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GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*) AND CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.4/L.822, A/C.4/L.823)

1. Mr. MARRACHE (Syria), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/L.823, said that the adoption of that text was the least that the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly could do to help the African peoples of the Portuguese Territories in their struggle against a racial and colonial domination which was all the more odious for being anachronistic and was maintained by a bloody repression which was being intensified, as was stated in the most recent resolution of the Security Council (resolution 218 (1965)). Military operations, massacres, genocide, the export of African labour, greedy exploitation—Portugal stopped at nothing in its efforts to maintain its position. The fascist Lisbon dictatorship, not content with oppressing the Portuguese people, was spreading death and misery over a large part of Africa. Faced with that situation, the sponsors of the draft resolution had tried to offer a text which would testify to the desire of the United Nations to act effectively in the name of the principles of justice and freedom enshrined in the Charter and would enhance the Organization's moral authority, while also reflecting the facts which had been brought out by the discussions of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and by the statements of the petitioners.

2. The most pertinent paragraphs of the draft resolution concerned the breaking off of economic and diplomatic relations with Portugal, foreign investments in the Portuguese Territories, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The sponsors had felt that the time had come to isolate the guilty Power in the economic, commercial, political and military spheres, in order to induce it to change its policies. The draft resolution therefore asked all States to make the necessary sacrifices so as to bring Portugal to realize that it had no place in the international community as long as it continued to oppress the peoples of its Territories and to deprive them of their right to freedom and independence. The Portuguese people would thereby be enabled to erase the stain that was sullyng their political life. The draft resolution was addressed also to financial, industrial and commercial companies and institutions, urging them to make a distinction between a

Chairman: Mr. Majid RAHNEMA (Iran).

AGENDA ITEM 73

Question of Oman: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Oman (*concluded*)* (A/C.4/L.824)

DRAFT REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/C.4/L.824)

The draft report (A/C.4/L.824) was adopted.

AGENDA ITEMS 23 AND 71

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Territories under Portuguese administration (*continued*)* (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. V; A/5946; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. V; A/C.4/L.823)

*Resumed from the 1587th meeting

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liberal economy and a colonial economy, and between freedom of the individual and the enslavement of peoples. If capitalism was not a synonym of colonialism, it lay with them to prove it by deeds. The sponsors had no doubt that régimes which were capable of planning their economies were equally capable of eliminating colonial profits. Governments, which were responsible for halting crime in their countries, also had a responsibility to put a stop to colonial crime at the international level. The draft resolution referred only to NATO. That organization had made it clear against whom it wanted to defend itself, but it had not yet made clear what it wanted to defend. The free world had nothing to lose from excluding the colonial world, for the moral benefits which would result would strengthen its defence and the liberation of the colonies would reinforce the reign of law.

3. Draft resolution A/C.4/L.823, which was inspired by the principles of justice, freedom and humanity, deserved the support of all delegations.

4. Mr. G. E. O. WILLIAMS (Sierra Leone) said that Member States had been trying for years to convince the neo-fascist Portuguese Government to abandon the anachronistic ideas which characterized its colonial policies. The reason why the question had not been debated in the Committee during the present session at as much length as at previous sessions was that the matter had been brought before the Security Council by thirty-two African States in November.^{1/} The Committee nevertheless had a duty to do everything in its power to help the unhappy peoples of the Portuguese Territories who, from generation to generation, lived in virtual slavery, a prey to poverty, disease and ignorance. That duty was all the more imperative since certain permanent members of the Security Council, though they claimed to be the friends of oppressed peoples, failed them when the time came for action.

5. Draft resolution A/C.4/L.823, of which Sierra Leone was a sponsor, and which was submitted in the name of a group of Afro-Asian countries together with Yugoslavia, differed somewhat from earlier resolutions. In the sixth preambular paragraph, for example, it referred to the activities of foreign financial interests in the Portuguese Territories and, in operative paragraph 6, it requested all States to stop the activities of their nationals whose financial interests impeded the attainment by the people of those Territories of their legitimate right to freedom and independence. The sponsors realized that not all foreign investments were to be condemned, but when those investments served the administering Power's policy of colonial exploitation it was their duty to denounce them. The draft resolution also mentioned NATO. The sponsors knew that NATO had been set up for defensive purposes, but they were entitled to ask whether the assistance which Portugal received from it did not help it in the repression of liberation movements in its African Territories.

6. Human rights were trampled underfoot in the Portuguese Territories, in violation of the United

^{1/} For the discussion in the Security Council, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, 1250th, 1253rd-1256th and 1266th-1268th meetings.*

Nations Charter and of all international principles. Member States, and in particular the great Powers, must therefore not be content with words but must co-operate actively, by the adoption of positive resolutions and their strict implementation, in the efforts made to put an end to the inhuman régime under which the African peoples of the Portuguese Territories were suffering.

7. Mr. DIABATE (Guinea) said that the present explosive situation in southern Africa originated in the community of thought and action among a group of neo-nazi countries opposed to the independence, progress and development of the African continent. To ensure its survival in Africa, the Lisbon Government had encouraged the establishment of a régime based on white supremacy in Southern Rhodesia and was making its colonies a rampart against national liberation in that part of Africa.

8. In July 1963, the Security Council had considered the question of the Territories under Portuguese rule,^{2/} at the request of thirty-two African Heads of State meeting at Addis Ababa. Conscious that the explosive situation prevailing in those Territories represented a threat to international peace and security, it had adopted resolution 180 (1963) which, if scrupulously complied with, would put an end to the Lisbon Government's domination of the African Territories. Unfortunately, war was continuing to rage in the Portuguese Territories. Day after day Africans were killed and African villages bombed with weapons and aircraft supplied to Portugal by the members of NATO. Guinean air-space was constantly being violated and the Republic of Guinea had had to take the necessary measures in self-defence. The nationalists in the Portuguese colonies were organizing themselves, confident of final victory. Under the auspices of the second conference of nationalist organizations of the Portuguese colonies, an action front had come into being on 3 and 8 October 1965. In so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) was inflicting mortal blows on the Portuguese mercenaries and had succeeded in extending its control over half the territory, in spite of the increase in the Portuguese military potential.

9. Portugal had proved that it was incapable of co-operating with the United Nations. The very nature of its national political life prevented it from creating the conditions for liberating the peoples of its Territories, since there was no freedom of expression or freedom of political association. Obsessed by the memory of a past which could never return, that under-developed European country, which had everything to gain from intelligent decolonization and sincere co-operation with its former colonies, maintained its stand with an obstinacy which would prove its undoing.

10. In view of the Portuguese Government's refusal to comply with the decisions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 180 (1963) of 31 July 1963 and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it was the duty of the countries members of NATO to

^{2/} See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, 1040th-1049th meeting.*

draw the necessary conclusions and to act accordingly. For the African delegations, all the ingenious declarations of the Portuguese, and all the advice lavished on the Africans to persuade them to carry on a sterile dialogue with the Portuguese Government were designed only to lull the vigilance of the Africans and to let the Lisbon dictatorship gain time. The implementation of Security Council resolution 180(1963), which was in complete conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), was the objective towards which the efforts of all States Members of the United Nations should be directed if they did not want the United Nations to become discredited in the eyes of the world. The Guinean delegation hoped that Member States would prove equal to their responsibilities.

11. Mr. McDOWELL (New Zealand) observed that the Portuguese Government was continuing to maintain that its African Territories were not Non-Self-Governing Territories in the sense of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter but rather extensions of the mother country and that they did not come within the ambit of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). Those resolutions, which had represented a landmark in the history of the United Nations, had not been a sudden innovation but the crystallization of one of the leading political ideas of the twentieth century: the right of all peoples freely to determine their own future. In New Zealand's opinion, self-determination was more than the ability to make a choice within the national framework; it was, in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of resolution 1514 (XV), the right of all peoples freely to determine their political status and freely to pursue their economic, social and cultural development. New Zealand was not an adherent of the doctrine of instant decolonization, but it considered that the colonial Powers were in duty bound to recognize the principle of self-determination and to make it possible for the inhabitants of the Territories under their administration to determine their own future. By denying that right to the inhabitants of its African Territories, Portugal was resisting one of the most powerful ideas of the time. Portugal should weigh the consequences of its present policy and realize that that policy might close for ever the door to fruitful co-operation with the African countries.

12. The New Zealand delegation felt, however, that the Fourth Committee should not turn aside from its primary objective, which was decolonization, to consider questions such as the activities of foreign interests. It was convinced that, once the people of the Portuguese Territories had been able to exercise their right of self-determination and to enact their own laws and regulations, they would see to it that the labour laws were revised to ensure that they retained a proper share of the earnings of any company operating in their land. It was quite possible that, once the necessary changes had been made, the foreign interests might continue to play a useful role in the newly independent countries. Furthermore, in the New Zealand delegation's view, it was the Portuguese Government's attitude much more than the activities of foreign interests that was impeding the implementation of the Declaration

on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations should direct all its efforts towards inducing Portugal to abandon its oppressive policy. Once the people had had the opportunity to choose their own future freely, the other anomalies would disappear.

13. He had not had time to reflect on draft resolution A/C.4/L.823. He could say at once, however, that generally speaking the text seemed acceptable to him, although his delegation would probably have some reservations regarding certain paragraphs, particularly the paragraph which appeared to infringe the prerogatives of the Security Council. He reserved the right to comment further on the text.

Mr. Natwar Singh (India), Rapporteur, took the Chair.

14. Mr. DMITRUK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that, once before, calls for the preservation of the purity of a master race and for the installation of a "new order" had been followed by a world cataclysm. Yet, twenty years after its destruction in Europe, fascism had reappeared in the African Territories under Portuguese administration. Racial discrimination was practised in all aspects of life in those Territories. African workers received wages ten times lower than those paid to Europeans. The African population of Angola, although thirty times greater than the European population, owned only 1 per cent of the land. The population was almost entirely illiterate; in the four centuries during which Portugal had ruled Mozambique, only two Africans had qualified at a Portuguese university and a very small number of Africans had been able to complete their secondary education. Many Africans were sentenced to forced labour; others were sent to the Rhodesian or South African mines. The "civilizing" mission of Portugal had resulted in an average life expectancy of only twenty-eight years for Africans.

15. His delegation could not but welcome the success already achieved by the freedom-fighters who had risen to drive out the oppressor and already occupied some areas of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. He called on all the progressive forces of the world to support the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movement. Portugal had had to send to Africa an expeditionary force of 100,000 men, who were using the most monstrous methods of repression and pursuing a policy of genocide which claimed countless lives and forced hundreds of thousands of people to take refuge in neighbouring countries.

16. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic considered that that resurgence of fascism was the result not only of Portugal's policy but of that of its Western allies and of large international monopolies, particularly the Angola Diamond Company, Petrofina, the Rockefeller and Mellon groups, the Krupp trust and Tanganyika Concessions, which had interests in the Portuguese Territories. The Byelorussian SSR delegation fully endorsed the conclusions and recommendations in the report of Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. V, appendix). It was not surprising that, under the pressure of those groups and for strategic

reasons, the Western Powers were continuing to furnish military aid to Portugal. Only the very naive could believe that Portugal would not use the weapons which it received from its NATO allies in its overseas territories. Those allies were doing their utmost to preserve white domination in the southern part of Africa. Moreover, it was common knowledge that the racist régimes of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia helped each other at various levels and had concluded agreements of economic and military co-operation as well as extradition treaties.

17. The Byelorussian SSR delegation was convinced that the struggle of the African nationalists would be crowned with success, but only at the cost of great sacrifice. The United Nations should therefore take decisive action to support them. The Security Council should go further than it had in its resolutions 180(1963), 183(1963) and 218(1965) and should call for the application to Portugal of economic and diplomatic sanctions similar to those recommended in 1964 by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo. All States should be requested to provide moral and material aid to the freedom-fighters and the NATO countries should be asked to cease supplying Portugal with economic and military assistance.

18. The Byelorussian SSR delegation would support draft resolutions A/C.4/L.822 and A/C.4/L.823 and hoped that they would be followed by vigorous action.

19. Mr. KONDA (Democratic Republic of the Congo) said that the people who had had the misfortune of being colonized by Portugal had been subjected to 500 years of suffering, ignominy and slavery. His delegation paid homage to the memory of the martyrs who had fallen in the struggle for the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

20. Through its geographical situation, the Democratic Republic of the Congo was well placed to know the extent of the acts of cruelty committed in Angola by the hangmen of the Salazar régime. Since 1961, there had been an unceasing exodus of Angolan patriots to the Congo and those who remained or were unable to leave had no alternative but to accept the suffering, remain silent and bow their heads to their masters. Portugal spoke of building a multiracial society, but its ally was South Africa, which practised racial discrimination. The contradiction was, moreover, only apparent. The two countries had the same attitude with regard to racial questions. They both believed in the superiority of the white race, whose mission it was to spread civilization among the other races, which they regarded as inferior. The only difference was that South Africa practised racism openly, whereas Portugal had adopted a hypocritical policy.

21. At the 1584th meeting, the Committee had heard the petitioners from the Portuguese Territories describe the implacable nature of the régime imposed on their countries and explain how an army of more than 100,000 men was engaged in the massacre and extermination of people who wished to break the chains of colonialism.

22. Portugal would be unable, by itself, to obtain the weapons which it was using in its colonial war, and

it was in fact its NATO allies which supplied them. Those countries could not be unaware of the heavy responsibility which they bore for the policy of genocide which Portugal was pursuing in its colonies. The weapons supplied to Portugal by its NATO allies were, according to the latter, being used solely within the area of the Atlantic alliance, but Portugal considered that Angola, Mozambique and the other Territories under Portuguese administration were an integral part of the metropolitan country, which was in the NATO area. It was easy to see the consequences of that fiction. The NATO countries claimed that the weapons supplied to Portugal by their organization were not being used to massacre the Blacks, but if their assurances were to have any meaning, they must induce Portugal to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the subjugated peoples.

23. The experience of the past twenty years showed that the colonies could not be retained, and the petitioners from the Portuguese Territories had clearly stated that their oppressed peoples were determined to fight as long as necessary and regardless of the cost in order to regain their dignity as men. The tragedy had gone on long enough; the solution lay with those who were giving Portugal material, financial and moral support. If they withdrew their support, Portugal would promptly agree to grant self-determination to the people whom it had exploited for 500 years. Portugal's allies could therefore make the liberation of the Africans in the Territories under Portuguese administration much less costly.

24. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) said he found it hard to admit that after years of discussion and after numerous resolutions had been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, there had been very little improvement in the situation concerning the Portuguese colonies.

25. The Portuguese delegation maintained that, by concerning itself with the Territories under Portuguese administration, the United Nations was guilty of inadmissible interference in Portugal's internal affairs. The Romanian Delegation had been pointing out the futility of that argument ever since the question had been on the Assembly's agenda. Through the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, almost the entire membership of the United Nations was calling for the implementation of the provisions of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the Territories under Portuguese administration. The Portuguese Government continued, however, to ignore the recommendations of the United Nations and failed to apply the principle of the right of colonial peoples to independence and sovereignty.

26. What was more, the policy pursued by Portugal in the Territories under its administration merely confirmed the need for giving effect in those Territories to the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Not only were the people of those Territories being exploited for the benefit of the metropolitan country, but racial discrimination was widely practised against the great majority of the population. The repressive measures taken against the great

mass of the African population, the fact that they were kept in a state of ignorance and the discrimination practised in the granting of political rights were all attacks on human rights. In those conditions, it was no cause for surprise that the struggle of the African peoples for their liberation had been intensified.

27. The stand taken by Portugal was no different from that of the Republic of South Africa, which sought to organize the defence of the large monopolies and of the colonial forces in southern Africa. Such action constituted a threat to the African countries which had recently attained their independence. Despite its shortcomings, the report on the activities of foreign monopolies in the Territories under Portuguese administration contained in Chapter V of document A/6000/Rev.1 made clear the relationship that existed between the economic interests of the colonial Powers and the political support which they were giving, directly or indirectly, to the Governments of Southern Rhodesia and of South Africa, as well as to the Portuguese Government.

28. In the opinion of his delegation, it was essential that further measures should be taken by the General Assembly. The situation in the Portuguese colonies could be resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Charter only if Portugal gave effect to the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Those resolutions must also be applied by all the Members of the United Nations, and especially by those among them which, by reason of their economic, military and political relations with Portugal, encouraged, by their actions if not by their words, the continuation of Portugal's colonial policy.

29. His delegation would give its support to any recommendation for the effective implementation of the resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council and to any new measures designed to permit the people of the Territories under Portuguese administration to express their desire to be free and independent.

Mr. Rahnama (Iran) resumed the Chair.

AGENDA ITEMS 68 AND 72

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations:

- (a) Reports of the Secretary-General (A/5843, A/6038);
- (b) Reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. II; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. XXVI)

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: reports of the Secretary-General (A/5784 and Add.1, A/6057 and Add.1)

30. Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India), Rapporteur of the Special Committee, presented to the Fourth Committee the Special Committee's reports relating to information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.

31. The members of the Fourth Committee would recall that, in resolution 1970 (XVIII), the General Assembly had decided to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and to entrust its functions to the Special Committee. In a note dated 14 February 1964 (A/AC.109/L.97), the Secretary-General had drawn the Special Committee's attention to that resolution and had made suggestions concerning the procedure which the Special Committee might wish to follow. The Special Committee had approved the Secretary-General's note at its 315th meeting, and, in accordance with the suggestions contained in the Secretary-General's note, it had examined the information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which had been submitted during the two years under review. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of that question were given in chapter II of its report for 1964 (A/5800/Rev.1) and in chapter XXVI of its report for 1965 (A/6000/Rev.1).

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.