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Chairman: Mr. George J. TOMEH (Syria).

### Fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution

1. Mr. SZYMANOWSKI (Poland), speaking also on behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia and Romania, congratulated the delegations of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Poland and the countries for which he spoke celebrated that day as one of their own holidays because they were imbued with the same ideals. The half-century that had elapsed had proved the creative power of socialism, which had transformed an economically backward country into one of the most advanced countries in the world, had made a tremendous contribution to the defeat of genocidal fascism and later to the foundation of the United Nations, and had launched the first sputnik. There was no country in the world which had not been affected by the great Socialist Revolution and its ideals of social justice. The principles laid down in the United Nations Charter, such as, for example, the inalienable right of all peoples to freedom, had already been emblazoned on the banners of the Revolution. Without the socialist countries the process of decolonization would undoubtedly have been much slower. The Soviet armies had liberated Poland in 1944-1945, and since then Poland and the Soviet Union had maintained relations of fraternal co-operation. The glorious days of October 1917—perhaps the period that was most prolific in heroic deeds and events in all history—had ushered in the era of socialism. In conclusion, he again congratulated the country which had for the first time raised the banner of socialism, which was also the banner of Poland.

2. Mr. WARSAMA (Somalia), speaking on behalf of his own delegation and the delegations of Algeria,

Congo (Brazzaville), Ghana, Guinea, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia, said that the October Revolution was the most important event of the century and that the Soviet Union's achievements in the political, economic, social, military and scientific fields were without parallel in the history of the world. When the working masses had taken power in feudal Russia, the ruling classes of the other countries had prophesied failure. However, despite the obstacles they had encountered, the Soviets had succeeded in creating the great nation of the present day in only fifty years, a brief period in the history of the Russian people, and their ideals, which were an inspiration to the oppressed peoples, had made a tremendous contribution to the liberation of Africa and Asia from the colonial yoke.

3. Mr. BOYE (Chile), speaking on behalf of his own delegation and that of Mexico, congratulated the representatives of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR. The October Revolution was an important milestone in the history of the twentieth century, and the Fourth Committee was a truly appropriate forum for paying a tribute to it. It was the Soviet delegation that had taken the first step towards the General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Soviet Union had proposed the item for inclusion in the agenda and had worked actively with other delegations, including his own, to achieve the adoption of that "Magna Carta of Decolonization". The October Revolution was an event which had had repercussions throughout the world, an event which had been hotly debated and was still being debated. It had none the less enabled all peoples, especially the poor and oppressed peoples, to become aware of their situation and had spurred them on to undertake, in various ways, the process of their own emancipation.

4. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria), speaking on behalf of the Asian group, said that he wished to express sincere and warm congratulations to the representatives of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution. That Revolution, a crucial turning point in the world's history, had been admirable because it had emancipated man from the yoke of tyranny, heroic because it had consolidated its achievements against a powerful external reaction, humanistic because it had restored to man his place in the centre of the universe and had put his progress and welfare above selfish and exclusive instincts. That Revolution had been socialist because it had re-established a human relationship based on equality

and justice, and it had struck universal echoes because it had stirred in all oppressed peoples, regardless of colour, faith or creed, the hope of a better and freer life.

5. The achievements of the Great Revolution had come one after the other to vindicate its noble purposes: the heroic resistance of the Soviet people and their admirable victory over the forces of aggression, their active role in the struggle against colonialism, their progress in mobilizing the forces of nature to serve the welfare of men, all men without discrimination, and their immense exploits in the field of science had restored confidence in the rehabilitation of mankind that would no longer tolerate the exploitation of man by man, the transgression of rights, the arrogance of power and the humiliation of the small.

6. Mr. THIAM (Mali) congratulated the delegation of the Soviet Union and expressed his gratitude to the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the positive contribution they had made to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The victory won in 1917 by the working class, allied with the Russian peasants, marked an important date in the progress of the world towards a better future. For the first time in the history of mankind, a State had been founded which had put an end to the exploitation of one man by another. In fifty years, through the kind of creative work that liberates man, the Soviet people had transformed a feudal country into one of the world's super Powers. Lenin, the architect and the presiding genius of that magnificent achievement, had fought all his life for the self-determination of peoples and, by scientifically analysing backward societies, had pointed the way towards a future free of discrimination and injustice. The triumph of the Revolution, the foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the success of socialism had changed the balance of forces among the social classes in favour of the working class and the oppressed peoples. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which had proclaimed the right of all peoples to self-determination, had started the process leading to the collapse of the colonial system and the rise of national liberation movements, particularly in Africa and Asia. The people of Mali, who had chosen the socialist road, were proudly celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

7. The CHAIRMAN said that he joined with the previous speakers in congratulating the delegations of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the occasion of their anniversary. The October Revolution had brought with it tremendous contributions in the fields of science, culture and justice, and it had raised the standard of living of the Russian people. Its ideals had inspired the struggle against colonialism which was now being waged throughout the world and to which the Russian people had made so significant a contribution.

8. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thanked the Chairman, the representatives of Poland, Somalia, Chile, Syria and Mali and the countries on whose behalf those representatives had spoken. The anniversary which the Soviet Union was celebrating was in reality an international celebration

because the Soviet State was, it must be remembered, multinational in character. It was composed of fifteen Republics and had fifteen official languages, but its diversity was even greater because it comprised more than 120 national and ethnic groups. The road of the Soviet Revolution had been beset with difficulties, and the fact that they had been overcome had been due primarily to the Soviet people, who had transformed a very poor country into a powerful nation. The Soviet Union had never tried to impose its will on other countries by force; rather, it had offered them its friendship, and the Leninist policy of equality and friendship among peoples had always been a cornerstone of its actions. Moreover, it should be remembered that the October Revolution had been carried out in order to bring peace, and the first decree of the Soviet Government had been directed towards that objective. The Socialist Revolution had been the first blow in the struggle against imperialism, and the Soviet Union would continue the struggle against colonialism and for the right of peoples to self-determination. Immediately after the victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union had offered moral and material assistance to the national liberation struggles and was now seeking to contribute, through the United Nations, to the progress of anti-colonial action. In conclusion, he expressed his appreciation once again to all those who had addressed such sincere congratulations to the Soviet Union.

#### AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration (continued):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V; A/6812, A/C.4/693 and Add.1 and 2);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (A/6825)

#### HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

9. The CHAIRMAN announced that Mr. Shaefudin Mohamed Khan had joined the delegation of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), which had previously consisted of Mr. Simango and the Reverend Mateus Gwenjere.

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Uria Timoteo Simango, Vice-President and Secretary for External Affairs, and the Reverend Mateus Gwenjere and Mr. Shaefudin Mohamed Khan, representatives, of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), took places at the Committee table.*

10. The CHAIRMAN called on those representatives to speak who wished to put questions to the petitioners.

11. Mr. KANNANGARA (Ceylon) asked whether the system of assimilation of the indigenous population which Portugal was applying in its Territories involved any compulsion. He also wished to know how long that process had been in operation and what percentage of the population had been assimilated to date.

12. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) replied that the system had been in operation ever since the settlement of the Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Initially, assimila-

tion had not been compulsory and depended on the knowledge indigenous persons had of the Portuguese language. At a later stage, every African completing his primary education had been able to apply for Portuguese citizenship, for which purpose he had had to produce documentary evidence that he had not evaded military service and that he was a person of civilized behaviour. After paying a sum of money, he had received a card attesting that he was an assimilated person. That system had persisted for many years, but the number of Africans assimilated had been estimated at not more than 5,000. Between 1959 and 1961, Portugal had discontinued the system and, with a view to preventing any discussion of the question of independence, had declared that all inhabitants of its Territories were Portuguese nationals. Under the new system all inhabitants had to obtain a document entitled "Cartão de identidade", which was similar to the assimilated person's card but had a lower social value. Thus, all the inhabitants of the Territories were now Portuguese nationals.

13. Mr. KANNANGARA (Ceylon) asked whether FRELIMO, having regard to Portugal's intransigent attitude, thought that the General Assembly should attempt, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General, to convene a constitutional conference for Mozambique, and whether the liberation movement would appoint representatives to such a conference if it were held.

14. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) quoted the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had said that his country and Portugal had a common ideology which the world did not understand and had joined forces to form an alliance against foreign subversion. What was more, the top Portuguese military leaders had warned that Portugal was prepared to continue the war it was waging in its African Territories to the bitter end if the indigenous population continued to resist.

15. The objective of FRELIMO was independence, not the destruction of human life. If the United Nations succeeded in convincing Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination and the right of its colonies to independence, FRELIMO would accept any means of finding a peaceful solution for the problem on condition that such means did not serve to mask the designs of imperialism.

16. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria), referring to the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations" (item 97), which had been included by the General Assembly in its agenda, thanked the petitioners for the fresh information which they had furnished on the help being given to refugees and on the needs of refugees. He then asked them to give their views and suggestions regarding the most effective ways in which the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations could provide assistance in the fields of education, health and child welfare.

17. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) said that some States always refrained from

voting against Portugal and South Africa because of their investments in those countries, and he asked the Committee to look into that question, since it was the reason why the resolutions condemning support or assistance to countries practising discrimination had not resulted in any tangible measures.

18. It should be borne in mind that the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) were now divided into two sectors, one dominated by the Portuguese and the other by the nationalists. Portugal had all the advantages, benefits and assistance that went with membership of the United Nations, and it was time that the United Nations and its specialized agencies, which considered Mozambique to be a colony, should also recognize the free part of that Territory and give it direct aid. Furthermore, it was FRELIMO and not Portugal which was responsible for the welfare of the people in the free sector, who needed medical supplies, medical services, food and education. Portugal had not done much in the way of education in its Territories, with the result that few students from Mozambique were able to apply for the university scholarships provided by UNESCO. A programme of scholarships at pre-university level could, however, be organized in Mozambique like the one which had been set up for South West Africa. FRELIMO had established a secondary school at Dar es Salaam to train students from Mozambique who could later apply for university scholarships, but that school, like those which had been established in the liberated zones, needed help in the form of teaching material, textbooks and food. UNESCO could do a great deal in that respect.

19. He added that FRELIMO had established an orphanage for children whose parents had been arrested and had not returned, or who were dead or missing, and that the orphanage needed food and clothing for those unfortunate children.

20. Portugal was to blame for the situation, since it had refused to accept the principle of self-determination. The indigenous peoples of the Territories were engaged in a lawful struggle, and for that reason they were entitled to receive aid.

21. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria) said that the information furnished by the petitioners would be useful in the discussion on the part to be played by the specialized agencies of the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. His delegation agreed with Mr. Simango that all the institutions of the United Nations system should grant aid to the oppressed peoples, and it believed that the help of the specialized agencies should be co-ordinated with the action of the national liberation movements.

22. He recalled that the Fourth Committee, the Special Committee and the General Assembly had adopted resolutions on the dissemination of information concerning the needs of the oppressed peoples. The United Nations Office of Public Information had taken some action in that direction, but much still remained to be done, especially with regard to publicity by visual media. In that connexion he asked the petitioners whether they could provide the United Nations with documentary photographs or films which could be



used for disseminating information about the struggle and about the progress achieved in the liberated areas.

23. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) replied that the petitioners had brought publications, leaflets and photographs with them which they would place at the disposal of the Committee, and that a film had been made, with Yugoslav help, on the liberated territories and would be made available to the United Nations as soon as possible.

24. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria) proposed that the photographs which the petitioners had brought with them should be displayed in the conference room during the discussion of the item. In addition, believing that the Office of Public Information ought to make the most of every opportunity to show films produced by the national liberation movements, he asked the Chairman of the Committee to consult the Office of Public Information about the possibility of showing the FRELIMO film at Headquarters and in United Nations information centres throughout the world.

25. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee approved the first proposal of the Bulgarian delegation. Regarding the second, he would consult the Secretariat about the showing of the film.

*It was so decided.*

26. Mr. MIRDHA (India) said that he did not intend to put any questions to the petitioners, but wished to thank them for their precise information. As a member of the Special Committee, he had already had an opportunity to study the information furnished by the members of FRELIMO and considered it to be very useful to the Fourth Committee.

27. His country was endeavouring to help the liberation movements by all the means in its power and had supplied them with medicine, scholarships, teachers, etc. Presently there were twenty-four Angolans undergoing training in India. Although it was a modest contribution, his Government attached great significance to it. He pledged his Government's continued support for the cause of freedom in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

28. Mr. HASSAN (Sudan) asked the petitioners for information on the role of the port of Beira in activities aimed at evading the sanctions imposed on the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

29. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) replied that both the port of Beira and that of Lourenço Marques had been used to bring aid to the illegal Southern Rhodesian régime. In the port of Beira a new system had been organized which made it possible to unload petroleum without the need for tankers to anchor within the harbour.

30. Mr. HASSAN (Sudan) thanked the petitioner for his reply and said that he had no more questions. If the liberation movements were to be victorious in their great struggle, they must remain united. The Sudan would co-operate with them in every possible way.

31. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) said that he wished to add some information

which he had just received from one of the other petitioners: The Financial Times had announced that a study was being made of the construction in Southern Rhodesia of a new dam, in which Portugal and the Smith régime would co-operate.

32. Mr. KORNEENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that as the next item on the Committee's agenda concerned the activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination, he would like the petitioners to give some details of how capital investments in Mozambique, Angola and other Territories were being used to impede the attainment of independence by the Territories under Portuguese administration; he was particularly interested in hearing about the way in which the foreign monopolies operated, and about working conditions of the Africans in those Territories.

33. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) said that some countries had no desire to lose the capital invested in the Territories under Portuguese administration. Portugal would grant independence to its Territories only if the latter showed willingness to continue being exploited. He enumerated companies operating in Southern Rhodesia with Belgian, Belgian-Portuguese, American-Portuguese, British-American and other capital, and said that if he was allowed time to sort it out he could give the Committee the information at his disposal concerning the matter raised by the Ukrainian representative.

34. Portugal claimed that it was striving to protect civilized society against communist infiltration. In reality, the Government of Portugal was convinced that, once their aim was attained, the African Territories fighting for independence would not follow the path of capitalism or allow themselves to be exploited, and it was for that reason that it called them communists.

35. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania), speaking on a point of order, said that the Ukrainian representative's question, particularly with reference to working conditions in the Territories under Portuguese administration, was of great importance for the Committee. He therefore suggested that the petitioner should be asked to prepare the relevant information for submission to the Secretariat in writing, so that the latter could circulate it among the members as a Committee document.

36. The CHAIRMAN said that if the petitioners would prepare the relevant information the Secretariat would have it circulated.

37. Mr. KORNEENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) thanked the petitioner for his replies, which had shed light on the activities of foreign companies, and said that he supported the proposal of the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.

38. Mr. LADGHAM (Tunisia) asked the petitioner if he could make a long-term forecast concerning the future of Mozambique.

39. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) replied that the prospects could be outlined in a few words: when the freedom fighters had organized themselves to resist Portuguese colonization their position had been weak; later they had succeeded in increasing their forces, and they now had more weapons and made better use of them. They were therefore in a position to demolish the Portuguese defences; and they had actually already destroyed a number of military bases, annihilated 5,000 Portuguese soldiers and expelled the Portuguese from vast areas, where a new life was now beginning. The freedom fighters were now organized and united, nationalism was strong and the prospects were bright. Although he could not give dates, he said that, if Portugal did not agree to negotiation, the liberation movements would intensify the struggle until they achieved final victory.

40. Mr. LADGHAM (Tunisia) thanked the petitioner for that information and said he was confident that the liberation movements would triumph. He asked the petitioner if those movements maintained contacts with groups in Portugal itself which were opposed to Portuguese rule.

41. Mr. SIMANGO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) said that fascism and terrorism reigned in Portugal, and that students were frequently imprisoned. The liberal organizations which were in favour of independence for the colonies were not able to do much for them. They wanted to change the situation prevailing in Portugal itself, but the governmental machinery considerably hampered their activities.

42. FRELIMO was in contact with a democratic front which operated in Angola and whose members were invited to the conference which FRELIMO organized. Until those groups acquired power, however, they would be able to do little more than publicize the activities of the liberation movements.

43. The CHAIRMAN thanked the petitioners for the information they had given to the members of the Committee.

*The petitioners withdrew.*

#### GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

44. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) said that since the adoption seven years earlier of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the liberation movements on the African continent had been revitalized. The trend towards freedom was inevitable, because human beings were born free and equal and could not be kept perpetually in conditions of servitude and exploitation. Portugal, however, had not accepted that truth or changed its policies with respect to the Territories it administered. It was still flouting world public opinion and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and refused to recognize the rights of the people of the Territories to self-determination and independence.

45. To justify its position, Portugal claimed that its overseas Territories were provinces forming part of the multi-racial Portuguese nation, and that the United Nations, by placing the item on its agenda, was preventing the development of multi-racial so-

cieties. While there could be no objection to the establishment of political, cultural, economic and other relationships between a metropolitan country and a territory which it had administered, in the present case a unilateral decree by Portugal that the Territories were metropolitan provinces was obviously not enough; it in no way altered their status as Non-Self-Governing Territories, nor did it absolve Portugal of the obligation to safeguard the interests of the people of the Territories and lead them to independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Moreover, a multi-racial society presupposed equality among all citizens, irrespective of race, colour or creed, whereas there was ample evidence that Portugal was applying to the Africans repressive measures and discriminatory laws concerning land ownership and labour conditions, and was even subjecting them to forced labour. The Chairman of the Special Committee had expressed unequivocally his conviction that the Portuguese colonialists were committing acts of genocide against a people whose only demand was that they should be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. The representative of Italy in the Special Committee had also expressed his Government's concern at the discriminatory measures applied and at the stubborn denial of the right of self-determination to the people of the Territories. An ILO committee had also reported various cases of forced labour. Thus it was clear that there was no equality between the Portuguese citizens and the indigenous people who, moreover, had made it plain that they were not interested in becoming citizens of Portugal, from whose people they were separated by both geography and ethnic origin.

46. Portugal was imposing on the Territories under its administration a type of collaboration of its own choosing, and justified itself in so doing by saying that if those Territories were divided into non-viable political units they would sooner or later become economically subject to other countries and would lose their national independence.

47. Although the facts did not at present justify such optimism, he hoped that Portugal would, at the eleventh hour, follow the example of the colonial Powers which had led the peoples of their former colonies to independence and had succeeded in establishing with those new and independent States relations based on mutual respect and co-operation. Nevertheless, he was convinced that the great traditions and history of the Portuguese people and the righteousness of the cause of the peoples of those Territories and their unbending determination to be masters of their fate would make it possible to find a solution that would lead to final victory in the near future.

48. Mr. CARRASQUERO (Venezuela)<sup>1/</sup> said that the problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration was a clear example of the slowing down of the decolonization process in the southern part of Africa. Southern Africa seemed to be condemned

<sup>1/</sup> On the proposal of the representative of Guinea, the Committee subsequently decided (1714th meeting, para. 75) that this statement should appear *in extenso*.

to a permanent denial of the fundamental rights which formed the basis of human society. The general and particular aspects of the distressing problem of Southern Rhodesia had been considered at previous meetings, and now the Committee was devoting its time once more to an examination of new developments concerning another problem which had been sufficiently discussed in the Committee and in the Special Committee—the problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration. It would be rather wearisome now to repeat the document numbers, dates and grounds of the General Assembly resolutions concerning the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea. For the Lisbon Government, they had had no more meaning than a mere academic exercise on the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

49. In the southern part of Africa millions of human beings were still deprived not only of the fundamental and inalienable rights to freedom and independence but also, more tragic still, of those rights inherent in the human condition which had been proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations and in other international instruments. It was impossible, therefore, to accept a further postponement of the solution of a problem which, by its nature, not only affected the African continent but also involved the historic responsibility of the United Nations to mankind.

50. It must be remembered that the situation in those Territories was deteriorating daily despite the many resolutions which, since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), had been produced both in the General Assembly and in the Special Committee. Venezuela considered that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was undoubtedly applicable to those Territories. It therefore once again rejected most categorically the legal fiction that the Portuguese African colonies were overseas provinces of Portugal and therefore formed an integral part of that country's territory. It also rejected all legal, political and social subterfuges aimed at casting doubts on the right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea, to self-determination and independence. Thus he could not accept the policy of settling foreign immigrants in the Territories with the deliberate aim of creating an artificial situation designed to defeat the principle of self-determination.

51. The Portuguese Government's attitude of stubborn rejection of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions must be denounced once more; that Government's indefensible colonial policy, which consisted in denying the right of self-determination and independence to those peoples, was most regrettable.

52. Venezuela had repeatedly expressed its disapproval of the colonial war waged by the Government of Portugal; that war had cost thousands of innocent lives and had produced more than 400,000 refugees who were living in the countries bordering on the Portuguese Territories—the victims of the punitive action which the Government of Portugal took indiscriminately against the indigenous populations of the Territories. The punitive measures apparently did not stop at the frontiers of the Portuguese colonies, for military action seemed to have

reached the neighbouring countries, thereby violating the territorial integrity and threatening the political independence of African States. His delegation deplored any attitude of disregard towards the principles proclaimed in the Charter, respect for which alone could ensure international peace and security.

53. When the Special Committee had held its 1967 meetings in Africa, he had had an opportunity to listen to the denunciations of that attitude by various Heads of State and to observe the affecting situation of the refugees from Angola and Mozambique in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the United Republic of Tanzania. His delegation wished to express its admiration for the Governments of those two countries, which, imbued with a great spirit of human solidarity and conscious of the tragedy of their brothers from those Territories, had granted them asylum and had encouraged them to continue their unquestionably legitimate struggle. He had also been able to hear during those meetings two distinguished representatives of the political parties and freedom movements of the Territories under Portuguese administration: Mr. Holden Roberto, President of the *Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil* (GRAE), and Dr. Mondlane, of FRELIMO. Both leaders had described to the Special Committee the most recent events in the Territories and had denounced the implacable continuation of the colonial war by the administering Power (see A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V, sect. C). His delegation wished to express its sympathy and to tell them that their vocation of service in the cause of the independence of that part of the African continent would finally be repaid with victory and with the achievement of the political objectives which had been denied to their peoples.

54. The Portuguese Government must realize, once and for all, that it could not continue to turn its back upon the principles and major objectives of the international community; it should reflect on its attitude and understand that decolonization was an irreversible process which certainly could not be checked in Angola, Mozambique or "Portuguese" Guinea.

55. It could not be the wish of the noble Portuguese people to subjugate other peoples. He was confident that, like the Venezuelan people, it not only wished to maintain the close ties which were naturally established between communities living together, but also to co-operate with the peoples of Africa and, in particular, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea, on the basis of sovereign equality, for it was on that basis that the soundest and most constructive relations could be established between them. The Portuguese Government could not lose sight of that historical perspective, for with it were bound up the traditions and spirit of the Portuguese people, a people through whom the seeds of other nationalities had been planted. The history of America should be repeated in Africa.

56. His delegation did not wish to list again the basic facts of his country's position concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration, but it wished to reaffirm its unchanging defence of the sacred rights of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and

independence, and its express recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of those who opposed colonial domination in those Territories. An exhaustive examination of the colonial problem in Africa led inexorably to the conclusion that the conditions in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration were being maintained with the help and support received from other States.

57. It was difficult to accept the contention that the United Nations was unable to solve the great colonial problems and, in particular, the problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration. An examination of the General Assembly resolutions on the problem of those Territories would suffice to

show that the majority of States Members of the United Nations had already pointed out the proper course of action by which the rights denied to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea would finally be restored.

58. Venezuela was particularly sensitive to colonial problems, and the Government and people of Venezuela were irrevocably committed to support any action aimed at putting an end to the anachronistic colonial system which the Portuguese authorities were apparently striving to maintain.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*