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AGENDA ITEM 27

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

1. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): At this stage of the resumed sixteenth session, the General Assembly is called upon to consider the situation in Angola. Owing to the serious turn it has taken, this situation has become, since the beginning of last year, a source of profound concern to public opinion throughout the world and more particularly in Africa.

2. The particularly bloody nature of the disturbances in Angola immediately caught the attention of the world Organization. Important discussions were promptly indicated last year, first in the Security Council and then in the General Assembly, with a view to assessing the situation and finding a way of dealing with this sudden new crisis which has come on top of a series of upheavals now playing the still dependent parts of the African continent, whose peoples are struggling for human dignity and national independence. After the Security Council, at its meeting on 15 March 1961 [946th meeting], found itself unable to take measures appropriate to the gravity of the situation, forty delegations, including our own, decided on 20 March 1961 to request the inclusion of an item entitled "The situation in Angola"^{1/} in the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly then in progress.

3. On 20 April 1961 [992nd meeting], after the important discussions which we all recall, the General Assembly, by an impressive majority, adopted resolution 1603 (XV), in which it called upon:

"The Government of 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."

Under that same resolution, the General Assembly decided "to appoint a Sub-Committee consisting of five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly", and it instructed the Sub-

Committee "to examine the statements made before the Assembly concerning Angola, to receive further statements and documents, to conduct such inquiries as it might deem necessary and to report to the Assembly as soon as possible."

4. As the situation in Angola was steadily deteriorating in consequence of the policy of brutal repression pursued by the Portuguese authorities in defiance of the appeal made by the United Nations, forty-two delegations of African and Asian countries, including the delegation of Libya, requested on 26 May 1961 that the Security Council should take up the matter again. In their request, these delegations pointed out that:

"... the armed suppression of the Angolan people and the denial of political rights and self-determination to them are in contravention of the Charter and of the General Assembly's resolution on Angola and constitute a serious threat to international peace and security."^{2/}

5. Clearly appreciating the genuine gravity of the situation in Angola and its disquieting implications for international peace and security, the Security Council, on 9 June 1961, adopted a resolution^{3/} which in its preambular and operative parts reflected the critical nature of the Angolan question.

6. In the preamble, the Security Council earnestly deplored the large-scale killings and the severely repressive measures in Angola, took note of the grave concern over such occurrences throughout the continent of Africa and in other parts of the world, and expressed the conviction that the continuance of the situation in Angola was an actual and potential cause of international friction and was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Lastly, the Council recalled resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, in which the General Assembly declared Angola to be a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter; it also reiterated the main provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

7. In the operative part, the Security Council: first, reaffirmed General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and called upon Portugal to act in accordance with the terms of that resolution; secondly, requested the Sub-Committee appointed by the General Assembly to implement its mandate without delay; thirdly, called upon the Portuguese authorities to desist forthwith from repressive measures and further to extend every facility to the Sub-Committee to enable it to perform its task expeditiously; fourthly, expressed

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 92, document A/4712 and Add. 1.

^{2/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4816 and Add. 1 and 2.

^{3/} Ibid., document S/4835.

the hope that a peaceful solution would be found to the problem of Angola in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; and, lastly, requested the Sub-Committee to report to it and the General Assembly as soon as possible.

8. Now that the General Assembly is again considering the question of Angola—and this time in the light of the report of 20 November 1961 submitted by the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/4978]—I should like personally, and on behalf of my delegation, to express the sincerest appreciation for the praiseworthy efforts made by the Chairman and members of the Sub-Committee. Although it is distressing to see our fears over the situation in this African territory unfortunately confirmed by the findings in the report, we can nevertheless be gratified at the conclusions reached by the Sub-Committee. Apart from being restrained and objective, these conclusions provide the necessary basis for a settlement of the Angolan crisis which will be to the genuine advantage of both Angola and Portugal and in the higher interest of attaining the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and which will safeguard peace and order in Africa and the rest of the world.

9. We regret that the Portuguese Government has not seen fit to co-operate fully with the Sub-Committee and, in particular, has not afforded it the necessary facilities for travelling to Angola in order to carry out the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly and the Security Council. We therefore endorse the sentiments expressed by the Sub-Committee in the following words:

"The Sub-Committee once more expresses its regret that the Government of Portugal was unwilling to give its full co-operation to the Sub-Committee despite the United Nations decisions and the appeals of a very large number of Member States. It expresses its disappointment that Portugal did not avail itself of the opportunity presented by the establishment of the Sub-Committee to allay the serious concern caused by the events. The presence of the Sub-Committee in the territory might well have helped to reassure the population, to end the bloodshed and to demonstrate the desire of the Government of Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations in the search for a peaceful solution." [A/4978, para. 449.]

10. The main obstacle to the peaceful solution which we all fervently desire seems to lie in the legal and political fiction which the Portuguese leaders are perpetuating with regard to what they now refer to as Portuguese overseas provinces. In a period when similar myths favoured by the other colonial Powers have been dispelled by the passage of time and the march of progress, the Portuguese leaders are trying to stem the tides of history and evolution. The inevitable results have not been slow in coming, and the deplorable events that have occurred in Angola during this past year, with the tragic losses that we all know of, constitute a warning and a lesson and an urgent appeal for a return to wisdom, realism and common sense.

11. As far as the United Nations is concerned, this aspect of the question can only be properly understood if we go back to the eleventh session of the General Assembly, when the question of Angola was first discussed. Despite Portugal's contention that it administered no territories within the meaning of

Article 73 of the Charter, it was proved, firstly, that the Portuguese territories—and more particularly the African territories, including Angola—were geographically separate and culturally distinct from the metropolitan country and, secondly, that the change in the constitutional status of those territories from colonies to overseas provinces was carried out without the consent of their inhabitants, most of whom, moreover, did not have an equal status with the inhabitants of the metropolitan country. The General Assembly thus concluded that Portugal was required to furnish information under Article 73 e of the Charter.

12. Despite the Portuguese contention that the disturbances are the work of terrorists instigated from abroad, it is quite clear to us that the situation in Angola must be seen within the historical context of an emerging nationalist movement which, in the face of hostility and repression, has had the task of expressing strong-felt sentiments and achieving national aspirations which are very understandable at the present stage in the evolution of Africa. On this subject, the Sub-Committee's conclusions are very explicit. The report states:

"However, 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." [*Ibid.*, para. 436.]

13. The policy of armed suppression blindly pursued by Portugal can only increase the hardships and sufferings of Angolans and Portuguese alike. Force as an instrument of policy has been condemned both by the spirit of the age and by the determination of peoples to surmount any difficulty and endure any sacrifice to regain their freedom and to enjoy human dignity and national independence. The only conceivable way out of this impasse is to seek a peaceful solution through negotiation in keeping with the resolutions of the United Nations.

14. We are thus entirely in agreement with the Sub-Committee, when it states the following conclusions:

"The Sub-Committee is convinced that it is in the genuine interest of the Government of Portugal to heed the opinions expressed by the 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." [*Ibid.*, para. 472.]

15. It is consequently of the utmost importance, in view of the increasing seriousness of the situation, for the United Nations to persevere in its efforts to persuade the Portuguese Government and the nationalist political groups in Angola to set about promptly to achieve a peaceful and reasonable settlement.

16. We are convinced that the Angolan nationalists are perfectly sincere in their desire to find a peaceful, just and mutually honourable solution to their dispute with Portugal.

17. It would thus be highly desirable for the Portuguese Government to consider the comments and recommendations set forth in the report of the Sub-Committee with a view to adopting and applying them with all the speed required by the gravity of the situation.

18. In solemnly upholding the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence, the General Assembly should make an urgent appeal to the Portuguese Government to end its repressive measures once and for all, and to free all political prisoners.

19. The concerted action of the international community should be directed towards convincing Portugal of the need to co-operate fully in giving effect to the United Nations resolutions and to act in a realistic and far-sighted manner so as to expedite a peaceful settlement of this tragic problem. These are measures that will facilitate a satisfactory solution of the question of Angola, and it is in this spirit that we, in association with a large number of other delegations, have submitted a draft resolution [A/L.384 and Add.1] for the consideration of the General Assembly. We hope that the unanimous adoption of this draft resolution will help to restore peace and co-operation within the framework of a just and equitable settlement and will thus usher in a new and promising era in relations between our Portuguese friends and our Angolan brothers.

20. U OHN SEIN (Burma): It is with a great deal of trepidation but indeed with a great sense of responsibility that my delegation takes the floor to express its views on the situation in Angola. Judging from the tone and tenor of the statement made by the representative of Portugal a few days ago [1088th meeting] from this rostrum, Portugal seems as adamant as ever and as impervious as before to the substantial body of world public opinion expressed through the General Assembly and the Security Council against her repressive measures in Angola. The sincere efforts of the United Nations designed to achieve peace and amicable settlement in Angola are dubbed as sinister moves and artificial stunts. The delegation of Portugal unfortunately feels it appropriate to stay away from the deliberations in this hall and the Government of Portugal still clings tenaciously to the view that Angola is an integral part of metropolitan Portugal. The representative of Portugal described the report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/4978] as one based on hearsay, while, at the same time, the Government of Portugal had seen fit to deny the Sub-Committee access to the territory of Angola, thereby rendering any investigation on the spot impossible. As far as my delegation is concerned, we consider the Sub-Committee's report as the best available document which does throw considerable light on the situation in Angola and, in our deliberations, we shall naturally be guided by the comments, observations and conclusions contained therein. At the very outset, my delegation would like to express its deepest appreciation to the Chairman and all the members of the Sub-Committee for the excellent manner in which they have carried out their mandate.

21. The sad feature of our consideration of the situation in Angola is the fact that the responsible leaders of Portugal see it in a different and, if I may say so, illusory light. The claimed and still continue to claim that Angola is part of Portugal and that it is not a colony. This is pure legal fiction. In this connexion, it may be noted that Portugal has an area of approximately 35,000 square miles only, whereas Angola has an area as large as nearly 500,000 square miles. In the view of my delegation, apart from other relevant considerations and apart from the vast expanse of ocean and land separating the two territories, it is anomalous and illogical, to say the least, that a larger whole can be part of a smaller entity.

22. At any rate, the General Assembly has thrown overboard this fictitious proposition and adopted its resolution 1542 (XV). Under operative paragraph 1 (a) of this resolution, Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda, has been classified as a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. Nevertheless, as the President is aware, Portugal has deemed it wise to ignore the verdict of the General Assembly; has erroneously taken refuge under Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter and has simply refused to supply any information to the United Nations on Angola. On the same flimsy ground that Angola is part of Portugal, the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola has been denied all necessary assistance and co-operation. In view of the strong wind of change and the fleeting nature of authority based on armed force, my delegation really wonders how long the Portuguese will be able to persist in this dramatic make-believe.

23. My delegation has studied the Sub-Committee's report very carefully. The statement of the representative of Portugal has also received our careful attention. It seems to my delegation that the representative of Portugal had admitted the presence of a grave situation, the fact of large-scale killings and atrocities committed in Angola. He has only attempted to put the blame on the so-called terrorists and foreign interventions. In this connexion, it may be pertinent to refer to what the Sub-Committee has to say. The Sub-Committee in its report states:

"In the case of the conflicts in northern Angola, it has been stated that they have arisen primarily from the deeply-felt grievances against social and economic injustices, though resentment against settlers or despair at the prevailing situation might also have affected the course of the events. Instructions from outside or even the arrival of 'agitators' would alone be insufficient to explain the scale of the incidents or their rapid spread, unless there was genuine dissatisfaction and deeply-felt grievances." [A/4978, para. 152.]

24. Again, the Sub-Committee states the following:

"The Sub-Committee would reaffirm its opinion, expressed earlier in the report, that the events have had their origin in the grievances and aspirations of the Angolan people, and 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.]

25. My delegation has noted that the number of Angolan refugees in the Republic of the Congo (Leo-

poldville) alone increased from 20,000 in April 1961 to 131,000 by September 1961. My delegation believes that the exodus of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the territory, leaving their hearths and homes, strongly bears out the conclusion drawn by the Sub-Committee. My delegation agrees with the Sub-Committee that the cause or origin of the conflict in Angola lies in Angola and not somewhere else.

26. The people of Angola have suffered and are still suffering from severe, repressive measures, from very systematic discrimination in all aspects of life, and from very thorough exploitation. The plausible goal of the Portuguese, to create an assimilated, multiracial society, has resulted in an atmosphere replete with social and economic injustices. The Portuguese ways of life, beliefs and traditions—for which my delegation has the greatest respect—are cherished as of course they must be, but the indigenous ways of life, beliefs and traditions are looked down upon with serious contempt. The classification of the people in Angola as the so-called civilized and the uncivilized sounds really anachronistic. It indeed causes my delegation to pause and wonder if the attitude of the Portuguese authorities in Angola has undergone any change at all since the days of the imperialist scramble in Africa, when the self-imposed missions of Western Powers were operated in full swing in that part of the world and in Asia, under the veil of such euphemistic epithets as "civilizing missions", "the spread of culture" and "the white man's burden".

27. In view of such a time-worn philosophy underlying the Portuguese rule in Angola, it is small wonder that there is hardly any palpable progress towards self-government and independence. After nearly 400 years of Portuguese rule, Angola remains very much a colony politically, economically and in many other ways. We can quote lavishly from the press and from the Sub-Committee's report to support our conclusions, but I shall refrain from doing so, since I am sure that all my colleagues have studied the question very thoroughly.

28. Some of my colleagues may think that our description of the situation in Angola is very bleak. It indeed may be a bleak and gloomy picture, but my colleagues will also agree that the fault is not ours but that of the subject.

29. As a matter of fact, the problem we have been considering here for the last few days is one on which very strong views can be entertained, harsh words can be uttered and extreme measures can be called for, all with fullest justification. In fact, Portugal not only refuses to participate in our discussion but has with impunity described it as "illegal, pointless and wasteful". If it were my way, or the way of the country which I have the honour to represent here, to use strong words and to call for extreme measures, we could have done so with full justification. But we realize that strong words and extreme measures do not pay, and my delegation refrains from using them. If my delegation has been a bit critical, it is sincerely motivated by our unfailing goodwill and friendship towards both Angola and Portugal. For it is in the interest of both Portugal and Angola to reach an amicable settlement. It will do no good, in the long run, for Portugal to refuse to recognize the right of the people of Angola to self-determination.

30. At this stage, I think it will be quite relevant to quote what the Prime Minister of Burma, the Honour-

able U Nu, said concerning Angola on 15 August 1961 in his report to the Chamber of Deputies on the international situation. He said:

"Needless to say, the Union Government are deeply shocked and concerned with this state of affairs. We condemn this policy of ruthless repression and its background of racial discrimination and will do everything in our power to bring it to an end as soon as possible. At the same time, we would like to believe that it is still possible to hope for some modification of policy in the direction of common sense. Most colonial Powers have caught up with time and are beginning to adjust themselves to changing conditions. Is it too much to hope that Portugal will, in righting a great wrong, also serve her own long-range interest as other colonial Powers have done before her?"

31. In the spirit of our Prime Minister's statement which I have just quoted, my delegation has endeavoured to put forward some criticisms in a manner as dispassionate and as objective as possible. My delegation hopes that they will be received in the same spirit in which they are made. It is urgently imperative that Portugal recognize the right to self-determination of the Angolan people. My delegation holds the view that both friends of Portugal and friends of the Africans should not spare any effort to facilitate the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in Angola.

32. At this juncture, I hope I may be allowed to express a view which my delegation considers to be of paramount importance; that is, that the United Nations presents us, the members of the world community, with a choice of two mutually exclusive methods of settling disputes, namely the method of peaceful negotiation and the method of force. The former is desirable, worthy of human intelligence and befitting the dignity of mankind, whereas the latter is not. I repeat that these two methods are mutually exclusive. When the method of force is resorted to in any degree, the atmosphere for peaceful negotiation is vitiated and negotiation becomes impossible. On the other hand, the use of force as a method of settling disputes will but result in bloodshed and will lead nowhere. The war in Algeria stands as testimony to the truth of this fact. If the legitimate rights of the people of Angola remain unrespected, if independence is too long postponed and repressive measures are further practised, any possibility of peaceful settlement will become entirely precluded, thereby rendering inevitable resort to force by the Angolan people, as the only alternative open to them. Therefore, my delegation would make the strongest appeal to the leaders of Portugal to search their hearts and change their policy before it is too late. And finally, my delegation would address an urgent appeal to both friends of Portugal and friends of Africa to spare no effort in order that the legitimate aspiration of the people of Angola may be fully satisfied as soon as possible.

33. This is all that my delegation wishes to say at this stage, but I should like to reserve my right to intervene again on the specific draft resolutions, if it is deemed necessary.

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

34. Mr. KURKA (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): It is a great and tragic anachronism of the seventh decade of our century that, while in one part

of the world the creative genius of a free people is conquering the universe and literally "raising man to the stars", in other parts of the world peoples are still deprived of their elementary rights and are obliged to fight for freedom and independence. Accordingly, our Organization has no more urgent task than to use all the measures placed in its hands by the Charter for the speedy abolition of that shame of mankind, the hateful colonial system.

35. When the Czechoslovak delegation voted for the adoption of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly (resolution 1514 (XV)), we were fully aware of the paramount importance of this Declaration, which is one of the most outstanding documents ever adopted by the United Nations. The delighted response with which the adoption of the Declaration was greeted throughout the world merely confirmed that in this case the wishes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations expressed the wishes and aspirations of all peoples and of all mankind.

36. All this only heightened indignation that Portugal, one of the States Members of the United Nations, not only has no intention of applying and fulfilling the requirements of the Declaration in Angola and its other colonies, but on the contrary continues to pursue a crude colonialist policy which can only be described as a mockery not only of the Declaration, but also of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

37. It is therefore perfectly reasonable that the bloody violence of the Portuguese colonialists, who do not wish to relinquish their colonial domination and are suppressing the Angolan people's national liberation movement by armed force, should have come before the General Assembly as an exceptionally serious and urgent problem. Its especial significance is not only that Portugal is conducting a war of extermination against the Angolan people in its fight for national liberation and fundamental human rights, but also that, unless the necessary measures are taken, the present tension in that part of the world may rapidly turn into a dangerous threat to world peace.

38. Accordingly the problem has not only its human aspect, which is of course of the utmost importance to the Angolan people and to the conscience of the whole world, but also an acute political aspect, which calls for radical solution by the General Assembly.

39. If we do no more than make formal appeals to Portugal, as some Western delegations propose, we shall just be refusing to help the long-suffering Angolan people, in fact supporting Portuguese colonialism, and in the end increasing the danger of armed conflict in Africa.

40. We also know quite well what importance the Portuguese dictator Salazar himself attaches to these United Nations appeals: he has called the invitation to Portugal "theatrical" and said that it could not have "the least hope of being accepted" (I am quoting from the Sub-Committee's report at paragraph 135). But the Portuguese Government has not limited itself to this contempt of the United Nations; it has gone considerably further. The Portuguese representative has told us here quite openly and shamelessly that the General Assembly has no right to concern itself with

the situation in Angola, which is an "internal affair" of Portugal; and is acting illegally and against the spirit of the Charter in interfering in the domestic affairs of one of Portugal's overseas provinces.

41. Many of the speakers who preceded me rightly pointed out that the formal change in the legal status of Angola by constitutional devices can in no way alter the fact that Angola is a Portuguese colony and that Article 73 of the Charter is fully applicable to Portugal. To acknowledge the contrary would in fact be to condone the perpetuation of colonialism in Angola once and for all.

42. Angola, like other Portuguese colonies, is a colony not only in fact but also in international law. It is therefore fully covered by Chapter XI of the Charter, entitled "Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories".

43. We might go even further and refer to earlier resolutions of the General Assembly which define more clearly its position concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories. I have in mind, for example, resolution 334 (IV), resolution 742 (VIII), and particularly resolution 1542 (XV), which states quite specifically that Angola and the other Portuguese colonies are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

44. It is therefore clear that Angola's position in international law has been unequivocally determined by earlier decisions of the General Assembly, and not by the arbitrary act of the Lisbon Government.

45. I do not consider it necessary to dwell in detail on the legal aspects of this problem, since they are not essential and are merely used by the Portuguese Government—of course in a distorted form—as a baseless excuse for evading its responsibility to the United Nations.

46. To agree with the contention of the Portuguese representative and his Government would be to dismiss the whole of Chapter XI of the Charter as illusory and superfluous, to deny the right to self-determination, and to deny the very bases of the Charter. The constitutional tactics of the Lisbon Government are too naive and transparent to deceive the General Assembly.

47. We should also resolutely reject Portugal's shameless claims to colonial territories in Africa on the ground of mythical "historical and civilizing rights".

48. The truth is that we consider this ground—if it can be called one—perfectly monstrous. It is another conclusive proof to all the peoples of the world of the splendence with which the flowers of evil bloom in the so-called civilized world.

49. Is it possible in our times, in the middle of the twentieth century, to claim privileges and "rights" acquired by forcible repression and merciless pillage of other peoples and continents in the "golden age" of colonialism?

50. Freedom and progress cannot be argued away by mediaeval imperialist obscurantism; freedom and progress will certainly prevail in Angola, as they already have in many other parts of the world.

51. Mr. President, allow me to make one more comment on the so-called argument adduced by the Portuguese representative and his Government.

52. Until quite recent times the Portuguese colonialists boasted openly that Angola and the other colonial territories under their administration were a "quite zone", a sort of island of peace and mutual toleration in Africa. This idyllic picture was alleged to result from the complete agreement of the indigenous population with the Portuguese colonialist' policy.

53. The Portuguese representative who spoke from this rostrum at the beginning of our debate based his entire defence of Portuguese colonialism on that proposition and tried to prove that the General Assembly was acting illegally in declaring its support for the national liberation movement of the Angolan people and, as he put it, "imposing" freedom upon them. According to the Portuguese representative, the Angolan people's only concern is how to continue as long as possible to suffer and die under the yoke of the Portuguese landlords and the fascist soldiery. In the light of the revolting evidence of the situation in Angola given here by earlier speakers, to come out with that kind of statement calls for a very deeply rooted insolence and cynicism.

54. Recent events in Angola prove that the "quite zone" myth was fabricated by the Portuguese colonialists, who refuted all reports of the national liberation struggle in Angola and at the same time tried to isolate Angola from the powerful wave of national liberation movements which is so profoundly changing the face of the African continent.

55. In reality, however, Angola has never been a "quite zone". On the contrary, ever since the fifteenth century, when Portuguese colonizers first set foot on Angolan soil, its peoples have waged an unrelenting struggle for freedom against oppression and enslavement.

56. The milestones of the Angolan people's fight for independence in the twentieth century were the wars of 1902, 1913 and 1915, the rising in Porto Amboim in 1924, and the rising in Ambriz in 1925.

57. Does all this prove that the Angolan people have accepted their lot as slaves of the Portuguese? Is the armed conflict of Angolan patriots which flared up recently to be regarded as an expression of delight with their quite and peaceful life in the shackles of Salazar's colonialism?

58. The General Assembly has already had an opportunity of hearing a great deal of damning evidence of the colonial system of cruelty and terror which the Portuguese colonialists have introduced into Angola.

59. The forced-labour system, which does not differ greatly from the ancient system of slavery, is the keystone of the Portuguese colonial regime. In the words of Henrique Galvão, a former administrator in Angola: "Only the dead can escape forced labour here." These tragic words are the truth about Angola.

60. The data concerning the dreadful situation in Angola which have been submitted to us, though incompletely, by the Sub-Committee of the General Assembly, and which have been supplemented by the statements of previous speakers, are convincing and call for no further comment. The General Assembly is obviously dealing with a colonial system which is particularly cruel because Portuguese colonialism is an offshoot of one of the most reactionary political régimes in the world of today.

61. Many of the speakers on this question who have preceded me have stated that it is quite wrong to

regard Portugal as the sole cause of the sufferings of the Angolan people. In modern times no single colonial Power is capable of dealing with a national liberation movement by itself, and inevitably seeks the assistance and support of international reactionary circles.

62. In the same way, the pillaging and exploitation of the natural resources of colonial and dependent countries is not only the "national concern" of the monopolies in the metropolitan State, but also a joint "enterprise" of international trusts bound together by financial and political interests.

63. It is no secret to anyone that the Algerian "ultras", the Rhodesian racists, the Katanga separatists and the Angola slave-owners are connecting links in the chain of a real international conspiracy—the conspiracy of the imperialist States and their monopolies against the freedom and independence of African peoples.

64. This harsh reality must be borne in mind in connexion with the intensive activity of Portugal's so-called friends, who are trying to convince representatives at this General Assembly session of the propriety of a lenient resolution and of the inexpediency of taking a radical position on Portuguese colonialism.

65. Some earlier speakers have already openly asked where Portugal gets the latest weapons to slaughter Angolan patriots with, when, as everyone knows, it has no advanced arms industry of its own?

66. How can Portugal afford to wage a costly war in Angola when everyone knows that, since its national economy is purely parasitic, it is an economically under-developed country and one of the most backward countries in Europe?

67. As representatives know well enough, those questions are easily answered. The weapons which are killing and burning Africans are the weapons supplied to Portugal within the aggressive NATO bloc.

68. The representatives of the Western Powers try to refute this grave charge with two so-called arguments. First, they maintain that the weapons which are being used to kill Africans in Angola are not their weapons. In that case, it may be asked, where do these weapons come from? If Salazar has purchased them from international armaments trusts and monopolies, then let us immediately place a strict embargo on the sale, from any source, of weapons to the Lisbon Government, and let us at the same time have it revealed who has offered Salazar the enormous financial resources required for the purchase of these weapons. Everyone knows, however, that this is only a theory and that in practice the international community has no control over the source from which any particular weapons now in the hands of Portugal have been obtained. Secondly, the representatives of the Western Powers are trying to convince us that these weapons are given to Portugal for, as they say, "the defence of the free world". Facts, however, are stubborn things and the example of Angola tells exactly the opposite story; the prime purpose of these weapons is much more specific and, I would even say, much more prosaic. They are employed for the defence of colonialism, for the defence of the Western Powers' political and economic interests in Africa and Asia. The so-called financial "aid" which the United States grants in thousands of

millions of dollars to the colonial Powers, including Portugal, serves exactly the same purpose.

69. Everyone knows very well that, without NATO weapons and without financial and economic assistance from the Western Powers, the Portuguese colonial empire would collapse like a house of cards.

70. What importance, then, can we attach to the various memoranda and statements issued by the delegation of the United States when that country, in words, opposes colonialism and even dissociates itself in the Security Council from the crimes of the Portuguese colonizers, but simultaneously, through NATO, in practice makes common cause with Portugal and grants it every assistance for the conduct of a colonial war against the national-liberation movement in its African colonies?

71. It is not by chance that the Portuguese Prime Minister has stated: "Co-operation with the United States under its effective leadership is for us the only way out of this very difficult position."

72. In its well-known memorandum [A/4985], the United States delegation assures the reader that the United States does not regard man as "an economic animal" (as "others do"). But the big business men of Wall Street take in that connexion a more "practical" view. For them, not only is man a thing that loses its value when it loses its capacity for work, but even entire African territories, of vast size, are merely book-keeping items in the record of growing profits. Thus, for example, in the mines of the well-known firm "Companhia Angolana dos Diamantes" are 20,000 Africans who work under conditions of forced labour and whose cruel exploitation is each year converted into the handsome sum of approximately \$66 million of clear profit. It goes without saying that this company is only the Portuguese affiliate of the incomparably more powerful "Diamond Corporation", which is also, of course, controlled by American and British capital.

73. Concessions for oil prospecting and extraction, in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, are in the hands of subsidiaries of the well-known monopolies Standard Oil of New Jersey, Gulf Oil, Pan-American Oil, etc.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

74. Can you seriously think that the Boards of Directors of these financial giants do nothing, day and night, but admire the courageous struggle of the Angolan patriots and pray fervently for their victory?

75. It would, of course, be inexcusable to forget the other companies assisting in the so-called "economic development" of Angola, such as, for example, the French and Belgian monopolies. Mr. Krupp of West Germany has also, recently, become interested in the exploitation of Angola and in the possibilities of profits derived therefrom. And it must be said that the profits are by no means negligible. The net profits of the ten largest foreign companies operating in a controlling position in Angola are estimated at \$18 million a year. Allow me to note in this connexion, Mr. President, for purposes of comparison, that the daily income of an African worker is approximately 18 to 20 cents. Such, then, is the basic economic ground of NATO's present interest in Angola.

76. My delegation brings up these questions solely in order to show, with complete justification, that the

Western Powers' interest in the adoption of a weak and inoffensive draft resolution is dictated primarily by a desire to prevent the emergence in Angola of a situation in which the interests of their monopolies might be threatened. They employ such tactics not only in regard to Angola but also in regard to Katanga, South West Africa and other African territories in which a high concentration of American, British and other foreign capital exists. We must not lose sight of this state of affairs if we wish to make a proper evaluation of the various counsels and proposals which are placed before us.

77. A few days ago the Australian representative stressed, here, the need for a constructive approach to the question under consideration. I can agree with him to the extent that the General Assembly can no longer sit idly by and watch the crimes of the Portuguese colonizers in Angola, but must take constructive measures—constructive in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, constructive in terms of the purposes and tasks of our Organization, constructive in the light of the vital interests of the Angolan people.

78. It seems to us, however, that it is precisely in the concept of a constructive approach that we are diametrically at odds with the Australian representative. The whole trouble is that he wishes to help Portugal but we want to help the Angolan people. He advocates a careful approach to the Portuguese colonizers in order not to antagonize or offend them unduly, but our goal is the immediate and definitive extirpation of Portuguese colonialism from Angola.

79. Allow me to recall that we have already heard such words as "a constructive approach" during our debate on this question, precisely from the lips of the United States representative, Mr. Yost, at the Security Council's meeting of 9 June 1961. He too, on that occasion, urged the Security Council to adopt a constructive approach and, in doing so, he stressed that a solution of the problem of Angola depended in the first place on constructive co-operation between all the parties concerned—having in mind, of course, particularly Portugal.

80. Allow me to ask, Mr. President: What have been the results of this "constructive co-operation"?

81. These are the results. The Salazar Government contemptuously rejects the appeals of the United Nations, categorically refuses to co-operate with the General Assembly's special Sub-Committee and thereby obstructs the Sub-Committee in the discharge of its duties; while the Portuguese representatives with particular zest take part in a foul propaganda campaign against the United Nations, developed and supported by ultra-reactionary forces and groups both here in the United States and in the capitals of other colonial Powers. Portugal reveals its contemptuous attitude toward the United Nations by, among other things, the statements and conduct of the Portuguese delegation at this session.

82. We can, therefore, in no way agree with the Australian representative's attitude—namely, that a constructive approach should consist in a continuation of the policy of oral appeals and in assent to the position of the colonizers.

83. The Czechoslovak delegation holds the view that any concession to any colonial Power is a concession to colonialism as a whole, strengthens its position and undermines the efforts of the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

84. Colonialism is the same thing as war and violence and is a permanent form of aggression against other nations. That is why the General Assembly cannot assume a compromise position with regard to colonialism, whether that fact is or is not to the colonizers' taste.

85. We may naturally expect that the decisive anti-colonialist position of most delegations at this session of the General Assembly will again produce a chorus of angry cries from the colonizers about "the crisis facing the United Nations" and the fact that "the West cannot contend with the mass of new States", as well as cries from the self-styled teachers and mentors that make arbitrary judgements as to who is "responsible" and who is "not responsible". There will also undoubtedly be found those who will speak about "the beginning of the end of the United Nations", substituting their position—or, more correctly, the position of their countries—for the position of the peoples of the United Nations.

86. All these statements testify merely to the fact that colonialism will not leave the stage of history of its own accord that it is defending itself and that it is constitutionally unable to recognize the realities of the present-day world.

87. Sound and timely proposals for the solution of the problem of Angola are, in our opinion, contained in the draft resolution of Bulgaria and Poland [A/L.383]. The great merit of this draft lies in the concrete and business-like nature of the measures proposed, the main aim of which is to prevent Portugal from carrying out further repressive measures against the Angolan people and to create the necessary conditions for the granting of independence to Angola at the earliest possible date.

88. The Czechoslovak delegation regards as especially important those operative paragraphs of the draft resolution in which reference is made to the discontinuance of any military or other support to Portugal for the conduct of colonial wars, and the suggestion is contained that the Security Council consider in an urgent manner the application of sanctions against Portugal, which is refusing to implement the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on this question.

89. The Czechoslovak delegation will therefore unreservedly vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.383.

90. With regard to the draft resolution of the forty-one Asian and African delegations [A/L.384], my delegation reserves the right to revert to consideration of this draft at a later stage in our debate. But I should like to assure you, Mr. President, that the Czechoslovak delegation will support any initiative aimed at finding a real and effective solution for the problem under examination.

91. Mr. HSUEH (China): The basic attitude of my country toward colonialism is well known. For almost two hundred years China has been subject at one time or another to all types of colonial exploitation and imperialist aggression from over the sea or across the land frontiers. The Chinese people were among the first in the world to rise against colonialism and imperialism. It is against this historical background that nationalism became the first and foremost of the Three People's Principles advocated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Republic of China, in leading the nationalist revolution. It is also a part of Dr. Sun's

teachings that China should not only achieve its own nationalist goal, but also co-operate with and help other weaker and colonized peoples in their struggle for national independence and freedom.

92. Since the establishment of the Government of the Republic of China in 1927, Dr. Sun's teachings have been faithfully followed as the corner-stone of China's foreign policy. In the League of Nations as well as in the United Nations, my Government has worked consistently and with our traditional characteristic of moderation for the elimination of colonialism and imperialism. We denounce colonialism wherever it is practised; we condemn the suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever it occurs, in Asia and in Europe as well as in Africa.

93. I have taken the liberty of restating this basic anti-colonial position of my Government because the question now under discussion has been widely characterized as a colonial question. It has been stated by many delegations that Angola is still under colonial rule, that the people of Angola are denied human rights and fundamental freedoms, and that they are indeed subject to brutal treatment and repressive practices. It has been repeatedly pointed out from this rostrum that the disturbances and conflicts which occurred in Angola last year and which caused the loss of many lives and the wide-spread destruction of property are the result of this colonial rule. These statements and reports have certainly been most disturbing and distressing to my Government and my people.

94. On the other hand, we have been told by the representative of Portugal in his statements made before the United Nations that measures of reform are being taken to give to the indigenous people of Angola an equal status as citizens of Portugal and that efforts are also being made to improve the living conditions of the Angolans in the economic and social fields. It has also been declared that Portugal aims not at keeping Angola under colonial rule, but at developing a multiracial State where peoples of different races are to live together in harmony and in equality. These statements, coming from the representative of a country with which China has maintained friendly relations for many years, have also received our attention.

95. Last year my delegation voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution appointing the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [1603 (XV)] in the hope of obtaining more information to enable us better to judge the matter. Now we have received the detailed report [A/4978] from the Sub-Committee. It is indeed regrettable that the Sub-Committee was not able to visit Angola. Nevertheless, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee was invited to Portugal and held consultations with responsible officials of the Government. The Sub-Committee was furnished with official documents and data relating to Angola by the Government of Portugal. Members of the Sub-Committee were also able, thanks to the Government of the Congo (Leopoldville), to interview groups of Angolans who should have direct knowledge of the situation in Angola. Based on the information thus obtained, the Sub-Committee has prepared this report and submitted it to the General Assembly.

96. A careful study of the report would show that the Sub-Committee not only has tried to lay before the Assembly all the relevant facts made available to it, but also has taken great pains to present these facts

in an impartial and constructive manner. To be sure, a number of points of fact and suggestions contained in the report will be disputed or criticized, as they already have been; but my delegation thinks that, within a relatively short period of time and with the limitations imposed on it, the Sub-Committee has done a good job, for which its Chairman and members deserve our thanks.

97. On the whole, the report has painted a gloomy and depressing picture. Its main conclusion appears to be that:

"the disturbances and conflicts in Angola are mainly the consequences of genuine grievances of the indigenous population against the administration of the territory". [A/4978, para. 436.]

98. At the same time, the report does contain here and there some encouraging points. For example, speaking of the repeal of the Statute of 1954 by the Government of Portugal, the Sub-Committee observes: "With this act the legal distinction between persons of 'indígena' status and other as regards political rights is formally ended" [*ibid.*, para. 452], although it is further pointed out that this act of reform alone is not adequate.

99. Whatever conclusion one may draw from the report, it appears to my delegation that the only possible and desirable solution to the question remains the application of the principle of self-determination in Angola. My delegation has had occasion, in the Security Council as well as in the General Assembly, to put forward this view. The report of the Sub-Committee has further strengthened our conviction.

100. I do not have to point out that the application of the principle of self-determination is fully in conformity with the provisions of the Charter. It is a principle which the Charter guarantees to all peoples. Its application in Angola may result in the successful

building of a multiracial State as desired by Portugal; it may also lead to the independence of Angola as desired by others. But, whatever may be the outcome, it will assure peace and harmony among the people of Angola, which is desired by all. Let me say in addition that, whatever may be the outcome of the application of the principle of self-determination, Portugal has an important role to play in Angola. Whether as a part of Portugal or as an independent State, Angola will need Portugal for help in its future development. With peace and harmony assured, Portugal will also benefit from its continued co-operation with Angola.

101. My delegation is, therefore, gratified by the fair and constructive statements made last week before the General Assembly by the representatives of Brazil and Australia. Their moving appeal in favour of the application of the principle of self-determination in Angola is inspiring. Mr. de Melo Franco's firm and yet moderate message conveying the appeal, coming as it does from the representative of a basically anti-colonial State with special links with Portugal, no doubt carries a great weight. Unfortunately, his early efforts to work out a formula along the lines suggested by him were not successful. Nevertheless, my delegation believes that the ideas put forward in his statement point to the direction in which a practical and satisfactory solution may be found for the good of all.

102. We now have before us a draft resolution [A/L.384 and Add.1]. As the draft resolution was formally submitted only yesterday afternoon, my delegation is still studying it. My delegation will certainly give it most careful consideration and determine our position in the light of our general policy, which I have just outlined.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.