

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1403rd
 MEETING**

Thursday, 29 November 1962,
 at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO
 (Guatemala).

Requests for hearings (continued)

REQUESTS CONCERNING AGENDA ITEM 49 (INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES) (continued)*

1. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that a request for a hearing had been received from Mr. Atanasio Ndong, the General Secretary of the Mouvement national de libération de la Guinée équatoriale.
2. Mr. FOURNIER (Spain) reiterated his delegation's reservations with respect to the possible hearing of the petitioner. His delegation, whose attitude was well known, regarded the hearing of petitioners from territories other than Trust Territories as being contrary to the Charter. He would not, however, ask that Mr. Ndong's request should be put to the vote.
3. He would like to point out, with some surprise, that the request, although coming from a Spanish territory, was in French.
4. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) remarked that since the petitioner had not written in his mother tongue, he had been perfectly free to use French, one of the working languages of the United Nations.
5. The CHAIRMAN suggested that, if there was no objection, the communication should be circulated as a document.

It was so decided.^{1/}

6. The CHAIRMAN then suggested that, as it was important to save time, the Committee should dispense

with the usual procedure of having requests for hearings distributed as documents before taking a decision on them and should decide at once to grant the hearing requested.

It was so decided.

7. The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Ndong would be heard in connexion with the consideration of agenda item 49, concerning information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

REQUESTS CONCERNING 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)) (continued)**

8. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that a request for a hearing had been received from Mr. Miguel Trovoada, Chairman of the Comité de Libertação de S. Tomé e Prncipe (CLSTP). If there was no objection, the communication would be circulated as a document.

It was so decided.^{2/}

9. The CHAIRMAN suggested that, as it was important to save time, the Committee should dispense with the usual procedure of having requests for hearings distributed as documents before taking a decision on them and should decide at once to grant the hearing requested.

It was so decided.

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) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

10. Mr. VALENCIA (Ecuador) said that his delegation's position on the question under consideration was based on two fundamental principles: firstly, that the United Nations was competent to deal with the situation in the Portuguese territories, since they were defined as Non-Self-Governing Territories in General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV); and secondly, that Portugal had no grounds for invoking Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter in respect of those Territories. It was clear that the Committee was dealing not with a situation in so-called Portuguese "provinces" but with a situation in Non-Self-Governing Territories whose administration Portugal had undertaken as a sacred trust. There could therefore be no doubt that Portugal

*Resumed from the 1356th meeting.

^{1/} See A/C.4/591.

**Resumed from the 1398th meeting.

^{2/} See A/C.4/590.

was required to comply with the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter and, in particular, with those of Article 73. Unfortunately, Portugal had stubbornly refused to acknowledge those obligations, including the obligation to transmit information on its Non-Self-Governing Territories, and had failed to co-operate in any way with the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration. That attitude was far from helpful in the search for a just solution of the problem and gave little hope that the inhabitants of the Portuguese territories would gain control over their own destinies in the near future.

11. The information given in the report of the Special Committee (A/5160 and Corr.1) and in the statements of the petitioners showed that the general situation in the territories under Portuguese administration was far from encouraging. The report showed that the indigenous inhabitants enjoyed no political or civil rights since Portugal forbade the organization of genuinely representative political parties and had qualified the right to vote with so many restrictions that in practice it was exercised almost entirely by the European population. As a result, the indigenous inhabitants lacked proper representation in the organs of government, being represented largely by Europeans or by a few indigenous inhabitants trained in accordance with European customs and needs and consequently not able to reflect the aspirations of the African majority. At the same time, Portugal had neglected to train indigenous administrative personnel, so that there was only a negligible number of African administrators in the territories.

12. With regard to education, it was alarming to note that the illiteracy rate in the Portuguese territories was the highest in the world. So few African children attended primary school that it was impossible to believe that Portugal seriously intended to educate the indigenous population. The number of teachers and educational establishments was lamentably inadequate. The reforms introduced by the Portuguese Government had come too late to remedy the situation; moreover, educational progress was impeded by the retention of so-called adaptation courses, which were designed primarily to teach African children Portuguese. Considering also the age-limit for enrolment in primary and secondary schools, it was clear that the system prevented the majority of African children from benefiting from the limited educational facilities available.

13. The public health situation was equally deplorable. Despite the prevalence of such diseases as malaria and tuberculosis, there was a shocking shortage of medical personnel and the number of hospitals and medical centres was insufficient to meet the most elementary needs of the Africans. In Mozambique, for example, there was only one doctor per 35,200 inhabitants, although the minimum requirement indicated by the World Health Organization was one doctor per 10,000 inhabitants. The infant mortality rate was high in most of the territories.

14. Labour conditions similarly left much to be desired. The report showed that, in practice, forced labour still persisted in various forms although Portugal had ratified the ILO Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour (No. 29) and the Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour (No. 105). Indigenous inhabitants were also penalized for failure to fulfil employment contracts although Portugal had ratified the ILO Convention concerning Penal Sanctions

for Breaches of Contracts of Employment by Indigenous Workers (No. 65). Ample information had been provided concerning the cruel manner in which labour was recruited and it should also be noted that indigenous workers had no means of defending their interests since the organization of trade unions was forbidden.

15. Territories under Portuguese administration had a primitive subsistence economy based on agriculture. They were all primary producers whose only market was provided by Portugal, which could dictate its own prices and terms in true colonialist fashion. Industry was in its infancy, so that the territories were dependent on Portugal for their manufactured products.

16. Although the legislation governing the Portuguese territories contained no provision which allowed racial discrimination, such discrimination clearly existed in every-day life, notably in the fields of education and public health.

17. To those sombre facts must be added Portugal's policy of stifling all protests and movements of national liberation. In implementing that policy Portugal had bombed African villages, set fire to forests and persecuted African nationalist leaders, forcing countless numbers to seek refuge in neighbouring territories, thereby creating serious problems.

18. Ecuador agreed with the Special Committee that a peaceful solution should be found promptly to the problem of the territories under Portuguese administration. It felt that there were still several avenues to be explored. In the first place, Portugal must not be allowed to go on regarding the territories under its administration as an integral part of its national territory; it should recognize its obligations under the Charter, under earlier Assembly resolutions and, in particular, under the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)). If a suitably conciliatory approach were adopted, Portugal might also be brought to recognize the right of the people of the territories to self-determination. The Portuguese Government must also, of course, put an end to its repressive measures, which, far from silencing demands for freedom, only sowed the seeds of hatred and revenge and led to bloodshed. The Assembly should therefore find appropriate means of ensuring that the arms received by Portugal as a result of its participation in military alliances should not be used to exterminate the African population. Furthermore, the Portuguese Government should be encouraged to seek greater assistance from the competent international agencies in order to improve the present economic, health and educational conditions. Portugal, with its limited resources, could not be expected to cope single-handed with a problem of such magnitude. A well-organized joint effort in that direction would help the people of the territories to prepare for independence. The General Assembly should accordingly keep a close watch over developments in the Portuguese territories. It might be well to entrust that task to 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), in order to avoid duplication of effort.

19. In conclusion, his delegation wished to address a friendly appeal to the Portuguese Government to consider the need to modify its policies in keeping with the spirit of the times. In that respect it might well

follow the example of other colonial Powers which, far from losing by granting independence to their subject peoples, had won the admiration and respect of the entire world.

20. Mr. EL AWAD (Sudan) observed that the Portuguese Government was labouring to preserve its fifteenth century relationships with its colonies, without any consideration for the geographical, ethnic and cultural realities which differentiated the African people from the Portuguese. During their long and oppressive rule the Portuguese had done practically nothing to develop the territories or to raise the level of living of their inhabitants. The indigenous people lived under political, economic, social and educational conditions which bore testimony to the failure of the Portuguese colonial system. The Portuguese presence in Africa was a classic example of colonialism in its most primitive and ruthless form, and Portugal's claim that its overseas territories were an integral part of the metropolitan country was hollow indeed.

21. Times had changed, whether the Salazar régime liked it or not, and hasty and tardy reforms not only did not meet the basic aspirations of the people but had not brought about any significant changes in conditions, as the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration had rightly pointed out in its report (A/5160 and Corr.1). The critical situation in the Portuguese territories could be eased only through the granting to the people of the right to self-determination and independence.

22. The fifteenth-century mentality pervading the Salazar régime had given rise to a colonial mystique that Portugal had a holy civilizing mission towards the indigenous inhabitants. The people of the Portuguese colonies had been divided into "civilizados" and "não-civilizados". That division, which was a trick designed to perpetuate Portuguese colonial rule, stemmed from the fallacious concept of racial superiority. The Sudanese delegation did not believe Portugal's claim that there was no racial discrimination in its territories, but even if it were so, that would not fulfil the fundamental aspirations of the people, who wanted nothing short of independence.

23. A poor and backward country like Portugal could not undertake any civilizing mission by its own efforts. Portugal was clearly relying on the racist régimes of South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and on some Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which, willingly or not, were participating in the colonial war in the Portuguese territories as they had done in the Algerian war. In that connexion he would refer to paragraph 439 of the Special Committee's report. In the name of world peace he urged the NATO Powers to prohibit all deliveries of war material to Portugal, to exert the utmost pressure upon that country to stop the inhuman war, and, if necessary, to expel it from NATO. They were faced with a historic choice between Salazar's régime and the friendship of an entire continent.

24. The Sudanese delegation would give its wholehearted support to any measures likely to promote the fundamental rights of all colonial peoples to self-determination.

25. Mr. CISSE (Senegal) emphasized the importance of the Special Committee's report, which contained much valuable information and was particularly welcome in view of the fact that the Portuguese Govern-

ment had disdainfully refused to co-operate with the United Nations.

26. Senegal had fully co-operated with the Special Committee and was determined to assist all those peoples who were still living under the colonialist yoke. His delegation regretted that the United Kingdom had refused to allow the Special Committee to enter those territories under its administration in which people who might have been able to give information had taken refuge. He paid a tribute to the courage and determination of the petitioners who had helped to provide the information which was now before the Committee.

27. The Special Committee considered that Portugal must fulfil its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter. The delegation of Senegal had no doubts on that subject, in view of the terms of General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV). Portugal had made no attempt to comply with Article 73 a and b of the Charter; on the contrary it persisted in treating the territories under its domination as Portuguese provinces. It rejected even the principle of decolonization, thus openly violating the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

28. It was clear from the report of the Special Committee that Portugal had made no attempt to improve the living conditions of the peoples under its domination. In so-called Portuguese Guinea, for example, there was unceasing persecution and the establishment of a civilian militia constituted an intolerable provocation and had aggravated tension; in those circumstances it was useless to hope for a peaceful solution. The illiteracy rate was very high; in fact the average educational expenditure per pupil had actually been lower in 1959 than it had been in 1950. Moreover the terms of article 146 of the Portuguese Constitution left no doubt that forced labour still existed in the territories.

29. It was clear that Portugal would stop at nothing to maintain its domination over the peoples it administered. The repressive measures taken by the Government in the various territories were proof that it was determined to achieve the assimilation, if not the complete integration, of the African populations. The so-called reforms of 1961 deceived no one and served merely to stifle the political consciousness of the indigenous inhabitants. At the 1155th meeting of the General Assembly, on 18 October 1962, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated that the situation was normal and that peace reigned in the Portuguese overseas territories. Yet despite the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, fighting was still taking place, Portuguese troops continued to arrive in those territories and thousands of refugees were fleeing to neighbouring countries. His delegation was firmly convinced that until elections were held on the basis of universal suffrage, until the economies of the territories had been organized in the interests of the colonized peoples and until Portugal had agreed to grant independence to the peoples under its domination, any reforms would be a snare and a delusion.

30. The time had come for the United Nations to take definite steps to induce Portugal to change its policy. All Member States should take part in that task. There was no point in countries' denouncing Portugal's oppressive and reactionary policies if at the same time they were supplying it with arms and assistance enabling it to pursue its colonialist policy. The Special Committee considered that Portugal was receiving

assistance from certain Powers. Some of the countries in question asserted, however, that the arms they were supplying to Portugal were not intended for use against the African People. If that were so, it behoved those countries to prove it to the Committee. It was difficult to understand how they could choose an alliance with a poor country which was threatened by an intellectual crisis rather than the friendship of over 200 million Africans who were devoted to freedom, justice and peace.

31. Portugal's attitude was a challenge to the United Nations and to international law. The United Nations should request Member States to respect the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Since Portugal did not accept, or at least did not comply with, the principles of the Organization, the General Assembly should request it to withdraw.

32. In his delegation's view, any draft resolution on the subject should call on Member States to break off diplomatic relations with Portugal; proclaim a boycott of Portuguese goods; request Member States to refrain from supplying Portugal with any assistance which would enable it to continue its policy of extermination; request the Security Council to consider sanctions against Portugal in accordance with Articles 40 and 41 of the Charter in order to induce that country to abandon its policy of repression; and request the Security Council to consider action in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter.

33. His delegation had already denounced what had been described as the "unholy alliance". An alliance on African soil between the Governments of Portugal, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Republic of South Africa would mean the end of progress, dignity and freedom in that region and would imperil the security of other African States and the peace of the world. The time had come for the United Nations to take action to restore confidence, friendship, peace and freedom. That was the true role of the United Nations and its future depended upon its fulfilling that role.

34. Mr. SAID (Federation of Malaya) congratulated the Special Committee on its report on the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration (A/5160 and Corr.1). Despite the Portuguese Government's refusal to co-operate with the Committee, the latter had succeeded in collecting a considerable amount of valuable information which clearly showed the existence of a grave situation that warranted the concern of the national community. The inhabitants of those territories were living in an atmosphere of tension and insecurity engendered by their dissatisfaction with their lot and by Portugal's determination forcibly to suppress all political manifestations in favour of independence. It could logically be deduced from the report that the Portuguese Government persisted in refusing to comply with its international obligations in order to keep the indigenous inhabitants of its territories in a perpetual state of exploitation and subjugation. In the present age, such attempts to perpetuate alien domination were repugnant to the Malayan delegation, which deplored Portugal's intransigent attitude.

35. The clear implication of the phrase "sacred trust" in Chapter XI of the Charter was that dependent peoples and territories should eventually be free. During the process of transformation to nationhood, there was

ample scope for the development of mutual respect and understanding between the administering Power and the colonial territory. Portugal had not taken that opportunity, with the result that relations between the administering Power and the indigenous inhabitants had deteriorated to such a point that, unless the Portuguese Government reconsidered its attitude and recognized the right of the indigenous inhabitants to self-determination, there could be no hope of reconciliation.

36. Portugal was the only colonial Power which refused to fulfil the obligations incumbent upon it under the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. In order to escape those obligations, the Portuguese Government in 1951 had unilaterally amended the Portuguese Constitution and redefined its colonies as "overseas provinces" of metropolitan Portugal. On the basis of that legal fiction the Portuguese Government contended that events in its so-called overseas provinces were Portugal's internal affairs and that, accordingly, the United Nations had no jurisdiction over them. Yet, by every historical definition of the words, those "overseas territories" were in essence colonies. There was no self-government in any of the territories and all laws and policies were imposed from Lisbon. The Special Committee's report pointed out that the de jure change in status had been effected without consultation of the indigenous inhabitants and had not been accompanied by de facto changes in their government and administration. The report concluded that the relationship of the territories to Portugal was essentially a colonial one.

37. General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) declared the territories under Portuguese administration to be Non-Self-Governing Territories and stated that the Portuguese Government had an obligation not only to transmit information on them but to lead their inhabitants to self-government and independence. The time when colonial Powers could do as they liked with their colonial territories was over, as the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands had realized for some time. Portugal should realize that it stood alone and was condemned by world public opinion, for in the end none of its friends or allies would come to its aid so long as it refused to comply with its obligations.

38. Although the Government of Portugal had repeatedly alleged that its aim was to create a happy and contented multiracial society, it was clear from the statements made by the petitioners and from the report of the Special Committee that the indigenous population of the territories was educationally and economically the most backward in the world. Instead of prosperity there was wide-spread poverty; instead of peace and happiness, tension and disquiet prevailed. The illiteracy rates in the territories were alarmingly high, as was shown by a report on the situation in 1950 compiled by UNESCO.^{3/} Given those conditions and the fact that forced labour still existed and that human and political rights were denied, it was surprising that the people of Angola and Mozambique had not rebelled earlier.

39. The nationalist uprising in Angola continued, despite superior Portuguese forces, and was unlikely to cease until a political settlement was found to meet the aspirations of the indigenous inhabitants. The war was causing untold human misery and had resulted in a

^{3/} United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Illiteracy at Mid-Century (Paris, 1957).

mass exodus of refugees to the Congo (Leopoldville). The situation in all the Portuguese territories was explosive and all indigenous political groups had expressed the fervent desire for self-determination and independence. The path to a peaceful solution thus lay with the Government of Portugal; if it persisted in its racist policies it would irretrievably jeopardize its own future relations with the territories and endanger international peace and security.

40. The Malayan delegation therefore appealed to the Government of Portugal to take urgent steps to implement the General Assembly resolutions relating to its territories. In particular, it should recognize the right of all colonial peoples to self-determination and should take immediate steps to grant independence to the territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the inhabitants.

41. Mr. EREBIH (Mauritania) said that he wished to assure the Portuguese people, through their representative, that his Government had nothing against them as a people but was resolutely opposed to the tyrannical policy of their Prime Minister. In their own interests they should reject the Prime Minister and his policies and thus cease to incur the odium of all those peoples who wished to see the end of colonialism. The delegation of Mauritania was convinced that Portugal did not believe in the conception of the so-called overseas provinces; it should therefore replace the present Head of the Government by a more realistic and less reactionary man than Mr. Salazar. Portugal needed a man who was fully conscious of the realities of the twentieth century.

42. In the opinion of the delegation of Mauritania, the item under consideration would be more accurately entitled "Refusal by Portugal to accept the principle of decolonization and its determination to oppress the peoples of its colonies, in defiance of Chapter XI of the Charter and in particular of Article 73 b, and of resolution 1514 (XV)"; or, as the representative of Guinea had suggested, "Flagrant violation by Portugal of Chapter XI of the Charter".

43. A glance at Article 73 of the Charter would show that Portugal had violated every one of its provisions, yet that country remained a Member of the United Nations. Portugal deserved that every enforcement measure provided in the Charter should be applied to it. Undoubtedly, however, any resolution to that effect submitted to the Security Council would encounter the opposition of certain Members. In any event the United Nations should make it clear to Portugal that its dream could never resist the wave of nationalism which had shaken the whole world. Portugal could be sure that its empire would soon be reduced to its simplest form: the territory of Portugal itself.

44. He paid a tribute to the work done by the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and endorsed that Committee's observations and recommendations. His delegation had been pained to hear the statement by the Portuguese representative that to seek a solution of the problem of Portuguese colonialism would be an interference in the internal affairs of his country.

45. Admittedly it was praiseworthy on Portugal's part to attempt to realize world unity, but unfortunately it wished to do so by force. It was unlikely that Portugal would be able to achieve what France and the United Kingdom, to mention only two great colonizing Powers, had failed to do. Why should the people of Angola or

Mozambique accept a prefabricated Portuguese nationality when the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula had not all the same nationality?

46. Portugal would not agree that the peoples it had held in subjection for over four centuries should recover their independence, but time would show that the Portuguese colonies would achieve independence with or without the agreement of the Portuguese Government. If Portugal would only recognize facts, it could avoid the consequences to its people and its colonies of an armed struggle for liberation. His delegation would be interested to hear what arguments the Portuguese representative would advance in reply to those put forward by the representative of Ceylon at the 1399th meeting.

47. Wherever there had been colonization there had also been racial discrimination, though perhaps to different degrees. If the colonized peoples were not regarded as inferiors there could be no colonialism. The expression "civilizing mission" clearly showed that the colonized peoples were considered to be inferior and uncivilized. It was therefore useless to assert that there was no racial discrimination in Portugal's African colonies. The representative of Portugal denied the truth of the statements made by the petitioners; would he also deny the truth of the observations and conclusions of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration? If he did so, how could he refute the affirmations of all the members of the Fourth Committee? He could not deny that there were "assimilados", "civilizados" and "nãocivilizados" or claim that that did not constitute discrimination.

48. All those considerations showed that the Salazar Government was determined to perpetuate the oppression of the Africans and to resort to arguments which had no basis in fact.

49. His delegation would support any constructive draft resolution which might be submitted to the Committee.

50. Mr. ENE (Romania) said that the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and the statements of the petitioners confirmed and emphasized the General Assembly's conclusions regarding the status and situation of those territories. Portugal's colonial policy showed an inability to see and understand present world trends. The situation had transcended the limits of a local conflict and constituted a danger to international peace and security. As the Special Committee pointed out in paragraph 438 of its report, the danger lay in the insistence of Portugal that there could be no change in its relationship with the territories, and its complete disregard for the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous population, an attitude which had driven the people of Angola to take up arms and was creating desperation among the peoples of other territories. For centuries the setting up of the so-called Portuguese multi-racial society had implied the denial of the personality of the oppressed peoples. It had entailed a campaign for their "pacification" which had lasted in Angola until 1910, in Mozambique until 1912 and in Portuguese Guinea until 1936; it had meant the denial to 99 per cent of the population of their most elementary human and political rights.

51. The world of the twentieth century was substantially different from that of the fifteenth century; in the present age of progress and civilization hundreds of

millions of people had achieved liberation from the colonialist yoke and in the international arena other forces and factors were operating. Quite recently the Portuguese authorities had given one more indication that Portugal's policy had not changed since the seventeenth century: in January 1962 the Prime Minister had quoted an article from a treaty of 1661 which, according to him, obliged the United Kingdom Government to defend Portugal's overseas territories or, in the language of the time, all the conquests and colonies belonging to the Portuguese Crown, against all their present and future enemies.

52. The colonial war in Angola had caused considerable human and material damage and had brought great suffering to the people of the Territory. It was but a new variant of the campaigns of "pacification" carried out by the Portuguese in their colonies during the centuries. Concurrently with the repressive military actions, other measures also inspired by the spirit of the past proved that Portugal was unaware of the deep social and political changes which had taken place in the world.

53. Several members of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) had asserted that the reforms initiated by the Portuguese Government would bear witness to a new orientation of Portugal's colonial policy. The fact was, however, that those so-called reforms were in flagrant contradiction with the principle of the immediate liberation of the colonial peoples; their purpose was not to speed up liberation but to accelerate the progress of colonization and to reinforce the repressive military measures. The granting of political rights to Africans, not on the basis of Portuguese citizenship but according to their wealth and cultural qualifications, had not increased the number of those who were entitled to vote. It was known that the illiterates, who represented some 99 per cent of the population of the Portuguese territories, were roughly the same peoples who so far had been described as "indígenas" and consequently deprived of political rights. According to the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, the main objective of the economic reforms was to ensure the continuation of the existing colonial trade relations between Portugal and the overseas territories. The acceleration of the settlement of Europeans in the territories had been stated by the Governor-General of Angola himself to be for the purpose of establishing a natural hierarchy of classes in accordance with their general culture and their professional training. Hence the Romanian delegation could only endorse the opinion expressed by various petitioners that the purpose of the so-called reforms was simply to mislead international opinion.

54. It might be concluded that Portugal by its actions had voluntarily placed itself outside the United Nations, whose Charter was inspired by the ideals of progress and respect for human dignity. The policy pursued by Portugal was not merely a local question affecting one area of the world; it was contrary to the fundamental ideals of humanity and therefore constituted a permanent source of international tension, which had led to the colonial war in Angola and had created a situation in other parts of the world which could at any time explode into grave conflicts. The representative of Guinea had pointed out at the 1393rd meeting that the security of his country demanded that Portugal should cease its provocative acts. A policy such as that followed by Portugal constituted a danger for Africa as a whole.

55. The Committee's attention had been drawn to the fact that Portugal was receiving assistance from other colonial Powers linked with it by political and military alliances. The use by the Portuguese of NATO arms in Angola clearly indicated that their actions had the support of other nations. The petitioners had expressed the view that countries which continued to supply Portugal with armaments were directly implicated in the Portuguese suppression of the nationalist movement in Africa.

56. The people of the Portuguese territories had an inalienable right to self-government and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and the United Nations should spare no effort to assist them in their struggle for independence. Vigorous action was needed; there would be great danger for the United Nations if a problem such as that now under consideration were to appear on the agenda year after year without any results being achieved. Despite the efforts of the United Nations, there was no evidence of co-operation by the Portuguese Government and no positive contribution towards the clarification of its relations with the United Nations.

57. The Romanian delegation fully supported the draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) on the situation in Angola and Mozambique (A/5238, chap. VIII, para.109, and chap. XI, para.44) and urged Portugal immediately to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The General Assembly should take all appropriate steps to put an end to the colonial war in Angola and to the crimes being committed by the Portuguese. His delegation also agreed with the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration that the General Assembly should adopt urgent measures to obtain the immediate cessation of the military assistance being granted by the NATO Powers for the continuation of the colonial war in Angola. The immediate liberation of all the Portuguese territories would be the only way to avoid further situations like that in Angola within the Portuguese colonial empire, which would endanger the cause of world peace and progress and render the United Nations task more difficult.

58. Mr. NGANDO-BLACK (Cameroon) said that his delegation endorsed the conclusions reached by the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration which, despite the Portuguese Government's refusal to co-operate, had been successful in submitting important information to the Committee.

59. The question now before the Committee was yet another chapter of the sinister story being written by the racist Governments of South Africa and Portugal, with the help of certain Western Powers. As in Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, so also in the territories under Portuguese administration the oppressed peoples had joined combat with the authorities, which were engaging in legalistic acrobatics in their determination to deprive millions of human beings of their right to freedom and self-determination and were resorting to savage repression of the peaceful inhabitants.

60. Despite the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter and of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which Portugal should have respected by reason of its membership of

the United Nations, Portugal continued to claim that its overseas territories were "overseas provinces". If the Portuguese Government's claim had been accompanied by the granting to the millions of "não-civilizados" of all the rights and duties of Portuguese citizenship, that would have been a noble and generous act worthy of acclaim. The facts of the situation, however, conflicted with the Portuguese Government's claims. In particular, his delegation would be grateful if the Portuguese representative could explain whether the provinces of metropolitan Portugal were headed by governors and governors-General, as was the case in the so-called overseas provinces. He would also like to know whether the fact that the overseas provinces had a largely "não-civilizado" population meant that the Portuguese nation was composed of uncivilized people.

61. There was no doubt that the administrative organization in the so-called overseas provinces was purely colonial. The Special Committee's report and the statements by the petitioners revealed the absolutely negative and discriminatory character of Portuguese administration. The details the petitioner Mr. Mondlane had given the Committee at the 1394th meeting concerning the purely rudimentary character of the education which children received in the mission schools in Mozambique, combined with UNESCO statistics to the effect that in 1950 the illiteracy rate in the Portuguese territories had varied between 79 per cent in the Cape Verde Islands and 99 per cent in Portuguese Guinea, were an eloquent illustration of the blessings of Portuguese civilization and of the moral influence exercised by the Portuguese nation by virtue of the Patronage of the East, reference to which was made in article 133 of the Portuguese Constitution. The negative attitude of the Portuguese authorities was confirmed by the high infant mortality rate, reference to which was to be found in paragraph 182 of the Special Committee's report.

62. The real problem of the territories under Portuguese administration did not concern the transmission of information by the Portuguese Government or the reforms which it might introduce into its administration: the crux of the matter was whether or not the Portuguese Government was ready to recognize that the peoples under its domination had the right to freedom and self-determination. In that respect there could be no room for doubt. In a speech made on 30 June 1961, the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Salazar, had stated that it would be unnecessary for the people of the overseas territories to express their will since they had done so long since and since their will had been expressed and endorsed by the Constitution. Again, in an interview reported in the *U.S. News and World Report* of 9 July 1962 the Portuguese Prime Minister had indicated that Angola and the other Portuguese territories were independent within the framework of the nation.

63. In the circumstances, it was easy to see that the only alternative left to the oppressed peoples was recourse to force. The people of Angola had already been driven to that solution. The reaction of the Portuguese Government, supported by certain Western Powers, to the Angolan peoples' yearning for freedom had been to use force and terror. Yet the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations had the cynicism to claim in his letter of 4 August 1962, addressed to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, that the situation in that Terri-

tory must be considered peaceful and normal and that no military operations were being undertaken (A/5286, para. 63). His delegation found it hard to reconcile that assertion with the casualty figures and the communiqués issued by the Portuguese authorities themselves, which were reported in paragraphs 102 and 104 of the Sub-Committee's report (A/5286). In the circumstances his delegation found it difficult to believe the Portuguese Government's assertion that the people of Angola were in sympathy with Portuguese national unity, or that Portugal's mission in that territory was to ensure its harmonious development within the nation. It was clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that Portugal's policy in its overseas territories was one of assimilation by force.

64. The most painful aspect of the problem concerned the reason why a small country such as Portugal could humiliate the United Nations and shed the blood of thousands of Africans whose only crime had been to claim their freedom. Speaking in exercise of his right of reply at the previous meeting, the United States representative had implicitly admitted that in Angola the Portuguese Government had used weapons supplied to it by the United States Government within the framework of NATO. The Western Powers which, by furnishing weapons to Portugal provided it with the means for exterminating Africans were assuming a heavy responsibility. Cameroon entertained friendly and cordial relations with those Western countries; it beseeched them to put an end to their activities, which could prove extremely dangerous, to heed the desperate cries of the millions of Africans dying under the hail of bullets they had supplied to the Portuguese Government, and to remember that they would retain the friendship of Africans only if they listened to those cries. Before it was too late they should try and persuade the Portuguese Government to sail with the wind of history, for its present policy only made the relations between the West and Africa more difficult.

65. The Angolan nationalists' armed struggle against Portuguese colonial oppression illustrated their will to oppose the actions of the Portuguese Government. In their struggle for freedom they would receive all moral and material support from the free African countries. The latter realized that they did not possess modern weapons, that the Powers which were helping South Africa and Portugal were inclined to disregard their appeals and that the great Powers tended to reach agreement among themselves over the heads of the small countries when their interests were at stake. It was, however, desirable that those Powers should gain a better understanding of the dangers to world peace involved in Portugal's and South Africa's military preparations in Africa. He hoped that the countries supplying Portugal with arms and ammunition would understand in good time where their interests lay, thus avoiding a rude awakening.

66. The only course open to Portugal was to enter into negotiations with the African nationalists with a view to the formal recognition of the people's right to self-determination and independence. Too much blood had already been shed for any other solution to be possible.

67. The Cameroonian delegation would support any draft resolution which would clearly express United Nations condemnation of Portugal's colonial policies, and the desire of the United Nations to see Portugal respect its decisions; which would censure the military help given by certain Powers to Portugal and appeal to them to put an end to such help; and which would

express the will of the United Nations to do its utmost to ensure that the Portuguese territories would attain independence at an early date.

68. He once again appealed to Cameroon's friends in the West to remember that, while they were free to enter into agreements with Portugal, the African countries were equally free to take decisions concordant with their interests, the course of history and respect for self-determination. He hoped that the Lisbon authorities and their supporters would learn from the lesson of the seven years of bloodshed in another country in Africa.

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

69. Mr. RAMIN (Israel) observed that although the item on the agenda was relatively new, the problem was an old one. Its essence was the failure by the Government of Portugal to fulfil its obligations towards its colonies and towards the United Nations. While other Administering Members had fulfilled their obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter, Portugal had persistently maintained that its possessions were not Non-Self-Governing Territories but integral parts of Portugal itself. That attitude was based on a unilateral act whereby, without consulting the indigenous inhabitants, Portugal had declared its colonies to be "overseas provinces" regardless of the fact that their peoples were ethnically and culturally distinct and geographically distant from the metropolitan country.

70. The Assembly had devoted much time in recent years to a discussion of Portugal's attitude and at the fifteenth session had adopted resolutions 1541 (XV) and 1542 (XV); the latter enumerated those Portuguese territories which were non-self-governing within the meaning of Chapter XI and invited Portugal to participate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Thus two years previously the General Assembly's stand on the subject had been made absolutely clear. The attitude of the Portuguese Government had, however, remained unchanged. Portugal had not transmitted information or participated in the work of the Committee on Information.

71. He paid a tribute to the members of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration for the able and devoted manner in which they had fulfilled their task. He noted with regret that the Government of Portugal had been unwilling to cooperate with that Committee.

72. In the Special Committee's report (A/5160 and Corr.1) the General Assembly had for the first time a comprehensive and authoritative source of information on the territories under Portuguese administration. It not only presented many elements essential to the present discussion but also served as a guide and a reminder of what was yet to be attained. The report, as also the statements made by the petitioners, gave no indication that there had been any improvement in the conditions in the Portuguese territories. On the contrary, there were new indications that millions of people in those territories were being denied elementary human rights. The reforms announced by Portugal in September 1961 could not be regarded as a remedy for the situation and his delegation endorsed the opinion expressed by the Special Committee that the reforms did not meet the basic aspirations and needs of the people.

73. The true and only remedy for the situation would be a fundamental change of approach by Portugal. In 1962, when the principle of the independence of peoples under colonial rule had been universally recognized, it was impossible to speak of overseas provinces that formed a part of the metropolitan country. Angola, Mozambique and the other territories were not provinces of Portugal; they were African territories with African inhabitants eager to express their African identity in every sphere of life. The sooner Portugal recognized that fact the better it would be. His delegation earnestly renewed its appeal to the Government of Portugal to accept the lessons of the time and to fulfil its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the other resolutions on the subject. As was rightly stated by the Special Committee, the most urgent steps required from Portugal were to recognize the rights of its colonies to independence, to refrain from carrying out oppressive measures against their populations, to grant political amnesty and to start negotiations with their representatives for the transfer of power to the indigenous peoples.

74. The time had come for Portugal to reconsider its colonial policy in the light of the great historic changes which were taking place. In the interests of its colonies and equally in its own interests, Portugal should change its attitude and move with the current of history rather than against it.

75. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) recalled that since February 1956 the United Nations had made repeated efforts to induce Portugal to comply with the provisions of the Charter concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories. Now that the Committee was once again faced with the problem of the territories under Portuguese administration, he thought that it would be useful to examine the question as a whole and, instead of simply condemning Portugal's attitude, to seek to understand the motives behind it.

76. General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) set forth the principles for determining which territories were Non-Self-Governing Territories and consequently came under the indirect care of the United Nations in accordance with Chapter XI of the Charter. Portugal claimed that its overseas territories did not fall within that category. Since the territories in question were not sovereign States or territories freely associated with an independent State, they could be considered to have reached a full measure of self-government only on the basis of integration with Portugal. Principles VIII and IX in the annex to resolution 1541 (XV) laid down that such integration should be on the basis of complete equality between the peoples of both territories and presupposed that the integrating territory had attained a sufficiently advanced stage of development for the peoples of the territory to express a free choice on the matter.

77. It was apparently Portugal's claim that the integration of its non-European territories in the Portuguese nation was a centuries-old fact. In its defence, Portugal pointed to the Christian character of its colonizing movement and the absence of all discrimination against the Africans. If the United Nations was to follow the path of persuasion rather than of mere condemnation, it would be wise to examine the historical foundations for such arguments. The Portuguese and Spanish movements of colonial expansion, beginning in the fifteenth century, had had a spiritual element which had been free of the commercial spirit

of later years; the Spanish and Portuguese adventurers had not merely sought material wealth but had seen themselves as serving the cause of Christianity. During the seventeenth century, a large part of Portugal's empire had been taken from it by more aggressive European countries and its African colonies had been more or less forgotten until the nineteenth century. In the industrial development that had characterized that epoch, Portugal had found itself at a disadvantage and had been unable to develop its African colonies, with the result that Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea were among the most backward territories in Africa. Indeed that was hardly surprising since Portugal was one of the least advanced countries of Europe.

78. Portugal had become a Member of the United Nations at a time when the Organization had already been moving in the direction of the elimination of colonialism. In order to keep pace with events, Portugal had introduced certain constitutional changes by which its former colonial territories had been transformed into overseas provinces. Whereas the rest of the world regarded such changes as mere legal sophistries, the Portuguese considered them to be the expression of a historical reality; furthermore, they believed that the Portuguese solution was the only effective solution for the difficulties facing Africa today.

79. In defence of their policies, the Portuguese frequently referred to the ideals of Prince Henry the Navigator. The evoking of past heroes could be valuable and creative provided that the changed circumstances in the world were taken into account. Since Prince Henry's time, however, many new elements had been introduced into Portugal's overseas policies. Soon after the death of the Prince, slavery had been established in Portugal and the slave trade had become an essential factor in that country's economy. In more recent years, as the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre had shown, Portuguese colonial policy had come under the influence of the policies pursued by the Belgians, the French and the British in Africa; a tendency had developed among influential Portuguese to treat the indigenous people as inferior and certain signs of racialism had begun to appear in Mozambique and Angola.

80. The Portuguese also pointed to the example of the multiracial society which had been created in Brazil, and claimed that, given time, Portugal would be able to repeat the Brazilian experiment in Angola and Mozambique. The circumstances in Africa, however, were not favourable to the repetition of the Brazilian experiment. Moreover, it clearly needed to be asked whether, if Brazil had remained dependent on a European country instead of having been independent for 150 years, it would be such a model of racial integration and progress today. For those reasons, the example of Brazil could hardly be considered valid in judging Portuguese present-day colonial policy.

81. It was on the basis of present policies that Portugal's claims regarding integration must be examined. The excellent report submitted by the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration revealed, among other things, the vast difference between theory and practice in Portugal's colonial policy. The report of the ILO Commission on the complaint filed by the Government of Ghana regarding the observance by Portugal of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention^{4/} served to confirm that fact: in

paragraph 736 it noted that regulations concerning labour matters often took the form of confidential circulars, the terms of which were sometimes difficult to reconcile with the applicable constitutional provisions and legislation. Although the ILO Commission had been relatively cautious in its judgements and more optimistic than the Special Committee concerning recent Portuguese reforms, its report largely bore out the findings of that Committee; it stated in paragraph 729, for example, that there were legislative anomalies which would, if they continued to be reflected in practice, be inconsistent with the obligations of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention; in paragraph 751, it drew attention to the high taxes paid by workers, and in paragraph 769 it noted the absence of an effective trade-union organization.

82. The book entitled Portugal's Stand in Africa, by Mr. Adriano Moreira,^{5/} the Minister for Overseas Portugal described the broad principles of Portugal's overseas policy. The ideal, according to Mr. Moreira, was the establishment of an area free from discrimination and the creation of a rich fusion of cultures. The author criticized Europe for abandoning its fundamental values and stressed Portugal's determination to fulfil what it regarded as its essential function.

83. In that situation, the attitude of the United Nations was of great importance. With the co-operation of the metropolitan Power, it might still be possible to alter the present trend and to lead Portugal's efforts along fruitful paths.

84. The Special Committee rightly stressed the need for efforts radically to improve the conditions of the indigenous population of the Portuguese territories. The Committee also stressed that a peaceful solution was still attainable thanks to the goodwill which was still evident among the African peoples and their leaders. His delegation agreed with the Special Committee regarding the urgent need for Portugal to recognize the right of the peoples to independence. During the period preceding independence, Portugal could prepare itself for the difficult situation in which it would then find itself. It was still possible for Portugal, by pursuing wise policies, to retain links with its former colonies. Instead of trying to hold back the movement towards independence, Portugal should become the leader of that movement. As Gilberto Freyre had shown, Portuguese colonial expansion had originally been characterized by the capacity to create new multiracial cultures instead of merely imposing Western values. That was a concept very different from the present concept of "assimilation". The relative cultural backwardness of Portugal could be to its advantage in bringing about genuine integration. As a predominantly pre-industrial and pre-bourgeois people, the Portuguese were in a favourable position for the creation of a multiracial and supranational society. Portugal must choose between the complete loss of its overseas influence and a return to the original Portuguese traditions which it had largely abandoned. Instead of the Africans accepting European values, the Portuguese in Africa must accept extra-European values; such values would have the effect of revitalizing the metropolitan country itself.

85. Portugal was faced with a great opportunity to create a new example of international brotherhood; in such an endeavour Brazil would perhaps be able to

^{4/} International Labour Office, Official Bulletin, vol. XLV, No.2, Supplement II (April 1962).

^{5/} New York, University Publishers, 1962.

play a leading part. As the Special Committee's report emphasized, time was short. It was essential for the Portuguese leaders to act and not to allow other forces, destructive of the genuine values for which Portugal stood, to decide the future of the Lusitanian community. His delegation would welcome a draft resolution which

would give Portugal a final chance to put its house in order and to earn a place in the forefront of the world community.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.