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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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

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

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 22 November 1972, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1677/Rev.1)

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

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

The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration:

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decision taken by the Security Council at its 1672nd, 1673rd and 1674th meetings, I invite the representatives of Burundi, Ethiopia, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Uganda, Morocco and Cuba to participate in the debate on the item before the Council without the right to vote.

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

At the invitation of the President, Mr. N. Terence (Burundi), Mr. Z. Gabre-Sellassie (Ethiopia), Mr. N. Barnes (Liberia), Mr. B. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. E. Ogbu (Nigeria), Mr. I. Taylor-Kamara (Sierra Leone), Mr. S. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. R. Driss (Tunisia), Mr. J. Baroodi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. G. Ibingira (Uganda), Mr. M. Zentar (Morocco) and Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba) took the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber.

3. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Madam President, it gives the delegation of Panama much satisfaction to associate itself with those delegations that have already expressed their congratulations on seeing you exercise the presidency of the highest organ in the United Nations. This is a tribute to your country, to yourself and to the African woman, who deserves our highest appreciation and admiration. We should also like to pay a tribute to the Ambassador of France, who, with such skill and diplomatic tact, conducted our proceedings during the month of October.

4. Proceeding now to the item under discussion, we should like to say that, as always, our firm anti-colonialist position places us invariably at the side of peoples struggling for their liberation. Colonialism, no matter how it may camouflage its nature, is an anachronism which it is the duty of the United Nations to eradicate.

5. The picture which confronts us calls for prompt action. The declarations that have been made here and the reports available to us counsel this. We believe that the intervention of the world community is becoming more and more urgent in order to spare both Portugal and important sections of the African people irreparable harm. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Liberia and Sierra Leone and the three representatives of the African peoples struggling for their independence have spoken here in conciliatory terms. They did not come here to proclaim a war of extermination but rather to request the mediation of the United Nations so that Portugal should enter into peaceful negotiations which would enable the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique to enjoy self-determination.

6. As the representative of Belgium has said, the time has come for Portugal to follow the example of other European

Powers, including Belgium, which, in accordance with the spirit of the times, decided to agree to the independence of their colonies. A peaceful settlement would be of positive benefit not only to the African peoples which are today subject to the colonial yoke, but also to Portugal itself.

7. Once its colonies had attained independence, Portugal could treat them as equals. Certainly such treatment will be much more positive and fruitful. The link between men who are equals produces better results than the degrading relationship between master and vassal. The firm relations that Spain maintains with the countries that were once its colonies in Spanish America provide the best example of what Portugal can achieve with its African colonies if it enters into high-level negotiations in time. To say that the African Territories are not colonies but rather "overseas provinces" is an artifice that does not convince anyone; it reminds me of a United States congressman who once put forward the strange thesis that the Panama Canal Zone was part of the coastline of the United States, and I can assure members that that gentleman claimed to be in his right mind.

8. We must acknowledge that the fight for liberation cannot be stopped by anyone; far removed from our time is the thesis that the grandeur of a country can be measured by the extent of its colonial empire. Mercantilism has been left behind once and for all and is beyond recall. We live in an era of co-operation, not domination. The progress of peoples towards their complete liberation is an irreversible fact. The white man's claim concerning a mission of civilization, evangelism and paternalism is a tale that no one believes any longer.

9. For the reasons I have given, the draft resolution in document S/10838/Rev.1 seems to us to be well conceived. In essence it calls upon the Government of Portugal to enter into negotiations with a view to granting independence to the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique.

10. We consider that it is perfectly within the framework of the competence of the United Nations to take decisions that lead to negotiations. There is no more appropriate approach than this to avoid suffering, anguish and despair for those peoples and also to spare Portugal. Yes, gentlemen, we would also spare Portugal, which today finds itself involved in a long and costly war which is swallowing up tremendous economic resources and human lives. Wars are always unpopular, in the modern era much more than ever. Portugal, for that same reason, may soon find itself confronting a very difficult domestic situation.

11. One of the basic postulates which gives life to the United Nations is that of the "peaceful settlement of disputes", and there could be no better opportunity than the present one to put that principle into practice.

12. In operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution contained in document S/10839, it is suggested that a special committee of the Security Council be set up to investigate whether NATO supplies are being directed to the colonial war. It seems to us that this would be tantamount to setting up a watchdog committee of very

relative effectiveness. What would be more realistic and positive, and more in accord with the purposes of the United Nations would be for that committee to be entrusted with the task of promoting the contacts and negotiations with Portugal so that, by all peaceful means, the African colonies could achieve their complete independence. It would be a United Nations committee which would carry out mandates coming to it from the San Francisco Charter, from General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and from the International Covenants on Human Rights of 1967.

13. My delegation hopes that in conjunction with these negotiations Portugal could come to the point of recognizing the just aspirations of the African peoples.

14. In conclusion, we reaffirm our unreservedly affirmative vote in favour of the draft resolution in document S/10838/Rev.1. With respect to draft resolution S/10839, we should prefer to see that text withdrawn or its submission postponed. The direct references made to the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization may well deprive the draft resolution of support. To call upon the members of NATO to withdraw from commitments that they have entered into with Portugal seems to us somewhat Utopian. We want to emphasize that we are saying this in the hope that effective measures will be taken which will lead us to effective solutions, and not because we ourselves have any difficulty with this draft resolution. If it is put to the vote, we will vote in favour of it, despite the objections we have raised.

15. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Panama for the tribute he has paid to African women, to my country and to me.

16. Mr. SEN (India): Madam President, in offering you our warmest and sincerest congratulations on being the President of the Council for the month of November, I cannot say that your elevation to this office has come as any surprise to us. I come from a country where women have always held some of the highest positions and commanded deep respect. I recall a statement by Mrs. Indira Gandhi at Columbia University two years ago: she said that only when she was outside her country did people want to know how it felt as a woman to be the Prime Minister of a country like India. She added that that question had never been asked of her by anyone in India. For nearly 27 years—or ever since the Council was established—there had been no woman President of the Council. Madam, your own qualities and capacities make up to a great extent for that omission. You can always depend on the Indian delegation for its fullest co-operation in your work.

17. It simply remains for me to record our appreciation once again of the outgoing President, Mr. de Guiringaud, Ambassador of France, for his skill and devotion in finding solutions to some of the problems which we faced last month.

18. Turning to our business at hand, it seems to us that since the Council debated the problem of the Portuguese

colonies in Africa a few months ago in Addis Ababa, no change of a fundamental nature has been noticeable. This is not to say, however, that new developments have not taken place. Only recently we discussed in the Council Senegal's complaint against Portugal, which emphasized that Portuguese aggression continues, not only in the colonies but also in the neighbouring territories. The current discussions both in the General Assembly, in plenary meeting and in the Fourth Committee have brought about a new sense of urgency. The admission to the Fourth Committee of representatives of liberation movements as observers ensures that the voice of the people of those colonial Territories will be heard in all the appropriate forums of the United Nations.

19. The statement of Mr. Cabral of PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde)¹ has given us a new insight into the difficulties of Guinea (Bissau). While these debates and discussions have not broken any new ground, they do indicate in a vivid manner the gathering strength in support of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. It is in this context that we are most grateful to have heard the careful analysis prepared by the Foreign Ministers of Sierra Leone and of Liberia, by the representatives of the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), and by several other African representatives. Their statements not only have brought us up to date on the situation in the Portuguese colonies but have emphasized the need for urgent action. However, it is regrettably true that we are in a vice: on the one hand we have the veto, and on the other hand we have a complete lack of co-operation from Portugal.

20. In this situation our views remain unchanged. Briefly and finally, we have to depend on the freedom movements in those colonies rather than on any change of heart in Portugal itself. In keeping with this attitude we have urged, and emphasize once more, that the United Nations should declare those colonies as independent countries and that Portugal has no legal authority in them. We have repeatedly held that the Portuguese presence in those Territories is a form of aggression, and that whatever means are adopted for removing Portuguese presence from those Territories are both legitimate and moral.

21. In our willingness and readiness to help the liberation movements in those Territories we shall continue to be guided primarily by the wishes of the African countries, particularly of the Organization of African Unity.

22. Much has been said about the supply of arms to Portugal. We have noted with interest that several countries supplying arms to Portugal have tried to ensure that those arms not be used in the colonies. But, as many speakers have pointed out, this supply of arms to Portugal, despite the restrictions, does in fact release Portuguese resources for carrying out oppression and repression in the colonies, and thus helps Portugal to deny the right to independence to the people of its Territories.

23. In our view, any form of assistance—military or economic, direct or indirect—given to Portugal is certain to increase Portugal's capacity for carrying out wars in African Territories, not only in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) but also in the countries bordering those areas. We strongly feel that all forms of assistance to Portugal should be suspended. The supply of arms should be controlled and licensed. Further, we would recommend investigation in Portugal itself to ensure that arms supplied to it are not exported. Those countries which supply arms to Portugal have already undertaken and given assurances that they would be the first to cut off the supply of arms to Portugal if any breaches were in fact committed. Therefore, we feel that there should be no objection to suggesting investigation in Portugal itself to ensure that these conditions are actually being fulfilled.

24. We know that South Africa and Zimbabwe will continue to help Portugal, and it is because of this important factor that we have suggested, time and again, that complete and comprehensive sanctions should be imposed against South Africa, Zimbabwe and Portugal. This may not be acceptable to the Council, but without such drastic sanctions we do not see much possibility of arriving at any peaceful solution.

25. Meanwhile, much has been said—with logic and sincerity, I concede—about the need for negotiations between Portugal and the liberation movements. We continue to believe that methods of negotiation and conciliation are to be pursued to the utmost; but at the same time we cannot ignore our own experience in dealing with the Portuguese: for 12 or more years we in India waited patiently for negotiations with Portugal and had no response whatsoever. I should like to emphasize this fact for the benefit of all our African colleagues and many others. Given this background, we do not see much prospect of a negotiated settlement with Portugal.

26. Secondly, the question would arise over the subject matter of negotiations. We do not think that the question of independence can or should be negotiated. What can be negotiated is its timing and its method of achievement. While the need for negotiations has been advocated, we would hope that, in spite of our experience, they would produce results. We are glad to note that substantial territories have already been liberated, and that administrative structures for economic and social development have been established under the control of peoples' representatives. This has been confirmed by the Special Mission of the Committee of Twenty-Four² on Guinea (Bissau) and by several statements we have been privileged to hear. We think these gains will produce a situation in which the liberation movements would be in a strong negotiating position.

27. We have also heard with satisfaction that several countries of Western Europe are prepared to influence Portugal to change its disastrous course. We wish them

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th meeting.*

² Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; for the report of the Special Mission, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23, vol. III, chap. X, annex I.*

success, but if experience is any guide, we do not entertain much hope that the Portuguese authorities will listen to them. The three evils which we regularly and understandably face in the Council are all related to colonialism, mainly of Portugal, minority régimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe and *apartheid* of various kinds and degrees, in spite of all the sophisticated statements we have heard, in the whole of South Africa, Namibia, the Portuguese colonies and in Zimbabwe.

28. Our attitude to the draft resolutions before us will be determined by the considerations I have set forth in this brief statement. We shall support the draft resolutions in the hope that the steps the Council is urged to undertake will bring about some change in the outlook and attitude of the Government of Portugal. However, we should make it clear, beyond any shadow of doubt, that should these measures fail—and the objective indications are that they will fail—then we would be prepared for much more determined action by the Council. Meanwhile, we would continue to co-operate fully with the liberation movements in their struggle and in their sacrifices, to achieve independence for their countries and to throw off the shackles of colonialism which has exploited their resources and placed an intolerable burden of humiliation and degradation for so long, and in so tragic a manner.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of India for the tribute paid through me to the women of the whole world.

30. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): Madam President, first of all, let me congratulate you on your assumption of the high office of the Presidency of the Security Council. As the first lady ever to preside over this august body, you have fully proved your eminence and leadership by the excellent manner in which you have guided our discussions during the past several meetings. I wish to pledge to you the whole-hearted co-operation of my delegation. May I also convey my congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. de Guiringaud, representative of France, for the brilliant and efficient manner in which he discharged his task of President of the Council during the month of October.

31. Turning to the question now on our agenda, my delegation wishes to recapitulate briefly at the outset the basic position of the Government of Japan on the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration.

32. As has been repeatedly made clear on a number of occasions, my country entertains profound sympathy for the aspirations of the peoples of those Territories and has a full understanding of the sincere endeavours which they have been making towards the goal of achieving self-determination. Japan will continue, as in the past, to support the undeniable principle of self-determination which underlies the struggle of the peoples of those Territories.

33. It is also the repeatedly expressed hope of my country that the Government of Portugal will recognize the force of world public opinion and will realize the necessity and the wisdom of acknowledging the right to self-determination of the peoples in the Territories and will adopt, just as other

Western countries have done, the steps necessary to lead them to independence.

34. My delegation has listened very carefully to the statements made by previous speakers including the representatives of PAIGC, FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) and MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Moçambique). We have also studied very carefully various developments related to the question on our agenda during the past 10 months.

35. It is recalled in this connexion that at the Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa in February this year Mr. Amílcar Cabral expressed, at the 1632nd meeting, the readiness of PAIGC to enter into negotiations with the Government of Portugal at any time. His statement in the Fourth Committee on 16 October during the current session of the General Assembly confirmed this readiness of PAIGC for negotiations. Furthermore, it was only a few days ago at this Council that we heard Mr. Gil Fernandes reconfirm the position of PAIGC when he said:

"We are addressing this body again because we want to help to find a solution to this absurd war. Do we have to destroy Bissau and Bafata and other towns to get the Portuguese out? We hope not. We sincerely hope that this Council will offer us and the Portuguese some other alternative." [1673rd meeting, para. 188].

36. My delegation trusts that such a repeated manifestation of readiness for negotiation is really and truly a genuine reflection of the wishes of the people of Guinea (Bissau). We also trust that such wishes are equally shared by the peoples of Angola and Mozambique as well. My delegation naturally welcomes such manifestation of readiness for negotiations since it is the well-expounded position of my Government that all peaceful means should be fully explored in bringing about a settlement to this long-standing and complicated question.

37. After many years' absence, Portugal participated in the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly and the Foreign Minister of Portugal stated that "Portugal does not reject the principle of self-determination".³ It is an encouraging development and my delegation earnestly hopes that in the not distant future a dialogue will be started between the Government of Portugal and the African peoples concerned. We welcome any initiatives for the realization of such a dialogue. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution in document S/10838/Rev.1 which has been submitted by Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan.

38. With regard to draft resolution S/10839 my delegation seriously doubts whether it will help to create an atmosphere conducive to the opening of a dialogue envisaged in draft resolution S/10838/Rev.1. My delegation will therefore abstain in the voting on that draft resolution.

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Japan for the kind words that he has addressed to me.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2048th meeting, para. 42.

40. Mr. NUR EIMI (Somalia): I am speaking simply to introduce some additional amendments to the first draft resolution [S/10838/Rev.1].

41. Following the consultations which took place this afternoon among members of the Council, it has been agreed to amend that draft resolution as follows:

42. In the seventh preambular paragraph, the word "conflict" would be replaced by the word "confrontation".

43. Operative paragraph 2 would read as follows:

"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;"

44. Operative paragraph 3 would read as follows:

"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 which 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;"

45. Finally, because we are not pressing for a vote on the second draft resolution [S/10839], at this stage, we should like to add to the first draft an additional operative paragraph, which would be paragraph 5; it would read as follows:

"Decides to remain actively seized of this matter."

46. I should like to state that these amendments have been accepted by the sponsors of the draft resolution, but that acceptance does not necessarily mean that we are satisfied with them, but rather that, realizing the political realities and differences of opinion among the members of the Council, we had no other alternative than to agree to this more flexible, but unsatisfactory, draft resolution.

47. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, others here and elsewhere have said that your accession to the presidency of the Security Council at the beginning of this month was an event in the history of the Organization. After a week of discussions held under your authority during, before and after the meetings, we are in a better position to realize how greatly the Council has benefited from your presence among us. We have learnt to appreciate your gracious persistence in the quest for solutions acceptable to all and your concern to set aside prejudice and bias in order to reach concrete results.

48. You have thus given my delegation additional reason to welcome the accession to the presidency of the Security Council of the Ambassador of a country which has had such close links with France, of which much clearly remains if only, Madam President, in the mastery, ease and grace with which you handle our common language.

49. Thanks to the accident of alphabetical order, I immediately preceded you, Madam President, in the presidency of the Security Council. To the traditional praises of your predecessor, you were good enough to add a friendliness and a warmth for which, you may rest assured, I was particularly appreciative. I should also like to thank all those of my colleagues who were good enough to address kind words to me concerning my role as President last month. Their understanding and unfailing indulgence made matters considerably easier for me.

50. I should also like to express my gratitude to the many speakers who in their statements referred favourably to the work of decolonization carried out by France under the high authority of General de Gaulle.

51. Over the past few years scarcely six months have passed without the Council having to consider the problem of the Portuguese Territories, sometimes because of complaints from Member States following the violation of frontiers and sometimes we have been invited to debate the question as a whole on the initiative of African delegations.

52. The events which gave rise to these meetings were unquestionably of widely differing importance, and some were hardly sufficient to justify the convening of the principal organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security. The fact remains that repeated debates concerning the same part of the world testify beyond any possible doubt to the deterioration of the situation in that region. Concern in certain quarters may sometimes seem excessive, but it is rarely without any foundation.

53. By holding one debate after another without result and by adopting resolution after resolution, the General Assembly and the Security Council have, one must recognize, unfortunately also demonstrated that they had not always taken the right course. Responsibility for the failure cannot, of course, be laid entirely at their door, but neither does it rest solely with the administering Power.

54. This time it would seem that there is agreement in the Council to set a double objective: on the one hand, to put an end to armed confrontation; on the other, to make possible the peaceful and rapid accession of the peoples concerned to self-determination.

55. In the process which leads to self-determination, the administering Power has, of course, the main role to play, and any proposal which ignored this common sense finding would be doomed to failure. The history of decolonization amply confirms this. The Council would be in danger of going astray if, in its resolutions, it should seek, through a trick of drafting, to deny Portugal the place and the responsibilities to which it is entitled in the process in which we are inviting it to participate.

56. Whatever may be said about it, Portugal has also done civilizing work in those Territories where its flag has flown for several centuries. But times have changed and the time has come for the peoples of those Territories, with the necessary transitions, to receive the right to take into their own hands the determination of their destiny. Some claim

that right on behalf of those people, some whose culture and talents testify to the Lusitanian heritage and to the progress achieved by at least part of the peoples concerned.

57. The work of which Portugal claims to be proud, however, could not be better accomplished than in friendly co-operation which could be continued with the peoples currently under its administration. But for that it is essential that the fighting cease and that dialogue be initiated, that armed confrontation give way to co-operation among men, to carry on the only fight worthy of our age, the fight to achieve development. Its whole glorious history founded on adventure and the courageous quest for unknown horizons should, it seems to us, incite the Portuguese people resolutely to take this new road, where its gifts of adaptation to the most diverse climates and societies, its lack of caste or race prejudice and its astonishing gift for assimilation should help it to preserve the deep-rooted friendships for which it need have no fear in the course of inevitable change.

58. In any case, the administering Power has no alternative but to start the open-ended dialogue with these populations which will mark the beginning of the process.

59. It is the wisdom of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/10838/Rev.1 that they have focused their attention precisely on these two points: reaffirmation of the inalienable right of the peoples to self-determination, and the necessity to put an end to military or repressive operations as soon as possible, so that peaceful methods of negotiation may begin. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the sponsors on having engaged in consultation with other members of the Council and on having accepted several amendments, which we hope will secure for their draft resolution approbation on a scale which will give the text exceptional authority. We hope that this appeal for negotiations, which is the essential point of the draft resolution will be heeded. In recent weeks we have noted in certain statements and certain letters from the Portuguese authorities signs of a movement towards constructive discussions on the subject of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. We hope that the door thus opened will not be closed again.

60. We also have no doubt that the Secretary-General, who, in the language of the draft, is requested "to follow developments in the situation and to report periodically to the Security Council", will be able to make a positive contribution to the quest for a solution.

61. My delegation must indicate here that, although we support the draft resolution as a whole, we nevertheless have very serious reservations about some of its provisions. This applies in particular to references to resolutions that my delegation did not vote for or bodies whose establishment it did not approve. We should also like to state that the situation we are dealing with today is not among those referred to in Chapter VII of the Charter. Finally, we would recall that, no matter how fruitful co-operation between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations may be, the decisions of the one can in no way be binding on the other. With these reservations, we are ready to lend

our support to the draft resolution in document S/10838/Rev.1.

62. It will surprise nobody if I add that we shall not be able to vote for the draft resolution in document S/10839.

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of France for his kind and very encouraging words about me and my country.

64. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Madam President, my colleagues have complimented you already on your assumption of the presidency of the Council, both as representative of your country and as the first woman to hold the post. They have done so in terms much more elegant than I can hope to emulate, but I have much pleasure in associating myself with all that they have said in welcoming you to this office. I should also like to associate myself with the encomiums that have been addressed to our past President, the French Ambassador, to whose skill in handling our operations we all pay tribute.

65. I should now like to speak in explanation of the vote that my delegation will be casting. Throughout the course of this debate the principal theme of many speakers has been that the Security Council should now use its influence to bring about the end of strife and bloodshed in the Portuguese Territories in Africa and to create conditions in which dialogue and negotiation can replace deadlock and confrontation. My delegation welcomes this theme. As we have had occasion to say in this Council in many discussions on all manner of questions, not only on African matters, our task here is always and continuously to search for means to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes; to search for conciliation, for compromise, and not to bog down in the sterile wastes of confrontation.

66. Throughout the informal consultations which preceded the withdrawal of the initial draft resolution contained in S/10834 and the tabling of the draft in S/10838/Rev.1, my delegation was at pains to ask continually what was the objective of this meeting of the Security Council. Was it aimed at negotiation or at confrontation? Both could not be pursued simultaneously. I was glad to be assured that the primary purpose was indeed negotiation, and I have been glad to see this approach reflected in the manner in which the sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/10838/Rev.1 have been prepared to make amendments in a spirit of conciliation. There is thus, I think, now a wide measure of agreement on the constructive action that can be taken by this Council.

67. My delegation has on numerous occasions reaffirmed the right of the people of the Portuguese Territories in Africa to self-determination and has expressed the hope that we shall be able to hear from the Government of Portugal that progress has been made towards that goal. As we have pointed out in the course of consultations on the draft resolution, there are indications that the Government of Portugal may be ready to move from the position on its African provinces to which it has adhered for several years. The most recent communication from the representative of Portugal [S/10837], which in its turn emphasizes negotia-

tion and pledges co-operation with the United Nations, may be seen as part of this same evolutionary process. My delegation is therefore not unhopeful that there may now be a positive response from the Government of Portugal.

68. Having said that, I should point out that my delegation nevertheless has certain difficulties with the draft resolution on which we are about to vote. The third preambular paragraph recalls a resolution which we were obliged to vote against, for the reasons given at that time by our representative on the Fourth Committee. Operative paragraph 1 refers to the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of the Territories for their right to self-determination and independence. We would have preferred it to have made explicit that this struggle should be pursued only by peaceful means and in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. We regard operative paragraph 2 as somewhat one-sided, and we consider that the appeal which it contains should have been addressed to all parties concerned, including the liberation movements, calling on them to abandon the use of force for the path of negotiation. Unless this call for restraint is in fact heeded by all parties, it appears to my delegation inevitable that the administering Power may find itself obliged to exercise its responsibilities with regard to the maintenance of law and order. My delegation agrees, of course, that the peoples of the Portuguese Territories should, if it is their wish, be enabled to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, and that the Government of Portugal, in accordance with Chapter XI of the Charter, has the responsibility to lead its dependent peoples towards that goal.

69. At the same time, and against the background of our own considerable experience of decolonization, it is the view of my Government that it is for the administering Power and not the Security Council, or, in the case of resolution 2918 (XXVII), the General Assembly, to determine the modalities through which self-determination is brought about. Nevertheless, my delegation is in full agreement with the principle of steady advance by negotiation that underlies this draft, and we hope that it will make a positive contribution towards resolving the situation in the Portuguese Territories in Africa. We shall accordingly vote in favour of draft resolution S/10838/Rev.1, with the amendments that have just been introduced by the representative of Somalia.

70. My delegation feels obliged to refer to the allegations which have been made in the course of the debate about NATO support for Portuguese policies in Africa. This is a continuing refrain, and it is almost as though those who use it believe that by constant repetition it will come true. It will not. I have dealt with this point on several earlier occasions but I will take this opportunity to state once again that NATO is a defensive alliance dedicated to preserving the freedom and independence of the countries which belong to the alliance in the NATO area. That area does not include any part of the African continent. NATO has no responsibility for the defence of Portuguese overseas territories. NATO as such does not supply arms or military aid to Portugal, and any arms supplied to that Government are supplied on a bilateral basis.

71. As for my own Government, for whom my delegation alone can speak, I should recall that as long ago as 31 July 1963, in this chamber, Sir Patrick Dean said: "We do not supply arms to Portugal for use in its overseas territories and we shall not do so." [1049th meeting, para. 46.] There has been no change in our position since that time, and no evidence has been produced that any arms supplied by my Government have been employed in the overseas territories.

72. Finally, I am glad to hear that the draft resolution in document S/10839 is not being pressed. This represented an entirely different approach to the problem which could only have led to the prolongation of deadlock, and confrontation, and for this and other reasons would have given my delegation great difficulties.

73. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he has addressed to me.

74. There are no more speakers on my list. If no representative wishes to speak at this stage, I would propose that the Council proceed to a vote on the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, appearing in document S/10838/Rev.1, as orally modified.

75. As the sponsors have announced that they will not insist on a vote on the draft resolution in document S/10839, that draft will not be put to a vote.

76. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): The United States delegation will explain its vote after the vote has been taken. I would, however, like to ask the indulgence of this Council on one point. Before I do so, let me say that we have been tremendously impressed by the spirit of co-operation shown by many countries here, particularly the sponsors. They have recognized the sensitivity and the difficulties involved in this draft resolution. There is, however, one particular paragraph that causes us concern, in spite of the concessions and in spite of the attitude of moderation that prevailed, principally on the part of the sponsors. I think that in considering a draft resolution of such gravity, if the resolution is going to mean anything, it would be useful to let each country put its own emphasis, its own imprint on it through the separate voting procedure provided for under the rules. I recognized at the beginning of this statement that there has been a great deal of compromise, a great deal of understanding, and again I wish to pay my respects to those who have approached this difficult problem in such a constructive spirit. But I would like to say that we feel strongly about this because of certain reservations that we have on one particular part of the draft resolution. I will elaborate on this after the vote. To those with whom we have had extensive consultations we have made known our view that it would be much more meaningful in terms of progress, in terms of action, in terms of having something happen as a result of the resolution, if we could have a separate vote on that particular operative paragraph. I would therefore ask, under rule 32 of the provisional rules of procedure—and this will not delay the proceedings of the Council very much—that we have a separate vote on that one paragraph. The rule clearly states that parts of a draft resolution should be voted on

separately at the request of any member, unless of course, the original sponsor objects. We would therefore appeal to the original sponsors to be considerate of us, as they have in all our negotiations and consultations, and I would ask that at this point there be a separate vote on that one operative paragraph only, so the imprint, the depth of reservation we have on this operative paragraph 2 will be expressed in open voting.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): A separate vote has been requested by the representative of the United States.

78. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): I have listened carefully to the statement of the representative of the United States, Mr. Bush, and I appreciate what he has said. We realize that it is not always easy to accommodate different views. But as Mr. Bush himself has been kind enough to recognize, we have all come a long way during our consultations. I have had further consultations with some members of the delegation of the United States, with the sponsors of the draft resolution, and with other members from the African States represented here who have been mandated by the Organization of African Unity to follow closely the development of the situation prevailing in the Territories under Portuguese domination in Africa; and although we deeply appreciate the reasons that moved Mr. Bush and his delegation to ask for a separate vote, we deeply regret that because of the importance we attach to operative paragraph 2, this is one of the times when we cannot allow them, or any of the members around this table, a separate vote on operative paragraph 2. We regret this, but we cannot agree to it.

79. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I would like to ask the Chair to rule as to whether there can be a separate vote, or whether, under the rules, it is clear that if the sponsor objects, that is sufficient to rule out a separate vote.

80. We do not want to be contentious, but I do want to indicate that the United States feels very strongly about this. We accept the representative of Somalia's logic, but we request that he reconsider.

81. I should like to ask whether under the rules the objection by the sponsor is all that is required, or whether we can have a vote to see whether we shall have a separate vote.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Under rule 32 of the rules of procedure, if the sponsors are opposed to a separate vote, I believe it is the President's duty to put the draft resolution to a vote.

83. I now put to the vote draft resolution S/10838/Rev.1, as orally modified.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.⁴

⁴ See resolution 322 (1972).

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the United States has asked for the floor to explain his vote after the vote and I now call on him.

85. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Madam President, at the beginning let me depart from a position that the United States normally takes—namely, that in order to speed things up and rationalize our procedures, we should as a rule forgo congratulatory language, especially when, as is sometimes the case, it lacks feeling. Indeed, there are times when Presidents of the Security Council never preside at all and yet they are congratulated on the great job they did. But the justified tributes to you have not lacked feeling, and the sincere tribute that the United States pays to you today is for us the very happy exception that proves the rule. We congratulate you, Madam President, not just as the first lady President of the Security Council, but because of your skill. This is of course a tribute to you, but it is, I think, more a tribute to your country, to Africa, and to skilled, professional women all over the world.

86. In deciding how we were going to vote on the draft resolution that has just been adopted, the United States delegation considered it thoroughly, and as I indicated in raising our procedural question earlier, we were privileged to be able to consult widely on that text. I want to express our appreciation to our colleagues, particularly those from the African countries, for their willingness to take into account our views and the views of others on the contents of the resolution.

87. It has become commonplace in United Nations resolutions, whether in the General Assembly or in the Security Council or in other organs, to refer to the "right to self-determination and independence". This resolution, in paragraphs 1 and 3, contains that phrase. I wish to express—as I have so often done in the past—our understanding as to its use. In the exercise of self-determination, independence is certainly one of the options open to the peoples of the area concerned, but it is not the only one. I can enumerate the alternatives no better than as they are listed in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), clearly states:

"The establishment of a sovereign and independent State . . . or the emergence into any other political status freely determined by a people constitute modes of implementing the right of self-determination by that people."

88. The United States strongly supports that definition, and in voting for any draft resolution containing the phrase "self-determination and independence" the United States interpretation is that independence is one—but, as I indicated earlier, only one—valid option in the total exercise of self-determination.

89. We welcomed the change made in paragraph 2 of the resolution, but as I indicated earlier we still had—and we continue to have—strong reservations about the implied condemnatory language in that paragraph, which would

have led us, had the sponsors agreed to a separate vote, to abstain on that particular paragraph. Under international law, sovereignty over the Portuguese Territories is vested in the State of Portugal. We recognize Portuguese sovereignty, even while we continually urge Portugal, as we do, to permit the exercise of self-determination in these Territories. Therefore, the United States does not interpret the term "acts of repression" as referring to specific acts or allegations which have yet to be proved. That was what we felt it was very important to get on record through the requested separate vote.

90. Turning now to paragraph 3, we note that in various consultations this paragraph has gone through different formulations in order to find one acceptable to all members of the Council. During the course of our consultations it was clearly understood by all that our common purpose was to achieve a resolution which could help lead to negotiations. Everybody seemed to have this as a matrix, a common ground if you will, in these consultations. This certainly is the strongly held view of the United States, and therefore we oppose any language which would appear to limit or circumscribe the possibility of negotiation, which could lead any party concerned to refuse to negotiate for whatever reason.

91. Having said that, I would indeed like to express our pleasure at having been able to vote for this resolution, which we hope will be a constructive step towards the solution of this very difficult problem of the Portuguese Territories. We urge all those interested in achieving such a solution to exercise understanding, patience, and goodwill during what we hope will be a fruitful effort toward that end.

92. In conclusion, let me assure the Council that we have no rancour about the decision of the representative of Somalia. We wish it had been different because again we would reiterate that the legal aspects of this resolution are terribly important. The imprint of each country, not just mine, is most important. We wish his decision had been different, but we accepted it and, as members know, we voted for the resolution.

93. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Madam President, I wish to convey through you to the sponsors of the draft resolution and to the group of delegations which participated in our consultations on behalf of the Organization of African Unity my delegation's warm appreciation for having skilfully separated two conflicting sets of provisions originally presented in a single draft.

94. I wish also to thank these colleagues, and particularly the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan for their readiness in accommodating the views of several other delegations in a spirit of co-operation which is in the best traditions of this body.

95. Italy voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/10838/Rev.1 as orally amended, the final text being fully in conformity with the views on this subject which I expressed in the meeting of the Council yesterday afternoon. We earnestly hope that the resolution unanimously adopted will bear fruit and will open the way

to the peaceful process of negotiation we have long advocated and ultimately enable the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination.

96. My delegation appreciated also the decision of the sponsors of the second draft resolution, contained in document S/10839, not to ask for a vote at this stage. In fact, apart from the reservations we have on many of the provisions in that text, we feel that it is somewhat inconsistent with the line of action in the draft resolution which we have just unanimously approved.

97. Finally, you deserve a special tribute, Madam President, for having led our work to such a positive outcome.

98. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I should not like to hold up the Council after its having voted unanimously in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/10838/Rev.1, as amended. I want only to take this opportunity to express the pleasure of my delegation at seeing such an important resolution as this adopted unanimously. My delegation is certainly interested in what comes after and how far this resolution is going to be implemented. We are even more interested in seeing how the friends of Portugal are going to deal with Portugal, which has constantly refused to acknowledge that those Territories are colonies; that the war it is waging in those places is a colonial war. We shall be very interested to see how far the members of the Council can really move Portugal from what has so far been its basic and fundamental position.

99. Naturally my delegation considers that those are colonial wars, that it is the liberation movements that are really fighting against this colonial situation and that the leaders of those liberation movements are the people with whom Portugal should eventually negotiate.

100. Another point we should like to clarify is the position of the NATO Powers. We were happy to hear from the representative of the United Kingdom that his country is not allowing arms to go, and in fact no arms are going, to Portugal or to Portuguese Territories in Africa. That is very encouraging, and we should like to hear the same thing from the other members of NATO. On the other hand, it is not easy for us Africans to accept arguments that arms can be obtained on a bilateral basis and that, by agreement, arms are not supposed to go to Portuguese Territories. We want to be assured of that, but we also want to be assured that the financial and economic assistance being given to Portugal is not in one way or another being exploited to extend those wars in Africa. Therefore I should have liked this Council to call on the NATO Powers which are the allies of Portugal to assure this Council that they are going to adopt effective measures to ensure that the weapons and financial or other assistance given to Portugal are not finding their way into Africa, thereby enabling Portugal to extend its wars in Africa.

101. However, my delegation, although very gratified that the Council has unanimously adopted this resolution, is not so sure that Portugal is going to co-operate. We hope it is going to do so. In any case, we will wait anxiously for the

results of this resolution and of our great flexibility in so drafting the resolution.

102. There is one final word I should like to say on behalf of my delegation. This resolution, even though adopted unanimously, should not dissuade or in any way discourage the liberation movements from continuing their struggle for

independence. They will be misled if at any time they think that this resolution will be the end of everything. Therefore we call on them to accept whatever sacrifice is necessary for the liberation of their countries, which is the usual price of freedom and liberty.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.