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#### 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-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 21 November 1972, at 3.30 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/1676)

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 4 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 decisions taken by the Security Council at its 1672nd, 1673rd and 1674th meetings, I invite the representatives of Burundi, Ethiopia, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Uganda, Morocco and Cuba to participate in the debate on the item before the Council without the right to vote.

2. In view of the limited number of places at the Council table, and in accordance with the usual practice, I invite the representatives of all the delegations I have mentioned to take the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber, on the understanding that they will be asked to take a seat at 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. I. Taylor-Kamara (Sierra Leone), Mr. S. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. R. Driss (Tunisia), Mr. J. Baroodi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. G. Ibingira (Uganda), Mr. M. Zentar (Morocco) and Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba) took the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber.*

3. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): Madam President, as previous speakers have already stated—and I should like to emphasize this once again—your assuming the presidency of the Security Council constitutes an unprecedented event in the history of the United Nations. As the representative of Yugoslavia, a country tied to your country and to Africa with bonds of special friendship, co-operation and understanding, I extend to you our warm congratulations. That an African State should be the first country ever to have a woman become the President of the Security Council is a conspicuous example of the progressive contribution that your country and Africa are making to the modern world.

4. In taking part today in the Council's substantive and searching consideration of the weighty question of the Territories under Portuguese colonial domination, my delegation is fully aware of the fact that this is the fifth in this series of meetings in which we have discussed this item on our agenda, that many speakers, representatives both of the liberation movements and independent States of Africa, have ably and exhaustively analysed the situation and the merits of the case, and that a draft resolution has been submitted by African members. Very recently the matter was carefully considered in the Fourth Committee, on whose recommendation the General Assembly adopted resolution 2918 (XXVII) which constitutes a landmark and which the Yugoslav delegation, among many others, actively supported.

5. With all that in mind, and being reasonably certain that the views, policies and concrete deeds of the Yugoslav Government with respect to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, are quite well known. I shall not repeat what Yugoslav representatives have stated on many occasions in various organs of the United Nations or what I stated

[1630th meeting] in the Council's historic meeting in Addis Ababa in condemning Portugal's ferocious colonial war, which threatens international peace and security, in reaffirming our full support of and direct assistance to the liberation movements and in urging the Council and all relevant United Nations organs to undertake new, appropriate measures in the joint struggle for the complete implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

6. I shall therefore limit myself today to what seems to us to be the issues, considerations and requirements of the moment, in an endeavour to help the Council find its way to what is, in the present circumstances, a proper decision.

7. The following are some of the developments that have made for a radical new turn in the situation; that have, so to speak, brought the struggle and the whole case of the peoples of those Territories to a new, higher phase and necessitated the renewed attention of the Security Council, by requiring new decisions to meet both new opportunities and new challenges.

8. First, the liberation struggle, led by PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde), FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) and MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), has entered a new phase, with large parts of their countries liberated and local and regional authorities and services established: for example, the formation of the first National Assembly in Guinea (Bissau), through free elections, which is about to proclaim the existence of its independent State headed by an executive authority. We Yugoslavs know from our own experience and from the experience of all other modern national liberation wars that this tremendous progress indicates that a decisive corner has been turned and that the achievement of independence and sovereignty in the Territories and the final defeat of colonialism are now only a matter of time. The Ambassador of Belgium was correct in saying that Portugal must "renounce a policy which has run its course" and that what we are dealing with here is "by now an irreversible historic change" [1674th meeting, para. 77].

9. Second, the United Nations Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau) was the first in the history of the United Nations to visit a liberated Territory there. Its report<sup>1</sup> confirmed the extent of the success in liberating the country and the fact that PAIGC is the only authentic and *de facto* representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau). On those same grounds, there is growing recognition by the international community that this is true also of FRELIMO and MPLA.

10. Third, the decisions of the last Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in June in Rabat—especially that urging armed support for the liberation struggle, the decision of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in August in Georgetown, granting, *inter alia*, observer status to representatives of the liberation movements, and the recent historic decision of the General Assembly to accord

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

those representatives observer rights [resolution 2918 (XXVII)] all constitute both a part and the reflection of that changed situation. They underlie the increased stature of the liberation movements in their own Territories, in Africa and in the international community as representatives of their peoples and the recognized partners who will in any case decide the future development of their own countries.

11. Fourthly, the increased international recognition of the liberation movements has manifested itself in the increased and more direct help that they are obtaining from the Governments of the world, an outstanding example being the direct financial, material assistance from many European countries, and others. Here one should also mention the recent General Assembly decision, by an almost unanimous vote in favour of holding of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa [resolution 2910 (XXVII)].

12. Most of those developments have taken place since our Addis Ababa meeting, when we last considered this question. All those developments, as I have already indicated, have greatly transformed and changed the circumstances of our dealing with the matter, and all that has happened in a very short time. That is why it was incumbent upon this Council to place the matter again on its agenda. There is nothing routine or automatic in addressing ourselves to the important and urgent requirements of the situation.

13. Equally, the Yugoslav delegation, for one, does not share the feeling of impotence in that so far we have been prevented from doing all that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have rightly expected from the United Nations, and especially from the Security Council. True, Portugal, as assisted, is still waging a horrible war; true, we are prevented from invoking all the powers and instrumentalities that the Charter has invested in us. But no one should underestimate the role of the moral, political and, lately, material support and assistance that the United Nations has so far been able to extend. When we witness the great success of the liberation movements and the enlargement of liberated Territories, we know that not a single resolution had been completely in vain. Whoever has fought a liberation war knows well that nothing can bring freedom if the people on the spot do not fight and, at the same time, how such support and assistance from allies around the world encourage and help.

14. Yugoslavia, its Government and its mass political organizations have declared their full support for the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), from its very outset. Since then our support and direct co-operation have only grown. As I mentioned on a previous occasion, last summer's visit of the delegation of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance to liberated Angola was the first official visit by a foreign delegation.

15. It is therefore only logical that we should be in favour of any and every concrete measure on the part of the international community that could contribute to bringing closer the end of that struggle and liberation, either through

negotiations, if possible, or even by intensifying the struggle if that should be necessary.

16. As the liberation movements and their political leaderships throughout the liberated territories are proving that they are not only a force for bringing down the apparatus of colonial enslavement but are fully and creatively capable of gradually building new national State entities, we have noted with immediate interest suggestions made here by the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone that the Security Council should even possibly consider declaring the independence of those countries should the actions of the Security Council prove fruitless because of Portugal's continued intransigence.

17. It is for these reasons that my delegation would not have had any difficulty with the first draft resolution submitted by three African members of the Security Council [S/10834], with its motivation, goals and requests. We would have had no difficulty with a Security Council decision to reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique to self-determination and independence; to affirm that the national liberation movements of those Territories, recognized by the Organization of African Unity, are the legitimate representatives of the peoples of those Territories; to urge the Government of Portugal to enter into negotiations with them immediately; to call upon all States—especially the military allies of Portugal—to put an end to the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment, and so on, to Portugal, or of anything that enables it to manufacture arms itself; and to establish a so-called "monitoring committee" of the Council, in consultation with the Secretary-General and the President of the Council, which would watch and report to the Council on the implementation of such an embargo.

18. When it comes to colonial questions, it is Yugoslavia's position of principle to support the relevant initiatives and needs of the African States. We shall therefore have no difficulty in supporting the new drafts that African members are now submitting [S/10838 and S/10839], on the basis of the opinions and considerations expressed during the present meeting of the Security Council, and we are prepared to assist in their widest possible acceptance.

19. May I now, in the final part of my delegation's statement, set out what we think should be essential ingredients, elements and considerations in our dealing with the problem, in framing our decision, on the basis of the proposals made or to be made here, on the basis of the prevailing views expressed and, most importantly, on the basis of the true needs of the situation, if we are to discharge our responsibility under the Charter.

20. We have already stated that we would always firmly support an arms embargo against Portugal and any measure that would ensure it. Our common experience with the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia strongly supports us in that. Faced with growing criticism and with ever stronger demands that they cease to furnish any military supplies to Portugal, those who do so, bilaterally and in the framework of their military alliance, try to justify this practice by various explanations about their arms being solely intended

for so-called "domestic use" in Portugal itself; that any "watchdog committee" would be one-sided, monitoring only their side, while Portugal was acquiring arms on the black market from all over the world, and so on. Without going into detail, and mentioning only in passing that any arms supplies, any assistance to a country waging war against another, almost unavoidably facilitates its prosecution of that particular war, I should like to submit the following considerations while on this particular subject.

21. A very convincing case could be made, we think, to the effect that even if the arms supplied to Portugal remain strictly inside its territory, the fact remains that Portugal's ability to wage a colonial war would be greatly facilitated, because all the other arms it obtained in any other way it could then use solely against the peoples of the Territories, as all domestic needs would already have been satisfied. But if the allies of Portugal insist that our major concern here should be that their arms do not reach Portuguese forces engaged in the war, they and the United Nations should find ways and means of making doubly certain that they do not.

22. To maintain that any monitoring committee would be partisan and biased means admitting that the arms are reaching colonialist forces from one side only. Any such body would be entrusted, of course, with reporting on any supply, shipment, presence or use of any arms, legal, illegal, direct or indirect, from whatever source, that are currently being used or would be used against the peoples of those Territories in contravention of our relevant decision.

23. Finally, it would be better and more helpful if those who express their unhappiness over the criticism directed against their continued military, economic and financial assistance to Portugal—the ally which is waging a most cruel and barbaric war in direct and anachronistic violation of all precepts of international law and justice—would use the withholding of their assistance for effectively pressing Portugal into negotiating and stopping the bloodshed. Even a unilateral commitment on their part that they were going to do so would constitute a necessary further step that is rightly expected of them at this decisive moment in that war.

24. The only way to end the war—unless Portugal persists in continuing the bloodshed, bleeding itself white in the process, endangering international peace and stability by joining forces with the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in their arrogant but futile combined attempt to stem the tide of history—is that of negotiation, and the only partners for Portugal are the national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. The overwhelming vote in the General Assembly in favour of negotiations expresses the general perception that the time is now ripe for them and that delaying them may be disastrous. All the representatives of the national liberation movements, speaking here and in the Fourth Committee, have strongly urged negotiations, at the same time very responsibly and generously expressing a readiness to take into consideration the interests of Portugal too, once they are recognized as authentic, *de facto* representatives of their peoples, as valid partners, and once the right to self-determination and

independence is conceded. Even some representatives of West European countries who here expressed the need for some future verification, through special processes, of the so-called representativeness of the national liberation movements also expressed their present hope—and here I quote again the representative of Belgium, Mr. Longestaey, speaking at the 1674th meeting of the Security Council on 17 November:

“... that negotiations will be started between Portugal and the qualified representatives of the peoples of the Territories under its administration with a view to transferring power to the freely elected and representative political institutions of those peoples.” [1674th meeting, para. 80]

25. As far as we are concerned, in view of the remarkable unity of those movements and the general and continuing popular support they enjoy, the national liberation movements are, and will remain, the qualified representatives of their peoples and the only partners for any negotiations. It would be highly unrealistic to expect anything else.

26. The question of establishing some appropriate machinery, some formal channels and procedures, for helping to bring about and then assisting in the conduct of negotiations at the level of the Portuguese Government and the representatives of national liberation movements, as suggested here and elsewhere, was pointed to by Mr. Cabral of PAIGC. After suggesting such negotiations, he called for the establishment of a special committee of the United Nations to deal exclusively with the decolonization process in the Territories under Portuguese domination. Also, Mr. Fernandes suggested that a time-limit be set for the departure of Portuguese troops, and that a delegation of this Council should see the Portuguese Prime Minister and make concrete proposals for the beginning of negotiations. There were other suggestions, such as the establishment of a commission that would, *inter alia*, report periodically to the Security Council on such questions as progress towards self-determination and on other elements which could lead to a satisfactory settlement in the region.

27. It is clear from what I have said that the setting-up of a subsidiary *ad hoc* body of the Security Council for these purposes is indicated. It is equally clear that we cannot revive some past organ or machinery of the United Nations, designed and appropriate for quite different situations, and that we must not ourselves, the United Nations, be the partners of Portugal in any feeble “dialogue”, or state any unnecessary and long-outdated “findings of fact”. We must only assist in establishing contacts leading to negotiations between Portugal and its only legitimate partners—the national liberation movements—on the basis of the right to self-determination and independence. That is one way open to Portugal. The other is the continuation of a calamitous war, with the worst defeat as its only prospect.

28. In closing, let me say that my delegation would be very gratified if the views set forth here could in any way help the Council in formulating the decision that is expected of it.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): “I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the kind remarks he was good enough to address to my country and to myself.

30. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Madam President, breaking the rule which my delegation had adopted, of dispensing with compliments, may I start by paying my respects to you. There are many good reasons to ignore that self-imposed rule. Many colleagues before me have emphasized that you are the first woman to preside over the work of the most prestigious international body. May I add that when Pliny the Elder wrote *Semper Africa aliquid novi affert*, which in English means “Africa always provides something new”, he could not suspect that 1900 years later his sentence would assume a more significant human and historic value. Therefore it is even more gratifying to salute, in an African lady, the first woman to occupy the Chair of the Security Council. Your ability and grace are a sure guarantee that our deliberations will proceed in the best and most fruitful manner. I also wish to recall on this special occasion that the relations between Guinea and my country are, happily, developing in a very friendly spirit. I assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation.

31. Allow me also to express once again our gratitude to Mr. de Guiringaud, who led the Council to positive decisions during the month of October.

32. My delegation has stated Italy’s position on the question under consideration on many occasions in the General Assembly and the Security Council. The process of decolonization is nearly completed; a large number of newly independent States, happily, have joined this Organization, uniting their efforts with ours in a common enterprise of world co-operation.

33. It is all too natural that the persistence in Africa of the last vestiges of an old and outmoded colonial system is resented by the proud, independent African countries as an obstacle to the progress of their continent on the path towards the fulfilment of the principles of freedom and equality for all men, regardless of their race, colour or creed. We fully share the concern of nearly all Member States at the continuation of the colonial system in certain African Territories. Whatever the efforts at modernizing that system, whatever the attempts at presenting it, even in good faith, in a favourable light, that system is an anachronism today. It does not and cannot play a useful role for anybody. Rather is it a source of conflicts, of the waste of human and natural resources, and it may easily become an obstacle to economic and social progress. No external help and guidance, however enlightened, can replace the sense of purpose and dedication which only independence generates among a people and, by unleashing its energies, makes progress for all an attainable goal.

34. That is why we have always been convinced that, in harmony with the trend of contemporary history, in harmony with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) should be allowed to exercise their right to

self-determination and independence. This would be fully consistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

35. These are, briefly, the terms of the question before us. I wish to stress that they are not controversial. Whatever interpretation may be given to votes cast in various United Nations organs on resolutions which are too long and, unfortunately, sometimes burdened with many debatable features, the fact is that on the essential point, namely, the process of self-determination and independence, there is over-all unanimity. The problem we are faced with is—as some of the previous speakers have so eloquently pointed out—how can this Organization help to achieve that objective?

36. The debate we have been following in previous meetings has clearly given indications about the direction our efforts should take. We have listened with great interest and respect to the statements of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Liberia and Sierra Leone as well as to the statements made by representatives of African countries and by other colleagues. We have listened with particular interest to persons with direct experience of the Territories under consideration who represent the aspirations to independence of their peoples and who have shown us clearly the path that our Organization should follow in order to help them. We welcome those statements. They have, in fact, this year taken the bold and constructive initiative of calling for negotiations that could lead to the solution of these remaining colonial questions. Their initiative is realistic, natural and perfectly in line with the experience we have of past and recent history. We do not know of one single conflict where the struggle for independence has not been accompanied by constant contact, dialogue, and in the end negotiations. The past and recent history of many nations, including my own, is replete with examples of negotiations parallel to warfare. To hold a view opposed in principle to negotiations would be inconsistent not only with history but also with simple logic. Negotiations do not contradict nor do they rule out the use by the people concerned of any other means for the achievement of its main objectives: freedom and independence.

37. Furthermore, the initiative for negotiations is in line with the stand taken by the African States with the Lusaka Manifesto, so eloquently recalled this morning by the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Ogbu. The signatories of that remarkable document have declared in fact: "We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill"<sup>2</sup> I have already had the opportunity to recall in this Council the position of my Government on the Lusaka Manifesto. Italy has welcomed the Manifesto and has appealed to the interested parties to respond favourably to the offer made by the African States and to solve the remaining colonial questions through negotiations.

38. We are convinced that the Lusaka Manifesto provides a good basis for a meaningful dialogue as it underlines the peaceful intentions of the African States, which stated in that document:

"If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change".<sup>2</sup>

39. But above all, the reasonable demands of the African movements are consistent with the principles of our Organization. Negotiations open the proper avenue to be followed by the United Nations, a world Organization set up for the purpose, to use the very words of the Charter, of "harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of . . . common ends". It is unfortunately true that this is only one side of the complex realities of the world, and that conflicts are still, and too often tragically, flaring up because no other choice is left to a nation and to a people to correct a wrong or to affirm its natural rights. But to ask the United Nations to legitimize violence is to use the Organization for what it had not been conceived. It would transform our Organization into an arena for confrontation, which can hardly serve the claimed purpose of advancing the cause of those who are struggling. Rather it confuses the issues and breaks the fundamental common position on which we can all stand and act, by producing constitutional inconsistencies, by jeopardizing the rules of international law that are the result of centuries of experience and are in the interest of all members of the international community, without any distinction. In the end it would weaken the United Nations. As Members of this Organization we have here no other alternative but that of a patient, painstaking search for understanding, conciliation and negotiation. This is the proper use to be made of our Organization as it stands now, a moral force without a secular arm, if we sincerely wish to help those who still long for independence and freedom.

40. Let me add that the action needed to promote negotiations is not an easy one. We must, in the first place, make sure that a suitable basis for them is offered to the parties concerned. We must not lose sight, in the second place, of the many limitations of our Organization. We cannot expect it to produce sudden results at the wave of a magic wand, nor can we ask from it the bounty of goods which we in our hearts know it cannot deliver. But this should not discourage us from continuing untiringly in our search for reasonable solutions to the problems under consideration. On the contrary, the awareness of our limitations should arm us with the patience and tenacity required to pursue our aims. We must never lose sight of the fact that their achievement depends also on developments and changes inside the Territories concerned, as well as inside the administering Power. We must have faith in our endurance; we must have faith in our unceasing moral and political pressure that should ultimately encourage and strengthen those liberal forces which are our potential allies.

41. In conclusion my delegation is prepared to support any action of the Council intended to reaffirm resolution 1514 (XV) and the necessity to apply it to Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, to invite the Portuguese authorities concerned to put an end to the colonial wars and to appeal to Portugal to initiate negotiations with the parties concerned and with the assistance of the United Nations

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 12.

with a view to arriving at a solution of the armed confrontation and of allowing the populations concerned to accede to independence.

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the distinguished representative of Italy for the kind things he had to say about me and about my country.

43. The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

44. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It was about the sixteenth century that Portuguese colonialism made its entrance upon the African historical scene. Ever since then it has been challenging the inalienable right of the African peoples to independence. Portugal has continued to be intransigent in the face of the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, urging it to recognize the right of the oppressed peoples to self-determination. In the midst of the twentieth century it continues to act as if nothing had happened; as if the hands of the clock had stopped moving, forever, at the hour of its colonial expansion.

45. Running counter even to the feelings of the peoples of Portugal, the Government of Lisbon has established a discriminatory system to deal with the peoples of the Territories, which it nevertheless seeks to present as if they were its own provinces.

46. The peoples of Guinea (Bissau) and Cabo Verde, Angola and Mozambique have undertaken an armed struggle to gain their rights. The progress achieved by the liberation movements in these Territories shows clearly what future awaits Portuguese colonialism if it persists in its present stubborn attitude. The statement made on 16 October in the Fourth Committee by the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral,<sup>3</sup> showed clearly that PAIGC has already liberated the major portion of the Territory, that the patriotic forces exercise effective control over it and that the repressive colonial machine hardly dares to venture beyond the urban centres. In Guinea (Bissau) the situation has developed to a point where it is obvious that we are confronted with an organized African State, where PAIGC exercises effective authority and has the support of the people and that that State is the victim of armed aggression by a European State. At the 1673rd meeting of the Council the Vice-President of FRELIMO, Marcelino dos Santos, also described how the action of the liberation forces has expanded in that Territory. Neither are things going very well for Portuguese colonialism in Angola.

47. From the political standpoint the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies have also won important victories in recent months. The most recent Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries granted observer status to the representatives of PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA together with the representatives of two other organizations from colonial Territories. This decision and the subsequent invitation extended by the Fourth Committee of the Assembly to the liberation movements of the

Portuguese colonies are a reflection of the will of the large majority of Member States who recognize the right of the organizations that are fighting for the emancipation of their colonies to act as the international representatives of those Territories.

48. The United Nations should be able to act equally receptively towards the struggle of the peoples under colonial domination. It is compelled to do so under the Charter and the various resolutions along these lines adopted by the General Assembly.

49. The liberation movements are the only legitimate spokesmen of the Territories under foreign domination. The only effective means of putting an end to colonialism is to bring about sincere co-operation with such organizations in every respect. The political and material assistance given to African fighters is the inescapable duty of those who claim to be the supporters of the self-determination of peoples. It constitutes an obligation, if we really wish to give practical effect to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to implement the anti-colonial resolutions of this Organization.

50. The persistence of colonialism in Africa constitutes a continuing threat to international peace and security. In particular it is a threat to the independent African States. Suffice it to recall that only about two years ago the Republic of Guinea was the victim of a diabolical armed invasion organized by the colonialists from the Territory of Bissau with the support of international imperialism. On that occasion the aggressors went so far as to attempt to assassinate the President, Ahmed Sékou Touré, one of the strongest, most enlightened and outstanding leaders of the third world. The aggression against Guinea in November 1970 demonstrated to the revolutionary peoples the certain danger which the survival of colonialism signifies for all of them and strengthened the common resolve to pursue the struggle by every available means until it is possible once and for all to put an end to colonialism.

51. The United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, the People's Republic of the Congo and Senegal have also been and continue to be the subject of permanent threats and hostile acts, including armed attacks.

52. The Organization should act urgently to put an end to this situation. To this end it should go to the very root of the problem which is none other than the existence of various colonial enclaves still embedded in the heart of free Africa.

53. Of course we entertain no illusions about the real possibility that the United Nations can act in order to solve once and for all the problem of colonialism. The existence of colonialism and racism in Africa is no miracle. If colonialism has still not disappeared from the earth, that is because it is supported under a plan worked out by the principal interests of modern-day imperialism, which need to exploit the resources of the colonies and use them as springboards for attacks against independent States.

54. Portugal does not have sufficient power of its own to confront the vigorous resistance of the subjugated peoples.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th meeting.



Strictly speaking, what we are dealing with here is indirect colonialism, exploited primarily by third parties using the authorities of Lisbon as the figure-head for their colonial undertakings. Portugal itself is a country that is highly dependent on foreign interests which control the economy of the metropolitan country. Its colonies are subject to pillage by the large monopolistic corporations of the United States, West Germany and other Western Powers. Those Powers are also the source of the financial and military assistance which has enabled Portugal to continue the colonial war. Despite repeated appeals by the international community, far from weakening, this support has grown.

55. During 1971 Portugal achieved one of its main objectives in foreign policy, namely, the strengthening of its diplomatic and political ties with the United States and the most overt commitment by the Washington Government in its colonial war. The visit of Vice-President Agnew in July this year, the meeting with President Nixon and the signing of the agreement in the Azores in December were evidence of this alliance to continue Africa's enslavement.

56. Thanks to the aid of NATO, Portugal has all the means necessary to carry out an anti-guerrilla war, including napalm, toxic chemical substances and poison gases.

57. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, Mr. Pratt, pointed out quite rightly at the Council's meeting last Wednesday that:

"... Obviously, as has been repeatedly substantiated, the massive war of genocide conducted by the Lisbon régime against the over 15 million people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) would not have been pursued for more than a week had it not been for the continued economic, financial, diplomatic and military assistance of the NATO member States, especially the United States, West Germany, France and Britain. This assistance is now being bolstered up by a direct involvement of the South African and Rhodesian minority racist régimes in the Portuguese war effort, by sending their troops into Angola and Mozambique to fight the freedom-seeking Africans." [1672nd meeting, para. 127]

58. Imperialism is mobilizing additional resources to support the anachronistic colonial structure and introduce new forms of neo-colonialism in the African continent. To that end it avails itself of the assistance of, among others, certain Latin American lackeys, in particular Brazil. This is how we must evaluate the increase in the financial, commercial and military ties between Brazil and the Territories subject to colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

59. We should evaluate in the same terms the recent visit of the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs to South America and the current journey of his colleague from Brazil to various African countries.

60. We are confronted with an alliance built up by international imperialism with the forces of colonialism and racism. Against this alliance it is necessary to set as a solid block the unity of all socialist, progressive and non-aligned countries to give the liberation movements of Africa the

political, moral and material support that they require in order once and for all to wipe out colonialism. Cuba once again reaffirms its readiness to continue to participate actively on the side of those fighting for the complete emancipation of all oppressed peoples and reiterates its complete solidarity with the African liberation movements. We are sure that regardless of the manoeuvres engaged in by their colonialist-imperialist enemies to obstruct them, the peoples of Africa will win complete victory in their struggle.

61. Madam President, before I conclude allow me to express the deep satisfaction my delegation feels in attending these debates in the Security Council under your presidency. To have you guiding the work of this important body of the United Nations is evidence that we are living in times of radical change in human society. The revolutionary and progressive countries can rightfully take pride in the fact that the first woman to preside over the Council should be you, Jeanne Martin Cissé, a symbol of women who are fighting for the full liberation of their continent and the representative of the Government of the Republic of Guinea, which is in the vanguard of African emancipation.

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Cuba for the words of support he has just addressed to my President, my people and myself.

63. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): Members of the Security Council will recall that on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, the Sudan and my own delegation, I presented on 16 November the draft resolution contained in document S/10834. In that draft resolution we proposed what we believed and still believe to be the best measures that could be adopted on the Territories under Portuguese domination. I had the opportunity then to explain at length the substance of the draft resolution [1673rd meeting], and those explanations still stand. In the last few days we have had extensive consultations with various members of the Council on the most appropriate approach to the problem in order to ensure the best results in the Security Council on the basis of that draft resolution.

64. We have taken into consideration the views which emerged during those consultations, as is reflected in the draft resolutions now before the Council.

65. We have recognized that it might be preferable, therefore, to approach the issue differently—that is, to split the draft resolution into two, separating the two objectives at which we were aiming: the request for urgent negotiations on the one hand and the measures to be taken against Portugal on the other.

66. We are therefore submitting today two draft resolutions, as contained in documents S/10838 and S/10839.

67. The first one recalls previous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique to self-determination and independence, calls upon the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith its colonial wars and acts of repression, and calls

upon the Portuguese Government to enter into negotiations with the true representatives of the peoples of those Territories in order to enable them to achieve self-determination and independence.

68. We believe that this draft resolution will meet with the unanimous approval of the entire membership of the Security Council. Obviously, the Security Council could not ignore these appeals for negotiations to end the armed conflict, which has already lasted far too long.

69. Allow me now to introduce some further amendments to that draft resolution.

70. In operative paragraph 1 we have taken further into consideration difficulties which face some members of the Council. We would therefore propose to delete from the last part of that paragraph the words "under the direction of their national liberation movements". The paragraph would then read:

*"Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique to self-determination and independence as recognized by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the legitimacy of the struggle by those peoples to achieve that right;"*

71. I would also propose the deletion, from the beginning of operative paragraph 3, of the words "in conformity with the recommendation contained in General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII), and". At the end of that paragraph, I would substitute for "accede to independence" the words "achieve self-determination and independence". Operative paragraph 3 would then read:

*"Calls upon the Government of Portugal, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to enter into negotiations with the representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique with a view to arriving at a solution to the armed conflict that prevails in those Territories and permitting them to achieve self-determination and independence."*

72. Finally, in operative paragraph 4, I would propose that "Calls upon" be changed to "Requests".

73. Our second draft resolution embodies all the measures which we believe will have to be taken if Portugal is to heed the appeal of the Security Council for negotiations. The Portuguese Government will have to feel strong pressure from us and will have to know that we are ready to act and to impose all necessary sanctions against it if it does not comply with the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of this Council and the General Assembly. That is why the draft resolution condemns the refusal of Portugal to implement General Assembly resolutions and all relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

74. Since we believe—and we have made this clear in various speeches throughout this debate—that Portugal could not carry on its colonial war without the help of its

allies, we therefore propose to make an appeal to all States to withhold assistance from the Government of Portugal until it renounces its policy of colonial domination.

75. We believe, however, that we should go one step further and decide here and now that all States should put an end to the sale or supply to the Government of Portugal of weapons, military equipment and material used for the repression of African peoples.

76. We also believe that an *ad hoc* committee should be formed to investigate the flow of arms used by Portugal in African Territories under its domination.

77. As I said before, this second draft resolution represents our warning to the Government of Portugal, since we believe that without a strong warning it would be hard to make the Portuguese Government change its intransigent attitude. We sincerely hope that the Security Council will adopt this second draft resolution also.

78. Finally, we shall not press for a vote this afternoon since it is possible that some delegations are still awaiting instructions from their Governments.

79. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Security Council is now discussing the question of ending Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The Chinese delegation would like to make the following comments on this question.

80. First, the Portuguese colonialists are a classic example of the remnants of the most decadent and most reactionary old-line colonialists. Their invasion of the African continent was the earliest, their rule there has been the longest, and their repression and exploitation have been the most ruthless. Back in the fifteenth century the Portuguese colonialists invaded the present Portuguese colonies in Africa one after another. The African people in those regions had made outstanding contributions to the creation of ancient world civilization. The invasion of the Portuguese colonialists interrupted the history of their independent development, throwing them into the dark abyss of dire misery.

81. The Portuguese colonialists were among the earliest traders in black slaves on the African continent. Over the past five centuries since they established colonial rule in those regions they have imposed a barbarous Fascist rule and racial, discriminatory systems upon the local people, subjecting them to blood-sucking economic plunder and exploitation. The broad masses of the people have been deprived of the most elementary right to subsistence, and for generations they have remained on the verge of extinction, living like beasts of burden.

82. In the face of the mounting national liberation movement on the African continent after the Second World War, the Portuguese colonial authorities had the audacity to declare the above-mentioned occupied regions—22 times larger than the territory of Portugal itself—their so-called overseas provinces, which they intend to occupy permanently.

83. They have stationed more than 100,000 troops there to wage barbarous colonial wars of genocide over a long period. Operating from those occupied Territories as their bases, they have repeatedly launched armed attacks against Guinea, Senegal, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and other independent African countries, posing a grave threat to the sovereignty and security of those countries. Working hand in glove with the most reactionary and brutal colonialist authorities of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, they have formed a reactionary military alliance with the latter for joint suppression of the national liberation movement in southern Africa, thus endangering the independence of the countries in southern Africa and posing a grave threat to peace and security on the African continent. Today, in the seventies of the twentieth century, the tiny and decadent Portuguese authorities which live on the handouts of others, dare to act so rampantly and so truculently in defiance of world condemnation precisely because they have the backing of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism as their behind-the-scenes bosses. And the Portuguese authorities along with the racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa have played the role of gendarme in suppressing the African national liberation struggle and menacing the independence of African countries.

84. Second, the history of the Portuguese colonial conquest and domination of the African people is one replete with the blood and tears of the local African people; it is a glorious history of the anti-colonialist struggle of the African people, who have advanced wave upon wave and fought unflinchingly. Where there is oppression, there is resistance; the more brutal the oppression, the stiffer the resistance. For centuries the people in the Portuguese occupied Territories have never ceased their resistance and struggle. After the Second World War the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) embarked on the road of armed struggle one after another, thus opening up a new chapter in the local peoples' struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The armed struggle has dealt telling blows at the Portuguese colonial authorities and tempered the African people in these regions effectively. Within a short period, encouraging successes have been achieved in the struggle. At present, the armed struggle of the Angolan people has spread to one third of the territory of Angola, and more than a million people have been liberated. The patriotic armed forces of Mozambique have controlled some one fourth of their territory and liberated a population of some 1 million. The patriotic armed forces of Guinea (Bissau) have liberated two thirds of the territory and more than half of the population. Political power has been established at the basic level and production, as well as cultural and educational undertakings, has been organized in the liberated areas, which have begun the revolutionary bases for continued struggle. All justice-upholding countries and people throughout the world rejoice over their successes. All peoples' cause of liberation invariably grows big and strong from being small and weak, through protracted struggles. Therefore we believe that so long as they further mobilize and organize the masses and carry out unremitting and protracted struggles, they will eventually change the balance of force and turn from inferiority to superiority, drive all the Portuguese colonialists out of their Territories and win complete national independence and liberation.

85. Third, the Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity held last June and the Summit Conference of East and Central African States held last September at Dar es Salaam rightly pointed to armed struggle as the only choice for Africa to achieve liberation. It is, in fact, perfectly just to take up arms to smash the counter-revolutionary violence of colonialism with revolutionary violence in the face of ferocious aggressors who are armed to the teeth. Otherwise, the alternative will be to allow oneself to be trampled upon at will and to fold one's hands to be slain by the butchers. However, by their reactionary nature, the colonialists of various descriptions have tried hard to reverse the black and white and confound the public. For instance, at the current session of the General Assembly, the Portuguese representative did his utmost to oppose a distinction between just and unjust wars and to describe all violent acts as "terrorism". He even tried to make the Portuguese colonialist authorities appear as the victims of "terrorism", as if they were oblivious of the fact that it is they who have for centuries slaughtered the African people at will in the above-mentioned regions of Africa, and that they are the oldest terrorists and the executors of the most brutal counter-revolutionary violence. It is not surprising that the Portuguese colonialist authorities should reverse the right and wrong and confound the black and white. Nevertheless, there are certain self-styled friends of the African people who are also advocating the indiscriminate prohibition of the use of all force and opposing the distinction between just and unjust wars, thus feeding the reactionary fallacies of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is not difficult to see that their true intention is to make the colonial and semi-colonial peoples submissively accept colonialist enslavement forever, so that the super-Powers can have a free hand in redividing the world and contending for hegemony.

86. Fourth, no reactionaries in the world will ever step down from the stage of history of their own accord. Everything reactionary is the same: if you do not hit it, it will not fall. Like all other reactionaries, the Portuguese colonial authorities have to be overthrown by the organized people. They will never show "benevolence" and "bestow" independence on the people in the Portuguese colonies. Therefore, the people in the colonies and semi-colonies can only rely on their own strength as the basis of their policy for struggle. While persevering in armed struggle, the oppressed nations and people may, under certain conditions, conduct negotiations with the colonialists at the opportune moment as a means of opposing colonialism. Such negotiations, of course, can be held only on condition that the fundamental interests of the people are not impaired. However, the Portuguese authorities have all along violated the relevant United Nations and Security Council resolutions and flatly denied the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) the right to self-determination and independence, and are increasingly intensifying their colonial rule and colonial wars. In view of the prevailing circumstances, one should cherish no fond illusions about these negotiations.

87. Fifth, having heard the speeches of the Foreign Ministers of Liberia and Sierra Leone, the representatives of many African countries and the national liberation move-

ments of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), we support their demands, which are the following.

88. The first demand is that the Portuguese authorities should be severely condemned for their barbarous colonial wars against, and reactionary rule over, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and for their numerous armed aggressions and provocations against the neighbouring African countries. The Portuguese authorities should be asked to put an immediate end to their colonial rule in the aforementioned regions. At the same time, all the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces must also be severely condemned for giving behind-the-scenes support to the Portuguese authorities in prolonging their reactionary rule.

89. The second is that a strict arms embargo and sanctions should be applied against the Portuguese authorities.

90. The third is that all the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world should be called upon to give greater assistance and support to the national liberation movement of the people in the Portuguese colonies.

91. The Chinese people and the African people shared the same experience in past history. And now we are faced with common tasks of struggle. The Chinese Government and people have always regarded the African people's struggle as a great support to us. The Chinese people, on their part, will unswervingly stand by the African people and the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and, together with them, fight for the cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for safeguarding national independence and winning national liberation.

92. The Chinese delegation will vote for the two draft resolutions submitted by Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan.

93. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Madam President, many speakers who have preceded me have had the privilege of welcoming you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. There is little that I can add to what they have already said with such eloquence and understanding in praising your personality and in bringing out the significant and historic fact that for the first time a woman, and a woman from Africa, is filling a post of such high responsibility. I would request you, therefore, to accept the assurance of our friendship, respect and admiration, as well as my warmest congratulations, on this important development, and also on the tact and efficiency with which you have been guiding our deliberations so far.

94. At the same time, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude to the representative of France, Mr. de Guiringaud, for the way in which he discharged the responsibilities of the presidency last month.

95. The Security Council has met at the request of 37 States Members of the Organization to consider the situation now prevailing in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

96. As is stated in the request for the meeting, which is contained in document S/10828, the purpose of these meetings is:

"... to bring the Government of Portugal to recognize the right of self-determination and independence of the African peoples under its domination, and draw up a time-table for the transfer of power to the authentic representatives of the African people of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique and thus put an end to the senseless war and the anachronistic colonial domination."

97. I thought it necessary to read out that paragraph because I think it contains the key elements on which our deliberations should be concentrated. As a matter of fact, the text mentions, first of all, the right to self-determination of the indigenous peoples expressly proclaimed by the Charter, and their right to independence as provided under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and repeated in many decisions adopted by various bodies of the United Nations.

98. Subsequently, in requesting that a time-table should be drawn up for the transfer of power to the authentic representatives of the people of the three Territories, by implication the request provides for an orderly and peaceful course towards self-government in order to achieve another objective proclaimed by the Charter in relation to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is obvious that evolution along these lines can take place only through a solution which would duly take account of the freely expressed political aspirations of the peoples concerned.

99. Lastly, the desire to put an end to acts of force and to colonial situations which exist in those parts of Africa should be construed as linked to the aspect which I have just mentioned.

100. Those three elements to which I have referred, and which are drawn from document S/10828, are not only in accordance with clear provisions of the United Nations Charter, but they can also serve as a basis for solving the problem of the Portuguese Territories in a fair and appropriate way.

101. A process characterized by strict respect for self-determination, both concerning decisions of the majority for the election of their legitimate representatives as well as for deciding on their fate free from all pressure, threat or use of force by one party or another, and designed to lead to independence, should be the logical and adequate way out of the delicate situation that we are examining.

102. True, Portugal continues to consider these Territories as an integral part of the Portuguese nation. It has confirmed this recently in the letter from its representative, which appears in document S/10833. But we trust that this position, which reflects both historical motivations as well as constitutional considerations can be revised in the very near future.

103. No one calls into question or fails to recognize the very important contributions made by Portugal throughout its history to the discovery of new lands, opening up routes

for shipping and trade, exploring the unknown and contributing to progress through the efforts of its distinguished mariners, cartographers, scientists and jurists.

104. What is questioned, however, is the idea that these points of history should still be invoked today to maintain an empire. The world does not remain static. What was true in the fifteenth century, at the time of the great discoveries, or even up to the last century, is not necessarily applicable in the present era. If other nations which carried out a similar expansion beyond their natural frontiers during the same period had continued to cling stubbornly to the territories that they had conquered, closing their minds to political transformations, the evolution of the human spirit and institutions, the United Nations would consist at most of a few countries which would share among themselves the domination of the five continents. However they might be described, Latin America would continue to be subjugated to Spain, with the exception of Brazil, which would be another Portuguese overseas province; Africa and a large part of Asia would continue to be governed from European capitals; and none of the great changes of history, from the French Revolution until the present day, would have had any meaning whatsoever.

105. This is not what has happened. On the contrary, events show quite clearly that the principal colonial Powers were able to sense the winds of change which gathered impetus after the Second World War. As a result of this display of political wisdom, many countries acquired their independence and hold their place among us. But there is something more: as was pointed out quite rightly in this debate by the representative of Tunisia, Mr. Driss, once emancipation had been won, there were established between the new States and their former metropolitan countries ties based on sovereign equality and mutual respect which are much more solid, fruitful and lasting than those built on a mere relationship of force.

106. This is precisely what we trust and hope will occur between Portugal and its African Territories. The present trend in the world today is towards understanding, rapprochement and positive co-operation among all nations, above and beyond their ideological differences or the diversity of their systems of government; but on the condition that no one attempts to gain the upper hand; in other words, they exist on a footing of complete equality.

107. We think that Portugal still has time to react positively, granting to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) their right to self-determination. To act in this way would mean that it had moved once and for all into the twentieth century; it would mean that Portugal would confirm by deeds the political and diplomatic realism displayed by so many Portuguese statesmen in the past; it would mean the dawn of a constructive era in which war and confrontation would be supplanted by friendship and a promising future for all the parties concerned.

108. The African delegations and the representatives of the political organizations of the Territories that have participated in our deliberations have said that this possibility still exists. It is up to the Lisbon authorities to take advantage of it. I hope that tomorrow will not be too late

for a peaceful settlement, because nothing and no one can hold up the march of peoples towards emancipation.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Argentina for the expressions of friendship and solidarity he has just addressed to me.

110. Now that there are no more speakers on my list, I should like to make a statement as the representative of GUINEA.

111. I hope that I may once again express my deep gratitude for the most reassuring words you have been good enough to address to me personally and to my country, the Republic of Guinea, in the course of this series of meetings of the Security Council.

112. For the first time in the history of our Organization the exercise by a woman of the presidency of the Security Council has provided evidence of the necessary development of human thought and institutions since the adoption of the United Nations Charter, Article 8 of which provides that:

"The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs."

113. This undeniable reality also reflects one of the requirements of our times, concerning a fundamental area of international politics: namely decolonization. The consideration by the Security Council of the question of African Territories under Portuguese colonial domination should enable the community of nations to note the important, indeed decisive, qualitative changes which mark the present relations between Portugal and Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique.

114. However, there are certain aspects of the problem to which it would be desirable to draw the attention of Portugal, the colonial Power. To the demands of the colonial peoples for self-determination and independence, Portugal has turned a deaf ear. Worse, it has strengthened its colonial army and intensified the exploitation of the colonial Territories and peoples. In so doing, Portugal has thus gone against the current of history and international morality. The example of certain Powers that are Portugal's friends has not been followed by that country: that is to say, the granting of independence to colonial peoples in due time, which enabled those Powers to maintain and develop relations of friendship and co-operation between the newly liberated States and the former metropolitan countries. In the face of this negative attitude on the part of Portugal, the colonial peoples, at the end of their patience, took up arms and plunged into the struggle to win their right to freedom and dignity. Liberation movements supported by their peoples were organized in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, constituting three fronts against which Portugal has now been struggling for many years.

115. The second fact I should like to emphasize here, and from which Portugal should draw the appropriate lessons, is

that the leaders of the liberation movements are inviting Portugal to engage in dialogue in order to find a solution to the armed conflict and thus to avoid the grievous loss of human life sustained both by the peoples of the Territories engaged in the struggle and by Portuguese citizens caught up in these colonial wars.

116. It is today obvious that almost a decade of armed struggle against Portugal has forged a new political consciousness and an invincible will in the populations of the Territories. In the liberated zones which have escaped from colonial administration, which each day is losing ground before the revolutionary ururge of PAIGC, MPLA and FRELIMO, a life of freedom, dignity and responsibility is developing while side by side an administrative and social infrastructure is being built which is different from the Portuguese colonial system, which has become archaic and decadent.

117. In this connexion I shall be content to allow the facts to speak for themselves, for as my delegation sees it, the problem is a matter of confronting the members of the Security Council, and particularly the allies of Portugal, with a choice that is, to be sure, difficult, but crucial for the history of the decolonization of peoples.

118. For Portugal, which shows all the characteristic features of an underdeveloped country, doomed to remain so, it is humanly and materially impossible to win the colonial war that it is desperately carrying on in these vast African Territories from which it draws the bulk of its revenues, but whose sovereignty from now on will be in the hands of the militant populations.

119. Suffice it for me to mention Guinea (Bissau) as an example, where the Special Mission of the United Nations found that effective authority was being exercised by PAIGC over more than two thirds of the Territory. The best illustration of this fact is contained in the statement made on 16 October 1972 at the 1986th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly by Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, when he said that the real question is whether the people of Guinea (Bissau), who exercise sovereignty over the greater part of their national territory and who have just established their first national assembly and are about to proclaim the existence of their own state, equipped with executive power, have or have not the right to join the international community.

120. Following the first general elections held under universal suffrage by secret ballot, establishing in Guinea (Bissau), under the control of PAIGC, the first national assembly, composed of 120 representatives, we should sincerely ask ourselves whether the Portuguese Government can and should go on representing that people in international forums.

121. It is hardly necessary to say how eagerly Africa is awaiting, at the close of this important meeting of the Council, the reply to a question which raises, in its constitutional perspectives, the whole principle of self-determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

122. What should be said about the all-too-revealing attitude of the States members of the European Economic Community at the signing, last July, of the Agreement of Association between Portugal and the Common Market? This means that the exclusion of the so-called overseas provinces of Portugal from that Agreement constitutes a resounding defeat for the colonialist thesis of Portugal, in the eyes of those it has always regarded as its commercial and military partners. According to a magazine published in France:

"The most important countries of the expanded European Economic Community are sure of their access to the markets in the Portuguese colonies, whether or not they are included in the Agreement of Association. On the other hand, by not including them in the Agreement, these countries are reserving a better position for themselves when the present 'overseas provinces' of Portugal become independent countries."

123. This is a feeling that has been gaining ground recently in European circles. It is also a new reality that weighs significantly in favour of the political emancipation of the struggling peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Cape Verde and Mozambique.

124. Wisdom should urge the friends of Portugal to adopt a new attitude. My delegation welcomes the statement by the representative of Belgium. That statement made in the Council on 17 November makes it quite clear that certain Powers are seeking to take meaningful steps towards the implementation of the principle of self-determination and independence in the Portuguese Territories.

125. This change, which we hope to see continued, led Mr. Caetano, concerned at these developments, to declare in the course of his television statement of 14 November 1972: "Some of our neighbours are not concealing their fears, all of which plays into the hands of the enemy." These words of the Portuguese Prime Minister scarcely conceal the embarrassment of a man who feels suddenly abandoned by his friends and neighbours who have long since realized the cruel solution to a problem that must henceforth be accepted before it is too late.

126. History thus gives to men who know how to interpret it an exceptional opportunity that only farsightedness and some degree of perspicacity enable them to grasp.

127. We would like to think, in view of these irreversible developments, that it will be possible for the Council to give very close attention to the draft resolutions submitted by the representative of Somalia, on behalf of the African members of the Security Council, the Sudan and my own country.

128. Stress should be placed on the exceptional importance of the new ideas that this draft brings to the United Nations decolonization effort, an important stage of which was recently cleared by the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII), granting observer status to the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity.

129. My delegation, while far from being overly optimistic, nevertheless thinks that the time has come for Portugal and its friends, at this meeting of the Security Council, to display the political realism necessary to lead the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, whose representatives have addressed the Council, to the exercise of their inalienable and irrevocable right to self-determination and independence without any further delay.

130. If such an initiative, intended as it is to bring to an end the long colonial war, should fail, then Africa would be

duty-bound to draw all the necessary conclusions by implementing the recommendations of the ninth summit conference of the Organization of African Unity at Rabat, namely, to call upon its peoples to mobilize all their material means for the systematic liquidation of Portuguese colonialism and of all other bastions of foreign domination on their continent.

*The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.*

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