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**Chairman: Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO**  
(Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 54

**Non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV): report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1, A/C.4/582) (continued)**

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. HATTINGH (South Africa) said that he wished to make a statement in exercise of his right of reply. During the debate on the item under discussion several references had been made to his country which, in his delegation's opinion, were out of order. It felt that some of the misrepresentations that had been made should not go unchallenged.

2. As an example, he cited the references by several delegations to the labour recruited by South African agencies under the Mozambique Convention.<sup>1/</sup> The Mozambique Convention was a public document. It provided for the importation of 47.5 per cent of the total tonnage of commercial sea-borne goods traffic for the Transvaal industrial area through the port of Lourenço Marques. It also provided for the recruitment of labour in Mozambique for the South African gold mines. One representative, in questioning Mr. Mondlane, the petitioner from Mozambique, had used the term "forced labour" in connexion with the workers who were recruited for the South African mines. The petitioner had, however, made it clear that those workers presented themselves to the South African recruiting agencies and that their contracts with the mining companies could not be classified as forced labour. The use of that term had therefore been an attempt at misrepresentation; the fact was that the

<sup>1/</sup> Convention between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of the Portuguese Republic regulating the Introduction of Native Labour from Mozambique into the Province of the Transvaal, Railway Matters, and the Commercial Intercourse between the Union of South Africa and the Colony of Mozambique, signed at Pretoria on 11 September 1928. See League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. XCVIII (1930), No. 2239, p. 9.

workers from Mozambique, together with others employed by the mines, enjoyed the highest wages paid in Africa for the type of work performed, in addition to free accommodation, free medical care and hospital treatment, free clothing and free food based on a scientifically planned diet. South Africa was proud of the very modern and progressive working conditions in the South African gold mines and other industries. The use of foreign workers was, of course, a well-known practice elsewhere in Africa and in Europe and the rest of the world.

3. Of the over 400,000 workers employed by the mines, a considerable percentage was recruited from other countries in Africa with which South Africa had no formal agreement such as the Mozambique Convention. That export of labour to South Africa was of vital importance to the economies of many surrounding territories, in view of the remittances the workers sent to their home territories and the taxes levied by those territories on the income derived in South Africa.

4. Incidentally, in questioning the petitioner, Mr. Holden Roberto, the representative of Guinea, despite prompting and goading, had failed to elicit any evidence that South African arms were being used in the fighting in Angola.

5. Mr. PUREVJAL (Mongolia) said that although Portugal was a Member of the United Nations it was ignoring both United Nations resolutions and popular demands and continued to impose a régime of cruel exploitation and barbarous oppression on its African and Asian territories, on the transparent pretext that they were its "overseas provinces".

6. As could be seen from the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1), the fact that Portugal's colonies had been renamed overseas provinces had not improved the lot of the indigenous inhabitants. Portugal had done nothing to promote their progress and they were still subjected to appalling colonial oppression. The indigenous inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies lived a wretched and hopeless life. Portugal, which at the beginning of the fifteenth century had inaugurated the dark epoch of the slave trade, was now practising large-scale forced labour. In Mozambique alone approximately half a million persons were performing forced labour, while over 600,000 others were employed in inhuman conditions in the mines and other enterprises of South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Portugal derived vast profits from such trafficking in souls.

7. In the Portuguese colonies only persons of European descent and a handful of so-called "assimilados" enjoyed Portuguese citizenship. The bulk of the population had no rights and were subjected to extreme racial discrimination. The few members of the Portu-

guese Parliament who represented the colonial territories were persons of European descent representing the interests of the white plantation-owners and companies. Racial discrimination in the field of education had led to a situation in which over 90 per cent of the people were illiterate. The indigenous inhabitants were forbidden to establish political, cultural, educational and other public organizations or to publish newspapers. The colour of a worker's skin, and not his skill, determined his wages and the length of his working day. The people of the Portuguese territories were worse off now than before the Portuguese had come to their land.

8. It was legitimate and natural that the people of the Portuguese colonies, deprived of land and wealth, should seek freedom and independence. To the repeated peaceful overtures of the patriotic organizations, Portugal had replied by cruel repression and war. The colonial war in Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea had been going on for over two years. The Salazar Government, disregarding United Nations decisions, was engaged in the criminal activity of exterminating the indigenous inhabitants of Angola. The Portuguese colonialists' impudence could be explained by the support they received from their allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), who were supplying Portugal with arms and material for suppressing the national liberation movement of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. The reason for that support was to be sought in the control exercised by monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany over the mineral wealth, banking facilities, transport and seaports in the Portuguese colonies, whence they derived vast profits. The concessions granted to the foreign monopolies brought fabulous wealth to Portugal's ruling classes.

9. The Mongolian delegation, which resolutely condemned the criminal colonialist policy of the Portuguese Government, felt that it was high time that the United Nations took effective action to compel the Portuguese colonialists to respect United Nations decisions and satisfy the aspirations of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. As could be seen from the statements of petitioners and the Special Committee's report, the African patriotic organizations were ready to enter into negotiation with the Portuguese Government with a view to the transfer of powers to the people. If Portugal's rulers continued to ignore the popular demands and United Nations decisions, they would inevitably be overthrown by the mighty movement of the oppressed peoples, whose just cause enjoyed the support of progressive mankind as a whole.

10. The United Nations was in duty bound to ensure that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)) was applied in the territories under Portuguese administration. The Mongolian delegation hoped that at its current session the General Assembly would take decisive steps to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the peoples. It endorsed the observations, conclusions and recommendations in the Special Committee's report and felt that they should be reflected in the General Assembly's decisions.

11. As a first step, the NATO countries should stop supplying Portugal with weapons and military equipment, since the Portuguese Government's activities

in the territories under its administration created a serious threat to international peace and security.

12. The United Nations should demand that Portugal should immediately recognize the people's right to self-determination and independence, cease its military activities and measures of repression against the people of the colonies, withdraw its military forces, release all political prisoners and grant freedom of action to political parties. Such measures would create a favourable atmosphere for talks with the representatives of the indigenous inhabitants concerning the transfer of powers to freely elected representative organs.

13. The United Nations should resolutely condemn the actions of the Portuguese colonialists, recommend specific measures for the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and provide for decisive action, including sanctions, should Portugal refuse to comply with United Nations decisions.

14. The Mongolian delegation was also of the opinion that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), should focus its attention on the situation in the Portuguese colonies.

15. The Mongolian delegation would support any constructive proposals aimed at satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

16. Mr. N'GARABAYE (Chad) observed that the Portuguese had been the first Europeans to set foot on African soil. They had found there at first neither gold nor silver, but an inexhaustible supply of slaves, whom they had sold by thousands to the traders of North Africa and the colonists in America. Little by little the slave trade had become the mainspring of all colonial activity in Africa—of that of Portugal, to begin with, and later that of other European Powers. It had been said with truth that the fifteenth century had been the era of great discoveries. For the Africans, however, the period had been one of degradation and of the extermination of hundreds of thousands of men who had not survived the conditions in the Portuguese slave ships.

17. The members of the Committee, who had heard the petitioners, could easily imagine the sufferings of the black people in the territories administered by Portugal during the past five centuries. An attempt was being made to perpetuate that situation by means of a false doctrine that the Portuguese colonies were overseas provinces. The time had come to demolish that legend, which was being used to conceal manoeuvres designed to maintain over 12 million people in slavery. The United Nations could no longer remain deaf to the appeal of the people of the Portuguese territories. It was useless for the Portuguese to claim historic rights in Africa; those who had accepted the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination had already rejected that claim as baseless.

18. It had been truly said that the characteristic feature of the Portuguese colonial régime was to cover all its crimes and shortcomings with a mask of legality. Thus it was historically untrue to call Angola an overseas province. In reality it was nothing

but an enormous concentration camp. The indigenous inhabitants were no longer human beings but hunted beasts who were able to survive only thanks to their physical resistance to their oppressors. The revolution which had broken out in Angola in March 1961 had been the reply of the people of that territory to centuries of exploitation by their Portuguese oppressors.

19. The question which now arose was what steps the Committee should take to oblige the Portuguese Government to comply with the decisions of the General Assembly and to honour its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter. The negative attitude so far adopted by Portugal towards the principles of the Charter and its refusal to allow the peoples under its domination the right to live free, happy and dignified lives compelled the Committee to contemplate more vigorous steps to achieve the total liberation of those peoples.

20. His delegation considered that it was the duty of all the African States to oppose Portugal's colonialist practices. General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) called upon the Government of Portugal to consider the introduction of measures and reforms in Angola for the purpose of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The members of the Committee had read various reports on the situation in Angola, they had heard the petitioners and they had noted the fact that despite the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly Portugal had apparently no intention of complying with the terms of the Charter. They were convinced that the situation endangered the prestige of the United Nations. In view of those facts, economic sanctions must be applied to Portugal and it was the duty of the Fourth Committee to consider them without delay.

21. Mr. EL-MASRI (Libya) observed that while in recent years most of the colonized peoples and countries had achieved independence, the inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies were still being oppressed, exploited and enslaved. Since 1955 the United Nations had been endeavouring to induce the Portuguese Government to change its policy towards its colonies and to prepare their peoples for freedom, as most of the civilized colonial Powers had done. Instead, however, the Portuguese authorities had deprived the indigenous inhabitants of the territories of their human and political rights and denied their legitimate aspirations. The miserable conditions in which the inhabitants of the Portuguese territories lived had not changed for over a hundred years. Portugal had done everything in its power to keep the inhabitants of her colonies in the darkness of illiteracy and at a low level of living, so that it might continue to exploit the natural and human resources of the territories. There was consequently a deep feeling of dissatisfaction among the people and as long as their political and civil rights were denied there could be no peaceful or just solution to the problem of the Portuguese territories.

22. In Angola the Portuguese authorities had been waging a colonial war against the peaceful inhabitants of the country for the purpose of exterminating the few educated Africans in order to destroy the leadership of the people and hinder their emancipation. Over 30,000 African men, women and children had been killed. The struggle of the people of Angola for liberation was one aspect of the determination of the entire African continent to free itself once and

for all from subjugation and dependence. The Libyan people and Government offered the people of Angola and all the peoples still under Portuguese rule their active and fraternal support and sympathy for their just cause.

23. Portugal's non-compliance with the Charter and defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly should not be tolerated. It was the duty of the United Nations to continue to support the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and to help them in their struggle for dignity, freedom and independence. The General Assembly should call upon Portugal's allies to refrain from supplying that country with arms and weapons which were being used for the suppression of the liberation movements in Angola, and the other colonies. It was to be hoped that Portugal's allies would consider that aspect of the problem, taking into account the aspirations and legitimate rights of the peoples under Portuguese domination. The United Nations should seize every chance and try by every possible means to save those territories from tyranny and slavery and secure their right of self-determination.

24. He congratulated the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration on the work it had done despite the difficulties it had encountered, including the lack of co-operation of the Portuguese Government. His delegation entirely supported the Committee's conclusions and recommendations.

25. His delegation would support any action or resolution by the General Assembly along the lines he had mentioned, in the hope that the Portuguese Government might decide to co-operate with the United Nations and to grant the peoples of its colonies the right to self-determination, in accordance with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

26. Mr. LEMA (Congo, Leopoldville) observed that the problem before the Committee was in many ways similar to the two items with which it had already dealt, for the intransigence, obstinacy and arrogance of the Portuguese Government resembled the attitude of the United Kingdom Government with regard to Southern Rhodesia and that of the South African Government with regard to South West Africa.

27. His delegation had read with interest the report (A/5160 and Corr.1) of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese administration, which had made a thorough and objective study of the subject. It found the Committee's observations and conclusions alarming and its recommendations wise and urgent.

28. He must express his Government's indignation at the facts and events for which Portugal alone was responsible. While modern nations were transferring power to the former colonized peoples, Portugal refused not only to recognize the right of the peoples under its domination to self-determination but even to transmit information in accordance with Article 73 of the Charter.

29. It was clear from the report of the Special Committee that the legal trickery by which the Portuguese Government was endeavouring to escape its responsibilities by claiming that its overseas territories were Portuguese provinces had had no practical effect on the development of the colonies. Apart from a few privileged people, the indigenous people

had no more freedom than they had ever had; on the contrary, repression was better organized and on a larger scale than in the past.

30. It was impossible to believe the assertion that the evolution of the Portuguese colonies would be different from that of other colonies. The only difference was that Portuguese colonialism had hardly progressed beyond the mediaeval stage and was maintained by force of arms. Nor could it be thought that the situation could be improved by Portugal, which was itself a poor country. Its revenue depended on the exploitation of its colonies, whose economy depended in turn on the cheap labour of Africans in the mines and plantations.

31. In view of Portugal's poverty and the enormous expenditure required for the upkeep of a colonial army of some 200,000 men, Portugal would have been unable to maintain itself in Africa without the assistance of other foreign countries. The Special Committee had demonstrated the unfortunate effects of the military, economic and financial assistance given to Portugal by certain allies and used to the detriment of the African populations. Those States could not escape responsibility by invoking the so-called guarantees given by the Portuguese Government that the arms and munitions they provided would not be used in Africa: Portugal had used arms supplied by its allies in its colonies, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, in the past and it was still doing so. It was idle to pretend that Portugal could maintain 120,000 troops in Angola and 40,000 in Mozambique from its own resources. Portugal was clearly able to continue its wars of repression and genocide only because it was helped to do so. One of Portugal's European partners had recently granted substantial assistance to the Portuguese Government; according to information in his delegation's possession, which had not been denied by the Government in question, Portugal had a few months earlier obtained a loan of \$250 million.

32. The situation in the Portuguese territories called for immediate action. Although the Portuguese Government had again refused to co-operate with the United Nations, the Special Committee had submitted a complete and circumstantial report. It had studied the problem as a whole; its report gave not only the information for which the General Assembly had asked but a general view of the situation in the territories in relation to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. There was open conflict between the local people and the Portuguese. The inhabitants of the territories lived in a state of acute tension. Their aspirations for self-government and independence had been denied by the colonizers and they now wished for nothing less than total independence.

33. Portugal's aim was to "assimilate" the African inhabitants at all costs. The reforms it introduced or promised to introduce were in fact extremely limited and a legal study of the constitutional laws showed that no essential change had taken place since the so-called reforms.

34. His delegation was grateful to the Special Committee for showing that a peaceful solution of the conflict was still possible. If Portugal were voluntarily to open the way to independence for the peoples under its domination, those peoples would not refuse to co-operate with it, but it was unlikely that there

could be any friendship if the Africans were obliged to conduct a long and arduous struggle for liberation. His delegation hoped that the first alternative would prove possible.

35. The duty of the United Nations was plain. It should not merely appeal to the Portuguese Government once again but should take effective steps to prevent the continued supply of arms and ammunition to Portugal and to establish United Nations supervision to ensure observance of that decision. His delegation would support any draft resolution which would oblige Portugal to respect the right to independence of the peoples under its administration. It would refuse to support any draft resolution which offered support to the Portuguese Government.

36. Mr. SHABA (Tanganyika) said that large numbers of refugees from Mozambique had sought refuge in his country, thus revealing the horrifying conditions prevailing in that territory under Portuguese administration, which had seen no progress despite centuries of Portuguese colonial rule. The exodus of refugees from Mozambique had been intensified after Tanganyika had become independent. In his capacity as a Member of Parliament, he had received a first-hand account from a Tanganyikan herbalist of the cruel treatment meted out to the Africans. The herbalist had gone to practise his art in Mozambique, where he had been arrested together with the people who had sought his advice. He had escaped after three months in prison. The case of the herbalist was not an isolated one.

37. The deplorable conditions in Angola and the Portuguese Government's ruthless policy, which could only be called a policy of extermination, had made it impossible for Tanganyika to maintain diplomatic relations with Portugal. Although Portugal had for centuries prided itself on its so-called civilizing mission, its colonial record had been characterized by slavery, oppression, denial of human rights, forced labour and other iniquities. The Portuguese were seeking to attach the label of "terrorist" to those engaged in the national struggle, but the world knew that those people were dying in the cause of freedom and basic human rights.

38. He thanked the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration for its report (A/5160 and Corr.1), which had added to the corpus of knowledge about conditions in the Portuguese territories.

39. It was clear beyond doubt that Portugal, a tiny and weak country, would have yielded long ago were it not for the fact that some countries, especially the NATO Powers, were helping it. Colonial exploitation was an anachronism in the mid-twentieth century. Yet the Portuguese authorities were still contracting African labour for the settler plantations and for South African mines. The Convention with South Africa concerning Mozambique was a glaring example of co-ordinated exploitation and enslavement. Portugal and its allies should realize that the Africans were determined to liquidate the remnants of foreign rule. The myth that any portion of African soil could be the appendage of Portugal or any other country or group of countries should be abandoned.

40. Concerted United Nations action could help to alleviate the suffering of the people. Pressure should be brought to bear upon Portugal to make it abandon its policies, which in any event would lead to defeat.

Portugal's allies could help greatly if they stopped supplying arms to Portugal. As had happened in Algeria, victory would lie with the nationalist forces, whatever price they had to pay for it.

41. The Tanganyikan delegation urged the United Nations to give all possible help to the nationalist forces and to the helpless and oppressed masses of the indigenous inhabitants in their suffering and struggle for their legitimate aspirations: freedom, independence and human dignity.

42. Mr. MARSH (Jamaica) observed that, although the item before the Committee was strictly legal, the problem was both political and legal. In the long run the Portuguese Government would be unable to resist the wind of change in Africa, however hard it might try.

43. He found it difficult to understand how Portugal, which had made no great contribution to civilization since the days of Magellan and Vasco da Gama and whose own people had a lower standard of literacy than that obtaining in many former United Kingdom and French territories, was capable of any civilizing mission. Again, it was obvious that Portugal, which needed help for the development of the metropolitan territory itself, could not spare any resources for the development of its African territories. In the circumstances it was not surprising that the Portuguese authorities continued their nefarious traffic of souls to the South African gold mines, which constituted one of the most blatant violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

44. The Portuguese Government had consistently refused to co-operate with the United Nations and had even failed to enforce the laws which it had itself promulgated *prima facie* with a view to enabling the Africans to participate in the political life of the territories. His delegation would urge that Government to ponder on the Christian heritage which it professed to uphold and to apply Christian principles to the areas in Africa under its administration. If that was not a sufficient reason for constructive action, he would remind Portugal that it could not afford the cost of a bitter struggle with the peoples of Africa which, whatever its outcome, could bring Portugal neither honour nor glory.

45. Mr. SZILAGYI (Hungary) observed that, according to Portugal, that country had no colonies and its metropolitan territory covered an area of 2 million square kilometres extending into several continents and containing a happy population of more than 21 million. The fact was, however, that the so-called overseas provinces were colonies in the worst sense of the word. One of the reasons why Portugal denied the colonial status of those areas was to give it a pretext to avoid transmitting information to the United Nations under Article 73 of the Charter. Portugal was not anxious that the conditions in which the indigenous peoples lived under the fascist system prevailing in its colonies should become known.

46. In recent years, questions relating to Portuguese colonies had frequently been before the United Nations and even some of Portugal's principal allies had felt obliged to condemn its colonial policies. Portugal's exploitation and degradation of the people of its territories was rendered still more odious by its efforts to present its colonial rule as an endeavour to bring civilization to those people. As had been rightly pointed out in the draft declaration on

the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (A/4502) submitted by the Soviet Union at the General Assembly's fifteenth session, all that Portugal had brought to its African colonies was poverty and oppression.

47. The history of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies was an eloquent indictment of colonialism; it was not, however, the Portuguese colonizers alone who were guilty but also those who provided them with weapons and other assistance. It was well known that the United States imported raw materials of strategic importance from the Portuguese colonies. United States and United Kingdom monopolistic concerns exploited the mineral resources of Angola and made use of the seaports of Angola and Mozambique for the transport of raw materials from other central African areas. The liberation movements unfolding in the Portuguese colonies threatened the enormous profits made by such concerns. The attitude of the colonial Powers was governed not only by economic considerations but also by Portugal's membership in NATO. It was clear that without assistance provided through NATO, Portugal, one of the most backward countries of Europe, would not be able to keep millions of Africans in subjection.

48. In 1904, a roving reporter had visited Angola on behalf of *Harper's Magazine* and had discovered that slavery had survived there in the form of forced labour, and that so-called contract workers were being shipped from Angola to São Tomé. It had subsequently been revealed that about 100,000 such workers had died on São Tomé between 1870 and 1900. During the same period a similar system of forced labour was being developed in Mozambique, where labour was recruited for South African farms and mines. A report presented to the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations in 1925 had described the system of forced labour then existing in Angola as worse than the older domestic slavery.

49. In 1954, Mr. Basil Davidson of the United Kingdom Labour Party had visited Angola and had revealed that the authorities were still forcibly recruiting workers for private employers. The Portuguese Government had tried to refute his revelations. However, Mr. Henrique Galvão, a former friend of Mr. Salazar, had described forced labour in Angola in similar terms in a report which he had submitted as Inspector-General of Angola—and as a result of which he had been sentenced to sixteen years' penal servitude. Mr. Galvão had pointed out that the situation was in many respects worse than slavery since the indigenous worker was not purchased but hired from the State and could easily be replaced.

50. The conditions prevailing in the Portuguese colonies were already well known both to the United Nations and to world public opinion. His delegation would therefore be unable to support any proposal for the United Nations, the President of the General Assembly or any subsidiary body of the United Nations to send a representative to investigate conditions in those colonies. Such a step would only enable the colonialists to gain time and further to delay the independence of the territories. The petitioners who had appeared before the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and the Fourth Committee had requested United Nations intervention

to secure self-determination and independence for the territories under Portuguese rule. The shameful colonial system could not be allowed to remain in existence and the question of the liquidation of colonialism was hardly less important than the question of war and peace, with which it was closely related. The Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) should be asked to consider what steps should be taken to bring it to an end.

51. Particular responsibility lay with Portugal's allies, which should use their influence to persuade that country to abandon its colonial policies. Portugal could still save the situation by acting on the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1). If it failed to do so, the only course open to the General Assembly would be to request the Security Council to take appropriate action and, if necessary, to apply sanctions in order to ensure that the resolutions of the United Nations were implemented.

52. Mr. EL-SHAFEI (United Arab Republic) said that his delegation regretted that the Government of Portugal had not heeded the appeals many delegations had made to it at the previous session to co-operate with the United Nations and comply with the provisions of the Charter and with the relevant General Assembly resolutions. The establishment of the Special Committee on the Territories under Portuguese Administration had provided a good opportunity for the Government of Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations in reaching a peaceful solution. The Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, had raised doubts regarding the legality of a United Nations body hearing petitioners and visiting a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Nevertheless neither the Charter nor the rules of procedure in any way restricted the authority of the General Assembly in those respects. The Portuguese Government could have regarded a visit by a United Nations body as part of a diplomatic effort to reach agreement. In fact, however, while extending an oral invitation to the Committee to visit Angola, it had specifically excluded two members of the Committee. Such discrimination against representatives of two Member States seemed to show that the invitation had been nothing but a manoeuvre and not a genuine offer. Whatever the stand of the Portuguese might be in the future, the United Nations could not agree that in any future missions only representatives of that Government's own choice should be entitled to take part.

53. The Minister for Overseas Portugal had made a speech at Oporto on 28 August 1961, a few days before the introduction of the so-called reforms in the territories administered by Portugal. He had spoken of the missionary responsibility of Portugal and of the tremendous benefits that the African territories had derived from their integration in one political unit with a European people. He had referred to the efforts made by the European parts of that amalgamated country in supplying the territories with technical, educational and financial assistance.

54. The Minister had explained a formula practised in the past by individual Portuguese which had later been endorsed by the State, namely, the promotion of the permanent settlement of European Portuguese in overseas lands. The Portuguese Government be-

lieved that Europeans settled in African territories served the common interest better than persons engaged on a mercenary basis either through an international organization or under bilateral agreements. The Minister had admitted that that was a continuation of Portugal's past policy. For that purpose legislation to establish provincial settlement boards had been enacted and boards had immediately been set up in Angola and Mozambique to help to create conditions for the implementation of settlement programmes. Further legislation, relating to the granting of land concessions in the overseas territories, had been designed to meet the problem of preparing land for future settlers. The remainder of the new legislation introduced in the Portuguese territories on 6 September 1961 had dealt with the adaptation of social conditions in the territories to the colonial relationship, which always tended to enforce Portuguese sovereignty. The Portuguese official view was that multiracial integration was the best solution; in fact the Portuguese even claimed that without that policy there would be neither peace nor civilization in Africa.

55. Those developments had coincided with the movements of national liberation, which bore witness to the volume and strength of the collective awareness of Africans. The struggle for independence had only one purpose for the African peoples: to acquire the means by which they could solve their problems as human beings, fully conscious of their responsibilities.

56. Portugal argued that there was a solid relationship between what it called continental Portugal and its overseas territories and that that interdependence should continue, since the overseas territories could not stand alone. If that were in fact true, a relationship between the two could still exist, but on a friendly basis of mutual respect and in an atmosphere of freedom. It was vain to hope that Africans would evolve according to any specific formula which might be imposed upon them against their own wishes and convictions. It was equally fruitless to talk of protecting or civilizing Africans while at the same time perpetuating inequalities by maintaining differences in the peoples' living conditions.

57. In addition to the large-scale settlement plans, new legislation had been enacted during the past two years for the purpose of achieving closer integration of the economies of the overseas territories with Portugal through the establishment of a direct common market. Such complete integration stood in the way of any industrial development and had led the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration to state in paragraph 326 of its report (A/5160 and Corr.1) that one of the main objectives of that common market would evidently be to ensure the continuation of the existing colonial trade relations between Portugal and the overseas territories.

58. He congratulated the members of the Special Committee on the study they had submitted of conditions in the territories administered by Portugal, the first of its kind to be submitted to the United Nations. The information in the report showed that the situation in the African territories under Portuguese administration warranted the serious concern of the international community. An atmosphere of tension and insecurity pervaded the daily lives of the indigenous inhabitants; the denial of their rightful aspirations had led to deteriorating relationships

between them and Portugal; they enjoyed no civic rights and discrimination against them had not been abolished. Educational and health facilities were inadequate and should be expanded without delay. In the labour field immediate steps should be taken to give Africans a full share in the management of affairs through fully organized labour unions.

59. Although any progress in the economic, social and educational fields usually required considerable time even if the necessary resources were available, he hoped that the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as also individual Member States, would be willing to help the peoples and territories under Portuguese administration.

60. There were, however, alarming aspects of the problems confronting the indigenous population in the Portuguese territories, the chief of which was the shipment of arms and the concentration of military forces for the repression of the people. The General Assembly could not remain indifferent to the consequences of a policy of terror and oppression which had already led to an exodus of hundreds of thousands of refugees to neighbouring countries. Before those refugees could return, the General Assembly must ensure the establishment of normal political and social conditions.

61. His delegation had been much impressed by the moderation and sense of responsibility of the political leaders of the various nationalist movements representing the indigenous people of all the territories administered by Portugal. In view of the need for the creation of stable conditions and peaceful and friendly relations, he appealed to the Government of Portugal to change its attitude and to recognize immediately the right of all the inhabitants of its colonies to self-determination. The leaders of the indigenous people were willing to negotiate with the Portuguese Government for the orderly transfer of powers and sovereign rights. The United Nations could assist in such negotiations and in improving conditions so that the transfer of power could be effective and rapid.

62. He trusted that the Member States which continued to supply Portugal with military equipment would cease to do so and would ensure that such arms as had already been supplied were no longer used in Angola or other territories under Portuguese administration.

63. Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia) said that his delegation agreed in principle with the conclusions and recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration. The Special Committee had produced a comprehensive report on the situation in the Portuguese colonies, in spite of Portugal's failure to co-operate and of the refusal of the United Kingdom Government to allow the Committee to interview petitioners in territories under its administration.

64. It was clear that Portugal had taken no steps toward the liberation of its colonies and had no intention of implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. What was more, it had shown its contempt for the Charter by refusing to comply with its obligation to transmit information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration, an obligation confirmed by resolution 1542 (XV). The situation had been in no way altered when Portugal, realizing that

open colonialism was no longer tolerable, had decided in 1951 to rename its colonies "overseas provinces".

65. The situation prevailing in the Portuguese colonies presented a sad picture. According to the latest UNESCO figures, the percentage of illiterates was 99 per cent in Portuguese Guinea, 98 per cent in Mozambique, 97 per cent in Angola, 87 per cent in São Tomé and Príncipe, and 79 per cent in Cape Verde. A brutal system of forced labour remained in existence and was legalized by article 146 of the Portuguese Constitution and by the Native Labour Code of 1928, which was in force in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. In his book The African Awakening,<sup>2/</sup> Mr. Basil Davidson, of the United Kingdom, had written that the economy of Angola was based on forced labour and that one third of the adult male population of that territory were subject to the system of forced labour. Conclusive facts on the existence of slave labour had also been presented recently by the International Labour Organisation.

66. The economic life of the Portuguese colonies was governed by the interests of foreign monopolies whose profits were dependent on slave labour and on the preservation of the existing semi-feudal order. Such companies included the Diamond Company of Angola, representing joint United States, United Kingdom and Belgian interests and various United States oil concerns; moreover, a consortium recently formed for the exploitation of mineral wealth in Angola included the company Krupp, of the Federal Republic of Germany, which had actively supported the building up of Nazi Germany.

67. Portuguese colonial policy was based on the doctrine of "assimilation", which in turn was based on the theory of the inferiority of the black peoples of Africa. The latter theory did not take into account historical facts such as the existence of the empire of Ghana in the ninth century and the powerful State of Monomotapa in the sixteenth century. An African was considered "civilized" and could become an "assimilado" if he could show that he was materially secure, had a European way of life, paid taxes, had served in the army and could read and write Portuguese. It might be asked how many Portuguese themselves could be considered civilized according to those criteria.

68. It would certainly be impossible for the hated régime in the Portuguese colonies to survive without the military aid granted to Portugal by its allies in NATO. Without such support a backward country like Portugal could not afford expensive colonial wars. In that connexion, on 28 October 1962 The Observer of London had drawn attention to the relationship between the United States military bases in the Azores and United States support for Portugal's colonial policy.

69. Portugal's denial of the right of the people to independence had created a dangerous situation in Africa; the war in Angola had already claimed tens of thousands of victims and unless resolute measures were taken immediately similar wars might erupt in other Portuguese colonies. Portugal must be compelled to end its colonial war in Angola and to grant independence to all its colonies in accordance with the Declaration on the granting of independence to

<sup>2/</sup> London, Jonathan Cape, 1955.

colonial countries and peoples. Only thus could the economic and cultural prosperity of the peoples of those territories be ensured.

70. Mr. ALLOUNI (Syria) observed that at a time when most of the colonial Powers were liquidating their empires, Portugal was tightening its grip on its colonies. Under the Organic Law for Overseas Portugal, the Portuguese colonies had been formally pronounced provinces of the Portuguese nation. That change had meant no improvement in the lot of the African population.

71. Portuguese colonial policy had always been based on the view that colonization was a complete cultural, economic, political and religious process, aimed at the assimilation of the indigenous people. Such a policy had been attempted before without success in countries which were now Members of the United Nations. Portugal, too, had now found itself caught up in the uncertainties of present-day international politics.

72. Portugal's non-compliance with its obligations under the Charter, together with its disregard of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the military measures being carried out in Angola, Mozambique and other territories, had created a situation which represented a serious threat to international peace and security. The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration had recommended that a unit of the General Assembly should be set up to study developments in the territories under Portuguese administration. The Committee's report emphasized the seriousness of the situation in view of the deep dissatisfaction of the people with their conditions and Portugal's determination to suppress all manifestations of political awareness.

73. His delegation would support any resolution that would ensure Portugal's compliance with the Charter and with the General Assembly's decisions. Such a resolution should also call upon the Portuguese Government to desist immediately from armed action against the people under its administration, urge it to release all political prisoners, to lift the ban on political parties, and to undertake political, economic and social measures leading to the creation of representative institutions and the transfer of all powers to the people. Finally, the resolution should request Member States to deny Portugal any assistance which might be used in the suppression of the peoples of its territories.

74. Mr. SOKOLOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the crux of the problem before the Committee was not Portugal's attitude towards its obligation under the Charter to transmit information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration. Such an approach had by now become obsolete and had no importance in principle. Moreover, despite an attempt by the Portuguese colonialists to conceal the truth, world public opinion was now well aware of the tragic and unbearable conditions in which the indigenous inhabitants were living. The issue with which the United Nations should now be concerned was how long Portugal, a State Member of the United Nations, would continue to ignore all United Nations decisions, including its historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

75. The United Nations was faced with the urgent task of determining the fate of the more than 12 million inhabitants of the Portuguese colonial possessions, now languishing under a most shameful yoke. Driven to despair, the people of those territories looked to the United Nations as their last hope of obtaining freedom by peaceful means. Tension in the Portuguese colonies had reached the breaking point and urgent United Nations intervention was necessary. His delegation was most concerned at the fact that the United Nations had not taken any specific steps to influence Portugal, despite the latter's blatant disregard of the fundamental provisions of the Charter. He did not think that any member of the Committee entertained any doubts concerning the legal status of the territories which Portugal, in 1951, had declared to be its overseas provinces. It was also obvious that the time for persuasion and appeals had passed and that specific action was required. In all questions relating to the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the United Nations should consistently uphold its sacred mission, which was to liberate the peoples from that shameful system. It would be a crime against mankind to condone the humiliation and violence to which the colonialists were subjecting the indigenous inhabitants.

76. The detailed and circumstantial report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration had adduced numerous facts confirming the existence in those territories of the most degrading racial discrimination, complete absence of freedom, large-scale forced labour and cruel military and police terror. The petitioners from Cabinda and Mozambique whom the Committee had heard had painted a terrifying picture of poverty, disease, slave labour, corporal punishment, disenfranchisement, raids by Portuguese soldiers on peaceful villages and brutal violence. The fact that half Cabinda's population had been forced to flee spoke for itself.

77. In point of fact Portugal had already declared war on the peoples of its colonies. The feverish construction of airfields and other military installations and the maintenance of a large army was a heavy burden for a small country like Portugal, but that country could rely on help from its NATO allies. It was common knowledge that it was NATO arms that Portugal had been using for suppressing the movement of the people striving for independence. For that reason the Byelorussian delegation attached particular importance to the conclusion in paragraph 439 of the Special Committee's report.

78. The tragedy of the situation lay in the fact that the Portuguese colonies in Africa were part of the empire of the mining concerns and other monopolies dominated by capital from the main NATO Powers. That fact underlay all the open and secret agreements between the Governments of South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Portugal and the support extended by the countries to which loot from the exploitation of the people and the natural wealth of those territories was flowing. Strong in the support it was receiving from its allies in NATO and the "unholy alliance", Portugal went so far as to accuse the United Nations of violating the Charter.

79. The open and secret support which the Portuguese colonialists were receiving from their allies

complicated the solution of the problem of the territories under Portuguese administration. As could be seen, for instance, from the statement the United States representative had made at the 95th meeting of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI),<sup>3/</sup> during the debate on the question of Mozambique, Portugal had defenders even in the United Nations itself. His delegation was not convinced by the United States representative's arguments that Portugal had quickly responded to the United Nations appeal to carry out reforms in its territories. Those so-called reforms had been enacted without any consultation of the indigenous inhabitants; their interests had not been taken into account and their lot had not been improved. The reforms had been intended merely to mislead public opinion. The point at issue was not the enactment of colonialist reforms, however far-reaching, but the granting of independence to the colonial peoples.

80. In view of the intolerable situation in the Portuguese colonies, the United Nations must take urgent

<sup>3/</sup> See A/AC.109/SR.95.

and effective steps to prevent the mounting threat to peace and security in that area. The Committee was in duty bound to take decisions likely to curb the Portuguese colonialists and ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Portugal should immediately put an end to its policy of repression and terror, should grant an amnesty to detained political leaders and repeal all restrictions on the activity of African political parties. It should withdraw all its military and paramilitary units from those territories, dismantle its military bases and take steps for the transfer of full powers to the indigenous inhabitants. Any assistance to the Portuguese Government which could be used for the suppression of the people in the territories under Portuguese administration should be stopped immediately and any future sales or supply of weapons and equipment to Portugal should be prohibited.

81. The Byelorussian delegation would support any decision likely to contribute to the early attainment of independence by the territories under Portuguese administration.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.