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LETTER DATED 12 DECEMBER 1961 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA  
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to communicate to  
Your Excellency the following.

India became independent in August, 1947 as a result of peaceful negotiations  
between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Indian leaders.

At the time of India's independence there were some French and Portuguese  
colonial possessions on the Indian continent. The Government of India, naturally,  
hoped that these remaining vestiges of colonial rule on the Indian continent would  
soon disappear and that there would be a peaceful and orderly transfer of power.

The Government of India, believing as they do in the achievement of  
independence by colonial areas through friendly negotiations, as the consequences  
of such peaceful transfer of power are beneficial both to the ex-colonial Powers  
as well as to the newly independent peoples, initiated negotiations with the  
French and the Portuguese colonial Powers for peaceful settlement of the question  
of these vestiges of colonial rule on the Indian continent.

As a result of friendly negotiations between the Governments of India and  
France, the latter agreed to de facto transfer of the administration of French  
colonial areas on the Indian continent to the Government of India in October 1954.  
The Government of France are now initiating action to complete the formalities  
of de jure transfer of these ex-colonial territories to the Government of India.

The Government of India established a diplomatic mission in Portugal in 1949 and initiated friendly negotiations on the same lines as those being carried on with the Government of France for the peaceful transfer of Portuguese colonial territories on the Indian continent. The Government of Portugal, however, not only refused to discuss these matters with the Government of India but declined even to contemplate the question of termination of its colonial rule in the odd areas on the Indian continent. The unfriendly and often offensive attitude of the Portuguese Government led to the end of these negotiations in 1953. The attempts at and prospects of a peaceful transfer of Portuguese colonial areas on the Indian mainland thus ended in failure.

Since then the Portuguese rule in these foreign-administered pockets of Goa, Daman and Diu on the Indian mainland has been characterized by acts of repression and brutality. The people of the territories have no voice in the administration. There is complete suppression of political and public activity and there is total denial of civil liberties. Savage sentences are meted out to persons who demand civil liberties and freedom. Unarmed and peaceful demonstrators have been killed in cold blood and prisoners have been tortured, maimed and killed. There have been from time to time violation of the border and incidents resulting therefrom. The Portuguese colonial pockets, both because of foreign domination and the repressive nature of the regime, continue to be constant irritants to the people of India.

As Your Excellency is aware, the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV) expressed its belief that the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible and that in order to avoid serious crisis an end must be put to colonialism. The General Assembly further declared that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights, was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations

and was an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. It declared that any attempt made at partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Another resolution, No. 1542 (XV), of the General Assembly recognized that the desire for independence was the rightful aspiration of the people under colonial subjugation. This resolution thus rejected the absurd fiction propagated by Portugal that Goa and other colonies were "provinces of Portugal". The principles of these two resolutions, as Your Excellency is aware, were reaffirmed by the General Assembly during its current session in its resolution 1654 (XVI).

The Government of Portugal not only continued to flout the various resolutions of the United Nations and to maintain by force their oppressive regime in Goa, Daman and Diu and their other colonial areas but has taken aggressive action in Indian waters recently. On the 17 November 1961, Portuguese troops stationed on the island of Anjidiv fired on an Indian passenger ship. She plied her normal route which the shipping line has used for years. The Indian ship "Sabarmati" was fired upon without warning and the fire was directed at the Engineers' mess room. One of the shots hit and wounded the Second Engineer of the ship. There is evidence to show that the shot was not from a rifle but from a more formidable weapon. Once again, on the 24 November, an Indian fishing boat returning from its normal fishing trip was fired upon from the same island. One of the bullets hit the fishing boat while another shot and killed an Indian fisherman.

The Government of India have protested to the Government of Portugal through the Embassy of the United Arab Republic against these acts of unprovoked aggression and wanton killing and wounding of peaceful Indian citizens engaged in their normal vocations.

Even now the Portuguese authorities have not desisted from such aggressive acts but continued their preparations and acts of aggression and violation of Indian territory. The Government of India have reliable reports that the Portuguese administration has intensified oppression and terrorism in its Indian possessions and has heavily augmented its armed forces. Attacks on Indian villages and citizens continue and the Portuguese forces are poised on the borders at various points to overawe and intimidate both the residents of the colonies of Goa, Daman and Diu and those living in the border areas on the Indian side. We have no troops on these borders. In view of all these aggressive activities and preparations of Portugal, the Government of India have been obliged to move units of the Indian Armed Forces to the vicinity of Goa. Even their presence has not served as a warning to the Portuguese who, even as recently as the 10th December, have continued to mass forces, practise repression, raid and fire on Indian villages penetrating deep enough into Indian territory.

Under instructions from my Government, I request Your Excellency to be good enough to have this communication circulated among the Members of the Security Council.

Please accept, etc.

(Signed) C.S. JHA  
Permanent Representative of India  
to the United Nations

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