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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 27:</i>	
<i>The situation in Angola: report of the Sub-Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1503 (XV) (continued)</i>	1233

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 27

The situation in Angola: report of the Sub-Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1503 (XV) (continued)

1. Hajji FARAH ALI OMAR (Somalia): First of all, the Somali delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to the Sub-Committee for having discharged the difficult task entrusted to it by the General Assembly and for its comprehensive study of the situation which prevails in Angola—and this despite Portugal's refusal to admit the Sub-Committee into that territory.
2. The Sub-Committee's report [A/4798] gives us a clear picture of the existing situation in Angola, and its impartial comments contain constructive elements which undoubtedly will contribute to the achievement of a peaceful settlement of this difficult and most perplexing problem.
3. We would not be true to ourselves, to the Charter of the United Nations or to our brothers in Angola if we failed to mention the very harsh repressive measures instituted by the Portuguese military forces at the Baixa de Cassange in Malange. The Angolans had legitimate complaints against abusive administrative practices at the cotton plantation. It is common knowledge that the assignment to suppress the demonstrators was given to the Portuguese military forces. Air raids, including the use of bombs, were carried out against many villages, utterly destroying them. Those villages that were not hit from the air were wiped out by a field operation, and eye-witnesses and reliable sources of information reported that the wanton destruction of this single operation resulted in the death of over 10,000 Angolans. Refugees from this brutal strike fled into the Republic of the Congo, mourning their thousands of dead and homeless left behind. Since the destructive actions of the Portuguese are well known to this Assembly, I do not need to go into any further details.
4. We are all aware that the item: "The situation in Angola" is one of the most serious problems ever to come before the General Assembly; it is one of the most potentially explosive situations which gravely threatens international peace and security on the continent of Africa and in the world as a whole. When Angola's problem was first brought before the Security

Council, no less than thirty-four Member States supported Liberia's complaint, charging that the Angolan situation constituted a threat to international peace and security. In June 1961, after resolutions were passed in the General Assembly, the Security Council also passed a resolution^{1/} which recalled the two General Assembly resolutions that had been passed and called upon the Government of Portugal to act in accordance with those resolutions. One of the principal resolutions adopted by the General Assembly was 1514 (XV) which declared, without dissent, that alien subjugation, domination and exploitation is a denial of fundamental human rights, and is contrary to the Charter. The resolution also called for immediate steps to be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of all dependent territories in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. Under resolution 1542 (XV) the General Assembly declared Angola, among others, a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of chapter XI of the Charter and declared that an obligation existed on the part of the Administering Authority to report to the United Nations on its administration.

5. Article 1, paragraph 1, of this great living Charter, by which we are all bound, enjoins all its Members:

"To maintain international peace and security . . . to take . . . collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace . . . in conformity with the principles of justice . . .".

However, although the Government of Portugal is a Member of the United Nations, its representative does not even attend these debates—in utter disdain and in complete disregard of the opinions expressed by mature and responsible Member States which recognize the political changes which are sweeping not only Africa, but the whole world. Within the past few years most great Powers, who are foremost among those considered to be colonialists, have supported the march of colonies to independence. During this period of decolonization Portugal defies the will of the inhabitants of Angola and brutally suppresses their legitimate desires for freedom and independence. Innocent Angolans are threatened by cruel and merciless military forces whose sole object seems to be the intimidation of the Angolans and the extermination of Angolan nationalists. The delegation of Somalia would like to add its voice to that of the other peace-loving nations of the world and assure the people of Angola that they are not alone in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The United Nations Charter has within it many elements that can be drawn upon to secure the national independence in Angola. We shall not fail to support the noble freedom-loving people of Angola in their struggle for their legitimate aspirations.

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

6. When colonial Powers help their colonies to attain independent status they honour themselves and they gain the respect that goes with such an achievement. Portugal's long association with Angola need not come to a complete halt when Angola achieves independence, as all of us here are sure it will. The association can continue and become even richer between equal sovereign States. Such an association will do much to dispel international tension in Africa and greatly strengthen the forces for international peace and co-operation between the peoples and States of former colonies on the one hand, and former colonialist Powers on the other.

7. The delegation of Somalia would like to associate itself with the opinion expressed by the Sub-Committee in its report, in which it states:

"... a peaceful solution of the Angolan problem requires not only a drastic reform of legislation and administration but also the formulation of plans to prepare the territory for self-government and the exercise of self-determination." [A/4978, para. 478.]

8. I would like to add that my delegation believes that such an approach will lead to immediate independence. If corrective steps are not immediately instituted, serious consequences are bound to follow. Therefore, before it is too late, the General Assembly must act positively against Portugal's intransigent attitude towards making real and meaningful changes. The friends of Portugal, we believe, should likewise make every effort to persuade the Government of Portugal to adopt the spirit of the Charter, which is still man's best hope for the maintenance of international peace and security, and persuade Portugal to alter radically its views and goals in Angola in deference to what is internationally believed to be right.

9. Mr. RIFAI (Syria): The General Assembly is seized of a question which has arisen because of the obstinate resistance of one Member of the United Nations to moving with the wind of change and because of its refusal to understand that the march of time cannot be arrested by resort to legal myth or by refuge in outmoded concepts which have been abjured by the rest of the world.

10. When the forces clamouring for change in the status quo meet with unrealistic and stern opposition, they usually forge ahead violently and often in the process threaten international peace and security. Violence in our interdependent world cannot be contained, and it would be the height of folly to imagine that Africans would watch impassively the suppression of a legitimate freedom movement on their continent or that any people who have had to struggle for their liberty would tolerate the perpetuation of a human drama such as that which has been unfolding in Angola in recent months.

11. Consequently, one need not labour the point adduced by the Portuguese representative that the situation in Angola poses no danger to world peace. In our view, only a parochial evaluation of international life would consider a situation such as the one obtaining in Angola as an isolated case of local disturbances which need not concern the world community. It may be recalled in this connexion that Portugal's rejection of the Security Council's, the General Assembly's and the Sub-Committee on Angola's finding that the situation in Angola is a threat to world peace, is not without precedents. Earlier in the history of our Organization, the Netherlands Government took a similar

stand with regard to Indonesia's fight for independence. France, later on, was as insistent that the Algerian revolution was a purely domestic problem with no bearing on international peace. The representative of Portugal must be well aware of the evolution of these precedents. One can only hope that the lessons which they teach will not be lost on our Portuguese colleagues.

12. For the moment, however, it seems that Portugal is not ready to heed the lessons of history. Apart from Portugal's rejection of, and non-compliance with, the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly calling on Portugal to consider urgently the introduction of measures and reforms in Angola, for the purpose of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), with due respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations—I say, apart from Portugal's non-compliance with those resolutions, the Assembly had to be subjected once again to a tirade from this rostrum in which a scurrilous attack was made on the work of the Sub-Committee on Angola. This Sub-Committee, to whose members we should like to express our gratitude and for whose work we should like to express our admiration, has, according to Portugal, committed the grave error of reaching the same conclusions as were reached earlier by the Security Council and the General Assembly. That was its unforgivable sin. It would be interesting, in this connexion, to know whether Portugal, which refused to co-operate with the Sub-Committee except in a very limited way, had entertained the hope that the Sub-Committee would lend credence only to information submitted by Portugal and would ignore other sources of information as well as the views expressed by the overwhelming majority of Members of this Organization. We believe that the objectivity of the Sub-Committee has been clearly revealed in its report and that the lone voice of Portugal cannot impugn its impartiality.

13. Thus, unless Portugal is really suffering from a persecution complex, as the representative of Ceylon remarked in his address to the General Assembly [1091st meeting] a few days ago, it would behove Portugal to desist from accusing others of being hostile to its interests purely for the sake of hostility, and to re-examine the policies which have led to the present state of affairs not only in Angola but in all its colonial empire.

14. Ever since Portugal became a Member of the United Nations the Assembly has been urging it in vain to face the realities of our world and to abide by the principles of the Charter which call for the liberation of dependent peoples everywhere. Portugal, however, has adamantly refused to heed the call of this Assembly. With unique rigidity of purpose, it has never ceased to claim that its so-called empire is nothing more than overseas provinces which do not fall within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter. The fact that the resort to similar legal fictions proved ineffective in other cases does not appear to have made a dent on official Portuguese thinking; nor, for that matter, the fact that Portugal stands alone in its position, deserted even by its closest allies and friends. In an age when far stronger nations like Britain and France, as Mr. Sulzberger correctly observed in the issue of *The New York Times* of 6 January 1962, have been forced by emotional and historical conditions to yield their colonies, weak States like Portugal are in no position to maintain empires, even empires

semantically camouflaged as overseas provinces. As he says:

"Unwillingness to recognize the reality of the anti-colonial revolution and unwillingness to face the needs of modern social evolution have been costly lapses. Nevertheless, the Government continues to argue with more bitterness than logic that its past course has been wise."

However, as a Portuguese writer put it:

"The one-nation theory is a legal expedient which never really convinced anyone except those who invented and enforced it."

15. It would be unprofitable at this stage to go into the history of the Portuguese empire in order to examine the origin of this one-nation theory. The story of how this empire came to be is well known, and the reasons for its legal metamorphosis into overseas provinces is also well known.

"Historically", as Professor Duffy, in an article entitled "Portugal in Africa" in *Foreign Affairs*, put it, "the three areas, that is, Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea, have always been colonies, no matter whether they were called 'overseas provinces', as in the nineteenth century, or 'colonies', as in the early days of the Salazar régime, or, as in the 1950's when the régime began to build up its case for remaining in Africa, 'overseas provinces' again. The fact"—which is now confirmed by the Committee's report—"is that more than 95 per cent of the population of Portuguese Africa are not enfranchised citizens of Portugal. They have no civil rights, and are legally regarded as wards of the State governed under a 'regime do indigenato' administered by officials of the Overseas Ministry, formerly the Colonial Ministry."^{2/}

16. Another author, and this one a Portuguese, Antonio de Figueiredo, in a work published as late as May 1961, has the following to say about the "overseas provinces":

"The overwhelming majority of Africans who inhabit these Territories have hardly been touched by civilization or, more precisely, by the benefits of civilization. Out of ten and a half million people ... over ninety-nine per cent are illiterate. Less than four per cent in Mozambique and less than eight per cent in Angola know how to speak Portuguese at all. Less than five per cent in Mozambique and less than ten per cent in Angola live in and around the white man's towns, the only centres where some development is achieved by the natural process of social contact. If there has been any serious interest in these people, it has been in how better to shape their lives to economic exploitation."^{3/}

17. Then the author goes on to say that:

"Portuguese and foreign students of African affairs, misled by the talk of 'assimilation', have come to think that the 'assimilado' system has been devised to give Africans the rights of citizenship. At first sight, by contrast with other colonial policies, the idea that Africans, after meeting with some qualifications, could earn the 'generous concession' of citizen rights looks stimulating. But assimilation,

'partnership', and their friendly opposite 'apartheid' are all features of colonialist mythology. The white man cannot ignore the realities of African demography, and out of moral and political necessity he finds elaborate theories which he applies more or less to suit himself."^{4/}

18. No one who knows the political, economic and social facts about the so-called overseas provinces could possibly contradict this statement of Antonio de Figueiredo. According to the latest count, less than one in a hundred Africans in Angola have attained the rights of citizens. It would be interesting to know whether even these assimilated people have any say in the conduct of their country's affairs. That the administration of these overseas provinces is paternalistic is, according to every available information, also beyond the shadow of doubt. The chain of authority passes in unbroken succession from the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon down to the hand-picked village chiefs. Quoting again from Mr. Duffy's article:

"Political rights for Africans do not exist. Nor has paternalism brought measurable material benefit to the African population. The imbalance between the cost of living in Angola and Mozambique and the average wage—about \$6 a month—is extreme. Education for the Africans, less than three per cent of whom are literate, is totally inadequate. The possibilities for the African child to obtain more than three years of so-called rudimentary education are remote. Beyond the cities, large towns, and several mission stations, health services scarcely exist. Partly, by necessity, but also partly by intent, the African has been maintained in a world of medieval ignorance and isolation."^{5/}

19. The general lines of this bleak picture have been confirmed by the report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola. We have been informed, however, that recently, as late as 8 September 1961, Portugal introduced certain reforms in Angola to correct some of the extreme grievances in this territory. But, as the Sub-Committee has rightly observed, such reforms are hardly satisfactory as a response to the Sub-Committee's approaches with a view to obtaining Portugal's co-operation with the United Nations. The most important aspect of these reforms is the elimination of the legal distinction regarding political rights between persons of indigenous status and others. As the Committee stated, however, the practical consequences of this change must be measured against the fact that to qualify either as a candidate for political office or as an elector, it remains necessary to meet the educational, financial and other requirements established by law.

20. Thus, in addition to the doubts that one cannot help entertaining with regard to the practical effects of these reforms, there are other social, economic and political ills in Angola which these reforms do not touch at all. What about the harsh and inhuman labour practices, for example? What about the administrative abuse? Mr. de Figueiredo again has this to say in this connexion:

"The technicalities of immunity are such that the administrative officials can always justify the application of sanctions [to the indigenous people] on grounds of having been 'disrespected'. The principle

^{2/} *Foreign Affairs*, April 1961, p. 484.

^{3/} Antonio de Figueiredo, *Portugal and its Empire: the Truth* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1961), p. 94.

^{4/} *Ibid.*

^{5/} *Foreign Affairs*, April 1961, p. 486.

of 'respect' towards these officers, both in their capacity as white men and as 'representatives of Portugal', makes everything possible."^{6/}

21. And what about the most important point of all, the aspiration of the people of Angola to become free and independent? The Sub-Committee has provided us with valuable information with regard to these aspects of Angolan life and has told us that they constitute the basic grievances against the existing régime. It states that:

"The information available to the Sub-Committee leaves little doubt that the disturbances and conflicts in Angola are mainly the consequences of genuine grievances of the indigenous population against the administration of the territory, including dissatisfaction with economic conditions, the impact of African nationalism, the rise of political groups seeking redress of grievances and the right of self-determination, and the severe repression to which these groups had been subjected." [A/4978, para. 436.]

22. Our colleague from Portugal, who has challenged the veracity of this picture and who has given us his Government's own version of conditions in Angola, adduced no evidence, unfortunately no convincing evidence, to support his claims. But the question must inevitably arise whether, in the absence of evidence and co-operation with the United Nations from the Portuguese side, Portugal's version alone is to be trusted, or whether under the circumstances one is justified in lending credence to studies of impartial authors, to the reports of the world press and to the voice of those who are struggling to live in freedom, dignity and peace. No amount of unilateral assertions that Angola is a peaceful multiracial paradise is going to conceal the bloody strife which is rampant in that territory, as no force is going to succeed in suppressing the legitimate aspirations of its people for liberty and independence. Portugal has, through a combination of legal fiction and force, unfortunately succumbed to the illusion that the empire—this anachronism of our time—may, regardless of the wind of change that is sweeping over Africa today, remain intact, subservient and always ready to serve the metropolis.

23. But it is high time to realize that this is no longer possible. In this day, it is universally admitted that the subjugation of one people by another which is totally alien to it from a social as well as a cultural point of view is immoral—and what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. In our view, Portugal will never succeed in converting Angola or, for that matter, any other part of its empire, into overseas provinces which are patriotically, as well as legally, extensions of the mother country. For it is well nigh impossible to persuade millions of Africans to resist the tide of nationalism which has swept over the continent, and accept a subordinate status in their homeland. As Mr. Duffy puts it:

"What in essence the Government of Portugal proposes to do is to convince the Africans that it is better to be Portuguese than to be independent."^{7/}

24. For a number of years now, the United Nations has been urging Portugal to desist from pursuing such a course, so dangerous to peace in Africa, a course which is questionable on both the legal and the moral

plane. The recommendations of the General Assembly and the resolution^{8/} of the Security Council have unfortunately remained unheeded. They have often been treated with scorn.

25. What can the United Nations do under the circumstances? That the problem posed by Portugal's non-compliance and lack of co-operation, and by its determination to carry out policies which are repugnant to the conscience of mankind, and are strenuously and violently opposed by the people concerned, constitutes a threat to peace in Africa and the world at large is no longer in doubt. The Security Council is still seized of the Angolan question. The war of liberation is still going on in Angola. During the past few months the situation in Angola has not improved, as the Sub-Committee has reported. On the other hand, the conflict has increased the problems and heightened passions. But in addition to all of this, all independent Africa is agitated by this denial of elementary human rights to fellow Africans, and free people everywhere are deeply concerned.

26. We cannot believe that in face of these facts, Portugal would wish to remain impervious to the voice of reason and to pay no heed to the lessons of history. Although time is running short, we believe that Portugal may still be able to forge bonds of friendship and fruitful co-operation with its dependent territories.

27. The Sub-Committee is convinced in this regard that it is in the genuine interest of the Government of Portugal to heed the opinions expressed by United Nations organs and to take the necessary measures with the co-operation of the Organization. It is further convinced that constructive co-operation between the Government of Portugal and the United Nations is the best means of bringing about a prompt end to the conflict and a peaceful evolution towards the objectives stated in the United Nations resolutions. It feels that rapid measures by the Government of Portugal can still preserve the positive elements of past policies and achievements.

28. To achieve this, Portugal needs only to respect the legitimate aspirations of the people of Angola, and to accept them as equals. Barring that, it alone will be accountable for the horror that may accompany the inevitable struggle of its colonial people for their liberty. The United Nations, as the guardian of world peace, not to speak of its obligations under the Charter, Chapter XI, and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, has no alternative but to make its voice heard and its actions felt in order to bring about a just solution to this problem. This is no intervention in the internal affairs of a Member State. It is a sacred duty, enjoined on us all by a Charter we have all accepted, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

29. Therefore, let us hope that Portugal—towards which my country harbours nothing but friendship and goodwill—may after all see its way to co-operate with the United Nations for the attainment of this noble objective. Many people are baffled these days by the unrealistic attitude of Portugal regarding the Non-Self-Governing Territories which are under its

^{6/} Antonio de Figueiredo, *Portugal and its Empire: the Truth* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1961), p. 96.

^{7/} *Foreign Affairs*, April 1961, p. 487.

^{8/} *Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961*, document S/4835.

control. On 17 January 1962, in an editorial in The New York Times, expression was given to this feeling in the following words:

"This failure to see and grasp the reality of the era we live in, this Portuguese dream-world in which the greatness of past history survives like a ghost—this is what the rest of the world ... faces with bafflement or contempt. How can even the friendly powers—Britain, for instance, Portugal's 'oldest ally', or Brazil, for whom Portugal is a revered mother country—penetrate minds closed to logic, truth, reality?"

30. The answer to this question is very difficult indeed. As far as Angola is concerned, however, we know by the inexorable trend of history that it will become independent, some time, somehow. The Portuguese leaders bear a grave responsibility before humanity in making the choice as to how this inevitable change must come about.

31. Mr. PAZHWAK (Afghanistan): The Angolan situation has many aspects unique among all colonial problems which have been brought before the United Nations, as a result of the unrealistic and regrettable position taken by Portugal, which even the colonizers have not been able to view with any expressed sympathy.

32. The Afghan delegation does not believe that the General Assembly, in dealing with this problem, should engage itself in the discussion of a legal fiction, particularly if that would in any way overshadow the human and political aspect of the situation. In fact, if there is anything that should be condemned more strongly than what is commonly known as colonialism, it is the position of an alien Power whereby it considers a territory or its people an integral part of itself. If such a policy is allowed by humanity, it will amount to nothing less than placing a seal on the decree of eternal death to the freedom and independence of peoples and nations.

33. This is not a conviction which we hold only in the case of the well-known European colonial Powers. We hold this to be true in connexion with any domination of peoples by any alien Power. It is for this reason that we have never emphasized that the domination of a people by an alien Power from another continent is more evil; we have always maintained that domination, in and of itself, is most evil, regardless of any considerations regarding the geographical location of the dominating and dominated peoples.

34. We are very happy to note that in the consideration of the situation in Angola the United Nations has demonstrated an almost unique spirit of understanding of an international problem, despite many selfish political considerations which at times have led some countries to support a wrong cause as a matter of over-all policy, or as a result of considerations of their own particular military and political affinities with a certain party. In support of this contention, I could quote almost every word of the brilliant statement made by the representative of Australia as remarkable example of understanding, not only of the interest of the Angolans, but also of that of the Portuguese.

35. In stating our views on the Angolan question, I do not wish to repeat what has been said before. However, there is one point which I should like to stress, about which we are deeply concerned. It is the alarm-

ing information that we have received at this session of the Assembly that Portugal has been allowed to use the military assistance it receives for purposes of defence, to dominate the Angolans. It is our strong hope that the countries concerned, in conformity with their real purposes, will prevent further misuse of such assistance.

36. The universal deep concern over the situation in Angola needs no further confirmation by the Afghan delegation. The refusal of Portugal to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly has been deplored by all Members of the United Nations.

37. Despite the stubborn and indefensible stand taken by Portugal, my delegation will adhere to its traditional policy of never taking up a hostile attitude towards any Member of the United Nations. At the same time, we shall maintain our firm stand in support of the legitimate right of peoples and nations to self-determination and independence.

38. We have listened carefully to the statements made in the General Assembly, including the one made by the representative of Portugal [1088th meeting]. Before stating our position as to the action which the General Assembly should take, I would like to make a brief observation on some of the points in that statement. These are only points which reflect on the United Nations, and thus on each of its Members.

39. While we agree with the submission of the representative of Portugal that a Member State has every right to act as it thinks best to defend its vital interests, we cannot agree that the defence of vital interests of some people, as they see it, should be at the expense of the vital interests of other peoples, particularly if this interest is their freedom and their independence. Even if this has really been the attitude of some great Powers in some cases, as stated by the representative of Portugal, we cannot be expected to agree that the wrong attitude of one should justify the wrong attitude of another. Normally, people who believe in imitating the attitude of others would be expected to follow the good examples rather than the bad ones.

40. The representative of Portugal referred in his statement to the so-called imperfections of the United Nations, and called for their correction forthwith. In his view, this correction would consist in changing the attitude of the United Nations toward the position of Portugal in connexion with Angola, and thus avoid further harm to the world.

41. In this connexion, he also spoke of several sections of the "sober-thinking" world and of their serious worries. It must be said, however, that in the case of Angola, at least, even these "sober-thinking" circles have not shown any sympathy with the Portuguese stand.

42. The other point that I would like to emphasize is that, without discussing the correctness of the information we were given by the representative of Portugal about certain measures taken for the education, health and welfare of the people of Angola and about certain laws and reforms, or about the non-existence of certain alarming situations in Angola, we do not think that any of these things can justify the domination of the Angolan people, or any other people, let alone the perpetuation of such domination. Schools, hospitals, laws and reforms obviously do not make a territory an integral part of another country. No

student has ever become the slave of his teacher, and no child has ever been named after the doctor who delivered him. It is for this reason that, when the representative of Poland wanted to correct the statistics given by the representative of Portugal, I had the feeling that what should be emphasized was the right of the people to self-determination and independence, regardless of what Portugal has done, or will or will not do. The existence of good or even perfect conditions is no reason for the acceptance of even the most benevolent type of domination, nor a reason for anyone to condone it.

43. The Afghan delegation will support any draft resolution which would honour the Security Council resolution^{2/} and under which the General Assembly would: (a) affirm the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence; (b) urge Portugal to desist from any repressive measures against the people of Angola, and particularly demand the immediate release of all Angolan political prisoners; (c) call upon the Government of Portugal to set up freely-elected and representative political institutions in Angola with a view to effecting the transfer of power to the people of Angola; and (d) call upon Member States to deny Portugal any support or assistance which may be used by it for the suppression of the people of Angola.

44. In conclusion, I would like to express the appreciation of my delegation for the remarkable, friendly advice of the representatives of Brazil and Australia, in the interest of both Angola and Portugal, that Portugal should recognize the right of self-determination and independence for Angola. We hope that Portugal will take a positive attitude and will accept the natural course of history.

45. Finally, I would like to associate myself with all those representatives who have expressed their appreciation of the work of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola and who have commended the urgent consideration and effective implementation of the conclusions reached by the Sub-Committee to the Portuguese Government.

46. We hope that the United Nations will continue to give urgent consideration to the question of Angola until it is solved, not only through the work of such committees, which could help to accelerate the attainment of independence by the Angolan people, but also through all diplomatic channels that would bring about the reasonable conditions essential for the achievement of this goal through peaceful ways and means. Among these, the Afghan delegation will urge the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations to bring the views expressed at this session of the General Assembly to the attention of the Government of Portugal direct, and to make all diplomatic efforts that he may consider appropriate in the interest of the independence of Angola and the betterment of relations between the Portuguese and the Angolans.

Mr. Padilla Nervo (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

47. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (translated from French): A famous contemporary philosopher, whose name I shall not mention, compared the colonial era with the practices of ancient Latium. He said that after the Indo-European invasion, and before Rome

was founded on its seven hills, the Latins used to live in small agricultural towns. These expanded villages had as many people as they could hold. When the population exceeded that number, the young men, in the spring, left the communities where they had been born and went forward, sword in hand, to found a new settlement. It was the holy spring, the ver sacrum.

48. But the eminent philosopher did not say that, even at the time of Latium, there were no ownerless lands, lands res nullius, lands res delictae, or abandoned lands, which could be appropriated by mere occupation; the same was true of property and game. The philosopher also forgot to say that the swords which those young men carried were nothing more than a symbol, the sign of their coming of age, and that those precursors of the "conquistadores" occupied lands in their own country; whereas those of the centuries in which we are interested occupied the territories of other countries, by means familiar to us—that is, by force and conquest.

49. Indeed, the first contact of the Portuguese with the Mwani Congo, in Angola, was in 1490. It is a fact that, since they were good navigators, the Portuguese were the first to establish contact with the Africans from the Gulf of Guinea to the areas known today as Angola and Mozambique. But it was not until about 1580 that they showed any intention of settling there and extending their empire. The Africans then engaged in a fierce struggle to rid themselves of the invaders and to prevent their lands from being occupied. In 1597, having broken the resistance, the Portuguese settled in the area of Cuanza. Quite apart from their few difficulties with the Dutch and the French in the enclave of Cabinda, their settlement in this region was by no means an easy one. The sister of the King, Princess Junga Bandi, one of those Amazons who were then the pride of Africa, refused to accept her brother's defeat, dethroned him and assumed leadership of the resistance. She fought for thirty years with a measure of faith, ardour and patriotism worthy of Joan of Arc. But alas, not only powder and cannon, but also the Cross and the flag were on the side of the enemy.

50. Portugal's act of conquest was consummated only at the Berlin Conference of 1885, when the conquerors made peace by dividing up Africa.

51. But what, actually, is the legal entitlement which Portugal claims? Be it conquest or the Berlin agreements, both are based on violence and force and it is inconceivable that any man of this civilized century should recognize force as a source of law. During the era of imperialism itself, that concept was being challenged and even repudiated, and the defence of freedom was so much the order of the day that Rousseau could say: "So long as a people is forced to obey and obeys, it does well; as soon as it can shake off the yoke and shakes it off, it does even better".

52. The disturbances began in February 1961 at Luanda. I do not wish, here, to describe what supervened, or to recount one by one the horrors which were perpetrated. I would merely explain that it was a case of quite commonplace demands, such as are well known to us all—demands by the workers for improved living conditions, or for better wages. To these demands the employer replied with murder.

53. A little sociological analysis of the employer's action, of his behaviour and of labour-management relations would suffice for me—and for everyone—to

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4835.

conclude that the employer found it easy to commit murder precisely because he enjoyed certain excessive rights while the worker had no right at all to normal living conditions. I do not have to remind Africans of what those living conditions were; we were familiar with them before 1946, and we called them "forced labour".

54. Those disturbances naturally degenerated into disturbances on a national scale, into a national revolution characterized by the attack on the military prison, the civilian prison and the municipal police headquarters. The Administering Power, speaking through the representatives of Portugal, found it easy to say that the attack was the act of a small group of hooligans and foreign mercenaries.

55. If the leaders of the Paris Commune and the fathers of the French Revolution were alive today, they would have lost no time in declaring, from this rostrum, that there had been a perfect nationalist revolution—since they themselves had begun by storming the Bastille.

56. The disturbances continued with the incidents in the Malange district. Since 15 March 1961, Angola has been living under a reign of violence—violence on both sides, attacks and counter-attacks. Reinforcements brought in from Portugal and the white Portuguese living in Angola are formed into an armed militia, but the "black" Portuguese are not. A colonial war is under way.

57. The representative of Portugal, when he opened the debate, proclaimed: "Everything is fine in Angola, the country is calm, life has returned to normal, this debate is illegal." We should have believed him if—as one eminent and distinguished President has said from this rostrum—we were not, as a former colonized people, experts on colonization. We agree with La Rochefoucauld that "it is as easy to deceive oneself without realizing it as it is difficult to deceive others without their realizing it".

58. A colonial war, because of the inequality of the contending forces, is at first always described by the colonial authority as a mere police or "gendarmerie" operation. Yet the war sets in and becomes endless, continuous, cruel, dreadful, sacrilegious and absurd, with looting, burning and killing; but what is abominable is that it is not a war between States, in which men are enemies only accidentally, but a war between men, producing its baneful harvest of hatred and racialism. It is an unjust war, but, as Lacordaire said, "it has two faces"—one of sacred liberation, the other of accursed oppression. Those who defend the sacred thing we call freedom will be the victors, no matter what happens, because they are defending what an old, illiterate chief in a Cabinda village described as the "new ideas" "noveas ideas". Even if the nationalists are annihilated, the idea will continue to make headway and guns will be powerless against it. And the Bible, which always speaks in symbols, expresses that thought when it says: "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

59. Montesquieu regarded this complex of ideas—nationalism—as a nascent empire, and, speaking of Charles XII fighting the Muscovites, said: "The King, relying on his own strength, brought about his own downfall by making plans which could be carried out only by a long war, a war that his kingdom could not sustain. It was not a decadent State that he was seeking to overthrow, but a nascent empire; the nationalists

used the war he was waging against them as a school; with every defeat, they came closer to victory".

60. Despite the repression which we know to be savage, despite the loss of many innocent lives, we know that Angolan nationalism is not dead; for the wind of nationalism blowing over Africa is not a passing storm, but a wind which rose with the birth of the Indian Congress in 1885. The independence of India, which shook all Asia and set off a chain reaction of independence for peoples, engulfed Africa, brought about the independence of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Leopoldville), and makes the Portuguese positions in Angola untenable.

61. No legal trick, not even a constitutional fiction, will be able to prevent the inevitable independence of Angola, Mozambique and the other territories.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

62. There has been much talk about the imperfections of the United Nations. The United Nations is before all else an anti-colonialist body. To understand its essential nature, we must go back to the morrow of the Second World War. While it is not quite correct to say, as Stalin said, that colonies were the cause of the Second World War, it is none the less true that the doctrine underlying colonization—the theory of a superior race with a God-given mission to regenerate the others—is the basis of the theory of Nazism, by which the Second World War was caused.

63. It is therefore obvious that world opinion, during and after the war, was bound to be anti-colonialist. Henry Wallace, former Vice-President of the United States, explained in a statement in 1942 the true meaning of the Atlantic Charter of 14 August 1941. He said:

"No nation will have the divine right to exploit other nations. The oldest nations will have the privilege of helping the younger nations to make a start towards industrialization, but there must be no military or economic imperialism. No nation has an inalienable right to rule subject peoples; the only mandate which a nation can have is that of leading those peoples towards a political and moral development which will permit of their liberation; furthermore, the continued existence of colonialism would be contrary to the true principles of democracy."

64. But what most influenced the authors of the United Nations Charter, signed at San Francisco on 26 June 1945, was the memorandum submitted by Cordell Hull on 21 March 1944. Article 73 of the memorandum was accepted in its entirety and is identical with Article 73 of our Charter. May I be permitted, Mr. President, by reading it, to savour its nobility and the grandeur and elegance of its style.

The speaker read out Article 73 of the Charter.

65. When they joined the Organization, the Members were not unaware of the obligations incumbent upon them under this Article, but some States thought they could circumvent them. Under the 1933 Constitution, Angola was governed by the so-called colonial law. In 1945, the United Nations Charter, with its Article 73, was adopted. By an amendment made to that Constitution in 1951, Angola became a Portuguese province. The chronology of these events at once shows that Portugal resorted to that crude, old-fashioned doctrine in order to avoid the responsibility incumbent

on it under Chapter XII of the Charter and to evade its obligations under Chapter XI. With the permission of the President and the indulgence of this Assembly, I would describe that crude display of intellectual gymnastics as a "legalistic somersault".

66. It is on the basis of that fiction that, despite their irreversible destiny as a free and independent people, the Angolans are to suffer this martyrdom. It is on the basis of that fiction that Portugal dares to describe our debate as illegal. What is this fiction worth? I have just shown that, legally, it is a fraud. But the most serious consideration is that, psychologically, it cannot satisfy nationalism. The fact of being a nation is accompanied by the assertion of a people's own worth, by its feeling of being a separate people, having its own character *sui generis*, its own innate qualities and its own past. But, despite the fiction, Portuguese laws have not succeeded in creating equality, even between the illiterate Angolans and the illiterate Portuguese. The Angolans have neither the same rights nor the same duties as the Portuguese. Only the criminal code is applied to them. They are not represented in the central organs of government.

67. Only in September 1961, under pressure of events, was universal suffrage instituted in Angola, and even then Portugal at once restricted it to those who could read and write.

68. Many African delegations know that this fiction, which has been called "old fashioned", was not invented by Portugal. From Guinea to the Congo (Brazzaville), we were, in 1946, members of a republic one and indivisible. The Ivory Coast was Overseas France, a designation slightly stronger in its juridical meaning than "ultramar português". But, in 1960, all these countries became independent without France even having to revise the Constitution which bound them together. It is for France to say whether it regrets having done so or whether, in doing so, it did not enhance its international prestige and cultural influence. If we are to believe the latest statement made by an eminent member of the French Government on 19 January 1962, decolonization has been a success.

69. It is true that Salazar has described this gesture by France and the United Kingdom as abandonment, and stated:

"It may be said that Portugal's tranquillity was a veritable scandal and a source of envy in the eyes of the world. Above all, it proved that there existed a system of living and coexistence between whites and blacks preferable to any other system."

70. This was intended, in the last analysis, to show that the attitude of abandoning positions, instead of strengthening them and following the example of a system representing centuries of experience, had been a mistake. It is clear that, in Salazar's opinion, it is a mistake for you and me to be seated today in this hall. If truth be told, it is because of pride as much as because of a lack of enlightenment that Portugal is so stubbornly holding the clock back.

71. The unfortunate thing is that patience has its limits and that the shortest jokes are the best. Fifteen years of patience—but Portugal nevertheless succeeded in putting the doctrine of Satyagraha to the test, and India succumbed. Violence very nearly gained the upper hand again. The world, distraught, upset and disturbed as in a nightmare, seemed to hear the bell tolling for the United Nations.

72. This turn of events is perilous at the same time for Portugal, for Africa, for the United Nations and for the world. The spectacle that Portugal's obstinacy almost visited upon the world because of Goa—while a great Power such as France ceded Pondicherry—is what our planet can expect if ill luck wills it that the Africans should reach the end of their patience: a useless colonial war which would, however, lead to a general conflagration, preceded by the disappearance of the United Nations.

73. Such Western countries as France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Belgium would then have a dramatic choice to make between the obligations deriving from NATO or individual agreements with Portugal, on the one hand, and commitments to the Commonwealth, the Community or individual agreements with African States. Whatever their choice, it would upset the balance of forces in the world, and a disastrous war would ensue. Therefore, it is for an obvious reason that the whole world is concerned over the problem of Angola, which is a threat to international peace and security.

74. In the March-April 1961 issue of a magazine which has been distributed to us by the delegation of Portugal, entitled *Portugal, faits et documents*, the Portuguese Government implies that its colonial policy has the support of the Church. Among other things, it states that:

"The history of overseas Portugal is, of course, the history of the expansion of the empire, but it is also the history of the expansion of the faith. On 13 January, the metropolitan bishops meeting in plenary assembly at the Seminary of Olivaïs published a note in which they recall this truth and point out that the signing of the missionary agreement between the Portuguese Government and the Holy See may be considered an act unique in contemporary history" . . . and they add: "The spread of the Portuguese homeland in the different parts of the world was based from the start on an ideal of brotherly and human communion within the Christian civilization."

The document ends with this supposed appeal by the bishop of Lourenço Marques:

"I am pleased to note the appeals for national unity, tranquillity and trust made by the central Government and the Government of the province. The Catholic Church stands by the nation's side As a Catholic bishop and as a Portuguese, I am certain that everything will turn out for the best, although at the cost of some sacrifices in Angola . . . if we maintain our confidence and unity . . ."

75. I am not the Church's representative here, although I do feel some pride in claiming membership in this Church, but I represent a country which believes in God and which respects religious convictions and God's ministers. As a Christian, I cannot allow any further credence to be given to the ideas attributed by this document to the Portuguese Church, because in the end they would justify the savage, barbarous and frightful massacres of innocent and peace-loving missionaries who have laboured and still labour only because an African, Saint Augustin, commanded them to spread charity throughout the world.

76. Why should not these so-called metropolitan bishops, who have been spreading the gospel for centuries, resign as did their French and British fellow-

missionaries to allow the hierarchy of the indigenous clergy to be organized, so that the Church may be firmly and permanently established among the new peoples in accordance with the Gospels and the instructions in the encyclicals *Rerum ecclesiae* of Pius XI, *Evangelii praecones* of Pius XII and *Princeps pastorum* of John XXIII? A church is truly set up in a country only when that country has its own clergy at every level. The missionary clergy must make way for the local clergy.

77. Why does this magazine fail to mention the important and famous encyclical *Fidei donum* of Pius XII, devoted entirely to Africa and expressing the Church's viewpoint on African nationalism? Pius XII says this:

"The assumption by the new peoples of the responsibilities of political freedoms must be a matter of concern, particularly today, to the Church, which has witnessed the birth and growth of so many nations in the course of the last centuries. On several occasions already we have invited the nations concerned to follow this path in a spirit of peace and mutual understanding. 'May a just and progressive political freedom not be denied those peoples who aspire thereto, and may no obstacle be placed in its way', we have said to some. We have counselled others 'to give credit to Europe for their progress, without whose influence in all fields they might have been led by blind nationalism to throw themselves into chaos and slavery'."

78. I have spoken of the Church because it is common knowledge that Portugal's colonial depredations are carried on with the complicity of the Church, and that Portugal itself, under the pretext of anti-Communism, is bent on sowing confusion. Yet, being a Christian like Salazar, I owed it to myself to take issue with him, bearing in mind his favourite field of discussion, and, basing myself on the Bible, Gospels and doctrine, to demonstrate to him that he is guilty of a grievous error—an error which is damaging and disastrous to the Church whose name he invokes, and that, if he believes that he is being martyred, he will not be canonized for all that.

79. Let us, therefore, beseech Portugal to change its colonial policy, because it places the world in an explosive situation. Let us inform Portugal that it is supported by no one, that the mission to spread the gospel was terminated in 1955 by order of Pius XII, and that, in the encyclical which I have just read out, the Pope commands that no obstacle be placed in the way of the aspirations of the African peoples.

80. Let us beseech Portugal's friends, some of whom have remained our best friends, let us beseech all the agencies of peace and peace-loving men to convince Portugal that it is to the advantage of both sides to substitute amicably genuine co-operation based on equality for the anachronistic fetters of colonial bondage. It frees the colonized, restores their personality and dignity, lightens the burdens of the former metropolitan country by eliminating the expenses of sovereignty and strengthens its cultural and economic presence because technical assistance is requested on a greater scale.

81. Finally, let us beseech the Salazar Government to carry out, before it is too late, the reforms required to make Angola independent.

82. Let us reassure Portugal, again calling on its friends to witness, that "Africa for the Africans"

does not mean the expulsion of the Whites who were born there and have lived there for generations. The Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola states, in paragraph 475 of its report [A/4978], that all the Angolan nationalists hope that co-operation based on equality will come about among the various racial groups of Angola.

83. Official statistics prove that, in the African countries which have become independent in friendship with their former metropolitan countries, the white population has increased. Many of them, like my country, have adopted the *jus soli* in their national code as the source of nationality. And we in the Ivory Coast are proud that, as soon as the decree giving effect to the national code was promulgated, the naturalization of one of the deans of the French population of the Ivory Coast was recorded. Henceforth, this citizen has the same rights and obligations as any citizen of the Ivory Coast and, in that capacity, may shout along with us: "Africa for the Africans".

84. In conclusion, I should like the Assembly to know that my Government is taking part in this debate primarily because it prizes peace and believes it to be indispensable to the development of the African States and the strengthening of their independence. It also prizes the survival of the United Nations, the guardian of peace, whose disappearance would mean the triumph of the law of the jungle—"survival of the fittest".

85. Then, my Government is convinced that the awakening of the uncommitted world as a whole, and the awakening of Africa in particular, with many African countries becoming independent and aware of a situation of dependence and inequality in the enclaves still under domination, must lead to independence for all Africa, because these facts taken together constitute the course of history.

86. On the other hand, if we can do nothing to stop this independence, we can do a great deal to channel it in the direction most consistent with the world's peaceful and harmonious development; otherwise it will come about by violence which is admissible only because there is a valid excuse for it but which nevertheless endangers world peace. Let us act quickly, so as to avoid "surprise independence". The United Nations is in difficulties because of the Congo; what does Ruanda-Urundi's future have in store for it?

87. Mr. René Rémond, Director of France's National Foundation of Political Sciences, has said:

"These great colonial empires ... are like trees long rotting from inside; despite their proudly rising branches, a mere gust of wind will bring them down."

Let us warn Portugal that it is taking on a great responsibility, let us ask it to act so that we are not surprised by such a gust of wind which would carry the United Nations away with it, for history has shown that the disintegration of international societies imperils the world.

88. Africa calls upon the Powers responsible for preserving the peace that is essential to its economic development and the strengthening of its independence. May the friends of Portugal do something, and may I, in conclusion, offer for the General Assembly's reflection a thought expressed by Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, in the message he delivered to the nation on 15 January 1962:

"Portugal has always pursued a policy of assimilation in South and Central America (possessions which it lost a long time ago), in India, where it has just lost Goa after four centuries of occupation, and in Africa, but one must learn to live with the times.

"Yesterday, the policy of assimilation may have had its justifications. But today, with the wind of independence which has swept over the world since the last war, and with the attainment of independence by all the Asian States and most of the African States, even if Portugal had succeeded in its assimilation policy to the extent of associating all its African possessions on an absolutely equal footing in the management of the affairs of the Portuguese-African complex—and everyone knows this is not the case—it would be difficult for those African possessions to resist the attraction of independence.

"Honestly, therefore, Portugal must reconsider its position and peacefully bring its territories to independence in full mutual friendship. This is in its real interest.

"Some among us should be in a position to use their influence on that country and especially on some of its allies to persuade it to promote the rapid attainment of international sovereignty by its African possessions.

"Portugal's allies must do so, if they do not wish the independent Africa States not only to condemn their partner severely, but also to consider as the Africans' only friends certain European or other States which have no colonies in Africa or which have concluded no alliances with colonizing countries in Africa, even if we can accuse some of them of imperialism elsewhere.

"Peace will be precarious in Africa so long as all its children have not recovered their freedom. Let it be known once and for all that no African will feel free so long as other African brothers remain under foreign domination."

89. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The situation in Angola has already been considered by the General Assembly and has twice been discussed in the Security Council. The mere fact that the United Nations is discussing the situation in Angola for the fourth time in a few months shows that this is one of the most critical international questions and a continuing cause of world-wide concern.

90. Why is this problem important? The answer is that the problem of Angola and the events there are not isolated. They are part of the general, irresistible process of the liberation of the colonial peoples from the bondage of the shameful colonial system. The situation in Angola at this time is a clear illustration of the consequences of Portuguese colonialism, which long ago acquired the regrettable reputation of being one of the cruellest and most blood-stained régimes of colonial coercion and oppression.

91. This is why the people of Angola, and many other African peoples, no longer wish to live under the unbearable conditions of colonial servitude and have risen up in a struggle for their liberation. Over a year ago the United Nations adopted unanimously, without a single dissenting vote, the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], which demands the end of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

It is now the political and moral duty of the United Nations to take decisive measures for the implementation of this Declaration, especially in the case of Angola where a savage colonial régime is in control and the indigenous African population is being mercilessly exterminated, to the horror of all mankind.

92. Is there any difference of opinion in so far as the actual situation in Angola and the causes of the tragic events of the past year in that long-suffering Portuguese colony are concerned?

93. The report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/4978] and the statements already made by almost twenty delegations at this session of the Assembly clearly show that there is now almost complete agreement on these questions.

94. In its analysis of the position of the indigenous African population in Angola, the United Nations Sub-Committee cited countless facts and figures showing the menial working conditions of the Angolans, the obvious discrimination against them in matters of land use and land ownership, the poverty and hunger among the indigenous population, the absence of basic educational and medical facilities, the complete disfranchisement of over 95 per cent of the African population, who are unable to participate in political and government activities, and the completely arbitrary rule of the Portuguese local administrative authorities.

95. The representatives of African and Asian States who have spoken here, including the representatives of Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Congo (Brazzaville), United Arab Republic, Ceylon, Somalia, Syria, Afghanistan, Ivory Coast and other States, have fully confirmed the facts cited by the Sub-Committee and have also given further details of the colonial exploitation and the disfranchisement and poverty of the Angolan people. They have all emphasized that the colonial oppression and inhuman living conditions of the indigenous population of Angola were the main cause of the mass disturbances which occurred throughout last year and which led to the mass repression and the bloody colonial war being waged by the Portuguese colonialists against the Angolan people.

96. Unbearable, inhuman living conditions of the indigenous population, mass extermination of Angolans (over 50,000 dead), a Portuguese army which is 30,000 strong, is armed to the teeth and is continuing its violence against the defenceless civilian population—this is the true picture of the present situation in Angola, which is a source of profound concern to all freedom-loving peoples.

97. Nobody can dispute the fact, which is startling in the twentieth century, that the Portuguese colonialists are still using a system of forced labour in Angola, with a fourteen-hour working day for all indigenous inhabitants aged fourteen to sixty years, nor the fact that, in order to provide labour for their firms, the Portuguese are rounding up people, as in the time of slavery.

98. The official figures quoted in the Sub-Committee's report show that the wages of agricultural workers are exceptionally low; such workers earn only about \$5.50 a month, i.e., less than twenty cents a day. What is more, the workers are not paid even this meagre pittance in full but are forced to buy their products and goods from their employers at high prices.

99. The vast majority of the population is still illiterate, and the children, instead of going to school, are pressed into forced labour.

100. In a book published in New York, the well-known Henrique Galvão, who was formerly a Portuguese official in Angola, rightly says that "Only the dead are really exempt from forced labour" in Angola. The United Nations Sub-Committee, despite false statements by the Portuguese Government, declares that "there have not been substantial changes in labour practices in Angola in the recent past".

101. In complete contrast with what the representative of Portugal has said here and in the Security Council about the so-called multi-racial, harmonious and united Portuguese State, the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola states in paragraph 203 of its report that "the main source of dissatisfaction in Angola was the basic distinction in status between 'indígena' and 'não-indígena', formerly known as 'não-civilizado' and 'civilizado' and the concomitant administrative practices".

102. The fact that Africans were long ago forced to leave their birth-place and flee this Portuguese colony is graphic proof of the unbearable conditions which exist there. People who are familiar with the situation in Angola describe in their books how, during the period from 1937 to 1947, a total of almost 1 million Africans emigrated from Angola and Mozambique and how by 1947 there were already almost 2 million indigenous inhabitants in Angola and Mozambique living outside these colonies. This process has continued uninterrupted (the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola confirms this in its report), because there has been no improvement in the colonialist hell in which the Angolans live.

103. The savage exploitation bordering on slavery, the absence of civil rights and the hunger and poverty in Angola, not to mention the barbaric suppression by the Portuguese authorities of the least manifestation of national feelings or of aspirations for freedom and independence—these were the reasons which forced the Angolan people to rise up "en masse" against their oppressors. The Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola acknowledges this and states in its report that "the conflict had broken out because of the refusal of the Portuguese Government to respect the legitimate aspirations of the Angolan people and its efforts to preclude by force progress towards self-determination in Angola" [*ibid.*, para. 413].

104. The Angolans, numbering over 150,000, who left Angola and settled in the Congo (Leopoldville) and in the Congo (Brazzaville) had a reason for doing so.

105. How pitiful and false, in the light of these facts, are the attempts by the Portuguese representative to make it appear that the Angolan people could enjoy a quiet life were it not for the activities of some quite mythical "agitators" and "terrorists".

106. It is pointless to refer here to the legal fiction of Portugal's so-called "overseas territories", which has already been completely unmasked by several representatives of Afro-Asian countries.

107. The Portuguese colonialists are among the most obstinate in their attempts to resist the general and irreversible process of the collapse of the colonial system, using every means to preserve their authority in Angola. These attempts are useless. You cannot change the course of history!

108. Trying at all costs to suppress the national liberation movement in Angola, the Portuguese colonialists have unleashed in that country a merciless colonial war accompanied by the savage repression and mass extermination of the indigenous population.

109. As long ago as 22 July 1961, a correspondent of the London newspaper The Observer wrote that the number of refugees who had disappeared without a trace was, according to all available information, about 50,000, although Africans living at Luanda thought that the figure was twice as high.

110. On 27 July 1961, another United Kingdom newspaper, the Daily Herald, said that the first step was to make short work of the village chiefs and of all persons who had received an education. It also said that the Portuguese administration had embarked upon a course of exterminating potential African leaders and that, in that course, there was no stopping half-way.

111. Blood-curdling facts about the mass brutality of the Portuguese have already been cited here by the representatives of many African States. The Portuguese executioners inflict terrible torture on people imprisoned for their participation in the struggle for freedom—hands and feet are amputated, people are cut up alive, and those who try to bury the corpses of their tortured relatives are in their turn killed.

112. In its report, the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola notes that "despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Government of Portugal continued its policy of suppressing the conflict by force" [*ibid.*, para. 76]. The Sub-Committee says that "measures for pacification, such as the bombing of villages and areas suspected to contain concentrations of rebels, including the use of napalm bombs, resulted in the wounding and killing of innocent persons, including persons attempting to flee to safety across the border" [*ibid.*, para. 126]. The report also states:

"The Sub-Committee is particularly concerned about the reports and complaints that a large number of educated persons have been the victims of the conflict and that repression and reprisals were frequently directed against such persons because of suspicion that they were the real or potential leaders of the indigenous population." [*ibid.*, para. 129.]

113. It can be seen from the Sub-Committee's report that the criminal actions of the Portuguese Government clearly amount to genocide, i.e., the mass extermination of persons solely because they belong to a particular race.

114. These brutalities and the extermination of the indigenous population of Angola recall the sombre days of the past. They are a terrible combination of the medieval Inquisition and the Hitlerite methods of mass extermination in which modern weapons are used against unarmed persons.

115. An absolute majority of the delegations at this session of the Assembly accordingly concur in their indisputable and severe evaluation of the grave situation in Angola and its main causes. Even those who, constrained by their responsibilities as its allies, would like to help Portugal in some way cannot come to this rostrum and deny the staggering facts of the savage colonial policy of the Salazar régime; they, too, are forced to speak of the need for Portugal to "get into step with the times" and adopt a more sane policy.

116. What in fact should be done? What can and should the United Nations do in the face of the serious Angolan crisis?

117. As far as Portugal's activities are concerned, the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola rightly says in its report that Portugal's military measures cannot lead to lasting peace in Angola, because they are not removing the basic causes of the conflict in this Portuguese colony. The Sub-Committee also states that "the means to solve the present difficulties are to be sought mainly within Angola through a drastic reorientation of policy in conformity with the obligations of Portugal under the Charter and the relevant recommendations and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council" [ibid., para. 431]. But what does the implementation of these recommendations and decisions mean? It means that only the earliest possible abolition of the colonial system in Angola can put an end to the conflict and provide a solution to the serious situation which has arisen. It means an immediate end to the colonial war in Angola and to the repression of the Angolan people, and the release of all Angolan political prisoners. It means the establishment of the political conditions necessary for the exercise by the Angolan people of their right to self-determination and independence.

118. However, it would be naïve to think that the Portuguese colonialists will grant these demands of their own free will. It is well known that colonizers yield their ground only under the pressure of the struggle for national liberation. This is how many young countries of Africa and Asia, which are now represented here, won their independence. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the just struggle of the Angolan people, and it should take immediate measures to force the Portuguese colonialists to grant these demands. Portugal's attitude towards the Angolan people's demands for self-determination can be seen from the report of the Sub-Committee on the situation in Angola and from the statements made by Portuguese representatives both here and at Lisbon. The report states that the Africans' "demands for self-government, self-determination or independence were regarded as subversive and were repressed with severity" by the Portuguese authorities.

119. On 3 December 1960, during the discussion of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the Portuguese representative said here in the Assembly [934th meeting], in the most brazen manner, that "Portuguese nationhood was completely alien to the practice of colonialism". This is indeed brazen, for referring to the Security Council resolution of 9 June 1961, the same representative, speaking in the Council, described that resolution^{10/} as "illegal and unjust". In his speech in this Assembly on 15 January this year [1088th meeting], he repeated this view and added that the Security Council had adopted a "pro-terrorist resolution... with a view to propaganda". In addition, Salazar, the head of the fascist Government of Portugal, speaking on 30 November 1960 at Lisbon about those who want to give the Angolan people the possibility of self-determination, said "They come too late, for the job has already been done", and he added that Portugal had already granted self-determination to the Angolan people. After the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and

peoples had been adopted, this same dictator, Salazar, had the impudence to say (I quote from The New York Times, which reproduced Salazar's statement in full): "... a citizen, that is a man fully and consciously integrated into a civilized political society, takes centuries to achieve." And the representative of Australia wants to persuade this man—whom the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) rightly described as a "medieval suzerain who survives in the twentieth century"—and this Government to co-operate in the implementation of the Declaration and the Security Council resolution in Angola. Can anyone really believe that such an appeal will be successful?

120. No, the people of Angola, and all other peoples in dependent territories, have the right to self-determination and independence, and they will achieve the exercise of this right, whether or not the Portuguese colonialists want them to. The Angolan people's demand for independence is supported by all the States Members of the United Nations that voted for the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which states that: "The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation". Any half-way proposals concerning the Angolan people's right to self-determination and independence will not help their cause and will only prolong their suffering.

121. As the representative of Liberia rightly stated here, 500 years of Portuguese domination in Angola have been quite long enough to prepare the people of Angola for self-determination and independence, and the Angolan people will not wait another hundred years, as Salazar recommends.

122. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a number of resolutions calling upon Portugal to comply with the decisions of the United Nations and to carry out the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. One particular requirement of the Declaration is that all repressive measures directed against colonial peoples shall cease. The Portuguese colonialists, however, have cynically answered the decisions of the General Assembly by expanding the colonial war in Angola and by the wholesale slaughter of the indigenous people of that colony. They have obstinately sought to prevent the adoption of any effective measures by United Nations bodies.

123. One of the many proofs of this assertion is the report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, which states that the Sub-Committee was not able even to visit Angola because of Portugal's obdurate resistance. It is not enough, therefore, simply to stigmatize the colonizers from the United Nations rostrum; there must be decisive steps to bring pressure to bear on Portugal. Only a universal condemnation of the colonial war in Angola, decisive collective action by all States Members of the United Nations, the adoption of a decision to halt the supplying of arms to Portugal and the application of other sanctions against Portugal can prevent the continuance of Portugal's vicious colonial war in Angola and enable the people of Angola to exercise their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence. Only decisive steps of this nature can compel the Portuguese Government to submit to the will of the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

^{10/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4835.

124. The Committee of Seventeen, created by the Assembly to supervise the implementation of the Declaration, should devote itself in the first instance to the question of giving effect to the Declaration in Angola and should report thereon to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session.

125. We cannot, moreover, ignore the activities of those States which place their relations with Portugal as an ally above the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the unanimously expressed will of the great majority of States which hold that the colonial system should be abolished at once.

126. Everyone knows that dictator Salazar's Government could not maintain its hold on Angola, Mozambique or the other colonies, in which 12 million people live, without the support of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other NATO countries.

127. It is well known, for instance, that under a variety of plans for the defence of the so-called free world, Portugal has received from the United States weapons and ammunition to a value of nearly \$300 million.

128. What is more, within the framework of NATO the colonialists work out joint programmes for combating the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples. All the States which belong to NATO take part, directly or indirectly, in the colonial war against the people of Angola. The very fact that among the many organs of this aggressive alliance there is a special committee on African questions is evidence of this. This committee, as is known, prepares and co-ordinates the measures to be taken by the colonialists to repress the national liberation movement of the African peoples. In this connexion, the members of NATO have divided the different tasks amongst themselves: the actual fighting against the Angolan people is done by the Portuguese army, while the weapons and ammunition are supplied by the United States and Western Germany.

129. The Federal Republic of Germany, one of the ringleaders of NATO, plays a significant role, after that of the United States, in the preparation and execution of measures against the colonial liberation movement. According to Press reports, the Federal Republic of Germany has provided Portugal with 10,000 rapid-firing carbines for punitive operations in Angola.

130. Apart from military and political ties and common colonialist interest, the countries of NATO are also united by common economic interests. By protecting Portugal and supplying it with weapons, the United States and the other members of the North Atlantic alliance seek to retain for their monopolies the enormous profits they extract from Angola and other African countries. According to official United States statistics, United States companies in Africa have received \$1,234 million in profits over the last fifteen years. According to a report in the African newspaper *L'Essor* of 8 July 1961, there were in Angola over 100 registered concessions granted to various foreign firms, including United States firms. What is more, many nominally Portuguese companies are actually controlled by United States or United Kingdom capital. A large part of Angolan coffee, as well as all the manganese and other raw materials mined in Angola, is delivered by Portugal to the United States. The Angola Diamond Company, which has monopolized all diamond mining, is controlled by United States na-

tionals together with United Kingdom nationals and Belgians. The Krupp concern of Western Germany has signed a contract with the Portuguese Company Mineira de Lobito for the extraction of 1 million tons of iron ore annually in southern Angola. Foreign monopolies hold key positions in industry, agriculture, export and other sectors of the Angolan economy.

131. The true anti-colonialism of countries will be tested, as is always the case, in the decision of specific issues. At this juncture, when the fate of the people of Angola is at stake, pious praise for the suffering colonial peoples will be of no use whatsoever. What is needed is practical action.

132. The draft resolution submitted by the Bulgarian and Polish delegations [A/L.383] is fully in accord with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. It proposes the steps which our Organization must take if it wishes to remain true to its Charter, its goals and its ideals. Is it not, after all, in keeping with the United Nations Charter to propose that the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence should be solemnly reaffirmed?

133. If the United Nations is obliged, under its Charter, to reaffirm faith in human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of nations large and small, then must not the General Assembly condemn the colonial war pursued by Portugal against the Angolan people and demand that the Government of Portugal should end that war at once? The General Assembly has, after all, in its historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, plainly declared that "all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease".

134. It is this very demand that is put forward in the Polish and Bulgarian draft resolution, which also contains a number of further points that have no other purpose but to safeguard the rights of the Angolan people to life, freedom and independence.

135. Can there possibly be anything objectionable in these demands? Can we possibly regard as excessive or as overstepping the United Nations Charter the recommendation, for instance, that all States should deny to the Government of Portugal any support and assistance, including assistance in the form of arms and war material, and that they should put an end to any export to Portugal of arms or any kind of war material?

136. We consider this question to be of particular importance. From the attitude taken towards this proposal by the great Powers, it will be possible to judge on whose side they stand and whose interests they defend. From the attitude taken by the great Powers towards this concrete proposal, it will be possible to judge what they in fact hold dearer: the most essential and vital interests of the people of Angola or the colonialist interests of their allies in the NATO military bloc.

137. If the United States really believes in its own statements about United States anti-colonialism and about the readiness of the United States to uphold the interests of colonial peoples, then that country should naturally support the proposal set forth in the Bulgarian and Polish draft resolution; it should bring pressure to bear on its junior partner in NATO; it should put an end to the economic and military assistance which Portugal is being given in its colonial war against the Angolan people.

138. The representative of the Ivory Coast, who spoke just before me, appealed to these Powers to bring their influence to bear on their ally. We join him in this appeal.

139. The General Assembly Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the resolution on the implementation of that Declaration adopted at this session [resolution 1654 (XVI)], and the Bulgarian and Polish draft resolution now before us are all proposals concerned with the peaceful settlement of the colonial issue, including the issue of Angola. In all these documents it is proposed that Portugal, as a Member of the United Nations, should fulfil its obligations under the United Nations Charter. Portugal has, however, flatly refused to fulfil its obligations. It has refused to carry out a Security Council resolution on Angola which is binding on Portugal in accordance with Article 25 of the United Nations Charter. That Article states:

"The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

140. Yet here, before our very eyes, the representative of Portugal declared that this resolution of the Security Council was illegal and that Portugal did not intend to comply with it.

141. Portugal, a Member of the United Nations, continues its colonial war in Angola despite the existence of a clear decision by the Security Council calling for the cessation of that war and of all repressive measures against the Angolan people. The General Assembly now stands confronted with a most flagrant violation by Portugal of its obligations as a Member of the United Nations. Flouting the will of the great majority of States Members of the United Nations, Portugal has refused even to allow the United Nations Sub-Committee into Angola, despite the fact that the General Assembly and the Security Council have specifically entrusted the Sub-Committee with such a mission.

142. Hence, through its actions, the Salazar Government has to all intents and purposes placed Portugal outside the pale of the United Nations. That Government has disregarded and flagrantly violated the Charter and all the United Nations resolutions concerning Angola in its hopeless and desperate attempt to keep Angola in the grip of Portuguese colonial slavery. Is there any likelihood in these circumstances that, without the enforcement measures provided for in the Charter, Salazar and his Government can be induced to alter their policy on Angola and to grant, by peaceful means, real freedom and independence to the people of Angola?

143. All exhortations and high-minded appeals to Salazar, such as those which we heard here from the representative of Australia, testify either to the naïveté of the authors of such expressions and their unwillingness to face facts or to a desire to delay the solution of this vital question on the specious pretext of conducting negotiations which—in view of the present stand, and I would say in view of the present fascist Government of Portugal—obviously cannot lead to any constructive results.

144. The question of Angola has become one of the most acute colonial problems at a time when the United Nations is going through an important phase of its history. The attitude of the colonial peoples to the United Nations in general and to its role in world affairs will to a large extent depend upon the decision taken on the Angolan question by the General Assembly at this session. If the United Nations shows itself to be bankrupt and incapable of taking real steps to ensure the implementation of its historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, if it does not stop the colonial war in Angola and does not support the national liberation struggle of the Angolan people, then it is beyond question that the peoples of Angola and of the other colonies will lose all faith in the United Nations.

145. The warning addressed to the colonialists in December 1960 by N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, appears especially weighty and timely at this moment. He said:

"If the colonial Powers, in defiance of the United Nations, continue to obstruct the liberation of oppressed peoples and oppose their independence, these peoples will have no recourse but to sweep away in resolute struggle all the obstacles raised in their path. And in this struggle they will not remain alone."

146. The demand of the Angolan people for self-determination and independence is supported by the majority of States Members of the United Nations. If the Portuguese colonizers go counter to the will of this majority, it will be so much the worse for them. The Portuguese Government's refusal to carry out the provisions of the Declaration merely aggravates international friction and tension and represents a serious threat to international peace and security. Responsibility in this matter will rest with Portugal and those who support it.

147. The Soviet Union will continue its policy of supporting the struggle of the oppressed peoples against colonialism and their efforts to achieve their national independence.

148. In keeping with this policy, the Soviet delegation fully supports the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly at this session by Poland and Bulgaria. This draft resolution opens the way to a solution of the Angolan question that is both just and in full accord with the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of 14 December 1960. We are convinced that all those who are interested in a peaceful and just solution of this question will also support the draft resolution.

149. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In accordance with the announcement I made last week [1090th meeting, para. 1], the list of speakers wishing to take the floor on this question is closed. There are still thirty-six speakers on it. I hope that, with the co-operation of all the Members of our Assembly, we shall be able to conclude the debate this week and perhaps consider the draft resolutions and finish the discussion of them next Monday, 29 January. The First Committee may then take up the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.