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 MEETING**

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

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

*Requests for hearings*

**REQUEST CONCERNING TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION (AGENDA ITEM 65) (concluded) (A/C.4/711/ADD.1)**

1. The CHAIRMAN drew the Committee's attention to the request for a hearing received from Mr. Albert Bonaparte Nank (A/C.4/711/Add.1).
2. If there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to hear the petitioner.

*It was so decided.*

**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 (continued)

3. Mr. OULD HACHEME (Mauritania) said that the world could not remain indifferent to the position of the African

populations of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), territories which Portugal had vainly sought to convert into overseas provinces.

4. It was hardly necessary to recall the nature of Portuguese colonial policy. The indigenous peoples were subjected to exploitation, to an oppression which took the form, *inter alia*, of ruthless racial discrimination and repression. Although the atrocities committed in those territories had been intensified since the freedom fighters had begun the struggle against the oppressor, they were not new, but dated from the beginning of Portuguese colonization. Unable to end the guerrilla warfare, the Portuguese colonialists brutally mistreated defenceless persons, sparing neither women, children nor the aged, in the hope of crushing the revolutionary struggle launched by the national liberation movement. In the Portuguese territories, methods were used which were just as despicable as those employed in the occupied Arab territories of Palestine and in Southern Rhodesia. Thousands of persons had been shut up in concentration camps where they were subjected to treatment even more hateful and barbarous than that practised by the Nazis during the Second World War.

5. The criminal policy of the Portuguese Government was a flagrant contravention of human rights and international morality. In view of the arrogant and scornful attitude of the Portuguese authorities towards United Nations decisions, it was vital that the Organization should, as a matter of urgency, take appropriate measures to ensure compliance with its decisions.

6. As the head of his delegation had stated on 10 October 1968, when addressing the General Assembly at its 1690th plenary meeting, Mauritania actively supported the peoples fighting for their dignity, freedom, territorial integrity and independence. Serious violations of the principle of sovereignty, of the territorial integrity of States and of the right of peoples to self-determination had been committed in Africa, the Middle East and in South-East Asia. His delegation therefore wished to express its warm admiration for the heroic resistance to colonialism and its allies maintained by the African populations and liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Rhodesia as well as in Palestine and Asia.

7. The unholy alliance concluded by Portugal with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia was a further method used by the colonial Power to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the Africans. His delegation considered that an urgent appeal should be made to all countries and, more particularly, to the member States of NATO, urging them to refrain from supplying Portugal with financial and military assistance without which it could not continue its repression.

8. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs of his country had stated in his address to the General Assembly, it was necessary for the maintenance of security that, in all parts of the world where the peace was threatened, the United Nations should be in a position to ensure observance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and compliance with its own decisions.

9. Mr. OULD ALY (Mali) said that, only a few years previously, the large colonial Powers had still been cynically exploiting their colonies. Abuses had become so flagrant, however, that they had awakened the national consciousness of the colonial peoples, who had succeeded in freeing themselves from the chains which bound them. Nevertheless, although colonialism had retreated on many fronts, it still persisted in some areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America since the same desire for imperialist domination still existed among the colonial Powers. In a vast conspiracy, those Powers had formed a coalition for the purpose of opposing the struggle of the peoples and of supplying Portugal with the economic and financial means to maintain its hold on and continue its repression of the indigenous populations. Such was the situation in the Portuguese colonies, a favourite field of investment for Western capitalist companies. It was perfectly clear that very little Portuguese capital was invested in Africa compared with that of other Western countries. Portugal thus took it upon itself to ensure that the interests of the imperialist Powers were protected.

10. Those same Powers supplied Portugal not only with financial resources but also with military resources to organize repression. His delegation would like to believe, as some members of the Committee had stated, that NATO did not supply military equipment to Portugal. Unfortunately, that was not the case; since Portugal did not itself manufacture armaments it was clear that the weapons used against the freedom fighters were supplied by countries belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There was an even more serious fact: products and substances the use of which was condemned by international opinion, such as poison gases and defoliants, were also supplied to Portugal.

11. His delegation, which had listened with interest to the statements of the petitioners from Mozambique, was most gratified by the success of the operations carried out by the freedom fighters in that part of Africa. The effect of Portuguese repression had been to strengthen the determination of the nationalists to drive out their oppressors. It was essentially by means of armed struggle that Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) could be liberated. For that reason, the freedom movement should not waver in pressing on with its struggle.

12. Lastly, the Western Powers had to be persuaded to respond to the appeal of the international community and stop supplying assistance to Portugal. The freedom fighters would then take it upon themselves to find the desired solution to a problem which had been on the agenda of the Committee for a number of years.

13. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, for seven years, Portugal had been carrying out its war of extermination in Mozambique, Angola and

Guinea (Bissau). Despite the indignation which that war rightly aroused in all mankind, Portugal clearly had no intention of ending it, and obstinately refused to implement the United Nations resolutions calling upon it to recognize the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples in the Territories which it administered.

14. When the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration was considered, two questions, as in the case of Southern Rhodesia, came to mind: the reason why Portugal obstinately refused to implement the United Nations resolutions, and the source from which it was obtaining the funds required to finance the war which it was waging on three fronts. The answer to those questions was not hard to find. Portugal would never have dared to defy the United Nations if it were not receiving substantial and regular assistance both from its NATO allies and from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, its partners in what was known as the "unholy alliance". For many years the NATO Powers, particularly the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, had been rendering Portugal all possible assistance to enable it to carry on its colonial war in Africa, in defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In May 1968, the Portuguese Government had decided to equip its army with the most up-to-date weapons; for that purpose it had allocated the sum of \$70 million for 1968-1969. It had already ordered anti-submarine patrol boats from West Germany and helicopters from France. To support its operations in Africa, it had decided to strengthen its naval arm, which, by 1970, was expected to have four submarines, eight torpedo-boats, six specially-equipped anti-submarine vessels and 104 landing craft and patrol boats.

15. The Portuguese Government regarded the United States as the best guarantor of Portugal's security: Mr. Salazar had stated on one occasion that collaboration with the United States was the only possible course for his country. For its part, the United States was helping Portugal to defend its own economic and military interests. In fact, the United States used the Portuguese colonies as a base for aggression; a number of United States vessels sailing to and from Viet-Nam called at Angolan and Mozambique ports.

16. After the United States, Portugal's main ally was the Federal Republic of Germany, from which it received massive arms shipments. That was not surprising; the Federal Republic of Germany, not being a member of the United Nations, was a valuable cover for States which did not dare to supply direct aid to Portugal. The Portuguese Government had recently concluded an agreement with the Federal Republic for joint exploitation of uranium deposits which had been discovered in northern Portugal a short time ago. In addition, a large West German company had just announced that it had concluded an agreement with Portugal to develop uranium deposits in Mozambique. Chancellor Kiesinger had recently visited Portugal; he had stated, in the communiqué issued after his talks with the Portuguese leaders, that the purpose of the visit had been to strengthen the ties of friendship between that country and the Federal Republic.

17. In the circumstances, it was not surprising that the Portuguese leaders were always ready to proclaim their

faith in the ideals of NATO and stressed the complete harmony between the interests of that alliance and Portugal's colonial interests. On 14 October, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, speaking at the NATO regular session at Lisbon, had renewed his appeal for an extension of NATO's sphere of activity to include Angola and Guinea, and stated that Portugal would resolutely continue its present policy in Africa in the interests of the "free world". Those were the close bonds underlying the moral and political support given by the Western Powers to Portugal in the United Nations, where they sought to shield Portuguese Government policy. Every year, the Western Powers' representatives voted in the General Assembly against any resolution aimed at putting an end to Portuguese colonialism.

18. The Western nations, in addition to supplying military and political aid, gave ever-increasing financial assistance to Portugal; that assistance had now become one of the vital elements of Portugal's policy in Africa. It meant that Portugal could easily negotiate the loans which it required; in 1966, those loans had amounted to \$37.1 million, and, although they had totalled only \$7 million in 1967, they had already reached \$35 million for 1968. It was interesting to note that the Portuguese third development plan for 1968-1973 provided for 43 per cent of its investments to be covered by foreign capital. It was easy to divine which countries, and which financial sources, would provide the amount of some \$60 million which would be required annually.

19. Portugal was now allowing investments to pour into its colonies from the United States, South Africa, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and other capitalist States. The monopolies making such investments now controlled not only the commercial sector but also the extractive industries, as a result of the concessions which they had obtained to exploit oil-fields and deposits of manganese, phosphates, copper, bauxite or gold. Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) were thus no longer colonies of Portuguese capitalism, but had become colonies of international capitalism, a development which was one of the greatest obstacles to their freedom. It was thus plain to see where Portugal was obtaining the resources to finance the war which it was waging in its Territories. Those regions had become a sort of buffer-zone to protect the richest regions of Africa, where most of the capitalist monopolies' investments were concentrated; indeed, the Governor of Natal had recently said that the Portuguese colonies had become South Africa's first line of defence. Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, in order to protect that bastion of colonialism against the rising anger of Africa, continued to consolidate their positions in all fields. A statement made by the Portuguese Foreign Minister in July 1968 referred to a military alliance between Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese Administration in Angola and Mozambique. The bloc thus being formed in southern Africa constituted a serious threat to the national freedom movements as well as to all the independent African States, against which joint action was increasingly being taken by the "unholy alliance". A situation of constant tension had been created in southern Africa; furthermore, during recent years, Portugal had carried out military raids into the territory of Senegal, Guinea, Zambia, the Congolese Republic, the Democratic

Republic of the Congo and the United Republic of Tanzania, provoking serious incidents. An undisguised threat against Zambia had been implied in the aforementioned statement by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs in July 1968.

20. Portugal had not implemented the Security Council resolutions concerning the use of mercenaries. It had, since the adoption of those resolutions, facilitated the transit of white mercenaries through Southern Rhodesia as well as to Nigeria via the island of São Tomé. Furthermore, Portugal itself used mercenaries in the Territories which it administered, as stated by the representatives of FRELIMO. The United Nations should strongly condemn the use of those armed forces. It should demand that measures be taken to put an end to their activities; in particular, all Member States should prohibit the recruitment and transit of mercenaries on their territory.

21. Portugal should be condemned, not only because it was not complying with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and because it refused to withdraw its armed forces and to eliminate its bases in Africa, but also because it was committing acts of provocation against the independent States of that continent. However, the responsibility for the action against the population of Territories administered by Portugal lay not only with that country or with the "unholy alliance"; other imperialist countries, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany and other members of NATO were also sabotaging the implementation of United Nations decisions on decolonization. In defiance of those decisions, they were giving Portugal military, economic and financial assistance. Were it not for their complicity, the problems facing southern Africa would already have been solved.

22. The United Nations should also endorse the legitimacy of the struggle being waged by the liberation movements, and it should also call upon the Member States to support the people against their oppressors. For their part, the socialist countries were proud of the assistance which they were giving to the struggling countries, assistance which was well illustrated by the films shown to the Committee by courtesy of the petitioners. The United Nations should take steps to publicize, also by means of films, the successes achieved by the liberation movements. The specialized agencies likewise had an important role to play in that connexion.

23. The Soviet Union hoped that the peoples of the Territories administered by Portugal would soon be able to realize their desire for independence, and it would continue to provide them with the assistance they needed to free themselves from the colonial yoke.

*Mr. Solomon (Trinidad and Tobago) took the Chair.*

24. Mr. FINGER (United States of America) considered that the USSR representative, in his speech, was making propaganda for his own country rather than serving the interests of the people of Territories administered by Portugal. There was nothing new in his allegations and the United States delegation had already refuted them many times before. Nevertheless, he wished to reiterate that the

United States was not supplying arms for use by Portugal in Africa. As for NATO, it had been set up to prevent Stalinist aggression in Europe and events of the past summer had shown once again that its existence was justified. NATO did not concern itself with other parts of the world, and as a member of that organization the United States had not assumed any commitments outside of Europe.

25. United States opposition to Portugal's policy in Africa was well known. At the same time, no member of NATO could impose its views on any other.

26. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) invited the United States representative to take cognizance of the facts mentioned by him in his statement; his delegation could elaborate on them if necessary. The United States was rendering economic and military aid to Portugal and the Portuguese leaders themselves had publicly acknowledged that that aid was a decisive factor in their action in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

27. The films provided by the representatives of FRELIMO illustrated the Soviet Union's assistance to the struggling peoples. His country took the side of the peoples, whereas the NATO countries were supplying Portugal with napalm and armaments which were used against those people.

28. Moreover, his delegation, far from making propaganda at the United Nations, was merely defending the ideas and principles by which it was guided and it would continue to pursue that policy.

29. Mr. FINGER (United States of America) stated that his delegation had already proved that United States financial aid to Portugal did not constitute an important factor in the policy of that country and that neither the United States nor NATO was supplying any arms to Portugal for use in Africa.

30. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) remarked that the United States representative had admitted that his country was helping Portugal. He repeated that the Portuguese leaders themselves had asserted that that assistance was decisive.

31. Mr. FINGER (United States of America) said that the Soviet delegation could look up the statistics on the scope of United States aid to Portugal; those statistics would enable it to see that United States aid did not constitute an important factor.

### 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 (concluded) (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/C.4/L.910)**

#### DRAFT REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/C.4/L.910)

32. Mr. AGGREY-ORLEANS (Ghana), Rapporteur, submitted the draft report (A/C.4/L.910), drawing attention to the reference to the first part of the Committee's report to be found in paragraph 1, and also to the text of the draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia.

*The draft report was adopted.*

#### *Requests for hearings*

#### REQUEST CONCERNING NAMIBIA (AGENDA ITEM 64) (continued)

33. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received a request for a hearing from Mr. Gottfried Hage Geingob, representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), concerning Namibia. If there was no objection, the communication would be distributed as a Committee document and taken up at the next meeting.

*It was so decided.*<sup>1</sup>

*The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.*

<sup>1</sup> This request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/709/Add.4.