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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 27

The situation in Angola: report of the Sub-Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) (continued)

1. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): The report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/4978], now before the General Assembly, is the result of a painstaking, objective and constructive study. My delegation wishes to congratulate the Chairman and members of the Sub-Committee on the objectivity and impartiality with which they have performed their difficult task. In its comments and its pertinent conclusions, based on information derived from authoritative sources—in spite of the restrictions to which the Sub-Committee was subjected—and in its detailed examination of the various aspects of the Angolan problem, the Sub-Committee has provided an extremely useful basis for our discussions. We profoundly regret that, notwithstanding its efforts, the Sub-Committee was unable to enlist the co-operation of the Portuguese Government in pursuance of the Security Council resolution of 9 June 1961,^{1/} and that, consequently, as is said in paragraphs 57, 435 and 449 of the report, it was not able to carry out its tasks fully.

2. The delegation of Iran has no hesitation in endorsing the conclusions which appear in paragraph 470 *et seq.* of the Sub-Committee's report. We sincerely hope that the Portuguese Government will pay attention to the Sub-Committee's fair and impartial observations and will take advantage of this final chance to find a peaceful solution to the Angolan problem. The position of my delegation on the problem of Angola and the other territories administered by Portugal has been clear from the outset. Our attitude is dictated by considerations of justice, respect for the dignity of the human person and for fundamental human rights, and, most of all, by our profound faith in the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

3. The strong bonds of friendship which unite Iran and Portugal do not prevent us from saying what we think right and censuring what we regard as a clear breach of international obligations deriving from

express provisions of the Charter. The Angolan problem has been examined by the General Assembly from two different angles. First, the question was considered in the framework of Chapter XI of the Charter and of the obligations which that Chapter lays on the Portuguese Government in respect of Portugal's colonies. Secondly, the situation in Angola has on several occasions been the subject of consideration by the General Assembly and the Security Council because, in the words of the Security Council resolution of 9 June 1961, it constitutes an actual and potential cause of international friction and is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. The two aspects of the question are intimately related, for the present situation has its origin in the attitude adopted by the Portuguese Government since 1955 towards the decisions of the United Nations. Since 1955, when Portugal joined the Organization, the General Assembly has been concerned with the question of Portugal's obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter in respect of the territories under its administration. Following the categorical refusal of the Portuguese Government to comply with what practically all Members of the United Nations considered to be a logical interpretation of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, the question was examined in detail by the Fourth Committee.

5. In order to reach a final decision on the matter, the General Assembly, at its fourteenth session, established a Special Committee of six members to study the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73 e of the Charter [see resolution 1467 (XIV)]. After careful study, the Committee of Six enunciated twelve principles for the guidance of Members in the fulfilment of their obligations under Article 73. These principles were adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority and are set out in resolution 1541 (XV).

6. The interpretation thereby given to Article 73 e of the Charter carries all the more weight as the administering Powers participated in its formulation. By applying the principles listed in resolution 1541 (XV) to the specific case of the Portuguese colonies, the General Assembly then determined and enumerated, in its resolution 1542 (XV), the territories under Portuguese administration to which the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter are automatically applicable.

7. The categorical and nearly unanimous decisions of the General Assembly have unfortunately met with a stubborn rejection on the part of the Lisbon Government, which continues in its attempts to justify its illogical and anachronistic attitude by the legal argument that the territories listed in resolution 1542 (XV) are Portuguese provinces and therefore outside the competence of the United Nations.

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4835.

8. What is more, Portugal has had no hesitation in repeatedly declaring that these resolutions of the General Assembly and the subsequent resolution of the Security Council were illegal. The question of the legality of the resolutions of the General Assembly is a juridical issue of very great importance. Now is not the time to take up that question. However, it seems clear and indisputable to my delegation that no Member State is competent to judge the legality of resolutions adopted by the principal organs of the United Nations and, on that pretext, to refuse to implement them. General Assembly resolutions 1541 (XV) and 1542 (XV) merely defined more exactly the Charter's provisions and added nothing to what was already stipulated in the Charter. The General Assembly adopted those resolutions because the Charter, and Chapter XI in particular, give the United Nations important responsibilities towards Non-Self-Governing Territories and their peoples. It is an important fact, which often tends to be forgotten, that the responsibilities of the United Nations in respect of colonized territories and peoples are quite distinct from, and in some circumstances even independent of, those of the administering Powers.

9. Thus, faced with the failure of an administering Power to carry out its obligations, the United Nations has not merely the right but the duty to fulfil its own obligations. Quite recently, during the first part of the present session, the General Assembly decided in resolution 1699 (XVI) of 19 December 1961 that, pending the fulfilment by the Government of Portugal of its obligations, the Assembly must, for its part, continue to discharge its own obligations and responsibilities towards the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under Portuguese administration. In order to carry out this task, the Assembly established a Special Committee to examine as a matter of urgency such information as was available concerning Territories under Portuguese administration, and to formulate its observations, conclusions and recommendations for the consideration of the Assembly.

10. I have no desire to raise once again the question of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which the Portuguese Government has been invoking in support of its position. This matter was debated at length in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, and the inapplicability of the provisions of the Article concerned to the case of the Portuguese colonies has been clearly shown. I shall confine myself to saying that Portugal's policies with regard to its colonies are not only inconsistent with its obligations as a Member of the United Nations; what is even more serious, they are completely incompatible with the temper of our times. Of all the administering Powers, Portugal is the only one which categorically refuses to discharge its international obligations in respect of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration.

11. Portugal's attitude is all the more difficult to understand at a time when the British Empire has given way to a Commonwealth of independent and flourishing States, when the French colonies have nearly all acceded to independence and when the Dutch Empire has practically ceased to exist. Portugal alone, still clinging to the notion of its civilizing mission, continued to live in a vanished era.

12. Portugal claims to have turned its colonies into provinces which form part of its metropolitan territory. We are not opposed to the idea of integration, particularly since it is mentioned in resolution 1541 (XV) as one of the ways in which a colonial people can exercise the right of self-determination. However, we consider that the consent and the freely expressed will of the colonized people are an indispensable condition for the legitimacy of the integration process. The Angolan people and the peoples of Portugal's other colonies have never been consulted regarding the political status given them by the Portuguese constitutional amendment of 1951. On the contrary, all the evidence goes to show that these peoples, like the peoples of other former colonies, desire independence. A great French political thinker and writer said, nearly fifty years ago, that "a constitution can never make a nation". This remark is still valid and is perfectly applicable to the case of Portugal and its colonies.

13. The regrettable lack of realism shown by Portugal in its colonial policy soon had disastrous results, as was to be expected. The situation in Angola has steadily deteriorated and has given rise to a war which has already cost tens of thousands of human lives.

14. I began by dealing with the first aspect of the Angolan problem, which somewhat exceeds the scope of this agenda item, because, first, it seems to me that the tragic events which took place in Angola in recent months might have been avoided if the Portuguese Government had complied with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) and secondly because reports from Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea give world opinion grounds for serious anxiety concerning the regrettable consequences to be expected if Portugal stubbornly persists in its attitude towards its territories.

15. In his speech before the National Assembly on 3 January 1962, the Prime Minister of Portugal referred, in connexion with the Portuguese colonies, to the Treaty of Windsor concluded in 1899 between Portugal and Great Britain and to other treaties, dating back to 1642 and 1661, under which the two parties undertook to give each other mutual aid and assistance in keeping their colonies. But at a time when the right of peoples—all peoples—to self-determination is regarded as a universal and undeniable fact and when the General Assembly, by its resolution 1554 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, has just set up a Special Committee to consider methods of finally putting an end to the colonial system, such a reference is difficult for us to understand. As the English newspaper *Yorkshire Post* so rightly put it in its issue of 4 January 1962:

[the speaker continued in English]

"...it is not surprising and not always tragic that some alliances, like that between Britain and Portugal, should lose their value".

[the speaker resumed in French]

16. In this connexion, it is interesting to recall a most intelligent and foresighted remark made by a British Minister nearly a century ago. I am referring to Mr. Rogers, the Colonial Secretary, who said:

"The future of our colonies lies in independence, and I have always considered that the function of a Colonial Secretary is to ensure that this separation,

when it comes, should take place as amicably as possible".^{2/}

The development of the history of the British colonies since then has shown the accuracy of that observation. Can we hope that Portugal will follow this example and give evidence of greater wisdom and foresight in its colonial policy?

17. I should now like to say a few words about the report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/4978]. Most of the information which reached us through the Press and other unofficial sources about the situation in Angola has just been confirmed in this report.

18. Part two of the report deals with disturbances and conflicts in Angola since February 1961 and clearly describes the action taken by the Portuguese forces against Angolan nationalists and even against the indigenous population which took no part in political activities. In paragraph 88 we read that, after the incidents which took place in the Malange district, nationalist demonstrations were "followed by severe reprisals by the security forces, including the bombing of a number of villages and mopping-up operations in areas not reached by the bombings". Paragraph 89 of the report states that, according to information obtained by the Sub-Committee, "... fleeing populations were bombed by aircraft and that while the exact number of casualties is unknown, the number of persons killed was very large".

19. With regard to the number of Angolans who met their death, often in a horrible manner, and of those who sought refuge in the neighbouring countries, the data obtained by the Sub-Committee confirm those already published in the newspapers.

20. It is interesting to note that much of the information supplied by the Government of Portugal to the Sub-Committee concerning events in Angola is contradicted by the data which the Sub-Committee managed to obtain for itself from other sources. In this connexion, paragraph 115 of the report is particularly revealing. It contains the following passage:

"In the information communicated to the Sub-Committee, the Portuguese Government stated that the flight of refugees was due to the fact that as the Portuguese authorities gradually succeeded in re-establishing minimum conditions of defence and protection of lives and property, the terrorists had 'resorted to the systematic massacre of all who showed any resistance to their arguments and who where to be found in areas still inadequately protected'. But the information received by the Sub-Committee from the refugees themselves indicates that they had fled because of Portuguese actions or out of fear of such actions."

21. With regard to what precipitated the events, the report states several times that these were not caused, as the Portuguese Government alleges, by directives received from abroad, but rather by real discontent and the deep-seated grievances of the population, whose legitimate aspirations have always met with repression.

22. My delegation fully shares the deep regret expressed by the Sub-Committee at the attitude of

Portugal which, without taking the least notice of the recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council aimed at the immediate cessation of repressive measures and at finding a peaceful solution of the Angolan problem in accordance with the Charter, persists in its policy of quelling the conflict by force.

23. In part three of the report, we find some extremely interesting information, especially with regard to the racial discrimination and forced labour which are practised by Portugal in Angola, and which have played an important part in the unleashing of the conflict. Thus, notwithstanding what the Portuguese representative told us in his statement of 15 January 1962 [1088th meeting] about the ideal of a multi-racial and unified society, it is with great regret that we read the following in paragraph 203 of the report:

"The Sub-Committee has been told that the main source of dissatisfaction in Angola was the basic distinction in status between 'indígena' and 'nao indígena'... and the concomitant administrative practices. The basic distinction made between European and non-European ways of life permeated all phases of life and has been the basis of various discriminatory practices."

24. In part three, chapter II, section C, of the report, under the title "The administration of the native tax system", there are some moving passages on the treatment meted out to native Angolans. It is stated in paragraph 221 that there is an "annual personal tax" in Angola, which was previously known as the "indigenous" or "native" tax. We also learn, notwithstanding some surprise, that a kind of collective penal responsibility is still practised in Angola. In this connexion, we read the following in paragraph 233:

"The Sub-Committee was informed of many instances in which a man who had not paid his taxes was imprisoned while his wife and family were made responsible for raising the required sum."

25. Recourse to unjustified beatings and arrests is so frequent in Angola that, according to the report [para. 227], the indigenous inhabitants now regard them "as part of the common order".

26. Where forced labour is concerned, information from different sources shows that this mediaeval practice, condemned by the international conventions to which Portugal is a party, still persists in different forms in Angola.

27. The Portuguese representative has said several times that allegations of the existence of forced labour in Angola are merely malicious accusations made up out of whole cloth. And yet Mr. Jerome Smith wrote as follows in the Christian Science Monitor of 6 May 1961:

"Forced labour is one of the basic elements of Portugal's colonial policy in Angola and Mozambique. This condemnable practice," Mr. Smith goes on to say, "leads a large number of the indigenous inhabitants of Angola to abandon subsistence agriculture and to go abroad. They are encouraged to do so by the practice of corporal punishment in these two Portuguese colonies and by the higher wages which are offered to them in the neighbouring countries".

28. In the October 1961 number of the periodical Africa Today, Mr. Malcolm McVeigh, a Methodist missionary who lived in Angola from 1958 to 1961,

^{2/} Passage from an article by Mr. Victor Silvera entitled "Réflexions sur la décolonisation de l'Afrique du Nord" (Reflections on the decolonization of North Africa) published in the Revue juridique et politique d'outre-mer, issue of January/March 1961, p. 93.

also writes that the existence of forced labour in Angola is so widespread that no one is unaware of it. The information and conclusions contained in part three of chapter III of the report merely confirm and specify what journalists and observers have already told us about forced labour in Angola. Paragraph 253 of the report contains the following passage:

"Certain forms of labour recruitment through recruiting agents ('angariadores'), it is said, had all the appearances of 'forced labour'."

29. Further on, in paragraph 258, reference is made to the use of "women, even pregnant women, for heavy tasks on roads". According to paragraph 262 of the same report, the Sub-Committee was told that "road work was often not paid, and sometimes the workers were not even provided tools".

30. These passages call for no comment. They represent so many undeniable proofs of the injustice and the inhuman treatment to which the Angolan people are subjected.

31. I shall not dwell on the other aspects of the Angolan problem, since these have been fully examined during earlier debates in the General Assembly and in the Sub-Committee's report.

32. The logical conclusion which emerges from a careful examination of the report, passages from which I have just analysed, seems to be simple: the situation in Angola is serious and disquieting, and the United Nations should do everything in its power to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Angolan people as soon as possible, in order to prevent Angola at all costs from becoming once again the scene of tragic events such as took place there several months ago. Portugal could greatly facilitate the United Nations task by sincerely co-operating with it. I venture to hope that the current debates will persuade it to enter upon that path.

33. Mr. ASTAPENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The situation in Angola is causing the world serious anxiety and concern. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic fully shares the concern about the situation in Angola that has been expressed by previous speakers representing a number of States and joins them in condemning the fascist regime of Portugal, which in its present role of international criminal and brigand is disregarding and trampling underfoot the decisions of the United Nations.

34. The Government of the fascist dictator Salazar is waging a cruel colonial war against the people of Angola, who are fighting for the fulfilment in their country of the principles of independence and national freedom proclaimed in the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted by the United Nations 14 December 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)].

35. Portugal's colonial war against the Angolan people is a threat to world peace and security. No honest man or peace-loving State can remain indifferent to the savage brutalities and the ghastly crimes perpetrated by the Portuguese colonizers against the people of Angola. These colonizers are now in the second year of their cruel colonial war against the Angolan people, who wish to free themselves from the chains of colonial slavery. They are destroying the defenceless populace of whole villages and regions. Terrible documentary evidence has been

submitted, for example, to the Fourth Committee of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, photographs of Angolan patriots brutally tortured by Portuguese armed bands. In the first four months alone of the colonial war in Angola more than 50,000 women, old men and children were killed and more than 150,000 inhabitants of Angola were compelled to leave their country and seek refuge abroad.

36. The representative of Portugal who spoke here on 15 January [1088th meeting] hypocritically misrepresented the real state of affairs in Angola, but only wasted his time. In Angola the Portuguese colonizers are continuing their cruel colonial war against the Angolan people who have risen to fight for their independence.

37. In the last few days' discussions at the resumed sixteenth session of the General Assembly, almost all the speakers have categorically condemned the Portuguese colonizers and spoken of the need for adequate measures to defend the just cause of the Angolan people. I feel it necessary, however, to give particular attention to what was said by my neighbour Mr. Plimsoll of Australia, at yesterday afternoon's plenary meeting [1091st meeting].

38. In his speech Mr. Plimsoll, obviously wishing to be helpful, gave the Portuguese Government a lesson in what is called "good manners". From this rostrum he taught the Portuguese colonizers how they should behave in the new situation that has arisen in the world since the adoption by the United Nations of the Declaration on the abolition of colonialism. He said, evidently with some regret, that Portugal's friends can no longer speak openly in her support. This would, of course, clearly unmask Portugal's friends, who like Portugal itself, are striving to keep the colonial peoples in the chains of colonial slavery as long as possible. This is how they act, though they are quite prepared to speak in favour of the colonial peoples.

39. So, teaches Mr. Plimsoll, Portugal should now adopt a policy which would enable her friends to support her. The Portuguese, says, or rather teaches, Mr. Plimsoll, should adapt their policy and themselves to the new situation in the United Nations in order to receive the support of their friends. I shall not argue with Mr. Plimsoll. It would be difficult for Portugal's friends to support the policy of the Portuguese colonizers openly in the United Nations. This is quite obvious to everyone here, and may be the very reason why the representative of Portugal slammed the door of this room where the situation in Angola is being discussed.

40. But let us return to Mr. Plimsoll. What does he suggest the Portuguese should do to adapt themselves, so to speak, to the new requirements of the present day? They should regard Angola not as overseas Portugal but as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, and recognize its right to self-determination "at the proper time". Mr. Plimsoll points out that this principle can be applied "at the proper time" to Angola, but that much remains to be done before this can happen, and it will take a long while. So he tells the Portuguese colonizers beforehand that they need not worry so long as they declare the principle of self-determination for Angola. If they will do that, the situation can remain unchanged indefinitely.

41. In this way, as the delegate of Ceylon correctly pointed out in his speech yesterday, we are asked to

slow down the abolition of colonialism. He urged us to reject that request, and the BSSR delegation fully agrees.

42. And now I should like to return again to Mr. Plimsoll. According to him we should be sympathetic towards Portugal, whose fascist régime is waging a cruel war in Angola with modern means of extermination supplied by its allies. He sees no need for adopting a resolution providing for sanctions against Portugal. What should be adopted is a general resolution which would in a manner of speaking suit everybody, both the colonizers and those who are suffering under colonialism.

43. The representative of Australia was so carried away by concern for Portugal that one might form the impression that the United Nations should defend Portugal, not the long-suffering Angolan people against whom a cruel war is being fought.

44. If the United Nations took that direction it would become an instrument opposed to the purposes and tasks set forth in its Charter.

45. Lastly, it is worth noting that Mr. Plimsoll, in bestowing praise on Portugal, said that it has been in Africa for several centuries and has achieved a great deal there. At this point I should like to mention a few facts which, as you can judge, do not confirm these claims.

46. After seizing Angola, the Portuguese colonizers established in it a system of cruel colonial oppression and racial discrimination, screened by the formula of universal Portuguese citizenship for all residents of Angola.

47. The colonizers own the best land, expropriated from the native African population. In Angola the Portuguese settlers, who number 120,000 or only 2.5 per cent of the population, own more than 1,400,000 hectares of land, whereas the Africans, who form 97.5 per cent of the population—that is, are forty times as numerous—own only 1,800,000 hectares. The Portuguese Government transforms huge areas of the most fertile land into "reserves", specially set aside for the greatest possible extension of European colonization. Under Portuguese law Africans can be forcibly evicted from land to which the colonizers take a fancy. For example, the Statute of Portuguese indigenous persons enacted by the Portuguese Government in 1954 specifically provides that "non-indigenous persons" may obtain concessions of land farmed by "indigenous persons". In other words, land occupied by Africans is expropriated in favour of Europeans without compensation of any kind. Under the same "Statute" an "indigenous person" cannot own "a plot of land of less than one hectare for a building that cannot be considered permanent". This provision is directly aimed at the expropriation of land belonging to Africans. Very few Africans indeed can afford to build themselves durable houses and many of them only have small patches of land. Consequently they can have no security of title whatsoever. This is one example of the shocking racial discrimination in the Portuguese colonies.

48. Portuguese law, which the rulers of Portugal and their representatives in the United Nations hold up as a model of "humanity and racial impartiality", not only does not guarantee the indigenous population the right to own and dispose freely of land but in fact legalizes expropriation of the property of Africans by Portuguese and other colonizers.

49. The report of the Sub-Committee on the situation in Angola [A/4978] mentions certain limited reforms announced by the Portuguese colonizers and aimed in fact at perfecting the system of colonial domination and oppression in the Portuguese colonies just when the complete abolition of this infamous system is being discussed. A prison does not become any nicer for its inmates because the old rusty bolts are replaced by gleaming new locks. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies are fighting for independence, and no reforms can justify or prolong Portugal's colonial domination of them.

50. In the Portuguese colonies racial discrimination and colonial oppression are to be found both in the system of recruitment of workers and in the working conditions of the local population. Forced labour is widespread.

51. In the Western Press and literature—for example in the American journalist John Gunther's book, *Inside Africa*, there is a detailed description of the practice of compulsory recruitment of labour in the Portuguese colonies. Employers who need labour submit applications to the Governor-General, whose officials circulate them in the form of demands to the chiefs of the lower grades of the colonial administration. These, through the local tribal chiefs or elders and often with the help of the police, supply the employers with the desired number of persons. In this way the employers obtain cheap labour and the officials and police a suitable reward in the form of bribes. The only ones to suffer are the native population, who in virtue of these "contracts" really become slaves.

52. Forced labour in Angola and other Portuguese colonies attains enormous proportions. Tens of thousands of Angolans are sold every year by the Portuguese colonizers as the cheapest form of labour, not only to the planters of Angola but also to the large monopolies in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and in the South African Republic.

53. The African population of Angola is deprived of elementary civic rights. The Africans have, in fact, no political or civic rights. In Angola, as in other Portuguese colonies, all power is concentrated in the Governor-General, who is appointed by the Portuguese Government and is answerable to it alone.

54. This system, which is a clear example of the crudest colonial oppression, does not allow the native people any organs of self-government and completely excludes them from the central and local authorities.

55. Portugal tries to disguise its policy of colonial oppression as a "policy of assimilation". The Portuguese colonizers divide the population of their colonies according to race, into "civilized" and "non-civilized" persons. The "civilized" are themselves, and the "non-civilized" are the native African population.

56. This division is one of the most revolting forms of the policy of racial discrimination. It makes two opposed racial groups, the Europeans and the Africans. The Europeans, the so-called "civilized" persons, enjoy full civic rights; the Africans, the "non-civilized" persons, have no rights at all.

Mr. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

57. The Portuguese colonizers claim, however, that they are endeavouring to adapt the "non-civilized" persons to "civilization" through "assimilation", which

consists in giving Africans Portuguese citizenship and the right to be classed as "civilized persons". In order to obtain these, however, an African must speak nothing but Portuguese, possess the necessary property and professional qualifications and satisfy other similar requirements. In short, the African is expected to abjure his own nation and become a faithful servant of the colonizers. However, after five centuries of Portuguese rule only 0.3 per cent of the Africans have been "assimilated". The other Africans remain unprivileged, oppressed, deprived of all civic rights.

58. The lack of medical service for the African population, combined with overwork, constant malnutrition and terrible living conditions, leads to a high rate of mortality, especially among children, and to the spread among the African population of serious chronic diseases.

59. For education the colonial rule of Portugal has had wretched consequences. As a result of the colonizers' policy, the illiteracy rate in Angola and the other Portuguese colonies reaches, according to figures supplied by UNESCO, 99 per cent, a unique record even for African colonies. The colonizers deliberately endeavour to keep the African population illiterate and ignorant in order to hold it down.

60. One could go on enumerating facts. They in no way confirm the claims made by the representative of Australia that Portugal has done a great deal in Africa. The facts show that the Portuguese colonizers have established in Angola a régime of brutal colonial oppression and racial discrimination, of merciless repression of the people's aspirations to freedom and independence. The barbarity and the régime of fascist terror and violence which reign in Portugal itself are even more glaringly apparent to the whole world in Angola and the other Portuguese colonies.

61. More than once the people of Angola have taken up arms against their oppressors. This struggle has been particularly intensified in recent years since the fresh wind of liberation began to blow across Africa.

62. The Portuguese colonizer is trying to resist the inexorable advance of history. We might ask how it is that the Portuguese colonizers, coming from such a little country, dare to violate the rights of other nations to free and independent development? This is undoubtedly because they receive support and help from their senior partners in colonialist pillage and banditry.

63. In Portugal itself and in its colonies the real masters are the foreign monopolies. Angola and the

other Portuguese colonies are rich sources of raw materials and cheap labour for the foreign monopolies. A share in the colonial robbery and exploitation of the people of Angola and of the other Portuguese colonies is taken by the American, West German and other monopolies, which make huge excess profits by exploiting the African population.

64. The greatest of these monopolies in Angola is the Anglo-Belgian-American Diamond Company, which controls Angolan diamond mining. In the decade 1946 to 1956 its profits increased approximately 2 1/2 times and amounted to more than \$5.5 million; the income of its African workers in 1956 was little more than \$60 each.

65. These figures speak for themselves. Out of the blood and sweat of the population of Angola the monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium are making colossal fortunes and leaving only a few pitiful crumbs to the exploited people.

66. Portugal's colonial war against the people of Angola is being fought with the united forces of the aggressive NATO military bloc.

67. Nothing, however, can halt the inexorable advance of history. The people of Angola will win their independence. Their struggle for freedom and independence has the wholehearted support of the entire progressive world. World opinion firmly demands the implementation in Angola and the other colonies of the United Nations Declaration on the abolition of colonialism.

68. The sympathies and support of the Byelorussian people are on the side of the Angolan people fighting against colonialism for their freedom and independence.

69. The draft resolution on the situation in Angola [A/L.383] has been submitted to the plenary General Assembly by the delegations of Bulgaria and Poland. My delegation would like first of all to express its thanks to the delegations of these brother-countries of ours for taking the initiative and submitting this draft resolution.

70. The draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Bulgaria and Poland proposes the adoption of specific measures to give effect as rapidly as possible to the Angolan people's right to independent development.

71. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic fully supports this draft resolution and will vote for it.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.