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Chairman: Miss Angie BROOKS (Liberia).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Lulo (Albania), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 79

Non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) said that, after the whole world had been shocked by the cruel war waged by the Portuguese Government against defenceless Africans in Angola and the tale of the bestiality in that Territory had been unfolded in the Security Council and the General Assembly, there had been many fair-minded people who had hoped that Portugal, despite its failings, would recant and revise its policy. Those hopes, however, had been dashed when Portugal had ruthlessly suppressed the liberation movement in Angola by the use of brute force. Far from relinquishing its colonial stand, and contrary to all reason and common sense, Portugal, a Member State, had stubbornly and deliberately refused to co-operate with the United Nations; it had refused to provide information or to participate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and, in so doing, it had failed to discharge a basic obligation.

2. When replying to statements made by members of the Committee, the Portuguese representative had made unjustifiable charges against them. No delegation would criticize Portuguese action in its African and Asian Territories if it could be convinced that the Government of Portugal intended to discharge its international obligations. No evidence of any such intention was forthcoming, however, and since the information which the Committee had patiently awaited was not available, his delegation felt impelled to draw the necessary conclusions from such data as had become available from sources which it considered unchallengeable.

3. The iron censorship imposed in the Portuguese Territories made it impossible to arrive at accurate figures of the number of African men, women and children cut down in cold blood by 20,000 fully

equipped Portuguese troops and by armed civilians; conservative estimates ranged from 20,000 to 50,000 killed. The figures for the number of refugees who had fled to the Congo (Leopoldville) had already been given by the representative of that country at the 1192nd meeting. The air force had been the principal weapon used by the Portuguese High Command; napalm bombs had been indiscriminately dropped and African non-combatants had been machine-gunned. The infantry had followed up the action of the air force. The acts in question could not be justified on the ground that they constituted a legitimate response to any attempt which Africans might have made on the Portuguese; they were wanton reprisals and their intention was to intimidate. They had reached such a degree of intensity that they were in the nature of genocide. It was customary for colonizers to cloak their misdeeds by reference to the need to restore law and order. Was the Committee seriously expected to believe that the continued presence of Portugal in its colonial territories would enable it to complete its "civilizing mission"? Portugal had no right to receive any sympathy in its colonial war of attrition, yet it was being supported by certain Powers. Unless those Powers had the moral courage to put pressure on Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations, that country was unlikely to abandon its colonial policy.

4. The Portuguese Government's flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in its colonies had been condemned by the world Press and by all men of good will. The Bishop of Southwark, for example, had condemned Portugal's policy in Angola as a particularly obscene manifestation of tyranny. Feeling had been aroused in the United Kingdom by reports of severe Portuguese repression of the African revolt in Angola and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had instructed the British Consul-General in Luanda and the British military and air attachés at Lisbon to carry out a fact-finding mission in Angola. Since the United Nations Subcommittee on the Situation in Angola had been refused admission into that Territory, any information which the representative of the United Kingdom—a country which was one of the closest allies and friends of Portugal—could provide from British sources would be of interest to the Committee.

5. The representative of Portugal had claimed that all allegations that forced labour existed in Angola were mischievous fabrications. In an article in the October issue of *Africa Today*, Mr. Malcolm McVeigh, a Methodist missionary who had served in Angola from 1958 to 1961, had written that, at the international level, Portuguese officials often denied the practice of forced labour in Angola but that it was so common that in Angola itself no one would deny its existence. Indeed, it was even regarded as a blessing for the inhabitants; Mr. McVeigh had heard an administrator defend it as a measure to stop men from

"living off their wives". In fact, women too had their part in forced labour. He wondered what the representative of Portugal could say in defence of a cruel system which moreover gave rise to the corruption of inadequately paid Portuguese administrators and resulted, as the article said, in the corporal punishment of any village headman who failed to supply the required number of workers for the plantation owners.

6. In education, the Portuguese record was just as bad. Only thirteen Africans had completed the secondary school course in 1960; the position was little better in the case of Whites, the corresponding figure having been only 190. There was no university in Angola and it was alleged by some observers that secondary school teachers had been instructed to fail students in their final examinations so that the number of White and African Angolans who would have a right to go to Portugal on university scholarships would be kept to a minimum. That was a glaring instance of the denial of fundamental human rights.

7. In refusing to transmit the information called for under the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, the Portuguese Government had flouted the United Nations and turned a deaf ear to world public opinion; it placed its reliance on the support of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and endeavoured to prove that, if no effective action could be taken by the United Nations, Portugal would be able to maintain its colonial empire in Africa and Asia despite the fact that the most experienced colonial Powers were relinquishing their positions. The concluding words of the address of Mr. Salazar, the Portuguese Prime Minister, to the National Assembly on 30 June 1961 had demonstrated Portugal's intention to entrench its colonial position. Mr. Salazar had said that, whatever the difficulties or sacrifices, he saw no other course for Portugal but to continue on its way: it was a dictate of the national conscience, he had added, and the decision was imposed on the Government by all those—white, black or mulatto—who by their martyrdom had confirmed that Angola was part of the land of Portugal. Mr. Salazar was of course entitled to his views, but, as the representative of Guinea had said, the inhabitants of the Portuguese Territories, whether in Africa or in Asia, would choose one of the two obvious ways of winning back their freedom and independence. It was for the colonizers to decide which way would best promote their interests and preserve their civilization.

Miss Brooks (Liberia) took the Chair.

8. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) said that it would serve no useful purpose to demonstrate Portugal's unwillingness to co-operate with the United Nations. It was more important to seek the reason why Portugal, a small and in many respects under-developed country, deliberately and consistently refused to abide by the United Nations Charter, to which it had solemnly subscribed, or to respect the Security Council and the General Assembly.

9. The Nepalese representative had put the problem in its true perspective when, in his statement at the 1192nd meeting, he had appealed to the members of NATO to bring pressure to bear on Portugal to induce the latter to give up its inhuman policies.

10. While it was true that in the United States, France and the United Kingdom evidence of Portuguese atrocities in Angola had been brought before the

public by brave men, by newspapers and television, that fact, by itself, was not sufficient. He would like to see France, with its traditional opposition to racialism, the United Kingdom, which could take pride in the doctrine of habeas corpus, and the United States, which had raised a monument to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, break their ties of solidarity with Portugal on account of the blind repression that country was practising in Africa and in Goa and cease supplying the arms which enabled Mr. Salazar's Government to massacre innocent children and old people. He did not think that that would be asking too much of them, for Africa could offer prospects of democracy, peace and universal well-being which Portugal, in all its history, had never contemplated.

11. The Government of the Congo (Leopoldville), in whose country 127,000 Angolan refugees had sought asylum from Portuguese repression, had appealed to the Congolese people to give help to the best of their ability. He could not but deplore the fact that those feelings were not shared by Powers which, if they so desired, could put an end to the bloodshed in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, to mention but three Territories. It was legitimate to ask whether the colonial and semi-colonial Powers were moved by crimes against humanity only when persons of their own race were affected and whether a potential Hitler lurked in every colonialist.

12. The photographs which had been placed before the Committee, and which illustrated the unspeakable cruelties perpetrated by the Portuguese on the Africans in Angola, showed that the Portuguese Government, whose country had for a long time been excluded from the United Nations because of the support it had given to nazism, had nothing to learn from the executioners of the Third Reich. The Portuguese representative, too, had submitted photographs to the Committee. They were identical with photographs published in a pamphlet distributed in Lisbon and other capitals and entitled "Genocide against Portugal". He wished to draw the Committee's attention, however, to the fact—which spoke for itself—that the mutilated bodies shown on those photographs were the bodies of Blacks and Mulattoes, not of Europeans. The submission of those photographs showed that Portugal had begun to transmit information. His delegation would return to that point in due course.

13. In the meantime he wished to inform the Committee of certain documents printed in Portugal which clearly showed that the Portuguese had no intention of recognizing the validity of General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), which proclaimed that the so-called overseas provinces were in point of fact Portuguese colonies. In order to justify their false premises, the Portuguese authorities utilized dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church who distorted the meaning of passages in the Bible to suit their thesis. For example, the Cardinal Archbishop of Lourenço Marques, in his pastoral letter of 5 July 1961 addressed to his flock in Mozambique on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration, had said that the Fatherland need not be a single Territory inhabited by a single race; Jesus Christ Himself had said "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" and He, a Jew, had been speaking of a Roman Emperor. A nation was a community of families or peoples taking their orders from one Government which administered justice, protected the people from foreign enemies and attended to

the common weal. If the mistaken concept that a nation had to be uniraical prevailed, many nations would have to be dismembered. The Cardinal Archbishop had gone on to declare that Portugal had nobly carried out its mission in Mozambique: it had brought peace, it had put an end to savage customs and it had ensured progress. Although great strides had been made in recent decades in the economy of the country and in education and health, there was still much to be done, but no country, however advanced, could claim that it had achieved perfection. The Cardinal Archbishop had ended his pastoral letter by warning the people against following bad counsel and seeking Utopias; they should aspire to achieve progress within the nation in loyal co-operation with the Portuguese authorities.

14. Another document to which he wished to draw the Committee's attention was a statement made by Mr. Adriano Moreira, the Portuguese Minister For Overseas Provinces before the Legislative Council of Angola on 2 May 1961. He would not comment on the fact that the very existence of such a Ministry exploded the fiction of the existence of a single Portuguese State. The Minister had said that he had chosen to make his statement in Angola because it was in that martyred land that Portugal's destiny was being decided. He had admitted that his country was at war in Angola and he had exhorted his fellow citizens to accept sacrifices in order to win that war.

15. The fact that the Portuguese Government had recognized that it was waging war in Angola made the situation much clearer. The Portuguese should respect the sacred laws of war and should put an end to the massacres of civilians. If Portugal failed to comply, it should be excluded from membership in the United Nations, by virtue of the provisions of Articles 2 and 6 of the Charter. Furthermore, the Portuguese Government should be held answerable for its crimes before an international court, in conformity with the London Agreement of 8 August 1945 for the prosecution and punishment of major war criminals of the European Axis, and in pursuance of Act No. 10 of the Control Council for Germany, dated 20 December 1945, on the punishment of persons found guilty of war crimes and crimes against peace and humanity. A similar request had been formulated by three Paris lawyers with reference to Algeria. Their idea might perhaps be applied by any independent African State which could lay its hands on any French, Portuguese or Belgian war criminals, just as the State of Israel had tried Adolf Eichmann. That was not a threat but a possible conclusion of a sober and logical argument.

16. He was convinced that the wisdom and sense of responsibility of nations would triumph over untenable alliances and that the day was not far off when the Portuguese would be compelled to live on their own resources and not on the blood of Africans.

17. Mr. SAHNI (India) thanked the Secretariat for having displayed the photographs submitted by the representative of Portugal as well as those provided earlier by the representative of Guinea. Since the Portuguese photographs were presumably from official sources, the representative of Portugal should be able to state when and where they had been taken and if possible identify the people in the photographs. It was also important to know the purpose for which the photographs had been taken and exhibited.

18. Photography was not a very reliable science. He was not suggesting that those photographs had been fabricated, but Portugal should supply evidence to prove that they were authentic and not, for instance, photographs from the library of Eichmann.

19. Mr. FRAGOSO (Portugal) agreed that further information should be provided concerning the photographs. He suggested that the representative of Guinea should provide as much information as possible concerning those he had submitted, while his own delegation would provide whatever information was requested.

20. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) said that he was happy to be instrumental in assisting Portugal to implement General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) by submitting information concerning one of its colonized territories. He would supply explanations relating to the photographs he himself had submitted when they had been translated from the Portuguese. He thought, however, that they spoke eloquently for themselves and needed little comment. They represented the victims of war crimes together with Portuguese soldiers who appeared proud to be implementing the barbaric policy of Lisbon.

21. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) doubted whether it would assist the Committee to be provided by the representative of Portugal with a list of the alleged names of the people in the photographs. A number of Portuguese missionaries had been goaled and shot by the Portuguese authorities and it might be those missionaries who were shown in the photographs. It was best to let the pictures submitted by both parties speak for themselves. He had no confidence in Portugal's good faith and doubted whether correct information would be supplied concerning the photographs.

22. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana) urged the Committee not to waste time asking for further information on the photographs but to concentrate on the main issue, which was Portugal's non-compliance with Chapter XI of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV). If the purpose of the photographs submitted by Portugal was to demonstrate atrocities committed by Africans, it simply showed that Portugal's "civilizing mission" had failed, since all the years of Portuguese rule had not brought about harmony between the races.

23. Mr. DIALLO (Mali) agreed with the representatives of Liberia and Ghana. He did not think that any further horrors were required to complete the Committee's knowledge of the situation. Indeed, any discussion of the photographs was likely to deflect the Committee from the main issue.

24. The representative of Portugal had said that the photographs he had submitted were from Angola; whatever the inscription on the photographs might be, however, it was impossible to tell where they had been taken. The photographs submitted by Guinea were more convincing because, as he had said, they showed, standing beside the people who had been massacred, uniformed soldiers whose skin was of a different colour.

25. Mr. SAHNI (India) said that it had been far from his intention to add further horror to what was already horrible enough. He had merely urged that Portugal should supply all possible evidence to establish the circumstances in which the photographs had been taken. The representative of Portugal had agreed to adduce evidence to substantiate the material.

26. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) contended that the Committee was not wasting time in discussing the photographs. All the photographs submitted by both parties could be classified under the heading "Portuguese colonization"; they constituted evidence on the basis of which the United Nations could assess the action of Portugal in its colonies.

27. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that, whatever Portugal's intention might be in exhibiting the photographs, the fact remained that thousands of people had been killed in Angola and horrible crimes had been committed. The Committee should take care not to revert to the procedural manoeuvres of the past but should concentrate upon considering specific action to prevent the recurrence of such horrors.

28. Mr. CISSE (Senegal) agreed that the photographs provided useful evidence. Nevertheless the policy Portugal was practising in its colonies was a matter of such gravity that the Committee should not waste time discussing the photographs but should return to the main issue, bearing in mind that African patriots were being killed every minute by the Portuguese.

29. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) proposed that the photographs submitted by the representative of Portugal

should be printed and circulated in a separate Committee document, so that they might form part of the record. They were of great interest to the Committee in that they had been submitted by the representative of Portugal and could be regarded as information on a Territory under Portuguese administration.

30. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) felt that it was important to clarify whether the photographs submitted by Portugal were to be regarded simply as a counter-demonstration against the evidence produced by the representative of Guinea, or as information transmitted under Article 73 of the Charter.

31. The CHAIRMAN recalled that at the previous meeting the representative of Portugal had stipulated that the photographs were not to be regarded as information submitted under Chapter XI of the Charter. When the Chairman had asked him if they had any relation to the Territories enumerated in General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), he had simply stated that the photographs had been taken in northern Angola.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.