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Chairman: Miss Angie BROOKS (Liberia).

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. Mrs. MENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) noted that, in spite of the recommendations of the General Assembly, and in particular of resolution 1542 (XV), the Government of Portugal still maintained that the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration were "overseas provinces" and formed an integral part of metropolitan Portugal. Yet it was the present situation in the Portuguese colonies, even more than Portugal's refusal to comply with its obligations under the Charter, that was causing legitimate concern. All the information that had been gathered concurred in stating that Angola and Mozambique were probably the most backward territories in the whole of Africa. There was little or no education; forced labour was organized at both the official and the private level; civil liberties and civil rights were non-existent. According to some information, over 50,000 Angolans had died in the repression of the last few months, and the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) had advised the General Assembly that there were tens of thousands of Angolan refugees on its territory. Why had the Government of Portugal expelled all foreign correspondents from Angola and refused to admit to the Territory the United Nations Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, and why did it not transmit the required information? After the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)), such a negative attitude was an anachronism. It was high time—and the United Nations should make that quite clear to them—that the colonial Powers abandoned their illusions, for the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible and, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith.

2. Although none of the colonial Powers was able to learn anything from experience, Portugal would be

no more successful than the others in escaping the inevitable liquidation of colonialism. At most it could succeed in making armed rebellion universal throughout its colonies, for no dependent people would resign itself to subjection and, moreover, the free people of Africa were resolved to suppress all forms of domination, using whatever means might be required. Even India had made it known that its patience was not endless. The Cuban delegation would support any draft resolution designed to strengthen the authority of the United Nations and any measure that would affirm international co-operation for the liquidation of colonialism while avoiding the anarchy of unilateral decisions, which were sources of friction and conflict and, in the last analysis, threatened international peace and security.

3. Mr. ATIDEPE (Togo) thanked the Government of India for having raised the question under discussion, for its solution was of vital importance for the authority of the United Nations and for the future, and even the lives, of the 12 million inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies. The problem was to determine the extent to which a Member of the United Nations was bound to respect the obligations resulting from its adherence to the United Nations Charter and, in particular, to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly. In his delegation's opinion, the United Nations could not attain the goal it had set itself without the complete and unqualified collaboration of its Members; the attitude of a State which refused to comply with a resolution for which it had not voted endangered the United Nations. He therefore urged Member States to respect their obligations.

4. He drew attention to the various texts which placed Portugal under an obligation to transmit information on the territories under its administration: apart from Article 73 of the Charter and principle IV in the annex to General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), the General Assembly had specifically considered, in its resolution 1542 (XV), that the territories under the administration of Portugal enumerated in that resolution were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter, and that consequently there was an obligation on the part of the Government of Portugal to transmit information about them. The representative of Portugal had endeavoured, without convincing anyone, to impugn the value of those clear texts and to demonstrate that they did not respect the spirit of the Charter; he had asserted that the inhabitants of the so-called Portuguese Guinea, of Goa, of Mozambique and of Angola were true Portuguese and that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was inapplicable to them; hence, according to him, to seek to apply the benefits of that resolution to them would be tantamount to interfering in the domestic affairs of Portugal. The situation in Angola, however, made it crystal clear that the living conditions of the indigenous population

and their civil and political rights were not those of free citizens in an independent State.

5. He went on to quote from various authors, according to whose writings slavery still persisted in Angola, even though that country was called a Portuguese province, and all male Africans were subject by law to periodic slavery; they had neither civil rights nor the right to education, and there was practically no medical aid. There were several categories of inhabitants in Angola, the criteria for their differentiation being based on no principle recognized by civilized countries; in 1950, out of 4.5 million Angolans there had been only 30,039 assimilados. Why, then, were the Portuguese unwilling to admit what all the world knew, and what all the facts confirmed, that Angola was a colony governed by settlers employing abominable methods? The medical service and the educational service were rudimentary. In 1954, according to a pamphlet issued by the American Committee on Africa, Angola had had only one hospital bed per 2,250 people and only 156 physicians and there had been different wards for black and white patients. Only ninety-one Angolans had been studying in the twenty-one secondary institutions in Angola, as compared with 2,023 Europeans and 462 assimilated Mulattos; in 1956, there had been 737 children of black Africans enrolled in the primary schools out of a total school population of 9,860; and in 1950 the illiteracy rate had been 97 per cent. Books and newspapers were censored, passes from the Administration or the police were very often required for travel and corporal punishment was customary. That was the picture of a typical colony; it was doubtful whether it resembled the picture of any metropolitan Portuguese province.

6. The Portuguese colonialists claimed that the inhabitants of their territories were completely Portuguese and that they wished to remain so. It would appear from what they said that the revolts and the inhuman war, almost amounting to genocide, which were breaking out in Angola and elsewhere were being directed from outside and that they were machinations of the totalitarian Powers. The same allegations had been made in the case of Viet-Nam, Madagascar and Black Africa; they were symptoms of an unmistakable disease—colonialism. The voice of Portuguese colonialism, however, could not drown the voice of the millions who wanted to be master of their own destiny and yearned for independence, like the other peoples of the earth.

7. His delegation denounced the abominable crimes that had been committed by the Portuguese imperialists. It saw nothing that would justify the Portuguese overseas territories being regarded as integral parts of metropolitan Portugal and it considered that those territories had all the characteristics of colonies and that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples should consequently be applied to them. It would support any draft resolution directed towards that end.

8. Mr. DARMAN (Somalia) reaffirmed the profound conviction of his delegation that Portugal and all the States responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories were obliged to transmit information under Article 73 of the Charter; all the other obligations embodied in Chapter XI were legal and no Member State was entitled to abrogate them by arbitrary interpretation or by unilateral action. The continued refusal of the Portuguese Government

to transmit information on its colonial territories was tantamount to a refusal to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. The United Nations could not permit one of its Members to disregard its decisions in that way.

9. The Somali delegation regretted that the Portuguese Government, in defiance of the Charter and of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 1542 (XV), was refusing to discharge its responsibilities both towards the United Nations and towards the indigenous people. It was the task of the United Nations to help those people who were subjected to brutal treatment in their struggle for independence. The argument that Goa, Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea were an integral part of metropolitan Portugal was a legal fiction too absurd for the United Nations to consider seriously. The people who were oppressed by the Portuguese militarists should be given the opportunity of setting up their own administration and of achieving independence, in accordance with the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly. The Portuguese Government was at present engaged in a ruthless campaign to suppress the Angolan people, resulting in grievous violations of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms embodied in the Charter. Portugal must know, however, that the States Members of the United Nations would not hesitate to have recourse to the sanctions provided in the Charter. It should therefore reconsider its policy in the light of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; failing that, it would be the duty of the United Nations to put an end to the ruthless colonial rule of Portugal.

10. He did not feel that there was really any need for the Committee to go on considering the question, for the photographs displayed were sufficient evidence of the struggle of the Angolan people for liberation. The Committee should therefore propose to the General Assembly measures that could put an end to the colonial rule in the so-called overseas provinces of Portugal.

11. Mr. NEKLESSA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that the General Assembly, the Security Council and several specialized agencies, in particular the ILO, had already had occasion to consider the situation in the Portuguese colonies. A number of decisions had been taken, the most important of which was perhaps General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), which put an end to the legal subterfuges whereby the Government of Prime Minister Salazar still claimed that those colonies were overseas provinces. In that resolution, which had been adopted after lengthy discussions in the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly made it quite clear that the provinces were colonies pure and simple and that, in accordance with the Charter, the Portuguese Government was consequently obliged to transmit information concerning them.

12. As a result of the rapid succession of events, while the Committee had endeavoured year after year to obtain the information requested from Portugal, the colonial system had gradually collapsed and the General Assembly had adopted at its fifteenth session the Declaration calling for the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism. It was impossible to consider the question of the non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) without taking into account that Declaration,

which applied to the Portuguese colonies as to all other colonial territories. If Portugal had wanted to co-operate with the United Nations, it would have taken steps to implement those decisions, in particular General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It had in fact refused to co-operate with the United Nations in any way and had not even participated in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Not content with defying the United Nations in that way, Portugal had defied the whole world by starting a war in Angola in which 100,000 people had already been killed and 150,000 others forced to take refuge in neighbouring countries. The armed intervention of Portugal in Angola constituted a violation of the entire Charter, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of numbers of General Assembly resolutions; he had already stated, at the 1193rd meeting, that the photographs displayed to the Committee recalled the atrocities committed by the Germans of the Hitler régime during the Second World War.

13. In 1961, the reign of terror had been intensified in all the Portuguese colonies; it was the product not only of colonialism but also of fascism. The indigenous inhabitants were denied all political rights and were at the mercy of police organizations which were reminiscent of the Gestapo. They were subjected to forced labour, particularly in the Portuguese plantations and enterprises. The planter had only to tell the authorities that he needed manpower in order to be supplied immediately. Quoting a Portuguese source, the report of Captain Henrique Galvão, he said that forced labour was worse than ordinary slavery because the slave owner took care of the livestock he bought, whereas the "entrepreneur" was not concerned about the fate of the workers engaged by the State because he could easily replace the manpower that failed. There was also another form of slave trade: Portugal had agreed to provide the Transvaal and Nyasaland with over 300,000 workers from Mozambique, to be used in the gold and coal mines; that labour brought it \$5.25 per head, part of which was paid in gold, so that each year the Portuguese Government received 1 million gold pounds. The villages of Mozambique had been emptied. The people were subjected to intimidation by the Portuguese authorities, which even inflicted bodily harm on them. In that way the United States, United Kingdom, Belgian and Portuguese capital was safeguarded and the foreign companies made profits which sometimes amounted to 50 per cent of their investments. The pillaging of natural resources enabled the Portuguese Government to cover the chronic deficit in its foreign trade balance.

14. The régime which Portugal had established in the nine Non-Self-Governing Territories it still possessed, which covered a total area twenty-three times that of metropolitan Portugal, would have disappeared long since had it not been for the aid of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It was NATO, i.e. mainly the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which provided all the colonial wars with the armed forces without which, according to the British weekly newspaper *Tribune*, Portugal would have been in serious difficulties in Angola. When the United Kingdom Government had been asked in the House of Commons to recall the warship sent to Angola, it had stated that there was no question of abandoning an old member of NATO. The United Kingdom had even sent 4,000 soldiers to take part

in joint manoeuvres in order to allow Portugal to send more troops to Angola. As for the United States, it had sent Portugal arms and equipment to the value of \$300 million when the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal had correctly reminded it that it had bases in the Azores and that it was its moral duty to show its gratitude. That explained why the General Assembly resolutions remained ineffective. Portugal was also relying on the support of South Africa under an agreement, apparently concluded in November 1960, whereby each country was to help the other in the event of a serious threat to its security. Portugal had already followed South African advice in enacting security measures calculated to suppress the national freedom movements.

15. Collective colonialism had also been apparent in the United Nations itself when, at the proposal of the representative of Liberia, the question of Angola had been considered by the Security Council; the adoption of a draft resolution^{1/} calling for urgent measures had been prevented by some of the NATO associates. The colonialists had not, however, been able to repeat those manoeuvres in the General Assembly, to which the question had now been referred. In April 1961, the Assembly, by its resolution 1603 (XV), had instructed a sub-committee composed of five States to study the situation. It was obvious that Portugal would continue to sabotage the decisions of the General Assembly as long as it felt that it had support. The United Nations, however, could not go on indefinitely allowing Portugal to refuse to comply with its decisions, especially as it was essential for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) that the war in Angola and the suppression of the national freedom movements should be brought to an end, that foreign troops and bases should be evacuated, that respect for democratic rights and freedoms should be ensured and that legislative elections should be held in the Portuguese colonies. The implementation of those provisions would brook no delay, for the attitude of Portugal was threatening peace throughout the world.

16. Mr. SABO (Niger) thanked the representative of Guinea for informing the Committee about the situation in Angola. The representative of Portugal had also provided information by submitting to the Committee some photographs on which he had no reason to congratulate himself. It was to be hoped that in the future Portugal would supply more detailed information on all the territories it administered, which it described as overseas provinces.

17. Portugal, which was still at the stage of slavery, used as an excuse for withholding information about its colonial territories an argument which could not convince the Committee. In the past France, without the consent of the indigenous population, had regarded Algeria as consisting of French departments. The French Government and a large proportion of the French people had, however, recognized their mistake and were endeavouring to remedy it by recognizing the right of the Algerian people to independence.

18. He asked the Portuguese representative whether a referendum, even a spurious one, had been held in its so-called provinces in order to enable the people to make their choice. In view of the horrifying photographs which had been shown to the Committee, he asked the Portuguese representative whether the

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 945th meeting, para. 107.

responsibility for the barbarous acts committed by both sides rested with the people who were trying to free themselves from an oppressive tyranny, or with the colonizing Power which was trying, contrary to common sense, to maintain its domination over those people by force and violence.

19. He urged Portugal to follow the example of France, to abandon the misleading appellation of Portuguese overseas provinces, and to recognize the right of the overseas peoples to independence.

20. The delegation of Niger was prepared to support any draft resolution which would give peace and freedom to the peoples of Africa. He had heard with some concern that a draft resolution was being prepared which would expel Portugal from the United Nations. The result would be to give Portugal complete freedom of action with total impunity, or in other words to sign the death warrant of all African nationalists in the Portuguese colonies.

21. Mr. ENE (Romania) observed that Portuguese colonialism had once again been detached from the general context of colonialism and appeared as a separate item on the agenda of the General Assembly. Portuguese colonialism, however, differed from colonialism in general only by the stubbornness with which Portugal ignored the facts of the twentieth century. The war in Angola, the repressive measures, and the flagrant violation of the fundamental human rights in the other Portuguese colonies, clearly indicated the way in which the administering Power intended to comply with its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter. Portugal's conception of colonialism, even more than that of other countries, was utterly inconsistent with the fundamental principle of Chapter XI.

22. The basis of the ideology preached by the Portuguese colonialists was the concept of assimilation, which implied the eradication of the African personality and was therefore opposed to the principle laid down in Article 73 of the Charter that the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount. In practice the policy of assimilation led to the most shameless racial discrimination, to the violation of the essential interests of 99 per cent of the colonized population, and to the refusal to recognize that the people were entitled to take part in managing the affairs of the colonies.

23. It should be borne in mind that Portugal's policy was not an isolated factor: on 21 May 1961 The New York Times had pointed out that there was a current of thought in favour of the establishment of a confederation of territories—Angola, Mozambique, the two Rhodesias, South Africa and perhaps Katanga—as "a white bulwark against the black tide". The United Nations should act immediately to frustrate such schemes, which would involve the danger of Angola's situation being reproduced in Mozambique and the other colonies. Since the outset of the war in Angola, Portugal had doubled the number of its troops in Mozambique and was arming the Portuguese residents. The United Nations should pay attention to the problem raised by the existence of over 130,000 refugees from Angola, and the Government of the Congo (Leopoldville) had warned the colonialist authorities in Angola against committing any new act of aggression in their efforts to seize Angolans who had fled from the Territory. Nevertheless, on 30 June 1961 the Portuguese Government had stated

that there was no question of accepting a theatrical appeal to the Portuguese authorities to cease measures of repression in Angola. It was therefore less important for the Committee to concern itself with the Portuguese Government's refusal to submit information under Article 73 e of the Charter than to consider the danger to the peoples of Africa and to world peace and security constituted by the policy followed by Portugal in Africa and elsewhere. Indeed, the Security Council and the General Assembly had already considered the situation in Angola and had taken steps, although the Portuguese Government had submitted no information. Merely to appeal to the Portuguese Government to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) would simply minimize the issue. Furthermore, it would be idle to expect Portugal to submit objective information as long as the war in Angola continued, since the colonial authorities had adopted such measures that it would be difficult to assess the reasons for the liberation movement and the identity of the opposition forces. A rigid censorship had been imposed, and anyone who defended the right of Africa to self-determination was brought before military courts.

24. Even if the Portuguese Government did decide to submit information, it would doubtless attempt to cover by a legal fiction the crimes committed in Angola and Mozambique since, according to the issue of The New York Times which he had already quoted, Mr. Salazar himself had stated that everything about Angola could be discussed except the fact that it was, and always would be, part of Portugal.

25. The study of any colonial issue led to the inevitable conclusion that the immediate liquidation of colonialism had become imperative; that conclusion was especially true of Portuguese colonialism. In order to preclude fresh crises like the Angola crisis in the Portuguese colonies and elsewhere, the United Nations should decide on definite steps to ensure implementation in the Portuguese territories of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, oblige the Portuguese colonialists to apply those steps, and supervise their execution. First of all the Portuguese must be compelled to stop the colonialist war and every other form of pressure exerted on the people by means of their armed forces.

26. Mr. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) said that his delegation deeply regretted the attitude of the Portuguese Government, which, despite General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), persisted in regarding its colonies as overseas provinces and in refusing to transmit information on them to the United Nations. That attitude, which had been the cause of extremely regrettable events, threatened order and peace on the African continent and offended the sense of justice of Member States of the United Nations. It was therefore not surprising that sympathy for the Angolan nationalists had been expressed in the Committee.

27. The so-called legal arguments put forward by the administering Power could neither change geographic, ethnic and cultural realities nor silence the Member States of the United Nations, who had a legal and moral obligation to defend, without discrimination of any kind, the legitimate aspirations of all peoples subject to foreign domination. It was useless for Portugal to seek to justify itself by those arguments, for history had witnessed the spectacular failure of such endeavours again and again. The function of law was not blindly to safeguard narrow

and unjust interests at the expense of the general good, but to establish order on the basis of contemporary realities. The movement for the emancipation of peoples had now become an irresistible force. No arbitrary decision by a colonial Power or a neo-colonialist State could therefore bar the road of freedom to peoples subject to foreign domination. Moreover, the conscience of mankind required that relations between peoples should be based on the democratic principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, and there could be no hope of maintaining order and world peace if those tangible realities of the modern world were ignored.

28. For many years, the Administering Members had maintained a position which denied the dynamic character of the Charter, whose provisions they interpreted as narrowly as possible in the context of the balance of power existing at the time of the San Francisco Conference. However, the great majority of Member States had maintained that the Charter was above that conception, should assist in the maintenance of order and peace, and must be interpreted in accordance with the present needs of international life. After several years of controversy the chief Administering Members, under the growing pressure of the movement for the liberation of the dependent peoples, had finally abandoned their position, adopted the view of the majority of Member States, and voted for General Assembly resolution 1467 (XIV), which had established the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 e of the Charter. The United States of America and the United Kingdom had even taken an effective part in the work of that Committee and had not opposed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

29. It therefore seemed strange that, while the international community was pressing on with democratization and seeking to rid itself completely of the colonial system, the Portuguese Government should continue to maintain the idea of the balance of power and to dispute the legality of the General Assembly's resolutions in order to maintain its domination over the territories it administered.

30. His delegation hoped that Portugal would recognize the demands of international life, become aware of its duties to humanity, serve its own interests by adopting in time a more understanding attitude, and co-operate with the United Nations in all sincerity and good faith to achieve the purposes laid down in the Charter.

31. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) made no distinction between territories which had not yet achieved independence and the Portuguese colonies. The General Assembly must therefore take whatever action was necessary to ensure that the provisions of that resolution were also respected in the case of Portugal's dependent territories. It would be both illogical and intolerable if Portugal could maintain for years its domination over the Non-Self-Governing Territories it administered by defaulting in its obligations under Article 73 of the Charter.

32. Since his country's admission to the United Nations it had spared no effort to defend the just cause of all peoples subject to foreign domination. The position of the Afghan people and Government in that respect was based on a desire for justice

and the hope of dissipating for ever the clouds of hatred which still darkened the world.

33. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) said that General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) stated clearly and unequivocally that the Portuguese colonies were Non-Self-Governing Territories to which all the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, and in particular of Article 73, were applicable; furthermore, that resolution declared that Portugal as an Administering Member was bound to transmit information on the conditions prevailing in all its colonies.

34. The attempt of the Portuguese Government to evade its obligation in that respect on the pretext that the territories in question were overseas provinces of Portugal was ridiculous and could deceive no one. It merely proved that Portugal was among the diehard colonial Powers which refused to accept the inevitable. Portugal was resorting to that constitutional trick because it meant to keep its territories, which were a source of riches, to continue to exploit their inhabitants, and to prevent them from becoming independent States or reverting to other States to which they had originally belonged.

35. In Angola, the largest of Portugal's colonies, four and a half million Africans were deprived of their civil rights and subjected to the completely arbitrary power of the colonial authorities, who could imprison them without trial or send them to concentration camps or to forced labour on plantations or public works where only the strongest could survive. Racial discrimination became genocide, and the inhuman policy of "assimilation" was fiercely resisted by the indigenous population. The African inhabitants of Angola were deliberately kept in such ignorance that, according to a statistical yearbook on Angola published by the Portuguese authorities themselves, their illiteracy rate reached 99.6 per cent. Again according to Portuguese sources, in 1958 only six indigenous students had attended high school out of a total population of four and a half million. UNESCO statistics showed that annual expenditures on education amounted to tenpence per inhabitant in Angola, ninepence in Mozambique and only threepence in Portuguese Guinea. In those circumstances it was not surprising that the national liberation movement in Angola had steadily increased in importance for years, in spite of cruel repression by the colonizers. Angola was at present the scene of a war of extermination waged by the Portuguese against the defenceless population.

36. The situation was hardly better in the other territories under Portuguese administration. In Mozambique, for example, the indigenous inhabitants were forcibly recruited for work in the plantations of the white colonists or the South African mines, and any resistance was punished by death. Portuguese Guinea had next to no health services and thousands of people died of disease every year, while the number of indigenous inhabitants who starved to death was increasing. The island of São Tomé was one of the largest concentration camps in Portuguese Africa. In the island of Timor the inhabitants were subjected to slavery, terror and torture, and the Portuguese authorities had twice in 1960 carried out mass arrests among them. Similar conditions existed in the Portuguese territories of Goa, Damão and Diu, which should have been returned to India long ago.

37. Portuguese colonialism could not continue to exist without external assistance, and everyone knew

that only aid from members of NATO, and in particular from the United States and the United Kingdom, enabled Portugal to continue the war in Angola. In that war an important part had been played by the West German militarists, who had willingly placed at the Portuguese Government's service the experience they had acquired during their struggle against the national liberation movements in the former German colonies in Africa, and during the extermination campaign they had waged against the peoples of Europe during the Second World War. It was not fortuitous that the atrocities committed by the Portuguese in Angola had so much in common with the atrocities committed by the German Hitlerites in the European countries occupied by Germany.

38. Moreover, as The New York Times of 5 June 1961 had reported, the West German Government had supplied Portugal with 10,000 Israel-made sub-machine-guns to assist it in its struggle against the national liberation movement in Angola.

39. Mr. AYNOR (Israel) stated, on a point of order, that the assertion just made by the Czechoslovak representative had been investigated by the countries implicated and proved baseless.

40. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq) said, on a point of order, that as no official denial had yet been received from the Israel Government, the Czechoslovak representative had been entitled to raise the question of the arms supplied to Portugal.

41. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) said that the photographs exhibited in the Committee room proved that the methods of the Portuguese colonizers could be compared with those of the Hitlerite fascists during the Second World War. The whole world denounced with disgust the crimes committed against defenceless civil populations. Two British newspapers — The Observer of 21 May 1961 and The Guardian of 3 May 1961 — estimated that between 30,000 and 50,000 Africans had been killed in Angola, and reported that many thousands were imprisoned in the concentration camps of Bafa dos Tigres, Pôrto Alexandre and Silva Pôrto. The Daily Telegraph of 3 May 1961 had quoted the statement of a Portuguese Air Force officer that the terrorists should be hunted down like game, that there was no alternative to extermination and the United Nations could protest as much as it liked. Furthermore, according to the Diário de Lisboa of 5 May 1961 the Portuguese Minister of the Army had declared to troops embarking for Angola that the terrorists should be fought like savages. Those two statements left no illusions about the official aims of the Portuguese fascists in Angola. The whole world must resolutely denounce the cruel colonial régime of Portugal.

42. To achieve its aims, the Portuguese Government was squeezing the destitute inhabitants of its colonies and of Portugal itself and spending vast sums on its army and police, budgetary allocations for which had amounted to £49 million whereas the total expenditure for public and social services, including education, had amounted to less than £64 million. Large supplementary sums had recently been budgeted for the waging of war in the colonies.

43. The increase of the profits of a number of Portuguese companies and banks in Angola to £5,855,990 in 1959 showed the interest of foreign monopolies in the outcome of the war in Angola.

44. In the debate on the submission of reports on Non-Self-Governing Territories, and more particularly on the Portuguese colonies, the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was a new factor to be borne in mind. The proposal made by the Indian representative at the 1193rd meeting that a special Committee should be set up to collect and publicize information on the Portuguese colonies, and other proposals, should not be discussed until the General Assembly had ruled on the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

45. Mr. AYNOR (Israel) said that, in a desire to re-establish the truth, he would assert categorically that: firstly, Israel had not sold arms to Portugal; secondly, arms made in Israel had never been delivered to Portugal through a third Power; and thirdly, the Israel Government had decided in June 1961 not to sell arms to any country engaged in a colonial war.

46. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that his delegation had voted for General Assembly resolutions 1541 (XV) and 1542 (XV) in the firm belief that the nine territories listed in the latter resolution were Non-Self-Governing Territories and that the Portuguese Government was bound by Chapter XI of the Charter to transmit information on them. Spain had done wisely in announcing its readiness to conform to the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter. Other colonial Powers had preceded Spain along the same path and had thus contributed to the achievement of self-rule and independence by many Territories.

47. To the deep regret of his delegation, Portugal continued to assert that the territories under its charge were overseas provinces and an integral part of the metropolitan country. That line of reasoning could never be accepted by the Lebanese delegation, and had been rejected by the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly. The historic moves in Africa and the awakening of the masses to their natural rights would undoubtedly overcome Portugal's stubborn policy.

48. The Lebanese delegation called upon Portugal to abandon its rigid policy, which was no longer tenable after the emancipation of so many peoples of Asia and Africa and their rejection of foreign domination. It was in Portugal's interests to try to establish friendly relations with the territories it had ruled for centuries. That was a solution which would benefit both parties. To suppress the people and to impose on them an outmoded relationship must ultimately lead to a popular revolt and a bloody war like that now taking place in Angola, a war which might well spread to other territories under Portuguese administration.

49. Portugal must pay heed to the resolutions of the General Assembly; otherwise it would complicate still further the problems of Africa and endanger international peace and security. Its friends, and particularly its allies, ought to exert every kind of pressure to persuade it to change its attitude. It could at least make a gesture by acknowledging before the Committee that the territories it administered were not self-governing, and by expressing its readiness to submit information on them in pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter. Such a decision would reduce tension and a solution could then be sought for restoring peace in Angola.

50. Lebanon was ready to support any draft resolution designed to end the present lamentable situation in Angola and to recognize the right of the

peoples of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.