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# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

**1673<sup>rd</sup>** MEETING: 16 NOVEMBER 1972

NEW YORK



## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1673) .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
Question concerning the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration:	
Letter dated 7 November 1972, addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zaire and Zambia (S/10828) .....	1

## NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 16 November 1972, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSÉ (Guinea).

*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/1673)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration:

Letter dated 7 November 1972, addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zaire and Zambia (S/10828).

*The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### Question concerning the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration:

Letter dated 7 November 1972, addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zaire and Zambia (S/10828)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decision taken by the Council at its 1672nd meeting, I invite the representatives of Burundi, Ethiopia, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia to participate in the debate on the item before the Council without the right to vote.

2. Furthermore, the representative of Uganda, in a letter dated 16 November 1972 to the President of the Security Council, has asked to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion on the item before it. If I hear no objection, I shall, in accordance with the usual practice of the Council and the provisional rules of procedure, invite him to participate in our discussion.

3. In view of the limited number of places at the Council table, and in accordance with practice, I invite the representatives concerned to take the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber, on the understanding that they will be called to the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. N. Terence (Burundi), Mr. Z. Gabre-Sellassie (Ethiopia), Mr. R. Weeks (Liberia), Mr. B. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. E. Ogbu (Nigeria), Mr. S. Pratt (Sierra Leone), Mr. S. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. R. Driss (Tunisia), Mr. J. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. G. Ibingira (Uganda) took the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber.*

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker on my list is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): It is not only the people suffering under Portuguese domination—the people of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), and Cape Verde and Mozambique—who will be listening to and watching the proceedings of this Council, but also the people of Africa as a whole and progressive peoples the world over. For the Council is seized of an issue that cuts across the whole dimension of geography, race and culture. It is an issue that is as repugnant to the people of Argentina as it is to the people of Zambia. Indeed, I dare say there is not a single representative in this Council who would stand up here and say that his people support Portuguese domination of the African people in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique.

6. We speak, therefore, before this Council today, fortified with the conviction that when we appeal for action against Portugal to end its colonial domination of the African people, we are only the spokesmen of the great majority of mankind. We are convinced that the majority of the people that the members of this Council represent are unanimous in their condemnation of Portuguese colonialism and in their desire to see that the Council takes immediate action to end it.

7. It is in this spirit that we recount the story of Portuguese oppression and repression of the African people in the colonies under its domination.

8. In doing so, I am conscious of the fact that I have already had an opportunity to speak before this Council on this very subject not very long ago. I spoke before you early this year [1629th meeting] when the Council held its historic meetings away from Headquarters in Addis Ababa. I pointed out to the Council the blatant violation by Portugal of the basic and fundamental human rights of the people of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, in total disregard of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

9. I am also conscious that I have had several other occasions to speak on this subject; in my statement in the general debate of the General Assembly at the current session,<sup>1</sup> I again pointed out that the situation arising from Portuguese colonialism in Africa today was the most serious issue before the United Nations. I could go on recounting what I have said on this subject within the United Nations and elsewhere, or what my Government has said from the very day my country became a Member of this Organization in 1961. Or, to add flavour to my statement, I could quote the pronouncements made by the leaders of each of the countries represented in this Council from time to time. Suffice it to say that nearly all of them have condemned Portuguese colonialism, at least in public, in one way or another.

10. I shall instead, and very briefly, recapitulate what the United Nations has done in its efforts to eliminate the tragedy of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. In 1960, the General Assembly, in its resolution 1542 (XV), established in no uncertain terms that the Portuguese African Territories were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. In 1963, the Security Council affirmed that the policies of Portugal, in claiming its Territories to be "overseas territories" and integral parts of metropolitan Portugal, were contrary to the principles of the Charter, and requested all States to refrain from offering that Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples of those Territories. In 1965, the Security Council, affirming that the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal seriously disturbed international peace and security, once again called upon Portugal to grant independence to its colonies in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In 1966, the General Assembly condemned the colonialist policy of Portugal as a crime against humanity and, in successive years thereafter, continued to call upon Portugal to adopt measures to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

11. During that period, over 40 resolutions were adopted by the United Nations, 19 of them by this very Council. Aside from those texts dealing with the violation by Portugal of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States, there emerged from these

resolutions the following basic position of the overwhelming majority of the international community: first, that Portugal should recognize the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence; secondly, that Portugal should cease all acts of repression in those Territories and should withdraw all its military and other forces deployed for that purpose; thirdly, that there should be negotiations between Portugal and the representatives of the peoples of the Territories with a view to the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); fourthly, that all States should cease any collaboration with Portugal so long as it pursued its policies of colonial and racial domination and should, in particular, take all the necessary measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to that Government which enabled it to continue its repression of the peoples of those Territories; fifthly, that the peoples of those Territories, until Portugal renounces its policies of colonial domination, have the legitimate right to secure their freedom and independence by all the means available to them and that, as a corollary to this recognition of the legitimacy of their struggle, the international community has the obligation to extend all moral and material assistance to the peoples of those Territories and to their national liberation movements in the struggle for their liberation.

12. If the United Nations had been established for the purpose of adopting resolutions or expounding new philosophies and principles, we would have to admit that the Organization, in the field of decolonization, has done the maximum it could. But the Organization, through the Security Council, was established to create conditions for peace and to maintain that peace throughout the world. Yet peace is incompatible with colonialism; for when people are denied their fundamental and basic human rights, it is only natural that they must fight and destroy that peace under which they suffer. And yet it is not the colonial peoples under Portuguese domination who have been destroying peace in Africa. It is the Fascist régime in Lisbon.

13. Portugal has undertaken to intensify its military operations against the peoples of the Territories, often resorting to the indiscriminate and savage bombardment of those peoples and their villages, using napalm and other incendiary bombs as well as chemical substances and defoliants. The intensification of military operations by Portugal can readily be verified in terms of the budgetary allocations for military expenditures in Angola and Mozambique, which marked an over-all increase of 100 per cent between 1961 and 1970. In order to maintain control over the remaining areas under its occupation and to counter the courageous fight being waged by the peoples of the Territories and their national liberation movements, Portugal has increasingly strengthened its air power. In July 1971, for example, the Government of Portugal authorized a special allocation of nearly \$4 million for the urgent construction of air-force infrastructures in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

14. All these acts of primitive violence and terrorism by Portugal have been taking place in the face of Security Council impotence. Our hopes for peace in the Territories

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2043rd meeting.

under Portuguese domination have been shattered by this impotence. Yet despite our disappointments at the inaction of the Security Council in the face of the deteriorating situation in Africa, we still entertain the conviction that the members of the Council recognize their obligations and their responsibilities and have a genuine desire, both individual and personal as well as collective, to live up to those obligations and responsibilities.

15. Having said that, I should now put the problem in its proper perspective.

16. It is no longer necessary to identify Portugal as the poorest country in Europe, or to point out that it is poorer than several African countries. It goes, therefore, without argument that Portugal wages its costly colonial wars in Africa only because it receives material, political and moral support from several of its allies. The unholy alliance which exists between Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury is a reality. But this alliance is possible only because behind it there are powerful and rich nations. Regrettably, all of them are members of NATO. Those are the nations which openly and continuously supply Portugal with warplanes, helicopters and other most up-to-date instruments of warfare which that Government uses in its murderous plot for colonial domination. The Portuguese use of NATO weapons against the peoples of the Territories is a well-known and established fact. On a number of occasions members of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four<sup>2</sup> have seen with their own eyes such weapons, furnished by some members of NATO and captured by freedom fighters of those Territories. And then there is the notorious scheme of conspiracy at Cabora Bassa and the Cunene River, which continues, with the influx of economic and other vested interests encouraged overtly and covertly by those friendly Governments, to strengthen the economic base of the minority régimes and white supremacy in that part of Africa. The onslaught of white settlers from Western Europe, which will number over one million, and the forcible and wholesale regrouping and relocation of the indigenous population undoubtedly constitute one of the worst instances of gross violation of fundamental human rights in the history of mankind. The allies of Portugal thus continue to participate in the Portuguese undertakings in the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the Territories, effectively consolidating and protecting their financial and economic control.

17. In December 1971 the Government of the United States entered into an agreement with the Government of Portugal, now known as the Azores Treaty, under which the former will have the use of the Lajes Air Base on Terceira Island in the Azores until 4 February 1974. In return, the United States will provide Portugal with: first, the loan of an oceanographic vessel, the *USS Keller*, valued at \$8 million; secondly, \$1 million for educational reform in Portugal; thirdly, \$5 million for non-military excess equipment, measured in terms of initial acquisition and cost; fourthly, credits of \$15 million per year for two years, for the purchase of United States surplus agricultural

commodities on favourable terms under United States Public Law 480; and fifthly, financing of loans up to \$400 million by the Export-Import Bank of the United States for development projects in Portugal. While the United States aid appears to be non-military, it is patently clear that the foreign exchange being provided and the economic and social assistance being made available have already enabled Portugal to devote its domestic resources to its war effort, seriously threatening the well-being of the peoples in the Territories under its domination.

18. It is not, however, to only one aspect of Portuguese colonialism in Africa that the Council must address itself. Time and again Portugal has used its colonial Territories to attack independent African States, including my own. What has the Council done to prevent Portugal from committing those criminal acts? It has adopted resolutions, at times without unanimity. Yet no one could rationally deny that those acts alone have constituted a serious threat to international peace and security, justifying action by the Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Council has an opportunity to prevent war in Africa by acting now, or to face and regret the consequences of war soon.

19. The responsibility for preventing the war in Africa which seems inevitable in view of the intensification of Portuguese atrocities and barbarism there lies primarily on the shoulders of the permanent members of the Security Council, and in particular those permanent members which are also members of NATO: the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France. Those countries can show their good intentions and good will towards the African people and the peace-loving peoples of the world by taking certain specific actions which will be outlined in the course of this statement.

20. But first allow me to say this. It is in the long-term interest of the Governments and peoples of the Western countries, including the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France, to help Portugal stop the futile war it is fighting in Africa. It is also in the interest of the Portuguese people to stop that war. Portugal, as I said earlier, is a poor country. The Portuguese people require their meagre resources for their domestic development. No one would stand to lose if Portugal were to stop its war today. On the contrary, Portugal and its allies stand to gain the friendship of the African and all other peace-loving peoples the world over. But more important is the fact that Portugal will never win its war in Africa militarily. In this connexion the Western allies of Portugal have a major role to play. They must use their influence to convince Portugal of this inevitable fact.

21. Portugal must be made to realize the futility of these wars and the inevitability of its total defeat. We would like to hope, in this connexion, that the decision by the delegation of France in the Fourth Committee and in the General Assembly to abstain on the resolution on Territories under Portuguese domination [*resolution 2918 (XXVII)*] rather than to vote against that resolution marks the beginning of a new policy in that direction.

22. Members of the Security Council, like all other Members of the United Nations, had the opportunity to

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

hear statements by the leaders of the liberation movements in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique in the Fourth Committee, where they now have the status of observers. Members of this Council are now aware of the progress made by the liberation movements in the political and social fields and of the economic reconstruction undertaken by them in their Territories.

23. These are irrevocable facts, as confirmed, for example, by the report of the United Nations Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April of this year.<sup>3</sup>

24. In Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde general elections have been held under the auspices of PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde), to be followed shortly by the formation of the national assembly. Likewise, in Angola and Mozambique administrative machinery is fast being established by MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola) and FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) to replace the colonialist apparatus of oppressive rule. These courageous African peoples of the Territories will continue to advance in the reorganization of their own affairs towards the ultimate achievement of their freedom and independence.

25. Viewed against that background, it is all the more praiseworthy that the leaders of these freedom fighters continue to be prepared to enter into a dialogue with Portugal for the solution of the problem of the situation in the Territories. Thus, speaking before this body in February of this year, the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Mr. Cabral, stated:

"We repeat that we are for dialogue. . . . We repeat that we are ready to negotiate at any time. We should be grateful to the Security Council if it could help us in that field." [1632nd meeting, para. 81.]

26. Again, speaking before the Fourth Committee, Mr. Cabral declared that the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde would continue to maintain their principles: peace, a search for dialogue and negotiation for the solution of their conflict with the Government of Portugal.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the Vice-President of FRELIMO, Mr. dos Santos, stated that his people and his organization were prepared to negotiate at any time with Portugal on condition that Portugal formally recognize the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence.<sup>5</sup>

27. In view of the foregoing, and taking note with satisfaction of the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements of these Territories, through both their struggle and their reconstruction programmes, and in view of the fact that the General Assembly has affirmed that the liberation movements are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape

Verde and Mozambique, and expressed its conviction that negotiations should be initiated at an early date between Portugal and these liberation movements with a view to the full and speedy implementation in respect of these Territories of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the Security Council cannot but endorse this recommendation of the General Assembly. It must agree that an end must be put without any further delay to the gross violations of the fundamental rights of the African peoples of these Territories.

28. We highly appreciate and value the serious approach of the liberation movements on the question of negotiations, for we recognize, as they do, that negotiation is a form of struggle. We also realize that behind the willingness of the liberation movements to find a solution at the conference table is a burning desire to end the bloodshed and terror now inflicted upon their peoples by the Portuguese colonial terrorists. This call for dialogue by our brother Amílcar Cabral and his colleagues of the liberation movements is also in line with the call of the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa,<sup>6</sup> which was overwhelmingly endorsed by the General Assembly in 1969.

29. Yet this responsible and serious approach of the liberation movements and the international community has been stubbornly confronted by the irresponsible and warlike response of the Portuguese colonial authorities, who seem to be determined to continue their terror and destruction in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. In this context nothing could more vividly describe the intransigence and shortsightedness of the Lisbon terrorist régime than the statement made on 14 November by the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Caetano. According to *The New York Times* of yesterday and other sources, Mr. Caetano is reported to have declared that his country will not negotiate with the liberation movements, alleging furthermore that any such negotiations would amount to "sacrilege". Thus the Security Council cannot fail to take into account the obduracy of the Fascist authorities in Lisbon and to take appropriate measures to meet the overwhelming demand of the international community for an end to Portuguese barbarism and terror in the Territories under Lisbon's domination; for to do otherwise would be to expose the Security Council to further charges of impotence in the face of a clear challenge imposed on it by the forces of terror and colonization.

30. The Security Council must fulfil another obligation at this sitting. It must reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle being waged by the liberation movements. It is an unpardonable contradiction to condemn colonialism as a crime without at the same time affirming the legitimacy of the struggle to eliminate it. The Council must recognize as the sole and authentic representatives of the people the liberation movements now waging that struggle. It must, further, work out a programme of assistance to the liberation movements.

31. There is only one other thing that I wish to emphasize at this stage. As I pointed out earlier, Portugal is waging its

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

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

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1987th meeting.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

wars of repression and aggression in Africa in the context of the unholy alliance existing between Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. This alliance exists only because some major Western Powers are behind it. We hope the Council will demand that those Powers dissociate themselves from the policies of that alliance. That requires that they stop unconditionally any and all collaboration with those axis régimes.

32. These, then, are but a few of the basic elements which, I am confident, will be taken into account by the Security Council in its search for an early solution concerning the most inhuman and barbaric acts of oppression being carried out by Portugal in the Territories concerned.

33. Madam President, I cannot conclude my address without adding my voice to the voices of the many who have congratulated you on your assuming the high office of President of the Council for the month of November. We are very conscious of the history you are currently making. That it has fallen to a distinguished African lady to be the first woman to preside over the Security Council is undoubtedly a matter of great satisfaction and pride to all Africans. In thanking the members of the Council for the opportunity they have accorded me to participate in the discussion on this important item, may I express my confidence that under your dynamic and enlightened leadership this august Council will not fail to live up to its responsibilities.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania for the kind words he addressed to me and for the important message he has just read.

35. In accordance with the Council's decision at our meeting yesterday to accede to the request contained in the letter of the representatives of Somalia and the Sudan, contained in document S/10830, and with the consent of the Council, I now invite Mr. Marcelino dos Santos to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

36. Mr. dos SANTOS (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, first of all our delegation wishes to tell you how honoured and proud we feel on seeing you preside over this meeting of the Security Council. Being a militant, you represent the courage and militancy of a people committed to revolution, a people which two years ago inflicted a severe defeat on Portuguese colonialism which had undertaken one of its major actions of international gangsterism by trying to invade your country. For this, Madam President, accept the tribute of our people.

37. On behalf of the people of Mozambique, on behalf of the fighters and of the leadership of FRELIMO and on behalf of the delegation of our organization to this meeting of the Security Council, we address to the Council and to the Secretary-General our sincere and warm greetings.

38. We congratulate the Security Council, its President and all its members for having grasped the importance and the seriousness of the problems which have arisen at present in the Portuguese colonies and for having acceded to the request of the African Group at the United Nations to hold this meeting of the Security Council.

39. We congratulate the African Group, and, through it, the Organization of African Unity, for the initiative that it took in proposing the convening of the present meeting of the Security Council, thus indicating once again its keen sensitivity to the pressing problems of our continent.

40. This meeting of the Security Council appears to us as a new expression of the will of the United Nations to consolidate and accelerate decolonization and we trust that at the end of the debate which is beginning now, our hopes will be confirmed.

41. This meeting of the Security Council must be fully imbued with this new spirit which has found fruitful expression in the decision of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly to grant the status of observer to the national liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

42. This decision is of great historical importance and has a profound political meaning. By granting the status of observer, the United Nations recognizes—and imposes at the international level—the reality which prevails in our country, that is to say, the fact that FRELIMO represents the people of Mozambique and Mozambique itself.

43. This decision means, therefore, international recognition of the fact that Portugal does not represent or govern our people, that FRELIMO exercises *de facto* political authority over the people of Mozambique, extending this to the liberated areas and to the areas still under colonial domination. That is to say, FRELIMO, the creation of the whole of the people of Mozambique, is the executor of the right of sovereignty of that people.

44. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to all States members of the Council which, the day before yesterday, voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) on the Portuguese colonies, and particularly to the non-African countries: China, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, India, Japan, Argentina and Panama. I hope that the representatives of those countries which are present here, among whom we have many long-standing friends, will find in our words the expression of our profound appreciation. To those countries which abstained, we wish to say to them that we expect them to make an effort to understand the feelings of the oppressed. To those who opposed the resolution, we would ask them to take advantage of this meeting of the Security Council to define, together, the principles which can finally harmonize their positions with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the requirement to respect the right of the people of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique to self-determination and independence.

45. We also wish to greet our African brothers, the representatives of Sierra Leone, Liberia, Tunisia, and Madagascar who, on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, have come before you to present the feelings and the positions of the African continent on the problem of the liberation of the Portuguese colonies. We particularly thank the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone and Liberia who, despite their many responsibilities, have come to take part in this meeting of the Security Council.

46. Finally, we wish to greet and express our great appreciation to the Committee of Twenty-Four, to its Chairman and to all its members, for the militant role which they are playing to put an end to colonialism and racism on our planet.
47. Since the historical meeting of the Security Council in Addis Ababa, during which our organization was able to present in detail the situation in Mozambique, our national liberation activities have registered great and important progress. Our struggle is now in its ninth year and the role of FRELIMO as the unchallenged and unchallengeable leader, as well as its status in the country, have become further strengthened.
48. On 25 July last our struggle was extended to a new province, that of Manica and Sofala. The scope of this new development in our struggle is made clear by the size of that province. It is one of the richest provinces with regard to agriculture, mining and industry. Large foreign companies exploit the natural resources and the labour of men. Moreover, Manica and Sofala is an important communications centre for Rhodesia and Portugal. Finally, it is in the capital of that province, Beira, that the Portuguese military high command in Mozambique may be found. All these factors make the province of Manica and Sofala strategically important. The outbreak of armed struggle in that province thus constitutes an additional and severe defeat for Portuguese colonialism.
49. Furthermore, on 18 September last, giving proof of strong fire power, the artillery of our armed forces destroyed on the ground 11 Portuguese aircraft and seven helicopters at the military base of Mueda in the province of Cabo Delgado.
50. These military victories certainly show the degree of development of our military forces, the courage and skill of our fighters and the determination of our people to struggle to win its independence. But the extent and the importance of our struggle must not be measured by the number of Portuguese soldiers who fall on our soil, nor by the number of vehicles destroyed nor by the number of aircraft shot down. The extent of our fight is measured by the awareness of our people of its unity, of its national entity, of its Mozambican personality and by its awareness of its duty towards itself and towards the international community.
51. The extent of our struggle is measured by the ability of our people to rediscover every day, and always, the energy necessary to pursue unflinchingly the march toward liberty, and by its ability both to fight and to start building a new Mozambique.
52. The fact is that the reality of our country is characterized by two main factors: one part of the country is still occupied by Portuguese colonialism, where it still maintains its administration but no longer has any political authority, now exercised by FRELIMO; and the other part, the liberated areas, is where FRELIMO exercises political and administrative authority.
53. In these liberated areas, which cover more than one fourth of our country—that is to say, more than 200,000 square kilometres—more than a million Mozambicans live and work and build, on the ruins of the colonial State, a new State based on the interests of the popular masses and where man, freed from alienation and exploitation, is reconciled with himself.
54. Under the direction of FRELIMO, the people of Mozambique have embarked on the economic and social development of the country. Our first concern was to ensure a minimum level of agricultural production sufficient to supply the food needed by the people, and to provide some surpluses which, when exported, would provide us with the funds we need to acquire essential manufactured goods which have completely disappeared with the withdrawal of the Portuguese merchants.
55. We certainly had to reactivate our agricultural production, but we also had to alter our production structures.
56. In the past, production had been subject to the principles of colonial policy. We had to replace the products intended for the colonial economy—cotton and oilseeds—by those capable of properly feeding our people, since, for good reason, we no longer had our traditional markets and we had neither the means nor the technology to use these products ourselves.
57. Also, the production of cotton was stopped in the liberated areas; that of oilseeds was reduced for a certain time, then was raised again when we began to find markets among friendly countries.
58. On the other hand, market crops increased substantially because the populations were, on the one hand, freed from colonial constraints, which by subjecting them to forced labour and forced cultivations, prevented them from growing what they needed, and, on the other hand, because the people started producing in their own interest.
59. Political mobilization, in favour of a co-operative form of production, made it possible to extend a peasant movement of mutual assistance and co-operatives, which has resulted in greater production efficiency, as well as a more diversified production.
60. Agricultural production in the liberated areas has reached a level which is in many respects higher than it was at the time of colonial domination, despite the persistence of the war situation, bombings, and the spraying of chemical products, herbicides and defoliants, by the Portuguese colonialists.
61. In addition to agricultural activity, we have animal husbandry, fisheries and handicrafts.
62. Exports are already organized at the level of the province of Cabo Delgado; in the other provinces they are being organized.
63. Exports last year exceeded a thousand tons. Two thirds of the products exported are sesame, castor beans, ground nuts, cashew nuts, and the rest are dried fish, tobacco, wax and other products.

64. A delegation of our organization had the opportunity to participate recently, in the month of September last, at the meeting of the Technical Committee of Experts of the Economic Commission for Africa. There, we presented the problems relating to economic development in our liberated areas, and a meeting will take place soon between the ECA experts and those responsible for production in our organization, so as to study and draw up plans for economic development.

65. In regard to health, there are medical centres in every province which co-ordinate the work of several centres of lesser importance, scattered throughout the area.

66. In the eastern part of Niassa, for example, there is 1 regional central hospital, 7 district medical aid posts and 9 first-aid posts. In the province of Cabo Delgado, there is 1 hospital, 17 district posts, 60 first-aid posts, and a staff of nearly 340 people.

67. Furthermore, we are undertaking vaccination and elementary health campaigns for the people.

68. In regard to education, our programmes are intended to combat ignorance and to prepare staff for the present and future tasks of our country. We now have 160 primary schools, with 20,000 pupils and 250 instructors. We have a secondary school which has more than 133 students, and an adult literacy campaign is under way everywhere.

69. The figures may appear insignificant, but their importance becomes clear when one realizes that in most cases there were no schools until FRELIMO started them.

70. In the liberated areas, organization of economic and social life is directed by FRELIMO. FRELIMO organs at various levels—national, provincial and local—guide and supervise the work of the various committees in charge of administrative activities.

71. In the areas which are still under colonial domination, our work is carried out clandestinely both in the rural areas and in the urban centres.

72. The people live under Portuguese domination, but follow the political lead given by FRELIMO. The extent of political mobilization can be measured by the scope of the repression. In the month of July last, the international press reported the arrest of some 1,800 nationalists in the southern regions of the country. Among them there were workers, civil servants and church people, and so on. Last September, the Association of Students of Mozambique was banned, having been accused of nationalist activities.

73. That is what life is really like in our country as a whole, in the liberated areas and in the areas which are still under Portuguese domination. It clearly shows FRELIMO's importance and its role as leader of the people of Mozambique.

74. The level attained by our struggle, the successes we constantly register in our action for national liberation, are proof *a posteriori* of the justice and rightness of our struggle.

75. For us, the struggle for independence is a fight for the freedom and the social progress of the people of Mozambique. It is a struggle directed against a system: Portuguese colonialism. But it is not directed against the people of Portugal.

76. Last July, at the time of the outbreak of armed struggle in the province of Manica and Sofala, the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, declared:

"Now, when we are embarking on an armed struggle in the province of Manica and Sofala, where many members of the Portuguese community in our country live, we wish to reaffirm that our struggle is not directed against them. Our victory can but benefit all those who live from honest work, all those who must experience colonial and Fascist oppression.

"The people of Mozambique extend a brotherly invitation to the Portuguese soldiers, to the entire Portuguese population, to join in the common effort of liberation."

77. It is because our cause is just, it is because the principles and methods of our practice of national liberation are just and correct, that every day brings us new victories.

78. Furthermore, our victories confirm the total bankruptcy of Portuguese colonial policy. The Portuguese Government, today as yesterday, is opposed to freedom, justice and social progress.

79. Only the day before yesterday, reacting to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly, the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr. Caetano, declared his opposition to any United Nations decision, and refused to negotiate.

80. The present leaders of Portugal, instead of dissociating themselves from Salazar's policy, are only becoming increasingly committed to the colonial war. But the Portuguese army simply accumulates successive defeats. The so-called constitutional changes have quickly shown themselves to be a clumsy manoeuvre. Nobody has been deceived: not the peoples in the Portuguese colonies, nor the Portuguese people, nor the international community. "Autonomy", "State", have no new content; they are but new wrapping for the same old policy aimed at perpetuating the exploitation and domination of wealth and people alike.

81. But this policy of the Portuguese Government, on the other hand, daily becomes a heavier burden for the Portuguese people and places Portugal in ever greater difficulties.

82. There has been a considerable increase in emigration: young people, in particular, are leaving Portugal for other countries of Europe in order not to have to participate in the colonial wars. The emigration rate is such that the population of Portugal is decreasing.

83. But, since not everybody can emigrate, the inevitable occurs. Deprived of all rights, oppressed and downtrodden, seeing all peaceful means for the realization of their

aspirations to justice, freedom and democracy blocked, the Portuguese people itself has also had to embark on a course of liberating violence.

84. Such a situation, in which the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and Portugal alike find themselves forced to embark on a course of armed struggle to realize their aspirations to freedom and justice, cannot fail on the one hand to reveal the immoral and inhuman nature of the Fascist colonial régime of Portugal and on the other to expose the fact that the Portuguese régime has reached the very limits of its ability to manoeuvre.

85. Such is the reality: the Government of Portugal is incapable of formulating any new policy whatever. In saying this, we do not mean that we believe or have believed the Portuguese régime to be incapable of pursuing a policy in accordance with the interests of our people. We simply wish to say that the colonial Fascist régime of Portugal has limited horizons; it is no longer capable of formulating any new policy of manoeuvre. That is the fact which must be understood, but we should not be surprised, because the conduct of Portugal is dictated by the Fascist, colonial nature of the régime. Nor should we be surprised if Portugal becomes ever more deeply committed in the war, if Portugal makes violence a law, or if the escalation of the crime takes the form of political direction.

86. There is indeed an escalation of the crime: on the one hand, there are widespread mass murders, systematic massacres of village populations; on the other hand, there are now more sophisticated means of torture, while barbarism is intensified.

87. Quite recently we had occasion to present in Dar es Salaam, before the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts of the Commission on Human Rights, a gripping description of the present crimes of Portuguese colonialism, and we indicated what we consider to be the reasons why Portugal tended to embark on crimes and why, too, it was up to the people of Mozambique and to FRELIMO to be able to apply, even during this liberation war, the principles of the Geneva Convention and the United Nations Charter. There is our struggle—a just struggle, a struggle against Portuguese colonialism, and there is an unjust struggle—the one waged by the Portuguese colonialists against the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau).

88. We have transmitted these documents to the Commission on Human Rights, but, furthermore, a Portuguese priest, Father Luis Alfonso da Costa, quite recently brought to the attention of world public opinion similar facts. In statements made to the press in various European countries, he described the massacres perpetrated by the Portuguese army against the people of Mozambique in the province of Tete. These facts have been widely published in the international press. We shall therefore spare you the horror of their description.

89. Furthermore, since the beginning of this year the Portuguese army has been using chemical weapons in the liberated areas of Mozambique. This is confirmed by an article which appeared in the *Sunday Times*. According to the specific information contained in that article, the

herbicide used is Convolvotox, which is produced in South Africa, and it was sprayed by South African aircraft piloted by South African mercenaries, with the protection of Portuguese aircraft.

90. The war of colonial aggression which the Government of Portugal is waging against our people has thus become a war of genocide and also an ecological war.

91. The Portuguese Government is so desperate that it has redoubled its attacks upon Mozambique's neighbouring countries, continually violating their territories and thus creating an ever greater threat to peace and security in Africa.

92. Portugal is simultaneously strengthening its alliance with the South African and Rhodesian régimes. The direct participation of those two régimes in the colonial war in Mozambique is developing gradually and becoming more widespread. South African and Rhodesian soldiers, South African and Rhodesian airplanes and helicopters, are participating ever more actively in military operations.

93. Finally, invoking the needs of self-defence, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia have called on the Western Powers to join with them in ensuring the defence of the Indian Ocean against the peoples of the region.

94. That is the policy of the Government of Portugal. And yet, despite all the horror which such a policy can and must inspire in us, we have not, I repeat, the right to be surprised because it is in the very nature of colonialism.

95. To wish to put an end to all these crimes is meaningless for the international community if it does not agree to commit adequate means for action to put an end to Portuguese colonialism—and first and foremost to supply the Mozambique people with the necessary means to carry out its programme of national liberation.

96. At the same time, all assistance must be refused to Portugal because we must all, openly and fully, face our responsibilities. If colonialism is a crime, if the struggle against colonialism is a just cause, then one must agree that the cause of the Government of Portugal is an unjust one.

97. It is also obvious that when we face a criminal, we must arm to defend ourselves. Measures must be taken so that the criminal cannot obtain more weapons. This, it seems to us, is clear and, above all, just.

98. The struggle for national liberation has reached a crucial stage in our country. It is no secret to anyone that the progress achieved by our people in carrying out the task of national liberation is believed by the régimes of Rhodesia and South Africa to constitute a very grave threat for them.

99. Mr. Smith has just been to Lisbon where he has had talks with the Prime Minister of Portugal. On his return to Rhodesia Mr. Smith received the visit of the Minister of Defence of South Africa, accompanied by his Chief of Staff. It is not difficult to see that the leaders of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia are planning together to consider what measures to take to oppose our right to freedom and independence.

100. The talks which have been held between them made it clear that Mr. Vorster and Mr. Smith are displeased that Portugal is not succeeding in containing the national liberation struggle in Mozambique. Might they, then, be considering intervening even more massively than in the past, and openly, in the war in Mozambique?

101. It is a fact that Portugal could never wage three colonial wars on its own. The United Nations knows it. The Security Council knows it too. And yet, even today, Portugal can continue to wage these colonial wars. This is because Portugal receives military, economic and financial assistance from certain States, in particular from certain of its allies in NATO. This, the United Nations knows too, and of this the Security Council has been informed.

102. Here we shall not go into details of the economic, financial and political assistance which these countries give to Portugal. We shall limit ourselves to repeating some facts about the military assistance to Portugal. The United States has supplied F 84 G Thunderjet aircraft, F 86F Sabres, T 37C Cessnas, C 47 Dakotas, Skymasters, etc. It has partially financed the cost of warships; it supplies napalm, etc. France has supplied Nordatlas and Broussard aircraft, Alouette 2 and 3 helicopters and SA 330 Pumas. It has supplied escort ships of the Commandant Rivière type and submarines of the Daphne type. It has also furnished Panhard armoured vehicles and Berliet trucks, etc. The Federal Republic of Germany has supplied Nordatlas aircraft, G 91 Fiats, Do-27 Dorniers, Sabres, F 104 G Starfighters, Saro Skeeter helicopters, warships, Unimog trucks, etc. England has supplied T3 and T6 Harvards, D 5/160 Austers, Austin Gypsy jeeps and Humber armoured vehicles. To this war material, we must add all sorts of weapons used by the Portuguese army.

103. In order to obtain the necessary support, Portugal has opened up the colonies to Western investments, on the one hand, and, on the other, has placed them at the service of NATO.

104. And yet, despite all the assistance received, Portugal has not succeeded in preventing the progress of our struggle. Will South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, without outside assistance, now be able to put an end to the development of the struggle for national liberation? We openly say: no; because a quick look at the facts in these three countries reveals that they need military assistance, not only in weapons but also in manpower. This means that we are convinced that the final decision of South Africa and Rhodesia on massive participation in the war in Mozambique is tied to the assurances which they will receive from certain NATO Powers. That is why, at this new stage in the struggle, we put the question: what will the Western Powers do? That is also why we wish, most respectfully but also very frankly, to address this question to the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. And we shall do so without rancour, but with sincerity.

105. Your countries find themselves involved in conflicts which have caused enormous suffering. England waged war against the American people, but at the end mankind welcomed peace and the independence of America. England

waged a war against the people of Kenya. At the end we welcomed peace and the independence of Kenya. France waged a war against the people of Algeria. At the end we welcomed peace and the independence of Algeria. The United States is at war in Viet-Nam, but we hope that we shall all soon welcome peace and the independence of Viet-Nam.

106. This means that past and present history clearly shows the outcome of every similar conflict, that is to say, similar to the conflicts in our country. The struggle may be hard, it may be long. The result nevertheless will always be the same: our victory, the victory of our peoples.

107. If the allies of Portugal cease their assistance to that country they will make an immense contribution to the defence of liberty, justice, peace and security on the African continent.

108. If they listen to the appeal of the régimes of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, then there will be an immense escalation of the war and the whole of southern Africa will go up in flames. And the responsibility will rest with those who will have preferred the friendship of the colonialist, Fascist and racist régimes to that of Africa.

109. Allow me to repeat what we said a month ago when we spoke at the 1987th meeting of the Fourth Committee: "No State has the right, in order to respect its alliance with Portugal, to oppose the right of the people of Mozambique to be free and independent."

110. In conclusion, we wish to emphasize some points.

111. First, the development of the national liberation struggle in Mozambique has shown that FRELIMO is the unchallenged and undoubted leader of the people of Mozambique. The granting of the status of observer to FRELIMO by the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly constitutes international recognition of this reality.

112. Second, at the present stage of the struggle for national liberation of the people of Mozambique, the contribution of the United Nations must be made, on the one hand, by direct assistance from the United Nations, Member States and the specialized agencies and, on the other hand, by the cessation of any further assistance to Portugal on the part of Member States and national and international organizations.

113. Third, if States Members of the United Nations, and in particular certain allies of Portugal in NATO, do not put an end to their support for Portugal, all of southern Africa will become a vast hot-bed of war, and the peace and security of Africa and of the world will have been shattered. The suffering will be immense, but at the end there will be only one result: one day mankind will celebrate the peace and independence of Mozambique.

114. We reiterate our position, which we have expressed many times and reaffirmed barely a month ago in the Fourth Committee:

"FRELIMO, on behalf of the entire people of Mozambique, is today, as yesterday, ready to negotiate with the

Government of Portugal as soon as it solemnly recognizes the right of the people of Mozambique to self-determination and national independence. On such a basis, the negotiations will aim at establishing the practical modalities for the implementation of that right."

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank Mr. dos Santos for the tribute he was kind enough to pay to my country and to me.

116. I have just received a letter from the representative of Morocco, who asks to be permitted to participate, under Article 31 of the Charter, in the debate on the item before the Council. If I hear no objection, I intend, in accordance with the practice of the Council and the provisional rules of procedure, to invite the representative of Morocco to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. Zentar (Morocco) took a seat in the Council Chamber.*

117. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): Madam President, it is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity to express to you on behalf of my delegation, our heartfelt fraternal congratulations on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for this month. Having worked with you in the Security Council and in many other organs of the United Nations, I can testify with confidence that with your wisdom, experience and understanding you will make a great contribution to the work of the Security Council in the month of November. For the first time in history a woman is presiding over the deliberations of this supreme organ of the United Nations and we are delighted that this honour has fallen to a distinguished daughter of Africa. The praiseworthy manner in which you are discharging your duties has already brought honour to your country, the Republic of Guinea, and to Africa. Indeed, your presence among us here in the world Organization as the first lady permanent representative to the United Nations is also an honour to women all over the world.

118. I also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Louis de Guiringaud of France, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during his tenure of office last month.

119. I cannot begin my intervention without first wholeheartedly welcoming the representatives of the liberation movements of the Territories under Portuguese colonial administration who have been invited to address the Council. I am sure that by their statements the representatives of the liberation movements will enable the members of the Council to have first-hand information—as in the case of Mr. dos Santos just now—of the situation prevailing in the Territories under consideration.

120. The Somali Democratic Republic regards the struggle of the liberation movements as the most important revolutionary event of contemporary African history—history whose lessons must not be forgotten. The resort to means of revolutionary struggle by the liberation movements to achieve national liberation and independence has for us, the African States represented today in the United Nations, the same importance and significance as all liberation revolu-

tions have had in the past for many States, including some of the big Powers. We therefore reaffirm our recognition of the right of all colonial peoples to wage an armed struggle for their national aspirations, freedom and independence when all other avenues of peaceful change have been closed to them. I seize this opportunity to hail the victories of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde in their heroic battle for national independence.

121. The Security Council has been convened many times in the past to consider and take action on various aspects of the southern African problem. It has dealt specifically with the question of the detestable policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, its most important action in that respect being the call for an arms embargo against that country. It has dealt extensively with the question of Namibia; it has ratified the decision of the General Assembly that the United Nations should assume direct responsibility for that Territory. In the case of Southern Rhodesia it has acted to the extent of imposing economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the illegal régime in that Territory. These actions have been taken for several reasons. They have been taken because the oppressive colonialism of the minority régime of those Territories and their repulsive racist policies run counter to the principles of the Charter and to the development of those principles as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

122. The Security Council has taken action, too, because the tragic consequences for the indigenous population of southern Africa of the unjust policies of the minority régimes could not be ignored by a world organization dedicated to peace with justice. Finally, but most important, it has acted in these cases because the whole southern African situation constitutes a threat to regional and international peace and security. It is sad and unfortunate that these actions have not brought about any meaningful results.

123. It has often been emphasized that the southern African situation must be viewed as a whole since all the problems of that area are interrelated. The problems posed by Portuguese colonial rule in Africa are indeed an integral part of the southern African problem. The economic and military alliance between Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia is a significant factor in an over-all attempt to establish a "white fortress" in southern Africa within which white privilege will be maintained at the expense of the human rights of the African majority. It has been clearly demonstrated within the context of the economic sanctions imposed on the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia that measures instituted against one colonial régime become ineffective unless they are directed against all such oppressive régimes, namely,

those of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia itself.

124. The time has therefore come for the Security Council, which has at least attempted to bring about change in other areas of southern Africa, to give its undivided attention to the question of the African Territories under Portuguese domination. The time has come for positive measures which go beyond the affirmation of principles and the moderate calls for action that were made with regard to these Territories in Addis Ababa in February 1972.

125. While the externals of the situation in the Portuguese-held Territories may appear different from those of other southern African trouble-spots, the basic reasons which have caused the Security Council to take action elsewhere in southern Africa apply with equal force to the Territories under Portuguese domination. There is the same factor of the oppressive and unjust rule of a minority régime, aggravated in this case by the fact that the régime is a colonial one in the most classic sense. Portugal's refusal to act in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has led to the large-scale colonial wars which are being waged by the Portuguese Government against the peoples of all the African Territories under its domination. The Security Council must involve itself more positively in a situation in which at least 150,000 Portuguese troops are engaged in a war to crush the struggle for liberation from colonial oppression, a war that includes the use of napalm, chemical warfare and other means of mass destruction. It is pertinent to state here that the liberation struggle has been declared legitimate by the General Assembly and by the Security Council itself. The Council must become more involved in a situation which has developed to the point where the true representatives of the peoples of those Territories have clearly emerged in such formidable parties as the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, now in control of two thirds of Guinea (Bissau), the Liberation Front of Mozambique, and the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola, which are leading the struggle for the liberation of Angola and Mozambique. The leaders of the revolution have already embarked on the task of national reconstruction in the liberated areas under their control, and they have clearly stated that they are prepared to enter into negotiations with the Portuguese Government with a view to finding a solution with regard to the armed conflict which at present exists in those regions, and thus creating a peaceful atmosphere which will allow the peoples of those Territories to attain the dignity to become masters of their own destinies.

126. The Special Mission of the Committee on decolonization which visited Guinea (Bissau) in April this year at the invitation of the liberation forces was able to attest to the determination of the people of that Territory to achieve their freedom, and to the courageous steps they have taken towards the goals of nationhood and independence. The General Assembly has endorsed these findings by its recognition of the national liberation movements of those Territories as the legitimate representatives of their peoples and countries, and by the granting of observer status to the leaders of those movements by the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. All these developments illustrate

forcefully the mythical nature of the Portuguese Government's claim that the African Territories under its domination are an extension of Portugal in Africa. We have many times in the past denounced the absurdity of such an illegitimate claim. In its statement before the 2067th meeting of the General Assembly last month, my delegation emphasized this point when it said:

"...We maintain that this claim is based upon the so-called right of conquest of the past centuries and was established by force. But force does not and cannot—and never will—create right. Consequently, it is absurd and inconceivable to pretend that African Territories and peoples are integral parts of a European country, and to try to legitimize an arbitrary régime, because no laws of usurpation, constitutional amendments or organic laws passed in Portugal can make immense African regions part of continental Europe. Is there anyone in this Assembly who has seen land marked as belonging to Africa on the map of Europe?"<sup>7</sup>

127. All these developments call for a new phase of United Nations involvement in these problems.

128. The Portuguese claim that, unlike other colonial régimes, they do not practise racial discrimination. Probably there is no official Portuguese policy of *apartheid* similar to the one in force in South Africa, but there is a clear form of racism which, although of a more subtle type, nevertheless works to keep the Africans as a poor and under-privileged labour force at the disposal of the European-settler minority. It is racism that withholds opportunities for economic advancement and participation in political and social fields unless the Africans alienate their own national and cultural heritage and go through the hateful process of so-called assimilation into Portuguese culture. But even that road is not made easily available, as is evidenced by the small number of Africans who have been able to achieve higher education or roles in public life, after many centuries of Portuguese colonial rule. The present situation in the Portuguese Territories, therefore, is the result of the most reactionary type of colonialism allied to a subtle form of racism and, as in other southern African situations, is also a threat to regional and international peace and security.

129. Such a threat to regional and international peace and security is obvious. The long record of Portuguese aggressions against independent African States includes the attempted invasion of Guinea by Portuguese troops backed by mercenaries; flagrant acts of aggression against Senegal; incursions into and aerial attacks against Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire and the Congo; and other military operations, such as the laying of anti-personnel mines within the borders of some of those States.

130. Those were all expressions of Portuguese arrogance and anger over the struggle waged by the liberation movements and over the support given to those movements by the Organization of African Unity. The tense and dangerous situation on the borders of the Portuguese-held

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2067th meeting, para. 29.

Territories is the direct result of Portugal's refusal to recognize the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, and its total disregard for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the dictates of international law.

131. There are also international repercussions of the situation in the Portuguese-held Territories. Again, here, as in other southern African situations, there exists the possibility of a racial war, with large Powers aligning themselves either with the minority regimes or with the forces of liberation. The shape of such an alignment is not hard to determine. One of the hindrances to the success of the international campaign against colonialism and racism in southern Africa has been the military and economic support of Portugal by its NATO allies—support which has undeniably been essential for the conduct of the war against the liberation forces and which has made it possible for the poorest country of Europe to devote half its national budget to its military forces.

132. This support has been freely given in spite of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council which call on States to refrain from assisting the Portuguese Government in its oppression and repression of the peoples under its administration and in particular to prevent the supply of arms, and materials for the manufacture of arms, to the Portuguese Government. But the helicopters which search out the liberation forces and the planes which then move in for the attack and drop napalm, conventional bombs, herbicides and defoliants which destroy the land and kill innocent people are supplied to Portugal by NATO Powers—some of them members of the Security Council.

133. One may indeed ask how inhuman must a war be, how many hundreds of thousands of innocent people must be killed before the violation of their fundamental human rights becomes a matter for international concern and before the aggression against their lands and lives can be considered a threat to international peace and security.

134. The United Nations was founded after the cataclysmic Second World War in order to defend human freedom and democracy against the recurrence of Nazi-Fascist ideology, which undoubtedly is the most dangerous threat to the free and peaceful existence of peoples. Despite the noble principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, an alliance based on the monstrous Nazi and Fascist doctrines of racial hatred between peoples, designed to subjugate other peoples by force, is being concluded between the tyrannical régimes of Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Such an alliance allows the white European minority to dictate to the African majority and to keep millions of defenceless people in perpetual enslavement. We strongly maintain that tolerance of the existence of this dreadful situation of colonial slavery is the most serious political error of the United Nations. In this regard, I should like to stress that the fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon all Member States by the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights demands energetic and decisive action by the Members of the United Nations in

situations similar to the colonial issues under discussion in order to bring about international law and order and respect for human rights.

135. The United Nations is an organization of peace. It is supposed to work for peace, tranquility and good order in the world. But none of those goals is possible of achievement without justice, and it is justice—justice alone—that strengthens the peace, tranquility and good order we all seek. The United Nations must make more concrete efforts in order to preserve and strengthen peace and security in the world by every means available to it. In particular, the Security Council must get hold of the burning colonial questions and take effective measures to bring about their successful solution. Never in the past has the perilous colonial situation been in the conscience of the world and its gravest dangers to the cause of peace been recognized by all, as at the present time, when all reasonable measures have failed to produce any meaningful results.

136. Consequently, now is the time to remove without delay the danger and possibility of serious threats to peace in Africa and to banish the threat of racial conflagration in the regions of the African continent still under colonial bondage. Now is the time the United Nations must respond to the legitimate expectations of the oppressed colonial peoples in Africa and in other parts of the world. Now is the time the United Nations must assert the weight of its authority and assume its high responsibility to serve the cause of justice and the welfare of mankind in saving succeeding generations from the scourge of the evils of war. Otherwise, the United Nations will become a total failure in efforts to create an international authority in the cause of peace, security and justice in the world.

137. Taking all those facts into account, it is our considered view that the Security Council now has more than sufficient cause to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter and impose an arms embargo on Portugal so that it will not be assisted in its unjust war of repression against the unfortunate African peoples under its domination. As is well known, Portugal does not manufacture arms. It would not be able to continue its colonial war if the countries supplying it with a variety of military supplies were to end this infamous and inhuman trade. It is the firm hope of my delegation that the members of the Council will come to agree that the imposition of an arms embargo is the obvious course of action, particularly at this stage, when clouds of danger are darkening the African horizon as a result of the tragic situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. I believe that is the minimum that should be expected of the Security Council. If their special self-interests should cause some members of the Council to oppose such a proposal, those of us who have a sincere concern for peace and justice would take comfort in the fact that we had not shirked our duties and obligations. We have not turned selfishly away from those who seek help and justice from our deliberations.

138. The injustices of colonialism are as important to the peoples of Africa as is the question of disarmament to Member States, particularly the big Powers who see the latter problem as the major threat to their security and stability. We cannot have peace and security in Africa until

the injustices of colonialism and racism are eliminated. Furthermore, in the interdependent world of today our fortunes are all linked. Africa, with its tremendous natural resources, its wealth of raw materials and its geographical position, is too important economically and strategically for the rest of the world to remain detached from the conflagrations that are developing in the parts of that continent still under oppressive colonial rule.

139. I should like to seize this opportunity to tell those States members of this Council that have so far given an unsympathetic reception to all meaningful proposals of concrete measures for the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and have opposed any effective measures against Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, which have all persistently defied the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and placed themselves above the Charter, that we cannot and will not be satisfied with their resounding declarations of principles and statements of friendship and good intentions towards Africa unless such declarations are backed up by practical actions. I say this because we have so far witnessed only obstructionist policies on the part of some Powers, particularly the Western Powers.

140. We disapprove of the actions of those States which give the racist minority régimes moral comfort and substantial material assistance which enable them to pursue their colonial aggression against the peoples whose lands and rights they have usurped by force. Particularly we cannot hide our disappointment—and we can say this very loudly—with France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, which all have special responsibility for bringing about peace and justice in the world because of their status as permanent members of the Security Council. Unfortunately, they have, because of their political, economic and military relationships with Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, deliberately ignored the many measures proposed by the United Nations with regard to these Territories.

141. It is the privilege of my delegation to introduce to the Council, on behalf of Guinea, the Sudan and my own delegation, the draft resolution contained in document S/10834, on the African Territories under Portuguese administration, which seeks to redress the grave situation in these Territories by updating the relevant resolutions already adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. My task of introducing this draft resolution to the Council has been facilitated by the statements made by the Foreign Ministers of Liberia and Sierra Leone who highlighted the central provisions of the draft resolution when they opened the debate yesterday.

142. I have indirectly commented, in the course of this statement, on most of the provisions of that draft resolution. I would now merely make some general comments on the text. It was prepared with scrupulous care and after lengthy consultations with many delegations. I believe that it reflects faithfully the consensus of opinion of the majority of the United Nations membership on the question of these Territories. It certainly reflects unequivocally the consensus of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity as shown in their resolution on decolonization adopted in Rabat this year.

143. The sponsors of the draft resolution have avoided, for obvious reasons, presenting a separate draft resolution on each of the Territories under consideration. The draft resolution is formulated in simple and clear terms and contains only reasonable demands. While it recalls the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and resolution 2918 (XXVII) adopted only a few days ago by the General Assembly with an overwhelming majority, its preambular paragraphs are almost identical to those of Security Council resolution 312 (1972) of 4 February 1972. Many of its operative paragraphs are also contained in the Security Council resolution to which I have just referred but there are new and useful elements to which the African delegations attach great importance in view of the seriousness of the situation. These are found in operative paragraphs 5, 6 and 9, in which the Council affirms that the national liberation movements of the Territories under Portuguese domination are the legitimate representatives of the peoples of those Territories, calls upon the Government of Portugal to enter into negotiations with the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique with a view to arriving at a solution to the armed conflict and the subsequent accession to independence, and appeals to all Governments, specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system as well as non-governmental organizations to assist, morally and materially, the liberation movements of these Territories in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

144. Operative paragraph 10 imposes an arms embargo on Portugal as long as it refuses to renounce its policy of colonial domination and finally operative paragraph 11 establishes an *ad hoc* committee of five members of the Security Council to be charged with the implementation of the arms embargo.

145. The purpose of the provisions I have just enumerated is obvious to all of us. They go straight to the heart of the matter under discussion and are, we believe, a positive step towards the solution of these thorny problems to which no one with a good conscience could have any valid and reasonable objections.

146. Having thus summed up the contents of the draft resolution, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic to all those States, organizations and specialized agencies which are already providing moral and material assistance to the liberation forces operating in the Territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique.

147. The sponsors of the draft resolution hope that the members of this Council will extend to the peoples of the Territories under oppressive Portuguese rule their undivided support by adopting unanimously this timely and reasonable resolution. Finally, the sponsors are ready to undertake immediately consultations with all members of the Council and will welcome any suggestions or amendments to improve the text both in form and in substance.

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Madagascar.

I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

149. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, there are circumstances that constrain us to break certain rules, and, although we understand that it is not customary for a guest of the Security Council to present his congratulations to the President, I hope that you will bear with me on this occasion when I say how very happy I am to find us assembled today under your kindly authority.

150. For this breach, which I hope the members of the Council will not hold against me, I see two sufficient reasons. The first is that I regard it as my duty to pay a tribute to the qualities and virtues which you, Madam, have consistently displayed when you first devoted yourself to the defence of what we all hold most precious deep in ourselves, namely, African freedom. The second is that I cannot conceal the feelings of justifiable pride and confidence that we experience on seeing Africa honoured by your person in the direction of this Council this month, where you will decide what is to be done in order for Africa to recover its rights and its dignity.

151. Madam President, after having thus imperfectly rendered you what is your due, my delegation would like, through you, to thank the members of the Council for having acceded to its request to participate in the discussion of the item now before the Council. We made this request in conformity with the mandate assigned by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, a mandate to the effect that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Liberia, Sierra Leone, Tunisia and Madagascar are to set forth and defend the views of OAU whenever your Council takes up the question of the African Territories under Portuguese domination.

152. Because of commitments already undertaken before the date was set for this meeting of the Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Malagasy Republic is unable to be present, to his great regret. Consequently, he has appointed me to represent him.

153. More than 10 years have elapsed since the African States brought before the Security Council the question of Territories under Portuguese domination, and while the situation has changed somewhat over this period, we can say that the principles which underlie our positions and our action remain fundamentally the same. For us, in the common struggle we are waging against colonialism and all its manifestations, the fundamental principle is the right of peoples to independence, a natural right recognized by the Charter which is subject neither to interpretation nor to restriction.

154. We could discuss at length, in a scholarly inconclusive manner, the nature and the significance of that right. But it is not our intention to allow ourselves to be bogged down in a sterile doctrinal confrontation, thus reverting to the exercise which we undertook in 1963 for the purpose of ascertaining whether Portugal accepted the notion of self-determination within the meaning of the United Nations Charter. In fact, we have found that for 17 years the

Portuguese Government has used that controversy with the entire international community as a pretext for trying to explain and to defend its colonial policy and to maintain its domination over peoples which have already freely decided their destiny and affirmed their determination to conquer or to recover their independence.

155. The peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique have expressed their will through their liberation movements, taking into account the evolution of history and, above all, of ideas. They have accepted the struggle for independence without which it is impossible to create free institutions in accordance with their own will, their traditions, their culture and their identity. They have decided to reject participation in a system imposed by a philosophy which is altogether alien to them and to create a political society in which they will be the masters of their own destiny. They have placed the just and lawful struggle they are waging for recognition of their right to form separate and sovereign nations in the framework of "African peace", which must not, of course, be confused with the so-called "Portuguese peace".

156. The Organization of African Unity unreservedly supports this action by the African peoples under Portuguese domination, for it is in conformity with the right of peoples. We expect the Security Council to take positive action in this sense, which will be a particularly valuable and significant inasmuch as it will remove, once and for all, the ambiguities carefully put about by the Portuguese Government concerning the status of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, concerning the legitimate representatives of the liberation movements in those Territories, and the right of those peoples to sovereign and independent existence. The Security Council is empowered to endorse the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), thus going beyond paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 183 (1963) of 11 December 1963, and conferring its authority on the recommendation of the Assembly concerning recognition of the liberation movements in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique.

157. These institutional measures, in conformity with the responsibility that the United Nations must morally and legally assume in regard to the colonized peoples, are destined to render null and void the so-called organic Overseas Law which the Portuguese Government has promulgated in order to justify the unjustifiable and to try and resolve its own contradictions. The Council must not, we believe, recognize this status granted in arbitrary and iniquitous conditions, in the context of what is called the Portuguese nation, contrary to the resolutions and decisions of this Organization.

158. But no matter how much importance we all accord to the steps that this Council may take in order to take account of the aspirations of the African peoples under Portuguese domination, there is a danger, as we have already seen, that they will remain inoperative if we do not find a political solution for the situation in the Territories. There is a serious dispute between Portugal and the national liberation movements which concerns control, sovereignty and allegiance. This dispute has culminated in an armed

conflict and has led to unilateral acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

159. The Portuguese Government naturally denies that there is a state of war in its African colonies, over which it claims to exercise political, administrative, economic and military control. But it is sufficient to read the report of the Special Mission of the Committee of Twenty-Four, whose mandate was established by General Assembly resolutions 2795 (XXVI) and 2878 (XXVI), to see that the liberated areas are indeed a reality and that Portugal is carrying on a total war against the populations in the Territories, having brutal and general recourse to military force by means of indiscriminate bombing and the institution of a reign of terror, destruction and harassment. The account of the facts is only too familiar, unfortunately, and reminds us of what is going on in another continent, if there should still be any doubt.

160. Portugal bears the entire responsibility for that war, having defied the resolutions adopted by the Security Council since 1961 on the question of Territories under Portuguese domination, which called upon Portugal sometimes urgently, to cease its acts of repression, withdraw its military forces, and start negotiations with the true representatives of the peoples.

161. According to the Portuguese authorities, that war of reconquest, of recolonization, might well last 100 years if need be. For our part, we find it difficult to understand how those authorities can flout the dispositions of the Charter with impunity and calmly continue their colonialist and imperialist aggression, unless one acknowledges that Portugal regrettably enjoys complicity and assistance, which are as criminal as the acts that have placed it beyond the pale of the international community.

162. It is to the credit of the leaders of the national liberation movements that they took the initiative of seeking a political solution. At the 1986th and 1987th meetings of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, Mr. Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, and Mr. dos Santos, Vice President of FRELIMO, agreed to undertake negotiations, indeed, immediate negotiations, with the Portuguese authorities, on the basis of accession to independence and the quest for the most effective and adequate means of arriving at it. Such an act of faith deserves to be taken seriously into consideration, and the Council, we believe, acting collectively or individually, is in duty bound to see to it that this latest appeal is welcomed positively by Portugal.

163. Failing negotiations, the people's revolution will continue, despite the Portuguese authorities' recourse to the most sophisticated and up-to-date methods, despite a massive military occupation, despite a more and more coherent strategy and, finally, despite the military assistance that Portugal is receiving from certain of its military allies.

164. Portugal claims to be the victim of an international plot in its crusade allegedly to defend certain values. For our part, we affirm that it is the international community which is the victim of a plot, hatched by Portugal and its

minority allies in southern Africa, seeking an ideological confrontation on our continent by obstinately denying the African peoples, which should be the sole possessors of sovereignty, of their rights, while threatening international peace and security by continuing their acts of repression, oppression and aggression.

165. We believe that the authority of the Council can put an end to the deteriorating situation in the Portuguese colonies of Africa by decreeing a total embargo on the sale, supply and delivery to Portugal of arms, munitions and military vehicles. Only such an embargo, under effective control, can ensure the return of those colonies to normal activity and to the full realization of their peoples' aspirations—that is to say, accession to independence. When Portugal's repression and military presence in its colonies comes to an end, then shall we be able to form a judgement on the "lusotropicalism" or the "portuguesismo" of the populations of its colonies, the alleged faith that the traditional authorities have in the Portuguese way of life, the policy of amelioration, the idea of a Portugal extending from Bragança to Lourenço Marques, to the extent that such concepts are freely accepted by a population not under threat of foreign constraint and terrorism.

166. Together with the embargo, we think it would be just for the Council to request the international community, by means of aid to the liberation movements, to provide for a programme of national assistance and reconstruction in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique.

167. There are hundreds of thousands of refugees in the States neighbouring those Territories. The liberated areas need a social and economic infrastructure adapted to the requirements of a new society. Portuguese military aggression continues implacably and massively to destroy the social and cultural achievements of the liberation movements in the areas under their control. Millions of Africans are still experiencing colonial exploitation and subjugation and see themselves reduced—paradox of paradoxes—to the status of "social minorities" for the greater good of the all-powerful economic associations. In short, the task is to rehabilitate those Territories from the ruins of colonial war and to enable them to apply to their own development efforts the hundreds of millions of dollars that Portugal exacts from them as their share in the so-called war effort.

168. Such assistance would at least have the advantage of better serving the peoples of the Territories than that which Portugal receives in the name of an obscure solidarity of interests and which, we are convinced, is destined, whether one cares to admit it or not, to enable it to divert an appreciable part of its resources for the purposes of repressing and terrorizing those peoples who, under the Charter, Portugal ought to have assisted in their quest for a political identity in conformity with their aspirations.

169. In conclusion, I should like to repeat for the consideration of the Council the words of the Secretary-General of the Organization, spoken at Rabat on 12 June 1972 before the Ninth Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity:

"There is no nation in our interdependent world that can indefinitely resist the profound changes of which the

international community recognizes the legitimacy. No matter what impression may be created by the recourse to arms and to force, the odds are against countries which persist in going against the tide of history. . . .”

He further said:

“If there is no progress, the only outcome will be violence, isolation and ostracism.”

170. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As the Council decided at the beginning of yesterday's meeting, we shall accede to the request contained in the letter from the representatives of Somalia and the Sudan. Accordingly, I propose with the consent of the Council, to invite Mr. Gil Fernandes to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gil Fernandes took a place at the Council table.*

171. Mr. FERNANDES: Madam President, before beginning my statement, let me convey to you in the name of my party our fraternal greetings. It is a pleasure for me to see you presiding over the Security Council, because only a few years ago your country was in the same situation as ours is today; so your understanding of the colonial problem is quite obvious.

172. I should like to thank my African brothers for calling this meeting of the Council, which is dealing specifically with the Portuguese question. The convening of this meeting is a sign that the world at large is becoming more and more concerned with the problem of Portuguese colonialism, which is a threat to international peace and security. We sincerely hope that at the end of this meeting decisions will be taken which will bring peace a little closer to our troubled country. Peace in our embattled country will benefit not only our people but the people of Portugal as well and, by extension, all friends and allies of Portugal.

173. The time has come for Portugal's friends and allies to help that poor country find a solution to this conflict.

174. I am quite aware of the difficulties one finds in dealing with the problems of Portugal in Africa concerning colonialism. Many obstacles are involved when trying to persuade Portugal to decolonize. It is almost like asking the Portuguese ruling class to commit suicide. We do not think that it is necessary to look at this problem pessimistically, because we are prepared, in the event of a peaceful negotiation or settlement, to take into consideration all the interests of Portugal in Guinea (Bissau) and in Cape Verde.

175. The economy of Portugal after 50 years of fascism has been oriented in such a way that only a few powerful families are benefiting from it. Those families happen to be precisely those which are part of the ruling class or those which back the Government and the military establishment. These families, by using foreign capital provided by allies and friends, are the ones investing in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and, therefore, have every interest in preserving the colonies. On the other hand, the higher echelons of the military establishment find these

wars economically profitable in terms of salaries and commissions. Last, but not least, the friends and allies of Portugal find a bonanza in investing in the colonies, in terms of cheap labour and large dividends. The worst part of this dilemma is that Portugal itself is a semi-colony with over 40 per cent of its people still illiterate.

176. These are the problems to which I refer and which I mentioned before. However, we do not think that we have reached an impasse. Since the very beginning, before the armed confrontation, we took all these factors into consideration. Our conclusion was—and rightly so—that nobody could liberate us; we had to stand up and fight for our own rights. We had to prepare our people for an armed struggle. I must make it perfectly clear that I am not here warmongering. Only fools like war, with the destruction, suffering and death which it brings.

177. That is precisely why we resorted to non-violent means at the very beginning. We wrote many letters to the head of the Portuguese Government in Lisbon; we petitioned the United Nations; we tried strikes and boycotts; and nothing worked. This was back in the 1950s. At that time we were not thinking in terms of independence; we were just trying to get our people to become first-class citizens within the Portuguese community; we were just seeking a better lot, a fair share for our people.

178. The Government was arrogant and contemptuous, as the Government of Mr. Caetano is today. Mr. Salazar went so far as to declare: “Africa does not exist.” Faced with this attitude and utterly frustrated by the rigidity and inflexibility of the Portuguese ruling class, we organized a strike of dock workers on 3 August 1959. The outcome of the strike was a tragedy. It is recorded in the history of our people as the Massacre of Pigiguiti, for the police force was brought in. On that hot, humid and lazy afternoon, for a few minutes all that could be heard was the rattling of machine-gun fire. Fifty workers lay dead and over 100 were injured. Those who were able to jump into the water became an easy target for Portuguese marksmen. Their bodies are still to be found. We learned that boycotts and strikes were useless. We learned a lesson. As the great Roman, Titus Livius, said about 2,000 years ago, “War is sacred when just, and blessed are the weapons of liberation”.

179. We had no alternative. We had to go to the countryside and mobilize the peasantry. We decided to take our destiny into our own hands.

180. Mr. Cabral, our Secretary-General, came to the United Nations as a petitioner 10 years ago, just a few months before the beginning of the war, to plead our cause, but all to no avail. Thus, a few months later the war started.

181. During these 10 years of armed struggle the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, under the leadership of PAIGC, have made enormous progress. Almost three quarters of our national territory has been liberated from colonial domination and two thirds of Guinea (Bissau) is now under our effective control.

182. We have developed an administrative structure and given new life and hope to our people. We have promoted a

variety of cultural and social services, such as health, hygiene, education, and so on, trying to bring our people into the modern world. Prior to the formation of our party, 99 per cent of our people were unable to read and write. Today adults are being taught to read and write. Four hundred and ninety-seven high- and middle-level civil servants and professionals have been trained. Four hundred and ninety-five young people are attending high school or university in friendly countries. Fifteen thousand children are attending 150 primary schools with a staff of 251 teachers.

183. This is no small accomplishment for a country kept in the dark, outside history, for five centuries. And this, I would say, is the most beautiful aspect of our struggle and a great source of pride for us.

184. Happiness for us does not reside in killing Portuguese soldiers or shooting down Portuguese planes. Happiness for us is to see our children, our men and our women walking straight, with the smile of freedom on their faces, not bent down by the weight of foreign domination. It is seeing our children struggling to learn the alphabet, and not twisting in pain under the shadow of a tree, with their bellies swollen by hunger.

185. I sincerely hope that some kind of smile will be present on the faces of the 15 members of this body in the future because they can then say: "We helped to decolonize Africa; we took part in this wonderful human adventure which is seeking peace and prosperity for mankind". The difficulties and obstacles that I mentioned in the beginning can be resolved if all the parties concerned are willing to chart a new course.

186. Since the meeting of the Security Council in Addis Ababa, very encouraging developments have taken place within the United Nations. The United Nations as a whole has made a significant moral and political contribution to the problem of decolonization, namely, the resolution proclaiming that our struggle is a legitimate one, and the appeal made to Member States to extend to us all possible assistance in our struggle.

187. The recommendation made to the specialized agencies to co-operate with us through the Organization of African Unity, the granting of observer status to the liberation movements, the visit of the Special Mission to our country last April: all these are, I think, positive steps in the right direction. We believe that further steps can be taken. These days, with the general mood for conciliation and détente in the political arena, there should be no reason why we cannot sit down and talk to Portugal. We do not think that napalm is an answer. NATO weapons cannot solve social conflicts. When Portugal is given \$500 million in loans, in credit, without one word about Africa, the donor is just prolonging the conflict.

188. Today, for the second time, we have the privilege of addressing the Security Council. We are addressing this body again because we want to help to find a solution to this absurd war. Do we have to destroy Bissau and Bafata

and other towns to get the Portuguese out? We hope not. We sincerely hope that this Council will offer us and the Portuguese some other alternative. At the last meeting of the Security Council in Addis Ababa, we submitted specific proposals to the Council. We asked at that time that a time limit should be set for the departure of Portuguese troops and that a delegation of the Security Council should see Mr. Caetano and make concrete proposals for the beginning of negotiations, which could take place here in New York, for instance. I should personally like to see the United Kingdom as part of the delegation, because of its special ties with Portugal, and because I believe that the representative of that great country, Great Britain, subscribes to the thinking of his countryman, Sir Winston Churchill, when he said that it is better to "jaw-jaw than war-war".

189. If Portugal fails to respond, the members of this Council have the capacity and the privilege of being judges in this land. I am quite sure that the Council will do everything to ensure that justice is done.

190. We have just finished the elections for the formation of our first national assembly. Some time in the near future this assembly will meet and we shall proclaim a state. We have all the components of a sovereign state and we shall use them and act accordingly.

191. It is not our intention—I repeat, it is not our intention—to bring Portugal to its knees. But I can assure you that, no matter what it will take, we shall have to put an end to the Portuguese colonial system in Guinea (Bissau) and in Cape Verde.

192. In conclusion, Madam President, I should like to salute you and that great country of yours, the Republic of Guinea, and your President. I should like to tell my African brothers in the United Nations how pleased we are at the tremendous effort they have exerted in drafting and in consulting just about every delegation to ensure that the draft resolution submitted in the Fourth Committee would have the largest possible support. That was another proof that they are more than ever interested in bringing peace to our country. I should like to thank the representative of a country whose motto is "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*", for what he said in the Fourth Committee while explaining why France had abstained: "There has been some progress in our voting record in relation to past years."<sup>8</sup> We love to hear those words. To other members of the Council who voted for the resolution, to the Latin Americans, and to the representative of Japan, our thanks for showing understanding that the end of a system of colonialism in Africa is starting to emerge.

193. I should also like to thank all the members of the Security Council for giving us the opportunity to appear before it, and also to thank three members of this Council, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, for their political, moral and material help in our struggle. To Somalia and the Sudan I need not say anything because I believe and know that they are in the front line with us, and our battle is their battle.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Fourth Committee, 2001st meeting.

194. I will end my statement by using the very same words that Mr. Cabral used when addressing this Council in Addis Ababa last year. He said:

"At this very moment when, despite the contradictions which prevail in the world—contradictions of ideology and of social and political systems—there are contacts between the most opposing poles, and these contacts are developing, at this very moment when certain nations are dreaming of conquering the 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."  
[1632nd meeting, para. 89]

*The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.*