

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SIXTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1096th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 25 January 1962,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 27:

The situation in Angola: report of the Sub-Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) (continued). 1267

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 27

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

1. Mr. JHA (India): Three times during the space of the last twelve months the situation in Angola has compelled the attention of the United Nations. Twice the question of Angola has been before the Security Council as a situation endangering the maintenance of international peace and security and causing international friction. And the General Assembly considered the question at its resumed fifteenth session, in April of last year. Now for the fourth time the Members of the United Nations are obliged to give their attention to the situation in Angola as a source of great danger and conflict in Africa and as a total denial of the Angolan people's birthright of freedom and independence. The fact that the United Nations has had to consider the Angolan situation so frequently is no cause for satisfaction to anyone; on the contrary, it is a measure of the continuing frustration and increasing gravity of the situation which it is imperative to resolve without further delay in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

2. The United Nations has adopted more than one resolution in regard to Angola. The first was General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) of 20 April 1961. Subsequently there was a resolution of the Security Council, adopted on 9 June 1961.^{1/} The General Assembly in its resolution 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;"

and decided to appoint a fact-finding sub-committee which was to report to the General Assembly.

3. The Security Council in its resolution stated that "... the continuance of the situation in Angola is an actual and potential cause of international friction and is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security". The resolution called upon Portugal to act in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and "to desist forthwith from repressive measures and further to extend every facility to the Sub-Committee to enable it to perform its task expeditiously". The Security Council also quite rightly expressed the hope that a peaceful solution would be found to the problem of Angola in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

4. These resolutions, namely, General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) of 20 April 1961 and the Security Council resolution of 9 June 1961 were adopted with a remarkable measure of unanimity. The General Assembly resolution was adopted by a vote of 73 in favour and 2 against, Portugal itself being absent, having boycotted the proceedings of the Assembly. The Security Council resolution encountered no opposition and there were only two abstentions. In spite, however, of the overwhelming expression of opinion by these two principal organs of the United Nations, the problem of Angola is still with us in all its intensity and its potentiality for conflict in Africa. It continues to strain international relations at a time when the nations, in mutual understanding, should devote their energies sincerely and whole-heartedly to the solution of the problems of war and peace and the economic problems of large parts of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa, which are clamouring for solution. The ferocity of Portuguese armed action and repression aimed at cowering the Angolan people continues undiminished. Today, in spite of the assertion of the Portuguese representative [1088th meeting] that all is quite in Angola, the Angolan situation is much more dangerous than ever before. The challenge to the United Nations is greater and indeed the whole future of co-operative relations within the United Nations and outside, between important groups of countries, is in jeopardy.

5. Who is to blame for this regrettable and explosive impasse? Not the United Nations, certainly not the countries of Asia and Africa. Indeed, the Members of the United Nations have pronounced themselves on the rights and wrongs of the Angolan situation. They have in unmistakable terms declared that Angola is a colony of Portugal whose natural and inalienable destiny is freedom and independence. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council are significant for their great moderation and restraint. Indeed, the whole attitude of Members of the United Nations—particularly Members from Asia and Africa who, it is no secret, have been the prime movers behind these resolutions—has been eminently reasonable and constructive and has demonstrated their desire for a peaceful evolution of

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

Angola to freedom and independence. They have even been prepared for a measure of gradualness in the march of the Angolan people towards independence. Why is it then that this grave problem is still with us?

6. The sole negative factor has been the intransigence of Portugal and its total imperviousness to world public opinion as reflected in the United Nations resolutions, and its determination to hold on to Angola at all costs, unmindful of its obligations under the Charter and of the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, notably resolution 1514 (XV).

7. The archives of the Assembly are replete with evidence of the obstructive attitude of the Government of Portugal. Let me cite only a few examples. At the meeting of the Security Council on 14 March 1961, the Portuguese representative stated:

"I repeat: 'The Portuguese have been in Africa five centuries and they intend to stay, whatever the cost'. And I may add, the Portuguese of all colours, creeds and races intend to stay in Africa, whatever the cost."^{2/}

8. A few days later, speaking in the General Assembly on the question of Angola on 23 March 1961, the representative of Portugal said:

"My delegation must strongly repudiate the contention ... that Angola is a 'classic case of colonial domination and suppression'. By traditional right, constitutional law, administration and practice, Angola is a province of Portugal, an integral part of a unitarian State." [966th meeting, para. 13.]

9. At the Security Council meeting on 9 June 1961, the representative of Portugal again gave expression to his Government's attitude in the following terms:

"... our view has been that the United Nations has no right to impose or even to suggest the application of a special international statute to certain Provinces of our unitary State, against the national structure of my country and against the principles of the Portuguese Constitution. It is illegal for the United Nations to vote discriminatory resolutions against Portugal."^{3/}

10. Again, only the other day the representative of Portugal characterized the present debate as "illegal, pointless and wasteful" [1088th meeting, para. 65].

11. What is the significance of these statements? We are living in a fast-moving world—a world of change, the dizzy pace of which is shattering old and outmoded concepts and prejudices. Even during the last twelve months, to take the latest segment of time, the dimension of man's knowledge and achievement, especially in space, and his future prospects have themselves changed beyond recognition. This has spurred a revolution in the world of ideas. Yet, while the world has moved on at a breath-taking pace, Portugal has remained still, as indeed it has for the last 400 years. It is this paralysis in Portuguese thinking that is solely responsible for the fact that there has been no progress towards a solution of the problem of Angola, and the people of Angola are not a whit nearer to the freedom and independence which it is their right to have and enjoy.

12. The Sub-Committee of five members—Bolivia, Dahomey, the Federation of Malaya, Finland and the Sudan—appointed by the President in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and presided over by Mr. Salamanca of Bolivia, has submitted an honest, objective, able and painstaking report to the General Assembly [A/4978]. Despite the severe handicap of Portuguese non-co-operation and Portugal's refusal to permit the Sub-Committee to visit Angola, the report is an exhaustive and illuminating document and gives ample facts to enable us to assess the situation in Angola. Hardly anyone in the General Assembly will dispute the conclusion of the Committee 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].

The Sub-Committee goes on to say:

"The disturbances and conflicts have resulted in the loss of thousands of lives, the flight of nearly 150,000 refugees from the territory, and the creation of 'a veritable atmosphere of war'. They have involved much brutality against both the Portuguese and the Angolans, accompanied by fears and charges of attempts towards the 'extermination' or 'annihilation' of racial groups, that is, of a racial conflict of a genocidal nature." [*ibid.*, para. 437.]

Further, the report states:

"During the past few months the situation in Angola has not improved, but deteriorated. The conflict has increased the problems and heightened passions." [*ibid.*, para. 438.]

13. The Sub-Committee naturally could not report the precise figures of the number killed, especially since it was not allowed to visit Angola. Press reports have indicated the African casualties so far to be somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000, and, even if we assume that these figures might be somewhat inflated, we have it on the authority of persons of standing who were actually in Angola during the first months of the Angolan revolution that the number of Africans killed runs into thousands. According to the Reverend Malcolm McVeigh, a missionary of the Methodist Church of New Jersey from 1958 to 1961, who returned to the United States in July 1961, at a conservative estimate 1,000 Europeans and 25,000 Africans were killed during the first three months of the uprising. Many more must have been killed since then, as the conflict has continued and Portugal has persisted in using increasingly brutal measures and armed action against the Angolan people.

14. The representative of Portugal told the Assembly the other day that "the internal life of the region affected by terrorism has returned to normal", [1088th meeting, para. 16]. He further remarked:

"With the reinforcement of troops, and above all, with the active co-operation of the local population, terrorism has been practically overcome. Law and order have been restored; peace and work have been guaranteed. Military operations, as such, have

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 945th meeting, para. 157.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, 956th meeting, para. 63.

ended. One does not exclude the possibility, for some time, of an isolated shot or a treacherous ambush. But such things do not alter the general normality of the region nor do they affect its peaceful progress." [*Ibid.*, para. 27.]

15. We are not persuaded of the truth of these statements. What the representative of Portugal cynically describes as a problem of internal law and order was described by one of the eminent ministers of his Government some time ago as "a veritable state of war". In reality it is nothing short of a ruthless and aggressive colonial war for the suppression of freedom in which some 25,000 Portuguese regular troops and thousands of settlers are engaged against unarmed African people. As *The Observer* of London pointed out in its issue of 18 June 1961, the magnitude of this war is indicated by the budgeted expenditure by Portugal of some £28 million sterling for it. The statements of the Portuguese representative minimizing the scope and magnitude of the conflict will, therefore, deceive no one. The peace of the grave can never be substituted for freedom. So far as we know, this war goes on even if its intensity is temporarily diminished; and the Sub-Committee itself has indicated in its report that the situation has deteriorated.

16. The problem of Angola is not merely one of the freedom of the people of a single country in Africa. Even if it were possible to treat it as an isolated problem, the problem itself would be grave enough. It has, however, much broader aspects and is involved not only with the great movement of the disappearance of colonialism in our time; it even goes to the roots of the Charter of the United Nations as a whole. The process of the liberation of peoples from domination and alien subjugation is an irresistible and irreversible process of history. Wisdom demands that that process should be assisted to full consummation. There could be no graver folly than to place obstacles in the way of that process. Barring Portugal, and perhaps one or two other countries, no one here will accept that any particular provision of the Charter or the spirit of it as a whole are designed to perpetuate Portuguese colonialism. It is, therefore, clear that not only to meet the requirement of international understanding and goodwill, which are basic to the solution of the critical problems of war and peace which face the world today, but also to meet the need for the continued effectiveness of the United Nations, Portuguese colonialism—which typifies that system in its most vicious and virulent form and of which Angola is the worst example—has to go. The question is whether the United Nations can assist in bringing about its dissolution and disappearance peacefully and with sufficient rapidity. For go it must; and if Portugal persists in blocking the doors of peaceful change, and if the United Nations, or more importantly Portugal's powerful friends, cannot persuade it to see the error of its ways, the inexorable processes of history, of change through violence, revolution and war, are likely to take over. If Angolan freedom should have to come that way it will have been won in desperate conflict and bitterness, with resultant upheaval and disruption all round, which would be tragic indeed.

17. The United Nations, therefore, has to take up the challenge of Portuguese colonialism in Angola. This is necessary not only to vindicate the ethos of the United Nations in the matter of freedom for colonial peoples but also to ensure the effective realization of

the Principles and Purposes of the Charter. The question arises: what can we do to assist in the emergence into full freedom and independence of the people of Angola? It is obvious that first of all the obstacle of Portuguese intransigence should disappear. Hitherto, Portugal has not shown any signs of shifting from its mental and psychological attitude of 400 years ago. There is good reason to despair of the possibility of any voluntary change in the attitude of Portugal. The United Nations, however, has the obligation to help in every possible way to bring about this change. Those Members of the Organization which are on friendly terms with Portugal and which have special relations with it through military and other alliances must bring the whole weight of their influence and persuasion to bear on Portugal.

18. In this connexion my delegation would like to state, in agreement with the Sub-Committee, that the so-called reforms which Portugal is said to have initiated can be regarded as nothing but shadowy, superficial and mere eyewash. If Portugal thinks that merely by an act of legislation of this nature it can satisfy the yearning for freedom, while maintaining the myth of Angola's being a part of Portugal, it is living in a world of tragic make-believe.

19. Even a cursory examination of these reforms would reveal their superficial character. The line of authority in Angola, with the Governor-General at the apex, supported by district governors, administrators and "chefes de posto", remains unchanged, for these high officials will continue to be Portuguese. The reform decrees of 1961 are nothing more than panegyrics upon Portuguese colonialism, for which they claim almost divine inspiration. One of the allegedly important features of these reforms is the decision to recognize African traditions and customs. One wonders whether this decision should not have been taken 400 years or more ago when the Portuguese first arrived in their colonies. James Duffy's observation that the Portuguese envision equal status for the Africans in another 200 to 300 years would still appear to hold good. As one student of Portuguese affairs has remarked, these reforms propose no significant changes and are hardly worthy of the name. There is no significant expansion of the functions of local government, the area which these reforms are intended mainly to affect. There is no provision for any election of local officials. They are to be appointed by the governor of a district or an administrative official merely on "consultation". The governor's powers remain unchanged.

20. The practical reality of this matter is that while the ink has hardly dried on the paper on which these decrees were inscribed, a sinister design for the expropriation of the lands of Angolans and for the colonization of that territory through further Portuguese settlement has been put into implementation. In a special despatch from Luanda, appearing in *The New York Times* of 3 September 1961, Henry Tanner, a well-known reporter, wrote:

"Mass immigration by thousands and eventually, perhaps, millions of white settlers is the idea most frequently mentioned here by officials and private citizens searching for a long-range solution to Portugal's problems in Angola.

"Immigration plans vary in form.

"A Portuguese officer exultantly, declares that 'almost all' conscript soldiers who came here

during the last five months 'like it in Angola and plan to settle here with their families after the war'. His dream is that all 20,000 men now fighting the rebels in the north will become 'soldier-settlers'."

21. There are references to this policy of settling soldiers in Angola in part four, section III, subsection B, of the Sub-Committee's report. To the Sub-Committee's fears and apprehensions, the Government of Portugal has responded in its traditional manner. The Portuguese delegation's comments on the Sub-Committee's report read as follows:

"Unless the Sub-Committee wishes to demonstrate its anti-white racism, one does not understand such concern over the coexistence of different races in the same territory. From this part of the report it seems possible to infer that the ideal solution of the problem, in the opinion of the Sub-Committee, would be the expulsion of all persons of the white race from that African territory." [A/5082, para. 82.]

22. The Assembly must carefully weigh the consequences of this policy of settling soldiers in Angola. The role of the armed Portuguese civilians in Angola during these recent months of repression has been described by the Sub-Committee in paragraph 127 of its report. Brutal acts of Portuguese settlers in Angola have also been brought to light in greater detail by Methodist and other missionaries who have recently returned from there. Therefore, this proposed settlement of Portuguese soldiers in Angola in larger numbers can have no other meaning than that of determination to suppress the people and to place them at the mercy of ruthless Algerian-style settlers, the already existing thousands of whom have worked havoc with Africans in the recent uprisings.

23. We strongly deplore this policy and we fear that its implementation can only lead to an aggravation of the present conflict in the Portuguese colony of Angola.

24. One of the basic challenges in Angola to the United Nations and its ethos, to the philosophy of the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, is the continued denial of human rights to the African peoples. In paragraph 142 of its report [A/4978], the Sub-Committee notes: "Many complaints concern the denial of human rights, abuse of authority and high-handedness, especially by local administrative officials". The report goes on to add, in the same paragraph: "The Sub-Committee has heard a number of complaints against arbitrary arrests, long periods of imprisonment without trial, physical ill-treatment of prisoners, and the disappearance of prisoners".

Mr. Quaison-Sackey (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

25. The representative of Portugal, speaking in the Assembly the other day, said:

"And foremost among these principles—the principles which inform Portuguese nationhood—is the development and stabilization of a multiracial society without any sort of discrimination, based on the highest ideals of human brotherhood, not in theory alone but also in practice;" [1088th meeting, para. 60].

This, like many other Portuguese claims, is a very tall claim little substantiated by reality. There is

hardly an observer who has gone into one of these Portuguese colonies and come back bringing confirmation of pronouncements of this character.

26. In the revised 1956 edition of African Survey by Lord Hailey, it is stated:

"There is little opportunity in the present circumstances for the exhibition in Portuguese territories of the spirit of Africanism, for there is a severe measure of restriction on the expression of public opinion."^{4/}

27. More recently, James Duffy in his Portuguese Africa has observed:

"Signs on the doors of Angolan restaurants reading 'Right of Admission Reserved' are not accidental phenomena any more than are the creation of almost exclusively white towns and colonization projects in the interior."^{5/}

28. James Ritner, in his book The Death of Africa, published in 1960, observes:

"Anyone who takes an interest in Africa soon learns that Portuguese Africa is one of the worst governed areas of the world."^{6/}

29. Dr. Rowley, the Chairman of the Baptist Missionary Society, in a recent statement accused the Portuguese military authorities of the "utmost barbarism". He said: "Years of repressive Portuguese government have exhausted the patience of the Angolans", and described Angola as "the blackest spot on the continent of Africa".

30. The Reverend Malcolm McVeigh, who served in Angola as a missionary of the Methodist Church for four years and was compelled to return from there in July 1961, has written much about the state of human rights in Angola. Missionaries are not given to extremist expressions and their observations, therefore, should carry special weight. There have been stories in the press of mass massacres in Angola. This is what he has to say:

"In the past three months thousands have disappeared, carried off by the local militia, government officials, or the troops. We have heard of very few new prisons being built and no one has ever heard of a concentration camp. The prisons are constantly being filled and emptied and very few have returned to their families. One of the big questions is: Where are they going? The rumour in Malange (I have heard this from whites, mulattoes and Africans) is that they are being killed and buried in mass graves by bulldozers".

Of the prevalence of forced labour, the Reverend Malcolm McVeigh says:

"On the international level, Portuguese officials quite often deny that forced labour is still practised in Angola. And it is not unusual for them to produce a mountain of official documents to prove that the system was abandoned many years ago. Of course, this is pure and simple 'propaganda' issued for world consumption.... Interestingly enough, in Angola itself no one would ever think of denying

^{4/} Lord Hailey, An African Survey, revised 1956 (Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 260.

^{5/} James Duffy, Portuguese Africa (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 299.

^{6/} Peter Ritner, The Death of Africa (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 122.

that it still exists. Naturally, there would be little value in trying to deny that anything so common exists."

He goes on—and this is a particularly tragic aspect of forced labour in Angola:

"It is not uncommon for women and older children to be separated, some working on one plantation while others work on another. Spiritual degradation is the result of the forced separation of families and the unhealthy moral life on the plantation compounds. This is especially a problem for young teen-age girls who become the victims for satisfying the desires of unscrupulous whites, mulattoes and blacks."

31. Bishop Dodge has stated that the indignation of the churches against the régime of Mr. Salazar arises from four main sources: "brutal treatment of Africans; terrorist tactics and intimidation; religious discrimination; and absence of forthrightness in official dealings".

32. Speaking of Portuguese terrorists, the Methodist Board of Missions, on the basis of reliable reports received from Methodist sources in Angola, says:

"Generally speaking, they are European merchants or farmers who operate either with the consent of the local Portuguese authorities or behind their backs. Their apparent object is to decimate if not annihilate the male African population of Angola, especially those who have some professional and academic training."

33. I apologize for offering so many quotations but, in the present state of affairs, in which a complete news black-out and a ruthless system of censorship prevail, anyone who is interested in the problem of Angola has no option but to rely on these very sound sources of information coming from gentlemen of high character and standing and organizations of the same character. These give the lie to the much vaunted claim by Portugal of equality and of the observance of human rights in Angola.

34. The Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola has appropriately devoted a part of its report to an examination of economic conditions prevailing in the territory. The report shows the extent of exploitation of the Angolan people by Portugal. Economic exploitation, which always goes with colonial domination, is practised as a fine art by the Portuguese in Angola. Not only is cheap forced labour used on Portuguese plantations carved out of land belonging to Angolans, but the primary products and raw materials of Angola, which feed Portuguese industry in Portugal, are purchased at prices artificially fixed well below the world prices. Likewise, the industrial products of Portugal are forced into Angola at prices artificially fixed higher than world prices. Thus an economic stranglehold is maintained on Angola, for the benefit of Portugal, denying the Angolan people any hope of enjoying the fruits of their land and labour and raising their standards of living.

35. The tragic state of economic backwardness in Angola resulting from centuries of cruel exploitation makes it necessary that the United Nations, with whatever resources it has at its disposal, should find ways and means of going to the assistance of Angola. We hope that the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies will give the necessary attention to this aspect of the matter.

36. The United Nations has shown great patience. In particular, as I have said earlier, the attitude of the Asian and African countries, despite the gravest provocation by Portugal, has been eminently reasonable and actuated by a desire to bring about the peaceful evolution of Angola to independence. While hoping that the friends of Portugal will persuade it to acknowledge the tide of history, the General Assembly can do no better than to adopt a firm but constructive resolution giving Portugal another chance to live up to its obligations to the Angolan people and to the world community.

37. It is the view of my delegation that Portugal should agree to Angola's independence and announce its intention of transferring power by a very early date. This will at once have an electrifying effect. It will help pacify the Angolan people and reduce bitterness. Among the national characteristics of the peoples of Asia and Africa are their tolerance and forgiveness and, once Portugal announces its firm intention of transferring power to the Angolan people and follows it up by concrete measures, it can hope for the building up of future relations with Angola on the basis of understanding and friendly co-operation and equality. We are glad that this has been urged by countries like Brazil and Australia, which have been traditionally friendly and sometimes, one may feel, even partial to Portugal. Among the specific steps that should be taken immediately is the introduction of elective assemblies at local and national levels on the basis of universal adult suffrage. It is, of course, necessary that prior to such elections there should be a complete political amnesty and the release of political prisoners as an essential basis for the creation of the right atmosphere for the introduction of far-reaching reforms and future co-operation between Portugal and the Angolan people. Power should be transferred to the elective bodies so created, and there should be complete transfer of power by the appointed date of independence.

38. Meanwhile, it is the duty of the international community of the United Nations, through its various agencies, to render technical assistance to Angola in building up the necessary technical and administrative cadres and ensuring that Angola has all the necessary services of its own when it emerges into independence.

39. My delegation can visualize no other way in which the problem of Angola can be solved in a peaceful manner, in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and without continuing conflict of a most serious nature.

40. Before concluding, I should like to submit a few remarks of a general character on a subject which has tended to be connected with the one under discussion.

41. Recently, it seems to have become fashionable in certain quarters to attack African and Asian countries for their uncompromising attitude on colonial questions. They have been often called intransigent and unreasonable and charged with having double standards. It has been said that their attitudes endanger, in some mysterious way, the United Nations, and indeed undermine the very foundations of the Organization and its Charter. So far as my country is concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that we are uncompromisingly anti-colonialist. We have seen the

end of the colonial era in our own country, and we are anxious to see the end of colonialism everywhere else. We shall unhesitatingly give our support and sympathy to those who seek the same objective; and no apology is necessary for this attitude.

42. If recent history is any guide, it should be realized by those who profess to be disturbed by the fire of African-Asian anti-colonialism that it is possible—indeed, it is the only wise course—to end colonialism and yet maintain understanding and good relations between the erstwhile colonial Power and a newly emergent State. The relations between India and the United Kingdom are an example in point, as are also the relations between Ceylon, Pakistan, Malaya, Ghana, Nigeria and others and the United Kingdom, with which they are associated in the Commonwealth. The second largest empire was that of France, and, except for Algeria, on the subject of whose freedom France is at odds with practically the whole of Asia and Africa, the former colonial world maintains good relations with France. Indeed, a large number of independent African States represented here, which were formerly French colonies, maintain very close ties with France. Let it therefore not be said lightly that the African and Asian countries in this Organization are carrying on some kind of crusade against the countries of the Western world or that it is a creed with them to oppose the West. That is indeed not true, though there is no doubt that these African and Asian countries, having suffered from a long era of colonial domination and having known its evils at first hand, will have no truck with colonialism. The truth is that those whose positions are more or less static and immovable regard and resent even moderate winds of change from Africa and Asia as a destructive hurricane. There is no doubt that, if Portugal were to act with the same wisdom which informed the actions of other colonial Powers such as Britain and France, it would receive here the same understanding and sympathy as these other colonial Powers, which have shown a capacity and readiness to adjust to changing times.

43. It is a well-known fact that a large number of countries of Asia and Africa are non-aligned as between the Eastern and the Western groups of Powers. These countries have no vendetta to pursue against any particular country or group of countries. They are content to define their responses and attitudes concerning each particular issue as it arises, on its own merits, and to concentrate their energies on their own internal problems which are many and varied and very complex. If, on the question of Portuguese colonialism, the Western Powers come under criticism from African and Asian countries, such criticism is not altogether without reason or foundation. In this whole question of Portuguese colonialism special responsibility devolves on Western countries, especially those of the NATO alliance. For, without the prop of the NATO alliance, Portuguese colonialism would perhaps already have met its destined end. We have no desire to dwell on this aspect of the matter at great length. I would like, however, to conclude by quoting a passage from an article by Professor Basil Davidson, a distinguished and respected student of contemporary African history. Writing in the August 1961 issue of the New Statesman, Professor Davidson says:

"There can be no real doubt that Portugal has used and is using NATO armaments in Angola. Without such NATO supplies, the Portuguese could

never have deployed the aircraft, weapons and destructive techniques they have operated and still operate against African men, women and children. Only Norway among the NATO powers has refused to sell arms to Portugal; because, as Foreign Minister Lange said on 21 June, 'Norway regards it as a burden for the whole western alliance that one member-country seeks to retain colonies by force'."

The African and Asian countries and the people of Angola would have liked to see other NATO Powers adopt the attitude taken by Norway.

44. The countries supplying NATO arms have stated that the arms supplied to Portugal are not intended for use in Portuguese colonies to suppress freedom movements. But the prohibition is obviously futile. Professor Davidson's comment in this regard is pertinent:

"Salazar is faced with a challenge in Angola (and maybe soon in Mozambique) that he is failing to meet with the resources now at his disposal. He is not winning his colonial war. His régime is weakened in Portugal itself. He will therefore clamour for more help, more arms, more ammunition, more bombs, more tokens of friendship. Will he be permitted to get this help?"

And the help he refers to is from NATO.

45. These are also the questions which often arise in the minds of African and Asian delegations. To these questions, we hope, the Western Powers concerned will be able to provide answers satisfactory to African-Asian opinion.

46. I have ventured to bring up the matter of the current misunderstanding, in some quarters, of the African-Asian position, not in any spirit of criticism but in the hope that mutual understanding would be promoted by a frank exposition of our view. It is colonial questions which are proving to be the most deeply divisive factor, and solutions of these without further delay are imperative for removing the causes of division and disharmony in the United Nations.

47. The draft resolution submitted by forty-three countries [A/L.384 and Add.1], of which my delegation has the honour to be a sponsor and whose primary purpose is to promote Angola's independence, adopting a peaceful approach, has precisely these aims. It embodies the constructive approach which, in our view, ought to be brought to bear on this question. We trust that it will be adopted unanimously.

48. Mr. HASEGANU (Romania) (translated from French): There can be no doubt that the problem of Angola now under discussion is one of the most explosive and shattering in international life today. This view has been fully confirmed by the statements of a number of delegations in the General Assembly and in the Fourth Committee at this session, as well as by the debates which took place at the fifteenth session and in the Security Council last year. Once again it has been clearly shown that colonialism, by its very existence, constitutes a permanent source of international conflict, a source of anxiety and danger to all mankind.

49. Most of the delegations which have stated their position on the Angolan problem at this rostrum have stressed the frightfulness of the oppression and terror that are rife in that Portuguese colony, the poverty of the indigenous population, their complete

absence of rights and the conditions of semi-slavery in which they are compelled to live and work. Going further, they have unmasked the colonial war which the Portuguese Government is waging against the Angolan people and the bestial repression in which it is engaging in order to retain its colonial power.

50. The facts that have already been cited are clear evidence of the darkness of the picture. The number of victims of various categories which this colonial war has claimed represents almost 10 per cent of the total indigenous population of Angola. Tens of thousands of persons have been killed, and a considerable number have been wounded; many villages have been burnt or destroyed; and there are more than 180,000 refugees.

51. The report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/4978] supplies, with characteristic discretion, much material which confirms the information provided by various delegations.

52. The attempt by the Portuguese Government to present the Angolan people's fight for liberation as a terrorist movement supported by international subversion is nothing short of ridiculous. The facts prove that the Portuguese colonialists are faced with a wide-spread movement for national independence. This movement is led by politically constituted organizations which have tens of thousands of members and whose ultimate aim is to secure Angolan independence. The Sub-Committee's report lists at least seven organizations of this kind.

53. The Portuguese Government has launched against the indigenous population more than 30,000 soldiers, a large number of tanks and aircraft and all the artillery supplied to Portugal by NATO. The money needed to continue this colonial war is about \$1.7 million a week, or 27 per cent of Portugal's annual budget.

54. The Sub-Committee's report emphasized that "punitive expeditions by ground forces and the extensive use of aviation had gone beyond what was necessary for the attainment of what the Portuguese Government stated to be the scope of its military actions" [A/4978, para. 126]. The report also states that "repression and reprisals were frequently directed against ... persons because of suspicion that they were the real or potential leaders of the indigenous population" [*ibid.*, para. 129].

55. The aim of this mass repression is perfectly clear: first, the complete extermination of the patriotic forces fighting for Angolan independence and of their political leaders; and, second, the maintenance of the present colonial régime with all its advantages for the oppressor country. Clearly, these advantages are considerable. According to *The New York Times* of 9 January 1962, Portugal extracts from its colonies by various means an annual income of about \$700 million, or one-third of its total national income. The greater part of this comes from Angola, which is Portugal's largest colony. Through its relations and trade with the various countries directly interested in exploiting its natural resources—in particular the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany—"Angola has been an important source of foreign exchange for Portugal" [*ibid.*, para. 372]. The Sub-Committee's report also states:

"Under the development plan for 1959-1964, according to information from the Portuguese

Government, about half of the total expenditure is to be financed from Angolan local resources. Portugal has not provided any grants to Angola." [*Ibid.*, para. 378.]

This system of exploitation explains very clearly the under-development of Angola and the poverty into which the indigenous population has been forced.

56. The Portuguese Government has arrogantly rejected all appeals for co-operation and all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the cessation of the colonial war and the granting of independence to Angola. In order to remain in a position to deny any official report which the Sub-Committee might make to the General Assembly, the Portuguese Government has even refused to let the Sub-Committee enter the colony. In order to justify its position in the absence of any valid argument, the Portuguese Government has resorted to the legal artifice of invoking Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter and declaring that the discussion of this problem by the General Assembly is out of order. It seeks in this way to camouflage its colonies under the title of national provinces or overseas provinces, although they are located in different continents. We all know that the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, swept all these manoeuvres aside and, by an overwhelming majority, adopted resolution 1542 (XV), in which Angola and the other territories administered by Portugal were declared to be Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

57. The Portuguese Government is continuing to use these same methods in order to give its own interpretation of the events which have taken place in Angola during the past few months. In his statement to the General Assembly, the Portuguese representative said: "... calm has already been restored ... It is so true that there is no disturbed situation in Angola today that even the international Press ... has not reported anything special about Angola for a long time." [1088th meeting, para. 14.] This statement is altogether at variance with the Sub-Committee's report, which says: "During the past few months the situation in Angola has not improved, but deteriorated. The conflict has increased the problems and heightened passions" [A/4978, para. 438].

58. In reality, the Portuguese Government has increased the flow of troops and armaments to Angola and has thus been able to intensify its bloody repression of the indigenous population. Other steps to speed up the so-called pacification of Angola include stricter censorship and the refusal to allow aliens to enter the territory. The purpose here is to prevent the dissemination of any information hostile to the Portuguese Government in the international Press.

59. In the same connexion, we might also refer to the legislative reforms of 8 September 1961, which were prepared in haste after being held in abeyance for centuries. The real purpose of these measures was to deceive world public opinion. In this regard, the Sub-Committee's report notes: "In short, the recent reforms would seem to have been designed mainly, as indicated by Portuguese officials, to offset alleged misunderstandings abroad and to rationalize procedures. Their immediate effect on ameliorating conditions in the territory as recommended by United Nations organs appears to be limited." [*Ibid.*, para. 467.]

60. It is therefore obvious that the Portuguese Government has made desperate efforts to create a false impression of calm and stability in Angola so as to enable its representative in the United Nations to maintain, from this rostrum, that life is going on normally in the territory and that in fact there is no longer any Angolan question.

61. How calm the situation is in reality is shown by a report from Luanda published in The New York Times of 29 December 1961:

"Portuguese military authorities have taken strict security measures in the last few days to check on traffic entering and leaving Luanda.

"Several roads have been blocked. Only three remain open, to the north, south and east. But these are under rigorous guard."

62. Despite all these measures, the number of Angolan refugees in the neighbouring territories is constantly rising. In our view, the Angolan question continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security. It can only be solved by the total abolition of the colonial régime in Angola, and the granting of independence and self-determination to the Angolan people. No force, no manoeuvre, none of the stratagems to which the Portuguese Government has resorted can prevent the abolition of colonialism. The terms of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] have sunk deep into the hearts of the Angolan people because they express a real need. Without any doubt whatsoever, the Portuguese Government will have to submit to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and grant independence to this colony without further delay.

63. The main difficulties as regards the settlement of the Angolan question have been created not only by the Portuguese Government but also by Portugal's friends in the NATO military bloc, through their massive aid to the Portuguese colonialists. Day by day, the NATO military bloc reveals itself as the principal champion of colonialism and the chief obstacle to its abolition. In both the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee, many representatives have submitted very interesting information on military aid and armaments being furnished to the Portuguese Government by such NATO members as the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany. The international Press and a number of official spokesmen have confirmed these reports.

64. The result of all this is that even while the representatives of the various NATO members are expressing their regrets from this rostrum about the events in Angola, and bemoaning the victims of this cruel war, their Governments are upholding the Portuguese colonialists as they massacre the Angolan people and are sending them the arms with which to carry out these massacres.

65. In point of fact, the attitude of the Powers in the NATO military bloc is paralysing all the constructive steps taken by the United Nations in regard to the Angolan question. This attitude is encouraging the Portuguese Government in its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations or to negotiate with representatives of the Angolan people with a view to granting that territory independence. It is in flagrant contravention of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other United Nations resolutions; it is pro-

longing the colonial war in Angola and every day increasing the number of its victims.

66. My delegation wishes to impress upon the General Assembly that responsibility for the situation in Angola rests not only with the Portuguese Government but also with the chief members of the NATO military bloc, who are deliberately supporting this colonial war by military aid and by deliveries of arms to the Portuguese Government.

67. The Government of the Romanian People's Republic is decisively in favour of the definitive and immediate abolition of the colonial system in all its forms. It whole-heartedly supports the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and in that spirit endorses all measures intended to grant independence to all colonial countries. It condemns the atrocities and reprisals committed by the Portuguese Government against the people of Angola and expresses its sympathy for the heroic struggle of the Angolan people to obtain their national independence.

68. The Romanian delegation will support any draft resolution which, in the spirit of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, condemns the war of extermination and the atrocities in Angola, calls for the immediate cessation of deliveries of weapons to the Portuguese colonialists and contains effective measures to end the colonial system in Angola and to grant independence to the Angolan people. In this regard, my delegation considers the draft resolution submitted by Bulgaria and Poland [A/L.383] to be the best answer to the aspirations of the Angolan people and to the hopes expressed by most of the representatives who have spoken on this matter.

69. Mr. NIELSEN (Norway): The Norwegian delegation has carefully studied the report of the General Assembly's Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/4978].

70. We have been impressed by the objective and politically wise way in which the Sub-Committee has carried out the task entrusted to it. I want in particular to emphasize that the basic point of departure of the Sub-Committee was to seek and invite the co-operation of the Government of Portugal. It is a matter of deep regret to my Government that Portugal did not see its way to co-operate fully, that the Sub-Committee was prevented from carrying out its intention of visiting Angola.

71. The mere presence in Angola of the Sub-Committee might very well have contributed to a relaxation of the existing tension. Certainly the presence of the United Nations in one form or another has had this beneficial effect in a variety of situations which might otherwise have had international repercussions.

72. Notwithstanding this serious limitation imposed upon the Sub-Committee, it appears to the Norwegian delegation that the main conclusions of the Sub-Committee are well rooted in its careful analysis and study of available information, including data supplied by the Government of Portugal. In forming our opinion we do, in particular, attach importance to the prima facie information collected by a group of the Sub-Committee which interviewed a large number of Angolans who had recently fled to the Congo. We have also considered the comments by the Portuguese delegation [A/5082] on the report of the Sub-Committee.

73. The Sub-Committee has in its report described and analysed: the constitutional and legal status of the territory and its population; the general policies and practices of the Portuguese authorities; the labour situation; education and public health; land ownership and land use; the economic conditions; and, finally, the growth of political aspirations in Angola.

74. We feel that the Sub-Committee has studied and commented upon all of the main features of the problem of Angola as it is now before the General Assembly. On this basis, it is the view of the Sub-Committee that little doubt is left:

"... 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].

75. This considered view of the Sub-Committee coincides with the general impression of the Norwegian authorities concerning the situation in Angola. It follows that the Norwegian Government does not agree with the contention that the unrest in Angola was instigated from outside and therefore did not reflect a genuine desire for national emancipation on the part of the indigenous population.

76. We find commendable the outline of a programme for a peaceful and gradual solution of the problem submitted by the Sub-Committee for the consideration of the General Assembly. I quote the words used by the Sub-Committee itself in outlining this programme:

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

The Sub-Committee has emphasized in particular: "the need for a rapid and massive expansion of educational facilities in order to enhance the economic, social and political advancement of the territory" [ibid.]. Furthermore, it has stressed the valuable assistance the United Nations can lend in the search for a peaceful solution on this basis.

77. The Government of Norway considers the colonial system as a remnant of the past which has outlived any usefulness, even for the peoples of the administering countries. The problem of today is how to secure a rapid but orderly transformation from colonial rule. The principal means to achieve this has been established in the Charter of the United Nations through the recognition of the principle of self-determination. On the basis of this general principle the General Assembly has over the years evolved practical policies and thus rendered constructive assistance in a number of situations. The result has been the emergence of many new independent States through peaceful processes.

78. During the last few years the processes have been greatly accelerated. The two decisive factors have been, on the one hand, the growing desire of the dependent peoples for self-determination and in-

dependence, and, on the other hand, the recognition by most of the administering Powers of the strength of this desire, leading to constructive co-operation between themselves and the indigenous populations.

79. This approach, which has as its corner-stone the recognition of the right to self-determination, has proved to be the only viable one. The administering Powers have desisted from resorting to the use of force to maintain the status quo. The indigenous populations have, on their side, been encouraged to seek the fulfilment of their desires through peaceful co-operation and normal political processes.

80. The Norwegian Government is against the use of force to quell and suppress the desire of dependent peoples for self-determination. At the same time, conditions must be avoided under which armed actions and uprisings present themselves to the dependent peoples as the only means for achieving self-determination. To prevent the rise of such situations there must, however, be not only negotiations and co-operation, but also a willingness to grant the right of self-determination and to accept changes by peaceful means.

81. The full application of the principle of self-determination for colonial peoples is, in our view, one of the most important additions to the rules of the international community in recent times. We are therefore directing an urgent appeal to Portugal to grant to the people of Angola self-determination in the spirit of the Charter and in conformity with the General Assembly's reaffirmation of this right in numerous resolutions, and particularly in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

82. The Sub-Committee has, as I have already mentioned, drawn attention to the need for rapid and massive expansion of the educational facilities in order to expedite the advancement of the territory in the political, economic and social fields. In the period leading up to the actual exercise of self-determination, we hope that Portugal, in the interest of the peoples of Angola, will accept and make full use of the assistance which the United Nations and its specialized agencies can render in this respect. We have no doubt that the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, as well as the specialized agencies, are fully prepared to devote part of their means to this end, especially in view of the limitations of Portugal's own resources. We feel that it is incumbent upon this Assembly also to direct its attention towards the creation of conditions under which the act of self-determination can be carried out in a responsible way and to the satisfaction of the peoples of Angola. It is indeed a proper task for the United Nations to take part in the endeavours to make the period before self-determination as short as possible, and also to prepare the peoples of Angola for whatever future they may desire.

83. In conclusion, I want to state that in our view it is not the task of the General Assembly to dwell upon the past history of Angola and the developments which gave rise to the present situation. The task is to promote a peaceful but rapid development towards self-determination. In this respect the co-operation of the Government of Portugal is essential. It is, therefore, our view that the recommendations of the General Assembly on the question of Angola should be of a nature and form which duly take this into account.

84. We have noted that the draft resolution submitted by forty-three African and Asian States [A/L.384/Rev.1] is based on the report of the Sub-Committee. We agree with it. It is our view that in its totality it represents a constructive approach. We have respect for the endeavours to avoid extreme language and measures which, in the given circumstances, in all probability would not serve the purpose foremost in our minds, namely, the start of an orderly, peaceful but rapid development towards self-determination for the peoples of Angola. These considerations will guide us in casting our vote.

85. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): Although the situation in Angola was first brought to the attention of the United Nations less than a year ago, the problem of the Portuguese colonies in Africa has been debated regularly every year since the eleventh session of the General Assembly. When Portugal was admitted to the United Nations at the end of 1955, it was assumed that, as a loyal Member of this Organization, it would faithfully fulfil all its Charter obligations, particularly those contained in Chapter XI in respect of Member States administering Non-Self-Governing Territories. However, these obligations, which should have been accepted without question, became a matter of prolonged controversy between Portugal and a large number of Members of this Organization.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

86. From the very beginning, Portugal refused to acknowledge its obligations under Article 73 e of the Charter and claimed that it administered no Non-Self-Governing Territories falling within Chapter XI of the Charter. Such a claim, however, could not be seriously entertained in view of the fact that Portugal ruled over one of the largest and oldest colonial empires in the world. A majority of the Member States, therefore, could not accept Portugal's contention and insisted on the strict observance of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter.

87. On behalf of my delegation, I personally had the honour of first bringing this matter to the attention of the United Nations when, at the eleventh session, we initiated the debate on this question in the Fourth Committee [615th meeting].

88. Throughout those years of bitter and frustrating debate, Portugal would not listen to the voice of reason and moderation, and persisted in its refusal to accept the obligations which Chapter XI of the Charter clearly imposed upon it as a colonial Power.

89. In the light of the tragic developments in Angola over the past year, can anyone today seriously question the legitimacy and wisdom of our demands five years ago? All that the African and Asian States asked was that Portugal should fulfil its obligations under the Charter and transmit information on its various colonies; and yet many of the countries which were in a position to exert some influence on Portugal not only strongly opposed our simple demands five years ago, but encouraged and supported Portugal in its defiance of the wishes of the international community. These friends of Portugal have now come around to our point of view; but it is too late, and if they and Portugal today regret the lost opportunities, they have nobody but themselves to blame.

90. The representative of Australia the other day urged that Portugal "regard Angola as non-self-governing, that it report under Chapter XI of the

Charter and that it recognize that the principle of self-determination shall apply" [1091st meeting, para. 90]. If these views had been expressed five years ago by the representatives of Australia and other States friendly to Portugal, the situation in Angola might be different today. But in 1957 such heretical views were looked upon with horror by Portugal and its friends. None of those friends at the time showed the slightest desire or inclination to urge Portugal to assume faithfully its obligations under the Charter. Instead, by their support, both active and passive, they have encouraged Portugal to persist in its folly. And do I need to remind them now of how vehemently they denied the right and competence of the General Assembly to take decisions on Non-Self-Governing Territories, and of how enthusiastically they upheld Portugal's claim that it alone was competent to decide which, if any, of its territories was non-self-governing?

91. On the other hand, the majority of the Members of this Organization, particularly those from Asia, Africa and Latin America, have always maintained that the United Nations had a historic role to play in accelerating the process of decolonization; that the General Assembly, which represents the collective conscience of mankind, should be permitted to help in speeding the evolution of this historic process. This role, which derives its legal and moral sanction from the Charter, was unequivocally recognized in the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted at the end of the fifteenth session [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)].

92. As far as Angola is concerned, if the United Nations had been allowed to enter into the picture and if Portugal had sought the help of the world Organization instead of trying to find ways and means of flouting its wishes, developments in Angola might have taken a different turn. But now we have before us an explosive and tragic situation, and it is the duty of this Organization and the responsibility of all its Members, especially those who during all these years abetted and supported Portugal in its follies, to find ways and means of ensuring the speedy achievement of independence by the people of Angola.

93. It is unnecessary for me to give an account of the tragic events in Angola or the conditions under which its people live. Part three of the report of the Sub-Committee [A/4978] accurately describes the background of the situation. The picture which emerges is sombre and distressing. After more than four hundred years of colonial rule the majority of the Angolan people still live in a state of backwardness which has few parallels in the world. Over the centuries only a handful of Angolans have been able to extricate themselves from that seemingly hopeless abyss of ignorance and poverty which is the lot of the mass of the people of Angola, and only a few of them have freed themselves from the fearful shadow of oppression and exploitation which darkens the lives of the inhabitants of that unhappy country.

94. There can be no greater indictment of Portugal's colonial empire than the fact that in four hundred years it has done far less for the people of Angola than some of the independent African States have done for their peoples in less than a decade of independence. While lip-service is paid to the concept of racial equality, an elaborate system of racial discrimination and exploitation is practised with a ruth-

lessness and on a scale rarely found elsewhere in the world. The aim of Portuguese policy today, as it has been for more than four hundred years, is to keep the African majority permanently in a position of economic dependence and cultural and social inferiority. As the Sub-Committee pointed out in paragraph 203 of its report, "the main source of dissatisfaction in Angola was the basic distinction in status" between the indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants. The main objective of the policy of assimilation is to create a native aristocracy subservient to Portuguese interests. However, as the Sub-Committee pointed out in paragraph 208 of its report, this policy of assimilation "often had the effect of isolating the educated African native from his own people". To end this intolerable isolation many of the educated Angolans have gone back to their own people and become the leaders of the fight for freedom and independence. This explains why the Portuguese reign of terror is primarily aimed at the few educated Angolans who, as the Sub-Committee informs us in paragraph 129 of its report, are suspected of being "the real or potential leaders of the indigenous population".

95. Far from having a multiracial society where men of all races mix freely and enjoy the same rights and privileges, what we have in Angola is a rigid caste system where a man's social and economic position is determined by the accident of his birth.

96. It is not necessary for me to go into the details of all the other practices that daily harass the life of the native Angolan. It is sufficient to recall paragraph 230 of the Sub-Committee's report, which states that:

"... in spite of the official objectives, some of the legislation and administrative practices in Angola as reported to the Sub-Committee would seem to have had the effect of discriminating against the indigenous inhabitants and of denying to them or restricting enjoyment of many of the fundamental freedoms and human rights".

97. On the whole, the report of the Sub-Committee gives a clear picture of the conditions prevailing in Angola today: the pernicious system of slave labour, which is widely practised under various guises and subterfuges, the almost total absence of educational opportunities for the majority of the people; the low level of health and nutrition and the abuses surrounding the use and ownership of land. All these and other features of Angolan life are set out in detail in the report of the Sub-Committee, to whose Chairman and members we pay tribute for a job well done in the face of great difficulties. The reply of the Portuguese delegation [A/5082] fails in our opinion to alter basically the picture revealed in the Sub-Committee's report. It would be futile to go into a point-by-point rebuttal of this reply, but we feel certain that the Sub-Committee, which we hope will continue its work, will be able, after its renewal, to comment on the numerous allegations contained in this document and reply to the criticisms levelled against it. The Portuguese reply reveals that the Portuguese Government still clings tenaciously to the myths which it created to isolate itself from the rest of the world by its stubborn refusal to face facts and learn the lessons of history, and its failure to recognize that Africa today is not the Africa of the sixteenth century, as well as its total unawareness of the inevitable evolu-

tion of human society towards the elimination of all forms of colonialism. A few years ago the Portuguese authorities mistook the relative calm in their colonies, at a time when nationalist agitation was raging all over the African continent, as a proof of success for their peculiar type of colonialism, and they scorned the comparatively more liberal and realistic policies of some of the other colonial Powers in Africa. They should have known that beneath that deceptive calm there smouldered a deep-rooted discontent which was bound to explode, as it did, in bloodshed and violence.

98. Angolan nationalism, though greatly stimulated and encouraged by the rapid growth throughout Africa of the movement for freedom and independence, sprang from the genuine aspirations and yearnings of the Angolan people themselves. The Portuguese authorities claimed that the movement was foreign-inspired and that the rebellion was organized and led by foreign professional agitators. This is a well-known argument which the colonialists resort to whenever they want to explain popular discontent and justify the maintenance of colonial rule. However, the authenticity of the Angolan independence movement and its genuine character cannot be doubted. In paragraph 86 of its report the Sub-Committee clearly brings out this fact. While not discounting the encouragement given to the Angolan movement by the awareness of the awakening nationalism in the rest of the African continent, the Sub-Committee recognizes that the rebellion was locally organized and resulted from real grievances. The Portuguese Government should have known that it could not maintain its empire while greater and more powerful empires were rapidly disintegrating. Instead of adjusting to new conditions and understanding the spirit of the age, the Portuguese Government persisted in its refusal to move out of the fifteenth into the twentieth century. In a futile attempt to reverse the trend of history it tried to put down the Angolan revolt by blind repression. In paragraph 76 of its report, the Sub-Committee noted "with regret 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".

99. Contrary to what the Portuguese representative said, the revolt is spreading and fighting continues unabated in Angola. The Portuguese authorities must learn, as the French have learned in Algeria, that a revolution supported by the people can never be put down. If France, with its great power, was unable to break the determination of the Algerian people to be free, what chance has Portugal in the face of the inflexible resolve of the people of Angola to rid themselves of the last vestiges of Portuguese colonialism?

100. Instead of attacking United Nations intervention, the Portuguese Government should welcome the assistance that the international community can render in the peaceful and harmonious liquidation of a colonial empire which, in the long run, will become an unbearable burden on the moral conscience and material resources of Portugal. It is in this spirit that forty-four Asian and African States have put before the Assembly draft resolution A/L.384/Rev.1. This draft resolution seeks a peaceful solution along the lines suggested by the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola in the final paragraphs of its report.

101. I invite attention to the view expressed by the Sub-Committee that certain measures and reforms should be immediately introduced such as:

" ... the recognition of the personality of Angola, the primacy of the interests of the inhabitants of the territory, the acceptance of the principle of self-determination to Angola and the need for immediate steps to prepare Angola for self-government ... " [A/4978, para. 469].

Also, in the words of the Sub-Committee:

" ... measures to remove the legitimate grievances of the population and the establishment of contacts with representatives of Angolan political groups are essential to ensure a cessation of the conflict and to achieve a peaceful solution" [*ibid.*, para. 471].

102. What our draft resolution seeks to do is to help the Portuguese authorities make the historic choice outlined by the Sub-Committee:

" ... whether to continue to rely on the use of force, with the inevitable miseries, economic losses, and uncertainties; or to respond to world opinion and take measures to reassure the population, ensure the return of the refugees, and build a

new relationship with the people of Angola. Much time has been lost in a critical situation, with the casualties and the bitterness mounting in Angola. What is needed is readiness to understand the new forces in the world, courage to accept change, and wisdom to formulate and pursue viable means towards an enduring peaceful solution" [*ibid.*, para. 480].

103. We hope the Assembly will give its unqualified endorsement to the principles and objectives of the forty-four Power draft resolution so that Portugal will be left in no doubt as to the overwhelming sentiment of the international community. The next step will then be up to Portugal and it is our hope that the opportunity now offered will not be missed like previous opportunities. Although the hour is late, Portugal can still get out of this predicament with honour.

104. As to the people of Angola, we have no doubt that they will emerge from their present ordeal independent and free and with a stronger sense of unity and national purpose. They can look to a future of bright promise assured of the continuing sympathy and support of their African brethren and freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.