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AGENDA ITEM 23

Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (chapter on Territories under Portuguese administration) (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. II; A/C.4/618 and Add.1; A/C.4/620) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. FALL (Senegal) said that before expressing his delegation's views on the subject before the Committee he wished to make a preliminary statement. He pledged the unreserved support of the Government and people of Senegal for the struggle of the nationalists in the Territories under Portuguese administration. The sacrifice of those who had been burned alive and of the old people, the women and the innocent children would not be in vain. Napalm bombs, which had been used in so-called Portuguese Guinea, could not break the spirit of a whole people. His delegation was convinced that Portugal would shortly be obliged to yield to the forces of history.

2. He did not intend to go into details of the atrocities perpetrated every day by the Portuguese colonialists. The petitioners had given sufficient information on that subject. He intended instead to analyse the underlying reasons which caused the Salazar Government to preach a doctrine against which all lovers of peace and freedom were united. If that doctrine was the honest expression of a primitive conception of human relations, no time should be lost in enlightening the Portuguese people. That task could be carried out by UNESCO. If, on the other hand, as he believed, it was a mere subterfuge, the trick should be exposed and the necessary steps should be taken immediately.

3. At the very moment when the colonial empires were collapsing, when the ideas of self-determination, independence and co-operation had become familiar, when the former colonial Powers were withdrawing behind their natural frontiers, Portugal was maintaining that its territory extended beyond the seas as far as the antipodes. Since, however, the foundation of a nation was a desire to live together, the peoples of

Portugal, Guinea, Mozambique, Angola and others did not constitute a nation. The only thing that united them was their common poverty. Furthermore, that travesty of a nation had been established unilaterally without any consultation of the Africans. The real Portuguese were well aware that the so-called nation was a fiction. If it were not so it would be impossible to explain the fighting which was taking place in their colonies. General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) had rightly stated that the Portuguese overseas provinces were Non-Self-Governing Territories, or in other words colonies.

4. It was interesting to note that Portugal had waited until 1951 to adopt a constitution which provided for the absorption of the colonies. The reason was that the great wave of emancipation which had appeared after the Second World War had taken the Portuguese by surprise. Two alternatives had been open to them: they could either speed up the development of their territories or else embark on a policy of oppression. Portugal had chosen the second alternative. That policy had failed and Portugal had then conceived what it had believed to be a brilliant idea. It had decided one day that 12 million people of varying colours and varying religions, spread over Cape Verde, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé, Príncipe, Timor, Macau and Goa, had suddenly become Portuguese. The only explanation for such an extravagant idea was that the Portuguese, like the settlers of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, had lost all sense of what was possible. It was only on that basis that the fallacious theory of assimilation could be understood and it was because the idea of assimilation was nothing but a tool in the hands of the Portuguese that there was racism and segregation in their territories.

5. Portugal was guilty of bad faith in its theory of a multiracial nation, in its claim to be serving the free world by fighting against what it called African communist minorities and in its colonial war, which it described as a defence of the values of the Western world.

6. The fact that Portugal was able to continue the struggle against the nationalists, despite its own poverty and popular discontent in the metropolitan country, might appear surprising were it not for the fact that none of the resolutions of the General Assembly or the Security Council had been implemented and that certain Member States were continuing to assist Portugal, which had taken the precaution of joining military alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which provided for all its needs in arms, material, equipment and instructors. Thus the African nationalists were not fighting against Portugal alone but against a veritable coalition, and Salazar was able to wield permanent blackmail in connexion with bases leased to friendly nations.

7. The facts that he had cited imposed a duty on the African and Asian countries and other anti-colonialist

democratic countries. It must be admitted that so far the Africans had confined themselves to ideological warfare carried out by means of statements, manifestos and resolutions, while those of their adversaries who seemed the least dangerous were regularly supplying Portugal with all the assistance it needed. It was a shocking fact that Portugal, contrary to the legitimate aspirations of 12 million human beings, still possessed colonies. A country so poor, so backward, so decadent and so anachronistic could not claim to educate other peoples. Portugal had tried to prove the contrary. The result had been revolt, the mass extermination of the indigenous population, armed action, peace disturbed and security threatened.

8. Portugal must be punished; it must be expelled from the Territories it was wrongfully occupying. It had been expelled from Goa and from São João Batista de Ajudá. It would be expelled from Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and all the lands which had been stolen from the people. The course of history might be delayed; it could not be stopped.

9. Portugal's policy had been generally condemned. There was no need to quote all the resolutions that had been adopted in order to show that all possible procedures based on good faith and goodwill had been exhausted. For years past Portugal had consistently refused to recognize that its colonies were Non-Self-Governing Territories and to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Every effort had met with a rebuff which clearly showed Lisbon's determination not to hear and not to understand. Even the meeting of the African group with the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had been a disappointment.

10. The responsibility for the failure of every approach rested entirely with Portugal. The time for ineffective resolutions was past; the time for drastic action had come. Otherwise Portugal would have a year's reprieve and the people of the Portuguese Territories would be condemned to another year of anguish. It was idle to hope that if the debate continued Portugal would change its attitude. Senegal firmly believed in conciliation and negotiation, but the antagonist in the case under discussion was not amenable to reason. The only possible course, therefore, was the imposition of sanctions in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1819 (XVII). The measures his delegation would propose for a solution of the problem were, first, the implementation of Security Council resolution S/5380^{1/} of 31 July 1963; secondly, the immediate cessation of any NATO assistance to the Portuguese Government; thirdly, for those countries which had not yet done so, the breaking off of diplomatic and consular relations and a boycott of Portugal's external trade by prohibiting the import and export of goods to or from that country, the use of ports and airports by Portuguese ships and aircraft and flights over foreign territory by Portuguese aircraft; fourthly, a study by the Security Council of sanctions to be applied to Portugal; fifthly, a study by the Security Council of action to be taken in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter and operative paragraph 8 of resolution 1819 (XVII). In asking for a meeting of the Security Council his delegation had considered it necessary to specify the type of sanctions the Security Council might decide to apply.

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963.

11. Well-meaning but ill-informed friends might perhaps criticize Senegal for its unchanging attitude. He would remind them that on 8 November 1963 the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated in Washington that Portugal had no intention of complying with the resolutions of the United Nations and that Admiral Américo Thomaz, on his return from a tour of inspection in Africa, had told pressmen that Angola would be Portuguese for ever. In the face of such obstinacy, the solutions to be adopted must be worthy of the principles to be defended.

12. Mr. BEN MUSA (Libya) observed that the United Nations had exhausted all possible means of bringing about a peaceful and just solution of the problem of the Territories under Portuguese domination. Despite the persistent appeals of the General Assembly and the Security Council, Portugal was openly and deliberately defying the United Nations and world opinion by maintaining its intransigent attitude. Such an attitude was anachronistic in the modern era, where most of the colonial Powers had realized that colonialism was an evil which must be eradicated and had granted independence to their former colonies and even helped them to overcome the difficult period following the achievement of independence. Portugal, on the contrary, was still living in the past in which, under the cloak of Christian civilization and Portuguese culture, it had forcibly occupied kingdoms and territories inhabited by peaceful peoples. It had accumulated wealth and had become one of the largest colonial empires, always thirsting for new conquests. It had cunningly masked its despotism and oppression of the colonized peoples with such phrases as "Christian civilizing mission" and "integration through assimilation". It had enacted legislation for the Territories under its domination which appeared harmless and even beneficial to the indigenous population but in practice was designed to justify Portugal's perpetual presence in the Territories and its economic exploitation of them by means of slavery and forced labour and the oppression of the nationalists who were defending their sacred rights.

13. Portugal seemed unable to reconcile itself to the present era, in which thirty-two former African colonies had become independent States and the last vestiges of colonialism were disappearing from the surface of the globe. Instead, it was using all available means to prove that the United Nations was not competent in the matter, on the ground that the Territories under consideration were "overseas provinces" and that the General Assembly resolutions were ultra vires under the terms of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. That fallacious argument and Portugal's repressive methods recalled the former fascist Italian claim that Libya was an "overseas province" of Italy. Libyans had been asked to apply for so-called special Italian citizenship and a plan to populate Libya with citizens of metropolitan Italy had been drawn up. After the Second World War Libya had not been treated by the victorious Allied Powers as an "overseas province" of Italy but as a former Italian colony. On 21 November 1949 the United Nations had crowned the struggle of the Libyan people by solemnly declaring, in its resolution 289 A (IV), that Libya should become independent not later than 1 January 1952.

14. He had cited that parallel to show that when colonized peoples acquired independence they preferred to live in peace and harmony with all nations. Independent Libya was now maintaining cordial relations with the new democratic Italy, and the Italian

minority in Libya enjoyed respect and the safeguarding of their rights and were sharing in the prosperity of the country.

15. Portugal was taking advantage of its position as a member of NATO and embarrassing its allies by diverting its armed forces to the Territories under its domination. Portugal's allies should take action to force it to cease its campaign of genocide before it was too late and before the world at large came to regard them as accomplices in that crime. It was time for the allies and friends of Portugal to realize that persuasion had failed and to act swiftly, with firmness and vigour.

16. Contrary to the principles of human equality, the Portuguese were perpetuating a subtle policy of apartheid and racial discrimination under the cloak of a very slow process of assimilation. Yet by a strange paradox Portugal claimed to have created a multiracial society, although, according to a Swedish writer who had been quoted at the 1474th meeting by one of the petitioners, the barriers between races were more visible in Mozambique than in South Africa itself. The petitioners had also stated that very few Africans in Mozambique attended secondary schools and that not more than two or three had so far completed a university education. After over 450 years of domination and its so-called civilizing mission, Portugal had been unable to produce an élite of professional men from the indigenous population. The reason was that Portugal had gone to those territories solely in its own selfish economic interests and thought that it could perpetuate its domination through the poverty, illiteracy and subjugation of the indigenous inhabitants.

17. The thirty-two African Heads of State and Government appreciated the efforts made by the United Nations to induce Portugal to see reason. Portugal, however, not only remained deaf to the appeals of the United Nations but challenged the Organization by adducing illogical legal arguments which had been refuted from the outset. The Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in May 1963 had decided that the African States should offer those Powers which were assisting Portugal a choice between their friendship with the peoples of Africa and their support of the colonial forces. The Conference had also delegated four African Foreign Ministers to submit the case against Portugal to the Security Council and had asked member States of the Organization of African Unity to break off diplomatic and consular relations with Portugal and to enforce total sanctions against that country. Libya had no diplomatic relations with Portugal, but it had implemented all the other relevant decisions adopted at Addis Ababa. Furthermore Libya, like other African States, was helping the liberation movements of the Territories under foreign domination in their struggle for freedom and independence.

18. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 31 July 1963 (S/5380), the Secretary-General had arranged for a delegation from Portugal, headed by the Foreign Minister, to hold informal talks in his office with nine representatives of African States. Some optimistic observers had believed that a positive outcome was in sight, but their hopes had been short-lived because the Portuguese had surprised the Africans with a strange interpretation of the principle of self-determination which was tantamount to perennial Portuguese domination in the Territories. In the face of such an intransigent attitude the African representatives had been compelled to break off the talks.

19. It was obvious that Portugal had no intention of settling the problem of its colonies in a peaceful and equitable manner. The African States accepted the challenge offered by Mr. Salazar, who had said in a speech on 12 August 1963 that Portugal would fight to the end to maintain its overseas territories under its domination. No solution of the problem which did not include self-determination and independence could be accepted by the African nationalists, who enjoyed the unreserved support of all the African States and of other just and peace-loving nations.

20. All the elements of a threat to international peace and security were present in the situation. A war of liberation was being conducted by the freedom fighters from Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde. The war would soon be extended to Mozambique and other Territories under Portuguese domination. The thirty-two African States would have preferred a peaceful solution under United Nations auspices and they were eager to see the final outcome of the next decisions by the Security Council following Portugal's refusal to comply with the resolution of 31 July 1963. According to unofficial information, Portugal was massing approximately 100,000 troops equipped with deadly arms and ammunition and with air and sea cover in Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde. When the inevitable conflict broke out, the NATO Powers would undoubtedly come to the rescue of their ally, Portugal, and Africa, Europe and America would be involved in an international war.

21. Portugal was on the verge of bankruptcy because of the great military effort it was undertaking. It had not learned from modern history that all those Powers which had fought against their colonized peoples had in the end been obliged to submit to reality and to recognize the right of those peoples to independence and sovereignty. His delegation considered that before the Security Council convened to take whatever action it might deem suitable, the final possibilities of pressure and persuasion should be explored. The Libyan people and all the African and Asian peoples which had suffered under colonial rule were peace-loving and harboured no hatred for the Portuguese people, but they could not tolerate that in 1963 the Lisbon régime should still speak of "overseas provinces" and "integration through assimilation" of Africans who were jealous of their heritage, culture, traditions and customs and had no desire to absorb Portuguese culture. The Libyan delegation felt that allies of Portugal and other States which still maintained diplomatic and economic relations with that country had a sacred duty towards the millions of human beings who were suffering under the reign of terror of the Lisbon Government. His delegation earnestly appealed to those Powers to use all means of pressure at their disposal to induce Mr. Salazar to change his attitude and to consider the gain which would accrue to his country if it would take the initiative of blessing the independence of its colonies and sponsoring their membership in the United Nations. Portugal would undoubtedly benefit from a fruitful political, economic and cultural co-operation with its former colonies.

22. Mr. NYANGOMA (Burundi) said that in the history of imperialism Portuguese colonialism had been an anomaly in that it had been brought into being by events occurring outside Portugal. In the history of anti-colonialist revolution, Portuguese decolonization was another anomaly in that it would have to be forced by Africa and urged by the rest of the world.

23. In 1880 the European occupation of Africa, with the exception of Algeria and the southern tip of the

continent, had been limited largely to coastal areas. By 1895, however, almost the whole of Africa had been divided among the imperialist Powers. The surge of imperialism during the last two decades of the nineteenth century had been due to economic causes; technical progress and large-scale productivity in the West had necessitated an unprecedented volume of commodity imports and a large proportion of those commodities had been re-exported to the colonized territories in the shape of cheap manufactured goods. Western colonial expansion in Africa had been spear-headed by charter companies enjoying almost sovereign status in the territories in which they had operated.

24. Although Portugal had been the first European country to establish enclaves in Africa, it had been the last to take part in the scramble for that continent. Portugal's entry into the arena dated back to the negotiations over the Congo in 1884-1885 resulting from the United Kingdom's fear of French and Belgian penetration into Equatorial Africa. The United Kingdom, which since 1820 had been refusing to recognize Portugal's claim to the part of the Kingdom of Bakongo situated between Ambriz and the Congo River, had offered to recognize Portugal's sovereignty over both banks of the Congo as far as Nôqui in exchange for certain trading facilities. The agreement to that effect had never been ratified and had indirectly led to the Congress of Berlin in 1885, at which Africa had been finally carved up, Portugal losing the north bank of the Congo in the process. It could thus be seen that Portugal's participation in the division of Africa had been the result of the United Kingdom's manoeuvres to parry French and Belgian threats to its outposts.

25. After the humiliation suffered at the Congress of Berlin, Portugal had undertaken a short-lived colonial offensive designed to establish Portuguese sovereignty over the land mass between the coasts of Angola and of Mozambique. The attempt had proved abortive because of the resistance of the indigenous inhabitants and of threat of armed action by the United Kingdom.

26. It was also noteworthy that it had been only towards the end of the First World War that Portuguese occupation of the hinterland of its African territories, as required by the Congress of Berlin, had been finally accomplished. The Cuanhamas in Angola had defeated the Portuguese in 1904 and had remained independent until 1915, while the Yao people in Mozambique had resisted the Portuguese from 1908 to 1912. As late as 1917 Portugal had had to send military forces to pacify the region of Moxico in southern Angola.

27. One way in which the situation in the Portuguese colonies had differed from that in, for instance, the colonies of the United Kingdom or Germany, had been in the virtual absence of charter companies. Furthermore, in the few existing companies such as the Nfassa Company, the Zambésia Company or the Moçambique Company, large holdings had belonged to United Kingdom, German and South African investors. The weakness of the private sector in Portugal and the latter's inability to finance the administrative and military infrastructure of colonial expansion was apparent from the fact that Portugal's share of world trade during the decades of feverish colonial expansion had slumped from only one thirtieth of the United Kingdom's share in 1850 to one fiftieth of the United Kingdom's share in 1880.

28. Present-day Portugal was equally backward and there was no need for him to repeat that, were it not

for the assistance and the complicity of certain countries, Portugal would long have recognized the sovereignty at least of Angola. Unlike the other colonial Powers, Portugal had not been able to re-export primary commodities in the form of manufactured products. It exported commodities almost in their raw state and imported manufactured goods. It followed that Portugal, which had been unable to finance the establishment and maintenance of its power in Africa, was equally unable to finance the operations made necessary by the colonial war. Portugal's economy was under-developed; its agriculture was mainly devoted to its domestic needs, its capital goods industry was insignificant, its consumer market was limited, its exports consisted largely of processed primary commodities and its level of living was the lowest in Western Europe and one of the lowest in the world. Furthermore, its economy was largely dependent on foreign capital, most of it from the United Kingdom. United Kingdom capital had a predominant share in the industrial and commercial centre of Oporto, and in Portugal's telephones, omnibus services, railways, banking, insurance and the engineering industry. The United States, for its part, held the monopoly in the cork market, and the cork industry was Portugal's second major export industry.

29. The duty of the world community at the present stage was to induce Portugal to march in step with the times. While the key to the easiest solution was held by Portugal itself, which should recognize the immediate independence of all the African Territories under its administration, the most realistic possibility which emerged from his analysis of the situation was that, as in the days of colonial expansion, so also now in the matter of decolonization, Portugal was waiting for other Powers to give the lead and take the decisions. That lead and those decisions should come from the United Kingdom, the United States, France and the Federal Republic of Germany. In order to help the United Nations to accomplish its mission, those Powers should make a sincere contribution to the elimination of the hot-beds of war in Africa by refusing to give Portugal any of the means which enabled it to maintain its system of exploitation and repression in its African Territories. The withdrawal of United Kingdom and United States moral and material aid would be all the more important and decisive in that the rest of the world would follow their example, as it had done in the case of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water.

30. Mr. CALINGASAN (Philippines) said that the problem before the Committee was that of inducing Portugal to give up its antiquated concept of colonialism and to accept the principle of self-determination and freedom for all peoples. It had been Portugal's tenacity in resisting that change that had led it to adopt the legal fiction that the Territories under its administration were "overseas provinces", to disregard the obligations of the sacred trust it had assumed under the Charter and, recently, to adopt its own interpretation of self-determination. It had also been that resistance that had led Portugal to take advantage of its membership in NATO to try to perpetuate its unenlightened colonial policies.

31. His country had diplomatic relations with Portugal and it felt that, as a friend, it had a duty to do what it could to help to induce Portugal to accept the United Nations point of view.

32. Unlike Portugal, which had never been a colony and thus perhaps found it difficult to understand the

legitimate aspirations and feelings of dependent peoples, the Philippines had experienced three and a half centuries of colonialism and of attempts, unsuccessful at first but triumphant in the end, to throw off foreign domination. The Philippine experience had thus been similar in many respects to the national liberation movements now occurring in the African Territories under Portuguese administration. The fires of nationalism in those Territories had been kindled by the recent attainment of independence by many African States and had been fanned by the recognition by the other colonial Powers of the right of almost every remaining colonial territory to self-determination. Portugal's concept of self-determination, namely participation of the people at all levels in the administrative and political life of the country, could not satisfy people who yearned for the exercise of independence.

33. He appealed to Portugal to realize, while peaceful negotiations and the establishment of friendly relations with the indigenous inhabitants were still possible, that the surge of nationalism could be resisted no longer.

34. While the question before the Committee was essentially that of Portugal's colonial policies, the fact remained that Portugal's intransigence had been linked to its membership of NATO. In view of that fact, his delegation appealed to the principal NATO Powers to redouble their efforts and to apply the most effective pressures to persuade Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations.

35. His delegation had been one of the sponsors of the draft resolutions which had been adopted as General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) and Security Council resolution S/5380. In concert with like-minded delegations, it hoped to be able to find the most appropriate means of bringing about their implementation.

36. Mr. NGANDO-BLACK (Cameroon) said that during the last fifty years millions of human beings, many of them Africans, had sacrificed their lives in the cause of freedom, equality and brotherhood among peoples. It might be asked what had been the purpose of that sacrifice, in view of the resurgence of a fascist movement which, whether called apartheid or assimilation, was designed to rob the African of his personality and thwart his natural development.

37. When the international community tried to prevail upon Portugal to respect the principles of justice and the provisions of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, Portugal replied either by a haughty silence or by flimsy legal arguments. In his book entitled *As Nações Unidas e Portugal*, Mr. Nogueira, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, claimed that the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter were of such a nature that they could only be carried out at the wish of, and on lines decided exclusively by, individual Governments. That was a strange interpretation of the Article. If it rested entirely with the Administering Member to decide whether or not to comply with the provisions, the objectives of the Article would certainly not be attained; Portugal's own colonial policies were a proof of that fact. No one could sincerely doubt that Article 73 laid an obligation on the Governments concerned. The Territories under Portugal's rule were Non-Self-Governing Territories with a right to determine their own future and Portugal could not use legal arguments to justify its continued exploitation of them.

38. Mr. Nogueira's book made it clear that Portugal recognized that it had an obligation to provide the international community with information on its overseas territories. Mr. Nogueira claimed that the United Nations was not interested in the information on Overseas Portugal that his Government had sent to the Economic and Social Council, the Economic Commission for Africa, the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Headquarters Library, but only in information sent to the Fourth Committee because only such information would have a political significance and would imply recognition that Portugal possessed Non-Self-Governing Territories. His delegation considered that it was not only political information which implied recognition that the Territories under Portuguese rule were Non-Self-Governing Territories but that economic and social information sent to United Nations organs and to the specialized agencies implied such recognition.

39. Nevertheless, the Portuguese Government continued to maintain that the Territories were overseas provinces and that the Mozambicans, the Angolans and the Guineans were Portuguese citizens. If that was so, it would seem logical to assume that their citizens all enjoyed equal rights. Yet Mr. Nogueira said that it was of little importance that certain population groups were deprived of the full rights of citizenship, and the Government which could express such a view had the arrogance to represent itself as the champion of a multiracial and polycultural community.

40. Mr. Nogueira also argued in his book that the constitution of the political and juridical order of the nation was the prerogative of the Portuguese nation as a whole rather than of particular population groups. That admission threw light on the Portuguese Government's interpretation of self-determination. If it was to have any meaning, self-determination must allow the peoples of the various Territories to say freely whether they wished to be part of the Portuguese community. When South Africa herded the African population into reserves, and when Portugal made Angolans and Mozambicans become Portuguese citizens while denying them the basic rights of citizenship, both were pursuing the same essential goals, but the Portuguese policy was the more treacherous of the two. His delegation was not opposed to genuine multiracialism but it could not accept the use of the doctrine as a pretext for the exploitation of Africans.

41. The new Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces required little comment. It did not even contain a formal declaration regarding the equality of all citizens, despite all that had been said about a multiracial and polycultural society. With regard to the culture which Portugal was supposed to offer its overseas provinces, ample information was available from the reports of United Nations bodies and the statements of petitioners regarding the level of education in the Portuguese Territories.

42. The struggle against the backward régimes of Mr. Salazar and Mr. Verwoerd was humanity's struggle, and all nations large and small should play their part in it. At the previous session his delegation had made an urgent appeal to those countries which, knowingly or not, were assisting Portugal in its massacres. Since then, the Summit Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa had called upon the great Powers to cease to give assistance to colonialist Governments which might use such assistance to suppress African liberation movements,

particularly the Portuguese Government. Through their leaders at that Conference the African peoples had expressed their determination to free Africa by whatever means they could. Innocent blood was being shed in Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea and napalm bombs were already being used. He wondered how much longer the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would allow themselves to be the accomplices of Salazar. For his country, the choice between economic hardship and friendship with Portugal's accomplices was a clear one. Moreover, if the Western Powers did not reconsider their attitude, they would bear the heavy responsibility of promoting a race war which mankind would long remember.

43. His delegation had welcomed the discussions initiated between the African delegations and the Portuguese delegation under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, nothing had come of those talks on account of Portugal's rigid adherence to untenable positions. His delegation was therefore unable to share the optimism expressed by the Secretary-General on the matter in document S/5448.^{2/} He still hoped, however, that Portugal would come to see reason.

44. His delegation would support any draft resolution calling upon Portugal to recognize the right of the peoples which it was oppressing to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to proclaim a general amnesty and release political prisoners in pursuance of resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 1742 (XVI), to withdraw its forces of "pacification" and to enter into negotiations for the transfer of power to the nationalist freedom-fighters. His delegation also considered that the Security Council should give urgent consideration to the problem and that all the members of the Council, especially those with particular responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace, should make it clear whether they preferred the friendship of Portugal or that of Africa.

45. Mr. MARSH (Jamaica) said that the recent consultations between the representatives of African States and of Portugal, which his delegation had hoped would result in a move towards a settlement of the basic issues, had served merely to emphasize once more the unyielding and unco-operative attitude of the Portuguese dictatorship.

46. Portugal's intransigence was built on three main foundations: Portugal's willingness to turn the obligations of other States under the various treaties and alliances to which it was a party to its own profit for the purpose of maintaining its iron grip on its African Territories; the absence of any flow of modern progressive thought to Portugal's leadership; and the antiquated character of Portugal's economic structure which had changed little since the Age of Conquest

when nations had built their national economies not on the principles of national productivity but on the acquisition of foreign exchange, preferably in the form of gold and precious stones, from overseas possessions or through the slave trade.

47. Viewed in that context, the possession of territories in Africa became almost a vital necessity for Portugal and the latter would hold on to them until it could be made to realize that it was not in its interests to do so. He was convinced that Portugal would modify its present policies only when it found that such a change was consonant with its own interests. The greatest responsibility rested with Portugal's friends and allies, which by diplomacy, by financial activity and by public condemnation must convince the present régime at Lisbon that its policies in Africa could only lead to confusion and eventual economic disaster for the metropolitan territory. The continuation of the present situation in the Portuguese Territories was bound to lead to bitterness and resentment and to breed hatred which would not be easy to eradicate.

48. The world community should not forget what kind of legacy Portugal would be leaving behind when the Territories under its administration attained self-determination. The petitioners had adequately described the atrocities practised by the Portuguese in those Territories and the lack of educational facilities there. Indeed, the parlous state of the system after nearly five centuries could be judged from information supplied by the Portuguese themselves, such as the reference to the fact that school children were beginning to help with the education of their younger fellow-pupils. If Portugal presented that fact as indicative of progress, he would hesitate to look more closely at what was hidden from view.

49. His delegation would earnestly appeal to the African States to lay careful plans for helping the Territories now under Portuguese administration when they had attained independence. All the petitioners agreed that the police and military authorities were subjecting the indigenous inhabitants to harsh treatment. It was not too early to consider plans for preserving law and order after independence and for ensuring that independence was not accompanied by chaos, for the forces of confusion might already have been at work. It was already fashionable to emphasize tribal differences in Mozambique and Angola and it was generally conceded that the independence movement lacked the unity of purpose that would help it to attain early success.

50. His delegation felt that a peaceful solution should be found to the ugly problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration and that nothing should be done that might hinder the removal of Portugal's iron grip from those Territories.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1963.