure in the annals of the human struggle for emancipation, the late Amílcar Cabral, advocated so convincingly and cogently the notion of independence for Guinea-Bissau that the Portuguese authorities, in a criminal move to forestall the proclamation of independence, found no alternative but to gun him down brutally and remorselessly. Amílcar Cabral went down in history as a tenacious freedom fighter. His disciples in the realm of self-assertion hold the banner of freedom aloft, undaunted by the invidious campaign of terror launched by backward Portugal.

166. It is the duty of every peace-loving State and those who cherish the ideals of Amílcar Cabral to support the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau in their finest hour. No legal sophistry can inject any validity into the argumentation of those who, unwilling to lend assistance to the people of Guinea-Bissau, seek refuge behind rigid interpretations of the rules of international law.

167. The United Nations Charter, the norms of justice, the forces of morality and right have sided with Guinea-Bissau; only mental bankruptcy, medieval colonialism and destructive self-delusion favour Portugal. Portugal should be forced to terminate its illegal occupation of some sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It is within our capacity to dislodge Lisbon from Territories it occupies in contravention of the United Nations Charter.

168. I hope that all of us will endeavour to ensure the territorial integrity of the youngest Republic in Africa.

169. Consequently, I have the honour to announce that my delegation would like to become a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.702 and Add. 1-7.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in French by the speaker.



170. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan): It is a matter of gratification that the General Assembly has supported, by an overwhelming majority, the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly of a new 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". My delegation was among the sponsors of the letter addressed to the President of the General Assembly requesting the inclusion of this item, as well as a sponsor of the draft resolution which is now before the General Assembly.

171. The inclusion of this item in the agenda is, beyond any doubt, a recognition of the significance of the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and a major setback for the Government of Portugal and its continued colonial policies in Africa. During its consideration of this item, the General Assembly will avail itself of the opportunity to call once again on the Government of Portugal to abide by the provisions of the Charter and to fulfil its obligations as a Member of this Organization.

172. The Government of Portugal must have realized by now that it has been isolated on the international scene. The countries which have sponsored draft resolution A/L.702 and Add.1-7 by their number and the regions that they represent clearly prove this reality.

173. The Government of Portugal can serve the interest of its own people and that of the international community if it desists forthwith from its colonial wars and acts of repression against the people of Angola and Mozambique, and immediately withdraws all its military forces illegally stationed in some sectors of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The indignation prevailing in the world today against Portugal is the result of its continued non-compliance with resolutions of the United Nations and its persistent refusal to recognize the right of the people under its colonial domination to self-determination and independence.

174. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is now a reality that cannot be overlooked. All attempts by the Portuguese authorities to undermine the significance of this historical event in the history of the liberation movement in Africa will fail and will never succeed. The accession to independence by Guinea-Bissau, which is the result of great determination by its people, will speed up the process of disintegration of the colonial domination of Portugal in Africa, a goal for which the late Amílcar Cabral devoted and gave his life.

175. The main aspect of the item under our consideration is the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by the Portuguese forces against the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau that are inadmissible in accordance with the Charter and the principles of international law.

176. The use of force or threat of force against the independence and sovereignty of other States is inadmissible by all rules of international law and civilized behaviour. The international community is already being disturbed by the

continued occupation of the Territories of the other independent sovereign States that constitutes a flagrant and deliberate violation of the provisions of the Charter. For this reason, the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the independent State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is an act of aggression deliberately continued by Portugal.

177. Certain countries, Members of this Organization, that have been providing assistance to Portugal in defiance of the Charter and the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations should cease such assistance, which has until now provided encouragement for Portugal to continue its colonial domination in Africa in complete disregard of world public opinion.

178. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has always supported the legitimate struggle of peoples still under colonial and alien domination. We believe that, sooner or later, the colonial domination of Portugal will be terminated and the people of Angola and Mozambique will attain their independence as did the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau.

179. The delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan, in line with its firm support of the struggle of people for freedom and independence from colonial and alien domination, was among the first countries that extended formal recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. My delegation will take part in the joint effort of the General Assembly to urge Portugal to heed the will of the international community and change its colonial policies in the African continent. The General Assembly has a duty to oblige Portugal to cease its aggression against the independent State of Guinea-Bissau.

180. As a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.702, the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan appeals to the Membership of the United Nations to vote upon it affirmatively.

181. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Portuguese colonialism is indeed an anachronism. The exercise of the right of self-determination has liberated many erstwhile colonial peoples whose flags flutter proudly alongside those of the States which for centuries have been independent. Portugal is still pursuing a self-defeating policy in claiming that the Territories in Africa are mere provinces of Portugal proper. That these Territories are Portuguese is mere fiction and fantasy. Sovereignty resides in the people of any land. Neither culturally, racially or ideologically could the people of the African Territories, ruled by the iron fist of Portugal, be considered Portuguese. Portuguese rule of these Territories is a naked form of antiquated colonialism.

182. The rebellion of the people of Guinea-Bissau, whom we salute for having succeeded in exercising the right of self-determination, has dissipated the notion that any suppressed people would forever remain submissive under the yoke of any foreign Power. Year in year out, in this very Assembly and outside it, attempts were made to persuade Portugal that these people and other people under the Portuguese yoke will one day shed blood to attain their independence. All our attempts to persuade Portugal to this effect were to no avail.



183. Finally, Guinea-Bissau triumphed in winning *de facto* independence; the draft resolution before the Assembly is for the purpose of obtaining for it *de jure* recognition by the majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

184. It is significant, but not strange, that the United States—the mighty United States—the Western European Powers, and their respective clients do not seem to be willing to face the fact that it is high time they made an about-face to do justice unto the suppressed peoples in Africa still under the Portuguese yoke. Not a single one of the NATO Powers, or those affiliated with them, has raised its voice for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and other colonial Territories of Portugal. NATO nations brag about what they call “democratic forms of Government”. Is democracy, is Western democracy, selective and discriminatory? Is Western democracy, the gift of the gods, only for the NATO States? And are the African peoples under Portuguese rule unworthy of independence because they are another specimen of *homo sapiens*? Why do you not speak up, you NATO Powers? Your hypocrisy is self-evident. You always say, What is good for the goose is good for the gander. Who is the goose, and who is the gander? Is justice predicated on alliances, military alliances? Should we revert to the primitive tribal ways? We have an Arabic proverb for that: I and my brother against my cousin; my cousin and I against the stranger.

185. Is this one world? Is this one United Nations? Are the Africans outside the pale of democracy? Whom do you think you are fooling, you NATO Powers? Raise your voice, if you have courage, and ask Portugal to come to its senses. Portugal cannot continue to disregard the principle of self-determination which was spelled out first in the Covenant of the League of Nations and subsequently in the Charter of the United Nations. Later many of us elaborated that principle into a right which appears in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Is this principle and this right of self-determination not worth the paper and ink with which it is written? Come out! Speak the truth! Have courage! Say that Portugal is indispensable to us; we need it; we need our bases there, the Azores—which, as one of my colleagues mentioned, were used shamefully to send arms, lethal arms, to kill people in the Middle East, American arms, Phantoms. American democracy by subscription and contribution—as is attested to every day in the papers, when they describe how this or that Senator received funds from certain interests so that he might retain his seat; how the spoils system is rife in Government; how the mass media of information are twisted and slanted to distort the truth at the expense of the suppressed people of Africa.

186. Where is your conscience? And I am addressing now not the Government—Governments are not eternal—but the noble American people. How can you bear to see our brothers in Africa still suppressed? By what yardstick of justice? I am not talking to our colleagues from the United States, whom we all cherish as human beings. I am not addressing their Government, because who is Baroody, or any African or Asian member, to tell them what they shall do for the security of the world, they who have eroded their substance, upset their finances, eroded their currency, increased the burden of the taxpayer, in order to pursue a policy that might be right.

187. You American people, in whose country we have this United Nations, you the standard-bearers of liberty, you who extricated yourselves in 1776 from the yoke of the British; Do you not think that our African brothers who are still under the Portuguese yoke are worthy of your attention, are worthy of your persuading your legislators—not to mention bringing pressure on them—that what is good for the American goose is good for the African gander?

188. And now I should like to address myself to that valiant nation France, which, through silence, may inadvertently be going along with the other NATO members. Remember, when Hitler occupied your territories, how that courageous General, none other than the illustrious Charles de Gaulle, left his country and established a government-in-exile in order to see to it that the sacred soil of France would not be contaminated by nazism. For five years he struggled outside France to regain the liberty and freedom of France, which is famous for holding high the torch of liberty. Why do you not speak to your American NATO allies about the suppressed people of Africa?

189. As we look around, we perhaps exonerate Spain because of its close proximity to Portugal. But what about Germany? What about West Germany, that has recently been admitted to this Organization: will the Germans let their voices be heard on behalf of the people oppressed by Portugal, or will they remain mum and inarticulate because they are a member of NATO? And what about those small States—the Netherlands, Belgium and tiny Luxembourg? What about Denmark? What about Italy, one of the standard-bearers of the Renaissance, a country that has contributed a great deal to freedom—is Italy going to follow the line of the United States and keep silent with regard to the continued oppression of our African brothers?

190. Come out! Speak! Do not rationalize! We have had enough rationalizing. For 27 or 28 years I have heard your rationalizations. That holds no water. I feel sorry for you with all your empty arguments, because anything based on injustice will sooner or later totter and fall down. Wake up! Change your antiquated approach to solving colonial problems, problems that indeed should not exist any more. We do not want you to be hard on Portugal. Persuade Portugal! I am amongst those who failed to persuade Portugal. I have sympathy for its people. It is a small nation. But there is a circle of Portuguese, maybe 5,000 or 10,000 who are enslaving their own people and sending their sons off to have their blood shed by their African brothers—because whether they are Africans of Portuguese, they are brothers in humanity.

191. Mr. President, you will forgive me for having treated this question first in an orthodox manner—because it calls for an orthodox manner—but then in oratorical style, hoping to move the sympathy of Europeans who have suffered in two world wars because of the slogans which they sold to their peoples, to the effect that the First World War was fought to save the world for democracy, and that the Second World War was fought for the four freedoms. Now, in 1973, the precious blood of our African brothers is being shed by those propagandists who fought two world wars for their own interests—not to mention the wars following the Second World War; those wars, fought 7,000 or 15,000

miles from the shores of Europe and the United States for petty national interests, were a sham, but nevertheless they sent their sons off to shed their blood, beating the drums and waving the flag of chauvinistic patriotism.

192. We have no hatred or rancour against anybody, whether they be Africans, Asians or Latin Americans. All that we want is to have peace, peace through persuading the members of the NATO alliance to drive sense into the heads of the Portuguese ruling circles that still go on exploiting the Portuguese people.

193. One last word. I do not think I will be going beyond the aspirations of our African brothers in saying that it is far from their intention, so to speak, to throw to the wind Portuguese economic interests. Because after all, politics revolves around economics, though it should not always be so. But I am sure that the Portuguese will stretch their hands in peace, while recognizing the right of the African peoples living in their yoke, once liberated, will most likely maintain economic relations with Portugal, and Portugal then will not suffer, and the standard of liberty will fly over all those peoples who will then constitute independent States and be admitted to the community of nations—to this very Organization.

194. Mr. SEIGNORET (Trinidad and Tobago): In 1960, a distinguished British statesman, in a celebrated speech which he delivered in South Africa, referred to the important changes which were taking place in the political relationships between the African and European peoples. His speech reflected the British attitude of the day to the demands of the peoples of the British colonial Territories for self-determination and independence. He spoke of the "winds of change" blowing over Africa. He obviously wanted winds of peaceful change, winds of orderly change, not the tempest of violent change. He was the head of the Government of a country which had ruled the world's largest empire, the world's most spectacular empire. He was a man of knowledge and experience, he spoke as a ruler who had recognized that the ruled had awakened and wanted change, and that change would come peacefully or violently, but inevitably.

195. Other European countries, in varying degrees, recognized, as Britain did, that change had to be accepted and empires had to be dismantled. The only exception has been, and is, Portugal, or rather the groups who have ruled Portugal for the past 40 years or so. The rulers of Portugal saw the bitter struggle in Algeria culminate in the withdrawal of France and the achievement of freedom by the gallant Algerian people. In spite of this, they have refused even to try to find the basis of a new relationship with the peoples of the countries in Africa more or less under their control.

196. All the European Powers that joined in partitioning Africa about 90 years ago came to accept that the colonial people were determined to be free, peacefully or otherwise. Portugal alone has refused to abandon the worn-out policies of a bygone era and has chosen to oppress, exploit and further alienate the African people. The rulers of Portugal chose war to defend material interests because the notion of government by consent of the governed is totally foreign to them.

197. By refusing to work out a peaceful transfer of power to the people of the so-called Portuguese Territories in Africa Portugal has forced them to fight for their independence. Today we are discussing independent Guinea-Bissau; tomorrow it will be the other countries. After 10 long years of struggle, a struggle that is continuing in certain parts of the country, the people and leaders of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973 formally took their place in history as an independent people. They proclaimed their State after going through the processes which are normal to a democratic country but foreign to Portuguese experience. The political and administrative work which they had done by and through PAIGC has carried them to the higher constitutional level of sovereign independence.

198. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago warmly welcomes the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the international community and looks forward to an early start in fruitful relations between our respective countries. Having ourselves obtained independence without bloodshed and recalling the experience of our earliest years of independent statehood, we feel the deepest sympathy for and with our brothers and sisters of Guinea-Bissau, who, despite the high price in blood and in treasure already paid in order to enjoy their inalienable rights, are having to carry the burden of war together with their newly assumed responsibilities. We feel sympathy for and a deep sense of commitment to them and to their goals of expelling the Portuguese armed forces and promoting their economic and social development.

199. The great leader Amílcar Cabral, who founded PAIGC and led the people's movement until his dastardly murder last January, made repeated attempts to establish a dialogue with the rulers of Portugal in order to reach a political agreement. He and his comrades did not choose war—they wanted peaceful change. PAIGC was founded in 1956 and it was only in 1963 that it had recourse to armed struggle. On 25 September 1960, three years before any fighting began, they sent a four-page memorandum to the Portuguese Government requesting *inter alia*:

"...the solemn and immediate recognition of the rights of the people of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands to decide their own future; immediate withdrawal of the Portuguese armed forces and the political police from Guinea and the Islands; a total and unconditional amnesty and release of all political prisoners; and the installation of a process of parliamentary advance such as would assure the Territories of their own organs of democratic self-rule".

In brief, this was a request for constitutional advance, not even—at the stage—for the immediate grant of independence. For months later, another and more detailed programme for peaceful change was sent to the Portuguese authorities. In October 1961 in an open letter to the Portuguese rulers, Mr. Cabral appealed to the Portuguese Government to follow the example of other colonial Powers in Africa by responding to the wish of the people for national independence, peace, progress and peaceful co-operation with all peoples, including the Portuguese people.

200. The reply of the Portuguese rulers was to launch a campaign of systematic repression against the known and suspected members of the nationalist movement. Late in December 1962, Mr. Cabral made yet another of his many

appeals for negotiation. He called on the Portuguese rulers to reconsider their position with respect to the legitimate rights of the people of Guinea-Bissau and to international law. He warned that the process had started which would lead to the total elimination of the colonial yoke in Guinea-Bissau, whether or not the Portuguese rulers agreed to negotiate the transfer of power in an orderly fashion. The rulers of Portugal, arrogant, contemptuous, gave the answer they know best—more force, more repression. And so the suffering, the killing, the destruction of property began. Today the rulers of Portugal, in spite of their propaganda, do not administer a country; they administer only a few garrisons and beleaguered fortress towns or urban centres. Today in Guinea-Bissau the Portuguese functionaries are not free: they are prisoners of the war which has been brought about by their rulers' intransigence.

201. All war is abominable, and abominable are those who inflict war on humanity, even at one remove. Everyone knows that Portugal does not produce combat aircraft. Everyone knows that it does not produce napalm and other incendiary or chemical weapons. Everyone knows that it is totally dependent on external sources for the weapons of war, even if it pays hard cash for these weapons. We submit that States have a duty to prevent the trade in weapons used by the authorities of Portugal against the African people to the same extent that States have a duty to prevent the trade in narcotic drugs. Furthermore, the States which supply Portugal with war material must recognize that the policies of the Government of Portugal are a long-term strategic risk and that they betray the finest humanist traditions, even of Portugal itself. These policies have led Portugal into an unholy alliance with South Africa, which is obsessively heading towards violent confrontation on racial lines—an increasingly important political factor of concern to countries all over the world. We are not saying anything that the friends of Portugal do not know. We only wish to stress their duty to take effective action to force Portugal to accept change in the interests of good relations between different peoples, in the interest of the principles which we uphold, and in the interest of world peace.

202. It is held that the reason for Portugal's intransigence lies in the system of government of the country. *The New York Times* on Friday, 26 October, reported that 65 candidates in opposition to the ruling party withdrew from the general election which was held a few days ago because of Government repression and harassment. According to the report, penalties attach to a candidate's withdrawing from the election. One of these penalties is the loss of political rights. But a candidate was quoted as having said, "you can't be deprived of what you do not have". I emphasize that we are speaking about elections, if we may call them by that name, which were held in metropolitan Portugal.

203. One would imagine that a matter of great interest to Portugal would be the war in which the lives of many of its young people are being sacrificed. On this point, *The New York Times* report states:

"Frustrated in attempts to criticize the war that Portugal is conducting in Africa, which they consider the principal national problem, the candidates ... charge that the election has become 'a farce'."

Critics of the Government's African wars have been accused of having aided subversion and of being subversives. It was sufficient for an opposition candidate at a small indoor meeting to call for an end to the African wars, the return home of the Portuguese forces, and negotiations with the leaders of the African peoples, for the police to break in and break up the meeting.

204. No Government which was subject to and responsive to the democratic pressures could continue to impose so much suffering on the people of Guinea-Bissau and so much unnecessary and misapplied sacrifice on the Portuguese people. Moral obligation rests on the democratic countries which have responded with wisdom and imagination to the demands of people in their former empires for self-determination and independence. It is their duty to pressure the Portuguese rulers to withdraw forthwith from Guinea-Bissau. We believe that the United Kingdom in particular, as Portugal's oldest ally, has the greatest opportunity of all to use its influence on Portugal to induce the Portuguese to come to terms with the historic realities in Africa. The People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau, in its proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, declared:

"The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with which our people wish to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship." [A/9196, annex I.]

We believe that no country is so well placed as the United Kingdom to take advantage of the new situation created by Guinea-Bissau's proclamation of its independence and the new State's declared wish to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship with Portugal, to induce the Portuguese Government to abandon the use of force and adopt the way of negotiation. The longer the Portuguese Government holds on to part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau and other African countries, the more will the growth of friendly international relations, particularly within the Portuguese-speaking world, continue to stagnate.

205. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.702 and Add. 1-7. Among other things, this draft resolution invites 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. We commend this invitation to the specialized agencies and other organizations, including the United Nations Development Programme. We hope these organizations will be imaginatively and generously responsive to requests for assistance the Government of the new State may formulate. Since reconstruction and development efforts will be hampered by the continuing pressure of Portuguese armed forces in parts of Guinea-Bissau, my delegation hopes that the Security Council will take early and decisive action to help bring peace to this gallant people.

206. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): Thirteen years ago the United Nations adopted the famous resolution which contained the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing a

speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

207. Other resolutions of the same year unanimously admitted into the Organization as new and independent sovereign States 17 African countries, including mine. Some of the new Members acceded to independence peacefully and have maintained a good relationship with their former colonizers ever since. Others, unfortunately, have had to fight for their independence, a fight which in most cases was the result of the deprivation of their rights as human beings or even their lives in some instances.

208. An important consideration is that, whatever route the newly independent States followed to arrive at independence, they have retained a reasonably good relationship with their former colonizers, who are now considered nothing more or less than equal partners in development and friendship.

209. Portugal has been a witness to all these developments, not only in the last 13 years, as I have just mentioned, but much longer. It has witnessed, for instance, the struggle for independence of such powerful States as the United States of America, which, incidentally, did not achieve its independence peacefully. I shall deal with this later. Brazil, a former so-called Portuguese province, is independent and powerful today. So are many others. Portugal is also a witness to the power of the people in their just demand for self-expression and self-determination. Portugal not only has witnessed these natural developments, but has itself been forced to move from an era of an absolute monarchical régime to the present republican régime. This development was no different from the desire of the people of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau and those of Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde to determine their future.

210. One cannot, therefore, but have a feeling of outrage when one considers that Portugal accepted constitutional changes as the expression of the desire of the Portuguese people for these changes, but denies those same developments to Africans, who have demanded their freedom from alien subjugation, domination and exploitation. The people of Guinea-Bissau were informed 13 years ago that they, like

“all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.” [*Resolution 1514 (XV)*.]

211. Thirteen years ago the people of Guinea-Bissau were informed by this august body, the United Nations, that “inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness—should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence” [*ibid.*] from colonial subjugation by Portugal—an alien.

212. It is tragic that Portugal never embraced these universally accepted principles of decency and respect for human qualities. In his address to the meetings of the jointly sponsored United Nations and Organization of African Unity [OAU] Conference in Oslo,<sup>6</sup> Vasco Cabral, the Secretary-

General of PAIGC, informed the world that “our people have always resisted oppression ... we have always been against brute force of the foreign conqueror ... after having tried peaceful means to settle our contradictions which divide us from the Portuguese colonialists, our people finally had to take up arms to liberate themselves”.

213. After 17 years of inevitable armed struggle, Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973 declared its independence from the anachronistic Portuguese policies.

214. In the proclamation of independence, the leaders of the new Republic informed the world of the constitution of the People's National Assembly on the basis of the principle that “power derives from the people and should serve the people” [*see A/9196, annex I*]. As an expression of the sovereign will of the people, the National Assembly was elected by universal and direct suffrage and by secret ballot.

215. The proclamation further states that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau would continue its struggle against colonialism, imperialism, racism and all other forms of domination and oppression with the primary objectives of the complete liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and those of the Cape Verde Islands. My Government, in its statement on this happy development, issued the following declaration:

“The Federal Military Government has received with great admiration news of the announcement of the independence of Guinea-Bissau by the PAIGC. The Federal Military Government wishes to congratulate the PAIGC on this courageous and legitimate decision. It is the inalienable right of all peoples everywhere in the world to live in freedom unfettered by the shackles of foreign domination and unmolested in the pursuit of happiness and human dignity. This declaration of independence by the PAIGC is also in keeping with the prevailing view that the struggle for independence of Territories under colonial domination should result in the freedom of at least one such country in three years. The Nigerian Government welcomes this proof of the determination of the PAIGC to fulfil its pledge to the people of Guinea-Bissau and to Africa.

“The Nigerian Government wishes the PAIGC and the people of Guinea-Bissau every success in the defence of their freedom and their God-given land and territory. The Nigerian Government will co-operate with the PAIGC and the people of Guinea-Bissau and within the limits of its own resources will continue to render them the necessary moral and material support. This bold and far-reaching step on your part should hasten the pace of the total liberation of Guinea-Bissau.

“It is the fervent hope of the Government and the people of Nigeria that Portugal and other colonial Powers would rethink their policies towards African countries under their unjustified domination and would seize upon this opportunity to co-operate with the party and the people of Guinea-Bissau in order to compensate, in a very small measure, for the years of humiliation and colonial domination to which they have subjected Guinea-Bissau. At the same time, the situation in Guinea-Bissau should encourage all of us in our endeavours in Africa for the liberation of our other brothers still under the yoke of colonialism in various parts of this continent.

<sup>6</sup> International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973.



"We call upon all men of goodwill in Africa and the rest of the world to give their total support to the new nation of Guinea-Bissau."

216. Since then, over 70 States Members of this Organization have recognized the right of Guinea-Bissau to be in effective control of its destiny.

217. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.702 and Add.1-7 which, among other things,

"Invites 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".

My Government strongly believes that this is the least that this Organization can do for this troubled new State. It would be to Portugal's credit immediately to withdraw its forces to allow peaceful development in these areas.

218. My delegation is persuaded, however, that this cannot be done if certain Powers continue with their unfortunately dubious policies of supporting Portugal in its aggressive and colonialist policies while in the same breath speaking of their adherence to the right of peoples to self-determination. In this connexion one cannot but be offended by the statement of the representative of the United States when he stated at the 213th meeting of the General Committee that his Government had favoured a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Guinea-Bissau and had therefore been unable to support the proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the item under discussion. If this attitude had guided the leaders of America in their own struggle, the United States of America could not be in the position it occupies today. We all seek peaceful development of relations between peoples. The people of Guinea-Bissau had for 17 years sought exactly such a development, but Portugal, for at least as long, rejected such a development and was aided in this by its NATO partners.

219. It is curious that, in spite of various United Nations efforts for the past 10 years to combat colonialism and its attendant evils, some members of this Assembly who delight in calling themselves civilized and democratic are not ashamed to vote against the inclusion of this item on Guinea-Bissau in the agenda of the General Assembly for discussion. I am specifically referring here to Portugal's allies in the NATO club. In the view of my delegation, these arch-colonialists of the past do not seem to be happy over the independence and national sovereignty of Guinea-Bissau. For instance, the United States of America voted against the inclusion of the item in the agenda, while the United Kingdom and France abstained. Of course, it is understandable that France should abstain in the vote on the issue. Having been driven out of Viet-Nam and Algeria by armed national revolt, France cannot easily sympathize with freedom fighters who have struggled to gain their independence. For the United Kingdom to abstain amounts, in my submission, to a betrayal of the trust of its African friends, a betrayal which it had persistently manifested since the question of the illegal régime in Rhodesia came into the open in 1965. The United Kingdom, which usually advertises itself as the cradle of democracy, has constantly upheld

minority rule in Africa wherever the majority rights of African peoples conflict with the claims of the white minority groups. That the United States of America voted against the inclusion of this item in the agenda is a betrayal of the historical process, for the 13 American colonies, founding States of the present United States of America, did exactly two centuries ago what the people of Guinea-Bissau has done today. Of course, perhaps what is just for Americans is not just for Africans.

220. Having mentioned these few Powers, I do not intend to single out those other NATO countries or their satellites which manifested their support for the Fascist régime in Portugal by objecting to the inscription and the debate of this important item in the General Assembly.

221. I wonder, however, what the American revolutionaries who fought and died in the course of the struggle that led to America's Declaration of Independence in 1776 would say if they had the opportunity to comment on America's action today in voting against the current item on the agenda of the United Nations.

222. I am sure that personalities such as George Washington and General de Gaulle would be turning in their graves at the performances of their representatives at the current session on matters dealing with decolonization.

223. With regard to the American people specifically, one wonders whether the attitude of the Administration, rather than of the people, is based upon an understanding that for Portugal to make available its facilities on the Azores to ship arms and ammunition to Israel in the Middle East conflict, it was necessary to sell conscience and a commitment to the basic and fundamental human rights of equality and freedom.

224. I should like to take this opportunity to inform both the Administration in Washington and the people of America that we are aware of the fact that the toning-down of their harsh treatment of our own black brothers and sisters in America is not unrelated to the fact of their awareness of the presence of over 40 independent African countries in the membership of the United Nations.

225. The legal, historical, political and philosophical analysis involving the process of recognition of sovereignty were eloquently enunciated by my brother and colleague from Uganda, Ambassador Ibingira, in this Assembly on Monday, 29 October 1973 [2158th meeting].

226. To think that the United States and Portugal, irrespective of their military alliance, would be known or seen to be on the same side on colonial questions is a matter of great paradox. They constitute strange bed-fellows. For the current Washington administration, which includes an intellectual who has won the Nobel Prize, and for the echelon who influence policies there, I think it is a challenge to do a great deal of rethinking and reassessment in order for the United States to come up with a positive plan or policy for Africa. As far as my delegation is concerned, it would be sheer hypocrisy for the administration in Washington to wish to strengthen its relations with my country—or any African country, for that matter—on the one hand, and, on the

other hand, ignore the sacred and inalienable rights of the people of Guinea-Bissau to freedom and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

227. Are the Portuguese practices in Angola, Mozambique and the Islands of Cape Verde the type of peaceful development for which NATO was established? In what way did past Portuguese practices and the present aggression in Guinea-Bissau encourage the peaceful development of relations between the people of Portugal and Guinea-Bissau?

228. We have often heard the ludicrous argument that colonial and imperialist nations complain of the burden of their overseas Territories and colonies as if they had a divine mission. I submit that they have neither the right nor responsibility for such Territories. Therefore, if poor Portugal would spend the several millions of dollars it gets from the United States and its other NATO allies in developing its own self, I am certain that the Territories in Africa would no longer be a burden to it and would find friendly countries that can help them in their economic development. It is ridiculous to imagine how somebody who thinks that a heavy burden has been placed upon him, and yet when that burden itself voluntarily offers to be lifted from him, can continue to insist on carrying the burden. There is no rhyme or reason to this argument and it is neither logical, sensible nor modern in concept.

229. My delegation believes that this is another historic moment, not only for the continent of Africa but for all those who eschew colonial oppression and imperialist aggression. The sponsors of the draft resolution are once more asking Member States to demonstrate their commitment to the peace and security of the world by adopting and implementing that text. The adoption of the draft resolution will also serve the useful purpose of reaffirming the sense of decency of the people we are here to represent, as no decision adopted in this chamber in the 28 years that the Organization has existed gave the Portuguese, or any State apparatus, the right to murder those in Guinea-Bissau, or anywhere else, who seek to live in peace and by their labour. Let the Portuguese leaders encourage the development of their own resources and leave the people of Guinea-Bissau alone, if they cannot, as they have demonstrated help their peaceful development on the basis of real friendship based on equality and justice.

230. In conclusion, my delegation is speaking in favour of the adoption of this draft resolution because, first, colonialism is unjust and anachronistic; secondly, the United Nations Charter is against colonialism in all its forms; thirdly, freedom fighting for national liberation is a legitimate right of oppressed peoples; and fourthly, the State of Guinea-Bissau is now a reality as evidenced by the large number of Member States that have accorded it recognition.

231. My delegation appeals to Member States to offer their assistance in the following forms: first, diplomatic recognition by those States which have not yet extended such recognition; secondly, financial and technical aid for development; thirdly, requesting Portugal's friends to prevail on it to stop further aggression against Guinea-Bissau and to evacuate its remaining forces from the national territory of that State; fourthly, and finally, the acknowl-

edgement by the United Nations of the existence of the new State and the sending of officials of the Organization, particularly the specialized agencies and other organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme, to visit it.

232. May I remind Members that in terms of material and spiritual contributions, Portuguese colonialism has brought nothing to the African peoples but oppression. On the contrary, the period of Portuguese presence in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique has been one of material depredation, spiritual depravity and moral degradation. What, therefore, have the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau lost by revolting against injustice and oppression? Nothing, except their chains. We congratulate and rejoice with them.

233. Mr. ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is an African Republic which is here to stay and to prosper. That is our wish for it, which we will help to accomplish.

234. That Republic was proclaimed by a people finally free to decide its own destiny, on its own territory, in accordance with the deeply-felt wishes so often expressed and the fundamental right constantly reaffirmed by the international community through OAU, through the voices of the non-aligned countries and other countries which cherish freedom and progress and, finally, through the United Nations itself.

235. Large majorities here have endorsed the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples, particularly the people of Guinea-Bissau, and have sought and sometimes obtained for it the necessary technical and financial support to help its national movement, PAIGC, to reconstruct and to look after the interests of ever-expanding liberated territories and of more and more people.

236. After all, the national movements in colonized countries are nothing more and nothing less than our immediate allies: valiant representatives fighting in the very front lines—the first to be sacrificed for the attainment of the purposes of our Charter and the implementation of our relations.

237. Yet some delegations seem to affect surprise, if not actual shock, that resolution 1514 (XV), as well as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] and other explicit resolutions, not only of the General Assembly but also of the Security Council, have finally and concretely been put into effect by the inhabitants of that new country, and on their own territory. Those delegations seem to wish, if not demand, the blessing of the occupier, of the impenitent aggressor and unscrupulous exploiter, before recognizing this primary truth.

238. But who among us has ever seriously believed here that that backward and anachronistic country, Portugal, would yield to the facts—facts to which so many others before it have yielded, often realistically, at times gracefully, and have thus solved their colonial disputes?

239. Today, the United Nations has been enriched since its creation by the advent of more than 85 new nations, mostly former colonies themselves which were liberated

with varying degrees of good and ill fortune; in this context which has been profoundly modified politically, juridically and economically—and this evolution is the phenomenon of the century, which enlightened people will always be very careful to take into account in the future—Portugal can find nothing better to do than to oppose the irresistible wave of liberation that has swept away obstacles much more invincible than Portugal itself, and all it is able to do to stem the tide is to put forth the false argument of overseas territories being an integral part of European Portugal, the victim of terrorist activities.

240. Portugal's isolation in its outmoded policy would no doubt be more complete if sordid interests, operating to the detriment of the national heritage of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the people of other Territories still under foreign domination, did not still find it to their interest—temporarily, I hope—to co-operate with Lisbon.

241. It is also very difficult for me to refrain from mentioning at this particular time the fact that, in the course of a large-scale aggressive operation recently undertaken against the Arab countries in the Middle East, the only country which maintained a benevolent meekness—and this is entirely in harmony with its own African policy—was, again, Portugal. That alliance between aggressive, racist and expansionist zionism and Portugal, which possesses the same attributes, seems entirely natural to us. But it is something that should be noted, and well noted, by those who still cherished some illusions.

242. After having listened to so many distinguished speakers, I really do not need to embark upon historical and juridical considerations to justify the proclamation of independence and sovereignty by the people of Guinea-Bissau in and over its own territory. This Assembly has already heard—this afternoon, too—well-documented statements on the precise definition of a State and the right of a people enslaved, particularly by foreigners, to wage its struggle to its natural conclusion, that is, its liberation and the proclamation of its independence and sovereignty. We have, for our part, since 1972 borne in mind the Special Mission appointed by the Special Committee at its 840th meeting, which visited the liberated areas and we have had proof of the reality and vitality of the liberated territory of Guinea-Bissau.

243. Recently, the meeting of the People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September, at Madina Boé, was a decisive turning-point in the history of Guinea-Bissau. That National Assembly took sovereign and responsible decisions: it appointed a Government in conformity with a Constitution and national legislation of its own; furthermore—and this is of particular interest to us—it declared illegal the presence and acts of the political and military authorities of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau.

244. The logical consequences of those sovereign and legal decisions are obvious to the international community, particularly because they are in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, the resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of our Organization and, finally, the ethics which henceforth will govern a community that has outlawed colonialism, unjust violence and the occupation of the territories of others by force.

245. Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé, representative of the Republic of Guinea, to whom I should like to pay a tribute, has told us more than once of the sufferings and the martyrdom the people of Guinea-Bissau has had to endure as the price of its convictions and its determination to free its territory and confirm its sovereignty. We have been told that the repression has become even worse because of the military and diplomatic successes of the freedom fighters of PAIGC. Must we really wait to extend the hand of friendship and brotherhood to the people of Guinea-Bissau until Portugal, the aggressor, admits the evidence publicly and concedes the case? Since when has the consent of the aggressor been a necessary condition for going to the aid of its victim?

246. Today the people of Guinea-Bissau has assumed its responsibilities, after an heroic combat announced and planned by its national hero, the late Amílcar Cabral, a struggle that is continuing with the same ardour and the same determination as was instilled in it by our late brother Cabral.

247. This people lost no time whatsoever in joining the camp of the free nations—and this is a fact. This action was welcomed by my sovereign, His Majesty Hassan II, "with satisfaction and pride". His Majesty added that he warmly greeted "the glorious people of Guinea-Bissau and its martyrs, whose leader was the great Amílcar Cabral", and assured it of his "entire solidarity for the consummation of the independence of the country, an independence that can open the way for the liberation of all Territories still under foreign domination." This is a symbol for us.

248. The Security Council, meeting in Africa, adopted its resolution 312 (1972), which called upon Portugal, *inter alia*:

"To transfer power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)".

249. Similarly, the General Assembly has recognized, in its resolution 2918 (XXVII), the national liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau as the only authentic representative of the aspirations of the people of that Territory.

250. What is the basis now for reservations? How can one refuse one's recognition and support to a people which has exercised its right and also done its duty in keeping with our decisions and our resolutions? In spite of everything, Amílcar Cabral, last year, proposed sincere negotiations with the enemy, but that offer was disregarded. That is why I would say, in conclusion, our sole obligations now are the following.

251. First, the young Republic of Guinea-Bissau is entitled to our unreserved recognition and our wholehearted support. Secondly, Portugal, the aggressor country occupying foreign territory by force, must withdraw without conditions and transfer to the young Republic the territories and the prerogatives which it still improperly holds. Thirdly, in the highly probable eventuality that Portugal fails to heed the injunctions of the General Assembly, the Security Council must assume its responsibilities so as to render justice to the people of Guinea-Bissau and at the same time deter any other aggressor.

252. I have no doubt that the draft resolution already introduced on this item and supported by an impressive number of States—at least 63—will win in the General Assembly the massive and effective support it deserves.

253. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): For more than 17 years of political and armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, incalculable sacrifices have been borne by the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This struggle culminated on 24 September in the Proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau and the setting up of the first Government of the Republic. That Declaration was of momentous consequences in terms of inspiring all those who are fighting against colonialism everywhere in the world.

254. The decision was not taken lightly by the leaders of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It was a decision taken after objective consideration of a given situation which existed in Guinea-Bissau; a situation in which the liberation movement of the people of Guinea-Bissau controlled two-thirds of their country; a situation in which the liberation movement ran the administrative, judicial, military, social and cultural institutions; and, in short, a situation in which the liberation movement had all the attributes of a government which controls a viable State, with the exception of the small part which is under foreign domination. The United Nations Special Mission verified this fact in its report:

“The Special Mission was able to observe the marked progress achieved by the people of the Territory through their national liberation movement, PAIGC, both in their struggle and in their work of reconstruction. In the liberated areas visited by the Mission, the colonial administrative machinery has been replaced by new administrative, political and judicial institutions representative of the people, and educational and health services have been created, often where none previously existed.”<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the proclamation of the independence of the State of Guinea-Bissau is based on facts which exist and which are indisputable except by the Portuguese, who continue to commit acts of aggression against the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

255. Yet, we have heard several arguments which have been advanced by those who tried to prevent the inclusion of this item in the agenda. Among these has been the argument that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau does not fulfil the conditions of international law for a State. These arguments have no substance at all.

256. We are all aware that, under the traditional definition of a State in international law, all the great writers have pointed to four qualifications: first, there must be a territory; secondly, there must be people; thirdly, there must be a government; and fourthly, there must be a capacity to enter into relations with other nations.

257. There is no doubt that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau fulfils the above-mentioned qualifications: namely, it has territory, a people and a government. It cannot be doubted either that the State of Guinea-Bissau has the capacity to enter into relations with other nations, over 70 of which have already recognized it.

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. X, para. 36 (8).

258. We have also heard questions being raised about the lack of precise boundaries, because some territory is still under foreign domination, thus casting doubt on the viability of the State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This is an untenable argument, for we know what comprises Guinea-Bissau under Portuguese colonialism. Portugal, in its aggression, is still illegally occupying some parts, but there is no question of a boundary between what has been liberated and other parts. Apart from that, no one can say that the boundary between Guinea-Bissau and its neighbours is not known. In the north, the State is bounded by the Republic of Senegal; to the south and east, by the Republic of Guinea; and to the west by the Atlantic Ocean.

259. Let me now turn to the aggression being committed by Portugal against the new Republic. It is a fact that Portugal has troops in Guinea-Bissau. It is also a fact that the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau are fighting with determination and undaunted courage against the continued Portuguese aggression in order to liberate the remaining parts of their territory. They have pledged to continue the struggle until the last vestiges of Portuguese colonialism are eliminated from their country.

260. The statement of Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of PAIGC [*A/9196/Add.1*], testifies to the victories won by PAIGC. The Portuguese are losing the struggle to the extent that even their strategic headquarters at Guiledje has been captured.

261. In view of the foregoing, it is clear that the nature of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau has changed. The State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has come into being in accordance with the requirement of international law. This war, therefore, is no longer that of a colonial people. This is a war between two sovereign countries. It is therefore incumbent on this Organization to take cognizance of this fact and act accordingly. It is a war between two sovereign States.

262. One of the major functions of the United Nations has been in the field of decolonization. In fact, the declaration of the new State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is indeed the fulfilment of our aspirations as expressed in resolution 1514 (XV) and in many other relevant General Assembly resolutions calling for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

263. The obstinacy and intransigence of Portugal in this respect is a matter of record. Portugal has been condemned several times for that obstinacy. Now that the State of Guinea-Bissau has come into being, the position of Portugal in that country is no longer that of a colonial Power. It is a position of an aggressor which is occupying the territories of another State. This is a clear breach of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the United Nations Charter, which enjoins all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. The fact that Portugal insists on using force in Guinea-Bissau, an independent State, speaks for itself in this connexion.

264. One may ask, “What can the United Nations do?” Allow me to suggest that the least that the United Nations can do is to welcome the independence of Guinea-Bissau.



Secondly, the United Nations should demand that Portugal desist from continued violation of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Thirdly, Portugal should withdraw its military forces from Guinea-Bissau forthwith. Fourthly, the General Assembly should bring to the attention of the Security Council the explosive situation prevailing in Guinea-Bissau.

265. The people of Guinea-Bissau have suffered far too long. They are as much entitled to peace as those who are responsible for their miseries. They would like to direct all their energies to the problem of reconstruction and development. This is why I should like to call on all States to aid the new Republic and ask the specialized agencies to provide as much assistance as they can. The United Republic of Tanzania will continue to give whatever assistance it can and to help the new Republic to take its rightful place in the community of nations.

266. The arrogance of Portugal has also been indicated, according to reports, in its calling the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau a phantom State, a phantom Republic, a ghost State. It has even gone so far as to say that it is Conakry, Guinea/Conakry No. 2.

267. It is unfortunate that a country of that stature should indulge in these accusations and these words. It is unfortunately true, as my predecessors here have said, that Portugal has not realized that there is a wind of change blowing over the continent of Africa. It is unfortunate, too, that near as Portugal is to Britain—nearer than Tanzania—it did not hear the words of that able man who understood the changed conditions and who said: "The wind of change is blowing over the continent of Africa."

268. Africa is determined to go forward. The people of Guinea-Bissau are determined to liberate the last inch of their country, and we are seeking the help of the General Assembly, of all the specialized agencies and of all people to assist that country.

269. I heard from one of those people who said that they had gone to Africa on a civilizing mission a Latin phrase which is the following: *res clamat domino*—"property cries for its owner." Guinea-Bissau, the country of Guinea-Bissau, cries for its owners. The Portuguese who are in Portugal are not the owners. Every remaining inch of Guinea-Bissau *clamat domino*—cries for its owner.

270. Mr. President, I hope that you will use your good offices, in co-operation with this Assembly, to persuade Portugal to come to its senses.

271. This is another century. Britain once claimed that it was an empire on which the sun never set. Now that sun sets. The wind of change has blown. People have liberated themselves and continue to liberate themselves.

272. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): On 24 September of this year, the first People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau proclaimed the independence of that territory. On that day, independence had at last been achieved through the free expression of the will of the people of Guinea-Bissau; achieved against the background of 17 years of political and

armed struggle, in the face of Portuguese oppression and against a most pernicious form of colonialism.

273. In their march to independence the people of Guinea-Bissau first sought to use peaceful methods. They endeavoured to convince their Portuguese overlords, through persuasion, of the need to come to terms with the realities of the day and age, to urge them to desist from frustrating the orderly implementation of the processes of self-determination. The response of Portugal to these efforts has been bullets and bombs, terror and torture, and the erection of a mask of self-righteousness which perpetuated in the minds of the Portuguese ruling class a myth of Portugal's civilizing role in Africa. Evidence of the persistence of this myth, this self-delusion, was given in this Assembly only yesterday. But so firm has been the determination and the resolve of the people of Guinea-Bissau that, despite the fact that their just demands were countered by an intransigent brutality, they travelled the road to freedom by the only path open to them—the way of armed struggle.

274. Anyone who has followed closely the fortunes of the people of Guinea-Bissau in their quest for freedom and independence will recognize that they never closed the door to peaceful negotiations. And not even Portugal can deny this. The conference table rather than the battlefield remained for them a viable alternative arena for the fulfilment of their just aspirations.

275. The Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, that historic document, sets out with absolute clarity a firm position on this question. Dealing with the vestigial remains of colonialism in Africa, this is what the Manifesto had to say:

"We have always preferred, and we still prefer, to achieve it"—that is, independence—"without physical violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change."<sup>8</sup>

276. In furtherance of this objective of the pacific settlement of these colonial situations, the General Assembly, by resolution 2918 (XXVII), and the Security Council similarly, by resolution 322 (1972) last year, in acknowledging the efficacy of these mechanisms, called upon the Government of Portugal to enter into negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the people with a view to achieving a solution of the armed confrontation in the Territory of Guinea-Bissau, among others. To the logic of such a position, to all these appeals, Portugal has turned a deaf ear.

277. Peoples in bondage know no limits of sacrifice in the achievement of their freedom. The people of Guinea-Bissau, who endured for many years the humiliation of Portugal's domination and exploitation have, in a decisive

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 12.

step, terminated a degrading relationship imposed upon them.

278. What has been Portugal's reaction to this manifestation of the people's will? Has Portugal given any indication that it is willing to come to terms, on the basis of justice and in acknowledgement of the fundamental principle of self-determination, with the legitimate aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau? The sad reality is that Portugal's reaction has been totally negative. It has, ostrich-like, responded at every turn with predictable assertions that belong to an era long since past. It has sought to clothe its arguments in a façade of legalisms, to fake an attempt at derision, and to vilify, overtly and covertly, those members of the international community that have accorded recognition to the State of Guinea-Bissau.

279. On the question of decolonization, time has left Portugal standing still. It has failed to listen to the voices of the people of Guinea-Bissau when they clamoured for freedom. It has, in its obstinacy, flouted all relevant resolutions of the United Nations concerning Guinea-Bissau—as it has also done in respect of the remaining Portuguese colonies in Africa, namely Angola and Mozambique—and has allowed all reasonable appeals, both within these halls and without, including voices of reason within Portugal itself, to go unheeded. The simple truth is that the ruling *élite* in Portugal has been, and still is, afraid of reality: the reality of the existence of liberation movements, the reality of the State of Guinea-Bissau, the reality of the recognition of that State by more than 60 sovereign, independent countries, States Members of this Organization. So deep is this fear that the right to discuss the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa and the independence of Guinea-Bissau—a right which we are today exercising—is denied the people of Portugal itself.

280. But fear and suppression can never yield ultimate success when pitted against forces which combine for the triumph of truth and justice.

281. Let it be noted that, in making the historic move to independence, the people of Guinea-Bissau have asserted unequivocally that their enemies are not the people of Portugal, but Portuguese colonialism. The proclamation that accompanied the declaration of independence stated, *inter alia*:

“The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with which our people wishes to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship.” [See A/9196, annex I.]

282. This principled stand of the noble people of Guinea-Bissau, free of bitterness and rancour, reflects their eagerness to conduct their state relations on a basis of friendship, co-operation and mutual respect in conformity with the tenets and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Guinea-Bissau clearly wishes to proceed with the consolidation of its independence and to pursue with vigour the tasks of national reconstruction so urgently necessary in consequence of the ravages of Portuguese colonialism.

283. But the significance of the declaration of the independence of Guinea-Bissau is not confined to that country

alone. It is a major step towards the complete extermination of the remnants of colonialism in Africa; it is a beacon of light for the liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique, fighting to rid their countries of Portuguese oppression; it is a glorious example for the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe in their determination to oppose the Fascist illegalities of the minority governments in their Territories.

284. The draft resolution under this item, of which my delegation has the honour to be a sponsor, sets out in clear terms the considerations we have urged and the expectations we hold. It provides the opportunity for the international community—for all of us—to welcome the accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the creation of the sovereign State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a State which my Government recognizes. It recognizes that a new condition exists in Guinea-Bissau, condemns the Government of Portugal for its illegal occupation of certain sectors, and requires that Government to cease its aggression against the people and the State of Guinea-Bissau.

285. The international community as a whole must support this act of the people and Government of Guinea-Bissau by adopting the draft resolution under this item; it must demand from Portugal an end to its discredited and ill-conceived policies; and it must ensure that the United Nations itself, as well as its specialized agencies and associated institutions, will not only maintain but intensify practical support to the new State. In the immediate future, we look in particular to the World Health Organization [WHO], the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] and the Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] to render assistance in the area of food, medical supplies and equipment in accordance with the clearly expressed wishes of this Organization.

286. Let it not be said at the conclusion of our debate on this issue that we pay only lip service to the noble goal of self-determination. Let us by our decisions here, by our actions on every occasion, support the people of Guinea-Bissau in its valiant efforts to secure its sovereignty and its territorial integrity and give sustenance to the cherished hopes of oppressed peoples the world over.

287. Mr. TRAORÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The tragedy of colonization, which has hampered the normal evolution of peoples towards the fulfilment of their destinies, was placed before the conscience of the world after the Second World War. The world, which had just emerged from the nightmare of its destruction and the degradation of man, then measured the price of freedom. It was because colonialism was contrary to the emergence of such a world that it was denounced and condemned as an anachronism to be rooted out of our society.

288. It was within this historical context that the United Nations was born. Its founders therefore wished to express the deepest aspirations of mankind in Article 73 of the Charter, which provides that:

“Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of

self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation 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..."

289. Since then, profound changes have transformed relations between the colonized and the colonizers while the movement of decolonization has been on the rise. And despite the desperate resistance of the colonial Governments which were far more concerned with safeguarding the selfish interests of ultra-reactionary pressure groups than with faithfully complying with the commitment they undertook in adhering to the Charter, the struggle for liberation waged by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America has attained remarkable successes. The myths created by the colonizers to justify oppression and denial of human rights in colonial Territories have fallen one by one, and the United Nations has opened its doors ever wider to the representatives of the new States in Asia, Africa and Latin America and from year to year has moved towards universality.

290. Throughout the years the Organization has confirmed its fight against colonialism by adopting a series of measures of which I shall mention only the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—whose twenty-fifth anniversary we shall soon celebrate—and the famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV), among many other no less important instruments, all of which drew their substance from the noble ideals of the Charter.

291. While certain colonial Powers have had to yield to the pressure of the international community and to the fighting action of the peoples under their administration, it must be recognized that Portugal has always refused to follow the trend. What is more, it has flaunted with insulting scorn all the relevant resolutions adopted by our Organization at different levels. It left no choice to the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and the people of Angola and Mozambique but to resort to an armed struggle, with its attendant misery, systematic destruction and desolation.

292. Was it not in reaction to that irresponsible conduct on the part of Portugal that our Organization not only recognized PAIGC as the legal representative of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde but also conferred upon it observer status in the Fourth Committee of our Assembly? Whereas the Lisbon régime, a signatory of the Charter, reneged with effrontery on its international commitments, PAIGC affirmed its authority because of its moderation and its representative character.

293. On the diplomatic front its late, lamented Amílcar Cabral won to his cause the most intransigent interlocutors. He compelled their admiration and respect because of his sound and lofty thinking which was in accord on all points with the ideals of the Charter.

294. On the battlefield, intrepid fighters of PAIGC have thrown the Portuguese hordes into disarray and liberated more than two thirds of the territory of Guinea-Bissau. The proclamation on 24 September at Madina Boé of the

Republic of Guinea-Bissau was but the logical conclusion of that process. It was preceded by an election of members of the People's National Assembly by universal suffrage and secret ballot in the liberated sectors. History will record 24 September 1973 as the date on which a new victory was won for the forces of progress, including the United Nations, against the retrograde and nostalgic forces of the past that is gone for ever.

295. PAIGC has thereby honoured the memory of its historic leader, Amílcar Cabral, who fell beneath the treacherous machine-gun fire of Portuguese soldiery which thought it could halt the inexorable march of the people of Guinea-Bissau towards independence. He was preparing with his people the proclamation of this historical event at the time when mercenaries in the pay of Lisbon carried out their ignoble act. And that is why the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Mali, when speaking of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which the Government of Mali recognized immediately upon the proclamation of its independence, said: "We salute the birth of that new State. We welcome that event as one of the most characteristic of our times" [2145th meeting, para. 78].

296. The solemn act which has established the State of Guinea-Bissau is the crowning glory of a long and difficult struggle, heroically waged for 17 years by the people of that Territory against the Fascist Lisbon régime. It is above all the victory of our Organization, which gave material, political and moral support to PAIGC in the just battle it was waging on behalf of our common ideals. In its resolution 2980 (XXVII), the General Assembly appealed to its Members and the specialized agencies to co-operate fully with PAIGC and to render it all possible assistance in its battle for liberation.

297. Today, when the people of Guinea-Bissau has proclaimed its independence within the territory of its national home, two thirds of which it controls, it is the duty of the United Nations to continue to assume its responsibilities toward the new State. My delegation is convinced that no one in this hall will question the rights and duties incumbent on our Organization when confronted with the grave violations of peace which colonialist Portugal continues to perpetrate in Guinea-Bissau. The people of Guinea-Bissau, like all other peoples, has the right to live in peace within the limits of its own national territory and freely to forge its destiny. No civilized nation can question those fundamental rights, and anyone who makes use of legal quibbles to prolong its martyrdom, aiding the Lisbon Government in its genocide, will be condemned by history. Is it not this same history which teaches us that the young Republic of the United States of America, in 1783, and many States on Latin America were recognized in conditions identical to those now prevailing in Guinea-Bissau, while they still had to confront the last occupation troops of their colonizers? And we remember that the same thing occurred during the Second World War in the case of certain European States.

298. Without reneging on the fundamental principles of its Charter, the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the armed aggression on which the Portuguese soldiery has embarked in the territory of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau. For it is in fact international peace and security—the essential purpose of the principal mission

assigned to the Organization by the Charter—that are endangered in that country by a retrograde and war-minded country which has been ostracized by the international community. And it is in order to have the United Nations assume its responsibilities that 60 countries, including my own, requested the inclusion in the agenda of the 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”.

299. We are convinced that delegations here present will not hesitate for a second in the choice they will have to make between the rights of the brother people of Guinea-Bissau and the aberrant and Utopian claims to colonial reconquest of the Fascist Caetano clique. No legal quibbles can absolve those who act contrary to the ethics of our Organization.

300. The people of Guinea-Bissau which has just liberated itself after 17 years of heroic struggle, from the most abject form of the colonialist yoke—Portuguese colonialism—is a protégé of the United Nations. And that is why more than 70 States Members of our Organization, which now has 135 Members, have recognized the new State of Guinea-Bissau since its proclamation on 24 September 1973 by the People's National Assembly of that country. The Charter and the relevant resolutions adopted by our Organization leave us no choice.

301. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau had come to enlarge the circle of free and independent peoples that constitute the United Nations. Endowed with democratic institutions and governed by a republican Constitution which draws its inspiration largely from the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the new State of Guinea-Bissau fulfils—in regard to the Charter, to contemporary international law and to the customs and practices which govern relations between States—all the conditions required in order validly to represent its people and negotiate and make commitments on its behalf.

302. The new State, while continuing the struggle to complete the political programme of PAIGC, is building schools, hospitals and economic, social and cultural structures for the benefit of its people, which more than 500 years of colonialism and obscurantism had kept insufficiently equipped and in a notorious state of under-development. The Special Mission of the United Nations which was sent to the liberated zones of Guinea-Bissau brought us eloquent proof of this.

303. Any enterprise which would halt or destroy such a programme is detrimental, let us agree, to international peace and security, because it is fundamentally contrary to the provisions of the Charter, and in particular to the provisions relating to respect for the territorial integrity of States. Studying the report of the Special Committee [A/9023] suffices to convince us of the barbarism and obstinacy with which the retrograde Caetano Government blindly continues its acts of aggression against the independent State of Guinea-Bissau in defiance of the provisions of Article 35 of the Charter, appeals to reason and the relevant resolutions of our Organization.

304. It only remains for us to refer to Article 11 of the Charter, because in Guinea-Bissau there is a grave breach of

international peace and security. The moving communiqué which was read on 29 October by our sister, the representative of Guinea [see 2158th meeting], should finally convince us of the criminal designs which the Caetano régime pursues in that country. The arrogance and the malevolence of colonialist Portugal leave us no choice.

305. Our Assembly, in which our brother Amílcar Cabral placed his confidence until his death, must in these grave hours we are living through recall his moving words to the Fourth Committee on 16 October 1972:

“The real question is whether or not the people of Guinea, which holds sovereignty over most of its national territory, which has just formed its first National Assembly and which is going to proclaim the existence of its State, headed by an executive authority, has the right to become a member of the international community within the framework of its organizations, even though part of its country is occupied by foreign military forces.”<sup>9</sup>

306. The illustrious fighter for the cause of independence and justice is no longer with us. But his question is still before the international community. We cannot avoid it, because the fight he waged until the last hours of his life is our fight.

307. Let us therefore adopt the draft resolution A/L.702 submitted by 65 countries, among them my own, and thus answer this question in accordance with the ethics of our Organization and the solemn proclamations of its Charter. The General Assembly must now be heard, and my delegation is in advance convinced that it will be consistent with itself—that is to say, that it will assume all its responsibilities towards the people of Guinea-Bissau.

308. Mr. NDABANIWE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Thirteen years ago, on 14 December 1960, the General Assembly, meeting at its fifteenth regular session, adopted resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In so doing, our Organization was specifying clearly and unequivocally the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, a principle unanimously and solemnly recognized and proclaimed by the authors of our Charter.

309. Since that memorable date, the process, which had begun several years before, towards the dismantling and elimination of colonial empires has speeded up. Today Portugal whose appearance on the coasts of Africa goes back as far as the fifteenth century, is the only colonial Power which is clinging desperately to its colonial possessions in the name of a so-called civilizing mission which the peoples most vitally concerned in the matter have never wanted.

310. Indeed, in spite of centuries of Portuguese presence in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, and perhaps because of this prolonged colonial presence, the record of the famous “civilizing mission” is most revolting. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau to this day have known nothing but harassment, degradation, humiliation, pillage and devastation.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th meeting, para. 40.



311. That is why, like all the colonial peoples of the world, the peoples under Portuguese domination have organized themselves in national liberation movements to claim and obtain political independence in order to build a better future. It is within this context that PAIGC was founded in 1956, and its programme included the political independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

312. In the face of this highly legitimate demand, the reaction of the Portuguese colonialist authorities was not long in coming. The Fascist Lisbon Government hastened to produce a sophisticated machine of repression and intimidation aimed at the African peoples, who were defenceless, with the political, military and diplomatic support of the States members of NATO.

313. Following this provocation and imperialist-colonialist plot, the people of Guinea-Bissau rose as one man to rid themselves of Portuguese tyranny and occupation. After long years of valiant struggle, in the course of which so many innocent lives were lost, the people of Guinea-Bissau succeeded in seizing the more than two thirds of the territory of this country, redeeming it from the shame and obscurity to which it had been condemned by the Lisbon Government.

314. The report of the Special Mission of the Special Committee which visited the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau in April 1972 is highly eloquent in this regard. In its conclusions and recommendations, the Special Mission states:

“That the struggle for the liberation of the Territory continues to progress and that Portugal no longer exercises any effective administrative control in large areas of Guinea (Bissau) are irrefutable facts. According to PAIGC, the liberated areas now comprise either more than two-thirds or between two-thirds and three-fourths of the Territory. This has been verified by many foreign observers and journalists. It is also evident that the population of the liberated areas unreservedly supports the policies and activities of PAIGC, which after nine years of military struggle exercises free *de facto* administrative control in those areas, and is effectively protecting the interests of the inhabitants in spite of Portuguese activities.

“The Special Mission was impressed by the enthusiastic and whole-hearted co-operation which PAIGC receives from the people in the liberated areas and the extent to which the latter are participating in the administrative machinery set up by PAIGC and in the various programmes of reconstruction. Accordingly, the Mission believes that the Special Committee’s recognition of PAIGC, as being the *de facto* and sole and authentic representative for the aspirations of the people of the Territory, should be taken fully into account by States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in dealing with matters relating to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.”<sup>10</sup>

It is therefore absurd and ridiculous to continue to deny reality by failing to recognize the existence of areas liberated

by the PAIGC, areas which are under its control, as Portugal and its allies persist in doing.

315. Along with its national liberation struggle, and as it won victories in the field, PAIGC was carrying out intensive political education among the liberated populations. After having set up free and democratic political institutions, the people of Guinea-Bissau took the sovereign decision to proclaim the independence of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973, a decision which the world had awaited for so long.

316. In taking this historic step, the people of Guinea-Bissau crowned the tireless efforts and the enormous sacrifices which PAIGC, under the dynamic and far-sighted leadership of its famous leader and founder, Amílcar Cabral, had undertaken to free Guinea-Bissau from slavery and humiliation. In planning and ordering the cowardly and base murder of Amílcar Cabral, the Portuguese colonialists believed that the course of history was going to be halted in Guinea-Bissau. It is encouraging to note how faithful his successors have remained to his memory by raising high the torch of liberty and dignity which he bequeathed to them.

317. Portugal for its part continues to challenge the existence of the State of Guinea-Bissau. Anything else would have surprised us from a country which has always pursued an ostrich-like policy whenever the problem of its colonies has been raised. But whether Portugal likes it or not, the State of Guinea-Bissau will live, assured of the support and active solidarity of more than 70 States and the sympathy of all peace, freedom and progress-loving forces throughout the world. Legal quibbles and delaying tactics by Portugal will change absolutely nothing.

318. This being the case, the Portuguese presence in Guinea-Bissau undoubtedly constitutes aggression against the independent and sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau. Faced with this situation, the United Nations should take the following measures: first, admit within its ranks the new State of Guinea-Bissau, thus enabling it to contribute to the work of building a better world which is more just and more fraternal—the ultimate objective of our Organization; secondly, make available to it the material and technical assistance required both for the national reconstruction of the country and for the well-being of its inhabitants; thirdly, take all necessary and urgent measures to defend and safeguard the territorial integrity and the national sovereignty of the new State in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

319. One cannot talk of Portuguese aggression without mentioning the massive and comprehensive assistance which this country receives from its NATO allies. It is a secret to no one that Portugal is an economically underdeveloped country. It is unthinkable that this same country could wage expensive colonial wars with highly sophisticated armaments solely through its own extremely limited resources. The fact is that NATO has made available to Portugal the weapons and men necessary to carry on this barbaric and absurd enterprise, this colonial war. My delegation considers that this comedy has lasted too long. It is time for the Western Powers to realize that they cannot at one and the same time be the friends of Africa and the

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. X, para. 36 (5).

friends of the sworn enemies of Africa. One cannot be at the same time the defender of liberty and democracy and the ally of obscurantism and slavery. It would be tragic to continue to harbour this illusion.

320. My delegation is firmly convinced that, by adopting the draft resolution submitted by more than 60 member countries, including my own, on Portuguese aggression against Guinea-Bissau, our General Assembly will have displayed a high sense of responsibility and contributed greatly to the safeguarding of peace in this part of the world.

321. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The problem which is at the very core of our debate, that of the illegal presence of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau, has already been described by almost 50 speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum and have said everything that can be said on this subject better than I can do.

322. I should not wish to take up the time of the Assembly in order to repeat the arguments they advanced to prove the legitimacy of the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the illegal nature of the occupation of certain regions of that country.

323. What is clear from all the statements that we have heard here is, first of all, the very broad, if not unanimous, support which the cause of Guinea-Bissau enjoys, not only on the African continent, which is perfectly natural, but also in Asia, in Latin America and among the socialist countries. This gathering of sympathies for the people of Guinea-Bissau is not fortuitous, nor is it the result of a tendency of our countries to present a common front to defend our interests. It is not only in the name of solidarity that all those voices were united on the side of Guinea-Bissau; it is, above all—and we will never emphasize this sufficiently—because it was a matter here of choosing between the freedom of a people and the colonial domination being exercised over it, between the legitimate rights of the African people of Guinea-Bissau and the unacceptable claims of Portugal in pursuit of its colonial policy. That is why our countries have found themselves on the same side of the barrier which separates the law from illegitimacy and injustice.

324. Whom do we find on the other side of that barrier? Of course, there is Portugal, which continues to assume its lawlessness role with an obstinate constancy which evokes increasing condemnations from international institutions and defies world public opinion, in the insensate hope of tiring the vigilance of our countries and wearing down the resistance of the peoples fighting against its domination.

325. I shall not dwell on the legal quibbling whereby the representative of Portugal endeavoured to challenge the validity of the proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau. There is no rule of law which can be opposed to the will of peoples when they decide their destiny. And the law which allows the Portuguese people to enjoy its independence cannot at the same time condemn the people of Guinea-Bissau to suffer a foreign domination which deprives them of their freedom, their dignity, their wealth and their country. But if the Portuguese authorities, in spite of everything, wish to choose to fight at the level of juridical legality—a little late, no doubt—we can rapidly remind them of the logical chain of legal factors which constitute

the juridical foundation for the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

326. First of all, the right of the people of Guinea-Bissau to self-determination and independence flows from General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and it has been specifically recalled and confirmed by both the General Assembly and the Security Council, the latter in resolutions 312 (1972) and 322 (1972). The struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for its liberation has been recognized as legitimate by the General Assembly and by the Security Council in those same resolutions.

327. The liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, under the direction of PAIGC, has been accepted as the authentic representative of the people of that Territory by the General Assembly in resolution 2918 (XXVII).

328. Finally, the Security Council has called on Portugal to start negotiations with the parties concerned, to withdraw its military forces from the Territories under its domination and to transfer its powers to freely elected political institutions.

329. Thus, had Portugal complied with these decisions, as it should have, as it undertook to do when it adhered to the United Nations Charter, the procedures established by the Security Council would naturally have led to the proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau.

330. Portugal's refusal to implement the resolutions of the Security Council cannot unilaterally paralyse the development of a situation which also involves the interests and wishes of the people of Guinea-Bissau. The fact that Portugal has chosen not to honour its commitments and has decided to defy the international community does not mean that the people of Guinea-Bissau should also renounce the implementation of Security Council decisions relating to it. It is not the proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau that is illegal; it is Portugal's attitude, which is legally indefensible and politically condemnable.

331. In the light of this fundamental truth, the other considerations developed by the Portuguese authorities are open to ridicule and barely deserve mention. Portugal can argue about how much of the territory of Guinea-Bissau has been liberated by the patriots of PAIGC and is under their total control. It can maintain its argument despite the testimony of the Special Mission of the Special Committee, which visited the areas administered by PAIGC. This is not the problem. It is evident that the whole of the territory of Guinea-Bissau belongs to the Guinean people and, whatever the size of the regions occupied by Portuguese armed forces, this occupation is illegal and can in no case be the subject of appropriation by Portugal. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is not a State without territory, as the spokesman of Portugal would persuade us to believe; it is a State whose territory includes the whole of Guinea-Bissau and to which will be added tomorrow the Cape Verde Islands.

332. As for the representative character of the People's National Assembly which proclaimed the Republic and which has taken over control, surely it is not for Portugal to question it or to underestimate its value. If the Portuguese authorities have not wished to associate themselves with a peaceful settlement of the problem of Guinea-Bissau, if they

have not wished willingly and sincerely to co-operate so that the people of Guinea-Bissau may freely designate their representatives, must they shift the responsibility for this on the PAIGC, which for more than a year had been announcing that it was arranging for elections throughout the country aimed at creating a National Assembly? To do that, it was certainly not necessary for all organs of PAIGC to be within the country. We are astonished at the insistence of the spokesman of Portugal on this point, because recent history provides us with numerous and often shining examples of responsible leaders who, although forced into exile, continued to guide the struggle of their peoples, organize it, inspire it and, finally, lead it to victory. Without the real support which PAIGC has among the population, in the towns and in the countryside, could one reasonably think that that movement could have sustained so lengthy a struggle, registered such remarkable successes, immobilized such large Portuguese forces and enjoyed so much support throughout the world?

333. But the arguments used by the Portuguese are not new to us and, on hearing them again, we cannot but be convinced that, if history repeats itself so often, it is because Governments learn nothing from the experience of others. When Portugal proclaims that the colonial Territories are "overseas provinces" which are part of its national heritage and that the United Nations is guilty of interference in its internal affairs when it discusses the situation which prevails in those Territories and the rights of their populations, this arouses in us certain echoes, which anyone can find on rereading the records of the debates of the General Assembly on what was then called the "Question of Algeria". Were we not then accused of being in the service of I do not know what foreign Powers, of being manipulated by them, in the same manner that today the liberation movements in the Territories under Portuguese domination are being accused? It was claimed that the population of Algeria was hostile to the National Liberation Front and that the colonial army had as its sole mission to protect the population against the demands of a handful of rebels. The Government of Portugal at present uses the same allegations and, carrying the imitation further, it has not forgotten to include in its delegation to our session some Africans who, by their presence, are intended to demonstrate the loyalty of the colonized populations. The "civilizing mission" of Portugal in Africa, that same civilizing mission that has been invoked by all colonial Powers—but which no one else today would dream of invoking—has taken a long time to show itself, because, after more than four centuries of domination, the populations colonized by Portugal know none of the benefits of civilization other than the Power of the weapons that subjugate them.

334. In thus embarking on a course which the other colonial Powers followed long before it did, Portugal should also realize that this course will inevitably lead to the same result and that, whatever its obstinacy in wishing to ignore developments in the world surrounding it, Portugal will in turn have to resign itself to yielding to a tide far more powerful than its own will, since it is the inexorable tide of history. The ruin, the deaths, the hatred it continues to cause by the insensate pursuit of an unreasonable and hopeless policy are but obstacles which it sets up on the road to friendship and understanding with the peoples it subjugates today and which jeopardize its own interests in Africa and elsewhere.

335. But Portugal is not alone. As we have had an opportunity to note on other occasions, a number of countries provide it with the complicity of their open support or of their embarrassed silence. I am not speaking of those like South Africa, which share with Portugal the privilege of having been ostracized by the international community. But the attitude of other countries, in particular of the Western countries, is not so readily explained. The fallacious legal pretexts behind which they would hide cannot conceal the real nature of the problem, nor the real meaning of their attitude. In their statements they have condemned colonialism and they have joined us in reaffirming the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Those among them which are permanent members of the Security Council did not exercise their right of veto when resolutions 312 (1972) and 322 (1972) were adopted; that is to say, when the struggle of the colonized peoples was recognized as legitimate and when Portugal was invited to negotiate with their representatives and to transfer its powers to institutions representative of the population. Yet, these same countries still provide Portugal with military and material aid without which it could not pursue its war of repression in Africa. And today they dare not condemn Portugal for maintaining its illegal occupation of African territories.

336. So obvious a contradiction between their words and their deeds is likely to be detrimental to their credibility and to their relations with the countries of the third world. Nor does the regional solidarity which they display toward Portugal serve the cause of Portugal, which doubtless sees in it an encouragement to persevere in its obstinacy. The Western countries could certainly make better use of their ties of friendship with Portugal were they to persuade their ally to renounce a policy which is ultimately ruinous for all. Some among them have had valuable experience in the field of decolonization, which they could offer to a country enmeshed in problems they have known before. We, the countries of the third world, have sometimes been criticized for the solidarity of our positions on questions which are vital to us. We cannot fail to see in the attitude of Western countries in the debate today a manifestation of a systematic solidarity which is based more on regional affinity than on commitment to principles.

337. That is why the vote of the Assembly on the draft resolution that we are proposing today will be of exceptional significance and importance for us. For the country of Amílcar Cabral, for the people he guided by his example and by his thought, for the cause which cost him his life, this vote will be the consecration by the international community of a victory won after so many years of struggle and suffering. For the countries of Africa, for those of the third world, it will express the commitment of the Members of our Organization to an ideal to which they have adhered, but in which they should place their faith and their hope.

338. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on representatives who wish to exercise the right to reply. I would recall that, in accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly at its 2123rd meeting, statements in exercise of the right of reply are to be limited to 10 minutes.

339. Mr. LOURENÇO (Portugal): It was not the intention of the delegation of Portugal to come here once again in

exercise of its right of reply. In the first place, the sponsors of this item have not been able to adduce much that is new in substance in support of their point of view and that needs a reply. On the other hand, everyone here present knows that the outcome of this debate is preordained.

340. However, there is one delegation whose representative had the impudence and the audacity to come to this rostrum, taking advantage of the general confusion created by this debate, in order to set up the claims of his country in the field of idealism and to tell us what is right and what is wrong. It appears that there are indeed no limits to the effrontery of some people.

341. The representative of India came here to boast of the action which his Government took against the territories of the Portuguese State of India, Goa, Damão and Diu—a principality whose existence antedated that of the country he represents by over 400 years—in 1961, when by means of an act of unqualified aggression, his country surpassed itself in wrongdoing. It would be well to remember that this representative represents a country which, since its coming into independent existence in 1947, has made of aggression a way of life and indeed, year in and year out, all its neighbours have been its victims. We in the Portuguese State of India have been only one of those victims. Only two years ago a special session of the General Assembly had to be convened in order to condemn that and other such aggressions. But we shall refrain for the present from going into details. Suffice it to say that this is the representative of a country whose Ambassador did not feel any hesitation in telling a meeting of the Security Council, which on 18 December 1961 was discussing his country's military invasion of Goa, that "Charter or no Charter, Council or no Council" aggression was a matter of faith with his Government.<sup>11</sup>

342. The Indian representative also quoted some words of his Prime Minister at that time in order to draw a parallel between the situation in Goa in 1961 and that in Portuguese Guinea today. He could have done a better service to the General Assembly by quoting also some words, which he spoke on 6 September 1965 before the New Delhi Parliament, when he said that "whether the Goans want it or not the Portuguese must go". In like manner, Mr. Sekou Touré is reported to have said in 1966 in a conference in Brazzaville, the capital of the Congo, regarding the people of Portuguese Guinea: "If these people do not wish to be liberated, it is the duty of us who are free and conscious to liberate them." How very similar are the thoughts of both these men on self-determination!

343. The representative of Senegal appeared to find fault with my delegation's statement that attention could be called to the fact that "several organs of the international press mentioned that Senegalese journalists were not authorized by their Government to witness the act [of so-called proclamation] because they did not receive adequate guarantees for their security" [2161st meeting, para. 73]. In this respect the representative of Senegal said that in Senegal journalists are free and can travel where they wish. No doubt; but I would refer him to page 29 of the issue of *Jeune*

*Afrique* of 13 October this year where it is stated: "But Dakar has not agreed to send representatives of the Senegalese press because they do not think they have sufficient guarantees for their security."<sup>12</sup> It is therefore to the editors of that magazine, and of other newspapers, that he should address his complaints or explanations.

344. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): It seems that yesterday, in exercising my right of reply, I exceeded by five minutes the time allotted to me. I shall return those five minutes to the Assembly today, since I shall not speak for even five minutes.

345. We consider that this rostrum is profaned whenever the representative of the Lisbon murderers sets foot on it. You can be sure, Sir, that it deeply disgusts and distresses us. Therefore, we deem it unnecessary to reply to the indecencies of a man whose place should really be in the dock of a court of criminal justice.

346. Nevertheless, it is my duty to speak to certain nations that Portugal would like to win over on its cause by calling them "serious countries inspired by common sense and respect for international law." It is for those countries to tell us here and now whether they approve of these flattering assertions of Portugal or whether, on the contrary, they reject any complicity with the Lisbon Fascists. In any case, history will surely take this very much into account.

347. The cause of Portugal is a lost cause, and its defenders, whose responsibilities are so overwhelming now, will not be able to escape the even more overwhelming judgement of history.

348. Just now, the representative of Portugal quoted from *Jeune Afrique* on the subject of journalists who had not been authorized by Senegal to attend the ceremony of the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It is a real pity that *Jeune Afrique* does not appear in Portuguese because, if it did, the representative of Portugal would not have confused Senegalese journalists with the Government of Senegal.

349. Mr. SEN (India): I and all the members of my delegation—and I should like to think all the people of India—consider it a privilege, a high privilege indeed, to be criticized by countries like Portugal and South Africa, and one or two others of that ilk. The malice of the Portuguese delegation is to be matched only by its ignorance. Goa became an aggressor's footstep on the face of India from the very moment when Portugal set foot in India. Just as Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are part and parcel of Africa, in the same way Goa is part of India, and we are very proud indeed that we were able to eliminate that aggression from India.

350. Second, let us look at history a little bit. Since they are so ignorant, somebody has to tell them a few home truths. For 12 years, year after year, we waited for negotiations, for peaceful settlement. An absolute blank, a blunt "No"—quite the same situation the African countries are facing now.

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 987th meeting, para. 40.*

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in French by the speaker.



351. Look at the other side of the picture. There was France, with its colonies. France behaved in a civilized way. We came to a civilized solution. All the French possessions voted, and voted in a democratic way and to the satisfaction of both France and India. Now this country, Portugal, which pretends to speak for Christianity and civilization, and so on, has rejected, refused, mutilated every Christian,

every civilized doctrine, and yet it still has the gall to come here, in front of this Assembly, and speak about India's record. When it has achieved one-tenth of the Indian record of serving civilization, humanity and human rights, then will be the time to hear Portugal.

*The meeting rose at 8.55 p.m.*