

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1776th
MEETING**

Tuesday, 29 October 1968,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. P. V. J. SOLOMON
(Trinidad and Tobago).

AGENDA ITEM 65

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration: 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 (*continued*) (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VIII)

GENERAL DEBATE

1. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania) recalled that the General Assembly, in resolution 2270 (XXII), had strongly condemned "the colonial war being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peaceful peoples of the Territories under its domination, which constitutes a crime against humanity and a grave threat to international peace and security". His sole intention in citing that paragraph of the resolution was to focus attention on the main problem under discussion, namely, the fact that an armed struggle was under way for the liberation of those Territories. At the same time, the problem must be considered against the background of the situation prevailing in the whole of southern Africa, where the African peoples had been robbed of their legitimate rights by racist settlers and were being continuously exploited and repressed by brute force. The evidence submitted by the petitioners was of supreme importance, not only as a chronicle of events but as the expression of the oppressed masses in revolt against the criminal practices of colonialism. The debates in the General Assembly and in other international institutions had made the facts of Portuguese colonial aggression in

Africa perfectly clear; only the supporters of imperialism attempted to question those facts. That, however, might be no more than an expression of their unwillingness to face the fact that the final victory of the people was inevitable.

2. It must be stressed yet again that colonialism, whatever its form might be, was not, and never had been, a civilizing mission. Colonialism was an inhuman and ruthless economic system which was used to enrich the capitalist monopolies of the industrialized nations of western Europe and North America. It was ironical, therefore, that the self-styled champions of democracy and equality were shamelessly supporting the most barbaric forms of colonial repression in Africa. The African countries, conscious of their duty, must make their position clear with regard to those States.

3. The Portuguese colonialists, being the tools of international imperialism, had leased large tracts of land to the capitalist monopolies, whom they allowed not only to exploit the natural resources but to exercise direct control over the lives of African peasants and rural workers. Thus it was that, in many regions, there was the anomalous situation of juxtaposed authorities: on the one hand the Portuguese colonial régime and, on the other, the foreign monopolies empowered to force men, women and even children to work the stolen lands. He quoted, in support of his remarks, an article by Mr. Chikomuami Mahala in the publication *Africa South*, which stated that: "... the land is largely divided into huge concessions and plantations which belong solely to Europeans and produce the main export crops. The concessions are vast regions of small-holdings in which the peasants are compelled to produce a predetermined quota, assessed and imposed by the administration... The planters put their demands to the administrative authorities and these are responsible for forcibly recruiting enough labour in the village to satisfy the demand...".

4. Such was the situation prevailing in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Furthermore, there was evidence that the monopolies did not confine themselves to exploiting the human and material resources of the Territories but that in some cases they employed bloodthirsty gangsters worse than the nazi Gestapo.

5. He did not think it necessary, at the present time, to make a detailed analysis of the activities of the foreign capitalist monopolies in those Territories. Those activities were fully reflected in the report of the Special Committee (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VIII). It was clear that the practices of those monopolies had been, and still were, the main factor in the process of dispossession of the African people and in the introduction of the form of *apartheid* which

prevailed in those Territories. Not content with that, the Portuguese had intensified the occupation and settlement of what little land remained in African hands. To that end they had embarked on a programme of "regrouping" of the African population, in a manner comparable to the "Bantustan" system practised by the Pretoria régime or to the measures which had been applied against the Indians in the United States of America. The gravity of the situation was reflected in the statement that: "As the African population of Angola in 1967 was about 5 million and the European population probably around 300,000, . . . the average European *per capita* occupation of land is sixty times that of Africans" (*ibid.*, annex II, para. 76).

6. The fact that the monopolies operating in those Territories originated from such Western countries as the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Belgium, as well as South Africa, was merely a reflection of the grouping of the forces which supported Portugal and undermined the legitimate interests and aspirations of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

7. In resolution 2270 (XXII), the General Assembly requested all States, particularly the military allies of Portugal in NATO,

"To desist forthwith from giving the Government of Portugal any assistance, including the training of Portuguese military personnel within or outside the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which encourages that Government to continue its repression of the African people in the Territories under its domination".

8. Despite the hopes of some Member States, the attitude of Portugal's allies had not changed. On the contrary, those allies were still giving Portugal military aid by supplying arms and training its troops (see *ibid.*, annex I, paras. 27-29). The activities of Portugal's military allies showed a clear defiance of United Nations decisions. The forces showing such defiance were the very forces that were advising the United Nations to exercise caution in dealing with the Portuguese colonial aggressors. The African peoples were well aware that the military aid which Portugal received was not for European defence, for Portugal had no enemies in Europe.

9. The African peoples wanted peace, but not peace at any price, based on the submission of colonial territories to the conspiracy of international imperialism. Portugal was part of the triangle of the "unholy alliance" together with the racist régime of South Africa and that foster-child of British imperialism, the white minority racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. It was a fact that the fruits of the exploitation of the African masses in that region played an important part in the economy of many Western countries, which in turn assisted Portugal. History showed that, in the establishment of Western hegemony in America and in Africa, millions of human beings had been exterminated. The same policy was now being followed by Portugal in its colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). He could not but draw the Committee's attention to the serious situation prevailing throughout southern Africa and express the hope that the current debate would focus attention on the

defiant attitude of Portugal's allies. In that regard, the petitioners had given ample evidence in support of their accusations against those who supported the Portuguese colonialists in their war of genocide.

10. There was another serious aspect of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination, an aspect which had been considered by the Security Council and the General Assembly. In perpetrating their crimes against humanity, the Portuguese aggressors were attacking independent States such as Senegal, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania, thus threatening international peace. He strongly condemned such provocations and declared that the countries attacked would continue to defend themselves. It was clear that the Portuguese colonialists, in collusion with the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria and the racist white minority of Salisbury, were seeking to strengthen the rule of international imperialism by integrating the whole of southern Africa economically, politically and militarily.

11. He wondered what attitude the Western countries would adopt when faced with the mounting resistance of the oppressed peoples. Those countries were assuming a grave responsibility, for which they would be answerable to history. The peace-loving peoples had called for restitution of the legitimate rights of the African peoples; the Portuguese imperialists had replied with repression and warfare. The peace-loving peoples had called for the elimination of colonialism and exploitation; the Portuguese and their allies had replied with aggression. The peoples of Africa, in the present instance the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), had expressed their determination to free their countries and had gone to war as the only legitimate way to achieve that objective. The degree of violence with which the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) would be achieved would depend on the colonial aggressors and the forces of imperialism. Tanzania, for its part, would spare no efforts to bring about final victory over the colonialists. He reiterated his country's full support for the heroic peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). As that was also the attitude of the majority of the Members of the United Nations, his delegation was prepared to join with all who wished to recommend appropriate action in order to help the people of those Territories to put an early end to the crimes against humanity which the Portuguese were committing in Africa.

12. Mr. KARA-TERKI (Algeria) thanked the petitioners for the visual evidence which they had shown to the Committee at the 1773rd and 1775th meetings. Such evidence confirmed the fears of many delegations and called for swift and decisive action to put an end to the situation prevailing in southern Africa.

13. In spite of the efforts deployed by the United Nations, Portugal continued to ignore its many decisions calling for the independence of the Territories under Portuguese administration. The most alarming feature was that the administering Power had no scruples about using those Territories as a base from which to attack independent African States, thus threatening international peace. Furthermore, in order to consolidate its colonial domination, Portugal had formed an alliance with the racist

minorities of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, an alliance which rendered entire peoples defenceless.

14. NATO continued to assist the Portuguese Government, thus enabling it to carry out its policy of repression. Some Powers were not only giving military aid to the Lisbon régime, but were associated with it in exploiting the natural resources of the colonized regions. Moreover, Portuguese colonialism was trying to establish a new order to maintain itself in power and had even put forward the idea of a Luso-African community so that it might more easily destroy the revolutionary spirit which the achievement of independence by many African States had engendered.

15. The Lisbon Government persisted in its fantastic idea that the Territories under its administration were part of the Portuguese State, but even that would not enable a colonial Power to suppress the personality of an entire people. Portugal would obviously be unable to resist the noble struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were it not for the complicity of the Salisbury and Pretoria régimes. It was the duty of all to redouble their efforts to force the administering Power to refrain from all acts of repression and to establish the necessary conditions to enable the peoples under its domination to achieve independence.

16. Portugal's colonial policy had not changed one iota; that country constantly defied the United Nations. No effort should be spared to put an end to such arrogance and to support the claims of the Africans in the Territories. The Committee, for its part, should draw the Security Council's attention to the gravity of the situation and to the consequences of the strengthening of the colonialist bloc in southern Africa, which was a threat to international peace and security. All the means provided in the Charter of the

United Nations, in particular the provisions of Chapter VII, should be used in order to meet the growing danger. The Committee should also recommend all States to intensify their moral and material support for the nationalist movements, for since the United Nations had failed in its obligations—as was demonstrated by the fact that Portugal was continuing its repressive military activities—it was only the struggle waged by those movements which could change the situation and prevent the outbreak of a racial war in Africa.

17. He reiterated his country's full support for the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau); Algeria would continue to give them material assistance until they achieved freedom and independence.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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: Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/C.4/L.909)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION *A/C.4/L.909 (continued)*

18. The CHAIRMAN said that Chad, Cyprus, Dahomey, Kuwait and Morocco had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution appearing in document A/C.4/L.909.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.