

Chapter V

Territories under Portuguese administration

During 1973, various aspects of the situation in the Portuguese-administered territories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Archipelago, São Tomé e Príncipe and Timor were discussed in the General Assembly and in 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,¹ as well as in the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council.

In addition to this general consideration, the Assembly also had on its agenda an item entitled "Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic." In connexion with this item, the

Assembly adopted a resolution welcoming the accession to independence of Guinea-Bissau. (See pp. 143-47.)

Decisions of Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council took several decisions relating to the territories under Portuguese administration at its 1973 sessions.

On 18 May 1973, after having examined the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts of the Commission on Human Rights, the Council adopted a resolution (1796 (LIV)) on the question of the absence or infringement of trade union rights. The Council thereby noted with deep con-

¹See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV), containing text of the Declaration.

cern the existence of a form of forced labour and the discriminatory hierarchy of labour codes in Angola and Mozambique.

It condemned the existence of transit centres and other similar camps for African workers, as well as the conditions prevailing in these camps, and recommended that, as the objectives of the various conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) had not been fully attained, ILO should consider all possible means for strengthening the implementation by Portugal of the conventions to which it was a party.

The Council also requested the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts to continue to monitor the system of recruitment of African workers, as well as the disparities in wages between black and white workers in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the African territories under Portuguese domination, and to report to it not later than at its first session in 1975. (For additional details, see pp. 556-58, and for text of resolution 1796(LIV), see pp. 570-71.)

In a related decision, also taken on 18 May, the Council, among other things, requested the Secretary-General to explore, in consultation with the appropriate organs of the United Nations, ways and means of providing assistance to the victims of racism and racial discrimination and of brutal and inhuman treatment, particularly political prisoners and members of their families.

The Economic and Social Council also invited the General Assembly to bring to the notice of the Security Council the reported aerial bombardment of the liberated areas and use of poisonous chemical substances there by the Government of Portugal.

These Council decisions were based on recommendations of the Commission on Human Rights. (See also pp. 530-31.)

On 3 April 1973, the Commission on Human Rights adopted a resolution rejecting the allegations and observations contained in a letter dated 31 March 1973 addressed to the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights by the representative of Portugal to the United Nations Office at Geneva, Switzerland.

The representative of Portugal stated in his letter that his Government considered that the constitution of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts and its terms of reference were illegal and contrary to the rules of law; that the Commission lacked impartiality because of the national, political or professional allegiances of its members; and that the witnesses who had been heard by the Group had been chosen expressly from anti-Portuguese terrorist groups who had distorted facts and lodged unfounded accusations, while

the report of the International Red Cross had been ignored. Accordingly, the Portuguese Government rejected categorically the conclusions and recommendations of the report prepared by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts.

On 18 May 1973, the Economic and Social Council took note of a letter dated 4 May 1973 addressed to the Secretary-General, containing similar observations from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations. The Council adopted a decision rejecting the contents of this letter and the baseless attacks on the members of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts as well as the Commission on Human Rights.

(See also p. 531.)

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 discussed the territories under Portuguese administration at meetings held between 2 February and 2 August 1973.

The Committee had before it a number of written petitions and it heard the following petitioners: Lord Gifford, Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné; and Eileen Hanson, Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guiné.

In accordance with a decision taken at its previous session, which was subsequently approved by the General Assembly, the Special Committee, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), invited representatives of the national liberation movements of the African territories under Portuguese administration to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the matter. Accordingly, the following national liberation movements were represented: Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA), Sasa Mbala and Mesamesa Tshamba; Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), Manuel Jorge; Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), Jorge Rebelo and Sharfudine Khan; Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), Sihino Manuel da Luz.

The Special Committee considered the question on the basis of developments since 1972, petitioners' statements, and statements by representatives of the national liberation movements who provided the Committee with information on new developments in their armed struggle and on progress made in national reconstruction in the liberated areas. Special tribute was paid to Amílcar Cabral, leader of PAIGC who was assassinated on 20 January 1973.

Opening the discussion, the representative of

Sweden reiterated his Government's support for the liberation struggle of the people of the territories under Portuguese domination and cited the aid Sweden had provided to the various liberation movements. He welcomed the Security Council's resolution of 22 November 1972,² which called upon Portugal to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned and urged renewed efforts to find a peaceful and negotiated solution leading to self-determination and independence.

Many Committee members considered the participation of representatives of the liberation movements in the meetings to be important, and welcomed the first-hand information they had provided as the authentic representatives of the peoples of the territories.

Several members felt there was a need for political action by the United Nations. Iraq emphasized that it was necessary for the international community to take political decisions which would deprive the colonialists of legitimacy in their authority. Mali expressed the view that political and psychological pressure also had to be brought on Portugal to make it change its policy. Bulgaria, Chile, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, and Yugoslavia agreed on the need to intensify efforts to adopt the measures needed to implement United Nations resolutions.

Several members referred to the importance of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa that met in Oslo, Norway, in April 1973, and expressed the hope that its recommendations on a programme of international action against racism and colonialism would be implemented by the United Nations.

Bulgaria, Congo, Czechoslovakia, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, the USSR and the United Republic of Tanzania expressed concern over the continuing military activities of Portugal in the territories. In particular, they condemned Portugal's reported use of chemical substances against the populations of the territories. Sweden supported the recommendation of the Commission on Human Rights, endorsed by the Economic and Social Council on 18 May 1973, that the Security Council should study the reported aerial bombardments and chemical warfare in the liberated areas (see section above).

Most of the speakers asserted 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). The United Republic of Tanzania charged that NATO countries supplied Portugal with war material and extended their economic and political support to Portugal

to serve their own interests. China suggested, among other measures, that the arms embargo against Portugal should be strengthened and sanctions extended to cover Portugal and South Africa. Sierra Leone said that France, the United Kingdom and the United States had entrenched their economic activities in the territories instead of encouraging Portugal towards negotiations with the liberation movements. Disregarding Security Council resolutions, they had continued to supply Portugal with massive quantities of arms and other military equipment. Sierra Leone regretted, furthermore, that the United Kingdom chose to give Portugal both a moral and a political boost by celebrating, with pomp, 600 years of alliance with Portugal. Bulgaria said that Portugal had been able to maintain its colonial oppression with the assistance of some imperialist powers. According to Yugoslavia, NATO was giving all-out political, military and material support to Portugal.

The USSR said that the aim of the United Nations should be to press for compliance with United Nations General Assembly resolutions appealing to all States, and particularly the members of NATO, to refrain from giving any assistance to Portugal and to put an end to any activity involving the exploitation of territories under Portuguese rule.

The USSR charged that Portugal was encouraging foreign investments in the territories so as to obtain the powerful protection of the large international monopolies. Other committee members also expressed concern over the increasing exploitation of the territories' economic resources by foreign economic interests, and the strengthening of the alliance between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia which aimed at maintaining white minority control of southern Africa.

Yugoslavia said that foreign companies continued their economic exploitation and ransacking of the natural resources of the territories, and the United Republic of Tanzania asserted that in the case of oil exploration whole populations had been displaced and later concentrated in camps in order to provide for the security of these foreign companies. The Congo said that the Special Committee should denounce the foreign interests impeding the achievement of independence of the territories.

The need to intensify assistance to the liberation movements was stressed during the discussion. Speakers urged that the United Nations and specialized agencies should take concrete steps to assist the national liberation movements and im-

² See Y.U.N., 1972, p. 598, text of resolution 322(1972).

plement the proposals put forward by the United Nations and the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism. The proposed steps included the mobilization of world public opinion, ensurance of representation of the liberation movements in the United Nations and specialized agencies, and use of these agencies and other international bodies in order to provide the financial, material and other assistance necessary for the achievement of freedom by peoples still under colonial rule.

On 22 June 1973, the Special Committee adopted a resolution by 21 votes to 0, with 1 abstention. The Committee thereby reaffirmed 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 of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,³ and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right.

The Special Committee reaffirmed that the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique were the authentic representatives of the peoples of those territories and recommended that 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 OAU.

The Special Committee condemned the persistent refusal of Portugal to comply with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, the intensified armed repression by Portugal of the peoples of the territories under its domination, including the mass destruction of villages and property and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances.

It also demanded that Portugal cease forthwith colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique, and discontinue all practices which violated the inalienable rights of those populations.

It further called upon Portugal to treat the freedom fighters of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique captured during their 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.

The Committee appealed 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 political, diplomatic and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the achievement of their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

It also urged all Governments, particularly those members of NATO which continued to render assistance to Portugal, to withdraw any assistance that enabled Portugal to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique.

The Special Committee then called upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures: (a) to put an end to any activities that helped to exploit the territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein; (b) to discourage their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contributed to Portugal's domination over those territories; and (c) to exclude Portugal from taking part on behalf of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique in any bilateral or multilateral treaties or agreements relating particularly to external trade in the products of those territories.

The Special Committee, in addition, drew the attention of the Security Council, in the light of the outright disregard by Portugal of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council's resolutions of 4 February (312(1972)) and 22 November 1972 (322(1972)),⁴ to the urgent need for taking, as a matter of priority, all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation of the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence and of the related decisions of the United Nations.

It then asked its Chairman to continue his consultations with OAU and with the liberation movements to work out the necessary modalities for the dispatch of a special mission to the territories concerned, as appropriate.

Finally, the Committee invited the Secretary-General, bearing in mind the General Assembly's request of 2 November 1972,⁵ to continue to take effective and concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give widespread and continuous publicity to information relating to the situation obtaining in these territories.

³ See footnote 1.

⁴ See Y.U.N., 1972, pp. 88-89 and p. 598 for texts of resolutions 312(1972) and 322(1972) respectively.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 552-53, text of resolution 2909 (XXVII).

On 11 July 1973, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement in connexion with a report by the Reverend Adrian Hastings of the College of the Ascension, Birmingham, England, concerning the massacre of villagers in Mozambique. Subsequently, at a meeting of the Special Committee on 20 July, the Reverend Hastings and the Vice-President of FRELIMO made statements regarding atrocities committed by Portuguese troops in Mozambique.

On the same day the Special Committee adopted without objection a consensus, by which it noted with abhorrence the reports on atrocities committed by Portugal against the populations of the African territories under its domination, in particular on the massacre by Portuguese troops of villagers in Mozambique.

The Special Committee felt such crimes must be condemned by all Governments and should be investigated through the competent organs of the United Nations. It stated that Portugal must cease its colonial wars, withdraw its military forces from the territories under its domination, and discontinue all practices which violated the inalienable rights of the African people. The Special Committee also considered that more than ever it was the obligation of the international community to support the cause of the people in the territories under Portuguese domination and to provide increasing assistance to the national liberation movements in those territories.

Consideration by General Assembly

General aspects

At its 1973 session which opened on 18 September, the General Assembly referred the question of the territories under Portuguese administration to its Fourth Committee. In addition to the report of the Special Committee on this question, the Fourth Committee also had before it several reports of the Secretary-General relating to implementation of resolutions adopted in 1972, and two letters from the Chairman of the Special Committee, one containing the text of a communiqué issued by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) concerning recent developments in Mozambique, and the other transmitting a letter from the Holy See relating to the Committee's consensus statement on the reported massacre in Mozambique. Also before the Committee were letters from Portugal dated 15 February, 28 March, 18 June, 12 July, 17 October and 5 November 1973. Among other things, these letters: restated the position of the Portuguese Government on the question of its territories, which it described as part of a unitary State enjoying full juridical equality in

terms of the Portuguese Political Constitution; charged acts of terrorism by FRELIMO; and repudiated accusations made during Assembly debates.

As in 1972, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly again decided to grant observer status to the liberation movements recognized by OAU. Accordingly, during the consideration of this item, the following representatives participated in an observer capacity: Mangali Tula, Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA); and Sharfudine Khan, FRELIMO.

The Fourth Committee heard the following petitioners on the question of the territories under Portuguese administration: Romesh Chandra, Gordon Schaffer and Emilson S. Randriamihasinoro of the World Peace Council.

When the Fourth Committee began discussion of the question, the Chairman of the Special Committee communicated to it a message from the Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) announcing that the first Popular National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau had, on 24 September 1973, proclaimed the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

During the ensuing discussion, many representatives announced that their Governments had recognized the State of Guinea-Bissau. Members commented that the victory of the liberation movements had demonstrated that neither terror nor repression could subjugate the will of peoples determined to free themselves. The declaration of independence of Guinea-Bissau, they added, was an encouraging sign of the inevitable defeat of colonialism. Many speakers emphasized, in particular, the need to provide the African freedom fighters with all forms of assistance to enable them to liberate their territories from Portuguese colonial domination and the urgency of ending political, economic and other support for Portugal which helped it to prolong its brutal wars in Africa.

Representatives of Bhutan, Bulgaria, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Mongolia, Oman, Poland and Zambia were among those who drew attention to the continuing deterioration of the situation in the territories under Portuguese domination which, they said, constituted a threat to the African continent and to international peace and security. Sierra Leone recalled that Guinea and Senegal had had to request meetings of the Security Council to deal with Portuguese aggression and that in 1972 Portuguese aircraft had attacked the United Republic of Tanzania, killing a number of civilians.

A number of Members, among them Madagascar, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and

the United Republic of Tanzania, called for implementation of the recommendations of the April 1973 International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa (see page 672). The Conference, among other things, had called for an embargo against the supply of arms and military material to Portugal, as well as an international boycott of exports and imports handled by Portugal on behalf of the territories under its administration. Increased assistance to the liberation movements by the United Nations and associated institutions was also called for by these Members, among others.

Concern was expressed over reports of Portugal's increasing use of chemical substances and defoliants against the people in the territories and over the reported massacres in Mozambique. Thus, the representative of Sweden, speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries, proposed the establishment of an international inquiry into the methods of warfare used by Portugal in the African territories. He said that his Government had received several reports, including statements by a Spanish priest who had been expelled from Mozambique and a report on massacres at Mucumbura. This proposal was supported by Iran, Japan, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, New Zealand, Sudan, Tunisia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

Members called on Portugal to implement General Assembly resolutions and, in particular, to begin negotiations with the liberation movements. Many of them considered that Portugal's ability to carry on its repressive activities against the people of the territories was a result of the support it received from its Western allies, particularly some members of the NATO alliance. They urged members of NATO to use their influence to induce Portugal to cease its colonial war, and withdraw its army from the territories. These views were expressed by, among others, Algeria, the Byelorussian SSR, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guyana, India, Mexico, Nepal, Poland, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR and Yugoslavia.

Afghanistan, Egypt, Mali and Pakistan also noted the strengthening of the alliance between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, which they criticized as a coalition to repress the struggle of the peoples for liberation and to strengthen white minority domination of southern Africa.

Concern was expressed by a number of speakers, for instance the Byelorussian SSR, Egypt and Mali, over the activities of foreign economic and other interests, as evidenced by participation of those interests in the Cabora Bassa dam project in

Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin scheme in Angola. These projects were designed, in the view of several representatives, mainly to provide an economic base for white settlement and white minority hegemony over the peoples of southern Africa.

On 9 November 1973, the Fourth Committee approved the texts of two resolutions which were adopted by the General Assembly on 12 December 1973.

By the preamble of the first text (resolution 3113 (XXVIII)), the General Assembly among other things deplored Portugal's refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions calling on it to negotiate a solution to the armed confrontation in the African territories under its domination and to permit the peoples of those territories to exercise their right to self-determination. The Assembly condemned the continued collaboration of Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, designed to perpetuate colonialism and racism, as well as the repeated acts of aggression committed by the armed forces of Portugal against independent African States. The Assembly also condemned any attempt by Portugal to place any of the facilities in the territories under its domination at the disposal of NATO or any NATO members on a bilateral basis for military purposes.

Further, by the preamble to resolution 3113 (XXVIII), the Assembly strongly deplored the policies of those States, particularly some of the military allies of Portugal, which continued to provide Portugal with military and other assistance.

Also, it was deeply disturbed by the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which, contrary to the decisions of the General Assembly, were assisting Portugal in its colonial wars and obstructing the realization by the peoples of territories under Portuguese domination of their legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence.

The Assembly noted with appreciation the concrete programmes of assistance being extended to the national liberation movements of those territories by a number of Governments, as well as those initiated by organizations within the United Nations system and several non-governmental organizations; it expressed satisfaction at the progress towards national independence and freedom being made by the national liberation movements in those territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, particularly in the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique, and noted with satisfaction the intention of the Special Committee to send a visiting mission to the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique.

By the operative part of resolution 3113 (XXVIII), the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique and other territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle by all ways and means at their disposal to achieve that right.

It also reaffirmed that the national liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique were the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those territories and recommended that, pending their 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 General Assembly once again condemned, in the strongest possible terms, the persistent refusal of Portugal to comply with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the intensified armed repression by Portugal of the peoples of the territories under its domination, including the brutal massacre of villagers, the mass destruction of villages and property and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances, in order to stifle the legitimate aspirations of those peoples for freedom and independence.

The Assembly demanded that Portugal should cease forthwith its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, withdraw its military and other forces and discontinue all practices which violated the inalienable rights of those populations. It also demanded that Portugal treat the freedom fighters of Angola 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 that connexion, it invited the International Committee of the Red Cross to continue to maintain close contact with the liberation movements, as the parties to the conflict, to provide reports on conditions in prisoner-of-war camps and treatment of prisoners of war detained by Portugal and to make the necessary arrangements to secure the exchange of prisoners of war.

The Assembly appealed to all Governments, specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations to render to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other territories under Portu-

guese domination, in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those territories, all the moral, material and economic assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the achievement of their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

The Assembly then urged all Governments, particularly those members of NATO which continued to render assistance to Portugal, to withdraw any assistance that enabled Portugal to prosecute its colonial war, and to prevent the sale or supply of all arms and military material to Portugal; it also appealed to all States to refrain from any collaboration with Portugal involving the use of any of the territories under its domination for military purposes.

It further called upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures: to put an end to any activities that helped to exploit the territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein; to discourage their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contributed to Portugal's domination over those territories; and to exclude Portugal from taking part on behalf of Angola and Mozambique in any bilateral or multilateral treaties or agreements relating particularly to external trade in the products of these territories.

The Assembly drew the attention of the Security Council, having regard to the explosive situation resulting from the policies of Portugal in the colonial territories under its domination and from its constant provocations against the independent African States bordering those territories, and in the light of the outright disregard by Portugal of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to the urgent need for taking all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation of the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples⁶ and of the related decisions of the United Nations. It requested the Secretary-General to follow implementation of the resolution and to report thereon in 1974. It also invited the Secretary-General to continue to take effective and concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give widespread and continuous publicity to the critical situation obtaining in these territories and the heroic struggle of their peoples towards freedom and independence.

The Assembly adopted resolution 3113(XXVIII) by a recorded vote of 105 to 8, with 16 abstentions.

The text was based on a proposal eventually sponsored in the Fourth Committee by the follow-

⁶ See footnote 1.

ing 64 Members: Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, the Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, the Gambia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

An amendment to the 64-power text, sponsored by Equatorial Guinea and the Libyan Arab Republic, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 61 to 31, with 27 abstentions. This amendment added the phrase "by all ways and means at their disposal" to the operative paragraph reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of the territories to achieve their right to self-determination. In explanation of vote, a number of Members stated that they could not support an endorsement of the use of force.

The text as a whole was approved by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 102 to 6, with 16 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

The second resolution adopted by the General Assembly (3114 (XXVIII)) dealt with the reported massacres in Mozambique. By the preambular part, the Assembly, deeply disturbed by the reported massacres in Mozambique, recalled the consensus adopted on 20 July 1973 by its Special Committee on the granting of independence, by which the Special Committee had stressed that Portugal must allow a thorough and impartial investigation of the reported atrocities.

By the operative part of the resolution, the General Assembly established a representative Commission of Inquiry on the Reported Massacres in Mozambique, consisting of five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly after due consultation with Member States.

It instructed the Commission of Inquiry to carry out an investigation of the reported atrocities, to gather information from all relevant sources, to solicit the co-operation and assistance of the national liberation movement and to report its findings to the General Assembly as soon as possible.

It further requested Portugal to co-operate with

the Commission of Inquiry and to grant it all necessary facilities to enable it to carry out its mandate.

Resolution 3114 (XXVIII) was adopted by a recorded vote of 109 to 4, with 12 abstentions.

The text was based on a proposal made in the Fourth Committee by the following 16 Members: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Sweden.

It was approved by the Fourth Committee on 9 November 1973 by a roll-call vote of 103 to 3, with 16 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

Question of credentials

When the General Assembly's Credentials Committee considered the credentials of the representatives of Portugal to the twenty-eighth Assembly session, Senegal and the United Republic of Tanzania formally proposed that it should approve the credentials of the representatives of Portugal, with Portugal being understood to mean the country as it existed in Europe, and that it should reject the credentials of the persons purporting to represent the territories under Portuguese domination. This proposal was rejected and the Committee subsequently recommended acceptance by the Assembly of all the credentials of representatives to the twenty-eighth session.

On 13 December 1973, when the Assembly took up the recommendation of the Credentials Committee, a five-power amendment was introduced—sponsored by the Congo, Guinea, Madagascar, Senegal and the United Republic of Tanzania. This amendment would add a new paragraph to the draft resolution proposed by the Credentials Committee, stating that the Assembly approved the credentials of Portugal, on the clear understanding that they represented Portugal only as it existed within its frontiers in Europe and that it rejected the credentials of those representatives of Portugal who purported to represent the Portuguese dominated territories of Angola and Mozambique and the independent State of Guinea-Bissau.

The sponsors said they wanted to ensure that the Assembly did not, either directly or indirectly, give any semblance of legitimacy or recognition to Portuguese claims over Angola or Mozambique and the independent State of Guinea-Bissau.

China, Equatorial Guinea, and Somalia expressed full support for this amendment and reaffirmed their opposition to the Portuguese claim that the African territories were an extension of Portugal in Africa.

On 17 December, a revised amendment, now sponsored also by Tunisia, was introduced. By this text, the Assembly would approve the credentials of the representatives of Portugal on the clear understanding that they represented Portugal as it existed within its frontiers in Europe and that they did not represent the Portuguese-dominated territories of Angola and Mozambique nor could they represent Guinea-Bissau, which was an independent State.

Albania and Mali spoke in support of the amendment and condemned the Portuguese Government's use of foreign nationals to maintain its claim over the African territories of Angola and Mozambique and the independent State of Guinea-Bissau.

The representative of Portugal questioned the right of any country to decide which of the members of another country's delegation should be considered as legitimately accredited and which should not. He recalled that there had been opposition to the inclusion of African members in the Portuguese delegation whose credentials cited their official functions in the territory concerned. It was clear, therefore, that the amendment challenged the basic and sovereign right of every State to determine which individuals were its nationals. Moreover, the Portuguese delegation represented the nation as a whole and no one represented a specific part of it. In his view, the true reasons for the proposal were to be found in the fact that there were represented in the United Nations countries which had an outright racist outlook, whose representatives were made uncomfortable by the multiracial character of the Portuguese delegation and that this amendment was part of the anti-Portuguese campaign launched by these racist countries.

On 17 December, the General Assembly adopted the amendment by a recorded vote of 93 votes to 14, with 21 abstentions.

Speaking on behalf of Finland, Iceland, Norway and his own country, the representative of Sweden said they had voted in favour of the amendment as a reaffirmation of their well-known stand on the question of Portugal's colonial rule in Africa and their firm support for the right of the peoples under Portuguese domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. However, in regard to the wording on Guinea-Bissau, they expressed a reservation since their Governments had not yet determined their relations with the newly-proclaimed State.

The text of the resolution, as amended (3181(XXVIII)) was then adopted by 108 votes to 0, with 9 abstentions.

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

Related Assembly decisions

A number of other decisions taken by the General Assembly in 1973 also dealt with aspects of the question of territories under Portuguese administration. These are briefly described below.

DECLARATION ON GRANTING INDEPENDENCE

Two Assembly decisions on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples⁷ referred to the Portuguese territories. By the first of these, resolution 3163(XXVIII) adopted on 14 December 1973, the Assembly among other things condemned the continued colonialist and racist repression of Africans by the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as the failure of the United Kingdom to take effective measures to put an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Assembly also condemned the policies of those States which, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the situation with regard to implementation of the Declaration, continued to collaborate with Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, thus perpetuating their domination of the peoples in the territories concerned.

The Assembly reaffirmed its view that racial discrimination, apartheid and violations of basic human rights of the peoples in colonial territories could be eradicated by the faithful and complete implementation of the Declaration. It further noted with satisfaction the arrangements for the representation of the national liberation movements concerned in the work of several United Nations organs and expressed its appreciation of their active participation.

The Assembly reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal and noted with satisfaction the progress made by the national liberation movements, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, towards the national independence of their countries.

It condemned the imposition, by certain colonial powers in the territories under their domination, of non-representative régimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign interests,

⁷ Ibid.

misleading world public opinion and encouraging the influx of foreign immigrants while displacing the indigenous inhabitants to other areas, and it demanded that those powers desist from such policies.

The Assembly further urged all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in the colonial territories and to those living under alien domination—in particular to the national liberation movements of the territories in Africa—in consultation, as appropriate, with OAU. Also, the Assembly requested all States to withhold assistance of any kind from Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia until they renounced their policies of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

The Assembly also called upon the colonial powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

(For text of resolution 3163(XXVIII), see pp. 673-75.)

On 12 December 1973, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (3118(XXVIII)) on the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and institutions associated with the United Nations. By this resolution, the Assembly noted with deep concern that although several of the specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system had provided assistance to refugees from the colonial territories in Africa, many had not extended their full co-operation to the United Nations in the implementation of the resolutions calling for aid to the national liberation movements and the ending of support to Portugal and South Africa as well as to the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia.

By other provisions of the resolution, the Assembly among other things reaffirmed that the recognition by the Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations organs of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence entailed the extension of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial territories, including especially the populations in the liberated areas of those territories and their national liberation movements.

It urged all specialized agencies and institutions associated with the United Nations and all States to render all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples in Africa struggling for

their liberation from colonial rule and, in particular, recommended that they should: (a) initiate and broaden contacts and co-operation with these peoples, in consultation with OAU, and work out and implement—with its active co-operation and, through it, of the national liberation movements—concrete programmes for such assistance to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, including in particular the peoples in the liberated areas of those territories and their national liberation movements; (b) invite OAU to take appropriate measures to maintain continued contacts with Governments, with a view to facilitating the sponsoring and preparation of the necessary assistance projects; (c) request the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to consider, in consultation with OAU, all forms of support which the Bank might be able to extend to the Governments concerned for the purpose of assisting those peoples; and (d) request the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme to consider at its first session in 1974, *inter alia*, waiving the counterpart obligations normally required of sponsoring Governments in respect of projects beneficial to the peoples concerned.

The Assembly again urged the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to take all necessary measures to withhold any assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, to discontinue all kinds of support to them until they renounced their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression and to refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of those regimes' colonial and alien domination of the territories concerned.

It further requested the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with OAU and the Special Committee, to ensure that the peoples of the colonial territories in Africa were represented by their national liberation movements in an appropriate capacity when dealing with matters pertaining to those territories.

It urged the executive heads of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to formulate and submit to their respective governing bodies or legislative organs, as a matter of priority and with the active co-operation of OAU, concrete proposals for the full implementation of the relevant United Nations decisions, in particular specific programmes of all

possible assistance to the peoples in colonial territories and their national liberation movements, together with a comprehensive analysis of the problems confronted by these agencies and organizations.

(For text of resolution 3118(XXVIII), see pp. 684-86.)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS IN SUPPORT OF VICTIMS OF COLONIALISM

On 14 December 1973, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3165 (XXVIII) taking note of the recommendations of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held in Oslo in April 1973.

Among other things, the Assembly reiterated the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa. The Assembly also commended the proposals for a programme of action highlighted by the Conference to the attention of United Nations organs, the organizations within the United Nations system and OAU, as well as to the attention of Governments, non-governmental organizations and the public.

(For text of resolution 3165 (XXVIII), see page 676.)

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN UNITED NATIONS AND OAU

On 15 November 1973, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (3066 (XXVIII)) on the question of co-operation between the United Nations and OAU.

Among other things, the General Assembly recalled the urgent need to give effective assistance to the victims of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid resulting from political and criminal acts of repression by the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. It further reiterated the firm intention of the United Nations, in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the grave situation in southern Africa.

The Assembly requested the Secretary-General to take necessary action to strengthen 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, in this connexion, drew attention to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid established by OAU.

Further, the Assembly drew the attention of the Security Council to the need to take effective measures to associate OAU regularly with all the

Council's work concerning Africa, including the activities of its Committee on sanctions.

(For text of resolution 3066 (XXVIII), see p. 148.)

RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

On 30 November 1973, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3070 (XXVIII) 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.

Among other things, the Assembly thereby reaffirmed the inalienable right of all peoples under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation to self-determination, freedom and independence, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions. It also reaffirmed the legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, by all available means, including armed struggle. The Assembly called on all States to recognize that right and to assist the peoples struggling to achieve it.

The Assembly strongly condemned the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as all others which continued to disregard United Nations resolutions bearing on the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence. It further condemned the policies of those members of NATO and other countries which assisted Portugal and other racist régimes in their suppression of peoples' aspirations for, and enjoyment of, human rights.

The Assembly condemned all Governments which did not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of peoples, notably that of the peoples of Africa still under colonial domination and the Palestinian people. The Assembly expressed its appreciation for the efforts of Governments, United Nations agencies and inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations associated with the United Nations which had extended various forms of assistance to dependent territories, and it appealed to them to increase such assistance.

(For text of resolution 3070 (XXVIII), see page 547.)

FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

By still another decision, the Assembly set forth its views on the activities of foreign economic interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of indepen-

dence in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and territories under colonial domination.

Among other things, the Assembly was deeply disturbed by the increasingly intensified activities of foreign interests in the territories which, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, assisted Portugal and South Africa, as well as the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, and impeded the realization by the peoples of the territories of their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence.

The Assembly strongly 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, thereby producing international tension.

It reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of their territories, as well as their right to dispose of those resources in their best interests. It also reaffirmed that the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in the colonial territories of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, as well as in those under Portuguese domination, constituted a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those territories by the indigenous inhabitants.

The Assembly further declared that any administering power, by depriving the colonial peoples of the exercise of their rights or by subordinating them to foreign economic and financial interests, violated the obligations it had assumed under the United Nations Charter.

The General Assembly called upon those Governments which had not yet prevented their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from participating in the Cabora Bassa and the Cunene River Basin projects to take all the necessary measures to terminate this participation and to have them withdraw immediately from all activities related to the projects.

It called upon the colonial powers and the States concerned to take legislative, administrative

and other measures in respect of their nationals who owned and operated enterprises in colonial territories, particularly in Africa, which were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those territories, in order to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments that ran counter to the interests of the inhabitants.

It also requested all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to those régimes which used such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial territories and their national liberation movements.

These decisions were embodied in resolution 3117 (XXVIII), adopted on 12 December 1973.

(For text of resolution, see pp. 693-94.)

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa

Under the consolidated United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, 526 applications from territories under Portuguese administration were received during the period from 9 October 1972 to 21 November 1973. New awards granted numbered 100, and another 206 were extended.

As at 21 November 1973, a total of 306 scholarship-holders from Portuguese-administered territories were studying in 23 countries. (See pp. HI-43 for additional details and General Assembly decision on the Programme.)

Communications to Security Council

In a report dated 17 August 1973, the Secretary-General set forth the substantive parts of eight additional replies from Governments to his inquiry concerning action taken or envisaged by them in implementation of the Security Council's resolution of 4 February 1972,⁸ which called upon all States to refrain from assisting the Portuguese Government to continue its repression of the peoples of the Portuguese territories in Africa. The eight replies were those of Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Japan, Norway and Sweden.

⁸ See Y.U.N., 1972, pp. 88-89, text of resolution 312(1972).

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 895, 902, 903, 906, 911, 915-922, 929, 930, 947.

A/9023/Rev.1 Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1973), Chapters I, IV-VI and IX (Section B:

Decision of Special Committee of 22 June 1973 and consensus of 20 July 1973).

Consideration by General Assembly

GENERAL ASPECTS

General Assembly—28th session
General Committee, meeting 206.

Fourth Committee, meetings 2026-2036, 2055-2058, 2060.
Fifth Committee, meetings 1566, 1613.
Plenary meetings 2139, 2198.

A/9001. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1972-15 June 1973: Part One, Chapter IV I; Part Two, Chapter I B 3.

A/9002. Report of Security Council, 16 June 1972-15 June 1973, Chapter 5.

A/9023/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1973), Chapter IX.

A/9048. Letter of 15 February 1973 from Portugal.

A/9052. Review and appraisal of United Nations information policies and activities. Letter of 27 March 1973 from Portugal.

A/9053. Note verbale of 28 March 1973 from Portugal.

A/9061. Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. International Conference of Experts for Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa. Report of Secretary-General (transmitting report of International Conference of Experts, Oslo, Norway, 9-14 April 1973).

A/9062. Letter of 15 May 1973 from Spain.

A/9079. Letter of 18 June 1973 from Permanent Representative of Portugal to Secretary-General.

A/9085. Letter of 28 June 1973 from Secretary-General to Permanent Representative of Portugal.

A/9089. Letter of 12 July 1973 from Portugal.

A/9099. Letter of 20 July 1973 from Ghana.

A/9111. Letter of 24 July 1973 from Zambia.

A/9113. Note verbale of 30 July 1973 from Zambia (transmitting statement issued on 26 July 1973 by representatives of non-aligned countries at United Nations).

A/9132 and Add.1,2. Report of Secretary-General.

A/9174. Report of Fourth Committee.

A/9330 and Corr.1. Letter of 22 November 1973 from Algeria (transmitting documents of 4th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Algiers, Algeria, 5-9 September 1973).

A/9376. Letter of 29 November 1973 from Trinidad and Tobago.

A/C.4/759. Letter of 21 September 1973 from Chairman of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Committee.

A/C.4/760. Telegram of 27 September 1973 from Secretary-General of PAIGC to Chairman of Special Committee.

A/C.4/763. Letter of 8 October 1973 from Chairman of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Committee.

A/C.4/764. Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Request for hearing.

A/C.4/766. Letter of 17 October 1973 from Portugal to Chairman of Fourth Committee.

A/C.4/767. Letter of 2 November 1973 from Chairman of Special Committee to Chairman of Fourth Committee (transmitting communiqué of 25 October 1973 by FRELIMO).

A/C.4/768. Letter of 5 November 1973 from Portugal to Chairman of Fourth Committee.

A/C.4/L.1033, A/C.5/1529, A/9175. Administrative and financial implications of proposal recommended by Fourth Committee in A/9174. Statements by Secretary-General and report of Fifth Committee.

A/C.4/L.1034. Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait,

Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/C.4/L.1034/Rev.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: revised draft resolution.

A/C.4/L.1034/Rev.2. Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: revised draft resolution, as further amended by 2 powers, A/C.4/L.1036, approved by Fourth Committee on 9 November 1973, meeting 2057, by roll-call vote of 102 to 6, with 16 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, 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, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Brazil, France, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Germany (Federal Republic of), Guatemala, Honduras, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

A/C.4/L.1036. Equatorial Guinea and Libyan Arab Republic: amendment to 63-power revised draft resolution, A/C.4/L.1034/Rev.1.

A/9338. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution I.

Resolution 3113(XXVIII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/9338, adopted by Assembly on 12 December 1973, meeting 2198, by recorded vote of 105 to 8, with 16 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, 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, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, 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, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Germany (Federal Republic of), Guatemala, Honduras, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay.

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 views expressed by the representatives of the national liberation movements of the Territories concerned who participated as observers in the relevant proceedings of the Special Committee,

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

Having heard the statements of the representatives of the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, who participated in an observer capacity in the Fourth Committee's consideration of the item in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 2139th plenary meeting, on 3 October 1973,

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 domination adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Recalling, in particular, the provisions of its resolution 2918(XXVII) of 14 November 1972, and of Security Council resolution 322(1972) of 22 November 1972 in which the Government of Portugal was called upon, *inter alia*, to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that exists in the African Territories under its domination and permitting the peoples of those Territories to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence,

and deeply deploring the refusal of that Government to comply with those provisions,

Taking into consideration the programme of action adopted by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973,

Bearing in mind the Declaration on Territories under Portuguese Domination, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its tenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 29 May 1973,

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 by mercenaries from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia,

Condemning the repeated acts of aggression committed by the armed forces of Portugal against independent African States, which constitute a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States and seriously disturb international peace and security in the African continent, as reaffirmed in Security Council resolution 312(1972) of 4 February 1972,

Condemning any attempt by Portugal to place any of the facilities in the Territories under its domination at the disposal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or any of its members on a bilateral basis for military purposes,

Strongly deploring the policies of those States, particularly some of the military allies of Portugal, which, in defiance of repeated requests addressed to them by the United Nations, continue to provide Portugal with military and other assistance both within the context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and bilaterally, without which Portugal could not pursue its policies of colonial domination and oppression of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique,

Deeply disturbed by the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, are assisting Portugal in its colonial wars and obstructing the realization by the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination of their legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence,

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

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom being made by the national liberation movements in those Territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, particularly in the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique,

Noting also with satisfaction the intention of the Special Committee to send a visiting mission to the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola 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 by all ways and means at their disposal to achieve that right;

2. Reaffirms that the national liberation movements of Angola 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 special-

ized 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. Condemns in the strongest possible terms the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to comply with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, the intensified armed repression by Portugal of the peoples of the Territories under its domination, including the brutal massacre of villagers, the mass destruction of villages and property and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances, in order to stifle the legitimate aspirations of those peoples for freedom and independence;

4. Demands that the Government of Portugal should cease forthwith its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, withdraw its military and other forces and discontinue all practices which violate the inalienable rights of those populations, including the eviction from their homes and the regrouping of the African populations in aldeamentos and the settlement of foreign immigrants in the Territories;

5. Demands that the Government of Portugal treat the freedom fighters of Angola 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 that connexion invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to continue to maintain close contact with the liberation movements as parties to the conflict, to provide reports on conditions in prisoner-of-war camps and on the treatment of prisoners of war detained by Portugal and to make the necessary arrangements to secure the exchange of prisoners of war;

6. 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, Mozambique and other Territories under Portuguese domination, in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories, all the moral, material and economic assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the achievement of their inalienable right to freedom and independence;

7. Urges 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 and Mozambique, and to prevent the sale or supply of all arms and military materiel to Portugal, including civil aircraft, ships and other means of transport capable of being used for transporting military matériel and personnel, as well as supplies, equipment and materiel for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition that it uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa;

8. Appeals to all States to refrain from any collaboration with Portugal involving the use of any of the Territories under its domination for military purposes;

9. Calls upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures:

(a) To put an end to any activities that help to exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein;

(b) To discourage their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contribute to Portugal's domination over those Territories;

(c) To exclude Portugal from taking part on behalf of

Angola and Mozambique in any bilateral or multilateral treaties or agreements relating particularly to external trade in the products of those Territories;

10. Draws the attention of the Security Council, having regard to the explosive situation resulting from the policies of Portugal in the colonial Territories under its domination and from its constant provocations against the independent African States bordering those Territories, and in the light of the outright disregard by Portugal of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Council resolutions 312(1972) and 322(1972), to the urgent need for taking, as a matter of priority, 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 United Nations;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session;

12. Invites the Secretary-General, bearing in mind the urgent need for mobilizing world public opinion against the criminal war of repression being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peoples of the Territories under its domination, to continue to take effective and concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give widespread and continuous publicity to the critical situation obtaining in those Territories and the heroic struggle of their peoples towards freedom and independence;

13. Decides to keep the situation in these Territories under continuous review and to include in the agenda of its twenty-ninth session an item entitled "Question of Territories under Portuguese domination."

A/C.4/L.1035. Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden: draft resolution, approved by Fourth Committee on 9 November 1973, meeting 2057, by roll-call vote of 103 to 3, with 16 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, Spain, United States.

Abstaining: Bolivia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Congo, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Hungary, Mali, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Kingdom.

A/C.4/L.1037, A/C.5/1553 and Corr.1, A/9008/Add.13, A/9433. Administrative and financial implications of

draft resolution II recommended by Fourth Committee in A/9338. Statements by Secretary-General and reports of Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and Fifth Committee.

A/9338. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

Resolution 3114(XXVIII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/9338, adopted by Assembly on 12 December 1973, meeting 2198, by recorded vote of 109 to 4, with 12 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Congo, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Hungary, Mongolia, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Kingdom.

The General Assembly,
Deeply disturbed by the reported massacres in Mozambique,

Recalling the consensus adopted on 20 July 1973 by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in which the Special Committee stressed that the Government of Portugal must allow a thorough and impartial investigation of the reported atrocities,

Convinced of the urgent need for such an international investigation,

1. Decides to establish a representative Commission of Inquiry on the Reported Massacres in Mozambique, consisting of five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly after due consultation with Member States;

2. Instructs the Commission of Inquiry to carry out an investigation of the reported atrocities, to gather information from all relevant sources, to solicit the co-operation and assistance of the national liberation movement and to report its findings to the General Assembly as soon as possible;

3. Requests the Government of Portugal to co-operate with the Commission of Inquiry and to grant it all necessary facilities to enable it to carry out its mandate.

A/9496. Letter of 5 March 1974 from President of General Assembly to secretary-general.

A/9030. Resolutions adopted by General Assembly during its 28th session, Vol. I, 18 September-18 December 1973. Other decisions, p. 111, first paragraph.

CREDENTIALS

General Assembly—28th session
Credentials Committee, meeting 60.
Plenary meetings 2117, 2200, 2204.

A/9179/Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1. Second report of Credentials Committee, sections III and IV and annex.

A/9179/Add.1, para. 29: Draft resolution, proposed by Committee Chairman, approved by Committee on 11 December 1973, meeting 60, by 5 votes to 4.

A/L.720. Congo, Guinea, Madagascar, Senegal, United Republic of Tanzania: amendment to draft resolution recommended by Credentials Committee in A/9179/Add.1.

A/L.720/Rev.1. Congo, Guinea, Madagascar, Senegal, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania: revised amendment to draft resolution recommended by Credentials Committee in A/9179/Add.1, adopted by Assembly on 17 December 1973, meeting 2204, by recorded vote of 93 to 14, with 21 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, 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: Bolivia, Canada, Costa Rica, Greece, Honduras, Israel, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Germany (Federal Republic of), Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Khmer Republic, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Paraguay, Peru, Turkey, Venezuela.

Resolution 3181(XXVIII), as proposed by Credentials Committee, A/9179/Add.1, and as amended by 6 powers, A/L.720/Rev.1, adopted by Assembly on 17 December 1973, by 108 votes to 0, with 9 abstentions.

The General Assembly

I

Approves the credentials of the representatives of Portugal, on the clear understanding that they represent Portugal as it exists within its frontiers in Europe and that they do not represent the Portuguese-dominated Territories of Angola and Mozambique nor could they represent Guinea-Bissau, which is an independent State;

Approves the second report of the Credentials Committee.

Communications to Security Council

S/10734/Add.1. Report dated 17 August 1973, by Secretary-General on implementation of Security Council resolution 312(1972).

Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories

S/10960. Letter of 25 June 1973 from Chairman of Special Committee to President of Security Council (transmitting text of resolution adopted by Special Committee on 22 June 1973, meeting 921).

S/11211. Letter of 1 February 1974 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council.

text of Assembly resolution 3113(XXVIII) of 12 December 1973).