

# DECOLONIZATION



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“The surge towards national sovereignty and independence in Africa, which has been one of the most important historical developments in this century, cannot and will not be checked. Therefore, the question is not whether those peoples still under colonial control will become independent but when and under what circumstances . . .

“The international community cannot be indifferent to the situation in those areas. In particular, the United Nations, which has played so central a role in the process of decolonization, having endorsed the cause of the liberation movement, must not be indifferent . . .”

Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim  
in a statement to the Special Committee  
on Decolonization on 29 January 1974

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**Message by Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim,  
Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization**

It is my privilege to convey my warm congratulations to the United Nations Secretariat on the occasion of the launching of *Decolonization*.

A major difficulty liberation movements face in their struggle against colonialism is that they are unable to obtain adequate coverage of their views in the outside world. This prevents the world community and world public opinion at large from getting a realistic and proper perspective of the movements' efforts, goals and aspirations.

There is pressing need for the media, the academic community, non-governmental organizations and of course the public to be informed about the wishes and aspirations of the peoples still under colonial rule and to have ready access to information concerning the situation in the colonial Territories.

*Decolonization* hopes to fulfil this need by presenting information in a convenient and easily accessible form.

This important United Nations publication could not have come at a more propitious time. The struggle of the oppressed peoples in southern Africa has reached a new high. Despite great sacrifices, both human and material, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and the Cape Verde Islands, led by their national liberation movements, have with indomitable courage carried on their struggle for self-determination and independence. The peoples of the Portuguese-dominated Territories in particular have achieved spectacular results. The rapidly changing situation in Portugal is a clear testimony to the fact that the efforts of the liberation movements have had far-reaching impact.

Consequently, the prospects for freedom, independence and human dignity in southern Africa are certainly brighter today than they ever were. Yet it would be naïve to pretend that the road ahead is smooth.

In the long and arduous road that lies ahead in the struggle against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the role of world public opinion is of crucial importance. It is my hope and confidence that *Decolonization* will be an important instrument in the mobilization of international support for the principles of freedom and justice for all colonial peoples, so relentlessly fought for by the African liberation movements and unflinchingly defended by the United Nations.

## Introduction

The overthrow of the régime of Prime Minister Marcello Caetano on 25 April 1974 by the Movement of the Armed Forces has alerted the international community to new prospects for decolonization in southern Africa. The growing strength of the liberation movements and the inability of Portugal to win its colonial wars in Africa were major factors in the recent developments. The colonial wars in Africa intensified political divisions within Portugal and, by diverting resources from needed economic development at home, created stresses in the Portuguese economy.

For almost 20 years, ever since Portugal was admitted to membership in the United Nations, it has consistently refused to recognize the right of the people in the Territories under its domination to self-determination and independence. Instead, it claims that the Territories are integral parts of the Portuguese nation.

Faced with the intransigence of and the continued suppression by the colonial Power, liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have had no alternative but to resort to armed struggle to win their liberty and independence.

Portugal's response was to escalate its colonial wars, refusing to accede to all calls by the United Nations to recognize the right of the people of the Territories to self-determination and independence as set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960, or to enter into

negotiations with the liberation movements.

In the light of these events, we reproduce in this first issue of Decolonization statements reflecting the views of parties concerned with the African Territories under Portuguese domination. General António de Spínola, President of Portugal, calls for the development of a "national strategy to safeguard the survival of the nation" by "promoting the self-determination of the overseas population through their integration in the Portuguese Republic" and under the Portuguese flag in some form of federation. While in Luanda during a visit to Mozambique and Angola, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, a member of the Junta of National Salvation, made an appeal to the liberation movements to lay down their arms and accept a cease-fire. The liberation movements rejected the appeal on the grounds that it contained no commitment to the principle of independence.

We hope that the selection of statements included in this publication will clarify for the readers some of the basic issues involved in the process of decolonization in southern Africa as it enters a new stage.

## I. Statements by Portuguese officials

**General António de Spínola,  
President of Portugal**

### **On Portugal and the future:**

"We must develop a national strategy to safeguard the survival of the nation. A key concept in that strategy is the recognition of the right of people to self-determination. For us, self-determination is the freedom given the people through appropriate institutions democratically established to affirm their views in the international context; to decide their common goals; to carry out the policies to achieve them; and to exercise sovereignty internally without any limitations except those decided by the people.

"Thus, the problem is in promoting the self-determination of the overseas population through their integration in the Portuguese Republic. This is not possible in the existing framework but could be achieved in a different context.

"It would be criminally irresponsible to replace the existing structures by the revolutionary parties which do not represent the African population or its legitimate interests."

(*Portugal e o Futuro*, Arcádia, 1974)

### **On self-determination:**

"Self-determination can only be resolved through the will of the people, and immediate independence would correspond to the acceptance of a will which is not that of the people. . . . In the Overseas Territories, the process must be speeded up so that self-determination can take place, but under the

Portuguese flag. That is our objective. It will be the total triumph of our ability, and will also be the triumph of those who believe in that ability. If, through the plebiscite, the population of these Territories should opt for independence, that will be recognition of our incapacity."

(Excerpt from a press conference, 29 April 1974)

**General Francisco da Costa Gomes, Chief-of-Staff of the Armed Forces, speaking at a press conference on 6 May 1974**

**Appeal for cease-fire:**

"Let us lay down our arms and use the new opportunities arising in the liberal atmosphere now prevailing in Portugal; let us give the people a free choice regarding their future, give them genuine self-determination.

"If these 'movements' are really the expression of the will of the people—as they claim—let them give up their clandestine status, their headquarters beyond our frontiers, their weapons, and start to fight democratically with words, ideas and political instruction and through legal participation in party politics to prove that they are indeed the genuine expression of the will of our people overseas.

"I must state that in making this appeal I recognize that one nagging doubt exists: can men who have become professionals in subversive aggression accept the personal risk of a sudden change of commitment?

"We trust that the dynamism, the bravery and the perseverance with

which some have pursued the armed struggle against the former régime will be adequate motivation for an act of courage which will bring them to us to continue legally and legitimately their partisan struggle."

**Political parties and amnesty:**

"'FRELIMO', or any other (so-called) emancipalist party, can freely establish itself in the Territories of Angola, Mozambique or Portuguese Guinea provided they cease their war operations. As long as war operations are not stopped we naturally cannot accept them as parties on the same conditions as other political parties.

"The amnesty does not apply to the guerrillas. They will only be covered by it when their movements have ceased hostilities."

**Referendum:**

"On the subject of a referendum General da Costa Gomes said that he doubted if the proposed referendum to decide the future political system in Portugal would be on a one man-one vote basis. Many of the overseas territories were 'politically naïve' and he believed if everyone voted in a constitutional referendum an 'erroneous' verdict would be returned. The referendum would be held in a way that would reflect the will of the people accurately."

"In answer to the question 'If the liberation movements were to opt for total and unconditional independence would the Junta agree to this?' General da Costa Gomes replied:

"The Junta could not agree to

this, because it would be an undemocratic move on the part of the emancipalist movements. . . ."

**General Joaquim António Franco Pinheiro, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in Angola, on 7 May 1974**

"Since it is the armed forces which are responsible for ensuring the proper execution of the Movement's programme of action and since the fundamental mission of the armed forces is to defend the nation—which also means defending the civil liberties of its citizens—since, furthermore, the exercise of these liberties is possible only in a climate of peace and concord between all races and creeds, I call upon all the forces under my command to proceed with renewed determination, with their mission of defending the integrity of this territory and its populations, especially so long as the guerrilla movements persist in armed struggle.

"At the same time I renew the appeal, which has already been made to the leadership and men of the guerrilla movements by a member of the Junta of National Salvation (General da Costa Gomes), to come out from hiding and present themselves to us unarmed in order that we may start a dialogue which would pave the way to a restoration of peace and of truly representative institutions. . . ."

(Excerpt from a message to all military units, delivered at Luanda)

## II. Statements by liberation movements

### **African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)**

**Statement issued on 26 April 1974**

There is every indication that the armed forces movement leading to the coup d'état was started by a group which has for some time been expressing its opposition to the continuation of the criminal wars waged by Portugal in Africa against our people and the brother peoples of Angola and Mozambique. It is a movement of officers, most of whom are subalterns. Having experienced the harsh reality of war in our countries, they became aware of its futility and of the stupidity of the Portuguese Government which, in order to continue these wars, has imposed 13 years of heavy sacrifice and humiliation on the people and youth of its country.

Obviously the major defeats and inevitable losses of human life which have been and are being suffered by the Portuguese colonialist forces day after day in our countries brought home the realities of the situation to these Portuguese officers and soldiers. It is equally obvious that, in supporting the movement started by these patriotic soldiers, the people of Portugal expect them to fulfil their main aspirations, including total elimination

of Portuguese colonialism, an end to the colonial wars and recognition of the sacred and inalienable right of our peoples to independence.

Our party has never confused the Portuguese people with the Portuguese colonialists and it cannot remain indifferent to these events. It welcomes the initiative taken by the patriotic Portuguese officers and non-commissioned officers who have overthrown the Fascist and colonialist Government of Marcello Caetano and Americo Tomaz and enabled the Portuguese people to cast off the burden of racism and end the tragedy suffered by their sons in the front lines of our countries.

Our people have accepted so many sacrifices in their struggle for national liberation and have reaffirmed their loyalty to our party and its leadership. Now they are more than ever determined to pursue their struggle against the criminal Portuguese colonialist aggressors and against all those who oppose the realization of their just aspirations to total national liberation, progress and happiness, by intensifying our armed struggle for national liberation against the enemy occupying troops and by eliminating the largest possible number of their forces, the glorious revolutionary armed forces of our people will hasten the end of hateful Portuguese colonialism. At the present time, this is the most tangible support we can give the Portuguese people and the sane forces of the Portuguese army. They are in the best position to know that a happy outcome for Portugal is possible only if Portuguese colonialism in Africa is totally eliminated.

Portuguese soldiers! At this moment, which is decisive for your

homeland, at this hour when the future of your people is at stake in the streets of your country, you cannot remain indifferent. You see the courage and heroism with which we fight you every day. You are well aware of our firm decision, the ability of our leaders and the power of our strength. You therefore understand that no promise or proposal can halt our struggle unless it includes unequivocal recognition of our victory, as proved by the reality of our sovereign Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and recognition of the sacred and inalienable right of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde to total independence.

We have confidence in the Portuguese people because of the incontrovertible evidence of their greatness and love of freedom in the past. That is why we are certain that they will not allow the forces of reaction, still represented in the armed forces movement by certain dubious persons—several of whom are notorious for their crimes in Africa—to divert them from the path leading to a true solution of their problems. As far as the relationship between our people and the people of Portugal is concerned, this solution requires, first and foremost, the immediate recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, an end to the war of aggression against our people and unconditional recognition of the right of Cape Verde to accede to genuine and complete independence. We are certain that the Portuguese people, now that they are on the move, will be able to crush all those who still harbour sinister plans to divert them from this path which, by providing an opportunity for future co-operation between our countries, is the only one which can still safeguard the

legitimate interests of Portuguese citizens in our countries.

This is the path which true democrats and the masses of the Portuguese people must induce those who have assumed responsibility for the future of Portugal to follow. We, the militants and fighters of PAIGC, will spare no efforts in the same direction and will intensify still further our political action and our glorious armed struggle for national liberation.

At a time when, in the streets of Lisbon, the Portuguese people are manifestly condemning colonialism and loudly demanding an end to the vile wars waged by Portugal in Africa, the behaviour of the Portuguese expeditionary armed forces in our country gives us no reason to conclude that there is any change of attitude in Portuguese colonial policy.

Indeed, during the days following the coup d'état in Lisbon, despite the arrest of some of the military leaders at Bissau, including the "Governor" and Commander-in-Chief, Bettencourt Rodrigues, the Portuguese aggressors' air force has not stopped or cut back its daily sorties against our liberated regions. Indeed, there has been a definite increase in the number and violence of enemy air raids, particularly against Tombali and Cubucaré, two of the most densely populated liberated sectors in the south of our country. Furthermore, the fact that the favourite targets of enemy bombers are still villages and civil installations, particularly schools, hospitals, shops and supply posts for the population, demonstrates that, among the top leaders of Portugal, there are still some who harbour criminal intentions against our people. We denounce before Portuguese and internation-

al opinion the continuation of the criminal activities of the armed forces of Portugal in our country. These activities, for which the present leaders of Portugal are objectively responsible, can only lead to serious consequences for which we refuse to accept any responsibility.

#### Statement issued on 6 May 1974

During the 17 years of its existence and especially after the commencement of our armed struggle for national liberation which has been going on for 11 years, our party has never ceased to affirm its readiness to begin negotiations with the Portuguese Government with a view to seeking a political solution to the conflict between our people and the Portuguese State.

The wish of our party and our people that a solution to the conflict should be arrived at through negotiation has been frequently and eloquently expressed in clearly formulated statements made on behalf of the party's governing councils by its founder and first leader, our lamented brother Amílcar Cabral. That wish was formally embodied in the historic proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau which, faithful to the principles which have always guided our political, military and diplomatic actions, made a clear distinction between Portuguese colonialism, against which we are fighting, and the people of Portugal, with whom we seek to maintain the most friendly and co-operative relations based upon independence and mutual respect, in the furtherance of our common interests.

Although it has consistently been our policy to be ready at any time to enter into negotiations, the world has nevertheless witnessed the un-

folding of a tragedy due to the criminal stubbornness of successive governments in Lisbon.

In fact, those who governed Portugal, incapable of understanding the political concepts and values which are universally accepted today, categorically rejected all our proposals and instead launched, and at each stage intensified, an unjust, barbarous and genocidal war against our people. The same rigid and inhuman attitude, moreover, was adopted by the Portuguese Government in southern Africa where it responded to the just demand for independence of our brothers, the people of Angola and Mozambique, by resorting to armed force.

Understanding from the very beginning that the colonial wars were contrary to their national interests and to the interests of their sons in Africa, the Portuguese people very soon made clear their opposition to these wars and their support for the just demand of the colonial peoples.

Thus, despite the difficulties and risks involved under the existing conditions of Fascist tyranny, the democratic opposition in Portugal during recent years did not shrink from making sacrifices in order to express the anti-colonial sentiments of the Portuguese people by issuing clear statements of its position and by taking concrete actions against the colonial wars.

This clear and unequivocal anti-colonial attitude was vehemently reaffirmed by the Portuguese people and by their democratic organs and in parties when the Armed Forces Movement created a new political situation in Portugal.

In view of the new situation in Portugal which has resulted from the emergence of the democratic

forces on the political scene, the Executive Committee of PAIGC submits to the new political authorities in Portugal the following concrete proposal which can open the way to a solution of the conflict between our people and the Portuguese State.

This solution, which presupposes the total liberation of our people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, will permit the establishment of a new kind of relationship between our two peoples in the interest of both and based upon the principle of strict equality.

In view of the present stage reached in the progress of our political and military struggle, and more generally of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Africa, it is obvious, however, that this new relationship calls for:

- Recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and of the right of our people in the Cape Verde Islands to self-determination and independence;
- Recognition of the same right for the peoples of the other Portuguese colonies.

It is with these aims in view and with the purpose of avoiding the further sacrifices which would unequivocally result from prolongation of the war, that the Executive Committee of PAIGC proposes to the newly established political authorities in Portugal the immediate commencement of negotiations for the purpose of seeking a political solution to the struggle between our people and the Portuguese State.

The Executive Committee of PAIGC declares that it is ready to begin negotiations either with or without a cease-fire in Guinea-Bissau.

As a requirement for a cease-fire

preliminary to negotiations, the Portuguese side would be required to fulfil the following conditions:

1. Regrouping of all so-called territorial occupation forces in the sector commands, and of all so-called intervention elements of the occupation forces, together with their respective operational commands in the operational regroupment commands (*Comandos de Agrupamento Operacional* (CAOP));
2. Cessation of all operational actions and of all acts of aggression against the population.

The Executive Committee of PAIGC, which is recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, rejects in advance any actions seeking to accredit so-called nationalist groups created at the last minute or maintained abroad. Recognition of such groups by the Portuguese authorities would have as its sole and inevitable consequence the continuation of the armed struggle for national liberation.

Taking into account that decolonization is a general and irreversible phenomenon, the Executive Committee of PAIGC is convinced that the political authorities in Portugal, mindful of the true interests of the Portuguese people, will adopt a realist attitude by accepting the proposals contained in this declaration.

The Executive Committee of PAIGC reaffirms that nothing will prevent the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde for liberty and progress.

The Executive Committee of the Struggle of PAIGC

(Boé, 6 May 1974)

### **Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), on 27 April 1974**

On 25 April 1974, we learned from radio broadcasts about the coup d'état in Portugal by the armed forces which resulted in the ousting of the Government of Marcello Caetano and its replacement by a "Junta of National Salvation". This movement, according to its promoters, is intended to provide a solution to the present crisis which the Portuguese régime and society are going through after 13 years of colonial war.

The coup d'état which has just taken place cannot be seen in isolation. It is a result of the new awareness of growing sectors of the Portuguese people that the purpose of the colonial war launched by the Fascist régime is to suppress the colonized peoples' aspiration to independence and freedom and is against the desire for well-being and political and social democracy of the Portuguese people themselves.

At this time we hail, in the first place, the Portuguese democratic forces which for many years have been actively and courageously opposing the colonial wars. This growing awareness is closely bound up with the affirmation of the unshakable will of the Mozambican people, and of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde islands, to achieve independence and freedom. This will has taken on material form in the armed struggle for national liberation, which has been steadily growing and has already reached vital regions of our country. The coincidence between the crisis of the régime in Portugal and the great advances of the national liberation struggle in Mozambique over the

past two years is no accident, but additional proof of the impact of our struggle on the situation in Portugal. The determinant factor of the situation in Portugal and the colonies has been and still is the struggle of our peoples. And the fundamental issue upon which the solution of all other problems depends is the independence of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde islands, as well as that of the remaining Portuguese colonies.

As far as the Portuguese people are concerned, to the extent that the principles contained in the proclamations that the leaders of the coup d'état have made up to now are put into force, this will doubtless be a step forward towards the establishment of democracy in Portugal. The young people who engaged in action aimed at putting an end to 48 years of uninterrupted dictatorship in Portugal, acting in line with the aspirations of the Portuguese people to realize their legitimate right to democracy, liberty and real independence, are the same young people who, when they were made to fight against our people, understood the unjust nature of the war in which they were engaged and the character of the régime which forced them to give up their lives for the defence of interests contrary to the interests of their people. The establishment of democracy in Portugal would be a victory for the Portuguese people, a victory at which we would rejoice.

For the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the correct definition of who is the enemy has always been an essential point of principle. The enemy of the Mozambican people is not the Portuguese people, themselves victims of fascism, but the Portuguese co-

lonial system. And an important section of the Portuguese army itself was made to understand that it was not defending the interests of its people in the colonial wars when it felt the growing disaffection of Portuguese opinion with regard to the war it is waging in the colonies. If our struggle thus contributed to the Portuguese people's struggle against fascism and to win their right to democracy, FRELIMO cannot but congratulate itself for having contributed to this. But just as the Portuguese people have the right to independence and democracy, this same right cannot be denied the Mozambican people. It is for this elementary but essential right that we are fighting. The objectives of FRELIMO are very clear: the total and complete independence of the Mozambican people and the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism. The Mozambican people are an entity quite distinct from the Portuguese people, and they have their own political, cultural and social personality which can only be realized through the independence of Mozambique.

We are not fighting to become Portuguese with black skins. We are fighting to affirm ourselves as Mozambicans, without this meaning contempt for the Portuguese people or any other people. In this respect, FRELIMO reaffirms its wish to fully co-operate with all peoples in the world on a basis of independence, equality, respect and mutual interest. FRELIMO also reaffirms that the definition of a Mozambican has nothing to do with skin colour or racial, ethnic, religious or any other origin. Members of FRELIMO are all Mozambicans who adhere to its programme of struggle against Portuguese colonialism, for the inde-

pendence of Mozambique. FRELIMO is not a racist organization and it is not waging a racist war. We reaffirm here what we declared in July 1972 when we opened a new front: "On starting the struggle in Manica e Sofala where an important section of the Portuguese community in our country is established, we reaffirm that our struggle is not against them, that our victory can only benefit those who live from honest labour, those who suffer from colonial and Fascist exploitations. The Mozambican people fraternally call upon the Portuguese soldiers, the Portuguese people to join the common effort of liberation. At the same time as hailing the growing support from white Mozambicans for the struggle for national liberation, we wish to warn certain sectors of the European population of Mozambique against the attempts of the ultra-racist forces, encouraged by the neighbouring racist countries, to transform our armed struggle for liberation into a total war between whites and blacks. This manoeuvre has as its purpose to make the white settlers participate actively in suppressing our people. That attitude makes them instruments of other forces and does not serve their own interests or the interests of the Mozambican people."

Freedom and independence, the affirmation of our own personality—these then are the objectives of our struggle. FRELIMO fighters are not professional soldiers. They are the Mozambican people in arms. They are, before all else, political militants who have taken up arms to put an end to the daily violence of colonial domination, exploitation and repression. It is up to the Portuguese Government to learn from past experience and understand



that only through recognition of the right to independence of the Mozambican people, led by FRELIMO, their authentic and legitimate representative, will the war end. Any attempt to elude the real problem will only lead to new and equally avoidable sacrifices. The way to solve the problem is clear: recognition of the Mozambican people's right to independence. If, however, the objective of the coup d'état is to find new formulae to perpetuate the oppression of our people, then the Portuguese leaders are warned that they will face our firm determination. The Mozambican people, over 10 years of heroic armed struggle, have endured heavy sacrifices and shed the blood of their finest sons and daughters to defend the inalienable principle of their sovereignty as a free and independent nation. Politically and militarily tempered, encouraged by the growing successes of the armed struggle for national liberation, more united than ever under the leadership of FRELIMO, the Mozambican people will not retreat before any sacrifice in ensuring that their rights and fundamental aspirations triumph. We cannot accept that democracy for the Portuguese people should serve as a cover to prevent the independence of our people. Just as Caetano's era clearly demonstrated that liberal fascism does not exist, it must also be understood that there is no such thing as democratic colonialism.

At this moment it is important that all the forces in solidarity with the people of Mozambique and with the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe continue their action for the recognition of our right to complete independence. They must remain vigilant in the face of any ma-

noeuvres aimed at blocking the process of our total liberation coming not only from the Portuguese Government, but from the régimes in South Africa and racist Rhodesia. It is also essential that the forces which support our struggle step up their assistance of every kind to the liberation movements, so that with the end of Portuguese colonialism, the aspirations of our peoples, which are those of all mankind, may be fulfilled.

Independence or death  
We shall win

The struggle continues

**Mr. Agostinho Neto, President  
of the People's Movement  
for the Liberation of Angola  
(MPLA), on 7 May 1974**

A coup d'état has just taken place in Portugal following a long period of crisis described by the Portuguese leaders as the most serious in the country's history. There is no doubt that the 14 years of colonial wars waged by Portugal in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique are the main reason for this crisis. Military expenditure which swallows up half the State budget, galloping inflation, the mass emigration of young workers, peasants and technicians, the desertion of soldiers from the army, the growing number of young people killed or handicapped, all these phenomena are closely linked with the war and are bringing to a head the contradictions in Portugal itself where democrats have been fighting for half a century for a change in the régime. It is still too early to judge the scope of the latest events, but

MPLA emphasizes here and now that the federation proposed by General Spínola is unacceptable. MPLA has always struggled for complete independence and that is the only principle on which co-operation with other countries can be based. At this time MPLA is ready to negotiate with Portugal on the Angolan problem, but our people's struggle on all fronts will continue until liberation is achieved.

**National Front for the Liberation  
of Angola (FNLA) on 21 May 1974**

"The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) did not at the time react officially to the appeal made by General da Costa Gomes (during his visit to Angola) to the freedom fighters to lay down their arms, because that appeal by the Chief of Staff of the Portuguese armed forces was neither more nor less than a call for surrender and threw no light on the real intentions of Portugal's Junta of National Salvation concerning the issue of self-determination and independence for Angola.

"Quite logically, therefore, FNLA was awaiting further clarification of this problem from the authorities in Lisbon.

"Since then, FNLA has noted with interest the efforts being made by the new Portuguese Government team with regard to the emancipation of the African colonies. In view of this development, FNLA reaffirms its readiness to enter at any time into a frank and sincere dialogue with the new Portuguese leaders in line with the clearly understood interests of the Angolan people, that is to say, their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence."

### III. Statements by African leaders

**Joint statement by the Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Zaire and the Republic of Zambia, on 9 May 1974**

The military Junta which masquerades under the banner of peace and democracy might be good for Portuguese people. However, for the people of Africa, there is no cause for rejoicing at this juncture. The Junta has not stated categorically its recognition of self-determination and complete national independence for Angola and Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

The liberation movements and freedom fighters must intensify their armed struggle until every inch of their countries is liberated. In the meantime the foreign ministers emphasized the urgent need for every kind of assistance to be rendered to liberation struggle. They have made special appeal to the freedom-loving people of the world to render all kinds of assistance, as well as political and diplomatic support to the African liberation movements.

To this end the four foreign ministers have emphatically declared the commitment of their respective Governments *in toto* to ensure intensification of the armed struggle; warned the Spínola régime that the time has come for a categorical and unconditional declaration that Portugal accepts, in principle, complete national independence for Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

(Issued in Dar-es-Salaam)

**President Amadou Ahidjo of the United Republic of Cameroon at the 23rd Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, on 13 May 1974**

President Amadou Ahidjo of the Cameroons declared on 13 May 1974 in Yaounde at the opening of the 23rd session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa that "it is because of the support from their economic and military allies that Portugal, South Africa and the racist authorities in Zimbabwe continue to stand up not only to the valiant and heroic African freedom fighters but also to an immense section of world opinion".

His Excellency pointed out that what happened in Portugal recently "constitutes without doubt a great victory for the African peoples fighting against Portuguese colonialism", and he went on to say that, in regard to negotiations with Portugal, "there should be no ambiguity about the subject: no negotiation is possible and still less will the liberation movements agree to lay down their arms without a clear recognition beforehand of the right of their people to independence".

President Ahidjo added, "I, therefore, appeal to the Portuguese people to work with all their might in favour of the independence of the African territories administered by Portugal. Without this evolution, the peoples concerned would have no other choice but to continue the struggle, which is supported by OAU and other freedom-loving peoples, until the total recovery of their sovereignty."

**Mr. Omar Arteh Ghelib, Foreign Minister of the Somali Democratic Republic, Chairman of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, on 13 May 1974**

"The struggle for the liberation of Africa enjoys the sympathy and support of the people of the world, particularly the countries of the third world.

"Brothers and sisters, in the struggle to liberate their countries, should unite their ranks so that the imperialists and racists who have invaded our continent would succumb before the fighting forces in our continent, steadfast and united."

**Mr. Nzo Ekangaki, Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, on 13 May 1974**

"The fall of the Fascist régime in Portugal is incontestably a great victory for Africa and the liberation movements.

"It is clear that the colonial war waged by Portugal must end and that Portugal should know that the liberation movements supported by OAU and the people of the world will carry on their struggle till final victory."

**IV. Joint statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, on 9 May 1974**

1. As presiding officers of the United Nations organs most intimately concerned with the problems of southern Africa, we have followed the current situation in Portugal since the overthrow of Mr. Marcello Caetano with keen interest and serious attention. Our collective approach should be viewed in the context of the interrelationship of the problems of the area. For it is common knowledge that developments in Angola and Mozambique have significant relevance to the struggle of the oppressed peoples in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

2. The current developments in Portugal must be viewed in their proper perspective. The first and foremost observation—obvious to all—is that the end of the Caetano era is a clear demonstration of the bankruptcy of Portuguese colonialism. It is a recognition of the futility of the murderous colonial wars waged by the Portuguese military forces in Angola, Mozambique and the illegally occupied parts of Guinea-Bissau. If the world recognizes that the cause of the recent coup in Portugal emanates from the futile colonial wars in Africa—as all reports so far seem to confirm that it does—then it is equally important to realize that the changes brought about by those who have taken power in Portugal were only made possible by the effectiveness, determination, resilience and sacrifice of the peoples in the Portuguese-dominated Territories and their national liberation movements.

3. Although developments in Portugal proper are a matter for the Portuguese people, these developments have serious implications for the general situation in southern Africa. In this respect, we have followed very closely the various statements reported to have been made by the spokesmen of the new Portuguese military junta. We are disappointed to note that these statements have yet to conform with the position of the United Nations in respect to the issues of decolonization.

4. The United Nations has never wavered in its support of the total liberation of the Territories under Portuguese domination. The General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee of 24 have on numerous occasions called on the Government of Portugal to take the necessary measures to bring its colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde to an immediate termination. We believe that the evolving situation in Portugal provides the opportunity for the new régime to abandon wholly and completely the misguided policy of its predecessors. They must not only recognize the legitimate right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde to self-determination and independence, but must forthwith take decisive and concrete measures towards the realization of that right.

5. We reiterate here the several calls previously made by the United Nations that the Portuguese authorities should enter immedi-

ately into negotiations with the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for the purpose of ending Portuguese colonialism in those Territories. Only by such a course of action can a significant and positive new era be fostered in the relationship between Portugal and the peoples of the Territories currently under her domination. Such steps would also lend credibility to the opinions of those who optimistically look forward to a new Portugal. For, if the current changes are to have any meaning to the oppressed African majorities in Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde, they must be directed towards a complete transformation of the existing situation. As the Executive Committee of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) rightly pointed out in their statement of 27 April 1974, "there is no such thing as democratic colonialism".

6. Any equivocation on the part of the Portuguese authorities, any ambiguities could only lead the world to believe that the change which has taken place in Portuguese policy so far as Africa is concerned is only a change of tactics and strategy and not of substance. Obviously, such a change is neither acceptable to the liberation movements nor can it be entertained by the United Nations.

7. We are encouraged by the vigorous demands for freedom and independence being voiced by different sectors of public opinion within Portugal. We believe that this is one of the most important by-products of the recent developments. We feel that the international community must not only sustain its current efforts in support of the

liberation movements, but must indeed intensify its activities so as to put maximum pressure on those determined to frustrate the rational and positive voices in favour of freedom and independence in Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde, as well as the complete evacuation of Portuguese occupation forces in Guinea-Bissau.

8. The end of the misery and repression in the Portuguese dominated Territories is long overdue. It is our hope that the authorities in Portugal will recognize the needs of the hour and seize the opportunity which it presents. We also firmly believe that this is the opportune time for the military allies of Portugal, as well as her trading partners, to demonstrate their goodwill towards Africa and their commitments to the United Nations by taking measures calculated to end once and for all Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Such a course of action would, in our opinion, also be in the best interests of the people of Portugal.

9. For our part, as the presiding officers of the three bodies responsible for following the situation in southern Africa, we shall continue to work for the attainment of this objective: the total and complete independence of Angola, Mozambique and the other Territories in southern Africa.

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#### V. Statement by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on 17 May 1974

I have followed with close attention the recent changes which have occurred in Portugal and which have resulted in the formation of a new Government under the presidency of His Excellency General António de Spínola.

Prior to the formation of the Government, the present leaders of Portugal had reportedly indicated their intention of seeking ways and means of putting an end to the bitter conflicts in the African Territories which, for nearly 14 years, have brought so much bloodshed, suffering and hardship to all those involved and especially to the civilian inhabitants of the Territories concerned.

It is my firm belief that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations provide the only basis for a

peaceful solution of those tragic conflicts, a solution which is vital to the interests not only of Africa but of Portugal itself. I sincerely hope that, bearing in mind these resolutions, the new Government of Portugal will recognize the right of the peoples in the Territories to self-determination and independence and that it will for this purpose begin negotiations with the African liberation movements concerned without delay so that peace may be restored.

Of course, I am quite prepared to provide any assistance that may be required with respect to the negotiations, and, indeed, I have been requested to do so by the General Assembly in its resolution 2918 (XXVII).

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#### VI. United Nations Commission of Inquiry on the reported massacres in Mozambique

The Commission of Inquiry on the reported massacres in Mozambique met in London on 14 May 1974, where it continued its task of gathering information on the reported atrocities.

At the meeting, the Chairman of the Commission, Ambassador Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay (Nepal) said:

"The mandate of this Commission is spelled out in paragraph 2 of resolution 3114 (XXVIII), by which the General Assembly 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.

"We are beginning now our field work during which we expect to gather detailed information on the reported massacres. Our task is a very significant one for the cause of decolonization and the full restoration of human rights to colonial

peoples. To a large extent the success of our work will depend on a sense of justice and willingness of all those who have information relevant to our inquiry to come forward and co-operate with us.

"Given that co-operation, feel assured that we shall endeavor to fulfil our mandate and provide the General Assembly and the world community at large with a systematic account of all facts concerning the reported atrocities in Mozambique."

The Commission is composed of representatives of five Member States nominated by the President of the General Assembly. They are: Nepal, Chairman (Ambassador Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay); the German Democratic Republic (Ambassador Heinz-Dister Winter); Honduras (Ambassador Roberto Martinez-Ordonez); Madagascar (Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika); and Norway (Professor Atle Grael-Madsen).

In addition to London, the Commission is holding meetings in Madrid, Rome, Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam, and is expected to return to United Nations Headquarters by mid-June.