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

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

AGENDA ITEM 65

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*continued*) (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VIII)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. JARGALSAIKHAN (Mongolia) said that his Government had always supported the right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea to self-determination and independence; it was helping them in every way in their fight for freedom and would continue to do so. Unfortunately, the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations with a view to the implementation of the Declaration in the Territories under Portuguese administration had so far had little effect, not only because of the administering Power's refusal to comply with them but also because of the political and diplomatic sabotage carried out by various Member States, particularly those belonging to NATO.

2. Referring to the statements by Mr. Salazar mentioned in the report of the Special Committee (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VIII, annex 1, para. 9), he said he wondered who was really responsible for the backwardness of the Territories. The Portuguese colonizers had kept the latter's inhabitants in a state of poverty and slavery, exploiting them mercilessly, and that had so far been the only result of the civilizing mission to which Portugal was fond of referring. Unfortunately, nothing better could be expected of the

newly formed Portuguese Government, since its leaders were not interested in altering the situation in the Territories. The administering Power was also strengthening its alliance with the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, not only in order to resist the freedom movements but also in order to take action against the independent African States in the region. The only solution was therefore to continue the fight against Portuguese colonialism.

3. The freedom fighters had succeeded in liberating large sections of the Territories, in which they had built hospitals, agricultural co-operatives and schools, and they deserved great praise for their success. However, despite the victories of the liberation movements, the Portuguese colonialists were continuing to exploit the resources of the Territories, thus creating a situation which was becoming a threat to international peace and security. The administering Power was continuing to use napalm, white phosphorus and other weapons of mass destruction and had turned Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea into a bulwark of colonialism in southern Africa. The Portuguese authorities openly stated that their policy served the interests of the so-called free world, and the countries which represented those interests—the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and other members of NATO—gave the administering Power valuable economic and military assistance, without which Portugal would not be able to cope with the resistance of the freedom fighters or defy world public opinion. In that connexion, attention should be drawn to the nefarious part played by foreign monopolies in the Territories under Portuguese administration; not only did they shamelessly exploit the indigenous population but their activities were also a source of assured income for Portugal which enabled it to maintain its hold over the colonies. Those interests and the Portuguese colonialists were making large-scale plans to attract foreign capital, not in order to benefit the indigenous population but to help the European settlers, as could be seen from the Zambezi basin development project.

4. It was essential to condemn not only Portugal but also the Western Powers which were continuing to help it in violation of the General Assembly resolutions. The Security Council should therefore take the necessary steps to guarantee the implementation of those decisions, make sanctions against Portugal mandatory and put a stop to the activities of the mercenaries. The General Assembly, for its part, should call upon all States to give all possible moral and material aid to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

5. Mr. KOUAME (Ivory Coast) said that, although it was encouraging to note the constant efforts being made by the

United Nations to ensure implementation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples, it was disappointing to see that some Member States, particularly Portugal, refused to respect the wishes of the international community. The report of the Special Committee showed that the conduct, policy and objectives of the Portuguese Government in the Territories under its administration were expressed in ruthless repression and the unjustified maintenance of the cruel colonial system. The twenty-eight resolutions adopted by the United Nations organs had meant nothing to Portugal. Instead of ensuring that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) advanced towards self-government and independence, the administering Power was obstinately stifling the legitimate aspirations of the African nationalists by the use of armed force.

6. The report of the Special Committee also stated that Portugal not only had increased the size of its army by more than 80,000 men in 1967 but also had just enacted a law to extend the length of military service. In addition, the administering Power was preparing to use chemical defoliants and poison gas to exterminate the freedom fighters and civilian population of the liberated areas.

7. Portugal was continuing to resort in its Territories to the inhuman practice of forced labour, which had long ago been abolished in all civilized societies. The result of five centuries of colonization was nil, because, instead of schools, hospitals, universities and information centres, Portugal was maintaining concentration camps in the Territories. As for the policy of assimilation, which had been rejected by the indigenous population, the facts proved its ineffectiveness, for in those 500 years Portugal had been able to assimilate only 4 per cent of the Africans of Angola.

8. The Portuguese authorities could still adopt a realistic policy based on dialogue rather than war, because they would never break the will of the people to attain independence. His delegation felt that the international community should support that will by calling upon the Security Council to examine all possible means of ensuring the implementation of the seven resolutions which it had adopted concerning the Territories.

9. His country still maintained that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea should exercise their right of self-determination as soon as possible, and it was prepared to support any recommendation the Committee might make to enable those peoples to shake off the Portuguese colonial yoke.

10. Mr. AMMAR (Tunisia) said that he wished first of all to congratulate those peoples which had attained independence in the eight years since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and those administering Powers which had co-operated with the United Nations to that end. In that connexion, special congratulations were due to the people of Equatorial Guinea, which had recently won its independence, and to Spain, which had faithfully carried out its international responsibilities. It was regrettable that, at the same time, it should be necessary to condemn vigorously the lack of understanding shown by other Member States, such as Portugal, which were stubbornly maintaining their colonial rule. The truth was that

Portugal did not wish to co-operate in the task of decolonization upon which the United Nations had embarked more than twenty years before. It could only be hoped that the Portuguese people would forsake their position of isolation and adopt an honourable policy which recognized the legitimacy of the fight for freedom being carried on by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Until such a transformation took place, however, Portugal would be continuing to flout the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and to deny the competence of the United Nations to deal with the question, maintaining that peace reigned in its colonies and that they formed an integral part of metropolitan Portugal.

11. Those who were fighting against Portugal merely wished that country to change its policy, recognize the right of peoples to self-determination and establish with them relations based not on exploitation and racial discrimination but on mutual respect and mutual interest. His delegation had therefore been pleased to hear the conciliatory statement made at the 1774th meeting by Mr. Khan, in the name of FRELIMO, concerning the possibility of negotiating a peaceful solution with Portugal. It might be helpful if the great Powers, on which the maintenance of peace largely depended, were to use their influence to persuade Portugal to negotiate peacefully the liberation of so many millions of oppressed human beings. He recalled, in that connexion, that the United States representative had said that his Government did not agree with Portugal's colonialist policy. In practice, unfortunately, the great Powers were increasing their support of Portugal, thus enabling it to carry on an increasingly bitter struggle against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). In pursuing that course, the Portuguese authorities were acting against the interests of their own people, which were continuing to bear the heavy cost of three retrogressive and inhuman colonial wars.

12. The profits from the African Territories, far from being invested in the economic and social development of the Portuguese people, were used largely for military purposes and to fill the pockets of a racist and reactionary minority. By persisting in that policy, Portugal was mortgaging its own future, for there was no question that the freedom fighters would win the ultimate victory. The history of decolonization and Tunisia's own experience indicated that that was the inevitable outcome. For its part, Tunisia would continue to support all those who were fighting against injustice and exploitation, and it welcomed the support that the liberation movements were receiving not only in the United Nations but also in neighbouring countries—former colonies—which were holding firm despite the threats and reprisals of the colonialists. The United Republic of Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Zambia and Guinea were particularly worthy of praise for the disinterestedness with which they were doing their duty. It was essential that all countries which were devoted to peace and justice should co-ordinate their efforts to make the struggle more effective. That could begin with comprehensive educational work in the Portuguese colonies so that, when they won their independence, the necessary leaders would be available to ensure their economic, social and cultural development. With that

end in view, Tunisia would continue to offer scholarships to students from the Territories under Portuguese rule and to co-operate in various ways with the liberation movements.

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

13. Mr. GATUGUTA (Kenya) said that the Government of Portugal was continuing to defy the United Nations with impunity and to oppress the peoples of the Territories under its administration. If the United Nations did not take immediate, effective action against the racist régimes in southern Africa, a most dangerous racial conflict might erupt on that continent. The Portuguese "empire", the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had joined forces to crush African nationalism. The Europeans who dominated those areas were clinging to the nineteenth-century concepts of colonialism and were prepared to go to any lengths to defend their privileges. Despite everything, however, the Africans were fighting fearlessly for their freedom, and that fight would be victorious even though it would bring much suffering, as had been the case in Kenya and in other African countries which had taken up arms against their oppressors. In that connexion, his delegation viewed with concern the assistance being given to Portugal by the NATO Powers and by other imperialist countries. His delegation appealed to those Powers to discontinue their aid to Portugal so long as that country was waging a genocidal war in its colonies. It was essential that the dictatorship and reign of terror in Africa should be brought to an end and that urgent measures should be taken before it was too late. Kenya, which had broken off diplomatic, consular and trade relations with Portugal, appealed to other States to do the same in the name of democracy, freedom and world peace. His country was co-operating with the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and giving direct support to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination. The previous year, for example, it had given 10,000 doses of smallpox vaccine to FRELIMO and had offered scholarships to refugee students.

14. It was also essential to put an end to the practice of forced labour in the Portuguese colonies. Despite the Portuguese representative's denials, it was known that thousands of men and women in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were being treated as slaves of the Portuguese administration and of the large plantations. Many Angolans had been deported to the cocoa plantations on the island of São Tomé. In Mozambique, some 75,000 Africans were sent to South Africa each year to work in the mines. That was an abject form of slavery which the United Nations should abolish.

15. Finally, his delegation appealed to the Western nations to adopt an understanding attitude and not oppose the steps taken to eliminate colonialism. He recalled that, during the current session, many Western countries had abstained in the vote on a very moderate draft resolution (A/C.4/L.908) concerning Southern Rhodesia. Of those countries, only Canada, one of the oldest members of the Commonwealth, had shown its understanding of the problems of southern Africa by supporting the draft resolution. He hoped that other delegations would follow suit.

16. Mr. SPACIL (Czechoslovakia) said that, in 1970, ten years would have elapsed since the General Assembly's adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It would be desirable for the occasion to be marked by the elimination of colonialism throughout the world, but such hopes were illusory because the colonial Powers, especially Portugal, refused to co-operate in attaining that goal. The United Nations should therefore make the greatest possible effort to assist the peoples struggling to free themselves from Portuguese domination. In 1962, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1807 (XVII) calling upon Portugal to recognize without delay the right of those peoples to self-determination and independence. In the six years since then, the General Assembly and the Security Council had adopted a number of other resolutions on the subject, but the results obtained were far from satisfactory. It was true that success had been achieved in mobilizing world public opinion against the Salazar régime and that the struggle of the patriots in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea had been recognized as legitimate. However, all that had had very little impact on Portugal's colonial rule. In the face of the liberation movements, the Salazar régime was employing increasingly brutal methods, including even the use of napalm and chemical weapons, as had been shown before the Fourth Committee. Portugal had almost five centuries of colonial experience, but that was not the main reason for its success in maintaining its rule. What made it possible for Portugal, a country with only 10 million inhabitants, to control a vast overseas empire was the fact that it was not alone but had the backing of a sort of "collective colonizer" represented by the huge economic and military potential of a number of imperialist States. That "collective colonizer" granted Portugal an enormous amount of material assistance within the framework of NATO. No one denied Portugal the right to be a member of that military alliance or to receive aid, but if that aid was used against the national liberation movement which the United Nations had recognized as legitimate and just, the Organization had not only the right but also the obligation to criticize strongly the granting of such aid and to strive for its discontinuance.

17. The "collective colonizer" also gave Portugal substantial economic and material assistance through the activities of monopolies of a number of Western countries—activities which should be regarded as contrary to the relevant General Assembly resolutions in conformity with the conclusions reached by the Special Committee.

18. It was noteworthy that intensive co-operation and integration of colonial power had developed from the joint actions of the racist régimes in Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Besides being intended to halt the decolonization process in southern Africa, that co-operation directly endangered neighbouring independent States. Such activities violated the principles and explicit provisions of the Charter and of a number of United Nations resolutions. A further danger which the Committee should note was the ever-increasing use of mercenaries not only in colonial Territories but also in the territory of neighbouring independent States.

19. His delegation felt that the United Nations should not confine itself to denouncing colonialism in general terms and making general appeals on behalf of the anti-colonialist struggle. At the current session, the General Assembly should take steps to provide concrete assistance to the freedom fighters and should formulate measures to be taken against the forces which were aiding Portuguese colonialism. It was to be hoped that such proposals would find concrete expression in draft resolutions.

20. Mr. SHAMMOUT (Jordan) said that it was regrettable that the Government of Portugal had for so many years ignored General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). He could not accept the argument of the colonial régime in Lisbon that Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) constituted Portuguese provinces. The indigenous inhabitants of those Territories did not participate in the administration of their own affairs, were repressed by the Portuguese armed forces, were deprived of the fundamental rights set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and did not want their countries to be considered provinces of Portugal. On the contrary, they had been waging their war of liberation in order to put an end to Portuguese domination and exploitation and to win their independence.

21. Although Portugal was a small country with limited resources, it had been able, thanks to the aid provided by its allies, to increase its military forces in Africa so that it could consolidate its position and attack certain independent African States.

22. His country had been consistent in its support of the principle of self-determination and considered it imperative, owing to the negative attitude of the Portuguese Government, that all countries should provide the African peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination with the moral, political and material support necessary to enable them to continue their struggle. Thus, more effective measures must be taken to put an end to Portugal's colonial policy and to remedy a situation which was fraught with danger.

23. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that it was regrettable that Portugal continued to regard Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea as "overseas provinces" despite the General Assembly decision which declared them Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. In refusing to grant its colonies independence, and in combating the freedom fighters both inside and outside those Territories by force of arms, Portugal had created a real threat to world peace in the southern part of Africa.

24. It was also regrettable that certain Western Powers, which could influence Portugal to change its attitude, were providing it with material help and thus enabling it to continue its war of repression against the indigenous inhabitants. His delegation had stated on previous occasions that it was in the interests of Portugal to come to terms with the peoples of those Territories and to treat them as equals. A new approach was needed both inside and outside the United Nations if the situation was to be resolved. The Portuguese authorities should abandon their dogmatic and

anachronistic colonial thinking and the Western Powers should stop giving them assistance.

25. Lastly, if Portugal persisted in its attitude the Security Council should examine the matter with a view to exerting the necessary pressure on Portugal so that the people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea could achieve their freedom and independence.

26. Mr. ONGAGOU (Congo, Brazzaville) said that the question under review was of the greatest importance for his country because it had a common border with one of the Territories claimed by the Portuguese and Portugal and its allies were constantly committing acts of piracy, provocation and intimidation along that border, disrupting the daily lives of the peaceful inhabitants of the area.

27. Portugal was able to persist in its policy of enslavement only because it was deriving enormous profits from all its colonies, and was able to disregard the provisions of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions because it could count on the criminal assistance of the NATO Powers. That situation had been aggravated by the recent formation of a tripartite alliance between the Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria régimes aimed at keeping Africa under the colonial yoke through the systematic exploitation of its resources.

28. No one could accept the Portuguese Government's allegation that Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea formed part of Portugal when it was engaged in a continual struggle against the nationalists of those Territories, resorting to cruel and inhuman methods analogous to those of Hitler's fascism. The argument that the citizens of Portugal and those of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were equal was hardly credible considering the low level of literacy and standard of living of the indigenous inhabitants of those Territories. Portugal and its accomplices were stubbornly pursuing a policy of extermination and exploitation which conflicted with the logic of history and the principles of the Charter. It was inadmissible that, at a time like the present, a small group of individuals should claim the right to dominate millions of human beings.

29. His country kept a close watch over the border zones where Portuguese troops appeared from time to time and it had on various occasions denounced the acts of aggression committed by the Lisbon Government against its Territory.

30. His delegation had listened with great interest to the statements made by the representatives of FRELIMO and it congratulated them on their heroic struggle and their victories. It made common cause with the neighbouring fraternal countries where Portuguese mercenaries were committing acts of aggression and it urged them to remain on the alert in order to prevent any development which might endanger world peace and security. Portugal and its allies must be made to realize that there were only two alternatives for a people which had resolutely decided to fight for its freedom: to perish or to be victorious. No matter what weapons and means of extermination the colonial Power used, it could not triumph. The nationalists were fighting for a legitimate and lofty ideal, whereas the invaders were following a haphazard course of action in

pursuit of an ephemeral goal and their cause was doomed to failure. Instead of persisting in their shameful policy, Portugal and its allies should realize that the days of colonial rule were over and that the times called for peaceful coexistence and co-operation. If the administering Power did not heed the voice of reason it would have to contend with the determination of all Africans in general and of the nationalists in colonial countries in particular either to live in freedom and enjoy their rights fully, or to die.

31. His country supported all those fraternal peoples who were subjected to foreign domination and it would continue to give them every possible assistance. His delegation was fully prepared to co-operate with the United Nations in imposing mandatory sanctions on Portugal immediately in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the struggle of the African nationalists, together with the application of such sanctions, would bring about the liberation of the peoples of that continent.

Organization of work (A/C.4/712)

32. Mr. MARTINEZ (Argentina), referring to the statement made by the Chairman at the 1785th meeting, said that he considered the number of days allocated to the

general debate covering the ten remaining items under paragraph 3, sub-paragraph 3 (a), of document A/C.4/712 to be sufficient. However, it was possible that certain delegations would not wish to speak in that debate and he therefore suggested that the list of speakers should be closed at any early date in order to ascertain whether there would be enough speakers to cover the ten days allocated.

33. His delegation proposed that a time-limit should be fixed for the submission of draft resolutions and that it should allow for a period of at least twenty-four hours between the distribution of a draft and the beginning of the discussion relating to it.

34. Although all the items on the Committee's agenda were clearly of great importance, some, such as those mentioned in paragraph 3, sub-paragraphs 3 (b) (vii) and (viii), of document A/C.4/712, were less controversial and accordingly could be considered before sub-paragraph 3 (vi).

35. The CHAIRMAN assured the Argentine representative that his suggestions would be taken into account and said that if the debate continued longer than planned, the possibility of holding night meetings would have to be considered.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.