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SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SECOND MEETING

Held in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, on Tuesday, 1 February 1972, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Mansour KHALID (Sudan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1632)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Consideration of questions relating to Africa of which the Security Council is currently seized and implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions.

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring Presidents

1. The PRESIDENT: My first obligation, as well as my pleasure, upon assuming the office of President of the Security Council is to express our deep appreciation—and I speak on behalf of all members of the Council—to my distinguished predecessors from the Somali Democratic Republic who served so brilliantly in the office of President of the Security Council during the month of January. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, His Excellency Mr. Omer Arteh Ghalib, and the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah, have exercised the office of President with great dignity, skill and tact and have upheld the highest standards of courtesy and impartiality.
2. We of the delegation of the Sudan will keep their example in mind in the course of the coming month. I have no doubt that I can count with confidence on the support of every one of the members of the Council in the judicious discharge of my functions.
3. As I am speaking for the first time since the commencement of the meetings of the Security Council on African soil, allow me, members of the Council, to associate myself with the speakers who preceded me in expressing their gratitude to the valiant people of Ethiopia and their tireless and dedicated Emperor, Haile Selassie I, for the kind and warm hospitality they have bestowed upon us.
4. The Sudan is most happy at the choice of Addis Ababa as the site for our meetings not only because of what it signifies for the whole of Africa, being the cradle of African

unity, but also for the historic bonds of amity and common heritage that unite the Sudan to Ethiopia. As we meet here, Africa, which is casting an expectant eye on this Council, neither expects miracles from us nor does it expect us to engage in mutual recrimination. It knows what to expect and what not to expect, but it also knows that the supreme peace-keeping organ of the United Nations will never disavow principles or shrink from responsibility. It knows that the right-thinking elements of the international community will never subordinate principle to expediency.

5. The African people that you have seen here and that you still see all around you are guided in their cry for liberty not only by the United Nations Charter, not only by United Nations decisions and resolutions, not only by an undefinable sense of nationalism, but, above all, by a simple inherent and paramount right: the right to be free based on a simple, inherent and paramount truth, that no man, no man on earth, is good enough to be another man's master.

6. The Council is expected by Africa to realize that basic truth and if it does it will then "call a spade a spade". The last thing that Africa expects from us is an innocuous resolution that couches the incredible in the unintelligible.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Consideration of questions relating to Africa of which the Security Council is currently seized and implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions

7. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Security Council that messages addressed to the President of the Council have been received from the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, from the President of SWAPO and from the Chairman of the South African Liberation Front. In accordance with the practice that has been developed, I will ask the Office of Public Information to issue an appropriate press release on this subject.
8. Document S/10602/Rev.2, which was issued this morning, contains a revised text of the letter from the representatives of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, requesting that certain persons be invited in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to supply the Council with information. There is an additional element pertaining to this document and in this connexion I call on the representative of Somalia.

9. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Since Mr. Richard Hove, who is listed sixth in document S/10602/Rev.2, is unable to attend our meetings, on behalf of the delegations of Guinea and the Sudan and on behalf of my own delegation I wish to recommend in his place the name of Mr. M. K. H. Hamadziripi.

10. The PRESIDENT: As a decision of principle was taken yesterday by the Council in connexion with this request, I take it that there is no need to enter into a new discussion as a result of the slight modifications that have been introduced at this time. Accordingly, as I hear no objection, I shall proceed to invite the persons mentioned in document S/10602/Rev.2, as orally amended, to come to the Council table and make statements in accordance with the provisions of rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. I understand that they will speak in the order in which their names appear on the list.

11. The representatives of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan addressed a second letter to the President of the Council on 29 January; it has been circulated in document S/10604. In it they request the Council to extend an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to the Reverend Canon Burgess Carr. As I hear no objection, I shall consider that the Council agrees also to approve that request.

It was so agreed.

12. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Liberia has been invited to participate in this discussion under rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, and he has indicated a desire to speak this morning. Accordingly, I invite the representative of Liberia to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement before we proceed with the invitations under rule 39.

13. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): On behalf of the President, Government and people of Liberia, I express appreciation for your decision to hold Security Council meetings in Africa and, in particular, to convene it in Addis Ababa, a city which has emerged as the political capital of Africa and which is also near the area where profound changes for better or for worse are taking place. The Security Council is thus keeping pace, as indeed it should, with the realities of Africa today and the Africa of tomorrow.

14. By your decision to visit and deliberate near the scene of battle, you have shown that you desire to be with us, indeed, to assist us in evolving the Africa of tomorrow; as doubtless you know, however hard and difficult might be the struggle, the African people are resolved that they will not retreat in their efforts to make their continent a product of their own creation.

15. Our representation before you at this time, briefly but bluntly stated, concerns Portugal, South Africa and the United Kingdom in what has turned out to be their peculiar and interrelated actions and attitude toward African land: Mozambique, Angola, Bissau, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The means by which the United Kingdom, South Africa and Portugal have sought to perpetuate and pursue their policies may have differed; their objectives have hardly differed:

"Hold on at all cost, wield political and economic control whatever the circumstances; never abandon the economic and other resources of these areas; in the final struggle, we Europeans must stick together.

"If it be Namibia, we shall give minimum recognition to past decisions, be they legal or political, whether the decision originates at the United Nations or in OAU; far too much, economically, is at stake.

"If it be Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), almost the same obtains—and we shall support you if you support us.

"If it be Zimbabwe, however small the European population may be, however noble may be our legal principles, however majestic may have been the phrases we have used in defence of the rights of man and of the human conscience, these people, this handful of Europeans, are our kith and kin. We can evoke principles later."

16. Following the birth of the Organization of African Unity in this very hall in 1963, the Heads of State then assembled commissioned the Foreign Ministers of Sierra Leone, Tunisia, the Malagasy Republic and Liberia to make representations to the Security Council about the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa and those of Portuguese colonialism. May I remind the Security Council that the response to the unanimous appeal of our Heads of State during the Security Council debate was far from reassuring.

17. I was a junior participant of my Government during those meetings. In a spirit of compromise, one of the Security Council members assisted us in evolving a resolution with the promise that it would receive the widest possible support. That same member abstained at voting time.

18. Perhaps because the Security Council failed to blunt the arrogance of South Africa and Portugal when the Organization of African Unity visited the Security Council in 1964, those two States have continued to defy the Council. For us, we cannot say in honesty that the Security Council has to its limit supported the claims of the African people to liberation, to equality and to human dignity.

19. The efforts of the OAU Liberation Committee, stationed in the United Republic of Tanzania, at the very scene of battle, the exposure of the innocent people of Tanzania and Zambia to the brutality of the enemy appear to suggest that, so far, the Security Council, the United Nations pillar essentially responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, has not yet seen its way clear to taking the firm and determined step we have asked of it.

20. Nevertheless, we are hopeful that the resolution on the question of Portugal which the Security Council will present to an anxiously awaiting world will reveal that the Council is truly in the driver's seat, and that it has no desire to yield its control to external forces.

21. I come now to the question of Namibia. Namibia is of prime importance to the people of Africa. But the decision

which the Security Council reaches here on Namibia is likely to have a profound effect on the effectiveness of the Council itself. There is a compelling need that the Council provide the African people and the Security Council itself with a positive response if it truly desires to meet the challenge posed by the persistent and impudent disregard of South Africa for the authority of the Council to supervise Namibia.

22. As far back as February 1946, by its resolution 9 (I) the General Assembly invited all States administering Territories under Mandate to submit trusteeship agreements so that Mandated Territories could be placed under the United Nations trusteeship system. All Mandatories except South Africa responded by concluding such agreements or by bringing the Territories into independence.

23. Resolution 2145 (XXI) disclosed the end of the General Assembly's patience with South Africa in view of the latter's reluctance and its refusal to fulfil its obligation, in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory of Namibia, to terminate the Mandate.

24. By its resolution 276 (1970) the Security Council reaffirmed resolution 2145 (XXI), and by its own resolution 264 (1969) the Council recognized the termination of the Mandate and called upon the Government of South Africa to withdraw immediately its administration. The Council also declared

"that the continued presence of the South African authorities in Namibia is illegal and that consequently all acts taken by the Government of South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia after the termination of the Mandate are illegal and invalid".

The General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice have all decided that since the dissolution of the League of Nations, the United Nations has become the appropriate forum for supervising the fulfilment of the obligation of the Mandate.

25. In its resolution 264 (1969) the Security Council declared that as a result of the termination of the Mandate of South Africa on Namibia

"the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal and contrary to the principles of the Charter and the previous decisions of the United Nations and is detrimental to the interests of the population of the Territory and those of the international community" and also that the Government of South Africa has no right to enact laws designed to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

26. In yet another resolution, 269 (1969) the Council determined that

"the continued occupation of the Territory of Namibia by the South African authorities constitutes an aggressive encroachment on the authority of the United Nations, a violation of the territorial integrity and a denial of the political sovereignty of the people of Namibia".

27. When the United Nations was established, the members of the international community agreed to confer upon the Security Council the supreme power to ensure the faithful observance of the agreed code of conduct established among themselves. Under these rules Article 25 of the Charter provided that "the Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." The Security Council was entrusted by those States as the organ upon whom the final responsibility for the destiny of the world and its inhabitants would rest.

28. It seems to my Government that it is the reasonable responsibility of the Council in accordance with the provisions of the Charter under Article 2, paragraph 5, to take steps to compel South Africa to respect its international obligations in regard to Namibia.

29. My Government feels that the defiance of the South African Government infringes the authority of the Security Council as declared by resolution 276 (1970) and challenges the legal order of this Organization. We can only expect the Council to assert its authority and to assert it clearly and unequivocally. The Council can assert that authority by declaring that the administration of Namibia must be turned over to the United Nations by virtue of the illegality of the present administering authorities.

30. Finally, Zimbabwe. The position of the African States and OAU on this particular question since 1964 is quite clear. I need hardly set out that position at this time. I shall therefore submit to the Security Council the attitude of my Government since the proposals for a settlement were announced in November 1971, by the Government of the United Kingdom.¹

31. Speaking before the Security Council on 25 November 1971 [1602nd meeting], the representative of the United Kingdom described how complex and detailed were the proposals. He went on to explain that Rhodesia had not been an ordinary colonial situation in what one might call the classic sense. My Government has never been unmindful of the difficulties attendant on this problem although we have believed and we have hoped that the United Kingdom Government also believes where the responsibilities and the origin of these difficulties lay.

32. We have wished the Government of the United Kingdom well and we have wished that it would employ a firm, resolute and reasonable response when the occasion demanded, and use, if not identical, certainly a similar yardstick, as it had done in other colonial instances. My Government has been willing to use its best endeavours whatever that might be, as in the case of the Biafra crisis, but we have never supported and could never support what we believe to be a surrender or a capitulation.

33. The President of Liberia received from Prime Minister Edward Heath a letter and what was believed to be the first or one of the first dispatches of the settlement proposal. In

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

his letter the Prime Minister solicited the support of the Government of Liberia in his efforts to ensure that the proposal would be given at least a trial.

34. The President of Liberia sincerely appreciated the gesture of the Prime Minister and decided that a reply would be necessary. I might observe at this point that the Government of Liberia has never challenged the sincerity of the United Kingdom Government. We have felt that governments, like individuals, can be sincerely wrong, however noble their intentions.

35. In the reply which President Tolbert sent to Prime Minister Heath he regretted the settlement terms which had been concluded between the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the rebel leader, as it seemed to hold little promise for the future of the Africans indigenous to that country. In President Tolbert's view the settlement instead demonstrated an unfortunate compromise of the principles enunciated by previous British Governments as the basis for a just and honourable settlement.

36. President Tolbert went on to explain that, whilst presuming to ensure unimpeded progress towards majority rule, the proposals for a settlement do not insist upon the "one man, one vote" principle; they provide no time-table by which majority rule can be achieved; they no longer insist upon external guarantees against retrogressive legislation; nor do they provide for the repeal of discriminatory legislation. The reliance upon the good faith of Mr. Smith throughout the terms of settlement is most disappointing, the President asserted.

37. President Tolbert went on to suggest to Prime Minister Heath that the African leaders and people envisage the usefulness of an agency outside the sphere of direct influence of either the British or the Rhodesian Government, which would bring to bear some sense of objectivity on this issue; and he further suggested that Her Majesty's Government request the Security Council to appoint a commission comprised of representatives of the Organization of African Unity, the British Commonwealth of Nations and neutral nations to supervise a plebiscite that would test the acceptability of the terms of settlement by all the people of Rhodesia.

38. In closing, President Tolbert explained that, although Liberia accepts the provision that normal political activities would be permitted during the test of acceptability, he interpreted that to mean that all African nationalist leaders detained or exiled would be allowed the opportunity to express publicly in Rhodesia their views on the terms of settlement. This would enable intelligent, responsible and frank reaction to the terms of settlement during the plebiscite.

39. The events of the past days have shown the extent to which one can comfortably rely upon the good faith of Mr. Smith. President Tolbert has received a reply from Prime Minister Heath to his letter, but the suggestions advanced appear not to have merited consideration. While, from my Government's point of view, one might not question the clean hands of those members who comprise the commission, those deeply involved in seeking to obtain

their freedom and independence do, and the Security Council should be willing to understand their fears and their apprehensions.

40. Africa is serious about this Council and its presence here. Africa is serious about the decisions it is likely to reach in this hall. Lest we forget, this hall is called Africa Hall. We have no doubt that the Council realizes the immense reactions its decisions reached in Africa will generate throughout this continent. Our Governments represented here are prepared to help it as best we can and, as the Secretary-General has so brilliantly suggested, we await the necessary remedies it will prescribe and the plan of recovery it will ask us to take to our respective leaders and peoples.

41. The PRESIDENT: Unless some member of the Council expresses the wish to speak first, we shall now proceed, in accordance with the decision taken by the Council under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to hear the statements by the persons named in document S/10602/Rev.2. I should like to request the speakers to limit their statements to 20 minutes or less.

42. I invite Mr. El-Bedewi to take a place at the Council table and make his statement.

43. Mr. EL-BEDEWI: Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. I wish you all success and trust that the Council under your leadership will succeed in fulfilling the objectives for which it is convening on African soil. I should not fail also to pay a tribute to and thank your predecessor, Mr. Farah of Somalia, for the ability he has shown and the role he has played in having the Council convene in Africa.

44. Allow me at the outset of my intervention, in my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organization of African Unity, to extend to you and the members of the Security Council the Committee's deep appreciation and gratitude for your decision to invite me to the table of this body to express the views of one of the most important organs of the Organization of African Unity, entrusted by the African Heads of State and Government with the task of co-ordinating and harmonizing the assistance to the liberation struggle in Africa in territories under foreign colonial domination, *apartheid* and racist illegal régimes. Great are our expectations that this series of meetings of the Security Council will fulfil and achieve the hopes that all African peoples and their leaders have in the United Nations and, more particularly, the aspirations of millions of victims of ruthless colonialism and racial discrimination.

45. On this historic occasion the eyes of the whole universe are turned towards Addis Ababa, to the deliberations of this series of meetings devoted exclusively to the examination of practical measures for the elimination of foreign domination, the eradication of racism in Africa, and concrete ways and means to implement fully the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. The efforts of the world community to bring about a peaceful and just solution in southern Africa have been persistently

frustrated by the colonial and racist régimes, availing themselves of the active support of some Powers. Oppressed peoples in Africa were left with no way out but to resort to legitimate resistance.

46. After the Council has been addressed by two prestigious African leaders and a number of Foreign Ministers and representatives, there is no need for me to elaborate on the alarming situation prevailing in southern Africa, which indeed is endangering international peace and security, especially, as I have been given the honour to be the first to speak before you under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, and the speakers who are to follow me, whose names appear in document S/10602/Rev.2, are authentic representatives of the oppressed and colonized African peoples and will no doubt be given full opportunity to supply the Council with the necessary invaluable information it needs for examining the matters contained in its agenda.

47. Though colonialism, foreign occupation, racial discrimination and outside aggression are still being perpetrated in many parts of our continent, my intervention and contribution will be limited to those questions of which the Security Council is currently seized and the implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions; it will be made in order to acquaint you more fully with some important aspects of the struggle in those areas in Africa, while humbly suggesting some concrete proposals which should, in the Committee's view, assist the Council in its deliberations.

48. The Liberation Committee is gratified to note that the legitimacy of the liberation struggle in southern Africa has been upheld and recognized by the United Nations as well as by peace-loving countries throughout the world. The Committee firmly believes that with the active support of members of the Security Council, especially the permanent ones, the aims of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the just aspirations of millions of oppressed African people will be achieved.

49. Let me emphasize from the outset that the armed liberation struggle being waged by the nationalists in southern Africa is not primarily a war of military operations against a ruthless enemy: it is, first and foremost, a gigantic task of national reconstruction with the view of achieving the radical transformation of the colonial society in the social, political and economic aspects. The work of reconstruction being carried out by the liberation movements in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola deserves all our admiration and praise.

50. The Security Council may wish to be informed that the liberation struggle is gaining momentum every day, that the liberated areas are extending, and that the administration and control of nationalist forces are being consolidated, despite the brutal methods, atrocities and acts of genocide perpetrated by the colonialist forces against the civilian population of the liberated areas, and despite the systematic policy aimed at the suppression of the inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms of the African

masses. In one instance, the Portuguese High Command, towards the end of last year, was compelled to admit that a full-scale war raged in Guinea (Bissau) and that operations were no longer of a defensive nature against nationalist forces but amounted to a classical war.

51. Let me also emphasize here that despite military gains and successes in the field, the leadership of the liberation movements has shown maturity and great political vision. While conducting its armed struggle and its reconstruction work, it has spared no efforts in seeking international support for the clear objectives it had laid down to win independence and freedom. One illustrious leader of the nationalist movement forces has recently declared in a major western capital that his movement is not waging war for the sake of war and that he was prepared to negotiate with the colonial government concerned without preconditions.

52. The OAU Liberation Committee in all its activities has been seeking to maintain fruitful and close co-operation with all United Nations organs. It wishes particularly to pay tribute to the international Organization's decisions and resolutions on assistance to the liberation struggle. I should like to refer in this respect to General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV), which inaugurated a phase of active consultations between OAU and the United Nations specialized agencies, including UNESCO, FAO and WHO, as well as UNDP and practical programmes of assistance to liberation movements and refugees.

53. On the other hand, the Liberation Committee has had the opportunity to express its views, as well as those of the liberation movements concerned, to the Special Committee on decolonization² and has extended a formal invitation to its Sub-Committee visiting Dar-es-Salaam, in the United Republic of Tanzania, to go to the liberated areas in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola.

54. I have been mandated by the Liberation Committee and the liberation movements concerned to state here before you that the Committee is extending a similar invitation to this august body.

55. The liberated areas under nationalist control are being subjected to intensive air bombardments and helicopter-borne operations, by conventional, napalm and incendiary bombs alike, not to mention chemicals and defoliants. Those barbarous acts continue to take a heavy toll on the civilian population, and result in the destruction of crops and livestock. Through a policy of genocide, terror and famine, the civilian population is evicted and removed to so-called regrouping areas, or strategic hamlets, while thousands of African refugees, mainly women and children, have streamed into neighbouring territories. Despite repeated appeals to the United Nations, individual Member States and humanitarian organizations to denounce and to condemn those criminal acts, the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis continues with impunity to perpetrate its genocide policy.

² Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

56. Having created a mechanism of genocide and oppression inside seized Territories, the colonial and racist régimes are feverishly preparing a gigantic military machine which will enable them to threaten and subvert independent African States committed to support the unconditional and total liberation of Africa. Violations of territorial integrity and acts of unprovoked aggression have gained in intensity, and have varied from artillery bombardment to frequent land and air incursions, to full-scale invasion and acquisition of territories by force.

57. If the Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury régimes have been able to acquire helicopters, fighters, bombers, transport planes, warships, submarines, gun-boats, and so on, it is with the assistance they continue to receive from allies and supporters. If Portugal spends over \$400 million to keep more than 200,000 troops in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), it is because of huge loans and military assistance it receives through institutional arrangements with the active co-operation of some Powers.

58. If the resolutions of the Security Council on the embargo on arms sales continue to be violated, if no restrictions are imposed on arms delivery to colonial and racist régimes in Africa, if major Powers, financial and economic interests, are allowed freely to trade with these régimes and to participate in such diabolic schemes as the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique and the Kunene in Angola, then the already explosive situation in southern Africa would undoubtedly degenerate into a serious conflagration endangering world peace and security.

59. The more the colonialist and racist régimes intensify their brutal suppression of nationalist forces and persist in their intransigence with regard to the plea of Africa for a just solution, as well as with regard to the resolutions of the United Nations, the more the struggle will intensify until final liberation and independence. It is our sincere conviction that in view of the persistent defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions by colonial and racist régimes, the time has come for the Council to assume fully its responsibilities and use all means within the Charter—including force—to uproot racism and colonialism in Africa.

60. Allow me, before I leave the Council table, to submit the following for the Council's consideration, as the Liberation Committee's contribution to your heavy task:

— First, that the questions on the Council's agenda be considered as threatening or likely to endanger international peace and security;

— Second, that the Council take effective measures and resolute action for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on decolonization, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa;

— Third, that the Council expressly intervene so that all Member countries, especially the great Powers, cease to lend direct or indirect support or assistance to all those colonialist Governments which might use such weapons against the people and suppress national liberation movements;

— Fourth, the Council should give serious consideration to acts of threat, provocation and aggression perpetrated against neighbouring territories of independent African States, which territories are still under foreign domination, and should vigorously condemn such acts;

— Fifth, all freedom-loving countries are called upon to grant to the liberation movements recognized by OAU, all necessary moral, financial and material assistance, with a view to the speedy and unconditional liberation of their respective territories. In this respect the proposals submitted by President Moktar Ould Daddah, the current Chairman of OAU, to the effect of setting up within the United Nations an international aid fund, should wholeheartedly be endorsed;

— Sixth, the affirmation on the part of the Council that the settlement in African Territories with which the Council is currently seized should be negotiated with the authentic representatives of the liberation movements recognized by OAU;

— Seventh, that the Council decide that its members be entrusted with the administration of Namibia and act to ensure the implementation of those decisions;

— Eighth, that the Council endorse practical steps to be taken on the international level, with the active participation of the United Nations organizations concerned, OAU and the various liberation movements, with the aim of arousing world public opinion to the just and legitimate resistance of the oppressed and colonized peoples in Africa, of ensuring world-wide support and assistance, as well as of securing the complete isolation of colonial and racist illegal minority régimes;

— Ninth, and finally, the Liberation Committee wishes to pay tribute to those members of the Council who have put forward positive and concrete proposals which are in line with our aforementioned contributions.

61. The Liberation Committee and the liberation movements recognized by OAU primarily concerned with the question on which the Security Council is called upon to act, firmly believe that through concrete and resolute decisions on the part of the Council, the present series of meetings would be a genuine contribution to the just cause of liberation and dignity of the African man. If the members of the Council, and especially its permanent members, are to assume fully their responsibilities, if effective measures are taken to implement the United Nations resolutions on decolonization, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, then the meetings in Addis Ababa will go down in history as the true consecration of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter; peace in southern Africa will be maintained and the harmonious coexistence of all races preserved.

62. It is my sincere hope, not only as the Chairman of the Liberation Committee, but as a son of Africa, that the Security Council will consider thoroughly the problems on its agenda, and with better understanding, so that its action would justify the convening of the present meetings on African soil.

63. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Mr. Amílcar Cabral to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

64. Mr. CABRAL (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, before I begin my statement, I have the honour to convey my brotherly greetings to you, and to wish you the greatest success in your task as President of the Security Council. I should like to assure you that for us in our country it is as if for this month our people themselves were placed at the head of the Security Council in the President's chair, because you are our brothers; we are companions in the same struggle, and we dream of the day when we can express the same feelings whoever may be presiding over the Security Council.

65. We feel greatly honoured and also very encouraged by this opportunity to be heard by the Security Council, but we also realize how much this signifies—how much more responsibility for each as an individual, as a human being and as a fighter for the freedom of our African people. But we are also aware that this opportunity, this event will represent much more responsibility for the Security Council itself, for after this series of meetings, as the poet would say, “no one can say that the truth did not out”.

66. We shall not repeat here what many other speakers have already said—that the Security Council's meeting in Africa is an historic event. We would rather say that it is a most moving event. In fact, we are all moved whether friends or enemies of the progress of the African peoples. We have already had the honour sometimes to speak in this same room, but today we do so under very different circumstances. If I may be allowed a comparison, we feel as we do when in our country we hunt in the sacred forest to contact the great all-powerful Spirit who, according to our moral philosophy, decrees and decides upon good and ill for both the individual and the community. We wonder whether the Security Council will be for humanity—this great Spirit that synthesizes good and evil; if it is, this series of meetings is already a brilliant victory of good over evil.

67. That is why we should like to congratulate OAU for its decision to request this series of meetings in Africa. We also congratulate the Security Council itself and, most particularly, the permanent members, for having agreed to these meetings. This event is not only evidence of an acute awareness of the increasing importance of the problems confronting Africa for the destinies of mankind; it is also, perhaps, the dawn of a new era in the life of the Organization in the service of mankind. It is certainly proof that if principles are respected you, the members of the Security Council, are our companions in our struggle. We are and until victory is won will remain anonymous soldiers in the cause of the United Nations despite the fact that we have not been present in the Congo, nor in Cyprus, nor in the Middle East, and we have never worn blue helmets. Those who have not understood this fact—our being anonymous soldiers of the United Nations—have understood neither the principles of the United Nations itself nor the objectives of national liberation.

68. We are not here before the Council to accuse anyone, not even the particularly backward Portuguese colonialists. In fact, who is there today who does not know that the

Portuguese colonialists have committed and are committing abominable crimes against the African peoples in the name of Christian and Western civilization? Who does not know that the so-called multiracial society and the so-called reforms of Portuguese colonialism are nothing more than gross attempts to perpetuate the colonial exploitation of our peoples while seeking to camouflage primitive racism, which has always characterized the Portuguese presence in Africa? Suffice it to know something about the history of Portuguese colonialism of Alfonso de Albuquerque and go back to the sinister days of General Spínola to know that it is characterized by crimes and constant contempt for the African man. Suffice it to recall that Salazar confirmed quite clearly that “Africa does not exist”. Suffice it to read the lessons of colonial law professed by Mr. Marcelo Caetano at the University of Lisbon who, on the basis of the arguments of Gobineau, Lévy-Bruhl and the Nazis, shows that the black man is inferior to the Portuguese. Suffice it to read recent lectures of General Kaulza de Arriaga, given at the High Portuguese Command, concerning Portuguese strategy, in which he affirms that “the African peoples are the least intelligent of all the peoples in the world”. Finally, suffice it to know the daily crimes perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialist troops who occupy our country against Africans in the colonial war.

69. This year we invited the General Assembly to send us a delegation to examine the realities of our country. We have just heard the President of the OAU Liberation Committee, and we should like before the Council to give full support to his proposal concerning a visit of a Security Council delegation to our country.

70. For us, for our African people, the time of verbal accusations is long past. The time of pleading has also gone forever. Precisely because our people have understood how useless it is to make accusations, how vain their pleadings are, they have taken up weapons to contest the criminal violence of the Portuguese colonialists, to reap freedom from foreign yoke, to conquer their independence and to recover their inalienable right to have their own history. Despite the efforts and sacrifices that this implies, that is what we are doing, and we have met with encouraging success. We shall continue until the final victory is won—in the service of our people, of course, but also in the service of Africa and mankind as a whole, in the defence of the principles of the United Nations.

71. Nor are we here to accuse the allies of Portugal and of the Portuguese Government or to recall that the United Nations and the Security Council, were it not for limitations imposed by internal contradictions, could have done a great deal more to liberate our peoples. That would neither be polite on our part nor accord with African traditions, which would not have us embarrass our guests. Nor would this be necessary. Who does not know that Portugal—an underdeveloped country and the most backward in Europe—would not be in a position to devote about 50 per cent of its annual budget to the colonial war and, for years, to wage three wars against the African peoples, were it not for the aid of its allies? Who does not know that Portugal, which does not even manufacture toy aeroplanes for its children, uses against us warplanes, helicopters, warships and the most modern weapons, furnished by its allies? Who

does not know who Portugal's allies are, apart from the Southern African racists? Who in all honesty can believe that the Portuguese Government, which respects neither the rules nor the principles of NATO, would have been able to leave the arms and weapons received from that organization to go rusty when it needs them to repress our aspirations to freedom? Who could believe that the Portuguese Government is not going to make use of the millions it receives in financial aid in the continuance of the colonial war against the peoples of Africa, when Mr. Caetano himself said in his statements that he needs money to pursue the war?

72. An elementary rule of public security requires that weapons not be given to criminals and to madmen, and it seems to us that that rule is fully applicable to the criminal madmen of the Portuguese Government, who are international criminals. In view of that attitude it is no longer of interest for us to ask why the allies of Portugal give weapons and aid to the Portuguese Government. We all know why. What is of interest now is to ask why the countries which claim that they are champions of freedom, democracy and the progress of peoples and boast of it do not help us in our struggle for freedom, democracy and progress. If the reply is the same and the reasons are the same, then two aspects become clear to us. First, the so-called adherence to principles is devoid of meaning and is designed only to deceive naive politicians. Among those who proclaim themselves to be the friends of Africa are some who are not our friends, but quite the contrary. We believe that the result of this series of meetings will help in a decisive fashion to understand this matter even better, despite our long experience of the question. For as one of the sayings of our people goes, "whatever be the size of your hand, it will never manage to conceal the sky".

73. Nor are we here—and this is certainly going to surprise some of our African brothers—to ask that Portugal should be expelled from the United Nations. First of all, we do not confuse the Portuguese nations with the present Portuguese régime, although it has been in power for almost half a century. Secondly, it appears to us that the interests of some members of the Security Council in Portugal itself and in its colonies would not enable them to support such a measure, and we wish very much to be realistic. Thirdly, we believe that such a measure would not be effective. Frankly, our purpose is not to liberate the United Nations from Portugal, but rather to liberate our African homeland from Portuguese colonial domination and to win our national and international sovereignty. Moreover, who does not know that the Portuguese Government is a fascist Government, an enemy of democracy and fundamental freedoms? Who does not know that the people of Portugal themselves do not enjoy the most elementary human rights? Who is unaware of the fact that the Portuguese Government does not respect the Charter, nor the principles of the United Nations and that it does not even respect the principles proclaimed by NATO?

74. To expel Portugal from the United Nations is not the question. It is not Portugal that matters here. As far as we are concerned, it is the attitude of the Security Council, and in particular its permanent members, that is important. Churchill said that each people has the government it

deserves. We could paraphrase this to say that every organization has the members it deserves. But for us the problem today is not the question of the expulsion of Portugal, but rather of recognizing that the Portuguese Government no longer has the right, if it ever did have that right, to represent our people within the United Nations, any more than to represent it in OAU. It is a question of recognizing that the only true and legitimate representatives of our African people of Guinea and of the Cape Verde Islands is our party, PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde). Finally, it is the problem of the admission of our African nation to the United Nations as a Member. That is the problem which is raised by the specific situation prevailing in our country. It is the problem which OAU, the African States and all anti-colonialist forces of the world have already solved by recognizing our party as the only true and legitimate representatives of our people. That is the problem with which the United Nations and the Security Council, and in particular its permanent members, must come to grips in order to solve it courageously, if they really wish to make an effective political contribution to the liberation of our people.

75. For our part, while intensifying the indispensable armed action that is needed to complete the liberation of our country, we are in the course of taking the necessary political steps to complete this liberation.

76. This is the situation in our country. In general, the situation is known because we have always reported on it to the United Nations. In Guinea, our people have already manifested its self-determination through nine years of armed struggle imposed by Portuguese colonialism. Our people, as a result of that self-determination, already have sovereignty over more than two thirds of its national territory. Our situation is comparable to that of an independent State which has certain portions of its national territory occupied by foreign armed forces. We have all the component parts of a developing State in our country. In the face of the criminal bombs of the Portuguese colonialists, we are building a new life of justice, work and democracy in our liberated areas. We are at present in the course of making all the preparations to elect the regional councils and the first popular assembly of our people in Guinea. We shall draw all the necessary consequences from these acts of sovereignty, and shall thus help the United Nations itself and all of our friends to help us further. The Portuguese colonialists, of course, are desperate and are day by day increasing their acts of terrorism against our people.

77. In the Cape Verde Islands, where again a situation of famine is raging, the political situation has developed very favourably and we are determined, if Portugal stubbornly persists in its crimes, to use every possible means to liberate the population of the Islands. The Portuguese use all sorts of tricks to try to persuade their allies that we intend to liberate the Cape Verde Islands in order to set up a communist power base. We can declare before this Council that when we liberate ourselves from Portuguese colonialism we shall never subject ourselves to the domination of anyone and that we shall always be ready to defend ourselves against any attempts at the domination of our people.

78. Our struggle is a very difficult one and it has gone on for many long years, but it has not been useless. On the contrary, we have already made a great deal of progress. It will be of interest to this Council to know that, for example, we have already trained many cadres. More than 400 young men and women at present are following courses in various countries in order to become the cadres of tomorrow. But even now many cadres have already returned to the country and I can tell you that in 1960 I had the privilege of being the only agronomist in our country among the 14 university graduates that Portugal had trained during its 500 years of presence in our country. Today, there are already more than a dozen agronomists and more than 30 are being trained.

79. We shall continue to wage our struggle until we have achieved victory. We are determined to do anything that is necessary. We have the necessary means to inflict even heavier blows day by day on the Portuguese colonialists. But we are not warriors. We love peace; we hate war. But we want to be free. We are not opposed to Portugal. We have already stated that time and time again. We are against Portuguese colonialism. We want to have the best possible relations with Portugal after we have achieved independence. We are convinced that that is in the interest of our people, but we also have the right to have relations with all other countries of the world in order to enhance the progress of our people. We want to build and construct on the basis of our own efforts and sacrifices, but also with aid from all possible sources, in order to achieve the progress of our people.

80. We should like to repeat here that we have never confused Portuguese colonialism and the people of Portugal. The people of Portugal is our ally. The people of Portugal is today aware of the fact that the colonial war is a crime not only against our people but also against the Portuguese people itself, and we are doing everything possible in the course of the struggle to strengthen our solidarity with the people of Portugal, which has already decided to use the same violent means against the Portuguese war machine.

81. We repeat that we are for dialogue, but heretofore the Portuguese Government wanted to have only the dialogue of arms. We repeat that we are ready to negotiate at any time. We should be very grateful to the Security Council if it could help us in that field.

82. What aid do we need? We need moral aid. We are asking the members of the Security Council and of all Members of the United Nations not to be hostile to us and to allow us to circulate in their countries. We cannot understand that, for example, a country like France—a country of freedom, fraternity and equality, and a country we admire very much—would not allow us to enter its territory, us who in our own country are doing what de Gaulle did for France when that country was occupied by the nazis.

83. We need material assistance. We have already begun to receive such assistance through the specialized agencies of the United Nations: UNESCO is helping us. We have the prospect of aid also from UNICEF. We should like the

Security Council to strengthen all these prospects and make them as realistic as possible because we have a great task of national reconstruction to develop in our country.

84. Before concluding I should like to thank the Security Council and each one of its members for everything they have done heretofore to help our struggle. We should like to thank, in particular, the members of this Council who are helping in a material fashion to advance our liberation struggle and our people to gain their freedom; I am referring particularly to the Soviet Union, China and Yugoslavia, which are present here. Of course, I must not forget also to thank our African brothers who are helping us.

85. We hope that, through Argentina and Panama, all of Latin America will continue to develop the spirit of Bolívar and of the other great patriots and national heroes of Latin America and will come to our aid. We hope also that through Japan, which sets an extraordinary example of the possibilities open to the coloured peoples to develop themselves and advance, Asia can help us more and more each day.

86. We should like to support all that has been said here by previous speakers, and in particular by the distinguished speakers such as His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I [1627th meeting], as well as the proposals made by our elder brother, President Ould Daddah [ibid.] and the proposal contained in the message of President Sékou Touré [see 1631st meeting, para. 120]. We support all the statements made by the African representatives present here and the proposals made by the Chairman of the OAU Committee for the Liberation of Africa [see para. 60 above].

87. We offer the following concrete proposals. The permanent members of the Security Council should take in hand the problem of aid to the liberation movements. They can agree to demand that Portugal should proceed to decolonization. Portugal is a weak country, and as the saying goes in our country, "As long as you have a canoe, a dirty look from a crocodile is not going to stop you from getting through." We ask that a time-limit should be set for the final liquidation of Portuguese colonialism and we ask that a delegation of the Security Council should visit Mr. Caetano and make a concrete proposal to him to enter into negotiations—at the Headquarters of the United Nations, for example—with the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, the authentic movements that are the true representatives of the peoples of these colonies. If there should be a negative reply, let the United Nations undertake to give us all assistance necessary to develop our struggle and liberate our country. For our part, we shall do our best to help you to help us, and we are sure that we shall attain independence.

88. Addis Ababa, the new flower of this bastion of African independence which is Ethiopia, is again the site of a historic event—namely, series of meetings. It is up to you, gentlemen, to the Security Council, to make of this occasion a historic event or relegate it to the annals of political truism. We are very confident and encouraged by these meetings, and we should like to tell you here, like the

Roman plebes when they were addressing the great leaders of Rome: "*Qui judicatis terram deligite justitia* (You who have the capacity and the privilege of being judges in this land, do everything to ensure that justice is done)".

89. At this very moment when, despite the contradictions which prevail in the world—contradictions of ideology and of social and political systems—there are contracts between the most opposing poles, and these contracts are developing, at this very moment when certain nations are dreaming of conquering outer space, in a collective undertaking, there to sow the hopes of man, it is not really much to ask that before you leave for nebulous Andromeda or other far corners of the universe you should help us specifically and realistically to liberate our people from the scourge of Portuguese colonialism. Like you, we should like to participate in the great human adventure either on this earth or across the universe like men worthy of a free and sovereign nation.

90. The PRESIDENT: I invite Mr. Luvualo to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. LUVUALO (*interpretation from French*): Before beginning my statement proper I should like to state that in it I have cited the names of some countries which, either directly or indirectly, are helping the Portuguese Government, and particularly the monopolies of these Powers which are making massive investments in Angola. These are not unfounded accusations but objective reality.

92. The holding of the present meetings of the Security Council away from Headquarters and—for the first time since the founding of the United Nations—in Africa, is a great historical event, not only for the African continent but also for the whole world. These meetings are being held at a time when liberation and progressive forces on the one hand, and, on the other, the oppressive forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism are in permanent confrontation throughout the world. Thus, in the presence of the resistance of most of the African countries, colonialist, neo-colonialist, racist and imperialist forces are fighting in vain either to regain their positions of absolute domination which they have lost or to maintain their direct colonial domination on countries like Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, and others. Therefore, the holding of these meetings of the Security Council in Addis Ababa, capital of African unity, is evidence of the desire of the United Nations to co-operate more closely with the Organization of African Unity in the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly which, however, have remained a dead letter, turning mouldy in the archives of the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

93. The colonial system of world imperialism condemned unanimously by all of mankind, whose abolition was voted by an overwhelming majority at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in 1960, is not only the shame of the imperialist and colonialist West but also puts in doubt the ideas of liberty and democracy that the Western Powers advocate while at the same time supporting the survival of colonialism by giving political, moral, diplomatic, material and military assistance to the colonialist and fascist

Portuguese Government in the pursuit of the colonial war of genocide and massive extermination of the peoples under Portuguese colonial domination, whose only crime is to have insisted upon their natural, legitimate and inalienable rights being recognized as the rights of all countries and peoples of the world by the United Nations Charter: freedom, independence, and the right to self-determination.

94. Thus, how can one explain the fact that Portugal—a backward and poor country—can continue to finance its colonial wars against the patriots of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, costing it considerable sums of money which are well beyond its own means? Indeed, the economic and strategic importance of our countries has been the main factor which has encouraged and facilitated Portugal's adherence to and maintenance in the Atlantic Pact. It is NATO which finances and arms Portugal in its genocide undertakings in Africa.

95. In these undertakings the role played by the United States of America, through the money and arms it provides against the liberation struggles in Africa, is no less hateful than the role played by the United States in Indo-China. Since the beginning of the armed struggle for national liberation in Angola, in Guinea (Bissau) and in Mozambique, Washington alone has furnished Portugal with military equipment and funds in the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars—and the States belonging to NATO have provided transportation for these arms and other military equipment in Africa—at the same time as the United States, by increasing its imports from and exports to Portugal, is helping the Portuguese economy to recover from the effects of a hemorrhage which is draining it more and more.

96. Along the same lines, on 10 December last the United States State Department made it known that the United States would provide \$400 million in credits to Portugal in exchange for the renewal of the agreement on the American base at Lajas which provides for the stationing of American forces in the Azores until February 1974.

97. If it were not for the multilateral aid given by Washington, Bonn, Paris, London and the other member States of NATO to Portugal and to South Africa and the Rhodesian racists, Portugal would never have been able to maintain until now its domination in Africa and the liberation movements which are now waging heroic struggles in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique would have undoubtedly been able completely to expel from their respective territories all the Portuguese colonialists, including their NATO allies.

98. Here we should like to recall that the Security Council should once again take note that since the beginning of the 1960s and the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, recognizing their inalienable right to self-determination, three wars of national liberation are still taking place in the heart of the African continent, led by the patriots of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique against the bloodthirsty Portuguese colonialists supported by NATO.

99. The Security Council should also take account of the fact that the involvement of America in the wars of African

liberation is similar to its involvement in the struggle against the liberation front in Indo-China. We are able to make this comparison when we consider the content, the practices, the behaviour and the methods of the wars waged by the Portuguese troops in their attempt to halt the glorious march and advance of the brave Angolans, Guineans, Cape Verdeans and Mozambiquans led respectively by the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) and FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique); when we consider the tactics and the weapons used by the criminal Portuguese colonialists, which are exactly the same as those used by the United States in Indo-China.

100. In Angola as in Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, the unconquerable patriots and fighters of the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO have only very few weapons, very simple weapons, and they have neither airplanes nor tanks, but in our just struggle we count on the aid of our peoples, committed body and soul to the national liberation struggle, whatever the price that must be paid; to them we explain the reality of the national liberation, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, anti-imperialist struggle, as the patriots and fighters boldly confront Portuguese troops who are well trained and well equipped, possess modern light and heavy weapons, airplanes and helicopters, and use arms prohibited by international conventions—such as napalm, chemical and bacteriological weapons, herbicides and defoliants to annihilate the lives of humans and animals and vegetation. There are bombings which decimate whole villages and force entire populations to leave their villages and live in barbed wire encampments called “peace village” which in fact are nothing but concentration camps. It should be pointed out that on each occasion that the Portuguese colonialists suffer heavy losses inflicted on their troops by our fighters on the field of battle, they turn their weapons against the civil population in these barbed wire enclosures called “peace village”, cruelly torturing and massacring them in reprisal, to avenge their lost soldiers. All this is done in the vain attempt of the Portuguese colonialists and their imperialist masters to prevent active and operational contacts of our people with the movements that are at the head of the national liberation struggle of our respective countries as well as those of all Africa.

101. Portuguese aggressions are openly repeated, like those of South Africa against the People's Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Guinea, Senegal, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, and so on—countries bordering on Angola, Guinea (Bissau), and Mozambique—these are only the most obvious expression of the co-operation and common commitment of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia with the aggressive bloc of NATO in carrying out their colonialist, neo-colonialist, racist and imperialist plans on the African continent.

102. In fact the United States, like the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, France and other countries members of NATO, as well as Japan, are moved by several considerations in their multilateral aid, mostly military and economic aid to colonialist and fascist Portugal, that backward country which would not be able to wage war simultaneously on three active fronts: Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique without this assistance.

According to the logic of the policy of the United States of America and all NATO countries, it is necessary to bend every effort to maintain the areas under the domination of world imperialism to satisfy incommensurably their interests for all time to prevent by any means the real and political independence of these territories which would lead in the long run to their economic, social and cultural independence, thus depriving the imperialist monopolies of the considerable profits which they are at present deriving from them.

103. Nevertheless, in spite of the enormous material, military, technical and technological facilities enjoyed by the Portuguese régime and troops, thanks to the aid and support of their allies, MPLA in Angola, PAIGC in Guinea (Bissau), and FRELIMO in Mozambique, have achieved ever greater success and are advancing heroically in their march—long and difficult but glorious—towards final victory against the Portuguese colonialists.

104. It is in vain that the United States and NATO have by their diabolical means up to now held back the day of our complete independence, they could not and cannot prevent the advance of our fighters, armed and resolute, engaged in the war of national liberation of our peoples and countries.

105. Since its creation in 1956 MPLA had offered its hand to the Portuguese colonialist authorities to find a solution to the colonial question. In June 1960 the Portuguese Government rejected the MPLA manifesto which demanded a peaceful settlement of the problem. The Portuguese Government refused the hand stretched out to it and resorted to arbitrary arrests, massive repression, force and, finally, a war of genocide. Faced with this situation of war created and thrust upon our country by the fascist Portuguese colonialist régime, the Angolan people and MPLA had no other choice than to meet the criminal colonialist violence with armed popular resistance for national liberation.

106. In my view, the Portuguese Government has lost the war. Since 4 February 1961, the date on which the armed struggle of national liberation began in Angola, and in spite of the difficulties both subjective and objective, the Angolan people and MPLA have been waging a struggle in 10 of the 15 districts which compose Angola and control more than a third of the national territory, or more than 500,000 square kilometres, with a population of more than 1 million.

107. In the liberated zones MPLA is organizing a new life, creating new political, economic and social cultural relations. Thus, in order to consolidate these liberated areas, MPLA is organizing a new form of life by creating the embryo of popular power; at the administrative level, action committees have been set up in the villages, in sectors and in zones, and a people's council in each region. At the social level, MPLA has established primary schools giving free education, dispensaries giving free medical service and training nurses and first aid personnel, teaching and literacy centres for adults. On the economic level, the National Union of Angolan Workers, in collaboration with the Organization of Angolese Women, is trying to develop the economy of the country by the organization of

peasants in production committees and the development of agriculture in order to ensure for the population commodities which they need. Nevertheless, as has been pointed out above, in the last two years toxic chemical products, herbicides and defoliant have been used by the Portuguese colonialists. Thus, more than two thirds of our agricultural production has been destroyed by these chemical products and by the napalm also used by the enemy against our civilian population.

108. I now come to the allies of Portugal. Portugal, which is backward and underdeveloped, could not wage a long and costly war on three active fronts in still colonial Africa without the help and support of its partners in NATO and its racist allies in South Africa and Rhodesia. Thus, the economic situation which is steadily deteriorating in Portugal itself—it has a permanent deficit in its budget and in its trade balance—forces the Portuguese Government to conclude alliances with South Africa and Rhodesia and to give up territories to great Powers for them to install military bases there and make investments for the purpose of exploitation, providing Portugal with the means of financing its colonial wars in Africa and maintaining a fascist régime in Portugal. Portugal concludes military alliances and “defence pacts on the southern Atlantic”, for the “defence of Western civilization”, and so on—all this to lead the Portuguese people into the maelstrom of world imperialism and racism and further to subjugate and alienate even further the peoples under Portuguese colonial domination and the Portuguese people who are all aspiring to and struggling for freedom and democracy.

109. However, the armed struggle of the peoples of Angola, of Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique—led respectively by MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO—and the vigorous political and diplomatic action carried out on the international level have forced Portugal into total isolation, which can be seen more and more in the attitude of its partners in NATO.

110. The contradictions which have come to light and are increasing in the machinery and the army of colonial oppression cause wide-spread desertion among its officers and soldiers; the demoralization and corruption in the ranks of soldiers and in the civil and military hierarchy of Portugal are signs which indicate how the Portuguese authorities, having led Portugal into the abyss, find themselves now in an inextricable and hopeless situation.

111. Thus, the reformist policy, the formula of wide autonomy and the so-called “status of a State” for Angola, are only deliberate manoeuvres by the fascist Portuguese colonialists to lead international public opinion astray and to isolate the national liberation movements and deprive them of the support and assistance that African countries and the whole world are giving them.

112. If the Portuguese authorities desire peace, why do they not apply the resolutions of the General Assembly which recognize that colonial countries and peoples should have full rights to self-determination and independence? Why do the Portuguese colonialists avoid any discussion of the colonial question with the authentic representatives of the people of Angola, of Guinea (Bissau), of the Cape

Verde Islands and of Mozambique, namely, MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO?

113. There will be no peace in Angola as long as the Portuguese colonialists stubbornly refuse to recognize the rights of our people to self-determination and independence. There will be no peace in Angola as long as the Portuguese authorities stubbornly refuse to recognize the authentic representative of the Angolan people—MPLA—which has already under its effective control more than a third of the national territory with a population of more than a million, thus proving that Portugal does not represent the Angolan people, but that only MPLA represents Angola and the real aspirations of the Angolan people.

114. As I have already mentioned, in holding this series of meetings in the capital of the Organization of African Unity, the Council has proved its desire to co-operate with OAU in seeking a solution to the colonial question and the implementation of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning the recognition of the rights of the colonial peoples and countries to self-determination and independence.

115. Since economic sanctions against colonialist Portugal, South Africa and racist Rhodesia have remained without effect and notwithstanding the insolence of the challenge of the fascist Portuguese colonialists and their stubborn refusal to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, we are convinced that the members of the Council and the new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, during their mandate will spare no effort to make the efforts of the States Members of the United Nations, of all the forces loving freedom, justice and peace, of all men of goodwill working for the welfare of the whole of mankind, become operational, more effective and fruitful.

116. The Angolan people and MPLA are struggling and will continue to struggle, are working and will continue to work for the reconquest and consolidation of the complete and total independence of Angola, for progress, for happiness and for the peace of mankind. Victory is certain.

117. The PRESIDENT: I should like to request the invited speakers kindly to observe the 20-minute time-limit, since time now is of the essence.

118. I now invite Mr. dos Santos to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

119. Mr. dos SANTOS (*interpretation from French*): The Mozambique Liberation Front delegation wishes to convey to you the greetings of the fighting people of Mozambique, the militants and the leaders of FRELIMO.

120. We should like first of all to thank His Imperial Majesty and the Ethiopian Government for the welcome they have given to the Security Council. That is once again evidence of their permanent commitment to the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism on our continent. At the same time, we should like most particularly to hail our African organization, OAU, for the role it has played in the decision to convene this body on African soil.

121. It is an historic event which we all welcome for, in coming here to meet, the members of the Council are declaring to the world as a whole how aware they are of the fact that the continued existence of colonialist and racist régimes in Africa represents a challenge to the principles of the United Nations, a political and moral anomaly which must be corrected, a crime against mankind which we all condemn and which we all wish to eradicate.

122. In addressing you, I should like to tell you what the situation is in our country. We should like together with you to analyse the role that the United Nations has played in our struggle, we should like to tell you our opinion of the causes of the weakness of the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism and ask you to take concrete measures to support our liberation struggle and to isolate colonialist fascist Portugal on the international scene.

123. In Mozambique armed combat extends today over more than one third of the country, and the liberated zones are growing continually in area. The most spectacular example is that of the province of Tete. The colonialists had fortified the Zambezi River in such a way that they considered it to be something like a Maginot Line which our fighters would never be able to cross, but towards the end of 1970 we did cross the Zambezi and the struggle extends today to the southern frontier with Rhodesia and westwards to the limits of the province of Manyika and Sofala, in the centre of our country. The most recent attacks took place 7 kilometres from the city of Tete, capital of the province of the same name. One of the reasons why the Portuguese colonialists were so interested in preventing the development of the struggle in that province is that they want to build there what would be the largest dam in all of Africa, Cabora Bassa. This project, financed by South Africa, West Germany, England, France, America and Canada, is designed on the one hand to engage these countries more actively than ever before in the financing of the defence of Portuguese colonialism and on the other hand to create conditions for the establishment of a million settlers along the length of the Zambezi River, that is to say, create a buffer zone populated by white people able to prevent the advance of the liberation forces; but our forces are already operating a few kilometres from the work area for the dam and they have now been able to sabotage the main supply routes, the roads and the railroads which serve the work area.

124. Incapable of successfully opposing our forces, the Portuguese colonialists have appealed to their Rhodesian and South African allies. Already, Rhodesian troops have become operational in this zone and are participating actively in repression, side by side with the Portuguese Army. The South African Army, four-battalion strong, stationed in our country at Chicoo, Chioco, Mague and Zumbo, has been given the task of defending Cabora Bassa. Moreover, repression against the civilian population which has attained unimaginable extremes of cruelty, is designed to cause the terrorized people to flee abroad in order to create at any cost a vacuum around the guerilla area. Rhodesian troops, in co-operation with the Portuguese, are distinguishing themselves in that area.

125. We should like to draw the attention of the Security Council to the fact that the strengthening of co-operation

between the white Powers in southern Africa has already been translated into the active participation of Rhodesian and South African troops in the repressive activities carried out in the Province of Tete. The Press of those countries confirms that fact as does the unimpeachable testimony of such persons as the leaders who are responsible for the Order of the White Fathers, who left Mozambique last June. We think that the development of colonialist and racist co-operation and the threats that have been issued repeatedly against the independent African countries constitute a serious danger to international security and the independence of African peoples. Therefore, the Security Council must not fail to pronounce itself and act vigorously in this matter.

126. In the other provinces, those of Cabo Delgado and Nyasa, our armed struggle is going on. In Cabo Delgado our offensive continues: it is designed to expel the Portuguese troops from the few isolated posts where they still hold on. Thus, from April to September 1971, we forced the enemy to abandon eight posts of great strategic importance. Those successes were accompanied by an extension of the armed struggle to new areas, forcing the enemy to assemble its soldiers in defence lines farther and farther back. In the province of Nyasa our control remains almost undisputed by the enemy, who from time to time attempts to mount what he calls a "large-scale offensive". He brings his soldiers into the area by helicopter, but as soon as they land they are attacked by our posts. If at times they still succeed in massacring our civilian population and burning our crops, they are, however, eventually compelled to leave again after having suffered considerable losses.

127. Side by side with those military actions, our national reconstruction work is going on at an accelerated pace in the liberated areas. The entire colonial structure has been destroyed, and a popular structure has replaced it, where the people take the management of their own affairs into their own hands. Agricultural production is being developed by the extension of cultivated areas and through the introduction of new crops, as well as of new production techniques. Everything we produce under the threat of Portuguese bombs is designed to meet the food needs of the entire population and of the fighters in the liberated areas and disputed regions. Moreover, our people produce a surplus, which, through the export-import trade organized by our organization, FRELIMO, enables it to buy the articles we still do not produce, such as clothing, for example. We are also organizing handicraft output, and here the inventive genius of our people is being manifested in striking fashion. With the metal salvaged from destroyed vehicles or from aircraft that have been shot down, or from unexploded bombs, we make agricultural tools, household utensils, and even rudimentary weapons.

128. Education is also one of our fundamental concerns. Tens of thousands of pupils are following courses in our primary schools; our secondary school has 130 pupils, and there is a training course for teachers in order to provide a corps of future qualified teachers. Adult literacy courses are operating in all of the villages, and there are also seminars for the improvement of teaching skills.

129. In the field of medical assistance, we have set up hospitals as well as a network of first-aid posts which

provide care for the population in those areas where the Portuguese presence had never before appeared, except to enrol the population into forced labour or to collect taxes. There is also a constant programme of preventive medicine and health education. All these things, despite enormous difficulties, have already been achieved.

130. It is important to emphasize here that the changes I have just described have been the work of the people of Mozambique and of its organization, FRELIMO, supported by the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries and the progressive forces throughout the world, including those of the Western countries. True, the successes that we have won through the liberation struggle in our country have always enjoyed the valuable but too-far-removed moral support of the United Nations. None the less, it is worth recalling this positive aspect of the action of the United Nations. After the unequivocal condemnation of colonialism in the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of December 1960, the United Nations rejected the Portuguese fraud of "integration" of the colonies, and finally proclaimed the legitimacy of the struggle carried on by the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, and the need for all States to give them the necessary material and moral assistance in their struggle for freedom and independence. We must, moreover, cite the condemnation of the military aid given to Portugal, whether directly or through the intermediary of NATO. We would also point to the specific and documented denunciation and the subsequent condemnation of the penetration of foreign capital into the Portuguese colonies, particularly since 1965, a penetration which constitutes a form of direct and effective support to tottering Portuguese colonialism.

131. But, in reviewing this impressive mass of decisions and resolutions, we note an equally impressive lag between the will of the international community, which has never been so clearly expressed as it is now, and the relative ineffectiveness of what has been done by the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism. The causes of this peculiar failure—of this passivity on the part of the United Nations—are to be found in the attitude of a certain number of reactionary Powers which are active everywhere, even here in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, where they vote against resolutions condemning colonialism by an overwhelming majority; they can also be found in our own country, where we know them by the names of companies that exploit our resources and our people through their investments, and in violation of recommendations of the United Nations: such names as the Anglo American Corporation, Bureau de recherches minières, Société nationale des pétroles d'Aquitaine, Rothschild and Sons, Barclays Bank, Pan American Oil, Gelsenkirchner Bergwerks Aktiengesellschaft, Sumitomo, Alcan and others. We recognize them also in the labels and trademarks on weapons, airplanes, helicopters and military vehicles that we capture or destroy or shoot down in our country, such as G-3, FN, Alouette, Noratlas, Dornier, Fiat, Berliet, and others.

132. That means that a certain number of countries, in defiance of United Nations principles and resolutions, continue to identify their interests with the survival of

colonialism in Africa and the perpetuation of a master-slave relationship between white and black throughout southern Africa.

133. Here, before the Security Council, we address an appeal to the United Nations, and to all its Members, particularly those who bear responsibility for the maintenance of colonialism in Africa, to cease their military support whether it be direct or within the framework of NATO, to put an end to their investments in our country, and to collaborate in positive action at the United Nations level.

134. It is not that we think such action can replace our fight, for we are fully cognizant of the fact that the primary effort must be ours, as we have already proved. But we believe that in view of the scope of the confrontation which is looming in southern Africa between the African masses fighting for their liberation and the colonialist, fascist and racist régimes that want to perpetuate their domination and aggression, and are supported by Western Powers, members of NATO, the international community cannot ignore its responsibilities.

135. As I said a few minutes ago, Portuguese colonialism is a tottering régime and the measures it has just taken, for instance to try to call Angola and Mozambique "States" are the result, first of all, of our efforts and the development of our struggle and the result of international solidarity. It is now being compelled to engage in new measures, which are only manoeuvres, because the change of label—from "Provinces" to "States"—will bring nothing new. We will have a "Governor" who will be called "Minister of State"; a "Provincial Council of Secretaries" who will be called an "Advisory Junta"; we will have a "Legislative Council" which will be called a "Legislative Assembly". But no change has been introduced in the powers of these bodies or in their composition. This is precisely the result of the state of despair of the Portuguese. It is just when the Portuguese find themselves in this situation of despair that we see once again some Powers, Members of the United Nations, intervening to give new life to Portuguese colonialism—and this was the agreement signed in the Azores.

136. Because it represents the people of Mozambique who are struggling for their liberation, because it leads the armed struggle, and because it is organizing and controlling life in the liberated regions of Mozambique as an emanation of the popular will, the Mozambique Liberation Front is the only representative of the people of Mozambique. Today, one can no longer continue to consider Portugal as an administrative Power or attribute to it any degree of representativeness, from the standpoint of law or of fact. Even in the regions still under enemy domination, the people of Mozambique look upon FRELIMO as its organization. Possessing, thus, the elements which are required by the classical theory of sovereignty—population, territory, organized political power, it is the Mozambique Liberation Front which must stand for and represent the people of Mozambique in the international community, in the name of the right of peoples to self-determination—the true keystone of modern international law. We hope that the United Nations and its specialized agencies will know how to draw all the useful, material and legal conclusions from this situation.

137. We should like now to make concrete proposals to the Security Council.

138. We have already shown that it is the military, economic and diplomatic aid granted Portugal by certain Western countries that enables Portugal to pursue its repression against the people of Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola. This support seems to us today to be the primary obstacle in the path of our independence. In this connexion we ask the Security Council to find means to persuade these countries, and in particular the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan, to cease all forms of co-operation with Portugal which enables it or may enable it to continue the war.

139. We ask that the decisions taken by the General Assembly on prohibiting the provision of arms destined to be used in the colonies should become compulsory, and that controls should be set up in order to verify compliance, particularly with respect to the NATO armaments, whose very initials define the geographical limits, that is to say, the limits of the utilization of these weapons.

140. We also ask that sanctions should be taken vis-à-vis Portugal, because of its persistent refusal to conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration of Human Rights, and resolutions of the General Assembly expressing the broad consensus of the international community.

141. We ask that an immediate end should be put to all economic co-operation designed to strengthen the positions of colonialism—the most striking example of which is the Cabora Bassa project, which the General Assembly has unequivocally condemned.

142. We ask for a clear and active position to be taken by the Security Council against the racist colonial alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

143. We ask, finally, that all moral and material assistance should be given to us in order to help our people and our organization to continue the armed struggle for the complete liberation of our country, thus putting into practice the sacred principles of human dignity, and the liberation of nations, which are the irreplaceable foundation of the international community and the United Nations.

144. Our African organization, OAU, approved the Lusaka Manifesto,³ and the United Nations also approved it. After that, conclusions on the reactions to this Manifesto have been drawn by certain African countries, and the Mogadishu Declaration⁴ was approved. We think that it is a powerful source and an important platform for the struggle for the complete liberation of our continent. We also think that it could serve as a valuable inspiration for the members of the Security Council.

145. Finally, the United Nations has a responsibility in the question of colonialism, which it has declared to be a crime

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁴ Adopted at the seventh Summit Conference of East and Central African States, held from 18 to 20 October 1971.

against humanity. Today, in Africa and in the world there is already a whole series of countries which have completely assumed this role—the role of the United Nations—to ensure the defence of the peoples which are fighting against colonialism. And we want to speak here particularly about those countries which are neighbours of our countries and which are totally assuming their responsibility, their historic responsibility as a rear base of the peoples fighting against colonialism and racism. I am talking of countries such as the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, the Republic of Guinea, Senegal and the People's Republic of the Congo, which are every day the victims of Portuguese colonialist aggression, and which every day raise higher the flag of solidarity with our peoples. But we want to say primarily that these countries are in the process of assuming almost alone this responsibility, which is the responsibility of all mankind. We believe that it is the duty of us all and the duty of the United Nations to ensure all the necessary support—and I say quite clearly, all the necessary support—whether it be material or moral, so that these countries can continue to carry out their historic role in the name of the United Nations, as they have already undertaken, to defend peoples who have assumed a commitment to take up weapons to liberate themselves completely, and who are thus making a huge contribution to the progress of our mankind.

146. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): At this stage, having listened this morning to the eminent speakers who for the most part have come from the field of battle in the countries which are still under colonial domination, where the barbarous repression of the Portuguese colonial régime still rages, I wish to say only a few words to the members of the Security Council.

147. We have listened with great attention to the statement made by the leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, our friend and brother Amílcar Cabral. He painted a very eloquent picture of the armed struggle carried out by the Guinean people, who are forced by Portuguese colonialism to wage a bitter combat. The people of Guinea (Bissau) has scored many victories in this struggle. I should also like to tell the Council that this African leader has brought with him material proof of victories scored in the Guinea (Bissau) theatre of operations in the form of films, the showing of which, under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity, will constitute a documentary exhibit that will give the members of the Council a deeper knowledge of the facts. Members will be informed later of the time and place best indicated for the showing of the films. We think that this will be a positive contribution to the information which the Council has come to gather on African soil.

148. The PRESIDENT: I have noted the statement of the representative of Guinea. Those members of the Council who wish to see the film presented by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity are invited to do so at the place and time which, in accordance with Security Council practice, will be indicated in the *Journal* when the necessary arrangements have been made by the Secretariat.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.