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TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

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FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1644th  
MEETING

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*Chairman: Mr. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed (Sudan).*

### Requests for hearings (continued)

#### REQUEST CONCERNING FRENCH SOMALILAND (AGENDA ITEM 23) (A/C.4/676)

1. The CHAIRMAN said that the Commission had before it four requests for hearings which had been circulated in accordance with the decision taken at the previous meeting. The first of those requests, concerning French Somaliland, was from Mr. Ali Ahmed Udun, Mr. Abdurahman Ahmed Hassan Gabot, Mr. Mohamed Dahan, Mr. Ibrahim Dahir Egeh and Mr. Omar Oboubakar of the Front de libération de la Côte française des Somalis (FLCS) (A/C.4/676). If there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee agreed to grant that request.

*It was so decided.*

#### REQUESTS CONCERNING SPANISH SAHARA (AGENDA ITEM 23) (A/C.4/677 AND ADD.1 AND 2)

2. The CHAIRMAN said that the second request, concerning Spanish Sahara, was from Mr. El Abadila Ould Cheikh Mohamed Laghdaf, Mr. Hamdi Ould Salek Ould Ba Ali, Mr. Braika Ould Ahmed Lahcen, Mr. Brahim Ould Hassena Douhi, Mr. Abdallah Ould El Khattat and Mr. Habouha Ould Abeida of the Front de libération du Sahara sous domination coloniale espagnole (A/C.4/677). The third request, also concerning Spanish Sahara, was from Mr. Seila Uld Abeida, Mr. Suilem Uld Abdelah, Mr. Ahamed Baba Uld Hasena, Mr. Aali Uld Said, Mr. Sidi Uld Emboirik and Mr. Mami Uld Ahamed Salem of La Comisión elegida por el pueblo del Sáhara (A/C.4/Add.1). The fourth request, concerning the same Territory, was from Mr. Ould Chekh Malainine (A/C.4/677/Add.2).

If there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee agreed to grant those requests.

*It was so decided.*

## AGENDA ITEM 67

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/6292, A/6294, A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V; A/6335/Rev.1, A/6337, A/6340)

### GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

3. Mr. KAYUKWA (Democratic Republic of the Congo) said that because of their history and their proximity to one of the Territories under consideration—Angola—the Democratic Republic of the Congo and all its people felt a natural sympathy with the heroic struggle, the suffering and the tribulations of the people of Angola. He intended, therefore, to speak particularly of Angola, the Territory he knew best, and to discuss the other Territories, whose situation was at least very similar, by reference to Angola.

4. The Portuguese presence in Africa had been established centuries ago. The ancient trading depots of the fifteenth century had been transformed into vast colonies for settlement and systematic exploitation. The peoples of those Territories were today under a régime of arbitrary rule, oppression, deprivation and wretchedness of every kind. The conscience of mankind was revolted by Lisbon's treatment of human beings who had a right to life, liberty and independence.

5. Angola had been discovered in 1475 when Diogo Cão landed at the mouth of the Congo River. In 1491 the Portuguese colonists had gone in large numbers to the new trading settlement and had established veritable cities, first at São Salvador and later at Luanda. From those cities, the slave-trade, which had constituted the most important sector of Portugal's trading activity, had developed over more than two centuries. The better, most profitable blacks had been those from São Salvador and Sunda, 30,000 of whom had been sent to Brazil every year. In 1885, when the colonial Powers of Europe had decided to divide up Africa, Portugal had received Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé, etc. Portugal had thus advanced from unplanned settlement to systematic settlement. Entire families had emigrated in the hope of making a better life in Angola and in the other Territories. Salazar had applied that policy with cynical thoroughness when he had taken power in 1932. The political enemies of the Government had been sent to Angola, which had been turned into a land of exile for suspect Portuguese. Whole generations had lived there without

returning to Portugal, and many had not wished even to hear that country spoken of, since they hoped to remain in Angola forever. Then began the systematic plunder of lands. The colonists had driven the indigenous peoples from their fertile lands back to arid and unproductive plots. The flood of colonists arriving each year had in the end made land acquisition a very serious problem and added more sorrow to the life of millions of black men whose only resource had been their lands.

6. Angola had ceased to be the country of the Angolans and had become, in the first place, the country of the Portuguese. Only one step had been needed to make it a Portuguese province, and Salazar had taken that step by a provision to that effect in the 1951 Constitution. Thus he had said in 1956 that although the Portuguese nation was composed of diverse elements and was spread throughout the world, all its parts were institutionally and psychologically Portuguese, and that so far as Mozambique and Angola were concerned the question of self-government did not arise, since those Territories had something more than that—an independence which was the independence of the nation. It was strange to talk of independence when there was no racial equality. Salazar himself had said that Portugal should organize the protection of the "inferior" races, since one of the boldest ideas and loftiest accomplishments of Portuguese colonization had been to civilize those races.

7. Mr. Norton de Matos, the Governor-General of Angola, had raised falsehood to the level of indecency when he had said that the native must be made to respect the white race as a symbol of superior honour, intelligence and justice.

8. Even after the 1961 reform, the black man of Angola had only one right—the right to work and keep silent. Ninety per cent of the population was sunk in the darkness of illiteracy and ignorance. The primary and post-primary schools for black men taught them only what was necessary to receive and carry out the orders of the white man. Higher education was reserved for the Portuguese and some assimilados, i.e., persons who renounced their African identity to imitate the white man, among whom Portugal found its most trusted African collaborators, ready to betray their own fellow-countrymen.

9. The establishment of industries had created wretched working masses crowded into veritable ghettos on the outskirts of the large towns such as São Salvador, Benguela, Luanda, Lobito, etc. That situation was incompatible with the historical realities of the present era, which, with the awakening of the colonized peoples of Asia and Africa, had inspired Angola with the spirit of rebellion against injustice, arbitrary rule and oppression, in other words, against colonialism. Accordingly the people of Angola had decided in 1961 to brave the Portuguese and to seize independence from them by armed combat. However, their spontaneous indignation and anger had been incompatible with organized struggle, and the Portuguese army had brutally crushed the people. Tens of thousands of Angolans had died, and many others had sought asylum in neighbouring countries, from which they now intended to organize the reconquest of their Territory. In 1961 there had been 10,000

Angolan refugees in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In 1963 their number had risen to 250,000, and at present there were more than 600,000, most of whom had settled in the neighbouring province of Kongo-Central.

10. In 1960, when the Congo had gained its independence, the Prime Minister, Mr. Lumumba, had said that it would have no meaning unless the Congo helped the peoples of Angola, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), and Ruanda-Urundi (now Rwanda and Burundi) to shake off the colonial yoke. The patriot Mário de Andrade had then established the office of the Mouvement populaire de libération de l'Angola (MPLA) in Léopoldville (now Kinshasa), where he had been given air time on the national radio to encourage militants to mobilize. But very soon afterwards, of course, the Congo had been overtaken by tragedy, which had also affected the activities of Angolan patriots. In 1963 the many Angolan political groups in Léopoldville had come together to form a single front, from which had been born the Government révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE), led by Mr. Holden Roberto.

11. The Prime Minister, who at that time had been Mr. Adoula, had recognized that Government de jure and GRAE had thus acquired official existence in the Congo. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, to the extent of its modest means and despite domestic difficulties, had done everything possible to give moral and material assistance to the people of Angola and the nationalist movements of the Territory. After recognizing the Revolutionary Government, it had sought to have it admitted to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), twenty-eight of whose members had recognized it and promised it material assistance.

12. In view of the influx into Angola of Portuguese troops (over 60,000 men) armed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), i.e., principally by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Belgium, as indicated in the 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 (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V), the Democratic Republic of the Congo had had to assign a whole region of the Province of Kongo-Central to the Angolan nationalists so that they could train revolutionary troops to reconquer Angola from a Congolese base. It had given them financial aid in so far as its limited means permitted and had provided them with premises for offices, clinics and schools. Its only purpose was that Angola should quickly free itself from Portugal and become an independent and free nation.

13. The assistance which neighbouring countries were giving to the victims of Portuguese oppression in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea was considerable. It was reasonable to ask therefore whether Portugal, a country which was economically, technically, socially and mentally under-developed, could hold out on three fronts. The responsibilities of certain countries which supported Portuguese colonialism should be established once and for all. United Nations organs had adopted many resolutions on the Territories under Portuguese domination, explicit resolutions condemning Portuguese colonialism in Africa, recognizing the

right of the peoples under Portuguese oppression to self-determination and clearly inviting Member States to refrain from offering the Portuguese Government support which would enable it to continue its repressive measures against the peoples it oppressed and to take action to prevent the sale and supply of arms and equipment which could be used for that purpose, but some countries chose to disregard United Nations resolutions. They were countries which would now assert once again that they sympathized with the cause of the Africans and with their problems. He was referring to the United States, which supplied aircraft and arms; France, which supplied helicopters; the United Kingdom; Belgium; and the Federal Republic of Germany, which provided troops and medical assistance. None of those countries could claim to be unaware that Portugal was using those supplies to crush the peoples whom it did not wish to liberate and to commit acts of aggression against the neighbours of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Various frontier towns in the Democratic Republic of the Congo were under constant attack by Portuguese troops, who left a trail of death and terror.

14. He wondered whether the countries in question gave arms to Portugal for the sake of freedom and the right of peoples to independence. What was certain was that they did so for the sake of the oil, gold, diamonds and iron to be found in the Territories. Wherever there were riches, the sharks of high finance were to be found, ready to conclude a contract even with the devil disguised in the robes of temporal power. Such behaviour should be an alarm signal for the health of the Organization itself, which should be working to establish a system in which justice, freedom, law and respect for other peoples prevailed.

15. "God creates them and they come together", said the proverb. All the retarded minds of the present day were now united, including the racist minorities of Pretoria and Salisbury and the colonialist fascists of Lisbon, whose plan was to establish a southern Africa of racists reserved for international trusts. They dream of establishing a network of horror joining Pretoria to Salisbury and Lisbon via Angola and Mozambique. But the people of Africa and all who respected human dignity would bring that inhuman plan to naught.

16. The Democratic Republic of the Congo had always acted in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations. It had given, was giving and would continue to give moral and material assistance to the people of Angola so that they could gain their freedom, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and operative paragraph 5 of the Special Committee's resolution of 22 June 1966 (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V, para. 675).

17. He referred to paragraph 278 of chapter V of the report, according to which a petitioner had said that the Democratic Republic of the Congo had a hostile attitude towards MPLA. Although the Democratic Republic of the Congo had recognized GRAE, it had never been hostile to MPLA and had no reason to be. It had never prevented MPLA from waging its struggle for liberation from the Congo, but it had always tried to prevent the two movements of its Angolan brothers from fighting each other on its territory. Unfortunately,

in the Province of Kongo-Central there had been armed clashes between elements of GRAE and MPLA. The Democratic Republic of the Congo wanted weapons to be used to fight the Portuguese enemy and drive him out of Angola, and could not agree to their being used to spill the blood of brothers. It had tried on various occasions to mediate between the two movements, but in vain, because each of them clung to its own position. It had been a cause of great happiness to him personally to learn, at the beginning of November, that the two movements had reached agreement to set up a single united front, and he hoped that their just cause would triumph.

18. He invited all members of the Committee—Portugal and South Africa need not consider themselves concerned—to examine their consciences and ask themselves in all honesty whether they had helped to apply the United Nations resolutions on the Territories occupied by Portugal. He expressed the hope that the resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee would state clearly that Portugal, South Africa and other Powers supporting them were refusing to co-operate with the United Nations in the work of decolonizing Africa and the whole world. He hoped that the international trusts which opposed independence for the African peoples under Portuguese rule and did everything possible to create an Africa under their own domination would be unequivocally condemned. The Committee should give a solemn undertaking to ensure that Portugal's plans in Africa failed, fixing a date for the independence of the peoples which Portugal oppressed. He urged all members of the Committee to realize that decolonization was an irreversible phenomenon, which must proceed in accordance with history, and that it would help to bring into being a human community in which peace, freedom and solidarity among peoples prevailed.

19. Mr. NKAMA (Zambia) requested that, in view of the importance of the statement just made by the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it should appear *in extenso* in the record of the meeting, since any information about Territories under Portuguese administration should be disseminated as widely as possible.

20. The CHAIRMAN said that if there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee agreed to that proposal.

*It was so decided.*

21. Mr. THIAM (Mali) said that the question of Territories under Portuguese administration was assuming more and more disturbing aspects, in view of the war of reconquest which the Portuguese colonialism was imposing on its people. Portugal maintained that the countries of Africa under its domination were an integral part of the national Portuguese territory, and the Portuguese Government refused to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations, especially General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Portugal was not transmitting any information about its colonies, although it was required to do so under Article 73 e of the United Nations Charter. Portugal had, in 1961, repealed the law on the status of indigenous inhabitants, and since that time regarded the national territory and its colonies as constituting a pluri-continental

and multiracial nation. The delegation of Mali maintained that Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were colonies within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter and that Portugal should apply the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter and of resolution 1514 (XV) with a view to transferring power to their peoples in accordance with their wishes. Those Territories had never been, and would never be, Portuguese. They were African by culture and tradition. Their peoples wanted freedom and the exercise of their sacred right to self-determination. Mali had demonstrated on several occasions the absurdity of the argument of the Portuguese leaders. More than 1,000 eminent persons from all over the world had sent a message to President Tomás denouncing the political backwardness of Portugal in the Territories under its administration.

22. Portugal, a poor country, was receiving large profits from the exploitation of the resources of its colonies: moreover, British, United States and South African capital controlled, through trusts, their sugar industry, their mines and part of their agriculture. In addition, Portugal had interests in the economy of Southern Rhodesia, which explained the present alliance between the three racist régimes of southern Africa. When a Portuguese general invited South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to form an anti-communist front and went so far as to talk about the "African peril" in Africa, it was obvious that there was a vast conspiracy afoot, under the guise of anti-communism, and that the real danger was that of racism and exploitation. Thus, the Salazar Government served as a front for the criminal activities of foreign monopolies in the Portuguese colonies, activities which should cease while a solution for the problem was being sought.

23. Nobody could believe that the arms delivered to Portugal by NATO were not being used to kill peaceful African farmers. As had been shown by the film about the Guinea (Bissau) nationalists exhibited to the Special Committee during its visit to Africa, thousands of young men were being killed daily in the Territories under Portuguese domination, with the blessing of the Western Powers. Those Powers refused to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations, and in spite of the appeals of the Security Council, the Government of Portugal was continuing to receive arms for the purpose of killing Africans. The responsibility for those crimes lay at the door of those who were delivering heavy bombers and jet fighters to Portugal, a country whose economic infra-structure was not such as to permit the construction of such machines.

24. His delegation regarded the statements made by the petitioners from the Territories under Portuguese administration as most valuable, and assured the patriots of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) that they could count on Mali's support in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism and the creation of a new life in the liberated Territories. It considered that the United Nations should compel Portugal, by imposing the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, to fulfil its obligations with respect to the populations of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The Portuguese military bases constituted a permanent danger to the subject peoples and to the

security of neighbouring States, as was demonstrated by the complaints made to the Security Council by Senegal and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Portugal should dismantle its bases and return the land to its rightful owners. The centres of tyranny in southern Africa constituted a permanent danger to peace and security. He endorsed the Special Committee's recommendation that the General Assembly, at its next session, should consider separately and as a matter of urgency the item "The activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, the Territories under Portuguese administration and other colonial territories".

*Mr. Kanakaratne (Ceylon), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

25. Mr. TIKHONOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that whenever the General Assembly returned to the consideration of the situation of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, new crimes of colonialism came to light, since Portugal was resorting to force not only in crushing the national liberation movement, but also by carrying out acts of aggression against other independent African countries, such as Guinea, Senegal, Congo (Brazzaville), the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Tanzania and Malawi. During the last two years the Security Council's attention had been drawn several times to Portugal's acts of aggression, and the Council had adopted resolutions in response to complaints by Senegal and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Nevertheless, acts of provocation by Portuguese colonialism were still continuing.

26. The Salazar régime was not the only responsible party; also responsible were the NATO countries, in particular the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany, which were providing that régime with all kinds of assistance in defiance of the United Nations resolutions, especially resolution 218 (1965) of the Security Council. More important still, however, was the fact that that resolution was weak and inadequate, since because of the Western Powers the United Nations was unable to adopt measures which could force the NATO countries to stop extending assistance to Portugal.

27. The report of the Special Committee (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V) showed that the Portuguese colonialist army was receiving increasingly large supplies of arms from the United States, West Germany and other NATO countries, together with financial aid which helped it to meet the costs of its colonial war in Africa—aid which amounted to half the national budget. The countries concerned justified the aid they were supplying on the ground that Portugal had promised not to use those arms in its colonies; but the facts demonstrated the contrary, and the members of NATO were doubtless aware of that. An agreement had been concluded between West Germany and Portugal conceding to West Germany the use of training grounds in its territory for the training of Germany military forces, receiving in exchange military jet planes and, as the petitioners had stated, weapons and bombs which the Portuguese army was using

against African patriots. Thus, Salazar's régime was receiving from NATO—in which, as everyone knew, the United States played a preponderant role—military assistance which enabled it to maintain in Africa an army of more than 120,000 men without which its colonial régime would long ago have collapsed.

28. The Western Powers supported Portuguese colonialist policy in order to safeguard the vital interests of the international monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany and other countries, which were draining off the natural resources of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, which directly or indirectly controlled two thirds of the capital invested in the economy of Portugal and its colonies, and which exercised a dominating role in all spheres, as was shown by the information contained in the Special Committee's reports. <sup>1/</sup>

29. The military bases situated in the Portuguese colonies were also of great strategic interest to the Western Powers, since from them acts of aggression could be carried out against the nationalists and against independent African Governments. To safeguard their political, economic and strategic interests, the Western Powers were strengthening the "unholy alliance" between Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, which was the most reactionary colonialist and racist régime in Africa. Those countries were constructing a bastion for the defence of colonialism in southern and central African and their alliance was more and more assuming the features of a political and military bloc. According to the Special Committee's report, secret meetings were being organized between the armed forces of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa to co-ordinate their resistance to the nationalist forces.

30. The Byelorussian delegation was convinced that the heroic struggle for the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea would be crowned with success. A petitioner from the Angolan liberation movement had movingly said in the Special Committee that while the Angolan people did not like war, they would continue to fight to the end, until every inch of Angolan territory was free (A/AC.109/SR.453). Victory would cost the people of the Portuguese colonies dear, since they were facing not only the Portuguese colonialists but the collective colonialism of the countries members of NATO.

31. The United Nations had recognized the legitimacy of the patriotic struggle of the Portuguese Territories and should lend them moral and material assistance, particularly in the liberated zones. The people of the Byelorussian SSR, which had suffered so greatly during the Second World War, knew how difficult reconstruction was, but it also knew that with energy and enthusiasm and the assistance of brother peoples the national economy could be developed in a very short time. For that reason, the United Nations should give assistance of every type to the liberated zones of the Portuguese colonies and should implement the United Nations development programme in them. It should

likewise condemn the criminal bloc formed by Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, and also condemn the other countries, in particular the United States and West Germany, which were making use of that "unholy alliance" to crush the national liberation movement and to defend their imperialist interests in Africa.

32. The Byelorussian delegation considered that the Security Council should adopt enforcement measures under Article 41 of the Charter to ensure the implementation in the Portuguese Territories of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations should also condemn the activities of the international monopolies and should call upon the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers to adopt the measures necessary to put a stop to those activities, which were preventing the peoples of the Portuguese colonies from winning their freedom and independence. Further, the specialized agencies, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, should refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX).

33. Faithful to its principles of support for the nationalist struggles of peoples, the Byelorussian SSR was offering the population of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea all possible assistance.

34. Mrs. AHMED (India) said that for a long time Portugal, with the help of its friends and allies, had managed to keep its colonialist practices hidden; but now, thanks to the United Nations, which had made extensive surveys in the Territories, the question could be discussed with full knowledge of the facts. The Indian delegation hoped that before long the United Nations would be able to take effective measures to put an end to Portugal's domination of those Territories. Further, it regretted deeply that in spite of continuous United Nations exhortation of Portugal to mend its ways, that country was continuing its inhuman and barbaric policies in the colonies. It was clear from the testimony given by the petitioners that the situation in the Portuguese Territories was worse than ever and had no parallel in the long and cruel history of colonialism—with the exception of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

35. She was sure that all wondered how Portugal, a small and backward European country, had managed for so long to hold on to a colonial empire many times its own size in defiance of the United Nations. Two factors seemed to explain that fact: first, the "unholy alliance" of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal, which were acting in concert to implement their shameful policies, as the recent events in Southern Rhodesia had demonstrated. The Indian delegation reiterated that those three bastions of colonialism should be treated as if they were a single entity. The second factor was the direct and indirect help which Portugal had received from its powerful allies. It was highly regrettable that those countries which had a special responsibility for maintaining peace and security should be the ones helping Portugal to persist in its hideous policies. A related aspect

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/6000/Rev.1, chap. V; A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V.

was that of the financial interests operating in the Portuguese Territories. They exploited the indigenous population by means of the system of forced labour, and exported all the profits made in the Territories; it was not true that the indigenous population, as had been asserted, benefited from those profits.

36. The Indian delegation, like many others, had grown weary of listening to pious words of sympathy for the African people in the Territories and wished the countries which uttered them would give the Africans effective help. Portugal and its apologists claimed that all was well in the Territories, save for some minor clashes between the Portuguese troops and some sections of the African population incited from abroad. The truth, however, was quite the contrary. The helpless victims of Lisbon's fascist policies were languishing in poverty and illiteracy, as was evident from the large number of Africans who had fled to the United Republic of Tanzania, Algeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other African countries which had given them generous assistance, providing food, shelter, and other help; the Indian delegation appreciated the efforts of the Governments concerned. The Africans in the Territories were starving, and had practically no educational opportunities. In Mozambique, for example, only 0.35 per cent of the African population was enrolled in primary schools, and only 0.05 per cent had access to secondary schools. There was not even a semblance of civic or political liberties, and the superficial symbols of democracy, such as elections to local councils and to the National Assembly in Lisbon, were merely designed to deceive the world. That had been shown by the fact that in the last general elections only 1 per cent of the total population of Mozambique and less than 5 per cent of the population of Angola had voted. In the whole of the overseas Territories, with a combined population of 13 million, no more than 2 per cent of the inhabitants had voted. Mozambique and Angola, which according to Portugal were no different from the provinces of continental Portugal and which had a combined population of 11,400,000, were represented in the Portuguese electoral college by 102 deputies, as against the 438 members from Portugal, with a population of 8,900,000. It was clear that the sole aim of the colonial Power was to keep the African people in perpetual economic, social and political subjection.

37. General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX) had condemned the Portuguese policy of establishing foreign immigrants in the Territories on a large scale and exporting African workers to South Africa. Portugal had stated that its policy was based on the assumption that increased white immigration would further the cultural and social progress of the "less advanced" indigenous inhabitants; but the real reason for that arrogant theory of racial superiority was simply to increase the proportion of white settlers in order more effectively to suppress the national liberation struggle of the inhabitants. Portugal's encouragement of soldier-settlement in the colonies was sufficient proof of that. In 1965, moreover, Portugal had offered farmers in South Africa farms of 5,000 hectares each in the Tete district of Mozambique, and it was reported in November 1965 that eighty South African farmers had already signed contracts.

38. It was very encouraging that not even the most tyrannical Portuguese régime had been able to prevent the courageous patriots in the colonies from rising against their oppressors. As a result the Salazar régime, threatened by the rising spirit of the African nationalists, had been compelled to increase its expenditure on the defence of its colonies. Overseas defence expenditure had been 60 per cent higher in 1965 than in 1961. In Mozambique alone, military expenditure had risen at an annual rate of 80 million escudos. The Portuguese authorities themselves had said there were 50,000 troops in Angola, and a new public security police force of 7,000 men had been created. It sufficed to remember that those troops were fully trained, and equipped with the most modern weapons, to realize the sufferings of the freedom fighters, who were ill-fed, ill-equipped and greatly handicapped in all respects.

39. The Security Council had already recognized in its resolution 218 (1965) that the situation in the Portuguese Territories constituted a threat to international peace and security. Since the case of Southern Rhodesia had shown that voluntary sanctions never achieved the desired results, the United Nations should make it obligatory for all States to apply economic sanctions against Portugal, as the Special Committee had recommended.

40. Her country was well aware of the sufferings of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies, for it had itself known the tyranny of Portuguese colonialism. The Indian Government recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of those peoples to achieve liberty and independence, and would continue to give them all possible assistance so as to enable them to shake off the colonial yoke at the earliest possible date. To that end her Government had offered to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity.

41. Mr. RAMIN (Israel) said it might have been hoped that the problem of Territories under Portuguese administration would not appear on the 1966 agenda, for the answer to problems of that nature had been given long ago in Chapter XI of the Charter, under which Member States administering Non-Self-Governing Territories recognized the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories were paramount, and accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote their well-being to the utmost. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had defined the rights of dependent peoples even more fully.

42. Long debates had taken place on the thesis of Portugal that its possessions were not Non-Self-Governing Territories but rather integral parts of Portugal itself. From those debates had stemmed resolution 1541 (XV), which set out twelve principles which now formed an authoritative interpretation of the provisions of the Charter governing the obligations of Member States in relation to the Territories under their administration. In addition, resolution 1542 (XV) enumerated those Portuguese Territories which were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. Thus, as long as six years previously, the Assembly's stand on the subject of the Portuguese Territories had been made absolutely clear.

43. In the meantime, it had been hoped that there would be a new approach on the part of Portugal whereby it would finally recognize the spirit of the era and learn the lessons which other colonial Powers had been willing to learn; those hopes, however, had not been fulfilled. The repeated appeals to Portugal from the General Assembly and the Security Council urging it to recognize the rights of its colonies and to take the appropriate measures for doing so had remained unheeded, and millions of people in Angola, Mozambique and other Territories continued to live under its domination.

44. The Israel delegation did not accept the Portuguese thesis that its colonies were "overseas provinces"; it rejected the claim that matters affecting those Territories were within Portugal's internal jurisdiction; and it maintained that those Territories were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter and were therefore subject to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In his recent statement at the 1428th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Israel had said that if Africa was to pursue its destiny in peace, it must be released from the remaining anachronistic expressions of colonialism, which offended the mood of Africa and the spirit of the age. He had also said that Israel's solidarity with Africa on that question was determined by the memories that its people carried with them across generations of martyrdom and discrimination.

45. Israel had no quarrel with the Portuguese people and wished them nothing but peace and welfare for the future. It must, however, give expression to its conviction that the time had come for Portugal to reconsider its colonial policy in the light of the United Nations verdict. It was still not too late for Portugal to take such steps as recognition of the colonies' right to self-determination and independence, the cessation of all acts of repression, the promulgation of a political amnesty and negotiations with the representatives of the population of the Territories for the transfer of power. If Portugal was to do that, it would be performing a great service which would be in its own interest as well as in the interest of humanity and world peace. To fail to do that would be an attempt to go against the course of history.

46. Mr. M. W. CARTER (Guyana) said that he would like to thank the petitioners for helping to make the Committee more aware of the unhappy and shocking conditions which the people of their homeland had to endure. From a distance, in the atmosphere of statements and debate, one tended to lose sight of the fact that men, women and children were suffering untold hardships day after day.

47. His delegation's primary interest was in the people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, who, both from the evidence provided in the report of the Special Committee (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V) and the statements of the petitioners, were deprived of the most elementary human rights. That, moreover, was being done by the Portuguese colonizers who claimed for themselves the role of a civilizing force in Africa but whose repulsive deeds led inevitably to the conclusion that, in spite of the vigilance, moral indignation and condemnations of all decent people, they seemed to be disposed to maintain the degrading system which they had imposed upon the people of the Territories. The struggle of those people for freedom was therefore consistent with the highest aspirations of human beings and was part of the world-wide struggle for the liberation of men.

48. Despite all the resolutions which might be adopted, the people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea would have to do the actual fighting for their freedom, and the Government of Guyana would give all the support it could to whatever measures the Committee might decide upon to help them in their just cause.

49. His delegation would like to draw the Committee's attention to the aid given by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the very Governments whose colonialist and racist policies had been repeatedly condemned. In press releases of the current year, the Bank had disclosed that loans of the order of \$30 million and \$20 million, respectively, had been granted to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa for the purpose of developing electric power in their territories. It must be wondered what kind of success could be hoped for when the international community took action which strengthened rather than weakened those Powers whose policies worked against the interests of the United Nations. Just as his delegation did not hesitate to criticize Member States who flouted the authority of the United Nations, so it suggested that there should be no hesitation by Member States in criticizing the actions of a subsidiary body of the United Nations.

50. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that the representative of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, who was to have been present at that meeting, had been delayed in leaving Washington. He would, however, attend the afternoon meeting and the subsequent discussion in the Committee.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*