United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TWENTY-SECOND SESSION
Official Records

1599th PLENARY MEETING
Friday, 17 November 1967, at 3 p.m.
NEW YORK

CONTENTS

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration:
(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
(b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6908)

Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee. presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows.

1. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: During the Committee's consideration of this item, practically all the delegations which participated in the debate expressed strong disapproval of the Portuguese Government's contention that these Territories are its overseas provinces, and condemned its persistent refusal to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Committee of Twenty-four concerning the Territories under its domination.

2. The overwhelming majority of the members strongly condemned the war being waged by the Portuguese Government against the colonial people who are struggling for their freedom and national independence. They considered that such military operations constituted a crime against humanity and a grave threat to international peace and security. Many delegations condemned the policy of the Portuguese Government whereby, in violation of the fundamental rights of the indigenous inhabitants, it carries out a systematic settlement of foreign immigrants in the Territories while displacing, deporting and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas.

3. A large number of delegations also condemned the activities of the financial interests operating in the Territories under Portuguese domination as exploiting the human and material resources of the Territories and as impeding the attainment of freedom and independence by the indigenous population. Those delegations called upon all States which have not fulfilled the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and particularly the military allies of Portugal in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to desist forthwith from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance which encourages that Government to continue its repressive policy. Others have condemned Portugal for its policy of using its Territories for violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring independent African States.

4. There was a wide measure of agreement that the States should give the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination the moral and material assistance necessary for the restoration of their inalienable rights. Several delegations made reference to the role that could be played by international institutions, particularly the specialized agencies, in the attainment of the objectives of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Further, those delegations were concerned to ensure that the specialized agencies, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, refrained from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance as long as the Government of Portugal failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

5. It was in the light of those statements that a large number of delegations agreed that the Secretary-General should be requested to continue his consultations with the Bank and to commence consultations with other specialized agencies.

6. Furthermore, many delegations felt that it should be recommended to the Security Council that it consider urgently the adoption of the necessary measures to make mandatory the provisions of its resolution 218 (1965) of 23 November 1965 and those of General Assembly resolutions 2107 (XX) of 21 December 1965 and 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966.

7. Those considerations are reflected in the draft resolution which is recommended for adoption by the General Assembly [A/6908, para. 13]. That draft resolution, sponsored by fifty-six Powers, was adopted by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 80 to 8, with 15 abstentions. I express the hope that the General Assembly will adopt this recommendation.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall call in turn on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote.

9. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (translated from French): In order to explain its vote on the draft resolution which appears in the Fourth Committee's report on the Territories under Portuguese domination [A/6908, para. 13], my delegation would like to stress once again that the colonialist policy pursued by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique, and so-called Portuguese Guinea is a grave threat to peace. Portugal's policy of oppression directly endangers the maintenance of peace and security in Africa in three specific respects.

10. First of all, it is common knowledge that Portugal actively participates in the maintenance, on the territory of the Angolan people—a people fighting with determination to recover their dignity and independence—of training camps for mercenaries, whose last abortive attempt to sow disorder in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was the subject of the Security Council's deliberations for many meetings. The direct participation of Portugal in this new form of colonialism—the use of mercenaries—is a permanent threat to the security and territorial integrity of the independent African States bordering on Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

11. In addition, it should be noted that through its persistent refusal to comply with the many decisions of our Organization Portugal is contributing actively to that disquieting deterioration in international relations which we are witnessing. By ignoring and flouting United Nations decisions, Portugal has caused serious damage to the Organization and is thus endangering international justice, peace and security.

12. Lastly, Portugal's activities, in flagrant violation of the Charter and countless decisions of the Organization, find a grim reflection in the unholy alliance that exists between this country, the authorities in Pretoria, and the illegal, minority and racist régime in Salisbury.

13. In the opinion of my delegation, these considerations amply justify my country's vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly.

14. Within the framework of the decolonization of southern Africa and in connexion with the resolution on Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly at its 1594th meeting on 3 November 1967 [resolution 2262 (XXII)], my delegation would like to recall for the record that it was a co-sponsor of the resolution, and that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania voted in favour of it in the Fourth Committee.

15. For reasons beyond his control, our representative was absent when the vote on Southern Rhodesia was taken in the General Assembly. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, in accordance with the unequivocal attitude adopted from the outset by the Government and people of Mauritania towards the problem of Rhodesia, had intended to vote in favour of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly. My delegation wishes there to be no doubt on this.

16. Accordingly, the delegation of Mauritania would be glad if the name of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania could be added to the list of those voting in favour of the resolution on Southern Rhodesia at that meeting of the General Assembly.

17. Mr. DIOP (Senegal) (translated from French): The Senegalese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in the Fourth Committee's report to the General Assembly [A/6908, para. 13], for once more we must face Portugal's refusal to apply to its African colonies the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

18. In the draft resolution, the General Assembly notes Portugal's persistent refusal to implement any of the resolutions adopted since that time, either by the General Assembly, the Security Council, or by the Special Committee set up to consider the problem.

19. The General Assembly then expresses concern over the severe measures of repression which Portugal continues to apply against the freedom-fighters of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, as they struggle to recover their national independence and their right to self-determination, which is reaffirmed in the draft resolution as an inalienable right of these peoples.

20. Portugal's refusal to apply the Declaration, in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV), is founded on a Portuguese myth and a deception. Here is the latest definition of this myth given by Mr. Nogueira, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, in a speech made to the National Press Club in Washington:

> "The Portuguese African territories are overseas provinces and an integral part of the metropolis. The inhabitants of these territories are Portuguese citizens enjoying the same rights as the citizens of the metropolis. They send deputies to the National Assembly in Lisbon."

21. This myth may be true when it is a question of exploiting, in concert with all the international monopolies, the resources and wealth of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola. But, as soon as the inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies in Africa ask for real political equality, the myth and the deception collapse, and Portugal's only response is the cruellest repression.

22. I shall cite only one example, the tragic affair of Kabinda, which you will all remember. One day, the delegates of the inhabitants of the province of Kabinda presented the Portuguese authorities with a petition requesting a sort of domestic autonomy which would enable them to manage their own affairs democratically. The response was swift. The signatories were dragged from their beds that very night and thrown into prison. The next day, their relatives presented themselves, naively, at the prison gates to bring them their clothes. "They will not need them any more" was the cynical reply. Nor did they need them, for the unfortunate prisoners had been tied up in sacks, put on board aircraft, and thrown into the sea. It was not until some days later that their bodies, still tied up in the sacks, were washed ashore. This

is Portugal's idea of political equality for the Portuguese African citizens of its colonies.

23. This obstinacy, however, brought Portugal grave discomfiture in the case of Goa, which you will all remember. While the United Kingdom and France, which had interests a hundred times more substantial than Portugal's in the Indian sub-continent, allowed their colonies to become independent, Portugal persisted in remaining in the tiny enclave of Goa and maintained the same deception by claiming that Goa was an overseas province and an integral part of the metropolis.

24. You all know the mystical belief of the Hindu followers of Gandhi, who hate to use violence to achieve their ends. They tried by negotiations to make Portugal understand that it must leave Goa, but to no avail. They met the same stubborn refusal, the same diabolical obstinacy with which today it opposes all the resolutions of the United Nations. In the end, exasperated, the followers of Gandhi were obliged to use force to sweep Portugal out of Goa. But the lesson has been in vain, and Mr. Nogueira, in his recent speech to the National Press Club in Washington, is still saying that the great Western nations have spent money to aid the former colonial territories and that this aid has been wasted; that, furthermore, they have deceived the peoples of these territories by making them premature and illusory promises of freedom and independence for which they were not prepared. His last words were: "But it seems that now we are really at the end of the road."

25. It is undeniable that there is no peace or stability, no progress or happiness in Africa, and Mr. Nogueira explains the behaviour of the Western nations by their guilt complex towards their former colonial territories. But if Mr. Nogueira took the trouble to look beyond the seas—objectively, of course—he would see that the absence of peace and stability, the absence of progress and happiness, is not typical of Africa alone; these are the characteristic signs of the grave crisis of our contemporary history. The main reason for this crisis is that today the industrialized countries, with 25 per cent of the world's population, possess 85 per cent of the world's wealth, while the Third World, with 75 per cent of that population has only 15 per cent of the wealth. It is undeniable that extraordinary advances, giant strides, have been made in the technical field. But similar progress has not been made in the economic and social fields or it might even be said, in economic co-operation between nations and social co-operation between nations.

26. In any event, Portugal would be well advised to understand that the national liberation movement in Africa is an irreversible movement and that all Portugal's efforts to halt this movement of national liberation is a rear-guard action doomed in advance to failure. No, Mr. Nogueira, we are not at the end of the road, precisely because in the same speech you repeat that Portugal will not change its colonialist policy of repression under pressure from any nation or from the United Nations. The United Nations must strengthen and increase all its means of taking action and of exerting pressure upon Portugal to compel it to respect the resolutions and the Charter of the United Nations and to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

27. The delegation of Senegal agrees, in accordance with the draft resolution before us, that:

(1) Portugal should be prevented from sending forced labourers to South Africa;

(2) The mass immigration of foreigners into these territories, which Portugal is at present organizing, should be limited;

(3) Portugal should be prohibited from using the arms and munitions supplied to it by NATO to engage in cruel and barbarous measures of repression against the freedom-fighters;

(4) The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund should be invited to halt all aid to Portugal, which is using this aid merely to finance its repressive military operations against the freedom-fighters;

(5) Portugal should be prevented from making military incursions into the African territories bordering on its colonies in Africa.

(6) The United Nations should be requested to increase its aid and support for the freedom-fighters.

28. In any event, Portugal would be well advised to understand that the national liberation movement in Africa is an irreversible historical trend. Sooner or later, Portugal will lose the battle. No, Mr. Nogueira, we are not at the end of the road. We know full well that there is a secret alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, a tripartite alliance aimed at enabling a multinational white minority to impose its hegemony and its domination upon the countries of southern Africa. But even this coalition of the last slave-traders in Africa will be swept away like straws by the African political current of the future. Mr. Nogueira, there will be other Goas, in Guinea-Bissau, in Mozambique, and in Angola.

29. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution which the Fourth Committee has recommended for adoption and which appears in its report [A/6908, para. 13]. Albania has asked for a separate vote on paragraph 14. If there is no objection, I shall put this paragraph to the vote first. A request has been made for a vote by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Nigeria, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Re-

public of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, Spain.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Albania, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand.

Paragraph 14 was adopted by 95 votes to 3, with 11 abstentions.

30. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A request has been made for a vote by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Zambia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, Turkey.

The draft resolution was adopted by 82 votes to 7, with 21 abstentions [resolution 2270 (XXII)].

31. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now give the floor to those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

32. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): My delegation has already stated its position in the Fourth Committee [1716th meeting] with regard to the draft resolution that has just been adopted and I wish that the comments made there be considered as reiterated here. My delegation also reiterates its formal reservations with regard to the recommendation that has just been adopted.

33. Mr. BERRO (Uruguay) (translation from Spanish): The Uruguayan delegation has just voted in favour of the draft resolution as a reaffirmation of the principles and objectives set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), although it does not agree with the terms in which certain condemnatory paragraphs are drafted. This short statement is an explanation of vote with respect to the position taken by Uruguay.

34. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I will remind you that at its next meeting the Assembly will start consideration of agenda item 93 (Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations). It is understood that item 94 (The situation in the Middle East) still retains its priority, and may be brought up for discussion at any time.

The meeting rose at 4 p.m.

Litho in U.N. 77001—October 1970—2,300