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**President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).**

AGENDA ITEM 29

The situation in Angola: reports of the Sub-Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and of the Government of Portugal (continued)*

1. The PRESIDENT: As the Assembly is aware, the speakers list was closed, as announced, and I have forty-one speakers remaining to be heard on this item. It is intended to hold two meetings tomorrow and three meetings on Friday to conclude the consideration of this item.

2. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): The delegation of Portugal comes to this rostrum with mixed feelings. The emotional climate which prevails here unfortunately inhibits some people from standing with us on the terra firma of the Charter, of the accepted principles of international law, and of the evidence of reality itself. However, we are firmly convinced that, in insisting upon respect for the Charter, for legality and for reality, we are expressing the voice of sound reason, which we hope will eventually be heeded.

3. It is with this conviction and this hope that I speak today to present my delegation's views on the item under discussion. My delegation feels that we need not repeat the arguments which we invoked in our interventions during the previous debates on the same subject. Those arguments stand, because they have not been refuted. I refer particularly to our arguments based on the Charter; on our traditional overseas policy; on our laws and practices, both old and new; on our constant and considerable efforts to promote the well-being of our overseas populations, irrespective of race, religion or place of origin; on the dedication of these populations to Portugal; on the testimony of independent foreigners who have studied conditions of life and progress in all parts of our nation; and last but not least, on the developments in Angola since the time the question was first raised in the Security

Council. I shall, however, begin with a brief reference to the background of the question.

4. Early in December 1960, news media in various parts of the world carried the story that an announcement had been made in Leopoldville to the effect that an organization known as the Union of the Populations of Angola (UPA) was preparing to resort to violence in Angola. The announcement had its antecedents in various capitals of the world, and today no serious student of current affairs doubts the fact that, behind that organization, there were third parties that had no connexion with Angola. The UPA itself was born in the Congo and its origins are well known today. These aspects have not only been studied by serious research workers but have also been commented upon by rival organizations which do not agree with UPA but which are not pro-Portuguese either.

5. While this sabre-rattling was going on outside, Angola was living in peace as usual. Nevertheless, in late January 1961, foreign journalists flocked to Luanda in anticipation of events. The Portuguese authorities, knowing for sure that no trouble was brewing inside the province, were intrigued by the anticipations of the foreign journalists who seemed to be having advance information reaching them from outside Angola. Be that as it may, on 4 February 1961, a fracas took place in Luanda and recurred on the following day. Incidents of this type occur almost daily in many parts of the world, but the incidents in Luanda were magnified to such an extent that the Security Council was called to discuss the threat which the situation was said to have caused to international peace and security. If incidents like those which took place in Luanda early in February 1961 could justify a summoning of the Security Council, this body would have to be in permanent session day and night and every day of the year. However, as it later became evident, those who asked for the meeting of the Security Council on the Luanda incidents were aware of the programme of trouble which had been drawn up and was yet to be carried out. I will not say where the programme was drawn up. However, I do say that the programme was not drawn up in Angola or in accordance with the wishes of the Angolans.

6. The Security Council, which ended its deliberations on 15 March 1961 [946th meeting], came to the conclusion that there was no threat to international peace in Angola. Curiously enough, only a couple of hours later, news came of an outbreak of terrorism on a large scale in the northern part of Angola bordering on the Congo (Leopoldville). The attempt to synchronize the outbreak with the meeting of the Security Council had failed only by a couple of hours, but the attempt itself was evident. It indicated an intimate relationship between the summoning of the Security Council, over an incident which had only a local character, and the attempt to provide substance for that meeting while the Council was actually in session. Such coincidences

* Resumed from the 1180th meeting.

are not normal. Nevertheless, in the case of Angola it happened.

7. The incidents in northern Angola, news of which reached New York only a little too late for the 946th meeting of the Security Council, and subsequent events, provided a motive for the 950th meeting summoned early in June 1961. Meanwhile, on 20 April 1961, the General Assembly had already passed a resolution [1603 (XV)] establishing a Sub-Committee to inquire into conditions in Angola. By June, thousands of people—white, black and of mixed races; men, women and children—had been indiscriminately put to death in an orgy of savagery which had few parallels in modern society. The person who was responsible for the massacres—the same person who has issued a call in December 1960, stating that he and his organization in Leopoldville were about to open fire—admitted later, in an interview with Le Monde, issue of 6 July 1961, that his men had even sawn people alive with mechanical saws. The same person gave further details in an interview published in Afrique Action of 21 and 25–31 October 1961, and in an article published in the organ of UPA, A Voz da Nação Angolana, of 19 May 1961. The article admits that, among other massacres, "Negroes and 'mestiços' were beheaded". The massacres were planned to take place in different places in northern Angola at the same time.

8. In this connexion, I wish to draw attention to the press conference given in Leopoldville, on 3 March 1962, by Marcos Kassanga, who calls himself Chief of Staff of the Angolan National Liberation Army. He stated, among other things, that UPA had unleashed a "fratricidal struggle" in pursuance of which that group had massacred "8,000 Angolans". This statement is not ours and we have nothing to do with the figure it quotes. But this statement, coming from such a quarter and taken as a whole, would suffice to explode the myth of a rebellion in Angola. Kassanga added that the person conducting the UPA has the support of

"some countries which do not know his personality, his tribal character, his lack of political maturity and his total ignorance of the problems of Angola."

Similar accusations have been made by other political groups in Leopoldville.

9. I have referred to the part played by UPA, because that group has openly admitted having launched the wave of massacres which were discussed in the second meeting of the Security Council. Although the UPA had admitted massacres, although rival groups had described those massacres as fratricidal and inspired by tribal hatred, although all that the forces of order did was to protect the lives of the people, the Security Council thought fit to call upon the Portuguese authorities "to desist forthwith from repressive measures". In effect, this resolution meant that the Portuguese authorities should abandon the Angolans to the tender mercies of assassins.

10. Before I go further, may I be permitted to summarize the facts which I have stated so far. An announcement, widely carried by the news media of the world, was made by UPA in Leopoldville, early in December 1960, that it was about to open fire in Angola. In late January 1961, foreign journalists went to Luanda in anticipation of trouble. Early in February there were local incidents in Luanda which were made a cause for summoning the Security Council. Only a couple of hours after the Security Council rose,

news came of terrorist troubles in northern Angola. The General Assembly was called and later the Security Council. The latter passed a resolution^{1/} asking Portugal to "desist . . . from repressive measures" in Angola but said nothing about the terrorist massacres which had taken place.

11. And what were the so-called "repressive measures"? The measures taken by Portugal to restore order and thus save the lives of the people of northern Angola. And be it noted that, although the trouble was confined to a relatively small part of Angola, the small part has since been regarded, for all practical purposes of the United Nations, as co-extensive with the whole of the province. These are processes which call for meditation.

12. Some may try to see in the concatenation of facts and events which I have enumerated an international conspiracy against Portugal, of which UPA was only a spearhead. But the existence of such a conspiracy has been roundly acknowledged by one of the arch-conspirators himself—only this conspiracy has been sought to be sanctified under the name of anti-colonialism. Apparently it is sufficient to hoist the banner of anti-colonialism to explain away all types of international lawlessness and high-handedness, from aggression to terrorism, of which the people for whose alleged benefit violence is committed are themselves the first and worst victims.

13. Portugal has not been able to accept the philosophy which turns aggressors into liberators, terrorists into nationalists, and defenders of order into oppressors. If to protect the lives and the freedom—yes, the freedom—of our populations we have to adopt the traditional formula of calling a spade a spade and not a golden spoon, we feel we have to make no apology to the world, for we believe that our first duty is to protect the lives of our people, be they white or black, Europeans or Africans. Any responsible Government would do as we did to defend its citizens.

14. But the fact is that, while the Security Council and the General Assembly have been asking us to end what they call repression, political organizations in Leopoldville, claiming to speak in the name of the Angolans, have themselves accused UPA of having taken a toll of thousands of lives, with emphasis not on the lives of white people who were killed, but on the lives of Angolans of the black race.

15. I hope I may be pardoned for insisting on this aspect of the developments in Angola, if only because it is an aspect which is not considered in any of the documents of the United Nations. Instead, there is an unwarranted persistence, which we regret, in calling foreign-led and foreign-inspired terrorism a genuine rebellion. The interviews published in Le Monde and in Afrique Action were not invented by us, nor have we invented the disclosures made in the issue of 19 May 1961 of A Voz da Nação Angolana, nor have we invented the statement made by Marcos Kassanga on 3 March 1962. These are not Portuguese sources. Why are they overlooked? Is it because it is necessary to ignore such unprofitable realities in order to load the dice against Portugal?

16. I need not dwell longer on the unhappy events which took place in northern Angola last year, events

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

launched from outside. Thanks to the security measures taken by the Portuguese Government, the fury of terrorism was broken in about six months. Since then, there has been intense vigilance in which the Air Force plays a necessary part, owing to the paucity of land forces and to the extension of the frontier area, on the other side of which the terrorists have a sanctuary. Since then, also, in a small sector of the area earlier affected by terrorists, there have been sporadic terrorist raids, to deal with which no more than police action has become necessary. From the point of view of order and security, northern Angola, the only part of Angola under discussion, must be considered on a par with any other country where tranquillity is disturbed by lawless elements, appearing occasionally but with no great consequences. Nevertheless, the situation continues to be described here as a threat to international peace and security. And this brings me to my next point.

17. Last year, when terrorism was at its height in northern Angola—and I repeat, in a relatively small part of Angola, because the rest of the province has been living in peace—it was said that Angola presented a threat to international peace and security. However, it is not known that any other country was disturbed by what was happening in northern Angola. If the allegation proved to be entirely unwarranted then, it should be even more untenable now. But curiously enough, the same allegation continues to be heard in the United Nations. It would seem that there are people who, having eyes, do not wish to see and, having ears, do not wish to hear, except what they fancy, in order to justify their preconceived ideas. On the other hand, while Angola is baselessly said to be a threat to international peace and security and, therefore, the concern of the United Nations, several situations which pose a real threat to peace do not seem to worry this Organization.

18. Any person reading his daily newspaper knows where the threats to international peace and security really exist. I could mention examples, but I refrain from doing so because truth sometimes hurts. But there is more. It is said in this Organization that the situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security; and by "situation" is meant not the violence launched or contemplated by groups functioning outside Angola, not the aid given to them by foreign Governments and private sources, but the so-called repressive measures said to be adopted by the Portuguese authorities.

19. Now, it is not known that Portugal has threatened anybody; nor does Portugal have the slightest intention of trespassing on the rights of any other country. Portugal offers a hand of friendship and co-operation to all countries which wish to live in friendship with it.

20. On the other hand, what is well known and fully confirmed is that there are countries which threaten Portugal with the use of force. There are countries which—officially and unofficially, give financial and military aid and training facilities to the terrorists destined to infiltrate into Angola. There is a Government which has announced its intention to send volunteers to Angola. There is a Government which has even publicly admitted having provided a camp for training persons meant to fight Portugal in Angola. And, ironically enough, it is the Government of a country which is working in intimate connexion with this peaceful, international Organization.

21. These are the facts, and they are clearly contrary to the will and the spirit of the Charter and to all accepted norms of international conduct. It is easy to see from which side the threat to international peace can develop. Yet it is Portugal that is held to pose a threat to international peace and security. As this view has been advanced, even in a document which is said to be a study of the political and security aspects of the situation in Angola and is a basic document of this Organization—I refer, of course, to the second report of the Sub-Committee on the situation in Angola [A/5286]—I would request the patient hearing of the Assembly so that we may consider this important point.

22. As I have already stated, in the face of attempts which continue to be made from outside to disturb the peaceful lives of the people of Angola, Portugal has had to take certain measures of protection and vigilance. No foreign country has been affected by these measures, but certain foreign countries are actively aiding and abetting those who are trying to disturb the peace in Angola.

23. Now, whatever the social or the political system prevailing in any territory under a given sovereignty, nothing authorizes such countries to interfere in a violent manner, or even to aid violence, to force a change of that social or political system. Such interference or aid must be considered as aggression and, in fact, was so considered in some of the draft definitions of aggression proposed in 1956 in this Organization. In any case, international violence in any form, and for whatever reason, is ruled out by the Charter, which enjoins its Members to abstain from it in their relations with one another. In this context it is deeply to be regretted that the Sub-Committee does not refer to this aspect of the question, the only real aspect of the question of international peace and security which might have any bearing on Angola.

24. The Sub-Committee was actually in the Congo when the international press carried the news of a site made available there to be used as a military and training base for armed operations against Angola. Nevertheless, the Sub-Committee does not say whether it visited that training base and those known to exist in some other countries, which are widely publicized, in order to assess the extent of their potentialities for armed action and subversion. The Sub-Committee expresses great concern for international peace and security but avoids giving its opinion about the existence of such training centres. It cautions the United Nations against Portugal, which does not threaten any country, but keeps discreetly silent about the real threat posed by the warlike and subversive preparations actually going on in other countries against Portugal. In the Sub-Committee's report there is not a word of disapproval of such preparations. Yet, it is incumbent on all Members of the United Nations to abstain from violence in their international relations and Angola cannot be made an exception by any country deciding on violence, whether direct or indirect.

25. I now turn to another point. One of the side effects of the disturbances injected into northern Angola last year was the flight of terrified people from their homes in the troubled area. Very naturally—people fled for safety wherever they could find it. Some trekked south into other regions of Angola; others fled into the bush; still others crossed the frontiers into the Congo. When security was again assured by

the authorities, the great majority of the displaced persons returned to the places of their old habitation. I do not propose to go into the story of those who went to the southern regions or into the bush in Angola. I wish to consider only those who went to the Congo, since they have been made an object of controversy.

26. In his statement before the Third Committee at the 1112th meeting on 22 November 1961, the High Commissioner for Refugees stated that the first persons displaced from Angola, numbering about 10,000, arrived in the Congo in March 1961, that is when the terrorist wave was launched and before there were any security forces to control the situation. During the months that followed more people fled from the troubled area and by September 1961, the number of those who crossed into the Congo rose to about 150,000. Thus, the number reached the maximum before the security forces were able to assure the populations of adequate protection. This fact is corroborated by other impartial testimonies indicating that the Angolans were displaced from their homes by the action of terrorists, for it was not until September 1961 that the security forces acquired full control of the affected area.

27. But the problem with which I wish to deal is another. It has been stated by our side that by August 1962, some 80,000 Angolans who had fled to the Congo in 1961 had returned to Angola. This statement of ours has been contested and it has been stated that their number has remained stationary at 150,000 since last year, and that no displaced Angolans have returned from the Congo. We not only confirm the figure of 80,000 but we state that since last August more Angolans have returned from the Congo. On the other hand, we have not been able to verify the allegation contained in the report of the Sub-Committee on Angola that, "at least 15,000 additional refugees have left Angola since April of the current year" [A/5286, para. 123].

28. It seems to us that there is no real contradiction between our statement and the number of 150,000 persons which has remained stationary in the records of the High Commissioner for Refugees. The representative of the Congo (Leopoldville) in the Third Committee, speaking on 15 November 1962, himself mentioned only 65,000 Angolan "refugees" having been received in his country. There is thus a wide discrepancy between the figures quoted by the High Commissioner for Refugees and those quoted by the representative of the Congo (Leopoldville). And no wonder. For, the situation is more complex than it appears at first sight and it is by no means easy to be exact in figures in this case. And the reasons are not far to seek.

29. It is to be noted, first of all, that not all the Angolans who crossed the border during the trouble went to the refugee camps. As the Sub-Committee on Angola has stated in its first report, many displaced persons sought shelter with their relatives in the Congo. The second point to be borne in mind is that many of the Angolans now calling themselves refugees may really be emigrants who have already been living in the Congo and who are now invoking the quality of refugees in order to avail themselves of the facilities provided by welfare organizations, particularly in view of the situation in the Congo itself. But it is a well-known fact that there have always been migrations from Angola to the Congo, and vice-versa, and the number of Angolan emigrants

there exceeded 100,000 before 1961. On the other hand, certain political groups in Leopoldville have been trying not only to swell the number of Angolans in the refugee camps in the Congo but also to prevent their return to Angola, with a view to making political capital of the so-called refugee problem. In this connexion, it is worth recalling an article which appeared in Le Courrier d'Afrique, of Leopoldville, on 13 July 1962, under the title of "Angolan Political Organizations Opposed to the Unconditional Return of Refugees". The article, signed by A. Matumona, refers to the efforts said to be made by the Portuguese authorities to get the displaced Angolans to return home and to the opposition of certain political groups in Leopoldville to those efforts. In substance, the article underlines the interest of those political groups in making use of refugee camps for political purposes and also reflects the interest of the Portuguese authorities in getting the displaced Angolans to return to their lands at home.

30. The situation has been studied by various foreign observers. Thus, the Danish journalist, Jorgen Andersen-Rosendal, writing from Matadi, on 7 October 1962, in Berlingske Tidende, says that political leaders in Leopoldville are trying to hold the big number of Angolans in the Congo as hostages. Their prolonged misery, he says, is to be used as an accusation against the Portuguese.

31. After stating that the first refugees began to cross the frontier when terrorism was started in March last year, Mr. Rosendal emphasizes that there is no doubt that a large number of peaceful Angolans fled from the terrorists who sought to force them to participate in the massacres. He adds that many Angolans also fled on account of the conflict which arose between the two rival movements, the Union of the Populations of Angola (UPA) and the Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). He also states that there are clear proofs that the UPA led its followers into a bloody tribal war.

32. He further informs that, a long time back, the political leaders promised the displaced Angolans that they would be able to return home shortly and that they would immediately be given the properties and gold of the wealthy Portuguese and would be able to enjoy plenty. But, he continues, the promises made to them vanished in smoke and there they are still living as displaced persons. "They are tired of this prolonged exile and they would very gladly exchange the so-called freedom for the good old life in their homeland." These are the actual words of Mr. Rosendal. But, on this, he states: "The quarreling leaders agree, that it is necessary to detain them by any means. They—the leaders—need many refugees in the Congo, to use them as tangible propaganda that the Angolans do not wish to collaborate with the Portuguese."

33. This is the unbiased testimony of a foreign journalist—and I could quote more of them—which should serve to open the eyes of those who are inclined, in good faith, to over-simplify the problem of the displaced Angolans living in refugee camps in the Congo. As for those who over-simplify the problem in bad faith, the testimony should, at least help to remind them that theirs is not the sole and unchallengeable version.

34. The policy of the Portuguese Government in respect of the displaced Angolans still remaining in

the Congo has always been to encourage their return and to assist them in the process of resettlement. For this purpose we have set up reception centres at several points of the frontier, and the arrangements we have made have earned the praise of the highest representatives of the League of Red Cross Societies.

35. Thus far I have dealt with the main allegations made against us in this Organization in order to demonstrate their irrelevance. In so doing, I have mentioned facts and opinions. The veracity of the facts can be checked by anyone who takes the trouble. The opinions I have quoted have been taken from impartial foreign sources, and even from sources which are hostile to Portugal. I submit that no one would do better in aiming at objectivity.

36. My delegation will now proceed to acquaint this Assembly with certain other facts which are either completely ignored or scarcely noticed: One of the accusations against Portugal is that a curtain has been rung down on Angola, allowing little information to seep through. The fact, however, is that, between March 1961 and now, hundreds of highly-placed foreign personalities have visited Angola, with the express purpose of ascertaining the truth, at first hand, or simply as tourists. These personalities include journalists of various nationalities, as well as diplomats, politicians, and students of current affairs. Many of them have published their opinions, and these do not correspond to the findings of the Sub-Committee on Angola. But their views are not mentioned in the Sub-Committee's report. My delegation regrets to draw attention to this discrimination in the selection of opinions, for such discrimination further underlines the anti-Portuguese bias with which the question of Angola has been treated in this Organization.

37. Furthermore, my delegation wishes to point out that, in recent months, Angola was also visited by an ILO commission and by a team of experts sent by the World Health Organization. The latter has not yet issued its report, but the ILO commission's report is out, and it knocks down the gravamen of the charges levelled against Portugal in respect of labour conditions in Angola.

38. We dare hope that, as a result of the ILO Commission's report, at least one accusation frequently heard in this Organization has been finally disposed of. We also hope that other accusations will have a similar fate when the light of impartial study begins to shine. For our part, we have co-operated fully in facilitating impartial study. We have co-operated with ILO and with WHO, and we will extend similar co-operation to FAO, whose experts are expected to visit Angola shortly. We have nothing to conceal, and we are always ready to demonstrate our good faith when others demonstrate their fairness of purpose.

39. Reviewing the events in Angola since March 1961, the Minister for Overseas Portugal, Mr. Adriano Moreira, spoke, last June, as follows:

"We found ourselves in a situation unprecedented in the history of any nation: we were faced with the need to pursue simultaneously a policy of development and of defence against foreign-led terrorism—things that are not easily compatible even for countries having far greater material or human resources than ourselves."

40. The words I have just quoted express the efforts made by Portugal so that Angola may not suffer any

lag in its normal progress in any field of activity. As these efforts have not been given their due place in the official documents of the United Nations, I am obliged to refer to them at some length.

41. It gives my delegation much pleasure to state in this Assembly that, during the period under review, several measures of far-reaching scope and application—I use these terms advisedly—have been adopted in Angola.

42. In the important field of political rights, we repealed the Statute of Indigenous Persons, a law which had been inspired by the noblest ideals, but which, after mature study, was found to have outlived its purpose. By repeal of the statute, all persons born in Portuguese territories have been brought into the enjoyment of equal political rights without distinction of race, religion or culture.

Mr. Bingham (United States of America), Vice-President, took the Chair.

43. I hope I do not have to explain once again that these rights had never been denied to anyone, but had been made subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions in the case of persons following tribal customs, while at the same time such persons were given special protection. Last year, all such provisions were abolished. There are no more indigenous persons; all are full and equal citizens. Consequently, any legal provision, including that in the Constitution itself, which speaks of indigenous persons, has become void of object and its repeal is now only a matter of formality which will be carried out as soon as possible. For all practical purposes such provisions are dead. The reality is that all are citizens with the same rights, including the right to vote and to be elected. If there are any conditions for the exercise of these rights—such conditions exist in practically every country—they are the same for all, just as the opportunities to fulfil those conditions are the same for all. I must add that, while on the one hand the electoral law is being revised so as to widen the electorate as much as possible, educational facilities are, on the other hand, being rapidly increased in all parts of Angola, so that it may be easy for all to acquire the minimum qualifications, which in any case are already easy enough. I repeat that such minimum qualifications are required in practically every country, but I may also be allowed to point out that there are, even today, many countries where large human aggregates are denied the right of full citizenship.

44. Unable to deny the reality of legislative measures which we have adopted, and which were animated by the highest principles of human dignity, our critics have tried to minimize their significance by denying their effects in advance. Some of them have even wished to see our revised electoral roll of Angola barely two months after the repeal of the statute. Impatience for progress is entirely praiseworthy, but even in this atomic age, the time factor has by no means been altogether eliminated from human undertakings, no matter how efficient the organization and the resolute will to get things done as soon as possible. We are doing them to the best of our abilities. Details of implementation of the new measures have had to be worked out. The necessary administrative machinery has had to be set up. Personnel have had to be recruited. New electoral rolls have to be completed. All these are practical problems and we do not think that one year is too long a period

to tackle them. What, however, cannot be contested is the noble motivation and the far-reaching character of the new measures and our genuine efforts to implement them as soon as possible. We would like to be shown where else full results are obtained within the short period of time in which they are expected from us. We certainly question the seriousness of our critics in this regard.

45. The sincerity of our intentions is further demonstrated by the steps taken to reinvigorate municipal institutions and to reorganize village administrative offices ("regedorias"). These institutions are a valuable training ground for the local populations in the art of government. We are thus giving a practical application to the constitutional precepts which guarantee the participation of all structural elements of the nation in administrative life and in the preparation of laws. That we did not stop at the letter of the legal texts is proved, among other things, by the fact that, even with an electoral law yet to be improved, as is our intention, the results obtained in the most recent elections in Angola seated a high percentage of coloured citizens in the municipal bodies. Before our usual critics interject, I will say that we are steadily pushing forward with our objective, which is the ever-increasing participation of local people in the administration.

46. In this context, I must mention the recent decisions of the Overseas Council which met in Lisbon last month, together with the elected overseas representatives—both in the National Assembly and in the provincial legislatures. Among the principles approved by the Council are the following: administrative decentralization in respect of all provincial matters, development of municipal institutions, larger overseas representation in the National Assembly and adequate representation in the Corporative Chamber. It will be seen that these principles underline a policy which has been traditionally followed and will hereafter be further developed along the lines indicated—a policy inspired by the respect that is due to the dignity of the human person and the justice that is due to all, regarded as equal before the law without distinction of colour, creed or cultural level.

47. So much for the political and administrative life of Angola. I will now turn to the question of social justice and I will begin with labour legislation and its implementation in Angola. While the Labour Code of 1928 had not been surpassed in many respects, even by the most modern labour legislation drawn up under the authority of the International Labour Office, we are convinced that our new legislation—the Code of Rural Labour of 1962—despite such imperfections as are always possible in human laws, is the most advanced labour legislation in the whole of Africa. But I must stress that, even before this new Code, we had had no difficulty in ratifying several international labour conventions, because our own legislation and practice was, in many respects, ahead of internationally accepted principles. In fact, there is only one country in Africa today which has ratified more international labour conventions than Portugal. Thus, to name only a few, we have ratified the Conventions concerning the Abolition of Penal Sanctions for Breach of Contract of Employment of Indigenous Workers, on Weekly Rest in Commerce and Offices, on the minimum age at which minors may work in certain activities, on Discrimination in respect of Employment and Occupation, and on the Abolition of Forced Labour.

We have introduced uniform standards for the establishment of minimum wages in the entire national territory. We have established the legal principle of absolute contractual freedom to set wages above the legally guaranteed minimum. We have applied the regulations for the safety and health of workers on the lines approved by the ILO.

48. As in the case of the measures we have taken in the political and administrative fields, our critics would perhaps have tried to say that our labour legislation too remains a scrap of paper. In fact, they did say it very loudly last year. Even this year, the same criticism has been repeated in some quarters. Our answer to all such critics is the report of the ILO Commission^{2/}—and there could be no more authoritative document. I therefore leave criticism aside and will conclude this part of my speech with a few more remarks on the new labour legislation now in full force, the Code of Rural Labour of 1962.

49. The new law may be explained thus: all workers, regardless of the ethnic or cultural group to which they belong, shall be subject to the same law; compulsory labour in any form is not permitted; no penal sanctions are provided for the non-fulfillment of labour contracts; there is no paternalistic guardianship of workers; the canvassing of workers through the intervention of, or with facilities granted by, the authorities is forbidden; there is no intervention of the authorities in the elaboration of labour contracts; no differentiation is admitted in the treatment of men and women in labour relations, save for the special rights recognized to the latter by reason of their sex. The freedom of work and its just remuneration being thus guaranteed, and the best possible labour conditions and social security being assured, labour is expected to be drawn to work spontaneously, the economy to prosper, the national income to increase, and full confidence to be established between labour and employers. The function of the State is defined by its competence to inspect, to guide and to correct the labour situation, to defend the law, and to ensure equal justice for all. In this connexion, I may state that the labour inspection services have been greatly reinforced. The new Code came into force on 1 October 1962, when legislation setting up competent Labour Tribunals was also published.

50. Still in the social field, we have been paying enormous attention to education, health and welfare services. In the field of education, naturally our first preoccupation is to spread literacy, but we have also been promoting education at all levels. We have been doing this through the creation of new primary schools, new lyceums and technical schools—in which Angola is already particularly advanced—and new social service and teacher training schools, all culminating in the establishment of university courses both in Angola and Mozambique. The Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Nogueira, in his intervention during the general debate at the current session [1155th meeting] quoted some relevant figures in connexion with education, health and social welfare in Angola. Since the text of the Foreign Minister's speech is available in the official records, I will not repeat what he said on the subject.

^{2/} International Labour Office, Report of the Commission appointed under Article 26 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation to Examine the Complaint Filed by the Government of Ghana concerning the Observance by the Government of Portugal of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105), Geneva, 1962.

51. Our efforts to expand educational facilities have a direct bearing on our desire to go on increasing the number of our African citizens in the various cadres—not indeed for racial reasons, but because we believe in the participation, according to their capacity, of all our citizens, irrespective of colour, in all nation-building activities. I must emphasize that, though we have stepped up efforts in this direction, the policy itself is not new. We have always had coloured citizens, including those from Africa, in the public services, not only in our overseas provinces but in European Portugal itself. For many centuries before the rights of man and racial equality were talked about, we already had coloured citizens from Africa holding posts of high dignity both in the provinces and in the Portuguese royal court itself. Today, given the extraordinary progress taking place in all parts of the nation, we have necessarily to expand the cadres, and we are doing our best to give our citizens from Africa increasing opportunities to join the services not only in their own home provinces but in every part of the nation, because, following the principle laid down in the early seventeenth century, we have never distinguished our citizens by their colour but only by their merit.

52. Still in the sphere of social welfare, I would like to make a reference to the social work undertaken by the troops stationed in Angola. Our critics have inverted the true significance of the social work of our soldiers so as to make it appear as a tactical pressure brought upon the Angolan population. But what actually is this social work? In their off-duty hours, our soldiers teach Angolan children to read and write and instruct them in the principles of hygiene, while army doctors and nurses attend to the ailments of the rural population. But this humanitarian work is criticized by the very people who advertise themselves as friends of the Angolan people. However, impartial foreign observers who visited Angola in recent months have expressed nothing but praise for the humanitarian work done by our soldiers.

53. Among the important new measures adopted in the recent past for the benefit of the local inhabitants of Angola are those relating to land tenure and to the protection and development of agricultural communities. There has, in fact, never been a land problem in Angola. Thanks to the foresight of our administration, which did not allow appropriation of land for speculative purposes, there is a surplus of land and the main problem is to utilize it on a rationally planned basis. Such planning has aimed, on the one hand, to stabilize nomadic agriculture, and, on the other, to organize crops for greater productivity, which is always subordinated to the concern not to displace populations from their traditional region and to guarantee to each nucleus a zone of expansion sufficiently large to avoid the risk of disputes over land. Though there has been no necessity of land reform, we felt that we should review and extend the legal provisions protecting real rights with a view to defending and guaranteeing to the utmost the interests and the rights of the populations occupying the lands. The use and fruition, in customary form, of the land necessary for the establishment of their villages, for crops and for the pastures of their cattle will thus be guaranteed—in keeping with our jurisprudence—to the neighbours of a rural community, or "regedoria", collectively.

54. Occupation of the land under this principle will not confer the right of individual ownership and will be regulated between neighbours, in accordance with the respective usages and customs. Concessions may not be given to individuals who are not neighbours of a given "regedoria" in an adjoining area five times the size of the "regedoria". Furthermore, any practice which may cause the displacement of populations will be severely punished. On the other hand, the common lands of a "regedoria" may be converted into individual property of its neighbours only where there has been a request to this effect from the "regedor"—an elected authority—concerned, with the supporting vote of his councillors. This does not mean that the neighbours of a "regedoria" are forbidden to acquire real estate on an individual basis. On the contrary, like every other Portuguese, they may acquire individual concessions in vacant lands under any title, even that of mere occupation. And this particular title of acquisition, it may be noted, is not open to individuals who are not of African extraction.

55. To turn to economic growth, and to mention only recent facts, a sum of \$35 million has been earmarked to be spent during the year 1962 alone under the Second National Development Plan, which covers a wide field with particular emphasis on education, health, hydro-electric works, communications, industrial and agricultural schemes. This does not include the important development projects of the local Government and the investments made by the private sector, which has been encouraged to intensify its contribution to economic progress. Further outlays on the order of tens of millions of dollars are thus involved.

56. As a result, new schools and hospitals are under construction or in the planning stage. The task of irrigating the Cavaco Valley has begun. The buildings that are to house several of the colleges of the University campus and that will make Angola one of the most important cultural centres in all of Africa, are being erected. New low-cost housing units which will bring a new way of life to thousands of people have emerged. The construction of the Engineering Laboratory has been initiated. Large investments for the extension of the cultivation of tobacco have been made. New projects at Baia dos Tigres for the expansion and improvement of fishing have begun. New light and power generation plants are being erected in order to speed up the process of industrialization, the basis for a better standard of living. On the coast there are new fishing villages with modern houses. New refrigeration plants, canning factories and ships with refrigeration facilities are increasing the area of activities for the production of some consumer and export goods.

57. It is impossible for me to go into the details of the vast development efforts being made in Angola. I shall mention only a few more facts. Within a few months the hydroelectric works at Cambambe, the biggest hydroelectric works on the African continent, will go into operation. Another important hydroelectric project, that of Alto Catumbela, is also nearing completion and will supply electric power to a big cellulose factory, also a new enterprise. The annual production capacity of Luanda Oil Refinery is being increased from 220,000 to 550,000 tons, so that Angola not only will be self-sufficient in oil, but will even be in a position to export oil and allied products. The mining industry is likewise being stepped up. In the field of communications, over \$12 million has been

spent this year alone on the road system, in addition to the outlay under the Second Development Plan; the Moçamedes Railway has been extended; the airport of Luanda and the seaports have been vastly improved.

58. Having briefly described our intense and comprehensive efforts towards all-round progress in Angola, I think that two observations would now be relevant. First, progress in the material sphere has gained momentum in Africa south of the Sahara, particularly in the interior, within only the last seventy or eighty years, with the advent of improved technical means. This reality has often been ignored by critics who expect Portugal to have obviated practical difficulties long before the necessary technical means to overcome them have been available in the world. Secondly, those who criticize Portugal's work in Africa, whether in the past or now—and with regard to these criticisms I include the documents put out by the United Nations—studiously avoid comparisons with other African territories. Such a comparison would not by any means be unfavourable to Portugal. In fact, comparison would reveal that we are in the vanguard of progress in Africa.

59. From what I have stated it will be seen that Portugal is sparing no effort in pressing forward with the dynamic programme for the political, economic, educational and social progress of the people of Angola. This dynamic programme is in line with the Portuguese policy of absolute equality of, and equal treatment for, all peoples, regardless of race, religion, language or sex, a policy fully in keeping with Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter. The recent report of the ILO Commission^{3/} reflected some of the fruits of this policy, and I am confident that the reports of the teams of experts of the WHO and FAO will do likewise.

60. We hold that the age-old relationships between the peoples of the mainland of Portugal and the peoples of our overseas territories should not be disturbed by outside interference. We cannot consider foreign-manceuvred terrorists and voices coming from abroad as expressions of the wishes of the Angolan people. We are constantly improving the institutions through which all our peoples are given an opportunity to participate in public affairs. The peoples of the overseas areas have the same rights as all other Portuguese. Our policy is to enable them more and more to exercise these rights. We are anxious that all our people should play a fuller and more direct role in administrative life and are taking adequate steps to this end. The greatly expanded educational programme which I have already discussed is one of these steps, because education is for all countries an essential prerequisite of truly effective participation in government.

61. For all these reasons of our policy and practice, as well as in view of the facts which I have analysed in the course of my statement, my delegation finds itself unable to accept the report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, and rejects its conclusions.

62. The opinion of the Portuguese nation was well expressed by the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr. Salazar, in a recent interview, the relevant part of which I reproduce in its general lines. If it is agreed that all Governments endeavour to raise the material and spiritual level of the peoples, for whose welfare they are responsible, nobody can doubt in good faith

that the same thing happens in our Africa. In this context, it seems hardly helpful to analyse policies with reference to final objectives, but rather it is necessary to pay attention to the differences in the means to attain these objectives. We do indeed differ fundamentally from the rest, because our peoples have always sought union among themselves—union not only by means of political and economic ties but essentially by means of a cultural and human intercourse.

63. As a result, there arose in the course of time, and with the naturalness which is characteristic of true historical evolutions, the multiracial societies of the Portuguese-speaking peoples, spread over different parts of the world. These societies have always rested on the foundation of a few basic principles—repudiation of any trace of racial discrimination; respect for local customs and usages so long as they are not contrary to morality; cultural interpenetration by spreading education, not with a view to imposing one culture on another, but with a view, whenever possible, to promoting the formation of a characteristic cultural type.

64. Our policy in regard to our provinces in Africa is identical with that which we implemented with such splendid results in Brazil and Goa. There can be no doubt as to what is best suited to the progress and welfare of the peoples of the territories in question: whether it is the racism that some advocate today, or the need to ensure equal rights and duties within a multiracial society; whether it is the subordination of local customs and usages to the principles of individual and collective morality or the admission of practices, which are at times inadmissible, in the name of an independence of conduct which today is not recognized for any group in the civilized world, whether it is a mixed European-African culture, in which a place is given simultaneously to the highest values of the two worlds, or the predominance of one culture which cannot claim to possess all merits. For ourselves, we have no doubts in these respects, and that is why we do not intend to relax our efforts in building that which has been shown to be successful and which is clearly making progress.

65. I have stated the guide-lines of our policy and practice and I have also explained the factual situation in Angola. We strongly reject the allegation that the situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security. We honestly believe that there is nothing in the principles and ideals of the Charter which can be construed as opposed to the way we are building up our multiracial society, rather the contrary. In this context, we cannot but regret that we are being constantly misunderstood and misinterpreted. Nevertheless, in any circumstances, the Portuguese nation will never abandon its faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice.

66. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Bolivia, in the exercise of his right of reply.

67. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): I am intervening in this debate immediately, both as a member of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola and as the representative of Bolivia, because I believe that we should define our positions as clearly as possible from the outset.

68. I consider that this problem has been dealt with very superficially by Mr. Garin. While saying that it was unnecessary to embark on any very detailed

consideration of the events taking place in northern Angola, he did nevertheless feel obliged to offer certain explanations.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

69. In my opinion, the central issue that we have to discuss is the conflict going on along the extensive frontier with the Congo.

70. In the letter which he sent to the Sub-Committee on 4 August 1962, the representative of Portugal made the following statement with reference to the territory of Angola:

"The situation in the Territory of Angola must be considered peaceful and normal. No military operations are being undertaken; all that is taking place are limited police actions in the small area that had been affected by terrorism. The other aspects of this problem mentioned by the Sub-Committee therefore do not apply." [A/5286, para. 63, 5 (a).]

71. I should like to follow the representative of Portugal in his reasoning, but it seems pertinent to ask why the major part of the Portuguese army is involved in this limited police action. In reality, this fluid and massive operation has driven a large part of the population of northern Angola into the jungle, to their deaths, or to the frontier; and that is what we must discuss.

72. We have here all the factors of a conflict that may prove to be a serious one. It is possible that in the course of their investigations the members of a committee may not always get a particular problem correctly into focus; it is difficult to discover the whole truth; but this is a question that brooks no argument.

73. At first, the Government of Portugal considered that this operation might last a month or so. Portugal has now been on a war footing in the territory of Angola for two years, and there is no sign of any cessation of hostilities. The refugees are still crossing the frontier, providing the rebels with an operational force that is tragically eager to fight. And now the representative of Portugal tells us that these men are escaping from the terrorists. If the military operation along the northern frontier of Angola has been successful, we must then believe that the terrorists who are outside of Angola have a magnetic power of attraction over certain terrorists who are inside the territory. How can we explain this situation?

74. I should now like to draw the attention of the Assembly to something that Mr. Garin has some difficulty in saying in the letter I have referred to, which is part of the difficult correspondence that we have carried on with Portugal:

"When the terrorist penetration occurred, many inhabitants were able to save themselves only by fleeing to the south and availing themselves of the protection of the small forces existing at the time, or to the north and seeking refuge in foreign territory (ex-Belgian Congo). International organizations, such as the Red Cross and the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees, estimated their number as approximately between 140,000 and 150,000. [This is the point I wish to comment on.] Of these [the Portuguese Government says] some 80,000 have returned to Angola." [Ibid., para. 63, 5 (b).]

75. Let me simply draw the attention of members of the Assembly to a paragraph of the document I

have already quoted, the report of the Sub-Committee I have the honour of presiding over:

"On 15 February 1962, the Sub-Committee addressed a letter to the representative of the League of Red Cross Societies in Leopoldville requesting the latest information on the number of Angolan refugees in the Congo and on the number of refugees that might have returned to Angola. On 6 March, the Secretary-General of the League replied from Geneva that the League's emergency relief action for Angolan refugees had been closed out during the month of January, that as at 3 January the number of Angolan refugees in the Congo receiving assistance under the ration scheme had been 151,200, that since January there had been no significant change in the number, that the traffic across the border to Angola consisted mostly of refugees who gathered products from nearby fields and then returned to the Congo, and that a figure of 80,000 returning, which had been mentioned in the Press, might refer to Angolans who had taken refuge in the bush in Angola but that it 'certainly does not refer to the Angolan refugees in the Congo'." [Ibid., para. 117.]

76. Now, if a statement made by the Red Cross and by the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees proves to be inaccurate, then just what does the representative of Portugal expect? Does he expect us to ask the Under-Secretary to go and count the refugees, just as he counts the representatives in this Assembly? Those letters contain unimpeachable technical data regarding the refugees in that region.

77. Having concluded my consideration of this aspect of the report, which, I may say, makes disagreeable reading in view of the negative character of the information it contains—it would have been gratifying if at some point Portugal had co-operated to make our difficult tasks easier—I shall go on to another matter. I should like to quote here the following passage from the addendum to the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees:

"The Committee will also, I think, wish to hear how the new refugee problems calling for the High Commissioner's good offices have evolved since we last met. To begin with, the Angolan refugees in the Congo, numbering about 150,000, have, as you know, been enabled to provide for themselves within the time-limits set by agreement with the Congolese authorities, the League and our other voluntary partners. According to recent information, several thousand more refugees appear to have arrived in the Congo from Angola. My 'chargé de mission' in the Congo is at present endeavouring to assess the situation in co-operation with the authorities and the local voluntary agencies...." [A/5211/Rev.1/Add.1, annex I.]

78. It would be useful if the Portuguese delegation were to provide us with a more logical, clearer and simpler explanation of this question of the refugees. All that the representative of Portugal was able to say in the course of his explanatory remarks was that this statistical information was inconsistent.

79. Furthermore, it will be seen from pages 27 and 28 of the report of the Sub-Committee that in the course of our difficult dialogue with Portugal we submitted a lengthy questionnaire to the Portuguese Government in which we asked for information about the main questions and about possible peaceful solu-

tions. No reply was given on that point in the letter we received from the Portuguese representative. In reply to the question relating to political prisoners, he stated that there are no political prisoners. Other questions, such as those relating to military action, refugees and reforms, were left unanswered.

80. I do not wish to repeat the text of this letter, which appears on pages 26-28 of the report, but I would point out that of the twenty questions that we had asked, fourteen received no reply.

81. I believe that the time for inquiries into this question has passed. I believe that the time has now come to seek conciliatory solutions—and for this purpose, of course, we need Portugal's co-operation. The fact that Portugal asserts that these refugees are terrorists and considers them to be foreigners or alien to the territory of Angola is one of the issues involved.

82. Here I must point out to representatives, in passing, the obvious fact that for the last thirty or forty years of Portugal's administration no political activity of any kind has been allowed in this territory. For that reason, every party that has been founded, with one exception, has been established outside of Angola.

83. Thus there arises a remarkable problem; it is true that all these parties are in the Congo (Leopoldville) or on the frontier; yet, in spite of being on the periphery of the territory, they are in fact the political centre of the territory. This problem is of the greatest importance.

84. Without going into the origins of the conflict, which were emphasized by the representative of Portugal, the way in which this whole problem has developed must be borne in mind. In this connexion, I should like to draw attention to a very simple fact. Whatever description the Portuguese Government applies to these elements who are on the frontier and who, because of the very actions of the Portuguese army, are providing a tactical force which displays a tragic willingness to fight, and however they define the situation, all these refugees, all these men who have left Angola, and all the parties, are willing to enter into discussions with Portugal. It is Portugal which does not want to enter into discussions.

85. Now, at the end of his statement Mr. Garin stresses an old argument of his, namely, that the Sub-Committee of which I am Chairman did not take into account the views of highly-placed personalities invited to Angola.

86. Possibly Mr. Garin is referring to a former General of the United States Army who, at his request, was heard by the Sub-Committee. Out of respect for Portugal, I prefer not to repeat the things which the general told the Sub-Committee; but if Mr. Garin so desires, I am willing to read to the Assembly the statements made to the Sub-Committee by this general, who was specially invited by the Portuguese Government.

87. Now, on the question whether the representative of Portugal was given all facilities, he will remember that he was invited to the Sub-Committee on one occasion in order to give us in full whatever information he might wish. His answer was very clear: he was not authorized by his Government to take such a course.

88. I now come to a problem which is really of a general nature, namely, whether or not a situation represents a threat to international peace. This, of course, is a difficult question. The United Nations Charter, in dealing with this point, uses the word "likely". The juridical position adopted by Portugal from the outset, that the Portuguese overseas provinces in Africa are a part of Portuguese territory, are the central argument which it has repeated time and again and which we have discussed ad nauseam in the Assembly. On this point, I need not mention all the resolutions that have been adopted here, resolutions with which, in any event, the Portuguese delegation has never agreed. The central problem of international supervision and jurisdiction with respect to colonies was perfectly well defined long before the Charter, long before the League of Nations Covenant; indeed, long before the Congress of Berlin. When the New World was discovered, Spain came to the shores of America and took possession of the lands in the name of God. It received its mandate from the Pope, who exercised some jurisdiction over the Powers.

89. In connexion with this process of colonization, I should like to quote something which is valid, even though it dates back to the sixteenth century. I am going to quote Father Bartolomé de las Casas who, I am sure, is known to Dr. Salazar. On this occasion, discussing in his well-known defence the question of the juridical status of the inhabitants of colonial America, the great defender of the Indians made this statement:

"If the King of Spain treats subjects in the New World differently from subjects in Spain, then he has no right to be King, because he went to the New World in the name of God, and God does not recognize inequality among human beings."

This was said in the sixteenth century.

90. One geographical continuity is recognized—and here I should like to declare myself openly in agreement with Portugal—there is no problem.

91. We have the example of the United States and Hawaii. But the fundamental prerequisite is this: the accession of the population must take place on a basis of equality with the colonial Power and, in addition, its consent must be freely expressed. The whole of the population must indicate its adherence to that far-off territory. We cannot deny that integration spanning the continents, is possible, this being the federative principle which has created many States and many peoples. In the case of Portugal, however, there has been no such consultation; and besides, the representative of Portugal himself has told us today that in 1961, Portugal had to change the law relating to "indígena" status to see whether in that way the inhabitants of Angola could be placed on terms of equality with other Portuguese citizens.

92. This means, then, that differential treatment is admitted. The Portuguese Government begins to make changes, and the author of the changes, Mr. Moreira, is immediately removed. We conclude then, that this theoretical argument, which is of course anachronistic, is being defended by Portugal inflexibly and dogmatically, as though the United Nations Charter were a static entity.

93. The Minister for Overseas Provinces himself, Mr. Moreira, in one of his books, Dialogue between the United Nations and Portugal, recognizes the prin-

principle of international jurisdiction. He says, however, that "This obligation is self-imposed by the administering State".

94. There is an Article of the Charter which has been quoted many times in the General Assembly and in the Fourth Committee. It is Article 73, which is not to be read in isolation, but in conjunction with Chapter IX, dealing with international economic and social co-operation. I shall once again read Article 55 of this Chapter, which states:

[The speaker read out Article 55 of the Charter.]

95. The Ambassador of Portugal tells us that, in fact the policy of his Government is a multiracial one. I have recognized that fact on more than one occasion in the Fourth Committee, but in these days when there is tension in northern Angola, I question whether this multiracial policy can be imposed by force.

96. In conclusion, I must thank Mr. Garin for the moderation with which he has spoken in this debate. Last year, the Portuguese delegation made the tactical error of withdrawing. This time, happily, Mr. Frago, when I spoke to him, indicated that it would be attending this debate. I am grateful to the Portuguese delegation for this courtesy.

97. One further point, speaking as a member of the Committee: if at any time authentic facts are presented to me, showing that the Committee of which I was a member is in error, I am prepared to make any necessary corrections.

98. However, what is important here is not the arguments that may be advanced against the Committee. The central problem is the total incompatibility of the Portuguese Government with the United Nations. On 20 June 1961, the Portuguese Government told us in another letter that: "the Portuguese Government, on account of the provisions of the Charter, is not in a position to recognize to the Sub-Committee a competence which it cannot recognize to the General Assembly or to the Security Council." [A/5286, para. 71.] The fact is that when the Portuguese representative says that he does not agree with the conclusions in the report, he is saying nothing new. In substance, his statement is perfectly in line with the position taken by Dr. Salazar, a man constitutionally indisposed to negotiate with the United Nations at any level. That is the problem.

99. U TIN MAUNG (Burma): True to his usual form and in a manner consistent with the well-known arrogance and obduracy of Portugal, the first speaker in the debate on the situation in Angola, who left this rostrum a few moments ago, delivered a very long speech in which he not only criticized the report of the Sub-Committee, the conclusion of which he totally rejected, but also condemned, in most uncharitable terms, the United Nations for interfering in what he called the domestic affairs of Portugal. I listened to his speech very attentively, but I was not able to detect any reference to recognition on the part of Portugal of the principle of self-determination and independence which is so nobly enshrined in the Charter. The representative of Portugal has merely repeated what he said at the resumed sixteenth session of the General Assembly in January 1962 [1088th meeting]. Having defended his Government's policies in Angola as best he could he particularly stressed, at the end of his speech, that Portugal is on the side

of truth. History, of course, will prove who is right and who is wrong.

100. The last occasion on which the General Assembly discussed the question of the situation in Angola was at its resumed sixteenth session when, in January 1962 [1088th meeting], a great majority of the delegations present came up to this rostrum to participate in the debate and pronounced themselves on the policies and practices of the Government of Portugal. The General Assembly is certainly not the only forum where representatives have addressed themselves to the various aspects of Portuguese colonialism. As we all know, the Security Council was twice seized of the explosive situation in Angola. For the fifth time in quick succession we are engaged in this debate, and had it not been for the obduracy of Portugal; its continued defiance of the United Nations and non-compliance with its international obligations, we would, towards the end of the current session, have taken upon ourselves more pleasant and less arduous tasks.

101. My delegation categorically rejects as a legal fiction, Portugal's contention that Angola forms an integral part of the Portuguese nation and that the situation in that territory is a matter which is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Portugal. We have considered, and we will continue to consider, Angola to be a dependent territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter, a territory to which all the provisions of the Charter relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories and all the various United Nations resolutions on the ending of colonialism are fully applicable.

102. The question of Angola constitutes one of the most acute international problems, one which, since the outbreak of the colonial war in Angola in 1961, has become a matter of serious concern to world opinion.

103. In another Committee of this Organization the debate on Portugal's non-compliance with its international obligations in respect of other dependent territories and the decisions of the General Assembly has now concluded; but the Fourth Committee has not yet considered any measures, for the reason that no draft resolution has yet been tabled.

104. Were it not for the fact that the present situation in Angola constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security, the Assembly, in one of its subsidiary bodies, would have devoted a few more meetings to the solution of the general question of all the territories under Portuguese administration.

105. The representatives of Portugal have urged us to believe, since June 1961, and the Portuguese representative has attempted to do so already at the current session, that the Angolan uprising was foreign-inspired and foreign sponsored. Then four months later, in October, the Governor-General, Venacio A. Deslandes, broadcast from Luanda that the "rebellion" led by the "indigenas" which began on 15 March 1961 in Angola, was over. This highest Portuguese official in Angola estimated the Portuguese casualties at 1,400. He announced: "The enemy organization has been dispersed and all villages, hamlets and administrative and district posts have been reoccupied." He added that the rebels had "very little opportunity to carry out their destruction and murder". It is interesting to note, of course, that the Governor-General did not give the total number of African casualties, nor did he disclose the number of Portuguese troops killed.

or wounded, although at the commencement of the fighting a Portuguese army 20,000 strong was sent to northern Angola to suppress the "revolt".

106. Did the world really believe what the Portuguese colonialists said? Of course not. Since there was no freedom of the Press in Angola, as there is none in Portugal itself, there was no way of verifying whether the Angolan uprising could be so abruptly crushed, in only three months. The Angolan nationalists were called—and this has been repeated by the representative of Portugal—"terrorists", and the whole world was promised by Portugal that with the support of 3,400 troops—these figures, incidentally, kept changing—the good, law-abiding Angolan citizens would be able to sleep with their windows wide-open.

107. The United Nations was, and still is, in no position to lend credence to such Portuguese propaganda and lies, when the whole world knows that the situation in Angola involves a systematic denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms, through enforcement of highly repressive measures and the use of force in violation of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was only after much pressure from many delegations that, as we all know, the Sub-Committee whose present report [A/5286] we are now discussing was appointed following the deliberations in the Security Council and the General Assembly.

108. First of all, the delegation of Burma would like to express its deep appreciation to the Sub-Committee for having discharged efficiently the difficult task entrusted to it by the General Assembly and for its concise, but nevertheless comprehensive study of the situation which prevails in Angola—and this despite Portugal's refusal to permit the Sub-Committee to enter that territory.

109. If Portugal has nothing to fear and nothing to hide, why does it refuse to accord the Sub-Committee access to the scene of armed conflict? This afternoon the representative of Portugal told us that his Government was prepared to welcome what he called "highly placed personalities" and all the representatives of the specialized agencies to the territory of Angola. I should like to put a query to the representative of Portugal: whether, in that case, his Government is prepared to welcome the representatives of these specialized agencies to the scene of armed conflict in Angola.

110. The report gives us a clear picture of the existing situation in Angola and, although the Sub-Committee was not able—this has been emphasized by its Chairman—to obtain the co-operation of the Government of Portugal and to visit Angola, all its members seized the opportunity of meeting and hearing the petitioners in Leopoldville, where the Government of the Republic of the Congo facilitated the work of the Sub-Committee and extended its hospitality.

111. As we all know, the reaction of Portugal to the report of the Sub-Committee is adverse—I might even say hostile. Portugal's resentment against the United Nations is stronger this time than on the last occasion, when the Chairman of the Sub-Committee was invited to visit Lisbon as an individual and not as a United Nations representative. The report shows that Portugal will not be able to put down the Angolan nationalist uprising by force, even though we know that Portugal is using arms and ammunition which it cannot claim as its own for the suppression of the people of Angola. Portugal's elaborate and expensive

propaganda machine has totally broken down, and no amount of money, no organization of public relations and publicity and no hurriedly-developed international lobbying will be able to conceal the facts that have been disclosed and adduced in the Sub-Committee's report.

112. The Sub-Committee's report has summed up in a nutshell not only the moral collapse, but the military defeat of Portugal in Angola. There cannot be any doubt that one of the cruelest colonial wars against a colonized people is being waged by Portugal. In complete contradiction to what was said and claimed by representatives of Portugal in the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Sub-Committee states:

"In spite of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling upon Portugal to desist from repressive measures and armed action against the people of Angola, the Government of Portugal has continued to resort to military and other repressive means. Although the Portuguese military forces, which are superior in numbers, training and armament on the ground, and are unchallenged in the air, have scored successes against the poorly equipped Angolans and have re-occupied territory, nationalist resistance is continuing in the form of guerrilla activity, and war by any definition of the term continues to be waged in Angola." [A/5286, para. 215.]

113. The Sub-Committee has also rejected, and quite rightly so, the Portuguese Government's description of its military operations as "limited police actions". In suppressing the nationalist movement of Angolans, the Portuguese Air Force has engaged in indiscriminate bombing, the bombs used being napalm bombs, rockets and incendiary bombs. Military operations launched by Portuguese colonialists included intense aerial activities, and many complaints of certain violations of the border were made by the Congolese authorities. The most notorious of the aerial attacks was called "Operation North Wind"—which, incidentally, has nothing to do with the winds of change—which, as late as 13 September 1962, inflicted heavy losses on the Angolan nationalists in a surprise attack. The indigenous inhabitants, despite indiscriminate bombings, were not demoralized, so strong was their will and their determination to win in their struggle for freedom and independence. The Sub-Committee learned from reliable sources that, after enduring untold misery and hardship, the population learned by experience to take certain protective measures. But the Sub-Committee was also told on many occasions that:

"... the air operations have caused many casualties and heavy property damage, and have played a significant part in terrorizing Angolans, inducing many of them to come out of hiding and surrender or to seek refuge abroad. The minds of the refugees who had been exposed to the Portuguese air raids, particularly the children, such experiences seemed to have had lasting effects." [Ibid., para. 90.]

The Portuguese colonialists, taking what they describe as "police actions" aimed at the indiscriminate destruction of the indigenous inhabitants and cultivated plots of land by means of incendiary bombs. But the deceit and trickery to which they resorted in their aerial operations could not be surpassed in treachery even by their Draconian laws. Unable to locate the

hapless people in the thickness of the bush, they advised these defenceless ones to come out in the open. The report further states:

"The Sub-Committee received information that the air attacks were often preceded by the dropping or posting of leaflets warning the inhabitants to come out of the forest." [Ibid., para. 91.]

114. A copy of such a leaflet is in the hands of the members of the Sub-Committee. It reads as follows:

"Command of Battalion No. 159. 'Inhabitants of the "colonato" of the Valerio Loge.'

"Take advantage of the last opportunity given you. Return to the 'colonato' in peace. Your lives are guaranteed to you. Return to your homes. Come to work for your elevation and progress. The Commandant of the troops guarantees your protection. You will be going to take possession of what is yours.

"Leave the bandits who are deceiving you. Many groups have already surrendered; Pedro Tumissungu Cardoso will tell you how the troops are treating your brothers.

"Your church is respected. The troops are friends. Come in peace. God will help you. Appear up to the end of the 27th during daylight at the 'colonato' by the Toto road.

"Come in groups of ten with a white flag.

"Surrender weapons as a sign of peace.

"The Commander of the Troops, Abilio Gonçalves Dias, Infantry Major." [Ibid., para. 91. (footnote 20).]

115. After so many weeks and months of continued strafing and heavy fighting, the Angolan nationalists have learned to organize themselves politically and administratively. Thus by July and August 1962, their military activities were limited entirely to guerrilla operations. The report of the Sub-Committee also refers to the establishment of a rudimentary government, including forms of political and civil administration, in a substantial area under their control, with the exception of the larger population centres. This significant development is confirmed by Mr. George M. Houser, who in his article, "Journey to Rebel Angola", in Africa Today of March 1962, gives a first-hand account of the capability of Angolans, not only to fight their enemy, but also to manage their own domestic affairs. He writes:

"Nationalist-held territory is in a very real, if rudimentary, sense already self-governing. In addition to the UPA-issued passports, there are customs posts, a communications and information system, village councils, a party, a trade union and youth organizations. In sum, there exist the beginnings of a political State."

116. While the nucleus of a nationalist revolutionary government is being nurtured in the Angolan bush with all the attributes of a resistance movement, let us see what sort of a "civilized" administration is being run by the Portuguese colonialists in the southern part of the territory.

117. A reign of tyranny and terror prevails. Many Angolans have been "subjected to ill treatment"—and I am quoting the words of the report of the Sub-Committee—"and detained in concentration camps, imprisoned or deported because they expressed dissatisfaction with the existing political, economic and

social conditions... many educated Angolans had been victimized purely on suspicion." [A/5286, para. 14.] The Portuguese Secret Agency, known as the Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE) (International and State Security Police) reigned supreme and played havoc in Angola. There is no record available yet to show how many Angolans have been killed, arrested or executed by the Portuguese rulers. Unmentionable atrocities and excesses committed, and repressive measures taken, against the innocent Angolans by the Portuguese have shocked the conscience of mankind. It is highly inconceivable that, in this age of enlightenment and independence and when the United Nations is recognized as the best hope of mankind and as a potent force for peace, the same methods of terror resorted to by Fascists during World War II should have been used by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola.

118. The statement made by an ex-military medical officer in the Portuguese Army in Angola, before the Special Committee on Portuguese Territories at Leopoldville on 26 May 1962, could have horrified all decent and respectable people throughout the world and could have chilled anybody's blood. This Portuguese medical officer, who could not stand the atrocities and cruel tortures resorted to and inflicted on African persons by the Portuguese, escaped from the Portuguese Army on 23 October 1961. To cite only one instance, the testimony of this man may sound fantastic but photographs published in some periodicals and newspapers, which had the courage to publish and which could not be bribed and corrupted, reveal frightful practices of the Portuguese troops and their commanders. This Portuguese medical officer told the Special Committee that "on 2 May one of the captains who travelled with us left for the large experimental farm at Mabubas where he was looking for someone he knew, the notorious captain of the special light infantry, Rui Mendoca, known as 'Eichmann'. This man had one of his platoons on the spot and carried out tortures on prisoners which horrified the new captain. He had a special torture house where unbelievable things were done, according to what we were told. Testicles were twisted, men were suspended by them from the ceiling for days on end—a method used in Portugal on Portuguese political prisoners by the PIDE—and they were then torn out. People were killed by slow stabbing, their organs were cut off, others were killed by gradual burial, by crushing under tractors, or by electrocution. The practices were said to be frightful."

119. The officer, who went there with other officers, told us that, on the occasion of this visit, the platoon commanded by Second Lieutenant Matos carried out some of these tortures, while the Second Lieutenant's wife laughed at the injuries inflicted before her eyes and at the acts of sexual perversion which soldiers forced the prisoners to perform upon the women prisoners. It may be that some of the tortures, described by the soldiers, are at times exaggerated. Nevertheless, a colleague, a medical officer in one of the companies of special light infantry which had been in action since the beginning of the conflict, assured me that Captain Mendoca and some of his officers—the notorious Second Lieutenant Robles and many others—certainly put out the eyes of prisoners, or had them put out, killed women and children on occasion, and inflicted deliberate wounds with knives, while killing, in order to increase the suffering.

120. I have referred to the statement of this man, Dr. Mario Montinho de Padua, to show that fascist methods and racial prejudices are being revived in Africa. Some friends of Portugal may find it difficult to believe that the Government of Portugal, which has so often boasted of its "civilizing mission" in Africa, could have adopted such a policy of repression, but it is quite possible that Portugal, in its present deranged spirit, would not have hesitated to have recourse to these horrible measures. Dr. Mario Montinho de Padua had stated:

"One had to know these men and the atmosphere at the time to understand that such things were possible. Their homicidal mania, often mingled with sadistic pleasure, the total disregard for the lives of the African, the fear of suffering the fate of other European villages, the desire for vengeance—all these had produced terrible effects on men who had long since lost their scruples in the colonialist life based on ruthless exploitation of the Africans."

121. From this rostrum, I do not intend to weary the Assembly and deal with the so-called reforms promulgated by Portugal. My delegation has already had an opportunity to express its views on these Portuguese-type reforms in the Fourth Committee [1399th meeting] in considerable detail, when we discussed the report of the Special Committee on Portuguese Territories. These reforms were characterized by friends of Portugal as "far-reaching reforms". I wish merely to quote one simple and short sentence from the report of the Sub-Committee on Angola:

"The Portuguese Government has continued to claim that the reforms announced last year constitute a significant contribution to the solution of the Angolan problem. The evidence indicates, however, that these reforms are not designed to promote the self-government or the self-determination of the Angolan people. On the contrary, they are designed essentially to strengthen the political integration of Angola with Portugal. The reforms include programmes to promote the colonization of the territory by Portuguese settlers, who are given Government encouragement and special incentives. At the same time, firm military and political control is maintained and measures are taken towards greater economic integration with Portugal. The Government of Portugal has failed so far to undertake significant political reforms and, in particular, has not set up freely elected and representative political institutions with a view to transfer of power to the people of Angola." [A/5286, para. 219.]

As is clear from the report of the Sub-Committee, the security and political aspects of the situation in Angola are such that we feel very strongly that the Security Council and, of course, the General Assembly, must remain constantly and continuously seized of the situation in Angola.

122. The Sub-Committee's report continues as follows:

"The situation in Angola presents a serious challenge to the United Nations. The continuance of the conflict, despite repeated efforts by the Organization to promote a peaceful settlement, carries with it a serious danger of an extension of the conflict. An explosive situation might develop from the confrontation of the growing demand for the ending of colonialism in the African continent by further

obduracy of the Portuguese Government in denying self-determination for Angola." [Ibid. para. 220.]

We, of the delegation of Burma, share these views. We also support the Sub-Committee's opinion that the Angolan nationalists had no choice but to take up arms against the Portuguese since March 1961. The colonial war goes on, despite the claims of Portuguese colonialists, that everything is quiet and normal on the Angolan front.

123. The recent major reshuffling of the Cabinet of Mr. Salazar has been politically analysed by some sections of the world Press as an indication of the military situation calming down or becoming less tense. For all we know, it might well be the lull before the storm. I am sure that many Member States of this Organization, including the friends and allies of Portugal, are just as anxious as we are to prevent, to the utmost extent, the situation in Angola from developing into a conflict of the Algerian type. The history of the gallant fight of the Algerians, and their ultimate attainment of independence, is well known to this Assembly. We will have to bear in mind that, if Angola is to move rapidly towards the goal of self-determination and independence, and if Portugal wishes to maintain friendly relations with Africa and the rest of the world, Portugal has no alternative but to institute, without any further delay, genuine reforms for a speedy but orderly political and constitutional advancement of the Territory, leading ultimately to complete independence. Portugal cannot win the Angolan war.

124. Having read and studied the various reports and documents on the situation in Angola, and having heard the petitioners here in New York, my delegation considers that the situation in Angola will take a favourable turn if—and we cannot too strongly emphasize this point—and only if, Portugal listens to serious warnings which are being given, and which will continue to be given, by many representatives from this rostrum, and seeks a peaceful solution of the problem, in co-operation with the United Nations, in conformity with the Charter, and on the basis of the principles of recognition of the right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence, and respect for the political equality of all Angolans, without discrimination as to race, colour or creed.

125. My delegation is prepared to support any measure which, in the light of the considerations I have just mentioned, will be conducive to achievement of the principles and objects of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

126. Mr. SONN VOEUNSAI (Cambodia) (translated from French): The problem of Angola, where conditions are such as to constitute a threat to international peace and security, fully merits discussion in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. However, the question can best be studied within the general context of problems of decolonization. Accordingly, my delegation, in stating its views, will support them by reference to the work of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration established by General Assembly resolution 1699 (XVI), and to that of the Special Committee of Seventeen established by resolution 1654 (XVI).

127. The Angolan problem has two main aspects: one is related to the question of self-determination and the attainment of independence by the Angolan people, and the other concerns the armed operations

of the nationalists and their counterpart, the repressive measures taken by Portugal.

128. In the view of my delegation, these two aspects are closely linked, the one being the consequence of the other. A solution could be found to the problem as a whole, if the Administering Powers agree to comply with the legitimate aspirations of the people.

129. Portugal, however, has always refused to regard Angola as a non-self-governing territory. It contends that Angola is an overseas province and thus an integral part of the national heritage. On the basis of this argument, it has even refused, citing Article 2 (7) of the Charter, to allow the United Nations to intervene. On the same ground it has also refused to transmit information on this territory, as Article 73 of the Charter requires. It persists in this attitude despite the General Assembly's adoption, by overwhelming majorities, of resolutions 1542 (XV) and 1699 (XVI).

130. My delegation has no doubts whatever on this question. Angola is not a part of Portugal; it is a Portuguese colony, if you will, a settlement. The historical, political, economic and social facts show that the territory is under foreign domination. The status of a conquered territory cannot be changed by abrogating a colonial law and inserting a special clause in the national constitution. In the opinion of my delegation, there should have been the widest possible consultation of the peoples concerned before any such change was made.

131. Since Angola is a non-self-governing territory, the Portuguese Government's disregard of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) is obvious.

132. Moreover, the General Assembly has also adopted resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and resolution 1742 (XVI) in which the Assembly solemnly reaffirms the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence. Let us now consider whether these resolutions have been fully applied.

133. In doing so, we must examine the report submitted to us by the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/5286] whose Chairman, Mr. Salamanca, made a highly pertinent statement to the Assembly on 29 November [1180th meeting].

134. My delegation would like to congratulate the Sub-Committee warmly on its excellent work. The Sub-Committee has made a realistic and objective study of the present situation and has provided an excellent analysis of the various aspects of the question—the armed operations and the repressive measures taken against them, the situation of the refugees and political prisoners, and the political development of the territory. It has also drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the international aspects of the situation. My delegation would like to comment upon some of the important aspects of the facts set forth.

135. First, it notes that the Sub-Committee has made further efforts to enlist the co-operation of the Portuguese Government. Unfortunately, these attempts have not been successful. In this connexion, I should like to quote the following passage from an editorial entitled "The Portuguese Régime and the Angolan

Crisis" published in the newspaper Le Monde on 4 December 1962:

"There is nothing to indicate, however, that the general policy of the Lisbon Government will be appreciably changed... Despite renewed United Nations pressure in regard to Angola, Dr. Salazar is more than ever determined to persevere in his chosen course."

136. Secondly, Portugal has sought to show that peace has been restored in the territory and that only police measures were involved. Our view, however, is that even if the word "war" is not used, there have been armed operations and repressive measures. The subject peoples will not cease their fight for liberation until independence has been won.

137. Thirdly, reference has been made to reforms; however, as the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration notes in paragraph 407 of its report (A/5160), not only do these so-called reforms fail to meet the basic aspirations of the Angolan people, but they have not even brought about, as yet, any significant changes in political, economic, social and educational conditions.

138. My delegation is moved by all these considerations to endorse the following statement by the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola:

"The situation in Angola presents a serious challenge to the United Nations. The continuance of the conflict, despite repeated efforts by the Organization to promote a peaceful settlement, carries with it a serious danger of an extension of the conflict. An explosive situation might develop from the confrontation of the growing demand for the ending of colonialism in the African continent by further obduracy of the Portuguese in denying self-determination for Angola." [A/5286, para. 220.]

139. I should also like to quote from the Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries made at the Belgrade Conference in September 1961, of which Cambodia was one of the signatories. The Declaration says:

"The participating countries draw attention with great concern to the developments in Angola and to the intolerable measures of repression taken by the Portuguese colonial authorities against the people of Angola and demand that an immediate end should be put to any further shedding of blood of the Angolan people, and the people of Angola should be assisted by all peace-loving countries, particularly Member States of the United Nations, to establish their free and independent State without delay."

Unfortunately, this appeal has not been fully heeded.

140. The Cambodian delegation has approached the Angolan question without hatred or passion. Nevertheless, it wishes to place on record its staunch determination to help to reaffirm and defend the sacred principles of national sovereignty and the freedom of peoples to choose their future. It is in that spirit that it has joined the sponsors of the draft resolution on Angola submitted at this session by the Special Committee of Seventeen [see A/5238, chap. XI, para. 44].

^{1/} See Belgrade Conference, 1961 (published by The Review of International Affairs, Belgrade), No. 5, p. 21.

141. I should like to conclude by quoting from a statement made by our Head of State, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk:

"We must act together, by all the means at our disposal, to persuade those Powers which seek to maintain their domination of other peoples to show their wisdom by granting to those peoples, freely and without restriction, the independence which they claim. Unfortunately, this wisdom is often replaced by resort to force to break the will to independence of peoples who have long been in chains. We have an example of this in Angola, and we pay heartfelt tribute to the heroic fight of our brave brothers."

142. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): The Assembly this afternoon has been treated to one of the usual psalms of the representative of Portugal, extolling the virtues of the outdated and outmoded policies and practices which Portugal perpetrates in Angola. It was interesting to observe that, while the representative of Portugal undertook to enumerate the so-called measures of political, social and economic progress being carried out in Angola under the auspices of Portugal, he completely failed to state before this body that his country recognizes the right of self-determination and independence of the people of Angola and that Portugal is taking the necessary measures to transfer power to the Angolans in accordance with the resolutions of the Assembly. This is a matter which is close to the heart of the Assembly and, until such time as the representative of Portugal is prepared to inform the Assembly that his country recognizes the right of self-determination and independence of the people of Angola and is taking the necessary measures to transfer power to them, I can only say that his professions are vain and without meaning.

143. The situation prevailing in Angola continues to be a matter of great international concern and alarm, endangering international peace and stability. It continues to be the question of whether a people yearning to breathe the air of freedom, and struggling so desperately to throw off the yoke that has bound them for centuries of Portuguese rule and exploitation, will still be compelled to shed their sacred blood, or whether they shall be helped towards the attainment of their aspirations by the United Nations, to which they have turned for relief and succour.

144. When the accumulated grievances of the Angolans burst out into revolt in the early part of 1961, which was followed by the long nightmare of Portuguese repressive measures and armed action against the Angolan people, the Liberian Government, being deeply concerned at the events transpiring in that unhappy country, issued the following statement:

"The Government of Liberia has been quite concerned over reports of brutality in Portuguese Angola. This Government recognizes the principle that if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to force and violence against tyranny and oppression, human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

"The Government of Liberia wishes to observe that what appear to be authoritative reports from Angola indicate that fundamental human rights are, contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, being violated in Angola, and this is likely to endanger international peace and security.

"The Liberian Government has therefore directed its representative on the Security Council to request inscription of the item on the Security Council's agenda under Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations." ^{5/}

Thus, by this initiative, the attention of the international community was formally drawn to the painful events then taking place in Angola.

145. Since then, a number of resolutions have emerged from both the General Assembly and the Security Council, calling upon the Portuguese authorities to desist forthwith from repressive measures and armed action against the people of Angola; to release immediately all Angolan political prisoners, wherever they may be held; and to undertake extensive political, economic and social reforms, and in particular to set up freely elected and representative political institutions with a view to the transfer of power to the people of Angola.

146. In pursuance of the implementation of these requirements, as spelled out in the several resolutions, the Sub-committee on Angola, established under the terms of resolution 1603 (XV) and continued under the terms of resolution 1742 (XVI), has laid before the Assembly a report covering its work. [A/5286.] My delegation extends its congratulations to the Chairman and the members of the Sub-Committee for their sense of devotion, and I would hasten to add an expression of our wholehearted appreciation of the conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee as reflected in its report.

147. The conclusion that one is forced to draw from the findings of the Sub-Committee is that Portugal persists in its repressive measures and armed action against the people of Angola, that the disturbances and conflict continue, and that the measures of reform introduced by Portugal are not designed to assist in the process of self-determination and self-government but, on the contrary, are intended to consolidate the political integration of Angola with Portugal. This, I submit, is very distressing.

148. Here we have the grim and sorry spectacle of the United Nations being faced with a Member's flagrant defiance of its resolutions. This, we submit, is entirely incompatible with membership of the world Organization. And I would say that the tragedy of what is occurring because of Portugal's intransigence and defiance is compounded by the fact that the ultimate independence of the people of Angola is a foregone conclusion. The irresistible trend of history has proved this, time and again. Hence, the prolongation of this senseless effort by Portugal to continue the suppression and repression of the people of Angola is really a vain pursuit, and Portugal should recognize this, in its own best interests.

149. In this connexion, I should like to recall what I said in the Security Council on the same issue on 8 June 1961:

"We submit that man is born free. His freedom is not subject to the political caprice of other men. Whatever fortuitous deprivation of his liberty he must endure is, by the very origin of man, a temporary and limited ordeal. Even a most cursory acquaintance with history makes this thesis abundantly clear. It is neither wise, just, nor natural

for a nation like Portugal to make monstrously cruel but altogether ineffectual attempts to impede the final outcome of history's inalienable laws." 6/

150. Like the representatives of Burma and Cambodia, who have preceded me in this debate, I would refer to the Sub-Committee's report, in which it is pointed out that:

"The situation in Angola presents a serious challenge to the United Nations. The continuance of the conflict, despite repeated efforts by the Organization to promote a peaceful settlement, carries with it a serious danger of an extension of the conflict. An explosive situation might develop from the confrontation of the growing demand for the ending of colonialism in the African continent by further obduracy of the Portuguese Government in denying self-determination for Angola". [A/5286, para. 220.]

Those, I submit, are very serious words, and I am sure that they were not written very lightly.

151. The United Nations interest in this question is underlined by the number of bodies dealing with Angola, such as the Sub-Committee on Angola, the Committee on Portuguese Territories, the Special Committee of Seventeen and the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

152. It cannot be expected that the people of Angola, whose hopes have been aroused by this manifestation of interest and concern on the part of the United Nations, will stand idly and helplessly by and watch their hopes shattered by Portugal's intransigence. This manifest concern for a people striving mightily to exercise the right of self-determination and independence is such that we, too, cannot stand passively by and let events take their course. In our judgement, the co-operation of Portugal in finding a peaceful solution of this problem is indeed essential, and we have voiced this view on several occasions. We exceedingly regret that Portugal has not seen fit to extend its co-operation to the Sub-Committee, as was pointed out by the Chairman in introducing the report on 29 November 1962 [1180th meeting].

153. Thus, again, the Portuguese authorities have deemed it fit to slam the door on peaceful negotiations of problems which are increasingly becoming irritants to world peace and stability. May I in all seriousness ask this question: why is it that Portugal elects to invite violent change in preference to peaceful change?

154. It is perhaps needless to repeat here the incidents of killings, massacres and arrests that have taken place in that unfortunate country. That these indiscriminate killings are continuing was testified to by petitioners from Angola who appeared before the Fourth Committee as recently as 22 November 1962. It suffices to refer briefly to the statement made by Mr. Holden Roberto, one of the petitioners, who on 27 November 1962 [1398th meeting] informed the Fourth Committee that "on 27 August last, an Angolan, together with his wife, children and nephews had been arrested at a post in the forest of Kambamba, and one after the other they had been shot. On 29 September, eighty-five people had died in the forest of Yima as a result of a bombing raid. The Portuguese air force was raining hundreds of napalm bombs daily, sparing no part of the land, and more than 1,000 villages had already been destroyed. Angolans seeking refuge in exile, who had succeeded in crossing over

into the Republic of the Congo, were living there crowded together in extremely precarious circumstances. Certainly that situation does not tally with the professions by Portugal that a situation of peace, order and normality exists in Angola.

155. The Angolan people seek a speedy solution to the problem, and the United Nations can in no circumstances abdicate its responsibilities in the matter. My delegation solemnly addresses an appeal to Portugal to lend a hand in solving this pressing problem in Africa. The resolution of the problem lies close to the hearts of the people of Africa. They will no longer tolerate any delay in the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom and liberty. The tide of African nationalism, which is sweeping our continent, cannot be turned back from the Angolan shores and frontiers, and there is no need at all for Portugal to jeopardize its future relations with Angola and Africa.

156. My delegation is of the firm conviction that the following conditions and measures are essential for the peaceful resolution of the problem of Angola:

(a) Portugal must recognize the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence, since the many centuries of colonial rule tend to prolong the disastrous situation existing in the territory and daily increase the danger to peace in Africa, and for that matter the world;

(b) Portugal should forthwith enter into negotiations with the major political parties on the basis of the recognition of the right of independence, and the means by which Angola can promptly accede to independence;

(c) Portugal should, prior to the negotiations, declare an amnesty for all political prisoners who are detained in the prisons of Angola and metropolitan Portugal;

(d) All countries having military agreements with Portugal should be asked to suspend such agreements since, as experience has proved, such military assistance has enabled Portugal to uphold and continue the repressions by the Portuguese authorities in Angola;

(e) Member States, particularly those maintaining friendly relations with Portugal, should be asked to intensify their efforts to persuade Portugal to abstain from increasing these tensions and to negotiate with the major political parties functioning outside Angola;

(f) The Special Committee of Seventeen should, by establishing within itself a group to deal with territories under Portuguese administration, keep a constant watch over developments in Angola and over such steps as the Government of Portugal or other Member States may be taking to affect the situation in Angola;

(g) Independently and in keeping with the terms of its resolution S/4855, the Security Council should continue to keep under constant surveillance the situation in Angola which it pronounced to be "an actual and potential cause of international friction" and "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security".

157. Finally, while deploring the fact that even preliminary measures have not been adopted by Portugal to secure compliance with the resolutions dealing with Angola, the United Nations must pursue relentlessly its determination to assert its primacy in matters affecting the interests of the international community. We must see to it that the cry for help be heard within

these walls, for if that help cannot be found here, then the alternatives will be very dangerous and very disastrous.

158. The PRESIDENT: We shall now interrupt the further consideration of this item and take up the second item listed for this afternoon. The further consideration of the situation in Angola will be resumed tomorrow, when the Assembly convenes at 10.30 a.m. I shall then continue to call on the speakers in the order in which they were listed for today, and when today's list is exhausted, I shall continue with the speakers inscribed on the further list of speakers.

AGENDA ITEM 95

Confirmation of the appointment of the Managing Director of the Special Fund

159. The PRESIDENT: When the Secretary-General requested the inscription of this item on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly, he stated in his explanatory memorandum [A/5254], that under General Assembly resolution 1240 (XIII) the Secretary-General appoints the Managing Director of the Special Fund after having consulted with the Governing Council of the Special Fund. The appointment is subject to confirmation by the General Assembly and, under the resolution, the Managing Director is eligible for reappointment. In his explanatory memorandum, the Secretary-General also stated:

"In view of the forthcoming expiry of Mr. Hoffman's term of office, the Acting Secretary-General consulted the Governing Council on 5 October 1962 and now has the honour to submit to the General Assembly, for its confirmation at its present session, the reappointment of Mr. Paul G. Hoffman for a period of four years as from 1 January 1963." [A/5254, para. 3.]

Since the only action required of the General Assembly is the confirmation of this appointment, may I take it that, in the absence of any objection, the reappointment of Mr. Paul G. Hoffman is confirmed by the Assembly?

It was so decided.

160. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia): The reappointment of Mr. Paul G. Hoffman to the post of Managing Director of the Special Fund gives particular pleasure to my country and to me. The valuable results achieved by the Special Fund during the four years of its existence under the direction of Mr. Hoffman, an outstanding and untiring champion of aid to undeveloped countries, have gained the unanimous recognition of all countries in the process of development. This result represents, at the same time, the best guarantee that the Special Fund, under the continuing guidance of Mr. Hoffman, will achieve new successes which will contribute considerably to the further affirmation and strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the economic field, as well as in the development of international co-operation as a whole.

161. I have had the privilege of representing my country on the Governing Council of the Special Fund, of which it has been a member since the establishment of the Fund. In that capacity, as well as in that of the Chairman of the Governing Council for the year 1962, I have had the opportunity of appreciating not only the personal and professional qualities of Mr. Hoffman, but also his exceptional ability to inspire and to main-

tain the closest co-operation with the members of the Governing Council in all the fields of activity of the Special Fund.

162. For all these reasons, we are deeply convinced that the reappointment of Mr. Hoffman represents not only an excellent solution, but also a guarantee for the further successes of the Special Fund as a very important organ of the United Nations. The Yugoslav delegation warmly welcomes Mr. Hoffman's reappointment, and wishes him every success in his future work.

163. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): I have asked for the floor in order to express, on behalf of the delegation of Peru, the pleasure we take in the General Assembly's confirmation of the Secretary-General's appointment of Mr. Hoffman as Managing Director of the Special Fund.

164. There is no need for me to eulogize Mr. Hoffman, who is a very well-known figure and who has his place in the annals of economic co-operation for many reasons, including the success of the Marshall Plan. But we countries which receive technical assistance and which benefit from a variety of Special Fund projects cannot but recall, in particular, the manner in which Mr. Hoffman has performed this function, so effectively and with such a splendid feeling for human solidarity and economic co-operation.

165. The United Nations is often criticized for its organization, its political functions, or the way in which it exercises those political functions. I sincerely believe, however, that there has never been any serious criticism with respect to the economic co-operation functions of the United Nations. In this field, all agree in assigning to our Organization a unique and irreplaceable role.

166. But the success of the United Nations in this field is due principally to the Managing Director of the Special Fund and to the collaboration he has had from all members of the Secretariat and from the members of the Fund. It is difficult to find a man to carry out such functions effectively. A function may be extremely useful and very difficult, but everything depends on its being discharged by a person qualified to do so by his moral outlook, his executive talent, and his lofty vision of the problems entrusted to him. These rare qualities are combined in the person of Mr. Hoffman.

167. In times when one hopes for mankind is that the United Nations should be able to expand its Special Fund and increasingly to extend and intensify economic assistance to all countries; in times when the hope of the world is the transformation of what I may call the under-industrialized or unindustrialized countries to ensure that their level of living and their economic position is changed, we are clearly fortunate to have found a man like Mr. Hoffman, to have utilized his services for so many years, and to be able to invite him to continue to perform this function for the benefit of the United Nations and of mankind as a whole.

168. It is my warmest hope that Mr. Hoffman may meet with ever greater success in the discharge of his difficult duties.

169. Mr. ADEBO (Nigeria): Like many other representatives here, I had for many years heard of the distinguished services of Mr. Paul Hoffman, first to his own country, then to Europe and later to this

Organization, but it was only last year that I had the first opportunity of meeting him personally and of having the closest acquaintance with him. We were both participants in a conference which was held at Oxford under the auspices of the Council on World Tensions. The conference was held in a College in Oxford which had been established for many generations but which, in characteristically British fashion, was called New College. Mr. Hoffman and I, and the other participants, shared a very great experience together. It was a very wonderful experience for me and one of the unforgettable features of it was the contribution made to our work by this great man, Paul Hoffman. I have never forgotten it.

170. Mr. Hoffman stands in relation to the Special Fund of the United Nations in the same way as Mr. Eugene Black has stood for years in relation to the World Bank and as Mr. Jacobsen has stood in relation to the International Monetary Fund. These great people

have stamped their personality on the organizations that they were appointed to control.

171. Mr. Hoffman is working not only as Managing Director, fulfilling his duties; he is performing duties in which he genuinely and sincerely believes. He believes most fervently in the objectives of the Special Fund. I think therein lies his great capacity for making that organization the success that it has become, in spite of many handicaps, and particularly financial handicaps.

172. It is therefore a great pleasure to me personally to be able to add this tribute to Mr. Paul Hoffman on the occasion when he is being offered a renewal of his appointment. I think we are very lucky that, in spite of his age, he remains so young at heart, so young also physically, young enough to be able to carry on for a few years longer this great, onerous, but from his point of view, very pleasant assignment.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.