

## Chapter III

# Territories under Portuguese administration

During 1972, various aspects of the situation in the Portuguese-administered territories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Archipelago, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Timor were discussed by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The General Assembly also discussed a report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which included the Portuguese-administered territories.

### **Decisions of Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa**

At its meetings held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 28 January to 4 February 1972, the Security

Council considered, among other topics, the situation in Portuguese-administered African territories.

On 4 February 1972, the Council reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and independence, and recognized the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right.

The Council condemned the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples<sup>1</sup> and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and reaffirmed that the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal, both in its colonies and in its constant provocations against the neighbouring States, seriously disturbed international peace and security in the African continent.

The Council called upon Portugal: (a) to recognize immediately the right of the peoples of the Portuguese territories to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration; (b) to cease immediately the colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau); (c) to withdraw all its armed forces from those territories; (d) to promulgate an unconditional political amnesty and the restoration of democratic political rights; and (e) to transfer power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples. It also called upon Portugal to refrain from any violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African States.

Further, the Council called upon all States to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples of the territories under its administration, and to take all the necessary measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to that Government for this purpose, including the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition to be used in the territories under Portuguese administration.

The Secretary-General was asked to follow the implementation of the resolution and to report to the Security Council from time to time.

The Council took these decisions in adopting resolution 312(1972), by a vote of 9 to 0, with 6 abstentions. The text was based on a proposal by Guinea, Somalia and Sudan, and incorporated an amendment by Japan. (For further details and debate in Security Council, see pp. 80-82 and 85-86; for text of resolution, see pp. 88-89.)

### Consideration by Special Committee

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration

on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples considered the question of the territories under Portuguese administration at meetings held at United Nations Headquarters, New York, between 14 and 28 March and between 16 May and 1 August 1972, at meetings held in Conakry (Guinea) and Lusaka (Zambia) between 10 and 20 April 1972, and at Addis Ababa on 26 April 1972.

The Special Committee had before it a number of written petitions concerning the Portuguese-administered territories. At its New York meetings, the Committee heard the following petitioners: Martin Ennals, Amnesty International; Emilson S. Randriamihasinoro, Gordon Schaffer and Gleb Staroutchenko, World Peace Council; Sean Gervasi, Research Officer, Oxford University; Sietse Bosgra, Angola Committee of the Netherlands; Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary, Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom; and Mursi Saad Eldin, Deputy Secretary-General, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization.

At its meetings held in Africa, the Special Committee heard the following petitioners: Amílcar Cabrai, Secretary-General, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC); Corea Djalo, Sotero Fortes, Carlos Reis, Tchernon Ndjai and Carlos Alberto Teixeira de Barros, members of PAIGC; Dr. Lucho Robles; Pascal Luvualu, member of the Executive Committee, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA); Paulo Jorge, member of MPLA; Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President, Frente de Libertação de Mocambique (FRELIMO); Paulo Gumane, President, Comité Revolucionário de Mocambique (COREMO); Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General, African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa; W. M. Tsotsi, Vice-President, Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA); and Paul Touba, member of the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA).

The Special Committee also considered a report by its Special Mission, which had been dispatched pursuant to a Special Committee decision of 14 September 1971,<sup>2</sup> later approved by the General Assembly,<sup>3</sup> to visit the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). The Special Mission consisted of the representatives of Ecuador (Chairman), Sweden and Tunisia; it visited the area between 2 and 8 April 1972.

The Chairman of the Special Mission submitted a preliminary oral report to the Special Com-

<sup>1</sup> See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing text of the Declaration.

<sup>2</sup> See Y.U.N., 1971, pp. 566-67.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 574-76, text of resolution 2795(XXVI) of 10 December 1971; see especially operative para. 16.

mittee on 10 April 1972. The conclusions and recommendations of the Special Mission contained in its final report were endorsed by the Special Committee on 1 August 1972.

The Special Mission reported that during its visit to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), it had had ample opportunity to witness the devastation and misery caused by Portugal's actions, particularly the widespread and indiscriminate bombing of villages and the use of napalm to destroy crops. The Special Mission further reported that the struggle for the liberation of the territory continued to progress and that Portugal no longer exercised any effective administrative control in large areas of Guinea (Bissau). It was evident, the Special Mission concluded, that the population of the liberated areas unreservedly supported the policies and activities of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), which after nine years of military struggle exercised free de facto administrative control in those areas and was effectively protecting the interests of the inhabitants, in spite of Portuguese activities. The Special Mission accordingly believed that the Special Committee's recognition of PAIGC as the de facto and the sole and authentic representative for the aspirations of the people of the territory should be taken fully into account by States and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in dealing with matters relating to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.

The Special Mission also viewed with serious concern the acts of harassment and aggression carried out by Portugal against Guinea and Senegal, which seriously disturbed peace and security in that region.

The Special Mission was convinced of the urgent need for concerted action by the international community to exercise pressure on the Government of Portugal to induce it to discontinue forthwith all acts of repression against the people of the territory and to withdraw at once all its forces from the territory, as well as of the need for the Special Committee to maintain direct and continuous contact with PAIGC and other national liberation movements of the colonial territories in order to assist them in their struggle for liberation.

Also before the Special Committee was a letter, dated 25 March 1972, from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations, stating that the decision by the Special Committee to visit the so-called liberated areas of the Portuguese overseas provinces constituted yet another act of sheer propaganda that could only serve to feed the illusion of certain interested political sectors which refused to admit that the terrorist

organizations did not control any part of Portuguese territory. Entry into the territory of a Member State of the United Nations, without the consent of the legally constituted Government and in answer to a pseudo-invitation made by groups having no status or authority, could not but be construed as an act calculated to violate all rules of international law, Portugal said.

During the Special Committee's debate on the Portuguese-administered territories, there was a consensus among the members on the historic importance of the visit of the Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). The Special Mission's report, it was felt, proved the effectiveness of PAIGC's control of the political, military, social and administrative structure in the liberated areas. Tribute was paid by a number of members to the leadership of Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC.

Many members—including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, India, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Republic of Tanzania—felt that the information provided by the Special Mission and by Mr. Cabral showed that Guinea (Bissau) had achieved de facto independence and that the PAIGC administration should be recognized as the de facto government.

A number of States expressed concern over the situation in all of the Portuguese territories. Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Mali and Sierra Leone, among others, said that Portugal had intensified its military activities in the territories, as evidenced by its growing military expenditures, the number of troops deployed in the territories, and the use of chemical substances against the local populations. Bulgaria, China, Guinea, Mali and Sierra Leone also expressed concern over Portugal's attacks against independent African countries.

A number of members held that Portugal's ability to carry out its wars against the peoples of the territories was due to the support it received from its allies, particularly members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). China strongly condemned the United States, the United Kingdom and other NATO members for helping Portugal to maintain colonial control of the territories. Trinidad and Tobago said that if PAIGC were to receive a fraction of the help Portugal was receiving, one more bastion of colonialism in Africa would be eliminated.

The representatives of China, Sweden and the USSR, among others, said that the arms embargo against Portugal called for by the Security Council should be enforced and strictly observed by all United Nations Member States.

Several members, including China, India, Mali and the USSR, stated that there had been growing

exploitation of the territories' economic resources by foreign economic interests, and that the alliance between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia had been strengthened with a view to maintaining white minority control of southern Africa. They cited the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin scheme in Angola as examples of economic exploitation by Portugal, its Western allies and South Africa.

Members of the Special Committee agreed on the need to intensify assistance to the liberation movements. They felt that the United Nations should take concrete steps to assist the national liberation movements and the peoples of the territories in their struggle for self-determination and independence, including the mobilization of world public opinion and the provision by United Nations agencies and other international bodies of financial, material and other assistance.

On 13 April 1972, the Special Committee adopted a resolution relating to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. By this resolution, the Committee expressed indignation at the intensification of Portugal's armed aggression against the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, particularly the ruthless mass destruction of villages and properties, and at the repeated violations by Portuguese armed forces of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States. It deplored the policies of States—particularly some of Portugal's military allies in NATO—which were continuing to provide Portugal with military and other assistance, without which Portugal could not pursue its policies of colonial domination and oppression of the people of the territory.

The Special Committee expressed satisfaction at the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. It reaffirmed the inalienable right of the territory's people to self-determination, freedom and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the legitimacy of the struggle by the people through their national liberation movement to exercise that right by all available means.

The Special Committee affirmed its recognition of the liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, PAIGC, as the only authentic representative of the people of the territory, and requested all States and specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take this into consideration when dealing with matters pertaining to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.

The Special Committee strongly condemned the

persistent refusal of Portugal to implement the Declaration on granting independence and all other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Special Committee called upon Portugal to desist forthwith from all acts of repression against the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and to withdraw immediately all its forces from the territory.

The Special Committee also expressed its conviction that the successful accomplishment of its task by the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau)—which established beyond any doubt that de facto control in those areas was exercised by PAIGC—constituted a major contribution by the United Nations to the process of decolonization. The Special Committee strongly condemned Portugal for its widespread and brutal use of military force in an attempt to prevent the Special Mission from completing its task and for the resultant loss of civilian life and destruction of hospitals, schools and villages, in direct contradiction of its obligations as a Member of the United Nations.

All States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system were asked, directly or in consultation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to render to the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, through their national liberation movement—PAIGC—all moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for self-determination and independence.

The Special Committee decided to transmit to the President of the Security Council, as a matter of urgency, the preliminary report of the Special Mission and the statements of the Secretary-General and other members of PAIGC, and to draw the Council's attention, for appropriate action, to the serious situation obtaining in the territory, bearing in mind in particular the indiscriminate use of armed force by Portugal in its attempt to prevent the Special Mission from completing its task.

The Special Committee's resolution was proposed by Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia. The resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 22 to 0.

On 20 April 1972, the Special Committee adopted a resolution concerning all the Portuguese-administered territories. The Special Committee thereby reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence, and recognized the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right by all available means.

The Special Committee strongly condemned Portugal's persistent refusal to implement relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It condemned also the intensified colonial war waged by that Government against the African peoples in the territories, including in particular the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, the ruthless and total destruction of their villages and property and the use of chemical substances, such as herbicides and defoliants, in Angola. It also strongly condemned Portugal for its repeated violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States.

The Special Committee called upon Portugal to cease forthwith all military operations and other repressive measures against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, to withdraw without any further delay all its forces from those territories and to effect, with respect to the territories, the full and immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It asked all States, particularly Portugal's NATO allies, to withhold any form of military, financial or other assistance to Portugal and to discontinue and prevent the sale and supply of any military equipment and material which Portugal used to pursue its colonial wars in the territories.

The Special Committee expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved by the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, in their struggle for the realization of national independence and freedom and in the reconstruction programmes instituted by them in the liberated areas. It asked all States and specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, either directly or in consultation with OAU, to render to the peoples of the territories, through their national liberation movements, the moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for freedom and independence.

The Special Committee called upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures to end all activities which exploited the African territories under Portuguese domination and the people therein and to discourage nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from entering into any activities or arrangements which strengthened Portugal's domination over, and impeded the implementation of the Declaration on granting independence with respect to, the territories.

It declared that any assistance to or participation in such projects as the Cabora Bassa or the Cunene River Basin projects constituted direct collaboration with Portugal, which would contribute to Portugal's efforts to maintain its colonial domi-

nation; it was the moral obligation of all States to take all possible measures to prevent such collaboration by nationals or companies under their jurisdiction.

The Special Committee drew the attention of the Security Council to the explosive and critical situation resulting from Portugal's policies in the territories and from its constant provocations against independent African States as well as to the urgent need for taking, as a matter of priority, further effective measures to obtain Portugal's compliance with relevant United Nations decisions.

The Committee also expressed its appreciation for the renewed invitations extended to it by the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) and the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO) to visit the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique, and asked its Chairman to continue consultations with OAU and with the liberation movements to work out the necessary modalities for the dispatch of a special mission to those territories.

It invited the Secretary-General to make maximum use of the information provided by the national liberation movements of the colonial territories in the preparation of the relevant documentation for the Special Committee and, in accordance with the General Assembly's decision of 20 December 1971,<sup>4</sup> to continue to give widespread and continuous publicity to such information.

The Special Committee's resolution to this effect was based on a proposal by Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia. It was adopted by a roll-call vote of 22 to 0.

Fiji expressed reservations with regard to the statement that the liberation movements should struggle to achieve independence by all available means. Peaceful means were always to be preferred to violence, Fiji said.

The representative of Venezuela said that, in condemning Portugal for violations of the territorial integrity of African States, the Special Committee was dealing with questions which lay within the province of the Security Council or the Assembly's First Committee. Venezuela also could not agree that assistance in such projects as the Cabora Bassa dam or Cunene River Basin scheme constituted collaboration with Portugal in maintaining colonial domination. The representative of the Ivory Coast also expressed certain reservations.

The USSR felt the Special Committee should

<sup>4</sup> See Y.U.N., 1971, p. 523, text of resolution 2879(XXVI).

have more strongly condemned the assistance rendered Portugal by NATO countries.

Japan said that it had voted in favour of the draft resolution because it fully supported the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the Portuguese territories to self-determination and independence. Japan stated that it had never offered, and had no intention of offering in the future, any assistance to the Portuguese Government that would enable it to continue its repressive colonial policies.

#### **Consideration by Security Council (November 1972)**

By a letter of 7 November 1972 addressed to the President of the Security Council, 37 African States requested a meeting of the Council to examine the situation in the territories under Portuguese domination. The letter stated that since 1963, when the problem of the territories under Portuguese domination was seriously examined, the situation had evolved in favour of national liberation movements, which were carrying out a heroic armed struggle within the territories occupied by Portugal. The African States were therefore asking the Council to take the necessary measures to bring the Government of Portugal to recognize the right to self-determination and independence of the African peoples under its domination and to draw up a time-table for the transfer of power to the authentic representatives of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, and thus put an end to the senseless war and the anachronistic colonial domination.

By a letter of 15 November 1972, addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations stated that it was beyond the competence of the Security Council to consider the request of the African States, there being no dispute prevailing between Portugal and any of the States whose representatives had requested a Council meeting. Moreover, any discussion of the situation in the Portuguese overseas provinces was outside the competence of the United Nations, as it involved the domestic jurisdiction of a Member State.

On 15 November 1972, the Security Council decided, without objection, to include in its agenda the question of the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration. Representatives of States which had requested the meeting were invited to address the Council, without the right to vote. An invitation was also extended—at the request of Somalia and Sudan—to the representatives of the following national liberation movements in the Portuguese territories: the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO),

the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAICV) and the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA).

On 15 November, the Secretary-General conveyed to the Security Council the text of General Assembly resolution 2918(XXVII) relating to the question of territories under Portuguese administration, adopted by the Assembly on 14 November 1972. By the resolution, the Assembly among other things called for early negotiations between the Government of Portugal and the national liberation movements of the territories. In conveying the text of the resolution, the Secretary-General drew attention to the Assembly's recommendation that, in the event Portugal did not comply with the call for negotiations, the Security Council should urgently consider taking all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples<sup>5</sup> and of the Council's related decisions. (For text of resolution 2918(XXVII), see pp. 599-601.)

The Council also had before it the report of the Special Mission of the Assembly's Special Committee on granting independence, which had visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April 1972 (see above, pp. 585-86); and a report by the Secretary-General transmitting replies of 26 Governments on implementation by them of the Security Council's resolution of 4 February 1972 concerning the territories under Portuguese administration (see above, p. 585).

All speakers in the Council discussion reaffirmed the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples in the Portuguese-administered territories. Uganda was one of several States which commented that the Council was not meeting to discuss whether the Portuguese territories should be granted independence—an objective that had been established by various United Nations resolutions—but the means by which that objective could be achieved.

A number of States called for negotiations between the Portuguese Government and the national liberation movements in the territories. These included Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Panama, the USSR, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav representative suggested that the Security Council should set up a subsidiary ad hoc body to assist in establishing contacts leading to negotiations between Portugal and the national liberation movements.

Several States recalled the Lusaka Manifesto adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in

<sup>5</sup> See footnote 1.

1969. By that statement, the African States held that if Portugal changed its policy and accepted the principle of self-determination, the African States would urge the liberation movements to desist from armed struggle and co-operate in a peaceful transfer of power.<sup>6</sup>

Spokesmen for the national liberation movements who addressed the Council indicated a willingness to negotiate. The spokesman for PAIGC said that a delegation of the Security Council should see the Portuguese Prime Minister and make concrete proposals for the beginning of negotiations. He also noted that his people had just completed elections for their first national assembly, which was due to meet in the near future and proclaim a state. The spokesman for FRELIMO stated that his organization was ready, on behalf of the entire people of Mozambique, to negotiate with Portugal as soon as Portugal recognized the right of the people of Mozambique to self-determination and national independence. The MPLA spokesman said that the Security Council should once more invite Portugal to halt its acts of aggression against the people of Angola and recognize their right to self-determination and independence, thus making negotiations possible.

A number of members pointed out that Portugal had so far refused to implement the various resolutions on the subject adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly over the years. In view of this, members held that it was necessary to take steps to make Portugal change its attitude with regard to its territories. Sierra Leone commented that Portugal must put an end to the myth that the African territories were an integral part of its metropolitan territory. Tunisia said that military victory in its colonies was impossible for Portugal, and that all States should co-operate to persuade Portugal to follow the example set by other former colonial Powers. Nigeria expressed the hope that if Portugal would not listen to the pleadings of African nations, it would listen to the advice of an ex-colonial power like Belgium, which had called on Portugal to follow in the footsteps of various European countries and renounce a policy that had run its course.

Sudan said that Portugal would be greatly helped to consider the situation in its naked reality if the Council could succeed in persuading the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) powers to withdraw their military and financial assistance to Portugal.

A number of other States also held that Portugal could not pursue its colonial wars against the territories without the assistance it received from other States, in particular from members of NATO, and they called on Portugal's allies to place an

embargo on all weapons to Portugal. This position was held by, among others, Cuba, Morocco, Nigeria, Sudan and the USSR. China said that both a strict arms embargo and sanctions should be applied against Portugal.

Belgium and the United Kingdom stated that the North Atlantic Treaty did not apply to the overseas provinces of Portugal and that they did not supply arms to Portugal for use in the territories.

A number of African and other States said that the international community should give effective moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements. Cuba held that, in opposition to the alliance of international imperialism, colonialism and racism, the socialist, progressive and non-aligned countries must unite and give the liberation movements the political, moral and material support they required. China said all countries should be called upon to give greater assistance to the national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.

Guinea, Somalia and Sudan introduced a draft resolution; they subsequently withdrew this and submitted two separate draft resolutions. The first of these dealt with a request for negotiations; the second concerned measures to be taken against Portugal.

By the operative paragraphs of the first draft, the Council would:

(1) reaffirm 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 its Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the legitimacy of the struggle by those peoples to achieve that right;

(2) call upon Portugal to cease forthwith its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique;

(3) call upon Portugal, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on granting independence, to enter into negotiations with the representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed conflict that prevailed in those territories and permitting them to achieve self-determination and independence;

(4) ask the Secretary-General to follow the developments in the situation and to report periodically to the Security Council.

<sup>6</sup> See Y.U.N., 1969, pp. 147-52, for information on the Manifesto.

By the preambular paragraphs of the second draft, the Council would, among other things: deeply deplore the continued and intensified armed repression by Portugal of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique, in order to suppress the legitimate aspirations of those peoples for self-determination and independence, as well as the continued violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States neighbouring those territories; and express its deep shock at the continuous use of napalm and chemical substances by Portugal in its colonial wars against those peoples.

By the operative paragraphs of the second draft, the Council would:

(1) reaffirm that the situation resulting both from the colonialist policy of Portugal in those territories and from the constant aggressions by Portuguese military forces against independent African States adjacent to those territories seriously disturbed international peace and security in the African continent;

(2) condemn the persistent refusal of Portugal to implement the Declaration on granting independence and all other relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly;

(3) affirm that the military and other forms of assistance that certain military allies of Portugal within NATO supplied to the Government of Portugal permitted it to pursue its policy of colonial domination and repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique, thus endangering the peace and international security on the African continent;

(4) ask all States, particularly certain military allies of Portugal within NATO, to withhold assistance of any kind from Portugal until it renounced its policy of colonial domination;

(5) appeal to all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations to render to the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique recognized by OAU all moral and material assistance in their struggle for self-determination and independence;

(6) decide that all States, particularly certain military allies of Portugal, should put an end to the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material to Portugal, as well as all supplies, equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition that were used by Portugal in its repression of the African peoples in the territories under its domination;

(7) decide to establish an ad hoc committee of

five of its members to undertake investigation of the flow of arms used by Portugal in the African territories under its domination, and to report periodically to the Council.

Subsequently, the representative of Somalia stated that the sponsors would not press the second draft resolution to a vote. He also introduced amendments to the first draft which had been agreed upon following consultations among Council members. Acceptance of these amendments, he said, meant that the sponsors, realizing the political realities and differences of opinion among the Council members, had no alternative but to agree to a flexible but unsatisfactory draft resolution.

By the amendments, the Council would refer to "armed confrontation" in the territories rather than to "armed conflict," and to "military operations" rather than to "colonial wars." The Council would ask Portugal to enter into negotiations with "the parties concerned," rather than with "the representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique." A new operative paragraph would be added by which the Council would decide to remain actively seized of the matter.

On 22 November 1972, the Council voted on the text proposed by the three powers, as amended.

The United States requested a separate vote on the second operative paragraph—which called upon Portugal to cease forthwith its military operations and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique—in order to allow it to express its reservations regarding that paragraph. Under the rules of procedure, this request was denied following an objection by the sponsors of the draft.<sup>7</sup>

The draft resolution as a whole was then put to the vote. It was unanimously adopted as resolution 322(1972).

The Council thereby, taking note of the reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; considering that OAU recognized the liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique as the legitimate representatives of the peoples of those territories; and conscious of the urgent need to avert further human suffering and material losses by the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and to achieve a negotiated solution to the armed confrontation that existed in those territories:

<sup>7</sup> Rule 32 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council provides, in part: "Parts of a motion or of a draft resolution shall be voted on separately at the request of any representative, unless the original mover objects."



(1) reaffirmed 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 the Declaration on granting independence, and the legitimacy of the struggle by those peoples to achieve that right;

(2) called upon Portugal to cease forthwith its military operations and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique;

(3) called upon Portugal, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on granting independence, to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that existed in the territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and permitting the peoples of those territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;

(4) asked the Secretary-General to follow developments in the situation and to report periodically to the Security Council;

(5) decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Speaking after the vote, the United States said that it recognized Portuguese sovereignty over its territories while at the same time it urged Portugal to permit the exercise of self-determination in the territories. The United States also said that it understood independence to be only one of the valid options in the total exercise of self-determination.

The Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations in a letter of 20 November 1972 to the President of the Security Council stated that references made during the Council's discussions to so-called liberated areas of the Portuguese overseas provinces were without any basis in truth. Portugal invited the Security Council to send a delegation to verify if there were any liberated areas in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. Portugal also expressed its readiness to discuss the pertinent issues concerning its overseas provinces in a constructive spirit with representatives of sovereign African States.

In a letter of 24 November 1972 to the President of the Security Council, the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations stated that remarks made in the Security Council by the representative of Cuba—which linked Brazil with those who were allegedly helping Portugal in its colonial wars—were prompted solely by interests of political and ideological propaganda.

## Consideration by General Assembly

### General aspects

At its 1972 session, the General Assembly referred the question of the territories under Portuguese administration to its Fourth Committee.

The Fourth Committee had before it a letter from the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, suggesting that the Fourth Committee consider inviting, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), representatives of the national liberation movements concerned to participate, in an observer capacity, in the examination of the questions of the territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia.

After rejecting (by a vote of 62 to 32, with 9 abstentions) a proposal by the representative of Ireland that it ask the opinion of the Legal Counsel of the United Nations on this question, the Fourth Committee approved the Special Committee's suggestion on 27 September 1972, by a roll-call vote of 79 to 13, with 16 abstentions.

In accordance with this decision, the following representatives of national liberation movements participated in an observer capacity during the Fourth Committee's discussion of the territories under Portuguese administration: Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO); Mariano Matsinha, member of the Central Committee, FRELIMO; Sharfuddin M. Khan, New York representative, FRELIMO; Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC); Gil Fernandes, member of the Superior Council, PAIGC; and Oscar Teixeira, member of the Executive Committee, PAIGC.

The Fourth Committee also heard the following petitioners: Artur X. L. Vilankulu, Faustino Arcanjo Kambeu and Mrs. Gwendoline Gumane, Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO); and Romesh Chandra, Emílson S. Randriamihasonoro, Gordon Schaffer and Canon Raymond Goor, World Peace Council.

Many Fourth Committee Members welcomed the decision to allow representatives of the national liberation movements in the Portuguese-administered territories to participate in the discussion as observers. The United Republic of Tanzania, for example, said that the historic decision to accord them the status of observers was a triumph of common sense and a victory over colonialism.

Many Members also welcomed the visit of the Special Mission of the Special Committee to the

liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) (see above, pp. 585-86). They felt that the visit, in addition to providing valuable information on the situation in the territories, was a concrete expression of the United Nations commitment to the cause of freedom.

At the same time, many Members expressed regret that there had been no change in the position of Portugal towards its African territories. The representative of the Philippines, for instance, held that recent constitutional revisions announced by Portugal were designed merely to strengthen Portugal's domination of the territories. Madagascar, Tunisia and Uganda, among others, held that it was a fiction for Portugal to continue to call the territories "overseas provinces." China said that Portugal's claim that the territories were an integral part of the Portuguese State was a distortion of history; Portuguese colonialists were not only engaged in brutal forms of repression but were also plundering the territories' natural resources. Iraq expressed the view that Portugal's policies were designed to maintain a socio-economic structure which served the strategic interest of international capitalism. Indonesia stated that in the Cunene district, for instance, the people had joined the liberation movement in the war against Portugal, which disproved Portugal's contention that they supported the Government in Lisbon.

A number of representatives said that they were concerned over Portugal's escalation of military activities, which was evidenced by the increase in its war expenditure. Cuba and Mali stated that military expenditures now amounted to half of Portugal's budget. Some States charged Portugal with an increasing use of chemical substances against the peoples of the territories, and with attacks on independent African States bordering the territories under its domination. Chad, India and Zambia, among others, said that the continuing deterioration of the situation in the territories under Portuguese domination constituted a threat to the African continent and to international peace and security.

Many representatives stated that Portugal's ability to carry on its repressive activities against the peoples of the territories was a result of the support it received from its Western allies, including particularly some NATO members. They considered that the United Nations should condemn those countries for aiding and co-operating with Portugal and for providing, directly or indirectly, military equipment and weapons which enabled it to continue its military escalation in the territories. Members expressing this view included Chad, Hungary, Kenya, the Libyan Arab Republic,

Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal and the Ukrainian SSR.

Many of these Members also held that Portugal was being helped by its increasing collaboration with South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Those Governments were said to be frustrating the Security Council sanctions and escalating the repression of the national liberation movements with a view to maintaining the last stronghold of colonialism in southern Africa.

The activities of foreign economic and other interests in the territories—in particular, the participation of foreign investment in the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin scheme—were also cited by many Members as being intended mainly to strengthen the minority white régimes of southern Africa.

In view of the situation in the territories, many States—including China, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Mongolia, Norway, Romania, Sweden, the USSR and Zaire—said that there was an urgent need for more assistance to the liberation movements by the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the international community. In this connexion, a number of States referred to the resolution adopted at the ninth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held in Rabat, Morocco, in June 1972, which called for increased assistance to the liberation movements.

Some States—including Canada, the Ivory Coast and Norway—held that a peaceful solution to the question was still attainable and that efforts should be continued to bring about negotiations between the liberation movements and Portugal.

The Secretary-General of PAIGC said that the Fourth Committee should consider the following proposals: representations to the Government of Portugal for the immediate start of negotiations between its representatives and those of PAIGC; immediate acceptance of PAIGC delegates, in the capacity of associate members or observers, in all the specialized agencies of the United Nations as the sole legitimate representatives of the people of Guinea; development of practical assistance from the specialized agencies to the people of Guinea; and moral and political support by the United Nations for all initiatives of the people of Guinea and PAIGC, with a view to ending the Portuguese colonial war and achieving independence.

The Vice-President of FRELIMO expressed gratitude to those organizations and Governments which had assisted FRELIMO and said that his organization was prepared to negotiate with Portugal on condition that it formally recognize Mozambique's right to self-determination and independence.

On 13 November 1972, the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution, which was adopted by the General Assembly on 14 November 1972.

By the preambular paragraphs of the resolution, the Assembly among other things: condemned Portugal's persistent refusal to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions, the continuation by its armed forces of indiscriminate bombing of civilians, wholesale destruction of villages and property, and ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique, as well as its continued violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States; condemned the continued collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, which was designed to perpetuate colonialism and racism, as well as the persistent intervention by police, armed forces and mercenaries from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against the peoples of the territories; expressed its appreciation for the concrete programmes of assistance to national liberation movements initiated by several Governments, by organizations within the United Nations system as well as a number of non-governmental organizations; and expressed its satisfaction at the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements of the territories—particularly in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) by PAIGC, the sole authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.

By the operative part of the resolution, the Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right.

It further affirmed that the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique were the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those territories and recommended that, pending the territories' accession to independence, all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and the United Nations bodies concerned should, when dealing with matters pertaining to the territories, ensure their representation by the liberation movements concerned in an appropriate capacity and in consultation with OAU.

The Assembly deemed it imperative that negotiations should be initiated at an early date between the Government of Portugal and the national liberation movements of the territories with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Indepen-

dence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,<sup>8</sup> particularly in order to bring about, as a matter of priority: (a) the immediate cessation by Portugal of its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of the territories, the withdrawal of its military and other forces, and the elimination of all practices which violated the inalienable rights of those populations, including the eviction and regrouping of the African populations and the settlement of foreign immigrants in the territories; and (b) the just treatment of the freedom fighters of the territories captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war, in accordance with the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Conventions relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

The Assembly appealed to all Governments, United Nations bodies and non-governmental organizations to render to the peoples of the territories, in particular to the populations in the liberated areas, all the moral and material assistance necessary for their continued struggle for the achievement of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

All Governments, in particular members of NATO, were asked to withdraw any assistance which would enable Portugal to prosecute the colonial war, and to prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material to Portugal, as well as all supplies enabling it to manufacture or maintain weapons and ammunition which it used to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa. All States were also called upon to take forthwith all possible measures to put an end to practices which exploited the territories and to discourage nationals and corporate bodies under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contributed to Portugal's domination over the territories and impeded, with respect to them, the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence.

In the event of Portugal's non-compliance with the call for negotiations, the Assembly recommended that the Security Council should urgently consider taking all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration and of the related decisions of the Council.

The Secretary-General was asked to follow the implementation of the resolution, in particular to provide such assistance as might be necessary with respect to the negotiations, and to report thereon as appropriate to the Assembly and its Special Committee on the implementation of the Decla-

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 1.

ration. The Assembly commended the Special Committee for its work during the year, particularly its dispatch of the Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau), and requested it to continue to seek the best ways and means of effectively assisting the peoples of the territories to achieve the goals set forth in the Declaration on the granting of independence and the United Nations Charter.

These decisions were set forth in resolution 2918(XXVII), which was adopted by a roll-call vote of 98 to 6, with 8 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The sponsors of the resolution were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Indonesia, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

During discussion in the Fourth Committee, some Members expressed reservations concerning certain provisions of the text—in particular, the provision affirming that the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique were the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of the territories. The Netherlands commented that this provision prejudged the outcome of the territories' political development; in its view, the Committee was not entitled to qualify certain political movements as authentic representatives of the people without receiving some kind of formal authorization from the peoples concerned. Turkey said that, although it did not doubt that in this particular case the national liberation movements were the authentic representatives of the people, it feared such a decision would be exploited in the future for separatist purposes aimed at undermining the integrity and stability of a Member State of the United Nations. Similar reservations on this provision were expressed by other States.

Reservations were also expressed concerning the provision requesting that all moral and material assistance be rendered to the liberation movements, since this was regarded as an invitation for the United Nations to endorse violence, and concerning the preambular paragraph condemning Portugal for the use of napalm and chemical substances, since this was an allegation that did not appear to have been proved.

A request for a separate vote on these and certain other provisions of the text was rejected in the Committee by a recorded vote of 79 to 26, with 15 abstentions.

The Committee approved the text as a whole by a recorded vote of 104 to 5, with 11 abstentions.

When the draft resolution was discussed in plenary, the representative of Portugal stated that the General Assembly was being asked to give legitimacy to the claim made by certain political movements that they were the representatives of the populations of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde. The Portuguese representative questioned whether the Assembly had any competence to act in such a matter. Moreover, any process of impartial verification of the facts—as called for by the Portuguese Government—would show that the allegations made by those political movements had no basis in reality. Portugal asked the Assembly not to render more difficult and remote the possibility of a constructive discussion of the question.

#### Other Assembly decisions

##### DECLARATION ON GRANTING INDEPENDENCE

Two decisions taken by the General Assembly at its 1972 session concerning the implementation of the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had bearing on the question of the territories under Portuguese administration.

By resolution 2908(XXVII) of 2 November 1972, the Assembly among other things: deeply deplored the continued refusal of the colonial powers, especially Portugal and South Africa, to implement the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on decolonization; strongly deplored the policies of those States which, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, continued to co-operate with Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia; and noted with satisfaction the proposed arrangements relating to the participation of representatives of the national liberation movements and leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia in the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The Assembly then reaffirmed that the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations was incompatible with the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on granting independence, and posed a threat to international

peace and security. It also affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples and noted with satisfaction the progress made by the national liberation movements of the colonial territories.

The Assembly condemned the policies of certain colonial powers in the territories under their domination of imposing non-representative régimes and arbitrary constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants while evicting, displacing and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas; it called upon those powers to desist forthwith from such policies. It urged all States and United Nations bodies to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in the colonial territories in consultation, as appropriate, with OAU. It also asked all States to withhold assistance of any kind from Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia until they renounced their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

The Assembly asked the Special Committee to continue to examine the compliance by Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization. (For text of resolution 2908(XXVII), see pp. 550-52.)

By resolution 2980(XXVII) of 14 December 1972, the General Assembly among other things reaffirmed that the recognition by United Nations bodies of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples entailed, as a corollary, the extension by the United Nations system of organizations of all necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of the colonial territories, including especially the liberated areas of those territories. The Assembly again urged all organizations within the United Nations system to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and to discontinue all collaboration with them until they renounced their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression. It also asked the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with OAU, to ensure the representation of the colonial territories by the national liberation movements concerned, in an appropriate capacity, when dealing with matters pertaining to those territories.

(For text of resolution, see pp. 559-61.)

#### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS

By resolution 2910(XXVII), adopted on 2 November 1972, the General Assembly asked the

Secretary-General, in co-operation with OAU, to organize an International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, to be held in Oslo, Norway, in 1973. (For text of resolution 2910(XXVII), see p. 553.)

#### WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH COLONIAL PEOPLES

In adopting resolution 2911(XXVII), on 2 November 1972, the General Assembly appealed to the Governments and peoples of the world to hold annually a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights, proposing that the Week should begin on 25 May, Africa Liberation Day. (For text of resolution 2911(XXVII), see p. 553.)

#### CO-OPERATION BETWEEN UNITED NATIONS AND OAU

By a resolution adopted on 13 December 1972 (2962(XXVII)), the General Assembly among other things noted the results of meetings held by the Security Council in Africa in 1972 at the invitation of OAU (see pp. 70-89), and reiterated the firm intention of the United Nations, in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the situation existing in southern Africa. The Assembly asked the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to intensify co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, particularly with regard to the provision of assistance to the victims of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa and the dissemination of information on the situation prevailing in that region. (For text of resolution 2962(XXVII), see p. 142.)

#### RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

On 12 December 1972, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2955(XXVII)) concerning the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights. The Assembly thereby, among other things, expressed its concern at the continued reluctance of the colonial and racist powers, such as Portugal and South Africa, to recognize and apply the right to self-determination and independence for the peoples of the territories under their control.

The Assembly then: (1) reaffirmed the right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle for liberation from colonial and alien domination and foreign subjugation by all available means consistent with the Charter and the

resolutions of the United Nations; (2) strongly condemned all those Governments, particularly Portugal and South Africa, which persistently refused to implement the Declaration on granting independence and other pertinent resolutions; (3) strongly condemned the policies of NATO members and other powers which were assisting Portugal and other racist regimes in their suppression of peoples' aspirations for and enjoyment of human rights; (4) decided to examine concrete ways and means of extending maximum humanitarian and material assistance to the peoples of the liberated areas, colonial territories and territories under alien subjugation; (5) asked the Secretary-General to submit a report to the General Assembly in 1973, indicating the present scope and nature of assistance being provided to colonial countries and peoples, as well as those in the liberated areas, by relevant organs of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, regional inter-governmental organizations and relevant non-governmental organizations, in order to assist in the examination of areas and of ways and means of further promoting humanitarian and material assistance; and (6) invited those organizations to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the resolution. (For text of resolution 2935(XXVII), see pp. 438-39.)

#### FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

On 14 December 1972, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2979(XXVII)) concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in southern Africa, including the Portuguese-administered territories.

By this resolution (the Assembly among other things: expressed its concern at the intensification of the activities of those foreign economic and other interests in the territories which, contrary to its resolutions, assisted the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and impeded the realization by the peoples of the territories of their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence; reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources in their best interests; reaffirmed that the activities of foreign economic and other interests operating at present in the territories

constituted a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources by the indigenous inhabitants; condemned the continuation of the construction of the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola, which were designed further to entrench colonialist and racist domination over the territories in Africa and were a source of international tension; condemned the policies of those Governments which had not yet prevented their nationals and companies from participating in the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects and urgently requested that they take the necessary measures to terminate this participation; called upon the colonial powers and States concerned to take legislative, administrative and other measures in respect of their nationals who owned and operated enterprises in the territories which were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants, in order to put an end to such activities; and asked the Secretary-General to give the widest possible publicity to the adverse effects of such activities, as well as to the decisions on this question by the Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence and the General Assembly.

(For text of resolution 2979(XXVII), see pp. 567-68.)

#### United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa

Under the consolidated United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, 431 applications from territories under Portuguese administration were received during the period 9 October 1971 to 8 October 1972. A total of 127 new awards were granted and another 123 were extended.

As of October 1972, a total of 250 scholarship holders from Portuguese-administered territories were studying in 23 countries.

By a resolution (2981(XXVII)) adopted on 14 December 1972, the General Assembly among other things: expressed satisfaction with the increase in contributions to the Programme but recognized that additional funds were still required for its continuation; urgently appealed to all States, organizations and individuals to contribute generously to the Programme; and decided that, as a further transitional measure, provision should be made under the United Nations regular budget for an amount of \$100,000 to ensure continuation of the Programme in 1973. (For text of resolution 2981(XXVII), see pp. 140-41.)

## Documentary references

## Consideration by Special Committee

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 840, 843-845, 848-854, 856-859, 861-863, 865-867, 871, 875, 876, 879, 880.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee to General Assembly (covering its work during 1972): Chapter I H (Decision of Special Committee of 25 August 1972); Chapters II and III; Chapter X (resolutions adopted by Special Committee on 13 and 20 April 1972; conclusions and recommendations endorsed by Special Committee on 1 August 1972); Annex I (report of Special Mission established by Special Committee on 14 March 1972).

## Consideration by Security Council (November 1972)

Security Council, meetings 1672-1677.

S/10828. Letter of 7 November 1972 from 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 (request to convene Council).

S/10830. Letter of 13 November 1972 from Somalia and Sudan (request to extend invitation to participate in Council's discussion).

S/10833. Letter of 15 November 1972 from Portugal.

S/10834. Guinea, Somalia, Sudan: draft resolution.

S/10836. Letter of 15 November 1972 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council (transmitting text of Assembly resolution 2918(XXVII)).

S/10837. Letter of 20 November 1972 from Portugal.

S/10838 and Rev.1. Guinea, Somalia, Sudan: draft resolution and revision.

S/10839. Guinea, Somalia, Sudan: draft resolution.

Resolution 322(1972), as proposed by 3 powers, S/10838/Rev.1, as further orally modified by sponsors, adopted unanimously by Council on 22 November 1972, meeting 1677.

The Security Council,

Having examined the situation in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique,

Recalling its resolution 312(1972) of 4 February 1972,

Also recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and 2918(XXVII) of 14 November 1972, on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration,

Taking note of the reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Considering that the Organization of African Unity recognizes the liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique as the legitimate representatives of the peoples of those Territories,

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Member States and of Mr. Marcelino dos Santos,

Mr. Gil Fernandes and Mr. Manuel Jorge, who were invited under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to participate in the consideration of the question,

Conscious of the urgent need to avert further human suffering and material losses by the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and to achieve a negotiated solution to the armed confrontation that exists in those Territories,

1. 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 its resolution 1514(XV), and the legitimacy of the struggle by those peoples to achieve that right;

2. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith its military operations and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique;

3. 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 parties concerned, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that exists in the Territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and permitting the peoples of those Territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to follow developments in the situation and to report periodically to the Security Council;

5. Decides to remain actively seized of this matter.

S/10521. Letter of 18 January 1972 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council (transmitting text of General Assembly resolution 2795(XXVI)).

S/10624. Letter of 16 April 1972 from Chairman of Special Committee to President of Security Council (transmitting text from resolution adopted by Special Committee on 13 April 1972).

S/10633. Letter of 8 May 1972 from Chairman of Special Committee to President of Security Council (transmitting text from resolution adopted by Special Committee on 20 April 1972).

S/10734. Report of 11 July 1972 of Secretary-General on implementation of Security Council resolution 312(1972).

S/10741. Letter of 19 July 1972 from Executive Secretary of Organization of African Unity (OAU) to United Nations (transmitting texts of resolutions adopted by Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its 9th session, Rabat, Morocco, 12-15 June 1972, and by Council of Ministers of OAU at its 19th session, Rabat, 5-12 June 1972).

S/10754. Letter of 1 August 1972 from Chairman of Special Committee to President of Security Council (transmitting report of Special Mission and verbatim records of relevant meetings).

S/10840. Letter of 24 November 1972 from Brazil.

S/INF/26. Resolutions adopted by Security Council on African questions with which Security Council is currently seized, Sections I and III.

## Consideration by General Assembly

General Assembly—27th session

Fourth Committee, meetings 1974-1987. 1992, 2000, 2001. Plenary meeting 2084.

- A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I B 3.
- A/8702. Report of Security Council, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Chapter 16.
- A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapters II, III and X.
- A/8758 and Add.1. Report of Secretary-General.
- A/8853. Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Note by President of General Assembly.
- A/8857. Letter of 20 October 1972 from Portugal.
- A/C.4/745. Letter of 22 September 1972 from Chairman of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Committee.
- A/C.4/747. Requests for hearings.
- A/C.4/749. Questions of Namibia, territories under Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia. Request for hearing.
- A/C.4/750. Letter of 23 October 1972 from Chairman of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Committee.
- A/C.4/751. Telegram of 24 October 1972 from Minister of Foreign Affairs of German Democratic Republic to Chairman of Fourth Committee.
- A/C.4/753. Letter of 30 October 1972 from Portugal.
- A/C.4/754. Telegram of 17 November 1972 from Secretary-General of Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) to Chairman of Fourth Committee.
- A/C.4/755. Letter of 21 November 1972 from Chairman of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Committee.
- A/C.4/756. Letter of 28 November 1972 from Portugal.
- A/C.4/L.993. Statement made by representative of Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in Fourth Committee on 1 November 1972, meeting 1937.

## INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN DEBATE

- A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee, Chapter I H.
- A/C.4/744. Letter of 22 September 1972 from Chairman of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Committee, containing proposal, as orally amended by Colombia, approved by Fourth Committee on 27 September 1972, meeting 1975, by roll-call vote of 79 to 13, with 16 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela.

- A/8889. Report of Fourth Committee, paras. 3-6, 10 and 11.

## GENERAL ASPECTS

- A/C.4/L.1013. Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: draft resolution, approved by Fourth Committee on 13 November 1972, meeting 2001, by recorded vote of 104 to 5, with 11 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Brazil, Costa Rica, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Venezuela.

- A/8889. Report of Fourth Committee.

Resolution 2918(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8889, adopted by Assembly on 14 November 1972, meeting 2084, by roll-call vote of 98 to 6, with 8 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Brazil, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.



Abstaining: Belgium, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Luxembourg, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The General Assembly,  
Having considered the question of Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having examined the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, including in particular the report of the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April 1972,

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General concerning the present item,

Having invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, representatives of the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of those Territories, and having heard the statements of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, and Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique,

Having heard the statements of the petitioners,  
Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621(XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, as well as all other resolutions relating to the question of Territories under Portuguese administration adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Condemning the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to comply with the relevant provisions of the aforementioned resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, the continuation by Portuguese military forces of the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, the wholesale destruction of villages and property and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, as well as the continued violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States neighbouring Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, which seriously disturb international peace and security,

Condemning the continued collaboration of Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, designed to perpetuate colonialist and racist domination in the region, and the persistent intervention against the peoples of the Territories concerned by police and armed forces, as well as mercenaries from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia,

Taking note with appreciation of the concrete programmes of assistance to the national liberation movements of those Territories initiated by several Governments and by organizations within the United Nations system as well as a number of non-governmental organizations,

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in those Territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, particularly in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique and other Territories under Portuguese domination

to self-determination and independence, as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514(XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right;

2. Affirms that the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those Territories and recommends that, pending the accession of those Territories to independence, all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and the United Nations bodies concerned should, when dealing with matters pertaining to the Territories, ensure the representation of those Territories by the liberation movements concerned in an appropriate capacity and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity;

3. Deems it imperative that negotiations should be initiated at an early date between the Government of Portugal and the national liberation movements referred to above with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, particularly in order to bring about as a matter of priority:

(a) The immediate cessation by Portugal of its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, the withdrawal of its military and other forces and the elimination of all practices which violate the inalienable rights of those populations, including the eviction and regrouping of the African populations and the settlement of foreign immigrants in the Territories;

(b) The just treatment of the freedom fighters of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war, in accordance with the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949, and in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;

4. Appeals to all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations to render to the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories, all the moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the achievement of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

5. Requests all Governments, particularly those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which continue to render assistance to Portugal, to withdraw any assistance that enables Portugal to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, and to prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material to the Government of Portugal, as well as all supplies, equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition that it uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa;

6. Calls upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures to put an end to any activities that help to exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein and to discourage their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contribute to Portugal's domination over those Territories and impede the implementation of the Declaration with respect to them;

7. Recommends that, in the event of the non-compliance by the Government of Portugal with the pro-

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visions of paragraph 3 above, the Security Council should urgently consider taking all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) and of the related decisions of the Council;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution, in particular to provide such assistance as may be necessary with respect to the negotiations referred to in paragraph 3 above, and to report thereon, as appropriate, to the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

9. Commends the Special Committee for the work it has accomplished during the year, particularly through the dispatch of the Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau), and requests it to continue to seek the best ways and means of effectively assisting in the achievement by the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination of the goals set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Charter of the United Nations.