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**Chairman:** Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO  
(Guatemala).

## AGENDA ITEM 54

**Non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV): report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1; A/C.4/582, A/C.4/588) (continued)**

### GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. WALL (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, stressed that the United Kingdom had not supplied military equipment to Portuguese African territories and was not aware of any evidence that equipment supplied to metropolitan Portugal had been used in those territories. In that connexion he would point out that no direct evidence had been adduced in support of the assertion that arms supplied by the United Kingdom had been used in Angola. The continued repetition of that assertion did not make it true.

2. The repeated reference to "NATO arms" might have led to the conclusion that large quantities of arms stamped with a special mark of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had been seen in Angola. He could only reiterate the statement made by the United States representative at the 1402nd meeting that NATO was a co-ordinating mechanism which did not own any arms or troops. Furthermore, as the United States representative had pointed out, after the end of a world war it was impossible to keep a check on the international surplus arms market.

3. A second allegation which had been made both by petitioners and by some members of the Committee had been that the United Kingdom was prevented from adopting a more helpful attitude towards the nationalist movements in Angola and Mozambique because of its concern for its financial interests in those territories. Not one of the critics had, however, indicated the volume of that investment or had mentioned the fact that it represented but an insignificant proportion of total United Kingdom interests overseas and a minute percentage of the United Kingdom's

normal business interests in any one of a number of independent African States. The argument had no direct relevance to the problem before the Committee.

4. At the 1394th and 1397th meetings, Mr. Mondlane, one of the petitioners, had told the Committee that a student from Mozambique on his way to an educational institution abroad had been arrested by Portuguese police in Salisbury and that Portuguese police were often enabled to hunt down refugees in Southern Rhodesia and to deport them to Mozambique without the Southern Rhodesian police being involved. The true facts about the former allegation were that a student, Mr. Massinga, had been found inside Southern Rhodesia on 26 January 1962 by the immigration authorities of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Although he had had a passport, he had apparently evaded the normal immigration control and had crossed the frontier illegally, thus rendering himself liable to be returned to the country from which he had entered the Federation. He had therefore been escorted back to the frontier between Mozambique and the Federation. Such action would have been taken by any country in the world. With regard to the second allegation, he had been informed by the Federal Government that the boundaries of national jurisdiction were being strictly observed.

5. Allegations of yet another kind had culminated in the statement the USSR representative had made at the previous meeting. That representative, as also the representatives of other communist countries who had preceded him in the debate, had delivered a series of false and violent attacks on the United Kingdom, solely in pursuit of the cold war aims so dear to the countries which had signed the Warsaw Treaty.

6. The problem before the Committee was that of the non-compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV). Most delegations, although they had severely criticized certain aspects which, strictly speaking, were outside the limits of the item, had nevertheless offered constructive suggestions for a final solution, but certain members, above all the representatives of the communist countries, had ignored the real problem and had failed to suggest a solution which, given the respective positions of the parties to the question, would offer any hope of progress.

7. He did not think that such polemics were relevant to the debate or were of the slightest use in helping the human beings who were the real subject of the discussion. Indeed, the language employed by the USSR representative seemed to be precisely that which would be used by a delegation wishing to distract attention from its Government's unwillingness to furnish information about its own colonies, although it might perhaps be possible to conclude from the long account of the economic development in Estonia given by the USSR representative to the General Assembly on 29 November 1962 (1180th plenary

meeting) that a more co-operative attitude would now prevail.

8. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, protested against the libellous statements made by the USSR representative. He regretted that the Committee had wasted time listening to the unfounded allegations advanced by the representative of the largest colonial empire that the world had ever known. As had been brought out by several delegations at plenary meetings of the General Assembly, it was not fit and proper that a country such as the USSR which, by oppressing and subjugating a large number of nations, had been violating the United Nations resolutions relating to the elimination of colonialism, should launch attacks on countries which gave the United Nations their full co-operation.

9. Mr. BRYKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the reason why the United Kingdom and Spain had rallied to Portugal's side lay in the fact that they were Portugal's accomplices in its colonial war. The representatives of the Western Powers had been unable to adduce any evidence in support of their statements that they were not helping Portugal in that war. Despite their verbal assurances, the fact remained that the people of Angola and other territories under Portuguese administration were being exterminated with the help of arms supplied to Portugal by its NATO allies. The USSR delegation had focused attention on that crucial aspect of the problem because it wished to show why Portugal was in a position to continue its colonial war despite universal condemnation, and to indicate the steps which should be taken in order to put an end to the war in Angola and the violence practised by the Portuguese in the other territories. Slandorous attacks on the Soviet Union would not prevent his delegation from expressing its point of view. The attackers failed to notice that they were undermining the very foundations of the United Nations. The USSR delegation had not referred to the United Kingdom's internal affairs, to the position of Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland, to the fate of the indigenous inhabitants of the United States or Canada or to the position of United States Negroes. It could not be accused of introducing irrelevant issues into the discussion. It was animated solely by the desire to help the colonial peoples to attain independence at the earliest possible date, as indicated in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)). Those who spoke against the USSR were attacking that Declaration.

10. He hoped that the Committee would not be misled. What the United Kingdom representative should do was to indicate why his country had been helping Portugal with arms and why, when it could exert greater influence on Portugal than any other country, with the possible exception of the United States, it had not used its influence for the purpose of persuading Portugal to put an end to the war in Angola.

11. It would be futile for the United Kingdom to think that the Soviet Union would deviate from the path marked out by the Socialist Revolution. The military intervention by the United Kingdom, the United States and other countries on the morrow of the Socialist Revolution, and the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany with the help of a number of countries, including Spain, had both been failures. It would be absurd of the United Kingdom to think that,

having lost its colonies in Asia and Africa, it would be able to get new ones at the Soviet Union's expense, or that it could re-establish monopolist control over any part of Soviet territory.

12. Furthermore, he would point out that his delegation had not invented anything. It had merely expatiated upon what had been said in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1) and by the petitioners.

13. Mr. YOMEKPE (Ghana), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, drew the United Kingdom representative's attention to the fact that no speaker in the Committee had accused the United Kingdom, the United States or any other NATO Power of having supplied arms to Portugal's African territories. The charge made in the Committee was that they were supplying arms to metropolitan Portugal and that the latter was using them against the people of African territories. The assurances which Portugal was said to have given that the arms supplied to it within the framework of NATO were not used in Africa did not carry much weight; as Portugal's entire national effort was now directed to the African war, that country could not be expected to refrain from using all the arms at its disposal.

14. He appealed to the NATO Powers to desist from supplying arms to Portugal, at least at the present stage, when Portugal was involved in a war against African people. His country had no quarrel with NATO as such. He suggested that the allies of Portugal might bring pressure to bear upon it to allow a United Nations commission to visit the African territories and to investigate the allegations concerning the use of NATO weapons.

15. Mr. WALL (United Kingdom) said that it was not his responsibility to defend Portugal or any other country which the USSR representative had attacked in his statement. The fact of the matter was that the allegations that the United Kingdom had been supplying arms to Portugal's overseas territories was untrue.

16. In reply to the Ghanaian representative, he would point out that the United Kingdom Government was not aware that any equipment it had supplied had been used in those territories. He was sure that if the Ghanaian representative had any proof of that, he would produce it.

17. Mr. EBAGNITCHIE (Ivory Coast) observed that despite the historic process which had led to the emergence of numerous independent States in Africa, the Portuguese Government was still stubbornly refusing to decolonize its overseas territories, to abide by the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter and to fulfil its obligations under General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 1542 (XV).

18. Portugal's claim that its overseas possessions were an integral part of the national territory and that their inhabitants were Portuguese citizens enjoying full rights did not mislead anyone, since the formal changes had not been accompanied by any real reforms and—what was even more important—had been made without consulting the millions of Africans whose fate had thus been decided unilaterally.

19. Ever since the first session of the General Assembly, the United Nations had had to deal with

reservations concerning national competence put forward by the Administering Members in connexion with the question of the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter. By the time Portugal had been admitted to membership of the United Nations, the General Assembly, in resolution 742 (VIII), had already adopted a list of factors indicative of the attainment of independence or of other separate systems of self-government and had declared itself competent to determine whether any Territory was or was no longer within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter.

20. Portugal, which had been a candidate for admission to membership since 1946, had had time to observe the work of the United Nations, particularly in connexion with Article 73 of the Charter. In 1951, therefore, before its admission to the United Nations, it had endeavoured to evade its obligations under the Charter by replacing the term "colonies" in its Constitution by "overseas provinces" and in 1954 it had granted Portuguese nationality to the indigenous inhabitants of its overseas territories. When Portugal had finally been admitted to the United Nations it had solemnly and unreservedly undertaken to comply with its obligations under the Charter.

21. In the light of those facts, his delegation was unable to endorse the fallacious arguments which Portugal was advancing with such obvious bad faith.

22. By adopting resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 1542 (XV), the General Assembly had been faithful to its anti-colonialist attitude and its policy of active decolonization.

23. His delegation wondered whether Portugal's systematic refusal to comply with the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter was not due to its desire to conceal the failure of its colonial policy. The Committee was now, however, in possession of the comprehensive report (A/5160 and Corr.1) of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, to whose members and secretariat his delegation wished to pay a tribute.

24. It was legitimate to ask whether a small and, within the European context, under-developed country such as Portugal had sufficient resources for carrying out the sacred civilizing mission and the economic, social and cultural development of such a large colonial empire. His delegation was of the opinion that there was a definite link between Portugal's own under-development and its determination to retain its overseas possessions at all costs, since those possessions supplied it with cheap raw materials and foreign exchange and allowed it to survive as a Power in the twentieth century.

25. He did not doubt that the Portuguese representative would refute the serious accusations unanimously levelled at his country. Portugal would do better, however, to organize democratic institutions based on universal suffrage in its overseas territories and to grant the people the right to self-determination.

26. The African States wanted peace and the survival of the United Nations, which they regarded as the guarantor of peace and security. They were opposed to colonial adventures and wars of repression. That was why his delegation appealed to Portugal to show the willingness to face reality with which it had been credited on the day of its admission to membership of the United Nations.

27. His delegation joined in appealing to Portugal's friends and allies, particularly the NATO countries, to help it to adopt a new policy in its colonies. That was the only possible and honourable course open to Portugal, the only course which would spare the world the horrors of a new colonial war and would be in keeping with the ideals of Christian civilization and morality. He hoped that Portugal would see reason and put an end to its obstinacy.

28. Mr. SAULNEROND (Gabon) congratulated the members of the Special Committee on the work they had accomplished and the report they had produced.

29. The refusal of Portugal to comply with the Charter, and in particular with Chapter XI, was in accordance with the usual practice of the colonialist Powers. Portugal was not alone in its obstinacy; it was encouraged and helped by international trusts. As an under-developed European country, it would be unable to bear the financial burdens resulting from its colonial policy from its own resources.

30. The report of the Special Committee threw a glaring light on the achievements of 500 years of Portuguese colonialism. The so-called civilizing mission in the Portuguese colonies, rechristened overseas provinces in order to deceive world public opinion, had been a complete failure. The statements of the petitioners confirmed the fact that only 3 per cent of the total population of the colonies received any education at all; 97 per cent were left in moral and intellectual darkness in order that Portugal might maintain its domination and have a cheap labour force at its disposal. It was very hard for an indigenous child who had not the good fortune to be an "assimilado" to obtain anything beyond primary education. Only 2 per cent of such children entered secondary school as compared to 82 per cent of white children and 16 per cent of "assimilados". The obstacles placed in the way of non-Catholic private schools and the deliberate inadequacy of State subsidies prevented indigenous children from obtaining any other education than that given by Portuguese and Catholics, who joined hands to deny the inhabitants of the territories any right to obtain an education in their own language or to make any intellectual progress except by renouncing their ethnic origin and cultural values.

31. Little effort had been made in the field of health, despite the influence of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Infant mortality rates were consistently high and funds to deal with the problem had not increased or had actually decreased. As one of the petitioners had said, the hospitals were reserved for the Whites, while dispensaries with no modern equipment served for the indigenous inhabitants, the purpose being to allow the indigenous population slowly to die out. The social system had hardly progressed since the eighteenth century.

32. The most indefensible feature of Portuguese policy was the practice of forced labour, which was really a form of slavery. Every kind of paid employment, including even such humble work as driving a taxi, was reserved for the Portuguese. The so-called reforms were a mere screen for sordid interests. It was useless for Portugal to protest that its colonies had become "overseas provinces"; that was nothing but a myth and a subterfuge. The status of "indigena" existed only for the purpose of placing the inhabitants under special laws in order systematically to exploit them. The peoples of the territories were

deprived of freedom of expression. They were not represented in the legislative bodies unless they were Portuguese citizens. The legislative, executive and judicial power was wielded by the Governor-General. There was no separation of powers and no appeal was possible. Paragraph 96 of the Special Committee's report showed that the status of "civilizado" had no legal basis and was not granted on account of any superiority to the rest of the population. Its only object was to sow discord among the people in order to reinforce Portuguese domination, disregarding the African culture which those people had acquired before the arrival of the Portuguese.

33. The question of the Portuguese colonies was an international problem. Supporters of colonialism were assisting Portugal to massacre people whose only crime was to demand the freedom which had always been their right. The oppression of one people by another led to a waste of resources and of human life which was injurious to both parties, since the oppressor, however strong he might be, always lost in the end.

34. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Gabon had stated at the 1169th meeting of the General Assembly, the question of Angola involved not only the massacre of peaceful populations but also the assistance given by Portugal to the Katanga separatist movement, since arms and munitions for the use of the mercenaries who were fighting the United Nations in Katanga were transported through Angola.

35. Portugal took its stand on legal interpretations and claimed that the resolutions of the General Assembly had no compulsory effect and that the problem was not within the competence of the United Nations. Those arguments must be rejected. The question was above all political and could not be evaded by procedural arguments. Portugal must liberate its political and religious prisoners, put an end to the massacre of the peaceful population of Angola and grant those people freedom of expression, of movement and of association. It must also recognize the right to self-determination and independence of the people under its administration. His delegation appealed to Portugal's allies to cease giving that country moral and military support.

36. His delegation would support any move designed to achieve those ends and would vote in favour of any draft resolution which would lead to the complete liberation of the colonies under Portuguese domination in accordance with their inalienable right to independence.

37. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) said that the question before the Committee was one of great importance in that it concerned the future of more than 12 million Africans who were still suffering under Portuguese colonial rule. In various resolutions the General Assembly had refuted Portugal's claim that its colonies were overseas provinces and had condemned that country's colonial policy. It was apparent from the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1), the report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola (A/5286) and the testimony of the petitioners who had appeared before the Committee that Portugal was continuing to ignore the General Assembly's resolutions and, under cover of so-called reforms, was endeavouring to strengthen its position in its colonies.

38. Under the pressure of African nationalism the colonial Powers had been forced to give ground, and Portugal would not long be able to resist the trend. Since February 1961 the Angolans had been waging a tireless struggle against the Portuguese troops in the cause of freedom. The statement made by one of the petitioners, Mr. Holden Roberto, at the 1398th meeting had given an indication of the determination of the Angolan patriots. The dispatch by the Portuguese of thousands of troops to Angola and to the other Portuguese colonies in Africa gave the lie to Portugal's claim that peace reigned in its "overseas provinces".

39. It might be asked how a relatively small and poor country could afford to wage a long war against the African people. The petitioners Mr. Mondlane and Mr. Holden Roberto had both testified to the fact that NATO arms were being used in Angola. In fact, the United Nations was once again faced with a case of collective colonialism: unable to compete alone with the African liberation movement, the imperialist Powers worked together through the agency of NATO in order to be able to continue their exploitation of Africa's riches. It should be remembered that those Powers depended largely on Africa for their supplies of diamonds, cobalt, chromium, uranium and other minerals; the United States war industry was almost entirely dependent on imports from Africa. Apart from economic factors, there were strategic reasons for the attitude of the NATO Powers. In 1960, during a visit to Portugal by the then President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, the question of a missile base in Mozambique had been discussed, and recent press reports indicated that the most powerful air base in Africa was now under construction in Beira, Mozambique.

40. It was clear that Portugal would not willingly alter the nature of its rule in its colonies. The Special Committee's report and the statements of petitioners made it clear that reports of recent improvements in the conditions of the people in those colonies were unfounded. Thousands of Africans were being arrested and imprisoned or deported because they complained about their conditions. A recent dispatch from Accra revealed that in Portuguese Guinea the population was being terrorized and economic activity was coming to a standstill. The African populations of the colonies enjoyed no rights and were forced to work in conditions resembling slavery. Workers were recruited for the South African mines under an agreement between South Africa and Portugal; in return Portugal received £1 million a year from the South African Government. Many of the workers recruited never returned to their homes and the African villages were thus gradually depopulated. That was the price paid by the African people for the massive profits made by monopolistic concerns.

41. The Albanian delegation considered that the United Nations could assist more effectively in the liberation of Portugal's colonies by adopting radical measures to compel Portugal to cease its repressive measures and to withdraw its troops from the territories it occupied. Steps should be taken to ensure the immediate satisfaction of the people's aspirations for independence and freedom. His delegation would support any draft resolution which was likely to achieve that end.

42. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) observed that, at a time when all other colonial Powers were coming to terms with contemporary realities, the Portuguese

Government continued to cling to archaic concepts. Two years after the General Assembly's adoption, by an overwhelming majority, of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, it was still trying to justify the colonial system.

43. The first problem for the United Nations was to rescue Portugal, a country which in past centuries had spearheaded the historic movements of discovery, from the mental groove in which it had become embedded. Portugal was now a poor country with a high rate of illiteracy, a backward economy and a system of government which was at variance with generally accepted modern principles. It would almost seem that Portugal was trying to avenge itself on the peoples of Africa for the loss of its vast empire, although it was clear that Portugal's actions were also based on fear that the loss of its colonies would result in its economic collapse.

44. The Portuguese régime adhered stubbornly to its theory that Portugal's African colonies, which covered an area many times the size of Portugal itself, formed an integral part of the metropolitan country; accordingly, it refused to recognize the right of the people of those territories to independence and freedom.

45. As a member of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, Nigeria had been disturbed by revelations of the very low level of education in the Portuguese colonies, particularly Angola and Mozambique. The high rates of illiteracy in the territories were described in paragraph 132 of the Special Committee's report (A/5160 and Corr.1). The fact that Portugal was not a member of UNESCO had so far debarred the peoples of its territories from obtaining the assistance of that organization. His delegation would like UNESCO to include those territories in its educational programmes for Africa, which should also be extended to the refugees from Portuguese territories.

46. The Special Committee's report also revealed the lack of adequate medical facilities, particularly in rural areas. With regard to labour conditions, it appeared from the petitioners heard by the Committee that, despite alleged reforms by the Portuguese Government, conditions amounting to forced labour still existed. In particular, he deplored the sending of supposedly voluntary recruits to work in the mines of the Transvaal for the benefit of the South African racist régime. In that connexion, he wished to draw attention to a press dispatch of 4 October reporting that a new economic agreement between Portugal and South Africa was being drafted and that an expert committee had been appointed for that purpose. The dispatch further stated that questions relating to transport between South Africa and Mozambique and the migration of workers were to be dealt with in separate agreements. His delegation would welcome further information on that matter.

47. The Portuguese Government had recently embarked on an extensive scheme for settling Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique with a view to promoting its so-called multiracial policy. The granting of land concessions had been facilitated, to the sole benefit of the Portuguese immigrants; that policy was bound to lead to difficulties when the territories achieved independence. In his delegation's opinion, multiracialism could only be achieved on the basis of

equality of status and opportunity. The real position in the territories was one of discrimination based on culture, and ultimately on race, since the Europeans were classified as "civilizados" and the Africans as "não-civilizados". The people of Africa could not accept a policy which regarded African culture as inferior, for they held that each cultural group should have freedom to develop its own cultural identity.

48. Another serious aspect of the problem was the war Portugal was waging against the people of Angola. The Nigerian delegation wished to express its serious concern at the continued supply of arms and ammunition to Portugal by her allies in NATO. It had been said that the Portuguese Government had given assurances that arms supplied would not be used in Africa; if that was so, Portugal had proved its bad faith since napalm bombs and other NATO weapons were being used in Angola. The only solution was for no arms to be supplied to a country which was waging a desperate struggle to preserve an outdated system. His delegation was not satisfied with the statements made by the United Kingdom and United States representatives in the Committee and had no alternative but to regard Portugal's friends as accomplices in the massacre of defenceless Africans.

*Mr. Nabavi (Iran), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

49. Mr. SONN VOEUNSAI (Cambodia) said that, whereas the majority of the Members of the United Nations were convinced that the Portuguese territories listed in resolution 1542 (XV) were Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that powers should be transferred to the people of those Territories in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), Portugal claimed that the United Nations was interfering in its internal affairs since its territories were part of Portugal. His delegation had no doubt about the status of the territories: they were colonies, and that fact could not be changed by constitutional amendments regarding which the population had not been consulted.

50. He therefore wished to reaffirm the following four points: firstly, the territories were Non-Self-Governing Territories; secondly, Portugal had an obligation to transmit information on them under Chapter XI of the Charter; thirdly, the people of those Territories had the right to self-determination and independence under resolution 1514 (XV); fourthly, the United Nations was fully entitled to intervene in the question.

51. The report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and the statements of petitioners provided the Committee with sufficient information on conditions in the territories. In particular, he wished to stress the Special Committee's conclusions in paragraphs 405-407. Mention must also be made of the situation in Angola, which constituted a threat to peace and security in Africa and in the world.

52. In the view of his delegation, the persistent refusal of a Member State to comply with obligations which it had freely assumed under the Charter was a threat to the very existence of the United Nations. Cambodia would therefore support any measure designed to remedy that situation. Cambodia was among the sponsors of the draft resolutions on Mozambique and Angola which had been submitted to the General Assembly in the report of the Special Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI) (A/5238,



chap. VIII, para. 109; and chap. XI, para. 44) and he hoped that that Committee would give detailed consideration to the situation with regard to other territories under Portuguese administration in the course of its future work.

53. Mr. MARTIN (Panama) observed that the problem of the African territories under Portuguese administration was one of crucial importance for all peace-loving nations. Every democratic State was under an obligation to protest against the existence, in the second half of the twentieth century, of an administrative system based on racial prejudice and persecution.

54. In discussing such problems as those of the Portuguese territories, of Southern Rhodesia and of South West Africa, it was essential to adopt an objective attitude and to eschew all considerations relating to the so-called cold war. His delegation had noted with regret that certain speakers had indulged in demagoguery and had made assertions supported by highly dubious arguments. That was one of the unfortunate consequences of the ideological conflict known as the cold war. Words such as "colonialism" and "imperialism" had lost much of their original meaning and had become mere clichés applied to any situation which was not to the liking of the speaker. Many criticisms had been voiced, and with much justification, of racial prejudice. There was, however, another kind of prejudice rife in the world which regrettably was not attacked with the same vigour. There were political, social, economic and religious prejudices which should disgust anyone who regarded himself as democratic. One had the impression that there was a group of States Members of the United Nations which habitually followed a policy of discrimination against one State which was also a Member. That attitude was the more remarkable in that the States in question were among those who protested most vociferously against racial prejudice and colonialism. They chose to ignore what was today called neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism.

55. It should be borne in mind that not all aspects of colonialism had been harmful. In the history of humanity there had been, generally speaking, positive and beneficent colonialism and negative and retrograde colonialism. The territories colonized by the United Kingdom had a wonderful political heritage which had resulted in the establishment of stable, democratic and progressive régimes. The influence of the great British democratic and parliamentary tradition had endowed them with a different character from the colonies of other European States. The idea that colonies should simply be exploited for the benefit of the colonialist country had received a blow in 1776, when the loss of the American colonies had served as a lesson in the errors of negative colonialism and had created a new colonial mentality in London. The Reform Act of 1832 had transformed the nation into a truly modern democracy. The overseas territories administered by the United Kingdom had benefited from those developments. Canada, Australia and New Zealand had been transformed from colonies into independent democratic States without any of the upheavals which had accompanied a similar process in other ex-colonies. More recently Pakistan, India, Ceylon, the Federation of Malaya and Nigeria, to mention only a few, had passed through the same stage in the same peaceful and democratic way.

56. He had dwelt on that subject at some length in order to emphasize the urgent need for the United Nations to do all in its power to put an end to Portuguese colonialism in Africa as soon as possible. Portuguese colonialism was harmful and retrograde and its continuance could only injure the African peoples under its administration. The United Nations should use every legal and political means to oblige the Portuguese Government to grant independence to its territories at the earliest possible date.

57. Mrs. MENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) congratulated the members of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration on the report they had submitted.

58. The Fourth Committee had spent a considerable time in listening to the petitioners, who had described in detail the appalling situation of the peoples under Portuguese colonialism. The Special Committee had rightly made a great effort to avoid emotionalism and to express its findings in studied terms. She drew particular attention to paragraph 437 of the Committee's report, from which it was clear that the Committee had reached the conclusion that Portuguese administration of the territories must be immediately terminated, that all powers must be transferred to the peoples of the territories and that their absolute independence must be recognized.

59. Nothing in the report gave reason to believe that any further opportunities should be given to Portugal, which had done nothing to promote the welfare of the indigenous inhabitants. In Angola and Mozambique alone, 10 million Africans were living under the tyrannical rule of a privileged group of 140,000 Europeans. They were the most backward territories on the whole African continent. The situation in Angola was particularly tragic. There a virtually unarmed people was facing modern weapons in a desperate attempt to reconquer the freedom and independence it had lost nearly 500 years previously. The people of that territory, who refused to resign themselves to slavery, were being attacked with napalm bombs, burnt to death in their own villages or in the forests where they had taken refuge, tortured and murdered. The alternative offered to them was to consent to remain under colonialist rule and to become "assimilados", thus prolonging the agony which had already lasted for five centuries.

60. In recent years the Portuguese colonialists had invented a number of misleading phrases to disguise the fact that slavery existed in their territories. Inhuman treatment was meted out to the Africans to satisfy Portugal's greed for profits. The formal abolition of slavery had not in reality changed the situation; the Africans were still servants of the Portuguese and other Europeans. Not even the "assimilados" were allowed to occupy any but subordinate positions in business, the Church or the civil service. The Portuguese colonialists appeared to be unable to grasp the idea that the African peoples they had subjugated had a right to manage their own affairs and to live on terms of equality with the other free peoples of the world.

61. There appeared to be no hope of any change of attitude on the part of the Portuguese colonialists. Paragraph 404 of the Special Committee's report stated that Portugal had not found it possible to offer its co-operation to the United Nations or to enable the Committee to visit the territories under its

administration. Obviously the Portuguese Government would not allow any United Nations body to visit Angola, for example, where it would be able to see the atrocities that had been committed and where whole families had been wiped out by the most modern aircraft and other weapons supplied to the colonialists by their powerful Western allies.

62. A people which was struggling for freedom and against colonial degradation was shedding its blood for the freedom of all peoples. A Power which attacked peoples who had revolted against colonialist oppression, or which supplied arms for the suppression of such peoples, was endangering the freedom and independence of all peoples. Hence it was easy to understand the concern of the free peoples of Africa in the face of the international colonialist conspiracy to perpetuate the anachronistic and inhuman colonial system in that continent. It was easy to understand the growing desire of the African States to assist anti-colonialist movements even by material means. Africa no longer believed in the colonialists' legal arguments. They knew that to describe Angola as an integral part of Portugal or Puerto Rico as a free associated State did not change the colonialist and imperialist nature of the régimes in those countries. Mere changes of name would not disguise what had been done by Portugal in Africa or by the United States in the Caribbean. The peoples of Africa were marching towards independence. Everywhere colonialism was collapsing. The oppressed peoples were rightly demanding freedom, whether the colonialist aggressor was ninety miles or 1,000 miles away.

63. The United Nations could not remain aloof to the spirit of the times. It was for that reason that the General Assembly had adopted resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1654 (XVI). The United Nations was changing because the world was changing and no State or group of States could halt the movement towards liberation. As the Special Committee pointed out in paragraph 406 of its report, there could be no peaceful or permanent solution of the problem of the territories under Portuguese administration without a change of attitude on the part of Portugal based on a realistic appreciation of the historical forces at work.

64. The delegation of Cuba would study any draft resolution that might be submitted in the light of the considerations she had expressed.

65. Mr. ABDELLAH (Tunisia) congratulated the Special Committee on its report, which clearly showed the seriousness of the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration. It was not surprising that Portugal had refused to co-operate with the Special Committee, to allow it to visit its territories, or even to supply it with the information it needed to carry out its task. The Portuguese Government had consistently disregarded the principles of the Charter and had shown little alacrity in implementing the resolutions of the General Assembly. Although it had subscribed to the Charter, Portugal refused to comply with its spirit or letter and showed consistent contempt for human rights and the most elementary justice. The obvious explanation of Portugal's refusal to comply with Chapter XI of the Charter was its unwillingness to transmit information which would provide overwhelming proof of the failure of its colonial system. Portugal had subjected its colonies to domination based on slavery, forced labour and discrimination. The report of the Special Committee gave a gloomy picture of the situation in Angola, Mo-

zambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Furthermore, Portugal not only refused to transmit information concerning its territories but was following a policy which was fundamentally contrary to the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter.

66. One of the petitioners, Mr. Mondlane, had described the opposition of the Portuguese authorities to any cultural, social or economic progress on the part of the people of Mozambique, who had no political rights and played no part in formulating their country's economic and social policy. The economy of the Portuguese territories was complementary to that of the metropolitan country and was geared to its needs. The people were subjected to forced labour and no concern was shown for their well-being, their progress or their rights.

67. Portugal claimed that the indigenous inhabitants of the territories under its administration were Portuguese citizens. By a unilateral act, without consulting the peoples concerned, the Portuguese Government had changed the political status of its colonies and transformed them into provinces. The United Nations could not accept such a distortion of international law. Angola and Mozambique were Non-Self-Governing Territories provisionally administered by Portugal, which should without delay, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), transfer all powers to the people. The policy of assimilation would fail in the Portuguese territories as it had failed in other formerly colonized African countries. The policy of settling increasing numbers of Portuguese in the colonies was also doomed to failure. Nothing would halt the march of the Africans towards independence and freedom. The reforms introduced in September 1961, which had been repudiated by the peoples concerned, were merely an effort to perpetuate a collapsing system.

68. The situation in Angola, where the whole people had risen against oppression and tyranny, should force Portugal to appreciate the disastrous results of its policy and to yield to the legitimate aspirations of the people of Angola. The "unholy alliance" between Portugal, South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland would not overcome the determination of those people to recover their independence. The petitioner Mr. Holden Roberto had given the Committee a vivid picture of the tragic situation in his country. World public opinion would not tolerate indefinitely such a state of affairs and Portugal would be obliged to grant independence to all its colonies if it wished for the friendship of the African countries and of all peoples who believed in law and justice. The nationalist movements had shown wisdom, moderation and realism by stating that they were prepared to enter into negotiations with the administering Power; it was for Portugal to show itself equal to its responsibilities and to embark unhesitatingly on the process of decolonization.

69. Until the Portuguese Government had given effect to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the United Nations should keep a close watch on the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration. It was the duty of the international community to make every effort to speed up the achievement of independence by those territories. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, established under General Assembly resolution 1654

(XVI), should take over the work of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and should make appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly.

70. In view of the situation of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Angola and Mozambique, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees should make a supreme effort to come to the aid of those unfortunate people without delay. The work which had been done by the High Commissioner's Office to help the Algerian refugees in Tunisia could be continued in the Congo (Leopoldville) and Tanganyika for the benefit of the refugees from Angola and Mozambique. In his delegation's view the humanitarian aspect of the problem was as important as the political, social and economic aspects.

71. The Tunisian delegation hoped that Portugal would realize where its true interests lay and proceed without delay to make the necessary changes in its overseas territories. In any event, the peoples of Angola and Cabinda, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde and the other territories would recover their freedom and, sooner than Portugal expected, come to swell the ranks of the independent nations. It was for Portugal to decide whether those changes would take place with or without its consent. On the choice it made would depend its relations with the free peoples of the world.

72. Mr. BINGHAM (United States of America) thanked the members of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, and their Governments, for their constructive work. When he had spoken in exercise of his right of reply at the 1402nd meeting, he had referred to certain reservations which his delegation had with regard to the conclu-

sions reached by the Committee. He did not deem it necessary to detail them once again. He would merely say that his delegation was not in agreement with all the Committee's conclusions and findings.

73. The United States Government was seriously concerned with the problem of the non-compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV). Its position was based on three enduring considerations: the principle of self-determination, the General Assembly's duty to propose means for the peaceful settlement of problems and the avoidance of conflicts, and the necessity for peaceful co-operation among equals through the United Nations. Ever since the question had first been considered, his delegation had been consistent in its adherence to the tenets expressed by its representative in the Security Council in March 1961<sup>1/</sup> and had consistently supported draft resolutions which, in its opinion, were founded on the three concepts to which he had referred. His country had also undertaken, not only in response to General Assembly resolutions but also as a reflection of its own convictions, to persuade Portugal of the advantages of co-operation with the United Nations. The results of his delegation's efforts were known to many members. He did not think that it would be wise for him to say more at that point, except that in his delegation's view it would be a matter of real significance and great value if, among other steps, some concrete action could be taken based on the principle of Portugal's co-operation with the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 946th meeting.