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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 92

The situation in Angola (*concluded*)

1. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (*translated from French*): May I begin by expressing the great joy of all African patriots at seeing the ringleader of the great colonialist intrigue which has been going on for centuries in every continent, and particularly in Africa, at last brought before the General Assembly of the United Nations.

2. It is true that since 1946, the principal organs of the United Nations, especially the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly have on several occasions had to pass judgement on the crimes committed here and there in Africa and in Asia by French, British, Belgian, Dutch and Spanish colonialism. But this is certainly the first time that Portugal, which, of all the colonial Powers, has practised and continued to practise the most abject, inhuman and retrograde methods, has taken its place in the dock before the highest international tribunal.

3. Consequently, we sincerely regret that this debate on Angola should have started only at the end of this session, and that lack of time should prevent its being allotted a scope in keeping both with the importance of the accused and the sad fate meted out to the victims.

4. Nevertheless, we wish to make it clear that we consider the debate on Angola to be an extremely important one, which must go to the very heart of the problem of colonialism, and that it is important that the General Assembly of the United Nations decides unequivocally as a result to condemn once and for all a system which is now exposed as the quintessence of colonial oppression, humiliation and tyranny.

5. We cannot sufficiently stress the vital importance that attaches to the present debate. We do not hesitate to state that with regard to this subject, on which all Africans concur, we shall see which countries are our friends and which are not.

6. It would be impossible not to be struck by the extraordinary paradox now presented by the Portuguese colonial system which, despite the crumbling of the colonial empires in America, Asia and a good part of Africa, shows clearly that it has learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

7. To consider the African continent alone, it is particularly striking that in the midst of an Africa in the

throes of emancipation, the Portuguese colonial system offers a provocative and cynical picture of die-hard ultra-conservatism and systematic repression. The problem of Angola which we are examining today is in reality only one aspect of this great tragedy experienced by all the African peoples under Portuguese domination.

8. Everything, or nearly everything, has already been said with regard to the régime of repression, terror and genocide imposed by the Portuguese Government in Angola, the recourse to forced labour, the systematic violations of all forms of freedom, the countless humiliations and numerous acts of vandalism that the harassed Portuguese colonial administration is using in an attempt to stem the irresistible tide of Angolan nationalism.

9. For our part, bearing in mind the limited time available for the study of this question in the General Assembly, it will be sufficient unequivocally to proclaim that Angola's case is not an isolated one, that everything that is taking place today in this territory is paralleled in the other Portuguese colonies in Africa, and that Angola is a case in point by which the entire Portuguese colonial system must be judged and condemned for all time.

10. Be it in Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, the Islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, the Island of São João Batista de Ajudá or in Portuguese Guinea, everywhere we find Portuguese colonialism locked with African nationalism in the selfsame struggle to the death.

11. To mention only so-called Portuguese Guinea, it should be pointed out that when the Republic of Guinea became independent, this territory was systematically transformed into a fortress isolated from the surrounding countries, subjected to a rule of terror by the police and army under special laws, and a theatre of a repression as blind as it is brutal.

12. In the other Portuguese possessions in Africa, the situation, as we are aware, is virtually the same; for in each case Portugal is trying to achieve the impossible by attempting to shield the possessions it has usurped in Africa from the mounting tide of nationalism and from the wish for total emancipation that animates all the African peoples.

13. For all these reasons we wish to insist, in this short statement, that the special debate on Angola should be viewed in its true perspective, thereby revealing its full scope and significance. In the debate which has begun today we wish to make it plain that on one side there is Portugal, and on the other side we find all the African peoples backing up their brethren in Angola and the other Portuguese possessions. Portugal, although it has been so cynical and insolent as to refuse to participate in our debate, will, we know, enjoy the support, tacit or otherwise, of its accomplices and allies. The African peoples, whom we represent, relying confidently on their rights, have come to the bar in order

to plead their just cause. Who could reproach us for solemnly requesting the support of all those who consider that the struggle for more liberty, more justice and more dignity is just and well-founded?

14. Angola is an example and a symbol: on the one hand, there is the example and symbol of the martyrdom of African populations under Portuguese domination in their struggle for total emancipation, and on the other, there is Portuguese colonialism, which, relying on brute force, its army, police, tanks and aircraft, is waging against unarmed people one of the last colonial crusades in African history.

15. It is in this spirit that we attach the greatest importance to the decision that the General Assembly is called upon to make at the end of this debate. For let nobody doubt that this decision will affect the whole of Africa under Portuguese domination.

16. Regarding the territory of Angola itself, increasingly disturbing information has been reaching us hourly ever since last February, despite the iron curtain lowered by Portuguese colonialism. Moreover—and let there be no mistake about this—the events that now characterize the situation in that territory are merely painful and tragic episodes such as the Angolan people have constantly experienced from the inception of Portuguese colonialism. The incidents of 4 February 1961, however, marked the beginning of a fiercer repressive activity by the Portuguese colonialists, who intend to put a bloody end to the unshakable desire for independence of these populations, still untamed after four centuries of colonial rule. Not a day goes by without fresh news from the press agencies and newspapers of further misfortunes which are befalling Angola and its people, although these watered-down reports are far from giving a true picture of the tragic situation of the Angolan people.

17. The repercussions of this situation have shaken the very foundations of the Portuguese dictatorship, and it is no accident that Salazar, in reshuffling his Government, has kept for himself the key position of Portuguese domination, the War Ministry, with the officially proclaimed intention of countering African nationalism in general, and Angolese nationalism in particular, with the utmost energy.

18. To provide full evidence regarding the character of Portuguese colonialism, which is as cruel as it is barbarous, would be an endless task. In Angola, as in the other territories occupied by Portugal in Africa, there are, as has already been said, two classes of people. In the first place, we find the Portuguese citizens, consisting chiefly of Europeans and, after these, of the so-called "assimilated" persons, that is to say, a few half-castes and Negroes; this entire category represents less than 2 per cent of the population. In the second place, we find the non-civilized population, commonly called the "Natives", that is to say, the great mass of Africans representing 98 per cent of the population of the territory.

19. No Native can enter or leave his area without prior authorization from the Portuguese administrator. All those in the so-called Native class are liable to forced labour at any moment. In towns such as Luanda, these pariahs are under a kind of perpetual curfew. After nine o'clock at night they cannot go out without a special permit. And, despite anything that the representative of Portugal may have said here or elsewhere, it is a fact that in the cinemas, hotels, cafes, sports

grounds, churches and schools, racial segregation is the rule.

20. To the mind of the Portuguese colonists any real interpenetration founded on a basis of equality between whites and blacks would be unthinkable. Certain prerequisites must be fulfilled in order to become an assimilated citizen. First of all, the Negro must be a Christian, he must be able to read and write Portuguese, he must virtually renounce his language, customs and behaviour and adopt Portuguese customs and behaviour. In other words, the African must give up his own personality to obtain this certificate of depersonalization. This promotion, it must be pointed out, is in itself a hoax. For even if a Negro fulfills all the prerequisites, the Administration will grant citizenship only at its own discretion, for the simple reason that in practice a citizen earns several times as much as a Negro does.

21. Furthermore—this has been said over and over again, but it must be repeated once more—forced labour is practised systematically in Angola as in all the Portuguese possessions in Africa. Labour for all branches of activity in Angola is provided by a market of so-called indentured workers, a market which is kept supplied by the official Portuguese authorities. In this compulsory recruitment no selection is made and social circumstances are not taken into account. Families are recruited with their children and dispersed to different regions. The period of recruitment is never fixed, but is left to the settler's discretion. Members of a family may perhaps never be reunited. Any protest is naturally considered by Portuguese colonialism as an act of disobedience and, as such, punishable by deportation or by death—whipping being the least of the punishments.

22. Old men, women and children of all ages are compelled to work on the building and upkeep of roads and bridges; the labourers have to provide their own tools and food.

23. It will be recalled that Henrique Galvão wrote:

"The condition of these workers is worse than that of slaves, for their masters, who can easily replace them by applying to the State, do not even concern themselves with keeping them alive."

The passage quoted, it should be noted, was written in 1951. At that time, we were a long way from the now sensational affair of the *Santa Maria*. Galvão was then representative for Angola in the Lisbon Parliament and a high official in the Salazar régime.

24. The ideology of the Portuguese leaders is based on the principle that every European enjoys an economic and social status which in every respect is higher than that of any African; and the discrimination is still more marked in political matters. For instance, the twenty-four members of the Legislative Council of Mozambique include twenty-two Europeans representing 70,000 citizens, whereas the 6.5 million Africans are represented only by two African members nominated by the Governor-General. As a matter of course in these conditions, freedom of speech, of the Press and of association does not exist. The Negroes are systematically expelled from all the fertile lands, which the Portuguese administration distributes free to its settlers.

25. The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has been driven underground. Members and sympathizers are pursued and tracked down. The years 1959 and 1960 were marked by massive arrests, by deportations and by countless murders. Thousands of

patriots are still being tortured in the concentration camps. In 1960, the villages of Caouaco, Gohugo Alto and Funda were burnt down, and the settlers attacked the defenceless inhabitants with heavy rifle fire. Several hundred people lost their lives in this massacre.

26. On 4 February 1961, the Angolans staged a demonstration in front of the São Paulo Casa, Reclusão and Campanhia Móvel prisons in protest against the deportation of political prisoners. Instead of dispersing the gathering by the means normally employed all the world over, the Portuguese colonists, again, used this as a pretext to open fire. The intervention of the paratroopers and of the so-called forces of order, armed to the teeth, resulted, according to reliable evidence, in the deaths of more than a thousand men, women and children of all ages on this day alone.

27. On 14 March 1961, workers who had committed the crime of asking for a salary increase on behalf of their fellow-workers were shot out of hand. This odious act naturally aroused the indignation of the local population. The demonstrations which followed were put down by rifle fire. A few days later, seven villages were destroyed. After setting fire to the village of Sangué, the Portuguese paratroopers seized and executed forty patriots.

28. From the latest news it is clear that the situation is deteriorating daily. Fighting is rife everywhere especially in the northern part of the country. We have a long list of villages that have been destroyed and patriots who have been massacred since 4 April 1961. It does not seem appropriate to read it here, as the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) has already done so [990th meeting] in the course of his brilliant speech.

29. Moreover, it may be pertinent to note that the same situation obtains in so-called Portuguese Guinea. Last year, similar repressive measures took the lives of several hundred Guinean patriots. Now, military patrols, provocative acts of all kinds and bloody repression are the order of the day in this territory. Men have been arrested and given severe sentences merely for listening to the radio. This high-handed policy of unlimited exploitation and robbery, of economic and cultural repression and of mass deportations is forcing hundreds of inhabitants of so-called Portuguese Guinea to seek refuge in adjoining territories, particularly in the Republic of Guinea.

30. There no longer is any shadow of a doubt that a new war is about to break out in Angola, with unforeseeable consequences. My delegation considers that the United Nations should immediately contact the Portuguese Government in order to stop the bloodshed. Such an intervention is all the more urgent since events may take an unexpected turn. Furthermore, it can now be stated without fear of error that Portugal is no longer capable of stabilizing the political situation in Angola. The transfer of Portuguese troops and the landing of more and more armed Portuguese civilians are undeniable facts. A state of emergency has been decreed throughout the territory of Angola. These facts go to highlight the peculiar and especially disquieting character of the Angolan crisis.

31. We have only to review the events in Africa to confirm how legitimate is our anxiety and how vile is Portuguese colonialism, which stops at nothing in carrying on its dirty work, at the risk of precipitating another world war. For seven years now, the French colonialists

have been waging a pitiless war of extermination against the heroic people of Algeria, while Belgian colonialists have been massacring African patriots in the Congo for almost a year. Although these events have already plunged the world into turmoil, Portugal has now deemed fit, through its aggression in Angola, further to fan the flames. At the present time, shocked by these crimes, all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples, even those outside the African continent, are waxing more and more impatient.

32. The appearance of several African States on the international scene has led the whole world to consider 1960 as the "Year of Africa". We appreciate the warmth with which international opinion has thus greeted the accession of these countries to sovereignty.

33. Today, we find—a fact of most serious import—that the imperialists are doing their best to ensure that 1961 will go down in history as the year of Belgian and Portuguese crimes in Africa. But one cannot doubt for one single instant that their cynical attempts at subjection and reconquest are already doomed to failure. No power on earth can prevent the wheel of history from turning. The wind of freedom that is blowing on the African continent will sweep away any retrograde force that may be set up to conquer emancipation of our people. African nationalism, in asserting itself more and more as a dynamic force, will batter down all the obstacles still placed in our path one after the other.

34. This means that the aircraft that are now bombarding Angola will never be able to stem the tide of independence which is sweeping over the territory. On the contrary, these aircraft, and all the reinforcements by land, will merely help to accelerate the irreversible trend which leads inevitably to independence. The colonial era is a thing of the past. We are in the second half of the twentieth century, a period of great discoveries in which the ideas of social progress, friendship and co-operation between peoples are triumphant; it is no longer a period of enmity and oppression. And the patent fact is that the martyred people of Angola, after being gagged and flouted for so long, are on their way to independence. Massacres cannot prevent this. The struggle there, be it noted, is intimately linked with that waged by the entire African continent against its oppressors. Thus, Angola is not alone, but has the unconditional support of all our peoples.

35. The summit meeting of African Heads of State which took place in Casablanca¹ last January expressly condemned Portuguese colonialism. It declared itself clearly in favour of the immediate liberation of Angola, as well as of so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands and all the other dependent territories in Africa.

36. At Accra² in December 1958, at Tunis³ in January 1960 and at Cairo⁴ in March 1961, the Conference of African Peoples affirmed and reaffirmed in forceful terms the desire to see the inhabitants of these territories achieve independence as soon as possible.

37. African trade union and youth congresses have concurred. The fact that all the independent African States, and many Asian States, co-sponsored the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] before the Assembly is the best proof of the firm determination and una-

¹ Conference of Casablanca, 3-7 January 1961.

² All-African Peoples' Conference, 8-13 December 1958.

³ Second Conference of African Peoples, 25-31 January 1960.

⁴ Third All-African Peoples' Conference, 25-30 March 1961.

nimity of the African and Asian political forces regarding the need to decolonize Angola totally and forthwith. It is obvious that the independent African nations share this concern. They consider the Angolan problem as their own and are convinced that as long as any territories in Africa remain under foreign domination, they will never be able to reach the stage of development and expansion required to ensure their evolution and the achievement of African unity which remains their common aim.

38. We have already said that in our eyes there is no difference in practice between the future of the former French, British and Belgian colonies and that of the Portuguese colonies. This being so, it will be understood why we are insisting that the liberation of the African continent should be speeded up, and that, in its economic development, due respect should be paid to its major interests and cultural values which have long been trampled underfoot by the oppressor.

39. In this connexion, it is hardly necessary to recall that on 2 October 1958, as soon as the independence of Guinea had been proclaimed, President Sékou Touré, expressing the unanimous will of the people of Guinea, declared to the world:

“Our sovereignty, far from being an end in itself, will be used as a dynamic instrument in the service of the whole of Africa, in order to bring about its complete emancipation.”

And President Diallo Saijoulaye recently stated:

“Present events in Angola are a classic illustration of the struggle of the African peoples against all forms of colonialism.”

40. As you know, despite the impudence of the Portuguese fascist Government, which claims that Portugal and the Portuguese overseas territories constitute a single political entity, and that Angola, Mozambique and its other possessions are but the overseas provinces of a single African-European Power, the African population of Angola has never accepted Portuguese domination. One glance at the uprisings that have taken place in Angola will carry conviction: the uprisings at Porto Amboim in 1924 and at Ambriz in 1925; the establishment of the Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola in 1956; the protests by the population of Luanda, suppressed with bloodshed by the Portuguese police, in 1959; the demonstrations staged by the inhabitants of Icolo and Bengo in July 1960 following the arrest of the patriot Agostinho Neto, a poet and doctor born in this village, demonstrations which evoked savage reprisals by Salazar's mercenaries, in the course of which thirty people died, 200 were wounded and the whole village was destroyed.

41. The recent events in Angola are thus simply the logical outcome of this long struggle by the African peoples against the most cruel and barbarous of colonialisms, for already in November 1959, Viriato da Cruz, the Secretary-General of the Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola, alerted public opinion to the atrocities that were being committed in Angola, and declared:

“The Angolan nationalists are preparing to undertake direct action shortly to seize the independence of their homeland.”

42. President Diallo Saijoulaye said:

“It is evident that we fully support the struggle for independence of the African population of Angola. We must welcome the fact that the situation in

Angola was first discussed in the Security Council and has now been placed, despite imperialist and colonialist intrigues, on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. But if the United Nations does not wish to bring further discredit upon itself, it must fully implement the historic resolution proclaiming the end of the colonial system adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in December 1960. To that end, it must condemn Portugal and oblige that country to recognize Angola's right to independence.

“If any other course is adopted, the threat to world peace will remain, for the struggle of the Angolan people will be intensified, and it will enjoy the support of all the independent African countries, as well as of all progressive countries the world over that are striving for peace and justice.”

43. All these statements show that an act of colonialism can no longer be considered as affecting only the colonizer and the colonized. It is an international matter, and, as such, it must be dealt with at the international level. That is why we consider that it is time for the United Nations to intervene before it is too late, in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV), entitled “Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples”, which denounces the evils of domination in all forms and the right of all peoples to self-determination.

44. In view of the dramatic situation which obtains today in Angola and in all the Portuguese colonies in Africa, in view of the measures of repression, the acts of vandalism, the reign of terror, of tyranny and unashamed repression, imprisonments, deportations and murders, in view of the policy of genocide openly practised by Portugal in Angola and elsewhere in Africa, the duty of the General Assembly seems to us to be quite simple and quite clear.

45. As a result of our debates, Portugal has been clearly convicted of heinous guilt. In view of this situation, it is therefore necessary to pass the appropriate sentence. My delegation considers that the unequivocal condemnation of Portuguese colonialism, on the basis of the evidence produced here, must be the logical outcome of our debate. My delegation also considers that the General Assembly should insist on the immediate grant of independence to Angola pursuant to resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

46. Furthermore, Portugal must be called upon to apply in their entirety and as soon as possible the provisions of that resolution regarding the independence of all colonial territories and peoples. A time limit should be set for the application of this resolution in Mozambique, in so-called Portuguese Guinea and in the other Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia. The sanctions provided in the Charter of the United Nations should be applied to Portugal if, at the end of such time limit, that country continues to disregard the decisions of the General Assembly and the legitimate expectations of the African peoples.

47. Moreover, a commission of inquiry should be appointed by the General Assembly to follow up and accelerate the execution of its decisions. One of this commission's tasks would be to conduct a speedy investigation of the true situation obtaining throughout the African territories under Portuguese domination, and to report thereon as speedily as possible to the United Nations.

48. Lastly, the President of the General Assembly should be empowered by this session to convene a special emergency session of the General Assembly, if need be, to consider the question of the Portuguese colonies, should the investigation of the aforesaid commission, the difficulties encountered by it or the situation in the territories under Portuguese domination make such a course advisable.

49. Such are the measures that my delegation deems indispensable in order appropriately to cope with the serious situation in Angola and in the other African territories under Portuguese domination.

50. Nevertheless, for the sake of unanimity, we have supported the thirty-six-Power draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] which provides for the minimum measures called for by the serious and disturbing situation in Angola. We hope that this draft resolution, for want of a better, will receive the unanimous and enthusiastic support of all delegations.

51. The measures advocated in this draft resolution are without doubt the very least that the situation demands. But, in concluding, we wish to assert once again that the only real solution of the crisis which has broken out in Angola and which is looming threateningly in all the Portuguese possessions is the recognition of the unconditional independence of all these territories and peoples which for centuries have been subjected to the arbitrary acts, repression and the exploitation of Portuguese colonialism. This must inevitably come to pass. The only question is whether this independence will be obtained by peaceful means or only after useless convulsions and suffering and unthinkable crimes.

52. The decision that the General Assembly is to take today will be of capital importance in this respect. It is not too much to say that the vote that each delegation is about to cast will very materially affect the issue whether Africa is to go forward towards peaceful emancipation or else undergo further convulsions, and the prolongation, disastrous in every respect, of the suffering, misery and humiliations which for centuries have been arbitrarily imposed on innocent peoples who, by the course of history, have fallen beneath the yoke of Portuguese colonialism.

53. Mr. YOST (United States of America): Slightly over a month ago, we made known in the Security Council [946th meeting] the views of my Government on the subject of Angola. We stated then the course of action which we believed most conducive to the successful elimination of the frictions and tensions responsible for the unhappy events in that area—events which have caused us all deep concern.

54. We supported the draft resolution⁵ in the Security Council because we were convinced that, unless the people of Angola are given reason to believe that they may soon participate in determining their own future, the suspicions which exist today will become even more deep-seated and the present disorders may become such in magnitude that they will indeed pose a threat to the peace and security of the international community of States.

55. We believe that the people of Angola—like people everywhere—are entitled to all of the rights guaranteed them by the Charter of this Organization. Among them is the right of unfettered opportunity to develop their economic, political and cultural potentialities in con-

ditions of peace and freedom for the individual. We remain convinced that the best course of action for Portugal itself and that which will best promote the interests of the Portuguese territories and of all the inhabitants thereof is to be found through close co-operation with the United Nations. These views, expressed last month, we still believe and hereby reaffirm.

56. At the same time, however, we earnestly appeal, and we hope all others will join in our appeal, to all in Angola to renounce the use of violence in the solution of their problems. Further bloodshed, no matter who or what element is responsible for it, can only aggravate further the existing tensions and inevitably will make a just solution of fundamental problems infinitely more difficult to achieve.

57. We believe the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] which is now before us is constructive, is reasonable, and will encourage the elimination—before it is too late—of the unrest in Angola. We shall therefore vote for this draft resolution.

58. There is still time for us of the United Nations to help build in Angola a future to which both Africans and Europeans can look forward with confidence, and we again request the Portuguese Government, in the interest of Portugal itself, and in the interest of international peace and security, to accept this friendly advice and to co-operate fully with the terms of the draft resolution before us.

59. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): My delegation regrets that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, being obliged to complete its work within the prescribed time-limit, cannot devote sufficient time to the question of Angola, which is very important, owing to the scope of the problem and the gravity of the situation in that country. My delegation hopes that it will nevertheless be possible to adopt a positive resolution, in keeping with the duties and responsibilities of the United Nations at this time when the colonial system is being liquidated and with its general obligations towards the peoples of colonial territories which derive from the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

60. Despite the time-limit established for the completion of the work of the fifteenth session, which forces us to be brief, the Yugoslav delegation wishes to state, clearly and unequivocally, the position of the Yugoslav Government concerning the question of Angola, which is now for the first time on the agenda of the General Assembly, and its position regarding the draft resolution presented by thirty-six African and Asian countries [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] which we have before us.

61. There is no doubt that the present situation in Angola is serious and grave. Each day brings news of further disturbances and the use of new methods of brutal repression by the colonial administration and by Portuguese troops. Many casualties are reported; the most elementary liberties are suppressed. It is obvious that, unless appropriate steps are taken, such a situation must inevitably develop into a mass uprising of the people against the Portuguese colonial administration, which could lead only to armed conflict on a large scale, representing a further threat to peace and security in that part of the world and inflicting still greater sufferings and sacrifices on the people of Angola.

62. The causes of this situation are clear and, I think one may say, practically irrefutable. They are to be found in the policy pursued by Portugal in Angola,

⁵ Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 945th meeting.

which for centuries has kept the people of the territory in circumstances of dire ignorance, servitude and exploitation.

63. It is a fact that my delegation, in preparing this statement, could not find a single document from any source, however devoid of impartiality and objectivity, which—regardless of the political outlook of the writer and of his attitude to the past history of colonialism and the problems bound up with its present phase—failed to depict in the most sombre colours the situation in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly Angola.

64. The fact that the whole indigenous population, with the exception of an extremely small class serving the colonial administration, is deprived of all rights; not only in practice, but also under the provisions of statutory law, which divides the indigenous population into classes subject to varying treatment; forced labour in conditions of brutal coercion and cruel exploitation; corporal punishment; prohibition, by means of savage repression, of political activities of any kind, and especially any movements whose aim is the self-determination and independence of the people of Angola; suppression of the most elementary democratic and human freedoms, including denial of the rights to travel freely, to engage in business activities and to acquire even the most elementary education; these are everyday features of life in Angola under the Portuguese colonial administration.

65. The masses of the indigenous population are living today in conditions where might is right; they are living in an economically, culturally and socially backward state as the result of a policy deliberately pursued for decades and centuries by the Portuguese colonizers. The conditions prevailing in Angola are such that the situation in a number of non-self-governing countries—many of which, despite the difficulties they have had to overcome, are on the threshold of independence—may be described as idyllic in comparison with those existing in Angola.

66. Portugal's attempts to disguise this situation by conferring on Angola a spurious status as an integral part of the national territory of Portugal and by failing to carry out the obligations imposed by the Charter on Powers administering Non-Self-Governing Territories cannot, of course, bind the international community to the reality of the situation and to the inevitable consequences.

67. This situation is patently incompatible with the obligations assumed under the Charter, by Member States of the United Nations, of many United Nations resolutions and of the texts relating to fundamental human rights and freedoms. In particular, it is in flagrant contradiction with the provisions of the General Assembly resolution [1514 (XV)] concerning the end of colonialism.

68. What is now taking place in Angola runs counter to the present trends of history and to the aspirations of the people of Angola and the peoples of Africa in general. This constitutes a dangerous and tragic anachronism and an obstacle to the advance of Africa towards full independence, sovereignty and equality of rights.

69. If this state of affairs continues, there will inevitably be further outbreaks and more wide-spread hostilities, for the liberated peoples of Africa obviously

cannot remain indifferent to the fate of the people of Angola.

70. The Yugoslav Government firmly believes that the people of Angola, like all the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, are fully entitled not only to enjoy all the traditional human rights and full democratic freedoms but also to attain self-determination and independence, all the prerequisites for which are already present.

71. In adopting this attitude to the problem, the Yugoslav delegation's position concurs with that of the majority of Member States of the United Nations, particularly the independent States of Africa and Asia.

72. Today's discussion has clearly shown the imperative need to take those measures which are essential if a swift and equitable solution is to be found.

73. The draft resolution of thirty-six African and Asian countries tries, in a constructive and moderate fashion in keeping with the duties and obligations of the United Nations, to find a method of solving the Angolan question, leading to constructive action by the United Nations General Assembly.

74. The Yugoslav delegation attaches particular importance to the establishment of the new United Nations body provided for in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. Its proceedings, reports and proposals will undoubtedly be an expression—as with a number of similar organs in the past—of the continued interest of the United Nations, and will help the General Assembly in taking further steps, thus exerting a positive influence on the future development of Angola.

75. The provisions of the draft resolution certainly represent the least that the General Assembly can and must do. We believe that all Members of the United Nations which sincerely desire the liberation of the people of Angola and a solution of the Angolan question and do not wish to see a further theatre of hostilities established in that part of Africa should support this draft resolution.

76. In connexion with this draft, I should like to draw particular attention to the fact that it is sponsored by all the African countries, with the sole exception of South Africa. In this matter, which is of vital importance to the development of future relations in Africa, the greatest attention must be paid to the voice of Africa, the voice of the independent African States of whose importance and positive role, both present and future, in international relations so much is heard in these days.

77. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the thirty-six African and Asian countries. My delegation urges the General Assembly to give its unanimous support to this draft resolution in the interest of the people of Angola, in the interest of the total liberation of Africa from colonialism, in the interest of the development of peaceful relations in Africa and in the interest of the fulfilment of the obligations contained in the United Nations Charter.

78. Mr. OMAR (Somalia): My delegation bears no animosity towards the Government and the people of Portugal, and therefore hopes that the spirit in which my statement is made will not be misunderstood.

79. For many years the General Assembly of the United Nations has been dealing with the political situation in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, and especially Angola. The Assembly has brought pressure to bear on the Portuguese Government in order to make

it modify its policies so that the inhabitants of those territories may eventually take advantage of their right to self-determination and independence.

80. Article 73 of the United Nations Charter contains a declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories according to which Member States responsible for the administration of such Territories recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these Territories are paramount. Article 73 also says that the States which have such a responsibility accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of those Territories in accordance with the principles of the Charter. To this end the States which have the responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories must ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of such Territories. Under the same Article, the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories are entitled to just treatment. As regards the development of self-government, due account is to be taken of the political aspirations of the peoples concerned. Article 73 also obliges the States which have the responsibility for Non-Self-Governing Territories to promote constructive measures for the achievement of economic and social development. The last obligation mentioned in Article 73 concerns the transmission of information to the United Nations relating to the economic, social and education conditions prevailing in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

81. First of all, let us recall the way in which Portugal has not fulfilled its obligations under this Article of our Charter.

82. The Government of Portugal has unilaterally decided that Angola, like all its other colonies, is an integral part of Portugal, although Angola is geographically situated in a totally different continent. Angola is a typical African country, and its indigenous population has no ethnic or linguistic affinity with Portugal.

83. The political and social conditions prevailing in Angola today have been imposed on that country by Portugal, ostensibly with the aim of keeping it in a subservient position. Let us take, for example, the political rights of the people. Under the present laws a small section of the population enjoys full civil and political rights and privileges, which are denied to the great majority, numbering 5 million people.

84. This great majority, which is still subjected to forced labour, must have a "labour card"; to them still applies the prohibition of moving freely from one part of the country to another and, above all, they are subjected to physical punishment, which is a most repugnant thing to the conscience of a civilized world and an open violation of human rights.

85. The Government of Portugal now denies the United Nations the right to intervene, maintaining that such intervention would constitute an illegal interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and that Angola is an integral part of Portugal. However, as a result of the adoption of resolution 1542 (XV) by the General Assembly last December, it was recognized that Angola, as all other Portuguese colonial territories in Africa, should be regarded as a Non-Self-Governing Territory; therefore, Portugal has, in relation to Angola, the same obligation which other colonial Powers have towards Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by them.

86. On the basis of this consideration, and following the recent disorders and bloodshed which took place in Angola because of the insupportable conditions of living prevailing there, the General Assembly not only has the right, but also the duty to intervene because such a situation, if allowed to continue, would endanger international peace and security. It is with this in mind that my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] now being considered by the Assembly, which urges Portugal to take all measures necessary to implement fully and immediately resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries.

87. It is the firm belief of the Somali delegation that no obstacle, no resistance, whatever the source, will halt this drive for the recognition of the right of all peoples under foreign domination freely to forge their own destiny.

88. The Somali delegation will, therefore, support the draft resolution in the hope that Angola also will achieve statehood in the very near future.

Mr. Adeel (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

89. Mr. MATSUDAIRA (Japan): My country has sponsored the draft resolution on this question [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] together with thirty-five other African-Asian countries. We have done so in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960—the so-called declaration on colonialism. We believe that any people must be given its freedom in due course to shape its own destiny.

90. We are cognizant, however, of the challenging difficulties which a country has to face when it intends to introduce a new reform in its own sphere against its particular historical, political and cultural background. It is only fair to realize this point. The Japanese delegation, in a most friendly spirit, believes and trusts that the Government of Portugal will courageously accept its solemn obligation to undertake to provide the people of Angola with the proper opportunities for their eventual self-determination.

91. Mr. UDOVICHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The situation created in Angola as a result of Portugal's colonialist activities was considered by the Security Council in March of this year. The facts brought out during the Security Council's discussion, the debate at this plenary meeting and the latest reports coming from Angola make it clear that Portugal's efforts to crush by armed force the Angolan people's movement for national liberation have created a serious threat to the peace and security of the African continent.

92. Although the representatives of the colonial Powers in the Security Council could not bring themselves openly to object to the inclusion of the item concerning Angola in the agenda of the Security Council, they nevertheless prevented the Council from taking urgent steps in connexion with the criminal activities of the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, as proposed in the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council by Liberia, the United Arab Republic and Ceylon.

93. That is why the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR approved of the initiative taken by the thirty-nine African-Asian delegations in proposing that the question of Angola should be considered at this session of the General Assembly. Consideration of this question

by the General Assembly is timely, because the situation in Angola is daily becoming more acute and, as is rightly stated in the explanatory memorandum [A/4712 and Add.1], "if allowed to continue, is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

94. We believe that it is the duty of this Assembly to take steps to curb the savagery of Portuguese colonialism and to help the long-suffering people of Angola to break their colonial chains and to build a free and independent State.

95. The events which led directly to the question of Angola being considered in the Security Council last March and in the General Assembly at the present time began in Angola last February, when the Portuguese colonialists committed a serious crime by shooting and imprisoning hundreds of African inhabitants of Angola. In so doing, Portugal has begun an outright colonial war against the people of Angola who are struggling for their liberation. Portuguese troops are burning down whole villages and are firing on Angolans from the air. Recently one report after another has come in stating that Portugal is dispatching transports from Lisbon with military reinforcements for further reprisals against the Angolans.

96. Portugal cynically justifies its actions by claiming that Angola is not a colony but an integral part of Portugal. We wish to make it clear that, regardless of the status of Angola, Portugal is not free to do anything it likes there. Portugal's activities, which are aimed at the extermination of the population of Angola, cannot be tolerated.

97. With regard to the status of Angola, the United Nations has expressed its views in clear terms. As we know, the General Assembly, during the first part of its fifteenth session, adopted resolution 1542 (XV) which states that Angola, together with the other Portuguese colonies in Africa, are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations.

98. Indeed, every aspect of the everyday life of the people of Angola points to the fact that Angola is a typical colony in which the most brutal methods of colonial exploitation prevail. The African population of Angola has been reduced to slavery. As was noted in the report written by the Portuguese politician, Captain Galvão, at the time he was Inspector for Colonial Affairs, forced labour, from which "only the dead are exempt", is widely practised in the Portuguese colonies. Appalling poverty, racial discrimination and corporal punishment—there are the fruits of Portugal's "enlightened" administration in Angola. Is it not shameful that Portugal, which loudly proclaims its civilizing role in Africa, has done nothing to educate the indigenous population of Angola? As everyone knows, 99 per cent of the population of Angola is illiterate. It is quite understandable that thousands of indigenous inhabitants of Angola are leaving the country and going to neighbouring countries.

99. As previous speakers have already pointed out, the African population of Angola has no political or civil rights and is a prey to the despotism of the Portuguese authorities. The Portuguese Gestapo, PIDE, does not permit any activities by public organizations or political parties. Persons regarded as suspect are thrown into concentration camps without investigation or trial. In order to make it easier for the PIDE ap-

paratus to keep the African population under observation, a humiliating pass system has been instituted in Angola, as in other Portuguese colonies. An inhabitant of Angola cannot move from one part of the country to another without permission from his master and without a special entry in his pass.

100. The military operations which the Portuguese authorities are conducting against the Angolans are designed to perpetuate the regime of military and police terror established in Angola and to maintain a system under which financial and industrial capital can continue to despoil Angola, to remove its natural resources and exploit its labour force. The maintenance of the colonial system in Angola is not of interest to the Portuguese colonialists alone. The sparkle of diamonds has attracted the United States monopolists to Angola, and the smell of petroleum the British. Belgian firms are following close on the heels of the French and the British.

101. The fact that the colonial monopolies have common interests leads the colonialists to back each other up, which we can see even here in the United Nations. In March, the Security Council was unable to adopt a draft resolution submitted by the United Arab Republic, Ceylon and Liberia precisely because it was not supported by the United Kingdom, France and certain other members of the Council.

102. Portugal is manoeuvring with the help of the colonial Powers and members of NATO. Portuguese politicians have no scruples about stating that they count on the support of the NATO countries in carrying out their policy in the African colonies.

103. Here is how Portugal's views on the matter were explained by Mr. Franco Nogueira, Director of the Political Section of the Portuguese Ministry for Foreign Affairs:

"We consider our territory in Africa as our home. We have been there for nearly five centuries. Strategically, our African provinces are of priceless importance, and they are at the disposal of the Western world. We are practically the only Western country which is still in a position to act as a shield against communist penetration in Africa . . ."

104. The Portuguese colonialists are offering the so-called Western world a deal on roughly the following terms: build as many bases as you like in the colonies, but help Portugal to maintain colonial rule.

105. But Portuguese colonialism, like colonialism in general, has had its day. The Portuguese colonial empire is crumbling, despite the collective efforts of the colonialists to halt this process.

106. Today Angola can no longer be a "zone of silence", an "isolated island" in a seething Africa where more and more countries are throwing off their colonial fetters and joining the ranks of independent sovereign States. The events in Angola are an essential part of the great historical process of the collapse of the shameful colonial system.

107. The Cairo newspaper *Al Akhbar* rightly stated in this connexion:

"What has happened in Angola shows that revolutions in the cause of freedom are spreading to all parts of Africa. Freedom cannot be made to stop at a point prescribed by the governor of a colony, even if he uses his soldiers for the purpose."

108. The representative of Portugal, speaking during the discussion of the situation in Angola in the Security Council, could do no better than make the laughable statement that all the events in Angola were the work of hooligans and criminals. However, even the Portuguese rulers themselves do not believe what their representatives say at the United Nations. Such remarks by Portuguese representatives merely indicate that the statements made by Angolan patriots have aroused serious panic in the camp of the Portuguese colonialists. Portugal is trying to stifle the growing movement of national liberation by stepping up repressive measures and by organizing punitive military expeditions against the Angolan people.

109. All these acts committed by the Portuguese Government indicate that Portugal rejects a peaceful solution of the question of granting independence to Angola and the other Portuguese colonies. It is defying the United Nations, which adopted decisions concerning the Portuguese colonies during the first part of its fifteenth session.

110. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the fate of the Angolan people; it cannot reconcile itself to the present situation in Angola, which is creating a threat to the existence of the Angolan people and to peace and security. On 14 December 1960, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], which states, among other things, that all armed action or repressive measures against dependent peoples must cease and that these peoples must be given the opportunity to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence.

111. These provisions of the Declaration, which were approved by the world community, must not remain on paper, but must be given practical effect. Portugal must be required to carry out the obligations imposed on it by the Charter of the United Nations and the above-mentioned Declaration. The people of Angola, together with the peoples of other colonies which still bear the colonial yoke, must be given their freedom.

112. The draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] submitted by a group of delegations of African and Asian countries quite rightly expresses concern over the events taking place in Angola and points out that these events endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. The resolution recalls the fact that at its fifteenth session the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and resolutions 1541 (XV) and 1542 (XV) concerning the Portuguese colonies.

113. The draft resolution obliquely condemns the action of Portugal in suppressing by force of arms the Angolan people's movement of national liberation. We are convinced, however, that Portugal's actions are such that they must be condemned, not obliquely, but directly and unequivocally. Unfortunately, the preamble of the draft resolution contains no provision stating that the General Assembly condemns the monstrous crime of the Portuguese colonialists in Angola. Moreover, Portugal's suppression of the movement of national liberation is mildly described as "disturbances and conflicts in Angola". In actual fact, what Portugal is doing in Angola is to wage a colonial war against the Angolan people and we consider that this should be stated directly, calling a spade a spade.

114. The operative part of the draft resolution contains an appeal to the Government of Portugal to adopt urgent measures to implement the provisions of the General Assembly's Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and also provides for the appointment of a sub-committee to study the situation in Angola and to submit a report to the General Assembly. In accordance with the attitude of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to this question, as I have described it, my delegation is wholly favourable to this draft resolution and will support it. We regard the recommendations contained in the draft resolution as the minimum measures which must be taken as a step towards the liberation of Angola from Portuguese colonialism.

115. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): I shall be brief, in view of the fact that the background of the problem under discussion has been reviewed by the speakers who have preceded me in this debate. We are all aware of the fact that the situation in Angola continues, with terror and bloodshed, and that a solution to the problems is thereby made more urgent and at the same time more difficult.

116. Although colonialism is apparently an obsolete concept, Portugal continues to maintain its colonial policy in Angola, in open defiance of world public opinion, with the inevitable consequences that that policy is bound to precipitate. I do not intend to cite specific instances of colonial policy or particular incidents which have taken place in Angola, because we have heard many, and I do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly unnecessarily.

117. Discrimination in the treatment of people in Angola, between those who are considered Europeans and those who are Africans or mulattos, is well known. We have all read the numerous reports concerning the denial of human rights to Angolans and the abuses they have suffered under the yoke of colonialism. It is no wonder that unrest and violence are the order of the day in Angola.

118. The wind of change is sweeping over Africa, and this wind is sweeping over Angola as well as over the rest of the continent. We can count here among us the representatives of sixteen new African nations which have gained their independence only recently and which are here with us as Members of the Organization for the first time during this fifteenth session. Angola cannot be expected to remain quiet as a colony while the wave of resurgent nationalism spreads over the whole of Africa. While Africa is experiencing a new reckoning, a new emergence, a small corner of Africa cannot be expected merely to sit back and watch.

119. It is possible that Portugal has failed to see this trend in Africa. Is it blind to the hopes in Africa, to the hopes and aspirations of the Angolan people? And can it possibly hope to maintain the situation in this Territory in the face of the new spirit of freedom? As Portugal parades its colonialism before the world and before this forum of world public opinion, is it possible that it fails to see the trend of the times? It appears to my delegation that Portugal, like the proverbial ostrich, has buried its head in the sands so as not to be able to see the inevitability of the future.

120. Portugal can no longer take shelter behind the legal fiction that Angola is part of metropolitan Portugal. Aside from the fact that Angola and Portugal are

separated by race and geographical distance, they are separated by language, customs, racial origin, religion and heritage. The United Nations has made it quite clear that it does not consider Angola as an integral part of Portugal, and the realities of the situation confirm this.

121. In view of the foregoing considerations, my delegation has the honour to sponsor the draft resolution [*A/L.345 and Add.1-5*]. This draft resolution is mild in its wording and phraseology, conciliatory in its spirit and rather optimistic in its outlook. It merely seeks to promote peace in Angola and restore to the area a semblance of order in terms of the realities of the day. We are hopeful that it will receive the support of the Assembly. At any rate, we should like to commend this draft resolution to the unanimous acceptance of the Assembly as a whole.

122. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I am happy to say that the speakers who have preceded me have dealt with this subject so adequately that it is not necessary for me to deal with it at length.

123. Let me say at the outset that our position with regard to Angola and, indeed, with regard to colonialism as a whole, is very well known. It has been known for a long time. If I were simply to touch on the landmarks, I could begin with Bandung, Accra, Monrovia and my own country. As a matter of fact, if I were to tell you about our own fight against colonialism, I would have to go back somewhat earlier in history—for example, 1897—but that becomes touchy, and I am not a very touchy person. So I am going to limit myself to what we have done here in the General Assembly.

124. I would recall to you the specific statement which my Prime Minister made from this rostrum [*879th meeting*] and I would also recall to you—without quoting either of them—the statement by my own Minister of State for Foreign Affairs [*928th meeting*] when the debate on the ending of colonialism took place only a few months ago. In these two statements both my Prime Minister and my Minister of State made it their duty to bring to the attention of the Assembly the question of the Central African Federation and they demanded that it should break up because it was not composed in accordance with the will of the people. They also made it clear that the situation regarding Angola could not last and they demanded that Angola be freed, in accordance with the resolutions already adopted in this house and at the many conferences in the past—that is to say, conferences on our own continent of the African-Asian world.

125. It is in that spirit and in that tradition that my delegation has joined many others—I think the number is now about forty—in sponsoring this draft resolution [*A/L.345 and Add.1-5*].

126. The draft resolution itself is very simple and does not need any comment. It takes certain things that are self-evident and, in order to make them concrete, it asks for the establishment of a sub-committee of three members to examine the situation in Angola and to report back to the General Assembly. So there is really little or nothing to say about this draft resolution. It is, by the way, if I remember rightly, a draft resolution⁶ on which six members voted in favour and four abstained in the Security Council. Without in any way wishing to be disrespectful to the Security Council, I would say that any draft resolution

that receives so many votes in that house should, I feel, receive unanimous support in the General Assembly.

127. Mr. RIAD (United Arab Republic): My delegation, being a member of the Security Council, has already had the opportunity to deal at length with this unhappy problem of Angola and to make its views against colonialism known, during the deliberations of the Council which took place last month. However, I deem it essential to intervene during the present debate, even if briefly, to join with the representatives who have preceded me in exposing the sad and painful happenings in Angola.

128. The representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) opened the debate [*990th meeting*] with a brilliant speech and was followed by a no less brilliant one delivered by the leader of the Liberian delegation. They and the other representatives who followed them gave the General Assembly the true picture of the situation in this so far unhappy land of Angola, a situation which is marked with terror, killings, discrimination, forced labour and, first and foremost, the denial of human rights, freedom and liberty.

129. We believe that the reason for these unfortunate occurrences resided in Portuguese colonialist policy in Angola. One salient point in this colonialist policy is the discrimination among inhabitants. There is a clear distinction between what is called the civilized population, which has rights as citizens of the Republic, and those who are not qualified to enjoy these rights. Europeans are automatically considered citizens. Africans and mulattos, even in their own land, are included only under certain conditions.

130. On the other hand, forced labour continues in Angola. Every male Angolan must have an identity card on which is stated his employment. Workers cannot move in Angola from one territory to another without this card being visaed. Angolans, if they do not comply with the many regulations of that kind, are subject to cruel and punitive corporal punishment.

131. What I have said is but a sample of the characteristics of this problem. Since we have reached the final stages of the Assembly session, and in response to the President's plea to shorten our speeches, I shall very reluctantly refrain from dwelling further on the many other painful conditions.

132. As I mentioned before, the representatives who preceded me have supplied very useful information about the serious situation obtaining in Angola. It is superfluous to tell you that my delegation fully shares their point of view. We consider that if no remedy is found quickly for this situation it will give rise to grave repercussions in this part of the world.

133. The case before us is not, as was contended, a question of public order. It is a colonial question, and we all know that the continuation of a situation provoked by colonialism can only worsen the bloodshed and render even more difficult the solution of the problem. Colonialism is obsolete, and its prolongation can only lead to further suffering and loss of life and endanger international peace and security.

134. For all these reasons, my delegation has joined with many other delegations in bringing the case before the Assembly and in co-sponsoring the draft resolution [*A/L.345 and Add.1-5*].

135. We hope that the Members of the General Assembly will be able to vote in favour of this draft

⁶ *Ibid.*

resolution, the aim of which is to find a solution to this African problem with the co-operation of all Members—including, we earnestly hope, that of Portugal.

136. Mr. JHA (India): The subject of discussion before the Assembly is one that moves vast masses of men on the continent of Africa and Asia. It is not my intention to speak at any great length, but the matter is of such importance that I claim the indulgence of the Assembly to take a little time in stating the position of my Government on this question.

137. The item of the situation in Angola has been proposed [see A/4712 and Add.1] by forty African and Asian Members of the United Nations. Such a large sponsorship of the item indicates the concern of peoples all over the world, particularly in Africa and Asia, over the continuance of the colonial system and, in particular, Portuguese colonialism with all its intransigence and ruthlessness. It is unfortunate that owing to various circumstances this item could not be taken up earlier for discussion, with the result that we have hardly time to give the question the attention it deserves.

138. Many representatives, particularly from Africa, have participated in the debate before me. They have expanded the case thoroughly and in detail. They have enumerated the facts, with many of which they have personal experience.

139. An explanatory memorandum gives the reasons that prompted the sponsors of this item in making the request for inscription. I refer in particular to resolution 1514 (XV), which the General Assembly adopted without dissent on 14 December 1960, during the first part of this session. As other representatives have stated, this resolution marks a milestone in the efforts made in the United Nations ever since its inception to put an end to colonialism and assist the peoples of dependent territories to emerge as free and independent people and take their rightful places in the comity of nations.

140. By this resolution the General Assembly declared that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights, was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and was an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. The resolution recognized the rights of all peoples to self-determination, and asked that all steps be taken in all territories which had not yet attained independence to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

141. This resolution is a landmark in the history of the United Nations. It is an expression of faith in the ultimate destiny of man and human dignity, and it is expected that all Member States which have responsibility for the maintenance and administration of dependent territories will take immediate steps for the implementation of this resolution of the United Nations.

142. We are happy to note that most of the colonial Powers have accepted the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples of the colonies, and are even now taking steps towards the fulfilment of this objective; and it is further gratifying to note that such steps are now, especially after the passage of the well-known anti-colonial resolution, being taken with increasing zeal. In this regard my delegation would like to

pay a tribute to the Government of the United Kingdom and France for the steps they have taken and continue to take in regard to the freedom of dependent peoples and of their charges, especially on the African continent.

143. In the case of Portugal, the amazing contrast is a sad and utterly disappointing exception. I should at this stage like to push out of the way the ridiculous contention of the Government of Portugal that territories in Africa and Asia under their domination are not colonies but provinces. In this connexion, I should like to quote from a publication by the Government of India on this subject.

"History is replete with instances of various stratagems adopted by colonial Powers to continue to hold on to their empires. Portugal is, however, unique among the colonial countries in having called to her aid legal wit and wisdom, the jugglery of words and subtle quibbling to designate what were once termed colonies as provinces. The change of terminology took place in 1951, when the Colonial Act which had been in force since 1930 was incorporated in Portugal's Political Constitution. From that year the Portuguese colonial empire took on a new shape and lost its special character.

"The detestable word 'colony' was therefore dropped and the word 'province' took its place in what came to be known as the "Ultramars Portugueses".

144. In *Foreign Affairs* for April 1961, James Duffy, the well-known authority on African matters and especially on Portuguese Africa, in an article entitled "Portugal in Africa", writes:

"Historically, the three areas have always been colonies, no matter whether they were called 'overseas provinces', as in the nineteenth century, or 'colonies', as in the early days of the Salazar régime, or, as in the 1950's when the régime began to build up its face for remaining in Africa, 'overseas provinces' again. The fact is that more than 95 per cent of the population of Portuguese Africa are not enfranchised citizens of Portugal; they have no civil rights and are legally regarded as wards of the State governed under a *régime do indigenato* administered by officials of the Overseas Ministry, formerly the Colonial Ministry."

145. The United Nations has categorically refuted the contention of Portugal that Angola, Mozambique, Goa and other Portuguese colonies are provinces of Portugal. During the first part of the current session, the Assembly adopted resolution 1542 (XV), in connexion with the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter. Under the first operative paragraph of this resolution, the Assembly stated clearly that "the territories under the administration of Portugal listed hereunder are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter", and there followed a list of Territories in Africa and Asia under the administration of Portugal. In other words the United Nations recognized these Territories only as colonies of Portugal.

146. The resolution I quoted just now states clearly that Angola, Mozambique and other territories under Portuguese administration are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. This Chapter is in the form of a Declaration regarding the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is hardly necessary for my delegation to state that as far as Portugal is concerned, it has completely failed to

fulfil the obligation under Article 73 and it has consistently refused to furnish information as required under Article 73 of the Charter. Instead, by resorting to a play on words—which incidentally can deceive nobody—it is endeavouring to hold on to its colonies without the slightest respect to the wishes of the people of these Territories and their aspirations.

147. In this connexion, reference should also be made to a very important resolution that was adopted during the first part of the current session. This is resolution 1541 (XV), on principles which would guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e of the Charter. The twelve principles that are annexed to this resolution explain very clearly the content and implications of Chapter XI of the Charter.

148. I do not propose to take the time of the Assembly to analyse the principles in demonstrating their applicability to Angola and other Portuguese colonial territory. But it is quite clear that the plea of integration, the plea of the treatment of these territories as overseas provinces of Portugal, cannot hold water for a single minute in the context of these principles which have been accepted by the United Nations.

149. We have often been told of Portugal's historic mission in colonizing the land, of the discoveries, etc. In the process of fulfilling this historic mission the colonial peoples were divided into what were known as the *assimilados* and the natives. On this process of assimilation in Portuguese Africa, a book by James Duffy has this to say:

"A system as selective as assimilation, which in a period of twenty-five years has affected the legal status of less than one-half of one per cent of the African population, has little to recommend it as an instrument of native policy unless the purpose of the policy is to maintain the degraded status of the greater part of the population."⁷

After the detailed interventions in this Assembly in regard to the situation in Angola which were so ably presented by several representatives from Africa, it is not my intention to deal in detail with this particular aspect of the question.

150. In spite of the rigid censorship regulations which prevail not only in Angola but throughout the Portuguese empire, the news that the outside world receives from Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies gives a picture of colonialism at its very worst. One author who was recently in Angola had this to say about what he saw:

"The black man in Angola is checked by a régime as ruthless as it is vigilant. Mere talk about independence can lead to years in prison. The régime bared its iron hand when it mercilessly quashed recent uprisings through opposition elements". He is talking about Angola. "Portuguese officials in Lisbon had told me I would find whites and blacks living in harmony equalled nowhere else. They said no bars prevented Africans from enjoying all the fruits of Portuguese civilization. There was no clamour for freedom in Angola, they added, because Africans there already had their rights. What I saw in Angola was quite different. Instead of a bias-free society, I found a rigidly stratified people topped by 200,000

whites and a handful of assimilated mulattos. At the bottom are 4 million Africans, exploited and powerless. Instead of a civilizing mission, by which the Portuguese say they are advancing a primitive people, I found exploitation. Portugal avows a policy of racial equality, yet it is sending thousands of white immigrants to Angola to settle on choice land from which Africans have been uprooted. Africans are torn from their families and are forced to labour under conditions that often even lack the most elementary humanity."

151. This is not an isolated quotation from one author. There are many books, many publications, many newspaper articles and many personal diaries which are full of descriptions of this nature; and the veracity of these monstrous conditions can no longer be denied.

152. The May 1961 issue of *Harper's Magazine*, which as everyone knows is a highly respectable publication, has in it an article which is very significantly entitled "The Kingdom of Silence—The Truth about Africa's Most Oppressed Colony". I should like to quote a few extracts from this revealing article, which refers to some of the most shocking aspects of colonial oppression and domination. On the subject of education in Portuguese colonies in Africa, this writer had this to say:

"Since this method of 'civilizing' the native is the accepted policy in the colony, it is not surprising that more conventional education has been neglected over the years. The principle laid down by the Royal Commissioner for Mozambique at the turn of the century is as applicable today as it was then. 'Formal education was nonsense', he declared. 'What we have to do in order to educate and civilize the *indigena* is to develop in a practical way his aptitudes for manual labour and take advantage of him for the exploitation of the province'."

These are his own words, the words of this Commissioner. And, according to James Duffy, the illiteracy rate among the Africans in Portugal's colonies in 1950 was 99 per cent.

153. About medical facilities, the same writer says:

"I cannot say about medical facilities in Angola because except for those few small infirmaries I have seen at some of the larger plantations and at missions, I have never come across any hospitals or other medical centres in my travels in the interior. I have been to areas, however, where people were sick and dying without medical attention. In the deep interior I once visited a small village and found a young woman stretched upon the sand outside her hut, so ill that she could hardly move or speak. My Portuguese companions showed no interest in her case, but I did make a casual inquiry, only to learn that the nearest medical aid was 100 miles distant."

154. The same writer has this to say about the oft-repeated theory of racial equality:

"The colonial populations are classified legally into two groups: the *indigenas* or the unenlightened peoples of the Negro race who have no legal status under Portuguese law, can own no real property and are subject to all the abuses I have described; and the *não-indigenas*, comprising whites and those people of African ancestry who by reason of education and upbringing are culturally separate from the mass of native peoples... During recent years I have noticed an increasing deterioration in the attitudes of the

⁷ James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 295.

whites even toward the mulatto and assimilated African, a change brought about by the great influx of Portuguese colonists since the early 1940's."

155. Speaking about life in general of the African people in Angola, the writer goes on to say:

"These people are the product of an environment that has endured four centuries of slavery and forced labour, of a native authority and tribal custom broken by despotic administrative control, of swift punishment for recalcitrance or resistance. Where no man is secure in his own home, he is insecure everywhere. One has only to visit the *senzala*, the native quarter of Luanda, where 120,000 people live in filth, poverty, or depravity or to watch the daily early morning sifting of garbage on the streets of Luanda, to realize the depths to which a rootless people can sink."

156. I could go on with quotations from newspapers and periodicals, as well as from books by competent authorities, but I shall not do so, particularly in view of the short time the Assembly has before it at this stage. I could refer to the forced labour practised in effect in Angola and Mozambique, about which the International Labour Organisation had this to say, in an article entitled "Interracial Wage Structure in Certain Parts of Africa", which appeared in the *International Labour Review* published in July 1958:

"The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour set up jointly by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the International Labour Office found that in the African territories administered by Portugal there are certain restrictions and exceptions in the legislation which permit the exaction of forced or compulsory labour and that the labour of workers in São Tomé was of considerable economic importance to the territory and their situation appeared to be similar to that of workers under a system of forced labour for economic purposes."

157. In making these quotations, I do not want it to be understood that these conditions are singular or peculiar to Angola. It is the Portuguese colonial system which unfortunately is of such severity, such depravity and degradation for those whom the Portuguese call Portuguese citizens, Portuguese nationals—the indigenuous population—that really involves the provisions of the Charter and calls for action by this august body.

158. We in India are familiar with the Portuguese colonial system. Thank God we have shaken off that system. But on our territory there exists today the remnants of colonialism in the so-called Portuguese overseas territory of Goa.

159. After India became independent, the Government of India made a strenuous and continued effort to talk to the Portuguese authorities and arrive at a negotiated settlement in respect of Goa, as we did in the case of French possessions in India.

160. I mention this to explain the nature of Portuguese colonialism, not so much to place before the General Assembly the case of Goa, which I understand is not on the agenda. However, I think the parallel is very interesting and reveals in its true colours the nature of the domination Portugal exercises over its provinces, Portuguese intransigence, and the brutality with which the Portuguese authorities repress the nationalist feelings and aspirations of the inhabitants of Goa, to such a degree that my country was forced to break off diplomatic relations with Portugal.

161. In Goa the resistance to Portuguese imperialism goes back some 300 years. In 1787 an uprising known as Pinto's rebellion faced Portuguese domination with a great and concerted challenge. This was a movement led by a group of priests in Goa and aimed at overthrowing the Portuguese Government. Through the centuries nationalists in Goa must have made numerous attempts to drive the Portuguese out of their territory. Between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries...

162. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to have to interrupt the representative of India, but although I can quite understand why he would want to illustrate his argument in relation to Angola by referring to Goa, I hope he will not go in detail into the situation in Goa, which is not on the agenda of the General Assembly. I would ask him therefore kindly to relate his remarks to Angola without going in detail into the situation in an entirely different territory.

163. Mr. JHA (India): I was actually expecting the President's gavel earlier. But now that it has come I will not proceed to say anything more about Goa. As I said, it was not my intention to bring this matter up now; we expect to deal with it in a proper way, but I do submit that when one makes out a case against a principle, parallel illustrations are permissible and although it is possible to argue that a particular illustration is not specifically on the agenda I hope the President will bear with me if I say that rather wide parallels have been drawn on this very rostrum and many statements have been made which, strictly speaking, have not had a pointed reference to particular matters being discussed. However, I will abide by the President's ruling and leave my references to Goa, merely requesting the Members of the General Assembly to imagine the similarity of the conditions in Goa, the censorship and the ruthless suppression that go on there, to the situation in Angola.

164. I do not have much more to say, but I would like to add a few words about the background of facts and events against which this question has been brought before the General Assembly. It is recognized the world over that we are living in the most dynamic age—and in saying that one is not uttering a truism—that humanity has ever encountered or ever passed through. It is not only an age of undreamed of scientific and technological achievement, it is an age in which the minds of men have been moved, have been freed from the prejudices and the bonds of centuries. No longer is humanity prepared to submit to domination. No longer are human beings prepared to forgo their dignity and the worth of the human person for any reason whatsoever.

165. On the African continent, as indeed before in Asia, there have been great revolutions, there have been great movements for human freedom and liberty. In my own country, where one of the great souls of this century or of any century flourished—we had the good fortune of being led by him in the non-violent passive resistance movement—there have been great changes, and today the winds of change are sweeping the continent of Africa. The African people are awake and in this particular wind that is blowing, this particular wave which is now irresistible, there are no considerations of geographic frontiers, there are no considerations of overseas provinces. Men and women everywhere are thinking the same things, and the first thing they are thinking of is their liberty and the shaking off of

domination by foreign rulers, getting back their human personality.

166. But, unfortunately, Portugal has not paid heed to the signs of the times. Today in Angola there are serious disturbances. The indigenous population is fighting for its freedom. The example of neighbouring territories, where Africans have attained independence and sovereignty and the right to decide their own destiny, fires their imagination.

167. What is the result, according to newspaper reports? Of course, it is very difficult to obtain any authentic reports from Angola because of censorship, but hundreds of people are being massacred and the most ruthless oppression is being exercised. According to reports, large armies have been sent into Angola to suppress the so-called rebellion, which is the name given by colonial Powers to all freedom movements. In the resolution adopted during the first part of this session it was specifically laid down, without a dissentient voice, that there should be no armed action for the suppression of freedom movements, but all this has gone by the board so far as Portugal is concerned.

168. We, along with other sponsors, have ventured to bring this matter before the General Assembly as a matter of urgency, as a matter involving human freedom, as a matter calling for the vindication of the highest principles of the Charter and the resolution which was adopted during the first part of this session, the anti-colonial resolution which is a landmark in the history of the United Nations. We, along with our friends, have co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/L.345 and Add.1-5; it is a moderate draft, it is constructive, it allows all the initial steps to be taken and we feel sure that it will commend itself to the large majority of the Members of this Assembly. Indeed, we hope that it will be adopted unanimously.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

169. Mr. ORTONA (Italy): My delegation has carefully weighed the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] submitted by a number of States of the Asian and African continents. It is a draft resolution which makes a number of important points and which, if I am correct, seems to have been based primarily on the assumption that the situation in Angola is seriously worsening, with unpredictable consequences if it is not properly checked in time. This draft resolution therefore deals with perspectives which invite from all concerned preventive wisdom and statesmanlike concern for the evolution of peoples who are emerging in the changing world of today. My delegation is in agreement with the idea that it is important not to wait for the house to burn down before calling for help. We certainly cannot help but appreciate the concepts embodied in the draft resolution, concepts which underline a historical process which is taking place of which all of us have been and are aware. Perhaps in the second paragraph of the preamble, instead of the word "restiveness", it would be better to term the feelings now prevailing in Africa "the aspirations of dependent peoples towards self-determination and independence".

170. Upon further examination of the draft, we are glad to note that in the fourth paragraph of the preamble the concept of evolution appears indirectly, because no dates or time-limit is considered in regard to the necessary goal of complete independence. This does not mean, of course, that the situation does not require

attention, but that what we mostly wish for is, that the evolution of the people of Angola in order to accomplish their purpose should take place as far as possible in a harmonious climate which should enable Portugal to take account of all the factors involved. We cannot cancel overnight centuries of presence in a territory or forget ties created for mutual interest through the ages, and we cannot hope that principles will be reconciled under the hardships of political pressure.

171. The position of my delegation has been clear at all times in the recent past about arguments of this kind. We favour the attainment of full independence for the peoples of Africa. We are glad to see all the nations take their destinies in their own hands. In some cases, as is natural, such a process is balanced by the need to avoid chaos, to establish certain minimum requirements. We are convinced that the peoples' desire for freedom and independence must inevitably triumph, but in order to enjoy these ideals, economic, social, political and international conditions require ripening in order to make that final step inevitable.

172. On the other hand, we in the United Nations are limited by some important barriers of a legal nature which we cannot cross without stepping on a fundamental point of the Charter. In this respect, my delegation would feel inclined to be rather unhappy about paragraph 2 of the operative part of the resolution, because that paragraph could be considered by Portugal as interference in the realm of its sovereignty. We may say, however, that the circumstances which are part of the provision embodied in paragraph 2 are of such a special character as to explain the decision by the Assembly. We do hope, however, that the careful wording of operative paragraph 2 will be interpreted by the Portuguese Government as a non-infringement of its sovereignty.

173. My delegation feels that the case of Angola is an exceptional one, which calls for understanding on our part of the feelings of the sponsors in their position; we understand their efforts to cope with such a situation in a manner acceptable to all parties concerned. They can take into consideration what I have just said and, with the reservation which I have expressed regarding paragraph 2, my delegation will vote for the draft resolution.

174. Mr. CARDOSO (Congo, Leopoldville) (*translated from French*): We share a long history with Angola, and only colonial history kept us apart. We were a flourishing and respected kingdom in the sixteenth century. Both of us also suffered, alas, deportation, slavery and the slave trade, which have left their mark in the presence of Africans on the American continent.

175. This fact is widely known; to pass it over in silence would be to lack objectivity, would be to murder history, so far as history can die. But history does not die; indeed, it repeats itself. We are witnessing today events similar to those in the past. It is true that history repeats itself, but more cynically now, because the world is more closely connected by a tighter network of information and communications.

176. What happened yesterday in the shadows now bursts out in the full light of day and mankind's conscience is revolted. This is why those who in the past suffered and died in silence today utter with their last breath the word "freedom". If the world is to hear more clearly our Angolan brothers' cries for freedom,

Portugal must permit the sending of information and communications from this territory.

177. The Congo, which was long an oasis of peace, is now a breeding place of war. Will Angola suffer the same fate? We fear so, and with good reason. Are not our frontiers threatened? Anxiety chokes our voice, both within our country and outside it. As peace or war comes to one country or the other, their people seek refuge in Angola or in the Congo.

178. Tranquillity or disturbance in the Congo and Angola take colour from one another. We know better than anyone the price of peace. What we wish for our brothers is freedom in peace.

179. Portugal may successfully lay claim to certain rights over what it calls its "provinces", but no law is immutable. No treaty endures after it has become obsolete, when events and thinking have advanced beyond the concepts on which it was based. Law, in our age, must adapt itself to the last throes of colonialism. If it does so, it will be the more respected and will be better equipped to preserve peace. Law must evolve of its own accord if it is to survive; its adaptation to changed circumstances cannot be effected from outside.

180. Those who are dying because their claims are being disregarded deserve support. Although the Congo faces immense difficulties, it is still doing what is incumbent on it; for it is the cradle of true African nationalism.

181. A Congolese proverb is equivalent to "When in Rome, do as the Romans do". Everyone is doing that now, seeking freedom. Those who do not, those who practise a double standard will be banished from the comity of the human race.

182. To co-sponsor the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] is the least we can do for our Angolan brothers; we ask the Assembly for its support.

183. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland): It is a most characteristic phenomenon, which determines the trend of events in the era in which we live, that the world system of colonialism is gradually but inexorably disintegrating. This process is revealed most visibly in Africa, where more and more nations are breaking their colonial ties to begin a sovereign existence. Its recognition and official expression is the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in December of last year. But over one-fourth of the African population is still suffering under colonial rule. The Angolans are among them and their plight is in grim contrast with the life of most African peoples, who are now busily putting up the edifice of their independence.

184. Hence, the Polish delegation welcomed the initiative of the countries of Africa and Asia which, on 20 March 1961, proposed [see A/4712 and Add.1] that an item on the situation in Angola be inscribed on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. We share the view expressed in their explanatory memorandum that "Angola is a classic case of colonial domination and suppression of millions of Africans", and that "the recent disturbances in Angola"—which have recently become enlarged into military operations by the Portuguese forces, involving the death of a large number of people of the Territory—"... clearly indicate a situation which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

185. I do not intend to repeat here the long and sinister list of charges, well substantiated by facts, put forth against Portuguese colonialists by representatives of many African countries in the Assembly and in the Security Council. In the course of the debate it has been disclosed beyond any doubt that the people of Angola live under most inhuman conditions, that any manifestations of national feelings and of strivings for independence are ruthlessly suppressed by colonial rulers, by means of military terror and mass retaliation against the helpless population. What is happening in Angola today is a glaring example of traditional methods of colonialism, dating back to the nineteenth century or earlier; no methods are too brutal for it to employ in order to attain *per fas et nefas* its main goal, that is, to keep its possessions in Africa.

186. Mr. John Hatch, a British author and expert on African problems, in his book *Africa Today and Tomorrow*,⁸ gives, on pages 201 and 202, the following brief but expressive description of the situation in Angola:

"... both territories [i.e., Angola and Mozambique] are amongst the most backward in the continent. Very little effort is made to provide any reasonable kind of education and this, of course, reduces the opportunities for Africans to qualify as *assimilados*... Forced labour is openly admitted and is organized on a percentage basis by recruiting agents. The Government itself employs a forced labour system for work on the roads in addition to the use made of it by the planters.

"The Portuguese policy is a reflection of the system in Portugal itself strengthened to deal with a more backward people. It is essentially hierarchical in which the good of the mass of the people is determined and enforced from the top. Civil liberties and rights are non-existent and political ideas suppressed amongst the masses and seduced amongst the intelligentsia."

So much for the British author.

187. The policies of Portugal in Angola and in other Portuguese colonies have been the object of most vehement censure within the various organs of this Organization. Representatives of African States have told us with the utmost indignation about forced labour, about executions of the leaders of independence groups, about massacres of the innocent population. In the metropolis, too, the Portuguese raise their voice in protest at the brutal actions of their present Government. And, although every symptom of opposition is stifled by force, a large portion of the population joins in it; the case of Captain Galvão was an example of that.

188. The question of Angola and all that it entails—every form of terror and oppression on the part of the Portuguese colonialists; schools, education and health protection virtually non-existent; the economy lagging ages behind; illiteracy; the semi-slavery of forced labour—is a clinical case of colonial oppression, one might say. The historian of the future will find in it ample material for study and future generations will shudder at it in horror.

189. Coming back to the present, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, makes it both possible and obligatory for this

⁸ New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1960.

Organization to assist the territories still under colonial domination. The Declaration says in part:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

190. It is imperative that an end be put to the activity of the Portuguese Government, whose objectives are at striking variance with the provisions of the Declaration. And it is imperative to apply the measures envisaged in the African-Asian draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] with the aim of granting complete independence and freedom to the people of Angola. Like any other colonial people, Angolans have the right to independent existence. They insist on exercising their right to decide their own future and they are fighting and shedding their blood in defence of this right. Polish hearts have always been with those fighting for the freedom of their country. Remembering the long decades in the past when she was deprived of her independence, Poland lends full support to the legitimate strivings of the Angolans.

191. It is our profound belief that no one in this Organization can remain indifferent in the face of flagrant violation of the fundamental rights envisaged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and of the right of nations to self-determination. We cannot remain indifferent when these rights are being violated by Portugal, one of the signatories of the Charter of the United Nations which for ever eliminates the use of force to subjugate one nation to another and, as a matter of fact, seeks to eliminate any form of subjugation whatsoever, by any means.

192. We cannot remain indifferent, because of our ties of friendship and solidarity with the peoples of Africa, who are vitally interested in putting a stop to the abnormal situation in their continent.

193. We cannot remain indifferent because, just as have our friends in Africa, we have been taught by past events in that continent that wherever bloodshed and terror are applied to break the resistance of colonial peoples a flame may be kindled which is dangerous for international peace and security. And this, we trust, is of paramount importance from the point of view of the purposes of this Organization and from the point of view of all peoples throughout the world.

194. For years efforts have been made to talk us into believing that Portuguese possessions in Africa are a blessed oasis where everybody is satisfied with what he has, and where the natives neither complain nor have the slightest inclination to rebel. Until recently, some newspapers in the West described Angola as a zone of silence detached from the anti-colonial movement in Africa. While more and more countries attained independence, the Portuguese colonialists kept repeating their favourite saying: We have been here for 500 years and we will stay for another 500 years. Is it only the bloodshed in Luanda, is it only the lives of hundreds of Angolan victims of the events of February that can dispel the myths spread by the colonialists? And is blood the price of silence in Angola?

195. As the days go by, more and more holes are pierced in the curtain of silence dividing Angola from the rest of the world. Only a few days ago we learned that thousands of African refugees had filtered across the guarded Angola border into the Congo, telling stories of Portuguese massacres and oppression; and that an official of Matadi, a port town near the frontier, estimated that at least 3,000 people had fled to that region from Angola in the preceding two weeks.

196. It is the lesson of history, repeated anew and anew, that when it comes to struggle with colonialism, struggle for national liberation, struggle against the bitter resistance of former oppressors, frontiers and national boundaries prove of no avail. Nobody here has to be reminded of how the tragic events in Algeria and the Congo swelled to the dimensions of major international problems, and how they have focused the attention of this Organization precisely because certain colonialists, or neo-colonialists, stubborn in their refusal to accord to the peoples concerned the right to self-determination, have created a situation endangering international peace and security.

197. This is the reason why the Polish delegation is all for speedy and effective measures on the part of this Organization. Such measures, if taken promptly, might prevent further bloodshed and further suffering on the part of the Angolans. We support, therefore, wholeheartedly the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5], submitted by thirty-six Powers, and we do hope that it will mark the first step towards the complete liberation of Angola and the people of Angola.

198. Mr. AYARI (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): I should have wished to be able to set forth in detail my delegation's views on the problem we are just finishing debating, the situation in Angola. But, because of the late hour, the President's appeals and the approaching end of our session, I shall confine myself to a few essential comments. Representatives of African and Asian countries, which are co-sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5], have spoken before me and have eloquently stated an opinion in which, on the whole, we concur.

199. The problem of Angola has been before the United Nations for some time. It has become particularly acute since the bloody events of February and the violent repression to which they led.

200. On 4 February 1961 a riot broke out at Luanda and was suppressed with extreme violence by the Portuguese forces. Since then, events have taken their course, with their inevitable retinue of death, disaster and ruin. The repression was followed by a popular reaction, which itself was followed by renewed repression, leaving bitterness and resentment in the hearts of the Angolan people and, by the very excesses to which it led, provoking a still more violent reaction.

201. So what was to be feared for many years in Angola has come to pass. The Angolan people weary of being considered as a second-class people in their own country and of suffering contempt and racial prejudice and after placing their hopes on a change of Portuguese policy, and taking into account the principles of human rights and the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter, have finally revolted. It would be false and unrealistic to seek the cause of this revolt elsewhere than in obstinacy and persistence in a senseless policy calculated to run counter to both history and morality.

202. At previous sessions my delegation has already had occasion to draw the attention of both Portugal and the United Nations to the continuance of Portuguese policy towards Angola. It is a racist policy, whatever may be said, a policy based on a fiction wholly at variance with historical reality, and a stubborn attempt to maintain a system and principles which are no longer contemporary with the age of the United Nations and of the principles of the Charter to which Portugal has nevertheless adhered.

203. I shall not deal with the substance of the matter at unnecessary length, since as I have said, other representatives have already done so with serious arguments, in a spirit of justice, equity and respect for the most elementary rights.

204. My delegation thinks that the United Nations cannot remain silent and inactive while the situation in Angola deteriorates. I do not think it necessary to mention the numbers of dead or to assess the losses. What should be noted is that bloody incidents have occurred and are still occurring in Angola. What should be noted is that the violent repression is continuing in Angola, in defiance of law, morality and justice. Reliable reports show that blind repression is continuing in Angola, Cabinda and elsewhere, with all kinds of cruelty, torture and systematic destruction.

205. What should also be noted is that Angola cannot by any legal fiction be regarded as an integral part of Portugal. We are convinced, and we continue to maintain, in accordance with indisputable principles of law, that the developments in Angola are likely to lead to discord between nations and to endanger friendship between peoples; especially, in the case of Angola, between the Portuguese and the Angolan people. Each of these peoples has its own personality, in spite of the untenable Portuguese fiction, and is bound to live in independence of the other, in spite of Portuguese obstinacy. How welcome it would be if they could live together in friendship and harmony, in accord with the principles of dignity, justice and the right of the Angolan people to decide its own destiny!

206. Together with other delegations we have submitted a balanced draft resolution, couched in moderate terms and proposing a realistic formula which may improve an ominous and menacing situation.

207. Our earnest wish is that Portugal should change its policy in Angola and put into practice in that country the most elementary principles of law and justice. I venture to hope that this draft resolution will receive a substantial majority in the General Assembly. I venture to hope, in particular, that a radical change in Portuguese policy in Angola will come about, in accordance with the recommendations in the draft resolution, and that the United Nations will not have to revert to this subject.

208. Mr. BABA (Morocco) (*translated from French*): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to put my Government's view on the painful problem we are discussing today, the situation in Angola. But first I should like to recall that Portugal and Morocco are good neighbours and that for centuries contacts between our two peoples have made a very great contribution to the enrichment of both civilizations. Many Portuguese nationals enjoy in Morocco the hospitality and kindness of our people. They live in peace and enjoy the respect and sympathy of the inhabitants. A great many Portuguese live particularly in Moroccan fishing ports on

the Atlantic coast and have never experienced the least discrimination against them in this African country.

209. This shows that we enter the debate without the slightest feeling of hostility towards our Portuguese friends, but only with a concern to make a positive contribution to the search for a settlement in accordance with law, justice and peace in the part of Africa concerned. We wish to maintain the sympathy we have always shown towards our close neighbours of Portugal with regard to those problems which particularly concern their country, provided that this sympathy is never likely to jeopardize the rights of colonial peoples to freedom, dignity and independence.

210. As an independent State and a member of the great African-Asian community, closely united with all oppressed people fighting for their emancipation, my country has never hidden its concern at the intransigence of Portuguese colonial policy in Africa and Asia. We have always expressed our most sincere hope that that country would finally assume an attitude more consistent with the trend of history and would recognize, once and for all, the right to self-determination of the peoples of Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, Goa and the Cape Verde Islands. We think that this is the only way in which the gates of hope can be opened to these peoples and in which they can be rescued from their present state of misery and humiliation.

211. Experience shows that the intransigence of colonialism in Africa has never served peace, freedom or the advancement of individuals and peoples. On the contrary, its consequence has always been, and always will be, to bring about situations which are dangerous not only to the colonial Powers and to the colonized countries, but to the whole international community. This is precisely the case in Angola, where there has just been an explosion of nationalism, which had long been stifled and persecuted and could find no means of expression save recourse to armed insurrection and mass protest.

212. We wish to emphasize that, whenever militant nationalism and the liberation movements arising from it are forced to turn to violence as a last resort, the responsibility rests entirely with colonialism. The patriots themselves have always been in a state of lawful self-defence. The bloody events now taking place in Angola are the most tragic proof. And, when African and Asian countries take the first steps to bring the matter first before the Security Council and then before the General Assembly, it is in order to display their deep and wide-spread concern at the deployment of the considerable forces now being sent to that far country, in order to drown in blood a popular movement which is to blame only in that it is inspired by a very lofty ideal of justice, dignity and freedom.

213. Everyone must be aware that the sole purpose of this movement is to bring about the triumph of justice and to put an end to an anachronistic situation which has no meaning whatever in the second half of the twentieth century.

214. We believe that Portugal has no right to oppose the logical and natural end of colonialism. Hence, Morocco, although it wishes to maintain good relations with its neighbours, has been forced to take part in a move that was inevitable. We have therefore joined with several brotherly and friendly countries in asking that measures and reforms should be considered urgently

for the purpose of the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

215. We consider that the Assembly should pay serious attention to the problem and should also realize the need for the speediest possible action. The latest news from Angola, rare and fragmentary though it is and derived from Portuguese sources, fully justifies our anxiety. Let us forget that among us in Africa, Portuguese colonial possessions are commonly known as the "zone of silence".

216. The drastic steps which have just been taken in Portugal itself to deal with the situation lead to the conclusion that the Portuguese Government is determined to use all military means at its disposal to stamp out the large-scale rebellion. We think that this attitude is tantamount to a challenge to the international as well as to the African conscience. This test of strength to which the Angolan nationalists are being mercilessly subjected is arousing tempers throughout Africa, and we wonder for how long Africans—and other men who love freedom—can stand idly aside while their brothers in Angola fall victim to one of the bloodiest repressions by the forces of colonialism and imperialism that Africa has ever known.

217. We have reason to think that public opinion in Portugal itself has not remained indifferent to the contagion of this movement for liberation which is spreading on an unprecedented scale. I am thinking not only of the adventure of the passengers of the *Santa Maria*, although it opened the eyes of a wide sector of the international public to a policy which had become highly controversial, one of the most harmful aspects of which is the attempt to impose upon Africans an unnatural status, designed to keep them in the most degrading economic, social and political state.

218. It is the duty of us all to prevent a military and police intervention, the sole purpose of which is to impose by force a particularly reactionary colonial system, built up at the expense of the true interests and the well-being of the indigenous people.

219. We sincerely regret that the Portuguese delegation has not seen fit to take part in this important discussion, since it might have made at least some contribution to our knowledge of all aspects of the problem.

220. We do not think this is the best way to co-operating within the United Nations in the search for just and equitable settlements. We should have been happier if Portugal had not followed the precedent which another colonial Power set in other circumstances by refusing to discuss another African problem, arising from a war of colonial reconquest; I refer to France and to earlier debates on Algeria over the past few years.

221. We are asking the General Assembly today to decide in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] which we are submitting to it, simply because we are very anxious to spare the people of Angola as far as possible the sacrifices they are always ready to make unreservedly for the achievement of international independence and for the triumph of a policy in accordance with the ideal of civilized nations and the spirit of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

222. We think that Portugal must realize, before it is too late, that it is not in its own interest to become still further entangled in a situation which, to say the

least, may seriously affect its relations with many countries throughout the world. We also think that the resources of an under-developed country such as Portugal would be better used if they were devoted to its own people's prosperity rather than to maintaining and imposing an aged colonial system which has for more than one reason become out of date and intolerable, since it is based on the wrongful exploitation of man by man, on arbitrary discrimination and on a difference in treatment which is incompatible with the requirements of justice and human dignity.

223. The liberation movement which the people of Angola is now supporting in an access of patriotic fervour follows the trend of history. It is an irreversible movement fed by certain powerful ideas and by a potent national consciousness. It enjoys the active sympathy of all Africa. It is supported and nourished by a general feeling of solidarity extending to all countries of the world and all continents. To try to defeat this movement by force with bombs and machine-guns is an enterprise which can only be stigmatized as criminal.

224. Last week the Press reported the exceptional steps taken by the Portuguese Government, including the establishment of an air-lift between Lisbon and Luanda—two towns over 6,000 kilometres apart—and the mobilization of all military resources and forces, which were then sent urgently by air and sea to this central part of Africa. This proved to us that the tragedy was bound to assume proportions which would make it still more horrible and more painful, and also more dangerous to peace in Africa. We therefore venture on this occasion to speak on behalf of the Angolan nationalists, who have launched an anguished appeal to all States here present to take into consideration the gravity of the situation and to contribute by a massive vote to a settlement of the problem on the lines proposed in the draft resolution now submitted to the General Assembly. In this most important debate, all Portuguese colonies, both in Africa and in Asia, have placed their hopes in us.

225. Mr. TSIANG (China): The relations between my country and Portugal have been friendly for several centuries. It is therefore not out of ill feeling that I have chosen to participate in the debate on Angola in Africa. On the contrary, as I speak I shall keep ever in my mind the historic friendship between my country and Portugal.

226. My delegation is of the opinion that the General Assembly is a more suitable organ for the consideration of the problem of Angola than the Security Council. The General Assembly has functions more comprehensive and less specific than the functions of the Security Council. Action by this body, though less decisive, is more flexible than action by the Security Council.

227. When this question came up before the Security Council, my delegation had mental reservations in regard to inscription of the item on the agenda. We had actual reservations in regard to the draft resolution⁹ that was introduced. Now in this Assembly these reservations are removed.

228. In the course of this debate much has been said about the bad conditions in Angola. My Government and people have very little direct knowledge of actual conditions in Angola. I shall therefore not presume to

⁹ Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 945th meeting.

pass judgement on the merits of the Portuguese administration. Indeed, it does not seem to me to be absolutely necessary to pass judgement on Portuguese administration, for the commonly accepted fact is that even good government is no substitute for self-government.

229. The position of the Portuguese Government in regard to this matter is, if I understand it correctly, that Portugal is in the process of forming a multiracial State based on the principle of racial equality. The principle of racial equality is good United Nations doctrine. Nobody can object to that. On the contrary, we should all praise Portugal for putting that principle at the basis of its State. Multiracial States are also quite common. All the big States of the world are multiracial States. Even many of the smaller States are multiracial States. A multiracial State by itself is not contradictory to the principles of the Charter, and indeed the United Nations has no right to Balkanize a State.

230. But if we examine such multiracial States as are found in the world, we shall find that most of them have certain advantages that Portugal does not enjoy. For one thing, the races that enter into a State are not too diverse physically or psychologically. In the second place, the territories occupied by the races that go into one State are usually contiguous. Portugal does not enjoy such advantages.

231. Under such conditions, a multiracial Portuguese State, even if based on the doctrine of racial equality, must receive the free consent of those who enter into such State. In other words, such a multiracial State must today be based on self-determination.

232. If this proposition of a multiracial State based on equality of race should be accepted freely by the people of Angola, not only should the United Nations not oppose it but it should approve and applaud. But, without that opportunity of free self-determination on the part of the people of Angola, the effort to form a multiracial State would meet with enormous difficulties, and would not be in harmony with the spirit of the Charter.

233. For these reasons, my delegation will support the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5].

234. Mr. ADEEL (Sudan): I will abide by the President's wise injunction and will be brief. But I hope it will be appreciated that I can only do this at the price of some incoherence, as I had meant to speak on this subject for about an hour.

235. My delegation notes with regret that the delegation of Portugal has decided to boycott this debate. This, I submit, is an act of non-co-operation with the United Nations, contrary to the pledges of Members under Article 2, paragraph 2 and Article 56 of the Charter. The Portuguese contention that Angola is an integral part of Portugal, and that accordingly the situation with which we are here concerned is placed beyond the competence of the Organization by virtue of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, is, in our humble belief, nothing less than a cruel delusion. It was by its own unilateral decision that Portugal in 1951 proclaimed Angola an overseas province of Portugal. The people of Angola have never been consulted on this integration. Angola is fourteen times the size of Portugal. It is separated from it by thousands of miles. Differences of language, of custom, of race and of faith, make this so-called integration entirely fictitious. Whatever status the Government of Portugal chooses to confer on Angola does not alter the fact

that Angola is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. The General Assembly has repeatedly pronounced itself on this point. The most recent of these pronouncements is contained in resolution 1542 (XV), adopted at the first part of this session. That resolution declares in unequivocal terms that all overseas territories under Portuguese administration, including Angola, are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

236. This being the juridical position, what are the obligations of Portugal under the Charter toward the people of Angola? Those obligations are contained in Article 73 of the Charter, which, as you all know, reads:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust"—I underline the phrase "as a sacred trust"—"the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

"a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;"—I again underline the phrase "their just treatment, and their protection against abuses"

"b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

"c. to further international peace and security."

237. These are the legal obligations of Portugal toward the people of Angola. But has Portugal fulfilled them? The answer is decidedly in the negative. After 500 years of a so-called "civilizing mission" in Angola, we find the Africans of Angola among the most miserable, the most backward and the most oppressed people in the world. The result of this "civilizing mission" which has lasted for 500 years was aptly summed up by Mr. Ernest Dunbar, writing in *Look* magazine on 28 March 1961 as follows:

"... instead of a bias-free society, I found a rigidly stratified people topped by 200,000 whites and a handful of 'assimilated' mulattos. At the bottom are four million Africans, exploited and powerless."

The same writer goes on to say:

"Instead of the 'civilizing mission' by which the Portuguese say they are advancing a primitive people, I find exploitation. Africans are torn from their families and forced to labour under conditions that often lack even the most elementary humanity."

238. Another journalist, after a similar visit to Angola, wrote:

"After the tyrannical repressions, I saw the complete suppression of all basic human rights, the forced servile labour and the abominable discrimination which places human beings in a state below the state of animals. I can sum up the situation there in the

following words: 'Have I no reason to lament what man has made of man?'

239. The policy of integration pursued by Portugal in Angola is, we submit, a violation of Chapter XI of the Charter. It is detrimental to the welfare of the people and is an impediment to the natural processes of their national progress. The facts and realities resulting from this policy of integration or assimilation were adequately cited by previous speakers, and I need not dwell on them here. This policy has failed even to produce a noticeable number of assimilated or civilized Africans. According to official records, only about 0.7 per cent of the non-whites of Angola are *assimilados* or "civilized" by Portuguese standards. This figure of 0.7 per cent is the measure of literacy among the non-whites of Angola. This is the lowest figure in the whole of Africa.

240. The need for assimilation is used to justify a notorious system of forced or what is called contract labour in Angola under which every male over eighteen is compelled to work for at least six months. On this question of forced labour in Angola, Mr. Basil Davidson, in his book *Africa Awakening*, published in London in 1957, on page 197 tells us:

"... up-country forced labour is now being used for three main purposes—in the first place, the Government makes universal use of forced labour for all its own needs and above all for the maintenance or building of roads. Rural roads are invariably built and maintained by the unpaid conscript labour of the people of the area through which the road passes. Those peoples have to furnish not only their own labour, but also their own food and often enough their own tools. Since many men are absent on forced labour elsewhere, the local chief or head-man in whose hands responsibility for the road is left will frequently call up women and quite small children. That is why one sees women with babies on their backs and pregnant women and quite small girls scraping at roads with primitive tools and carrying cupfuls of earth in little bark containers on their heads."

241. Writing in the *New York Times Magazine* of 30 June 1960 after a visit to Angola, a correspondent of that newspaper wrote on this aspect of Portuguese colonialism as follows:

"For public works, such as the upkeep of roads, local administrators call on village head-men to supply labour gangs. When male labourers are scarce, women and children are sometimes compelled to take their place, although they are officially exempt from forced labour. Your correspondent, travelling about the country, twice saw gangs of small children and once a gang of young women engaged on heavy road work. He also saw African workmen kicked and cuffed by Portuguese foremen in Lobito docks, while policemen looked on with the indifference of familiarity."

242. A former chief inspector for overseas territories in the Portuguese Government wrote in 1951: "Forced labour in Portuguese provinces is today indistinguishable from outright slavery." Instead of instituting reforms in Angola, the Lisbon Government chose to imprison this high official for his honesty. This is only a small segment of the background against which the tragic situation prevailing in Angola today should be viewed. After 500 years of this "civilizing mission"—I would

say, of oppression and of heartless persecution—the people of Angola have no alternative but to kill or be killed in defence of their rights, of their honour and of their dignity.

243. Many prominent Portuguese in Angola, including the widely respected Vicar-General, have been arrested during the recent disturbances for nothing but demanding justice for the African population.

244. To remedy this situation, Portugal is resorting, as we all know, to brute force of arms. According to *The Times* of London of 15 April, Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal, is reported to have said: "Stand firm. Stand firm. Nothing more is needed for the storm to subside." Dr. Salazar may be assured that no firmness, whatever its degree of brutality, will any longer be enough in Angola. The hurricane is raging. The Government of Portugal is setting its feet on sands which are shifting at the speed of that hurricane. Nothing less than justice for the Angolan people will save the situation.

245. We regret that blood is being shed in Angola today, whether it is of Portuguese or of Angolans. We believe that peaceful means should be the ideal way of solving political problems. The recent outbreaks of extreme violence in Angola are, no doubt, regrettable. They have, in fact, been deplored by the leader of the Angolan independence movement, Mr. Holden Roberto. According to *The New York Times* of 21 March 1961, Mr. Holden Roberto is reported to have said: "Our party has never advocated such acts of violence. We have nothing against the Portuguese people." Although we do not countenance violence as a means for removing grievances, we must view these recent instances against a background of 500 years of heartless oppression and inhumanity.

246. The task of the United Nations now is not so much to evaluate the responsibility for the past as to take effective measures to prevent a continuation of these brutal incidents. We should direct our attention to the cause of the disease, and not its symptoms.

247. Angola will, no doubt, be independent whether Portugal likes it or not, but we believe that that independence should be brought about peacefully, without resort to violence and bloodshed and without the bitterness that bloodshed necessarily leaves behind. But the choice between peaceful and violent means, we believe, lies solely with the Government of Portugal. May the United Nations help the Angolans out of their agony and may the United Nations also help Portugal out of its intransigence.

248. My delegation has the honour of sponsoring the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5]. As you may have noted, the same draft resolution was submitted to the Security Council when the question of Angola came before it in February last. There was no opposition at all in the Security Council to this draft. It may be recalled that there were five votes in favour of it and six abstentions.

249. The delegations that abstained on this draft resolution declared that they did so out of certain doubts concerning the competence of the Council, and not regarding the merit of the case. This, we believe, is the minimum that the United Nations can do to the peoples of Angola in this moment of great crisis.

250. I have been delegated by the sponsors of this draft resolution to suggest to the President that the blank space in operative paragraph 2 should be filled

by the following phrase: "Five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly", so that the paragraph would read "*Decides* to appoint a sub-committee consisting of five members appointed by the President of the General Assembly, and instructs this sub-committee to examine...".

251. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): As one of the sponsors of the draft resolution [*A/L.345 and Add.1-5*] before the General Assembly, I have very few remarks to make. In effect, my statement here is really an explanation of the vote of my delegation. A lot has been said about Portugal and Angola, and the representative of Sudan who has just addressed this Assembly has said quite a lot of things that were required to be said.

252. The position of my delegation in respect of Angola and the people of Angola and the attitude of Portugal to Angola is well known, and I do not think at this late hour of the night I should burden you and the representatives of the various delegations unnecessarily.

253. Those who have been following the newspapers and the reports must have read of the recent activities of the rulers of Portugal. Troops have been sent to Angola. Africans have been suppressed and repressed. We have reports that thousands of people are being killed, villages are being razed to the ground, mass inhumanity is being practised and there is a kind of carnage against the Africans in Angola.

254. For 500 years Portugal has been exploiting that unhappy country to its own advantage. For how long will this continue? For how long will Portugal continue to commit these depredations? For how long will it refuse to heed the voices of oppressed people?

255. The purpose of this draft resolution is to make it possible for the United Nations while there is still time to bring pressure to bear on Portugal; to re-examine her position in the light of twentieth century circumstances. What I said before in connexion with South Africa in the Special Political Committee [*243rd meeting*] is also relevant to Portugal. Time is running out, and the time has come for Portugal to realize that our patience is being completely exhausted. My country cannot sit down and see the people of Angola suffering, and not pay heed to their yearning. They want to be free. They want to be independent. They want to enjoy life more abundantly.

256. Over and over again, whenever the question of Angola is raised, the representative of Portugal either walks out or treats the Assembly of the United Nations with contempt. African nations can no longer accept this insult from Portugal. We have said elsewhere, and it was repeated here, we do not accept the ruinous concept, that fiction that Angola is an integral part of Portugal or a province of Portugal. We can never accept that. As long as my country is free and independent it will never accept that doctrine, and will not oblige any Member State in Africa to accept it. Indeed, we do not accept such a doctrine. It is a thing of the past, and the sooner it is erased from the surface of Africa, the better.

257. Portugal has been stubborn and does not want to bring any change. The time has come for Portugal to heed resolution 1514 (XV) which was passed in the Assembly last December, particularly operative paragraph 5 of that resolution, which says:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other terri-

tories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

258. We know that no African State wants the situation that arose in the Congo to arise again, where the people were dropped suddenly, deliberately with a view to their not being in a position to tackle the problem of independence; where the people were deliberately prevented from helping themselves, even though they had the capacity to do so.

259. The purpose of this draft resolution is to enable Portugal to take time now to make adequate preparation to enable the people of Angola prepare themselves for their independence and to enjoy life more abundantly.

260. As I said, I have not come here to make a long speech. The representative of Sudan has explained what we intend in this draft resolution. The two paragraphs are very short, and the gap which was left in operative paragraph 2 has already been filled. I sincerely hope that the representatives of the various States who have sympathy for the people of Africa, and the suffering people of Angola, will support this draft resolution and pass it unanimously, without any abstentions, so as to bring pressure to bear on Portugal to do what is right, what is just, what is fair, what is honest and what is proper for the people of Angola, in order to save itself from the wrath to come. I am certain that unless steps are taken by Portugal now to rectify the wrongs of 500 years, as quickly as possible, the people of Angola will in the near future find a solution for themselves.

261. They will not lose; Portugal will ultimately lose. But if Portugal were to take the necessary steps to rectify conditions and if they were to work towards progress and development, I am sure it would have the good will of the people of Angola. The African States are not bitter. They are quite prepared to be realistic about matters. They know there are problems to be solved. All we request of Portugal and the United Nations is that certain steps be taken now in order to enable the people of Angola to work towards their self-determination, in order to have an independent country governed by themselves, run by themselves, for the benefit of 11 million people, without being attached to an alien country which does everything to try to hold on to them.

262. I sincerely hope that all representatives will support this draft resolution which has been introduced by the African States.

263. Mr. CARVELHO SILOS (Brazil): I was prepared to vote in favour of the draft resolution [*A/L.345 and Add.1-5*]. Everybody knows of the close ties existing between Brazil and Portugal. I ask every delegation to understand that that vote should not have been construed as a vote against Portugal but as a natural consequence of our determined anti-colonialist policies and of our decision to help as much as we can to bring about independence for all Africans.

264. With this in mind, the Brazilian delegation asked the sponsors of the draft resolution to change its operative paragraph 2, replacing "the appointment of a sub-committee to examine the situation in Angola" by "a request to the Government of Portugal to furnish infor-

mation on what has been happening in Angola". Unfortunately my approach was not successful.

265. Everyone in the Assembly knows that previously appointed sub-committees failed to produce results. I am therefore obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution. This does not mean, however, that Brazil will not continue to follow its decision to fight colonialism.

266. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The hour is late and my delegation can hardly add to the many eloquent statements that have been made tonight.

267. I have just asked for the floor to declare from this rostrum the complete support of the delegation of Pakistan for the draft resolution on Angola [A/L.345 and Add.1-5]. We fully share the sentiments of the African and other freedom-loving peoples, and we are honoured to join in upholding the fundamental rights of the people of Angola, for which they have been struggling so bravely. We think that the draft resolution is constructive and moderate, and that therefore it deserves the unanimous endorsement of the General Assembly.

268. The PRESIDENT: If no other delegation desires to speak perhaps the Assembly will now proceed to take a vote on the draft resolution [A/L.345 and Add.1-5] before it. Perhaps I might begin by explaining to the Assembly the manner in which I propose to ask the Assembly to vote on this draft resolution.

269. A request for a separate vote has been expressed in respect of the sentence in the first preambular paragraph consisting of the words "the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security". If there is no objection, we will vote first on that part of the first preambular paragraph.

270. A separate vote has also been requested in respect of the third preambular paragraph, reading "Aware that failure to act speedily, effectively and in time", etc. If there is no objection, I will ask the Assembly, in the second place, to vote separately on that preambular paragraph.

271. Third, I would propose that the Assembly vote on the oral addition to operative paragraph 2, which addition which was proposed by the representative of Sudan, consisting of the words "five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly", to be inserted in the blank space in operative paragraph 2. Taking advantage of the discretion allowed by rule 80, I would propose to ask the Assembly to vote on that orally proposed addition.

272. A separate vote has also been requested on operative paragraph 2 as a whole. If there is no objection, therefore, I would ask the Assembly to vote separately on operative paragraph 2 as a whole. Then, depending on the results of these four votes, I propose to put the draft resolution as a whole to the Assembly.

273. If that procedure is agreeable, I will ask the Assembly to vote first on the sentence in the first preambular paragraph, reading "the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security". A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liba-

non, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador.

Against: Spain, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Dominican Republic.

The sentence was adopted by 67 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.

274. The PRESIDENT: I will now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to the third preambular paragraph beginning with the words "Aware that failure to act speedily..."

The third preambular paragraph was adopted by 68 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.

275. The PRESIDENT: I would now ask the Assembly to vote on the addition to operative paragraph 2, proposed orally by the representative of Sudan. The addition in question consists of the words "...five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly...".

The words were adopted by 68 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.

276. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to vote separately on operative paragraph 2, with the inclusion of the words on which the Assembly has just voted.

The paragraph was adopted by 69 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.

277. The PRESIDENT: I now submit to the Assembly the draft resolution as a whole, with the inclusion of the words orally proposed by the representative of Sudan and approved by the Assembly. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya.

Against: Spain, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Netherlands, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia,

Belgium, Brazil, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 73 votes to 2, with 9 abstentions.

278. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom in explanation of his vote.

279. Mr. CROWE (United Kingdom): My delega-

tion abstained from the vote on the resolution which the Assembly has just adopted. Our vote was based not so much on the merits of the question at issue as on a matter of principle. In my delegation's view, the resolution would involve interference in the affairs of a State, going beyond the competence of the United Nations as laid down in the Charter.

The meeting rose at 12.45 a.m.