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Chairman: Mr. ACHKAR Marof (Guinea).

In the absence of the Chairman Mr. Carducci-Artenisio (Italy), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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 (chapter on Territories under Portuguese administration) (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. II; A/C.4/618; A/C.4/620) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. N'GYESE (Congo, Leopoldville) said that, although his delegation had already had occasion to speak on the question of the Portuguese Territories at the 1476th meeting, it wanted to add further evidence to the record, since the problem concerned an African territory adjacent to its own country and was therefore a problem with which it was closely concerned.

2. His country had had difficulty in maintaining its national unity and protecting its territorial integrity, threatened by foreign intervention. The task it had now set itself was to remain vigilant, to keep the situation in the surrounding regions under observation and to concern itself with their destiny. Having a common frontier with a territory which was under the heel of a foreign Power, it felt itself to be threatened and it would not be released from that threat until the whole of Africa was released from foreign domination, from which the Congo itself had suffered. His country had therefore decided to help to free African territory from such domination. The delay in the development of Africa caused by aliens who had not the continent's interests at heart could not be speedily rectified except by the united efforts of all the liberated African countries.

3. The problem of the Territories under Portuguese domination constituted a single whole and the solution must be considered as a whole. To begin with, there were two opposing positions on the subject. The first was the African position, shared by Asia and the socialist countries, which wanted an immediate end to

colonialism and slavery in the Portuguese possessions. That position was based on the following facts: first, the peoples of the world were unanimously demanding the end of colonialism in all its forms, because it was an insult to man and belonged to the past; secondly, the people who were living under colonialism were yearning to be rid of it; and thirdly, the delay in fulfilling that aspiration was causing revolts and wars which endangered international peace and security. The second position was that of Portugal, which refused to admit that it was a colonial Power and which, under its Constitution, had incorporated in its territory the countries for which it was responsible, with the intention, on the one hand, of proving that it was not responsible for any territories to which Article 73 of the United Nations Charter could apply, and, on the other, of preventing anyone whatsoever from intervening in the "internal affairs" of Portugal, in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Portugal had taken up an intransigent attitude, absolutely refusing to give the Fourth Committee any information on political matters.

4. It was obvious to his delegation that the Territories under Portuguese administration were colonies, to which Article 73 of the Charter applied. There was indeed a distinct difference between Portugal, which was in Europe, and the Territories under Portuguese administration, whether in Africa or elsewhere.

5. He went on to describe the formation of the colonial empires which, starting in the fifteenth century, had led to the Congress of Berlin of 1885, at which the European countries had defined each Power's zone of influence in Africa. It had not been until 1951 that the colonial Powers had replaced the term "colonies", which had become derogatory and out of date, by that of "overseas" provinces and territories. Notwithstanding that, most of the colonies had now been granted independence and Portugal was the only laggard in that respect.

6. All the colonial Powers had put the same principles of administration and organization into effect in their colonies, setting up a barrier between the white and the indigenous population. Separation was maintained in all fields: housing, hospitals, schools, laws and regulations were different for each category of inhabitant. In the colonial territories, the non-indigenous inhabitants held the posts of authority and commanded the indigenous inhabitants; a White could not eat with a Black; white women were untouchable, but not black women; human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity and equality of men were unknown. In the colonial territories, there were no processing industries; raw materials were exported to the metropolitan country, where they were processed.

7. The statements of the petitioners had shown that the same phenomenon prevailed in the Territories under Portuguese administration and it was clear from

the facts that the Committee could expect nothing good from Portugal. The petitioners had shown that Mozambique was indeed a colony, as were the other Portuguese Territories. That, moreover, was the conclusion which the General Assembly had reached in resolution 1542 (XV). It was not, however, on grounds of geographical separation, difference of race and culture or regional under-development that his delegation intended to prove that those Territories were colonies but on that of the radical opposition between theory and practice.

8. On 12 August 1963, twelve days after the Security Council had adopted its resolution of 31 July 1963 on the Territories under Portuguese administration (S/5380);^{1/} Mr. Salazar had said that there were loud demands abroad for the independence of Angola but Angola was a Portuguese creation and had no existence apart from Portugal,^{1/} that the only national consciousness which had taken root in the province was not Angolan but Portuguese; that there were no Angolans but only Portuguese of Angola. Mr. Salazar had added that the same thing was true of Mozambique, stating that Mozambique was only Mozambique because it was Portuguese.

9. Those statements were the purest fantasy. It was indeed well known that in the African Territories under Portuguese domination there were several categories of inhabitants. There were the citizens, on the one hand, and the indigenous inhabitants on the other. The indigenous inhabitants themselves were divided into "assimilados", "civilizados" and "não-civilizados". The citizens were Whites, Asians, "mestiços" and a small number of Africans who had become "assimilados": they constituted a privileged category. The Whites other than the Portuguese were automatically included in that category without thereby losing their nationality of origin, as were also the Asians. The indigenous Africans alone were subjected to the "indigenato" régime, which gave them no opportunity for advancement. They were divided as follows: first, the "não-civilizados", who were the most numerous—6.5 million out of a total population of 7 million in Mozambique for instance—and who did not yet possess the degree of education or the personal and social habits required to obtain Portuguese citizenship; secondly, the "civilizados", who were able to speak Portuguese; thirdly, the "assimilados", who not only spoke and wrote Portuguese but had severed all links with their tribes, had adopted Portuguese practices and customs and were in stable occupations.

10. It might be wondered in what category the persons who had "a Portuguese national consciousness" were to be found. The idea of a nation was indeed linked with that of culture; the indigenous inhabitants, who did not enjoy the advantages of Portuguese culture because they were denied education, could not acquire a Portuguese national consciousness from one day to the next. He did not think that the Asians and non-Portuguese Whites would give up their nationality, which decreased still further the number of "Portuguese" and revealed that Mr. Salazar's statements were purely in the realm of theory. The claim that Angola and Mozambique were Portuguese creations and that without Portugal there would be no Angola and no Mozambique was quite divorced from reality. That kind of argument had been used about the Congo (Leopoldville), but since Belgium had withdrawn from that country the Congo had continued to exist.

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963.

11. Portugal claimed to be sponsoring the creation of a multiracial and polycultural society. However, despite the repeal of the Native Statute in 1961, nothing had changed in practice. The Minister for Overseas Portugal had stated that, in order to attain the desired end, his Government had thought it necessary to intensify the influx of European Portuguese into Africa, where they would settle permanently. All arrangements had been made, the Minister had said, to deal firmly and realistically with the problem, which was of the deepest concern to the Portuguese Government. The same Minister had added that, in accordance with the rule that power should always be exercised by those most competent to do so, the law would prescribe for all citizens the conditions under which they might take an active part in political life. Such statements banished all doubt: the persons who participated in the government of the country would not be the indigenous inhabitants, who were denied education, but the Portuguese nationals. That being so, there would be no difference between the situation prescribed and that at present prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, against which the United Nations was striving.

12. Portugal had invited representatives of Liberia, Sierra Leone, Tunisia and Madagascar to visit Angola and Mozambique in order to see the work it was doing in those Territories, but the African countries would be in a better position to see when they were invited to those two countries on the day independence was proclaimed. That would be the moment at which they could judge of Portugal's good faith.

13. In fact, Portugal was a usurper in the African Territories and should depart from them as soon as possible. Unfortunately, it was the most obstinate and persistent of all the colonial Powers. It was trying to prove that four centuries of colonization had enabled it to strike deep roots into the soil of Africa. In the United Nations, it was defying the appeals made to it and refusing to admit that the petitioners had any right to speak. Its attitude and its refusal to co-operate in the efforts being made to break the existing deadlock were a clear indication of its bad faith. If Portugal wanted to retain any influence in Africa, it could do so by withdrawing without causing difficulties and by placing itself at the service of the rightful owners, who would then take over. If it did that, its achievements would be respected. By massacring Africans, however, it was forfeiting African respect and was destroying itself.

14. The situation in the Portuguese colonies was too well known for there to be any need to describe it again. The great Powers had yet to be convinced that it constituted a threat to international peace and security. As his country was a neighbour of Angola, which had been put to fire and sword, his delegation's anxiety would doubtless be understood, and Portugal might perhaps invite his Government to negotiate with it agreements of non-aggression and good neighbourly relations. His delegation was convinced, however, that peace and security were threatened not only in its own country but in the whole of Africa and throughout the world. As Portugal was not its neighbour, the Congo (Leopoldville) could not sign any such agreements with that country; it would sign them only with the genuine representatives of the Territories, who were not Portuguese. The Congo (Leopoldville) stood for the immediate liberation of the Territories under Portuguese domination.

15. Portugal was able to resist in Africa because of the aid it was receiving from the countries of the

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which were supplying it with arms and munitions. They had not only not denied the fact but had even admitted it, saying only that their intention had been that the military aid furnished to Portugal should not be used for repressive purposes. If those countries were acting in good faith, they would surely have verified the actual use to which their arms were being put. His delegation trusted that their goodwill would induce them to discontinue supplying arms and aircraft to the Portuguese Government.

16. In his delegation's view, it was through the United Nations that the solution to the problem of the Territories under Portuguese domination would be found. The United Nations did not agree with Portugal when it refused to recognize the international character of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, on the pretext that the Charter was silent on that point. The colonial problem had first become international at the Congress of Berlin, in 1885; later, the League of Nations had concerned itself with the fate of the colonies of which Germany had just been deprived and it had introduced the Mandates System; after the Second World War, the United Nations in its turn had concerned itself with the colonial problem and had made innovations in the status of the colonial territories. The United Nations had provided that the colonies, now called Non-Self-Governing Territories, should evolve towards independence. Article 73 of the Charter had emphasized that the interests of the original inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount and had spoken of the "sacred trust" accepted by the Administering Members to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of those Territories. Since it was a trust they had accepted, the Administering Members had to render account of its fulfilment to the United Nations. That was what Portugal refused to admit. The United Nations was fully competent to deal with the colonial problem without any restriction.

17. His delegation believed in peaceful progress, but in order that peace might reign justice too must prevail. There could be no justice while the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms was hindered and human dignity was not respected. Every colonial system was the negation of justice and should therefore be eliminated without any delay or equivocation.

18. In his delegation's opinion, the solution to the problem lay in granting independence forthwith to the Territories concerned. For that it was relying on the United Nations, and in particular on vigorous action on the part of the Security Council.

19. In order that the Territories under Portuguese rule might gain independence with Portugal's co-operation, a goodwill mission should be entrusted to a committee which might be composed of NATO countries such as the United States, France, the United Kingdom or Belgium, two African countries and one Asian country, and which would strive to persuade Portugal to change its attitude. Lisbon would not be an appropriate meeting-place, in view of the courtesy due to the country visited.

20. The problem of the Territories entrusted to Portugal was not solely an African problem, it was one that concerned all mankind.

Mr. Achkar (Guinea) took the Chair.

21. Mr. MATSEIKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) observed that, despite the wave of national

liberation that had swept the world, bringing independence to many colonies, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and other Territories administered by Portugal remained under colonial domination. Thanks to the protection of a few Western Powers, Portugal was continuing to defy the United Nations and to flout the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and other resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In its colonies, which it falsely described as "overseas provinces", poverty, arbitrary rule and forced labour continued to prevail and the indigenous inhabitants, despoiled of their land, were subjected to pitiless repression and deprived of all rights.

22. Portugal had its own special conception of the principle of self-determination and was seeking to reduce the issue to a question of definition. Self-determination, however, could be nothing other than the right to national independence. It was pointless to speak of self-determination while the Portuguese Territories were administered from Lisbon, without the participation of the indigenous inhabitants. The new so-called Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, the so-called constitutional and administrative reforms, were merely manoeuvres by the Portuguese Government to oppose the national liberation movement; they did not accord with the aspirations of the people and brought no change in any sphere—political, social or economic. The United Nations was not called upon to discuss the notion of self-determination, but rather to help the inhabitants of the Portuguese Territories to gain independence. The petitioners had shown that the Portuguese Government's attempts to give the impression that it accepted the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination were for the sole purpose of misleading world opinion and facilitating the task of those who maintained that international peace and security were not threatened.

23. His delegation was glad to note that the delegations of the African countries were not deceived by those manoeuvres and that they considered that the conditions necessary for establishing useful contacts with Portugal would not be met so long as Portugal denied the right of the indigenous inhabitants of its colonies to self-determination, independence and sovereignty. In his delegation's view, the only possible basis for negotiation with Portugal was that provided for in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and in paragraph 5 of the Security Council resolution of 31 July 1963 (S/5380). Yet instead of complying with the provisions of that paragraph, Portugal was continuing to oppose the nationalists; it was putting the areas occupied by the African patriots to fire and sword, imposing barbarous repressive measures and conducting a war of extermination. It was almost four months since the Security Council resolution had been adopted and not a single one of its provisions had been observed.

24. The problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration was not the first one concerning which indigenous inhabitants had requested assistance from the General Assembly, which had responded by adopting resolutions that generally remained a dead letter. The time for appeals was past; the General Assembly must act with determination.

25. The reason for the Assembly's past failures was well known: it was the material support which Portugal was receiving from its allies in NATO, without which it could not maintain its domination and pursue its war of extermination. The petitioners had given eloquent

information on the subject. Moreover, the report submitted by the Secretary-General (S/5448)^{2/} in accordance with the Security Council resolution contained no reply from the United States, France or the other NATO countries regarding the steps taken or contemplated by them in compliance with that resolution, particularly steps to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government. The United States representatives had stated before various United Nations organs that their Government's policy was in conformity with the provisions of Security Council resolution S/5380, but Mr. McNamara, the United States Secretary of Defense, had recently said in the United States Senate that his country was linked to Portugal by several agreements and that since 1950 it had supplied Portugal with military aid amounting to \$328 million. There was no guarantee, despite the fine words of the United States representatives, that that military aid was not being used for repressive purposes in the Portuguese African colonies. The truth of the matter was plain: Portugal's allies were not applying the Security Council resolution and were continuing to supply Portugal with arms.

26. The General Assembly should therefore request the Security Council to take the most vigorous action to compel all Member States to put the Security Council resolution of 31 July 1963 into effect. Mere words were no longer enough; effective steps must be taken. The question of the Territories under Portuguese administration was of the utmost importance and urgency and it must be solved both in the interest of the indigenous inhabitants and for the prestige of the United Nations.

27. Mr. KUNDYA (Tanganyika) said that the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration, like that of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa, was an explosive colonial issue. It was a major international issue which might have most serious repercussions both for the United Nations and for world peace and security. After several years of careful study, it had been established that Portugal was blindly waging a war of extermination. His delegation had on several occasions exposed some of the evils of such a policy and had registered its stronger condemnation of the Portuguese colonialist and dictatorial régime. The nationalist leaders from Mozambique who had appeared before the Committee had confirmed the wickedness of the Portuguese policy, which had made millions of victims throughout the centuries.

28. Faced with such a situation, it would be dangerous for the United Nations to acquiesce in endless talks on issues whose causes and solutions were clearly recorded in the documents produced from its deliberations. The time had come to act on the resolutions already adopted, in compliance with the wishes of the enslaved peoples and of the bulk of mankind, who revolted against the acts of aggression and genocide that were daily being committed. It was the patent duty of the Fourth Committee to ensure that the year 1963 was marked by the adoption of vigorous measures to enforce the implementation of the resolutions. It was not enough to expose the suffering of the people who were languishing under the Portuguese yoke; the Committee must concentrate on revealing the reasons why the United Nations had not yet succeeded in taking decisive action which would immediately and definitely eliminate colonialism and white racist domination. The settler minority, who were pursuing a policy of slavery,

exploitation and humiliation in the Portuguese Territories, must be made to abandon the power they had usurped. Immediate action was imperative to save Africa and the whole world from the scourge of another war arising from colonialism.

29. Events in the Portuguese colonies and in the European-settler-dominated regions of Southern Africa had reached a dangerous stage because the decisions taken by the United Nations had been sabotaged by powerful forces both within and outside the Organization. The full blame for that lay with Portugal and its allies and supporters, especially the NATO Powers. In his book *To Katanga and Back*, Mr. Conor Cruise O'Brien had described the way in which anti-United Nations forces operated, and the Reverend Michael Scott had repeatedly drawn the Committee's attention to the need for a careful study of the activities of the great mining companies which operated throughout Southern Africa, including the Portuguese colonies. It was an undeniable fact that Portugal, a tiny and backward country in which illiteracy and poverty were still rampant, could not employ huge army, naval and air force units in a barbaric and expensive war of genocide if it did not receive the necessary arsenal from leading Western countries, especially the members of NATO. United States aircraft were used in order to drop napalm bombs on villages in Portuguese Territories; and the petitioners had confirmed that the United Kingdom, France and Belgium—to name only a few countries—were placing an inexhaustible pool of armour at the disposal of Portugal, which proclaimed itself to be the guardian of Western civilization and influence in Africa. That aid was used, not only to intensify massacres in the Portuguese Territories, but also to commit frequent acts of aggression against independent African States.

30. Such a situation could not but be viewed with grave concern by the Africans, who saw the racist régime of South Africa and the minority settler régime of Southern Rhodesia receiving the same weapons as Portugal and from the same sources, and who were well aware of the unholy alliance existing between those régimes. A dispatch from Pretoria, dated 7 November 1963 and published in the *Tanganyika Standard* of the following day, stated that South African scientists were studying recent developments in the field of airborne weapons, including deadly gases whose power of massive devastation was comparable to that of nuclear bombs. That ominous report came from South Africa just when co-operation between the United States of America and the South African Government was being extended to the field of nuclear science through planned experiments in a mine. It had been claimed, of course, that such experiments would not involve the testing of nuclear weapons.

31. The Tanganyikan and other delegations were determined to expose the great conspiracy against Africa and its peoples. Of that conspiracy the well-known members of the unholy alliance—Verwoerd, Salazar, Welensky and Field—were the external manifestation. But those tyrants derived their power from the subtle and ruthless combination of certain international forces which together constituted a dangerous monster. It was those economic and political forces, directed by a few highly influential people, which were responsible for the threat to peace and security in Africa and throughout the world, and which did not hesitate to paralyse the United Nations in Africa.

32. Although the United Nations had so far failed to realize its urgent and compelling aim of wiping out

^{2/} *Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1963.

colonialism and racism, the Africans and the anti-colonialist forces in the United Nations remained confident that one day the monstrous conspiracy would collapse. So far, the leaders of the Western Powers had been content to defend human rights with words, without in practice defending the Africans who were involved in a war for freedom. The history of Africa showed that Portugal and its allies had, throughout the ages, displayed the same perfidy. Those countries had been very largely responsible for slavery and the slave trade; and African labour had contributed to the wealth of the Western world in the past, just as it continued to do through the remaining colonial territories in Africa. After a campaign led by such men as William Wilberforce, and sanctions on trade imposed by such men as William Cadbury at considerable sacrifice to their companies and to themselves, the slave trade had been brought to an end. The Tanganyikan delegation was grateful to the Indian delegation for having recalled that the economic, diplomatic and other sanctions advocated today, in the Committee, against South Africa and Portugal had been recommended in the nineteenth century, in similar situations, by men of great moral and spiritual integrity. After the abolition of the slave trade, the forces of evil had given their monster a new skin—that of colonialism, which had spread throughout the world and to which Portugal, South Africa and their allies were still clinging. Despite their protestations, NATO and the Western world were deeply involved in the efforts of Portugal and South Africa to perpetuate their cruel domination. Nothing less than a complete break with those régimes, and punitive action against them, could convince the Africans that pronouncements about the defence of freedom and democracy were not a mere smoke-screen to conceal a great conspiracy against Africa. The monster, of course, was now changing into another skin—that of neo-colonialism.

33. The petitioners from Mozambique had rightly called attention to the fact that the Africans' struggle was opposed by powerful forces which were organized from various parts of Europe and America and of which the colonialist and racist Governments were merely agents. All delegations condemned Portuguese colonialism and South African apartheid. Yet it was common knowledge that members of NATO, and a few other countries, maintained cordial relations with Portugal and South Africa. The United States had a military base in the Azores—*islands which belonged to Portugal*—and was proceeding with the establishment of new relations with the South African Government by preparing to carry out nuclear experiments in a South African mine. It was of course easy for the United States to pursue co-operation with the racist Government of South Africa, since an active section of the United States population still held that racial discrimination was part of its heritage. However, it was paradoxical that a powerful radio station financed by the United States should exist in Portugal and be called Radio Free Europe. Portugal was a member of NATO and of the so-called free world, and in that capacity received military, economic, psychological, moral and other support from its allies. Portugal and South Africa had at the United Nations a powerful lobby which, while condemning the policies of those two countries, sabotaged any call for sanctions. In the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, many delegations had shown how some United Nations publications gave more space to the statements of those who connived at Portuguese and South African policy

than to others; and the attitude of the Press was well known.

34. If the United Nations was to attain its objectives, it must immediately break the vicious circle created by the evil forces which were hostile to the Organization's principles and to African and human freedom. The world must be told which were the countries and forces obstructing the triumph of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and who were the leaders of the forces creating a threat to peace and security in Africa. The United Nations should use its full influence in order to make those leaders, who often occupied very high policy-making positions, realize the evil that they had done; and it should encourage the efforts made by peace-loving organizations which were defending the cause of the colonized peoples' freedom. The resolutions adopted at the current session must be sparing neither in condemnation of nor in warning to the agents of a wicked system which was threatening to engulf Africa and the entire world.

35. The Africans, for their part, would continue to depict the true situation in the Portuguese and other colonies in Africa. The world must realize that they took an unambiguous stand on the issue of African liberation, as had been shown at the Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in May 1963. As Mr. Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika, had said: "The real, humiliating truth is that Africa is not free; and therefore it is Africa which should take the necessary collective measures to free Africa". The African countries accordingly asked the General Assembly and the Security Council to take, in 1963, decisive and punitive action against Portugal and South Africa. To do nothing when men were dying daily in order to free themselves would be to invite the condemnation of history. The Africans, together with the other defenders of freedom, must strike the final blow against colonialism.

36. The Tanganyikan delegation would support any draft resolution incorporating the views which he had outlined.

37. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) observed that a number of questions which had been recorded as separate agenda items—Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, South Africa's policies of apartheid, the delaying tactics of the United Kingdom Government in meeting the rightful aspirations of the inhabitants of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, the colonial war in Angola, and Portugal's policy of repression—were really only different aspects of one and the same problem: that created by the efforts of the colonial Powers and colonialist forces to maintain white domination in Africa and to safeguard their political and, above all, economic interests there. Those forces' unity of action was manifested in various ways. In particular, it was asked that Portugal should not be forced into isolation, and that country was supplied with arms and equipment enabling it to pursue a policy which constituted a threat to world peace and security. There was in Southern Africa an alliance which, solely concerned to defend its interests, paid no heed whatever to what might happen as a result of its actions; and it was no accident that the Governments members of that alliance were those of neighbour countries. Those Governments, however, had no right to remain in Africa without the agreement of the people of Africa, who were the rightful owners of their own land.

38. In the view of the Yugoslav delegation, the problem of the Territories under Portuguese "domination"—one

could not speak of Portuguese "administration", since Portugal did not respect the Charter—could not be considered apart from the general complex of the problems confronting the United Nations in its attempts to create conditions for a lasting peace. The elimination of colonialism was one of the prerequisites for the successful implementation of the aims of the Charter, for active peaceful coexistence and for the preservation of world peace. Only in that light was it possible to evaluate the policy of each Member State and its actual effect on the efforts of the United Nations to solve problems by negotiation and to eliminate the seeds of conflict.

39. It was often claimed that Member States differed not with regard to objectives but solely with regard to the methods and the time required for the attainment of those objectives. Those differences could not be considered small when men were being killed daily as a result of Portuguese repression. A choice of methods must therefore be made. With its policy of repression and colonial war, its constant infringement of the United Nations Charter, its disrespect for the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations, the Portuguese Government left only one choice open. Whereas the overwhelming majority of States were fighting for the strict implementation of the Charter's provisions, the Portuguese Government, aided by its allies, was jeopardizing peace in Africa and throughout the world.

40. The argument had often been heard that the colonial war in Angola and in so-called Portuguese Guinea, and the preparations for armed action in Mozambique and the other Territories under Portuguese rule, were not a danger to international peace and security. More than once it had been emphasized that the situation in those Territories was simply a source of international friction the continuation of which "could" bring about a threat to international peace and security. Already in March 1961, two years previously, the United States representative, Mr. Stevenson, had made such statements in the Security Council about the war in Angola.

41. In order to answer the question whether the situation in the Portuguese Territories threatened international peace and security, it was appropriate to review the developments since March 1961. Portugal had continued to reject all co-operation with the United Nations and the assistance extended to it by the Organization in finding solutions to the problems confronting it. Portugal had rejected every peaceful offer by the political leaders of those Territories to start negotiations, had continued its colonial war in Angola, had begun the same kind of war in so-called Portuguese Guinea and had set on foot preparations to fight against the nationalist forces in Mozambique.

42. In order to pursue that course, Portugal was using the arms delivered to it by its allies under the NATO agreement. Although the members of that alliance maintained that Portugal would be breaking the agreement by using those arms outside the Atlantic zone, Portugal had in fact used them in Africa and that violation had been followed by no sanctions. Obviously such an attitude on the part of its allies did not encourage Portugal to respect the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

43. It was high time to look truth in the face and recognize that all attempts so far made to obtain Portugal's co-operation, in its own and in the general

interest, had failed. It was time to take joint positive action to end bloodshed and eliminate a dangerous source of conflict. The situation in Angola had in no way improved, and the people of that country had no reason to believe that they would be called upon to determine their own future.

44. To those who still thought that reason would prevail, the Portuguese Government had given the best reply during the fruitless talks which it had held with a group of African States. Such talks had been bound to fail, for the Portuguese Government, pursuing its policy of imposing solutions, demanded as a pre-condition acceptance of its own conception of the right to self-determination, which was tantamount to a negation of that right. The Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had said that "self-determination meant the consent of the people to a certain structure and political organization" (S/5448, sec. IV). As could be seen, the population was ignored when decisions on the political structure or the organization and administration of the State were made, and its existence was recognized only when it had to be induced to approve decisions and measures in whose preparation it had had no part. The inhabitants had to accept the decisions arrived at by Portugal, which took no account of their rights and aspirations and treated them only as subjects for exploitation. Prime Minister Salazar had moreover declared that Angola was a Portuguese creation and did not exist without Portugal, and that Mozambique was only Mozambique because it was Portuguese. That was tantamount to saying that if the ties which bound it and made it a part of the Portuguese nation were destroyed, Mozambique would no longer exist, either in history or in geography. Such words would be comical, had they not been spoken in a tragic context.

45. In the opinion of his delegation, the right to self-determination, as defined in the United Nations Charter, was the right of every people to decide freely on its own destiny, political structure and type of State and administrative organization.

46. The Portuguese Government was accusing the rest of the world of misunderstanding it, of infringing its rights and of seeking to impose upon it solutions contrary to its will. Leaving aside the fact that the Portuguese Government refused to co-operate save on its own terms, denied the rights of millions of Africans and was conducting a war in territories under its rule, the Portuguese representative had told the Committee that his country wished the international community to heed its grievances and that the Charter should not be interpreted as imposing upon it all sorts of obligations. In other words, Portugal wanted everyone to respect its rights—and the Yugoslav delegation would willingly do so, in so far as the rights claimed were in line with the provisions of the Charter—but it also wished to be able to decide what obligations were incumbent upon it as a member of the international community.

47. The Portuguese interpretation of the right of self-determination was unacceptable to the Yugoslav delegation. However, the latter was not asking the Portuguese Government to accept the Yugoslav interpretation of that right. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the other Territories under Portuguese domination were the only ones entitled to decide upon the interpretation which was applicable in their particular case. For the Yugoslav delegation only those peoples' own interpre-

tation, given in complete freedom with the help and under the supervision of the United Nations, was valid. Even if only one tenth of the statements made by the representative of Portugal concerning the well-being and prosperity of the Territories under Portuguese rule were true, the Portuguese Government would have no reason to fear the results of an internationally controlled plebiscite.

48. Unfortunately, the Government of Portugal did not believe its own statements and was not ready to accept such a popular expression of opinion. The dialogue which had begun had been broken off and there were no signs that the voice of reason would prevail. A stalemate had been reached, and Mr. Stevenson had pointed out at the 1045th meeting of the Security Council on 26 July 1963, the potential dangers in such a situation. It was in the light of those dangers that the Committee should seek a solution for the problem, and it was by eliminating the dangers that the risk of an explosion might be averted.

49. In so far as there was still some hope that the problem could be solved by peaceful means, it emanated from the representatives of the peoples under Portuguese rule. While expressing their determination to fight for their rights by whatever means Portugal imposed on them, they stated that they were still, despite everything, ready to respond to understanding with understanding, and that they would spare no effort to put an end to the bloodshed and to prevent a gulf of hatred from opening between two peoples who were called upon to collaborate. But they had also stated rightly that the form and spirit of such co-operation would be determined by the conditions in which they acceded to independence.

50. The time had come for many countries, particularly those which were helping Portugal through supplies of arms and in other ways, to reflect on the implications of that last proviso. A large number of countries, desiring to protect their particular political and economic interests, had supported the armed struggle against colonial peoples, being convinced that the bitterness of the past would be effaced by accession to independence and the offer of economic aid. Although economic difficulties and the realism shown by the newly liberated countries had on the whole led to that result, the fact remained that all the vestiges of the past and all resentment had not been completely removed. The more the colonial peoples suffered from the short-sighted policy of the countries helping the colonial Powers to maintain their domination, the more difficult it would be for them to forget. That was a fact which should be taken into consideration by those who at the present time were helping Portugal to wage colonial wars in Africa.

51. Portugal's past and present attitude clearly revealed that it was not willing to collaborate with the United Nations in finding a solution for a problem whose existence threatened international peace and security. The Yugoslav delegation accordingly considered it indispensable that the General Assembly should request the Security Council to take specific, positive measures and to call upon the Member States to apply them strictly. If, owing to a veto, it proved impossible to adopt a resolution in that sense, the question should be brought back to the Security Council, month after month, until a solution was secured.

52. The Portuguese Government persisted in living in the past and refusing to face facts. According to its representatives, Africa was for Portugal a moral

justification and a *raison d'être*; without Africa, Portugal would be a small nation; with Africa, it was a great country. But Portugal was making a mistake: the greatness of a country did not lie in refusing to allow other nations to achieve independence; precisely the opposite was true. Other colonial Powers had understood or had been forced to understand that greatness consisted, not in the forcible maintenance of colonial empires, but rather in the respect of the right of all peoples to equality. Their realistic attitude indicated the path which should be taken, and it was to be hoped that, before it was really too late, the Portuguese Government would show that it was able to learn something from history.

53. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) said that he would confine himself to emphasizing certain salient points concerning the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration. The African national opposition to Portuguese colonialism had taken the form of an organized and systematic armed revolt which, since March 1961, had affected more than 10 per cent of the territory of Angola and over 15 per cent of Portuguese Guinea. The greater part of the Portuguese Army was stationed in those Territories—40,000 men in Angola, 20,000 in Guinea and Mozambique. The settlers had been called up and armed, and young Portuguese soldiers who had been demobilized were being offered land and loans to encourage them to settle in the colonies. That settlement programme had been included in the second Portuguese national plan, and over 20 per cent of the budget in Angola and 30 per cent of that in Mozambique were to be devoted to it. In 1962, according to information from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there had been over 170,000 Angolan refugees in the Congo. According to other information, supplied by UNESCO, only 470 Africans in Angola and 160 in Mozambique had been attending secondary schools in 1961; the illiteracy rate was 97 per cent in Angola, 98 per cent in Mozambique and 99 per cent in Guinea. The Portuguese Government itself admitted that less than 1 per cent of the Africans in the Territories under its administration were "assimilados".

54. None of the nine resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since the fifteenth session on the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration had been implemented by Portugal. The latter had been condemned by the Security Council in April 1963 for having violated the territorial integrity of Senegal, and was continuing to violate the territory of countries adjacent to its African possessions, such as the Republic of Guinea or Tanganyika. The policy of political and economic integration which it was pursuing in its possessions was iniquitous; the political, administrative, legislative or constitutional reforms which it was instituting were designed to distract the attention of world opinion from the central problem, which was that of self-determination and independence for the African populations. The 1963 Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces in no way changed the situation, as laws could be made effective only by those who were called upon to apply them. The Portuguese Government continued to receive economic, financial and military aid from certain Member States, and was spending over \$200 million yearly to maintain its troops in Angola. Mention might also be made of arbitrary arrests, the suppression of the African political opposition, the destruction of African villages, bombing, and poverty.

55. But the main problem was not whether the Portuguese régime was good or bad, whether the reforms were really applied or whether the African population was really being called upon to participate in the institutions which had been imposed upon it. It was that of discovering how far the principle of self-determination was applied by Portugal in its colonies, and to what extent African participation there was in line with the principles set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter and in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 1542 (XV). Under resolution 1514 (XV), self-determination was the right of all peoples freely to determine their political status and freely to pursue their economic, social and cultural development. It was precisely on that point that the preliminary conversations held in the United Nations between the representative of Portugal and the representatives of certain African countries had foundered; Portugal had used those conversations as a manoeuvre in order to give the impression that it was prepared to engage in a dialogue, and had professed an idea of self-determination which reduced that concept simply to rather nebulous participation by the Africans, although the representatives of the African countries had tried to make it see reason. The communiqué which those countries had issued (A/C.4/620) was worthy of study: despite their disappointment, the African States declared their readiness to continue the conversations.

56. He accordingly saw no point in planning any measures additional to those set forth in the resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council—in particular General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII), Security Council resolution S/5380, and the resolution of the Special Committee (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. II, para. 251). All efforts should be directed towards persuading Portugal to implement those resolutions. He reviewed some of the steps which Member States might take to that end. In his opinion, a special responsibility rested on certain Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Brazil—by reason of their position or of their close ties with Portugal. He was quite aware that the great Powers found it difficult to take up a strong position in the United Nations, but the situation in the Portuguese Territories demanded the adoption of clear stands. Moreover, the solidarity of the NATO countries should not be such as to blind them. Portugal's colonialist policy was not a unique phenomenon: it had been pursued by other countries, and the results were known. The countries which had close ties with Portugal should understand that.

57. He went on to make some suggestions which he thought might be helpful in solving the problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration. In the first place, the General Assembly should recognize the extreme gravity of the situation, which was a threat to international peace and security—as was proved by the bombing of a locality in Senegal in the spring of 1963, the repeated violations of the air space of Tanganyika and the Republic of Guinea, the undertaking of the Heads of African States and Governments at Addis Ababa to support the African national liberation movements, the Portuguese military build-up and the movement of refugees. The isolation of Portugal in the United Nations and throughout the world must be intensified. The General Assembly should remind Portugal that its behaviour in respect of its African Territories was incompatible with its position as a Member State. The resolutions already adopted should be strictly applied by all Member States, and more especially by Portugal's allies. All African States should refuse to allow Portuguese aircraft to fly over their territory and, if they did not go so far as to break off diplomatic relations with Portugal, they should at least recall their ambassadors. Finally, a thorough study should be made of the interests involved in Portugal's relations with certain Powers; it would be all the more searching and valuable if it embraced all the African territories under foreign domination whose situation presented the same characteristics. At the end of December 1963, when the Secretary-General had submitted his report on the shipment of arms to Portugal and on the fresh information supplied at the current session, the question of the Portuguese Territories might be brought before the Security Council again. Further consideration of the question by the Council should make it possible to assign responsibilities and to evolve such additional measures as might be necessary to break down Portugal's resistance.

58. Mr. AZIMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) proposed that, in view of its importance, the cable from the General Secretary of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, which the Chairman had read out at the 1483rd meeting, should be circulated as a Committee document.

It was so decided.^{3/}

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

^{3/} See A/C.4/618/Add.1.