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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

Decision concerning procedure

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Third Committee.

1. The PRESIDENT: I would remind the Members of the General Assembly that interventions will be limited to explanations of vote.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council
(chapters VIII and IX)

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/5314)

2. Mrs. SIVOMEY (Togo), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (translated from French): I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the report of the Third Committee [A/5314] on agenda item 12, namely, "Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters VIII and IX)".

3. The Third Committee was instructed to study chapters VIII and IX of the report of the Economic and So-

cial Council [A/5203]. The Assembly will note, however, that the document now before it deals with four subjects: social questions, the United Nations Children's Fund, international control of narcotics, and human rights. The other subjects mentioned in the introduction but not included in the report, were referred to the Third Committee under other items of the agenda of the seventeenth session. The Committee decided to study them separately, except for "Advisory services in the field of human rights" (item 80), on which it has submitted a separate report [A/5277], and which it discussed at the same time as agenda item 12.

4. In the course of the debate held in the Third Committee on social questions, most delegations commended the constructive part played by the Economic and Social Council and the Social Commission as was stressed in the report now before the Assembly, the vast majority in the Third Committee is agreed in considering the United Nations Development Decade a useful framework for the advancement of social progress in all its forms.

5. The report makes it clear that the final aim of economic development is social progress, which must be regarded not only as a consequence but also as a factor of economic progress. Many delegations welcomed the Economic and Social Council's acceptance of the principle of national planning for balanced economic and social development. Special emphasis was laid on the need to establish clear priorities and hence to work out methods of determining the appropriate allocation of resources to the various social sectors at different stages of economic development, as was stated in Council resolution 903-B (XXXIV).

6. As stated in the report, delegations expressed their gratitude to the Netherlands Government for its generous of 3,600,000 florins to finance a United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. The offer of the Netherlands Government has been accepted by the Secretary-General and a report on the subject will shortly be submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee. The task of the Institute will be to study and define the relations between economic and social development and between various sectors of social development at different stages of economic growth—a programme which should take three to five years to complete. This work will supplement that of the Secretariat's Bureau of Social Affairs and will be very useful to Governments.

7. The report lays emphasis on the importance attached by the Third Committee, in the framework of the United Nations Development Decade, to social welfare, and on the increasing role of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in community development.

8. The Third Committee also agreed in considering that the United Nations Development Decade should

^{1/} See A/5391, para. 45.

facilitate co-ordination of the work of the Social Commission, the regional economic commissions, the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies in order the better to achieve the aims of the Decade.

9. The Third Committee was gratified at the decision taken by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 903 C (XXXIV) to set up a Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, and it adopted draft resolution I which is now before the Assembly. This new committee's terms of reference and manner of reporting offer new opportunities for the study of current problems and also for the proper integration of building and urban development programmes in general economic, social and industrial plans. If it adopts this draft resolution, the General Assembly will be asking the Economic and Social Council to consider at its resumed thirty-fourth session, the possibility of increasing the membership of the Committee from eighteen to twenty-one, in view of the interest shown by many of the States Members of the United Nations.

10. With regard to population questions, the Third Committee concentrated its attention primarily on preparations for the second World Population Conference to be held in 1964 or 1965 and on those for the 1963 Asian Population Conference. These preparations will shortly be examined at the twelfth session of the Population Commission, which is to meet at Headquarters in February 1963.

11. As regards UNICEF, the Committee unanimously adopted draft resolution II concerning the work of that body. Under this draft, the General Assembly would take note of and approve the decisions of UNICEF's Executive Board for integrating the Fund's work into the economic and social development efforts of the United Nations Development Decade.

12. Many delegations consider that the success of the United Nations Development Decade will depend on the efforts that are made to help the rising generations who must play a constructive part in a developing society. This is a long-term aim which should be adopted not only by the developing countries but also by countries able to supply external aid. Under this draft resolution, the General Assembly would recommend the Member States to take account of the needs of children and youth in the planning and administration of public health, education, social welfare, preparation for employment, housing, industry, and agriculture, bearing in mind the need for strengthening family life. It would also recommend the Member States to take full advantage of the services of UNICEF in co-operation with other institutions, particularly in planning for children and adolescents, and the training of appropriate personnel.

13. I am particularly pleased to be able to recommend this draft resolution to the General Assembly now, on the eve of the sixteenth anniversary of the UNICEF, since the General Assembly took the decision to create it on 11 December 1946 [resolution 57 (I)].

14. Great progress has been made as regards international control of narcotics thanks to the adoption in March 1961 of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. By 12 October 1962, sixty-four Governments had signed the Convention, but only eleven had ratified it or acceded to it. The Third Committee thus considered it desirable to appeal to the Governments concerned to take steps to become parties to the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. This question is dealt with in draft resolution III.

15. A substantial proportion of the Committee's discussions on the relevant chapters of the Economic and Social Council's report was devoted primarily to human rights problems. The Assembly will recall that the Committee was at the same time examining the programme of advisory services in the field of human rights dealt with in another report [A/5277], a subject on which the General Assembly has already adopted a resolution [926 (X)].

16. In its report, the Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of four draft resolutions (I-IV) on human rights problems. These drafts concern: the fifteenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the further promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries, and international co-operation to assist in the development of information media in the less developed countries.

17. I feel that the variety and scope of these draft resolutions are a reflection of the sustained interest and work of all the various United Nations organs wholly or partly devoted to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

18. The purpose of draft resolution IV, relating to the fifteenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is to ensure that this anniversary is celebrated throughout the world—and we hope it will be. Under this text, the Assembly would request the Secretary-General to set up a special committee to prepare plans for the celebration of this anniversary; it is hoped that the committee might make suggestions on the forms the celebration might take and on the information media which could be used both at the national and at the local level. Consideration might also be given to consultation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, other specialized institutions concerned and non-governmental organizations in consultative status, so that plans for this anniversary celebration can be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights at its nineteenth session.

19. In draft resolution V, relating to the need for the further promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, it is noted in the preamble that notwithstanding many United Nations decisions and recommendations on the subject of human rights, and despite the progress accomplished, the situation with regard to the grant and observance of these rights remains unsatisfactory in many parts of the world. The preamble also recognizes the need for increased efforts to eradicate as quickly as possible all manifestations leading to violations of fundamental human rights and freedoms. The main proposal made in the operative part of the draft resolution is that the Economic and Social Council should instruct the Commission on Human Rights to study and encourage the adoption of means for accelerating the development of and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to devote special attention to this subject during the United Nations Development Decade. The Commission on Human Rights would be requested to submit a report and recommendations on this subject to the next session of the General Assembly.

20. Draft resolution VI, relating to United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in the developing countries, marks a new step in the direction indi-

ated in Economic and Social Council resolution 771 H (XXX) and General Assembly resolution 1509 (XV).

21. To sum up, the draft resolution recognizes the necessity to develop and co-ordinate the various programmes designed to promote the advancement of women in developing countries. The Secretary-General is requested to study, in co-operation with the Member States and the agencies concerned, the possibility of providing and developing new resources aimed especially at the initiation and implementation of a unified long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women. The Secretary-General is also requested, within the scope of the programme of advisory services in the field of human rights and the advisory social welfare services programme, to study especially the possibility of expanding the assistance which can be rendered for the advancement of women in developing countries. The Commission on the Status of Women is invited to co-operate with the Secretary-General to these ends. Lastly, the Secretary-General is requested to report to the Economic and Social Council and to the General Assembly on developments in this respect, especially with regard to the possibility of establishing the above-mentioned programme.

22. Draft resolution VII, relating to international co-operation to assist in the development of information media in less developed countries, marks a considerable advance over a resolution [1313 A (XIII)] adopted by the General Assembly at its thirteenth session. The draft resolution states that the Economic and Social Council has transmitted to the General Assembly at its present session detailed reports, drawn up by UNESCO, on information needs in the less developed countries. The Governments concerned are invited to include adequate provision in their economic plans for the development of national information media; and the Technical Assistance Board, the Special Fund, the specialized agencies concerned and various other bodies are invited to co-operate. UNESCO, which is particularly active in this field, is requested to continue to further the programme for the development of information media, to keep up to date as far as possible its survey on this subject throughout the world and to report as appropriate to the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council. There is an important recommendation to Governments of Member States to take this programme into account in connexion with the United Nations Development Decade. Lastly, the Governments of the more developed countries are invited to co-operate with the less developed countries with a view to the development of independent national information media, with due regard for the culture of each country.

23. The PRESIDENT: As no Member has requested to speak in explanation of his vote before the voting, the Assembly will now proceed to the vote on the seven draft resolutions contained in the report of the Third Committee [A/5314]. I now put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 81 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

24. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously in the Third Committee. I take it that the Assembly would also wish to adopt draft resolution II unanimously.

Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously.

25. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 92 votes in favour to 1 against, with 4 abstentions.

26. The PRESIDENT: A statement on the financial implications of draft resolution IV is to be found in paragraph 57 of the Committee's report [A/5314]. This draft resolution was unanimously recommended by the Third Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also wishes to adopt it unanimously?

Draft resolution IV was adopted unanimously.

27. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V was also unanimously recommended by the Third Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

Draft resolution V was adopted unanimously.

28. The PRESIDENT: A statement of the financial implications of draft resolution VI is to be found in paragraph 86 of the Committee's report [A/5314]. I now put to the vote draft resolution VI.

Draft resolution VI was adopted unanimously.

29. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VII was unanimously adopted in the Third Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

Draft resolution VII was adopted unanimously.

30. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece for an explanation of vote.

31. Mrs. MANTZOULINOS (Greece): My delegation had voted in favour of the resolution concerning the ratification of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs when a vote was taken in the Third Committee. However, we abstained in the plenary. Explaining its vote of abstention on the said resolution, the delegation of Greece wishes to have on record its remark that, in its opinion, the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs in its final text does not meet the purposes and objectives aimed at by this Convention, of which my Government had supported the drafting and conclusion in the past. On these grounds my Government, on 8 November 1962, ratified the Opium Protocol of 1953, considering it an international instrument of great importance, because it ensures international control over the production of opium, one of the main drugs which focus international attention in the field of narcotics control. The Greek instrument of ratification of the Opium Protocol is shortly to be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 48

Manifestations of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/5305)

32. Mrs. SIVOMEY (Togo), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (translated from French): I have the honour to submit the report of the Third Committee [A/5305] relating to item 48 of the agenda of the General Assembly, entitled "Manifestations of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance". The Third Committee is submitting for the General Assembly's approval three draft resolutions which it adopted unanimously.

33. Draft resolution A is based on a text transmitted to the General Assembly by the Economic and Social Council in resolution 826 B (XXXII) of 27 July 1961. The Committee made some changes in the text by the adoption of two amendments by which the Assembly in-

vites Member States, the specialized agencies and the non-governmental organizations concerned to inform the Secretary-General of action taken by them in compliance with the resolution and requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session a report on compliance with the resolution.

34. Draft resolution B concerns the preparation of a draft declaration and a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

35. Draft resolution C concerns the preparation of a draft declaration and a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance.

36. Draft resolutions B and C both express the desire of the General Assembly to put into effect the principle of the equality of all men and all peoples without distinction as to race, colour or religion, as stated in the Charter of the United Nations.

37. The two draft declarations referred to in draft resolutions B and C will have to be prepared by the Commission on Human Rights and then submitted to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session.

38. The two draft conventions will also have to be prepared by the Commission on Human Rights and submitted to the General Assembly, if possible at its nineteenth session and, in any case, not later than at its twentieth session.

39. On behalf of the Third Committee, I have the honour to recommend draft resolutions A, B and C for adoption by the General Assembly.

40. The PRESIDENT: I have received no requests for explanations of vote, and I shall therefore pass on to the vote on the three draft resolutions, which are set out in the report of the Third Committee [A/5305]. Draft resolution A was unanimously adopted in the Committee. Is it the wish of the General Assembly also to adopt the draft resolution unanimously?

Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously.

41. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution B was also adopted unanimously by the Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it unanimously?

Draft resolution B was adopted unanimously.

42. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution C was also unanimously recommended by the Committee. Does the General Assembly also wish to adopt it unanimously?

Draft resolution C was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM 80

Advisory services in the field of human rights

REPORTS OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/5277) AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5306)

43. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now pass on to the third item on its agenda, the report of the Third Committee on advisory services in the field of human rights [A/5277]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications of the draft resolution contained therein has been circulated [A/5306].

44. Mrs. SIVOMEY (Togo), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (translated from French): I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the report of the Third Committee [A/5277] relating to agenda item 80,

entitled "Advisory services in the field of human rights".

45. The Third Committee examined this question together with chapters VIII and IX of the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/5203], which are dealt with under a different item—item 12 of the agenda. A separate report [A/5314] is therefore submitted to the Assembly on that item.

46. Since the inauguration, in 1955, of the advisory services in the field of human rights [resolution 926 (X)], continual improvements have been made in this programme and it has proved to be one of the most dynamic features of the work of the United Nations in the field of human rights.

47. Until recently the emphasis in this programme was on the setting up of regional research institutes, but the Assembly will remember that last year it widened the scope of these programmes so as to enable fellowships to be granted in the field of human rights.

48. This year the General Assembly has received a recommendation from the Economic and Social Council [see Council resolution 889 (XXXIV)] expressing the hope that at its present session the Assembly would give favourable consideration to the question of expanding the programme of advisory services and would consider in particular the question of awarding an additional number of fellowships.

49. After studying in detail the development of the programme of advisory services during the past year, and having given close attention to the Council's recommendation, the Third Committee adopted, by 60 votes to none, with 26 abstentions, the draft resolution which I have the honour to submit for the approval of the General Assembly.

50. I must draw the Assembly's attention to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/5306] on the financial implications of the Third Committee's draft resolution to which I have just referred.

51. In conclusion, I urge the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolution contained in the report of the Third Committee.

52. The PRESIDENT: As there have been no requests for explanation of vote, we shall pass on to the vote on the draft resolution contained in paragraph 16 of the report [A/5277].

The draft resolution was adopted by 80 votes to none, with 21 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 42

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees:

- (a) Report of the High Commissioner;
- (b) Question of the continuation of the Office of the High Commissioner

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/5333)

Mrs. Sivomey (Togo), Rapporteur of the Third Committee, submitted that Committee's report.

53. The PRESIDENT: I call upon representatives in explanation of their vote.

54. Mr. MISHRA (India): Permit me to explain, briefly, the vote of my delegation on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee on this

item. My delegation has in previous years abstained on the resolutions dealing with the report of the High Commissioner for Refugees for reasons which have often been explained and are well known. In spite of our abstentions, my delegation was not unmindful of the humanitarian work being done by the High Commissioner. Actually, in many cases, we have supported the resolutions dealing with new refugee problems which have confronted the High Commissioner. Although we ourselves were hard-pressed to solve our own serious refugee problems, we made a modest contribution to help the Algerian refugees, as well as the Angolan refugees. My delegation has followed with keen interest the gradual change in the concept of the functions of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. This change has not only been reflected in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly but also in the flexibility shown in the performance of the functions entrusted to his office. My delegation has very much appreciated the emphasis on the humanitarian aspects of the problem. The High Commissioner, summarizing the significance of this approach in one of his interventions said:

"The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has no longer to decide, in the first place, when an appeal is made to the Commission whether the refugees are eligible under the Mandate unless actual problems of legal protection arise. When the object is merely to give urgent material help, as is, in fact, the case with the new refugee problems, my office now has the possibility of intervention in the field without first inquiring into the reasons which induced each refugee, considered individually, to leave his country. Now that it is disassociated from the definition given by the original Mandate, the term refugee has taken on a meaning more specifically social and no longer purely legal."

55. My delegation will therefore vote for the draft resolution in order to show our positive support for the continuation of his office for a further period of five years.

56. Regarding the second draft resolution dealing with the problem of the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, my delegation abstained in the Committee, under the impression that those that are directly concerned with the problem had some reservations on the subject. My delegation would also have liked the resolution to cover certain other categories of refugees. Now that the Committee has adopted the resolution, my delegation, despite the lacuna, has decided to vote affirmatively for this draft resolution from the purely humanitarian standpoint.

57. I may add that, in view of our preoccupation arising from the presence of a very large number of refugees in our country, it will not be possible for my Government to respond positively to the appeal for Governments to increase their contributions, although we are in full sympathy with its substance and purpose.

58. Mr. DE SANTIAGO LOPEZ (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The Mexican delegation has once given careful consideration to draft resolution II, appearing in document A/5333, on the problem of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, now before the General Assembly.

59. Before casting its vote, my delegation would like to make the following remarks in this connexion. Mexico is engaged in a number of major projects affecting the national interest. Systematically implemented

Government programmes are carrying our people each year to new heights of achievement in labour, production, health and education. In carrying out these programmes, in dealing with its domestic problems and in striving to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number, my country is utilizing all the resources at its disposal in an effort to bring about the desired process of over-all development. We cannot afford any diversion of our efforts or of our economic and other resources which might have the effect of slowing down our economic programme.

60. At the same time, Mexico is not deaf to the humanitarian principles animating those who wish to help the world's unfortunate refugee population. Guided by those principles, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution II as it appears in document A/5333.

61. Mrs. NIKOLAEVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): My delegation set forth its views in detail during the discussion in the Third Committee [1188th and 1191st meetings] of the report of the High Commissioner for Refugees [A/5211/Rev.1/Add.1], and now, before confirming its position in plenary meeting, it would like to explain its vote.

62. In view of the increasing number of refugees in African countries and of the fact that most of the refugees under the High Commissioner's protection are now people who have fled from African countries to avoid persecution for their participation in the national liberation movement, the Soviet delegation has no objection to continuing the Office of the High Commissioner for a further period. However, the resolution on this question [A/5333, draft resolution I] contains a number of provisions which my delegation was unable to support in the Committee and cannot support now.

63. My delegation feels that in trying to solve the refugee problem it is not enough to rely solely on the activities of the High Commissioner. A solution of that problem in the African countries requires above all the speediest possible implementation of the principles set forth in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

64. As for the draft resolution concerning the so-called "Chinese refugees" [A/5333, draft resolution II], there is not the slightest doubt that it was dictated not by concern for the refugees but by purely political considerations and that it was introduced for purposes of provocation. That was stressed by many delegations when the matter was discussed in the Committee. The Soviet delegation will therefore oppose that draft resolution.

65. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the two draft resolutions in the report of the Third Committee [A/5333]. I now put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 99 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

66. The PRESIDENT: On the draft resolution II in the report of the Third Committee [A/5333] a roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Japan, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica.

Against: Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary.

Abstaining: Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Ceylon, Chile, Cyprus, Finland, Indonesia, Iraq.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 58 votes to 22, with 26 abstentions.

67. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of China in explanation of his vote.

68. Mr. CHOW (China): As was pointed out by one of the speakers in the Third Committee, the resolution which has just been adopted on the question of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong is a diluted version of the original draft. I wish to explain very briefly the considerations and hopes which have guided the Chinese delegation in voting for this revised version.

69. The question of giving assistance to the Chinese refugees is a humanitarian one. It was in this spirit that the resolution was introduced and adopted. In appreciation of this spirit, my delegation must express its sincere thanks to the sponsors and supporters of the resolution.

70. Following the Third Committee's debate on this question, there were numerous press reports from Hong Kong concerning the plight of the Chinese refugees and the continuing increase in their number, and this fully vindicates the action taken by the proponents of this resolution and justifies its adoption by the General Assembly. During the last two weeks The New York Times alone has published three lengthy and graphic reports on this subject. One of them gave a vivid account of the tragic deaths of nineteen women and children who, like many others, tried to escape to Hong Kong by sea but lost their lives when their boat capsized. The two other reports revealed the dire need for more help of those refugees who managed to reach Hong Kong.

71. Motivated by their noble desire to alleviate the plight of these refugees, and mindful of the limitations imposed by many factors, the sponsors presented the original draft resolution with a view to seeking a more effective implementation of the principle that was the basis of resolution 1167 (XII) adopted by the General Assembly five years ago.

72. The resolution which we have just adopted today reaffirms the concern of the international community regarding this question, of which the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong are, of course, deeply appreciative, al-

though the provisions of the resolution may be regarded by them as falling a little short of their expectations in view of their present need.

73. At the same time, the omission of any mention of refugees in Macao will cause some disappointment to the displaced persons in that locality. In voting for this resolution, my delegation had the following thoughts in mind. In the case of the Chinese refugees in Macao, we should like to think that the omission of their mention from the resolution is not due to any lack of sympathy on the part of the international community, but rather to the fact that a comprehensive resettlement plan has already been initiated by the Portuguese Government. It is our fervent hope that the plan will materialize as speedily as possible through the generosity from all sources which has been requested by the Portuguese authorities.

74. With regard to the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, they can take some comfort in the fact that at least the United Nations has not chosen to forget them. Also, it is the spirit behind the resolution that is important and it is the spirit that will shape the course of future developments. In this connexion, my delegation is heartened by the announcement of the representative of the United States in the Third Committee [1191st meeting] that her Government will make substantial increases in its contributions towards this worthy cause. Calling refugees by whatever name, the Hong Kong Government, which has taken a good view for the resettlement of its refugees, must be anxious to obtain greater relief to ease their hardships. With greater outside help, the Hong Kong Government can accomplish more.

75. As to the part to be played by the High Commissioner, the flexible application of his good offices depends on how much interest he takes in this matter. He can do as much as he desires to explore all possibilities in suggesting resettlement plans, collecting funds, and in seeking agreement of the parties concerned. In short, the obligation assumed by the High Commissioner under this resolution is a moral one, and his performance will be judged accordingly.

76. While the resolution does not specifically request the High Commissioner to report on the refugee situation in Hong Kong, certainly no one would accuse him of being over zealous if he should include this item in any of his future reports. We trust that he would not choose to omit anything which should be brought to the attention of the United Nations.

77. With the moral and humanitarian significance in view, my delegation wishes to convey once more its gratitude and admiration to the sponsors of the plan. By the same token we also extend our sincere appreciation to all those who have lent their support to the adoption of the resolution.

AGENDA ITEM 29

The situation in Angola: reports of the Sub-Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and of the Government of Portugal (continued)

78. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): Let me begin by expressing the deep appreciation of the delegation of Sierra Leone to the Sub-Committee on the Situation on Angola for its splendid discharge of the difficult responsibility entrusted to it by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The report, [A/5286] represents a concise study of the prevailing situation in Angola and

my delegation fully endorses the findings and recommendations of the Committee.

79. Yet in spite of this report and the statements and appeals that are being made from many different quarters, Portugal continues with her intransigent policies of repression and mass destruction. Indeed, a few days ago, it was our misfortune to listen to the representative of Portugal speaking from this rostrum [1183rd meeting] not only in strong criticism of the report of the Sub-Committee, but also in defence of Portugal's policy in Angola.

80. The fundamental question in this debate is whether the United Nations, as an Organization dedicated to the cause of peace and the principles of self-determination and independence so clearly enshrined in the Charter, can fail to recognize as highly explosive and in flagrant violation of what it stands for, the events now taking place in Angola.

81. At first, Portugal would have us believe that the events complained of were only disturbances which would be brought under control after a few months. Portugal, in fact, claimed that the reports of trouble were alarmist and that they originated from those involved in an international conspiracy of lies and destruction against Portugal. Now, on its own admission, it is difficult to resist the assertion that Portugal has been lying to the world about the true state of affairs in Angola. For now we have heard the representative of Portugal refer to what he has described as "terrorist activities" and that there is an Angola "intense vigilance in which the air force plays a necessary part".

82. By far the most disturbing of the positions taken by Portugal on the question of Angola is the fictitious doctrine that Angola is part of Portugal. This fiction has already been effectively exploded in the case of Goa. But none the less, Portugal continues to advocate its applicability in Angola. Even if we are, for a moment, to admit for purposes of argument the plausibility of such a doctrine, no one can ignore the imperative of the element of consent in any system of government on the part of the governed. In the statement made by the representative of Portugal from this rostrum, there was not the slightest reference to any recognition on the part of Portugal of the right of the people of Angola to self-determination. If then, Portugal thus denies the Angolans the right to decide for themselves their political destiny, then we must condemn this policy as colonialism in its most hideous manifestation. But the matter does not rest here. When the people of Angola, in keeping with the new wave of nationalism now sweeping through the length and breadth of Africa, legitimately demanded better conditions for themselves and their rightful share in the conduct of affairs in their own country, the Portuguese reacted with an exhibition of callousness and brutality seldom surpassed in human affairs since the days of the Nazi tyranny in Europe. The evidence of the repressive and cruel tactics of Portugal in Angola has been brilliantly recorded in the Sub-Committee's report. There can be no denying the fact that Portuguese policy in Angola has been to use violence to the utmost to preserve their stranglehold on the unwilling masses of Africans.

83. But such tactics are doomed to fail. Indeed the pages of history are full of ample evidence of the futility of such a course. The world has entered an era when civilized society can no longer tolerate such assaults on human rights and outrages on the dignity of man. Portugal will have to be shocked into a new awakening of the dictates of our time.

Mr. Yea (Colombia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

84. Besides, and this is quite important, the nations of Africa cannot be expected to sit idly by indefinitely while Portugal continues its war of extermination on the people of Angola. That is why we regard this as a most explosive situation likely to lead to a violation of international peace. The Security Council has been seized, on more than one occasion, of the problem of Angola. In June 1961, resolution S/4836² was passed by the Security Council, in which, after reaffirming General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) and requesting the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola to implement its mandate without delay, it called upon the Portuguese authorities to desist forthwith from repressive measures and, further, to extend every facility to the Sub-Committee to enable it to perform its tasks expeditiously.

85. We are all familiar with the fact that the Portuguese Government has failed to pay any serious attention to either of these resolutions. Apart from supplying hand-picked official documents containing information on Angola, the Portuguese Government has persisted in maintaining that Angola is a part of Portuguese overseas territory and that, as such, it was outside the competence of the United Nations.

86. These empty arguments have been effectively disposed of often enough from this rostrum, so I do not intend to go into them here. I shall be content, however, to state that the overwhelming majority of delegations here has completely rejected them as untenable and not in keeping with world opinion.

87. It is the view of my delegation that, unless Portugal harkens to the wise counsel and warnings from so many quarters, the situation in Angola will continue to deteriorate. For some time, at least, the Portuguese may be able to continue their air raids on defenceless peasants; they may be able to continue their indiscriminate bombings of the hapless masses; thousands of African prisoners may continue to be held without trial and go their deaths without trial. But this will not go on forever. It will have to be stopped, and it will certainly stop. The Portuguese will yet come to learn that right, in the end, will triumph over might—as some of their colonialist friends have painfully come to learn before them.

88. As I stated in a previous intervention on this subject:

"Portugal seems to be living in the glories of the past that had better be forgotten, when other nations like the British and the French have caught the spirit of the age and are adjusting their colonial policy accordingly. They had their moments of greatness in the past but indeed, the future historian may well record that the most glittering period in the history of these countries was the period when they agreed to give a hand of partnership to their former colonial territories and help them to take their place as full members of the world community." [1097th meeting, para. 87.]

89. My delegation will therefore support any resolution that will recognize the right of the people of Angola to self-determination, in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in conformity with the principles and objectives contained in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

² Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961.

90. Mr. WOLNIAK (Poland): It is for the third time that the General Assembly is discussing the situation in Angola. At the session last year, the Assembly adopted resolution 1603 (XV), calling upon Portugal to introduce reforms aiming at the implementation in Angola of the anti-colonial Declaration and establishing a Sub-Committee to examine the situation in this territory. On 9 June 1961 the above resolution of the General Assembly was endorsed by the Security Council.^{3/}

91. At its resumed sixteenth session in January last, the General Assembly discussed the first report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola.^{4/} This report revealed criminal activities committed by Portuguese colonizers against the Angolan people—which met with universal condemnation—and made a demand for the granting of immediate independence to the Angolan people.

92. We would like to recall that, during this debate, the Polish and Bulgarian delegations submitted a draft resolution^{5/} asking, *inter alia*, to stop the exports of weapons to Portugal, and suggesting to the Security Council to consider the application of sanctions against Portugal, with a view to inducing it to obey the General Assembly resolutions. The Polish delegation was then of the opinion that only in this way was it possible to reach a solution of the Angolan problem in conformity with the principles of the United Nations and the anti-colonial Declaration.

93. Regrettably, the draft resolution of Poland and Bulgaria was not adopted at that time. Attempts were made to persuade us that not all means have, as yet, been exhausted to induce Portugal to solve peacefully the problem of Angola, and that is why it was alleged that no strong measures should be applied against Portugal.

94. Consequently, the resolution sponsored by forty-five States was adopted by 99 votes for, with 2 opposed, and 1 abstention. This resolution 1742 (XVI), as stated in the Sub-Committee report now under consideration [A/5286], could have opened possibilities for a peaceful solution of the Angolan problem, providing the co-operation of Portugal had been secured. As can be seen from the report, throughout 1962, the Sub-Committee has indeed spared no efforts in order to gain the co-operation of Portugal for the implementation of the said resolutions. Unfortunately, all efforts on the part of the United Nations and, in particular, of the Sub-Committee met with contemptuous and brutal refusal on the part of the Portuguese Government. Instead, the Portuguese Government allowed itself to issue a cynical statement to the effect that the situation in Angola is completely peaceful and normal and that it sees no problems requiring solution.

95. While rejecting all attempts at reaching an agreement, the Portuguese Government has been waging, and continues to this very day, the war of extermination against the people of Angola. Thus the Portuguese Government once again gave proof of the contempt in which it holds United Nations decisions, including Security Council resolutions. It showed that it is determined to maintain this negative attitude in the future, thus flaunting world public opinion and the will of this Assembly, of which it is a Member.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, document S/4835.

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 16, document A/4978.

^{5/} *Ibid.*, Annexes, agenda item 27, document A/L.383.

96. What conclusions can, therefore, be drawn now after a year of sincere attempts to solve this burning problem of Angola, along the lines of conciliation, persuasion and attempts to obtain the co-operation of the Government of Portugal?

97. It has become clear to all that the conciliatory resolution 1742 (XVI) did not bring the results expected by its authors, and that the lack of more decisive steps served only as encouragement to the Portuguese colonizers.

98. Let us recall that resolution 1742 (XVI), reaffirming the unquestionable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence, called upon the Portuguese Government to stop repressive action against the people of Angola. It called for the immediate release of all political prisoners and for the implementation of broad political and social reforms and, in particular, for the establishment of elected political institutions, with a view toward transferring power to the people of Angola.

99. The report of the Sub-Committee now before us, however, states emphatically that the recommendations of the resolution were not put into practice, and that the Portuguese Government not only does not intend to give independence to the people of Angola, but continues to wage a cruel war of extermination against these people, with a view towards breaking down the national liberation movement.

100. The Government of Portugal proclaims that the situation in Angola is peaceful and normal. But the Sub-Committee, on the basis of irrefutable evidence, states in its report that "war by any definition of the term continues to be waged in Angola" [A/5286, para. 106]. The report continues, "Without a political settlement responsive to the aspirations of the Angolan people, the Sub-Committee sees no prospect for an early termination of an armed struggle." [*Ibid.*, para. 108.]

101. The report of the Sub-Committee also denounces other deceitful statements of the Portuguese Government. Thus, for example, in spite of the allegations of the Portuguese Government that the majority of the refugees have returned to Angola, the Sub-Committee stated that, on the contrary, ever since April last a new influx of refugees from Angola to the Congo is being observed. They are refugees who escaped from Portuguese troops who bring death and destruction to their country.

102. In Angola there are no political prisoners, only criminal ones, states cynically the Government of Portugal. But the Sub-Committee has found that mass arrests of Angolans continue, that they are being put in concentration camps. The slightest suspicion of sympathy with the national liberation movement is sufficient reason for arrest, as is the mere possession of a newspaper published in the Congo.

103. The Government of Portugal maintains that the death penalty does not exist in Angola, whereas the Sub-Committee, on the basis of trustworthy evidence, stated that mass executions of imprisoned Angolans continue to take place.

104. Finally, the Sub-Committee reported that the Government of Portugal not only has not the slightest intention of preparing Angola for independence, but, on the contrary, is putting forth every effort to make that country even more dependent on Portugal, under the pretext that Angola forms part of Portugal and that a multiracial society is allegedly being built in Angola.

The so-called reforms undertaken by the Portuguese Government in the territory of Angola were purported exactly to serve this aim.

105. The picture presented in the report of the Sub-Committee is clear and unequivocal: the Portuguese Government is waging in Angola a war of extermination against the people of that country, the people who are fighting for their right to freedom and independence, the right stemming from the principles of the United Nations Charter and the anti-colonial Declaration. This right of the Angolan people has been recognized by the United Nations General Assembly.

106. The Portuguese Government, while violating those basic principles and subjugating the Angolan people under the colonial yoke, challenges not only the free nations of Africa but the entire international community, the whole of the United Nations.

107. It is obvious that at the present time, in the period of the awakening of colonial peoples, no repressions and no atrocities have been able to break down the national liberation movements, and neither will they break the struggle of the Angolan people for freedom and independence. This just struggle of the Angolan people enjoys the sympathy and support of the brotherly African nations, of all peoples already liberated from the fetters of colonialism, of all those to whom the cause of freedom, progress and peace is dear. We wish, from this rostrum, to assure the Angolan freedom fighters of the deep feelings of sympathy and solidarity which the Polish nation has for their cause.

108. Many representatives spoke here about the crimes committed by Portuguese troops in Angola. The Polish people were subjected to similar crimes while being occupied by the Nazi German oppressors during the Second World War. The crimes of the Portuguese colonizers in Angola exemplify their so-called regard for the "human dignity" which has been so widely talked about from this rostrum by the representative of Portugal.

109. The report of the Sub-Committee has rightly stated that, in this heroic struggle against the Portuguese oppressors, the Angolan people is shaping its national consciousness and is closing its ranks. But, after all, it is the United Nations which is called upon to stop the bloodshed and to prevent the further spread of the flames of war from Angola to other African countries.

110. The United Nations, with deep concern for the implementation of its resolutions on the situation in Angola, should effectively assist the Angolan people and apply against Portugal measures envisaged under the United Nations Charter. No illusion should be cherished today that the voluntary co-operation of Portugal in the solution of the Angolan problem can be counted upon. The fate of the Angolan people cannot be indifferently left in the hands of Portuguese colonizers. On that road we could never help to solve the problem of independence for Angola.

111. The question of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese territories in Africa is in many ways tied to that of south Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as well as to the secession of Katanga. In all those territories we are confronted with attempts at preserving, by all means, the power of white colonizers and the ruthless suppression of the national

liberation movements of the indigenous African peoples.

112. Many a speaker has mentioned from this rostrum the "unholy alliance" which binds the colonizers who rule over territories in South Africa, doing their best to oppose the liberation of African peoples—a process which is inescapable in this part of the African continent.

113. Many speakers emphasized that this "unholy alliance" is being supported by the powerful international concerns and monopolies, whose names were given here, together with figures of the fabulous profits which they draw from the exploitation of natural resources and forced labour of the indigenous population.

114. If Portugal shows such contempt for the United Nations, if it is able to continue the cruel colonial war in Angola, it is precisely because Portugal is supported by the powerful forces which are rather reluctant to dislodge their identity. Therefore, we ask: is it only Portugal which did not comply with General Assembly resolution 1742 (XVI)?

115. This resolution calls upon all Member States of the United Nations or its agencies to secure Portugal's compliance with the resolution and to deny Portugal any help and support which might be used for the extermination of the Angolan people. The support of the colonial war in Angola, the alliance with Portugal, the toleration of the policy of extermination against the Angolan people, and even the very words of the pretended condemnation which emanate from the same quarters—all seem to play a function and to add up to a joint responsibility in this sad colonial case.

116. In its report, the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola made a rather restrained statement that "the General Assembly has thus placed direct responsibility for action with respect to these matters on the States concerned". [A/5286, para. 229]. It is rather obvious that, in spite of the fact that the General Assembly has placed this responsibility, States which could directly exercise their influence upon Portugal have also failed to fulfil the terms of General Assembly resolution 1742 (XVI). For had the powerful allies of Portugal been willing to exercise a proper influence upon it, then surely an end would have been put to the colonial war in Angola. I hardly need to mention, of course, that without financial aid and military equipment received from the very same sources under the Atlantic arrangements, Portugal would have not been able to conduct war against the people of Angola.

117. The military airplanes bombarding the civilian population of Angola are not being sold to everyone on the market. The proof to the contrary, such as that offered yesterday, cannot be just a mere statement which does not stand confrontation with facts, because the facts show that the Angolans are dying of bullets supplied by some of Portugal's allies. And the protestations of the Portuguese Government that the military equipment received under NATO arrangements will not be used against the Angolan people are evidently of the same value as its assertions that the situation in Angola is entirely peaceful and normal.

118. Putting an end to the colonial war in Angola requires, therefore, the discontinuation of the policy of the tacit and actual support for Portugal by its allies in Portugal's war against the national liberation movement in Angola. This tacit support allows the Portu-

guese régime, which was so closely connected in its time with the Nazi Third Reich, to present a challenge to the whole international community to trample brutally on the basic principles of co-operation among nations and of peaceful coexistence. It is now high time that an end be put to this policy which allows Portugal to continue this colonial war, a war which brings untold sufferings to the Angolan people and which also imposes ever greater burdens upon the people of Portugal.

119. In view of the threat to the cause of peace and international security, inherent in the actions of Portugal in Africa, the Polish delegation deems it proper to suggest that the Security Council consider the application against Portugal of measures envisaged under the United Nations Charter, including sanctions, as proposed by the draft resolution submitted by the Committee of Seventeen^{6/} [A/5238, chapter XI, para. 44]. We consider also that an embargo should be imposed on the deliveries of weapons and war materials to Portugal.

120. The question of bringing a halt to the colonial war in Angola and the granting of independence to its people is a pressing one, both from the point of view of all African peoples, of Portugal itself and of world peace. That is why we believe that by joint effort of all free nations, we shall be able to secure for the Angolan people its basic right: the right to independent and sovereign existence, the right to freedom and peace.

121. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) (translated from French): The problem of colonialism occupies an important place on the agenda of the General Assembly's seventeenth session. The Assembly has just finished its plenary debate on the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), which aims at the liquidation of the colonial system and the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples. The Fourth Committee, on the basis of the reports of the Committee of Seventeen set up to study the implementation of that resolution and of the special committees established by the General Assembly, has already examined the questions of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the territories under Portuguese administration, which are the first three items on its agenda.

122. In the course of these debates, the colonial Powers have once again been condemned by an overwhelming majority of Member States; draft resolutions have been adopted proposing more vigorous measures and sanctions against those colonial Powers which persist in flouting the decisions of our Organization and are striving in every possible way to prolong their rule over the colonial peoples.

123. The question of Angola, which the General Assembly has decided to consider in plenary meeting and with which we are now dealing, is one of the most acute and important problems on the agenda of this session. The United Nations has extensive documentary material on this question, which is before us now for the seventh consecutive year, and the General Assembly is examining it in the light of the report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola [A/5286], the statements of petitioners representing the Angolan people, and the events now taking place in that country, which is the victim of tyrannical oppression and deliberate aggression by the Portuguese colonialists.

124. My delegation wishes to congratulate the Sub-Committee on having succeeded, despite the difficulties placed in its way by the Portuguese authorities, in assembling the necessary information and in giving us a rather clear picture of the present situation in Angola. The facts set out in the report are further proof that since the last session the situation in Angola has deteriorated greatly from an economic and social point of view and that repression has become even more brutal; that is something which the lying propaganda of the Portuguese authorities can no longer conceal. The facts also show that the Angolan people, victims of the most inhuman crimes and of armed aggression by the Portuguese colonialists, are becoming more aware every day that the colonialists will never leave their African territories of their own free will, and are therefore fighting even harder and more desperately, weapons in hand, against their age-old oppressor.

125. Events in Angola have been developing at such a pace during the past two years that we may confidently expect decisive changes leading to the liberation and independence of the Angolan people.

126. The fact that Portugal, with the assistance of a number of its NATO allies, is waging one of the cruelest colonial wars of all time will not change the course of events; it will certainly not halt the Angolan people's armed struggle for national liberation.

127. The Salazar Government, after categorically refusing to fulfil its international obligations and comply with the decisions of the General Assembly, is trying to stem the tide of events in Angola by scattering promises of administrative and social reforms—promises which burst like soap bubbles, since they are quite unrelated to the desire of the Angolan people to cast off once and for all the colonial yoke.

128. These so-called reforms can deceive no one; realizing this, the Portuguese colonialists are at the same time trying to strengthen their position in the colonies by other means. Thus, they have sent to Angola more than 40,000 well-equipped soldiers who, conducting large-scale operations against both the freedom fighters and the general population, are spreading terror wherever they go. At the same time, a large police force is engaging in mass arrests and persecution. Despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and despite the appeals of world opinion to refrain from measures of armed repression against the defenceless Angolan people, the Portuguese Government has continued and intensified its military operations and other repressive measures.

129. For nearly two years, the Angolan people have been engaged in an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. Relying on their own strength and fully supported by the African countries and all freedom-loving peoples, they have embarked on a popular revolution which is pointing the way to national independence.

130. The statement made in the Fourth Committee on 27 November 1962 by Mr. Holden Roberto, the representative of the National Liberation Front, bears witness to the strength and vitality of this popular revolution and to the Angolan people's firm belief in victory. Mr. Roberto said:

"We are strong enough to snatch victory for ourselves, and we can also count on the assistance of

^{6/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

freedom-loving countries and of all men of good will."^{2/}

131. Contrary to Portuguese claims that the popular uprising has been crushed, the facts show that fighting has increased. According to reports from various sources, the patriots have engaged in actual pitched battles with Portuguese detachments in a number of areas. Even Portuguese sources have reported fighting in the areas of Noqui and Maquela do Zombô, Damba and Quimbele, Bessa Monteiro and Sanza Pombo, Zala Carmona and Ngage, Nambuanguo and Quitexe. These reports say that the partisans have adopted commando tactics, striking in small groups when they see an opportunity.

132. The liberated area is growing steadily larger and so is the National Liberation Army, while the colonialists suffer heavier losses and find themselves in new and greater difficulties with each passing day. Their rule is becoming increasingly precarious and is restricted now to the large towns and strategic points. At the same time, in the large liberated areas controlled by the National Liberation Army, the foundations of a new people's State are being established in the form of village councils, trade unions, youth organizations and all the other organs needed in order to build a new life.

133. The Portuguese colonialists, who can feel the ground slipping from beneath their feet, are carrying out what are known as "pacification" offensives. There is no need to describe these ill-famed operations, for everyone knows that the colonialists, like the fascist occupation troops during the Second World War, resort to them as a means of spreading terror among the population, forcing it to withhold aid from the freedom fighters and destroying everything which could serve as a base for the army of liberation.

134. Thus, the Portuguese Army is destroying whole villages in Angola, while the military and police forces engage in mass murder and thousands of men, women and children are shot down or die under the most frightful torture. There is irrefutable proof that the Portuguese have used napalm bombs to destroy villages and that Salazar's fascist airmen pursue the people fleeing the bombs and flames right into the jungle.

135. The newspaper L'Avant-garde, published by the Moroccan Labour Union, reported that a Portuguese officer who had taken part in one of these jolly expeditions told a correspondent of the American magazine Time:

"I imagine we have killed at least 30,000 of these wild beasts. There are probably about 200,000 left; we plan to exterminate them as soon as the dry season begins."

Such remarks require no comment. They attest to the colonialists' contempt for humanity and to the hatred which these present-day slave-masters feel for the people whom they have mercilessly exploited for centuries.

136. As the report of the Sub-Committee and other unimpeachable sources show, unheard-of atrocities and cruelties of every kind are being perpetrated by the Portuguese against the Angolan people. Many

Angolans have undergone frightful torture, thousands have been sent to concentration camps or prisons, and tens of thousands have been forced to leave their homes to take refuge in neighbouring countries.

137. I shall not go into the details of the crimes and wrongs committed by the Portuguese colonialists against the African people. The horrible scenes and events already described by previous speakers impel us to demand that the necessary steps be taken to stay the hand of these sadistic criminals who rule Angola.

138. In the face of these facts, what value can we attach to the statements of Portuguese spokesmen and their puppets—like the wretched petitioner who appeared before the Fourth Committee on 4 December 1962 and could not even read the petition which his masters had given him—that all is well in Angola and everyone is going peaceably about his work? Of course, such statements can deceive no one, for the whole world knows now what is happening in Angola.

139. Instead of following the path of reason and withdrawing its troops from Angola while there is still time, the Portuguese Government continues to maintain that the reforms announced last year represent progress towards a solution of the Angolan problem. Yet, it is obvious that these reforms are not intended to secure self-determination and independence for the Angolan people but, on the contrary, to consolidate Angola's political integration into Portugal. The Lisbon Government cannot even conceal its absurd and fantastic dreams and is hatching new schemes for prolonging its rule over Angola and its other colonies. Is not the plan published on 26 August 1962, under which all the Portuguese colonies would formally become an integral part of Portugal, further proof of this?

140. At this moment when the question of the liberation of all colonial peoples is up for discussion and can brook no delay, when the demands of world opinion for an end to the colonial system are increasing, and when colonialism with all its rottenness is crumbling under the unrelenting pressure of the people, Portugal persists in trying to maintain its mastery over peoples many times more numerous than its own and territories up to fifty times as large as Portugal itself.

141. We may well ask ourselves how a relatively small and poor country like Portugal can spend the huge sums needed to carry on this war of aggression. The many speakers on this question have all given the same answer. Everyone agrees that it is Portugal's allies in the aggressive NATO bloc, and above all the United States, which, by providing it with arms and equipment and military, economic, political and moral assistance of every kind, are helping Portugal to continue this predatory war.

142. In this connexion, I should like to quote what was said in the Fourth Committee on 26 November 1962 by Mr. Mondlane, president of the Mozambique Liberation Front:

"When the Angolan war began last year, contingents from certain Western Powers were sent to the aid of the Portuguese authorities. We are certain that the Portuguese Army is equipped by the NATO countries; that is how the Portuguese are able to maintain it. We protest energetically against NATO's support of the colonial war in Africa and appeal to the United

^{2/} This statement was made at the 1398th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official records of which are published only in summary form.

Nations to take the necessary steps to end these activities." 8/

143. We are certain that Portugal's régime of oppression and its aggressive war in Angola would have been over long ago had it not been for the aid which that country receives from the NATO Powers, and this in our view is the major evil, the main obstacle to a solution of the problem. Portugal would never have been able to start such a war without the backing of the collective colonialism of NATO, and, particularly of those countries with economic and strategic interests in Africa. The NATO Powers are supplying Portugal with tanks, artillery, aircraft, bombs, machine-guns and other military equipment. In the ruins of the bombed village of Fuesse Luanga, in northern Angola, bomb fragments were found bearing the inscription "United States Air Force". The United States has provided Portugal with nearly \$300 million worth of war material.

144. It is the attitude of these imperialist Powers which makes the situation in Angola more serious, for it encourages the fascist Salazar Government to pursue its policy of genocide. The situation thus created not only imperils the lives of thousands of Angolans but is a threat to the peace of Africa and of the world.

145. The arguments put forward by the representatives of these Powers that there is no proof that the weapons supplied by certain NATO countries to Portugal are being used in Angola are no guarantee and can reassure no one. On the contrary, it seems likely that the only purpose of these arguments is to justify the granting of this assistance, now and in the future; for the intensified struggle of the Angolan people and the blows inflicted by the Army of Liberation will cause Portugal to need more and more aid from its allies right up to the moment of its final defeat.

146. That is why we feel that if we are to find an immediate solution to the Angolan problem, one of the first steps which the United Nations must take is to forbid these Powers to supply arms or other war material to Portugal.

147. In the view of our delegation, it is high time to put an end to the war of aggression in Angola; the United Nations should take all necessary steps to compel Portugal to apply the many resolutions that have been adopted, halt its war of aggression and withdraw its troops.

148. The Albanian delegation solemnly appeals to the United Nations to take the strongest measures possible under the Charter against Portugal if the Portuguese Government continues to flout the Organization's recommendations and decisions.

149. The Albania people, who were themselves languishing under imperialist occupation not so very long ago, feel close to the colonial peoples and wish to assure them of their complete sympathy and solidarity. They stand beside those peoples in their fight for national liberation from the yoke of colonialism and from the neo-colonialism which seeks to replace the moribund colonial system.

150. We are convinced that the Angolan people can no longer be halted in their march towards freedom and

independence; the day will not be long in coming when a free Angola will stand side by side with its sister countries in Africa which have already put an end to colonial rule and with all other free and sovereign nations.

151. The liberation of the peoples from the colonial yoke is not only their right but an inescapable duty of our time. It is, moreover, a major contribution towards strengthening and safeguarding peace throughout the world.

152. On 1 December, the Albanian people celebrated "Africa Day" in company with all progressive and peace- and freedom-loving peoples. On that occasion, they once again expressed their solidarity with the African peoples in the latter's struggle for the complete and final liquidation of the colonial system.

153. The Albanian people and Government have warmly greeted the African peoples' attainment of national independence and rejoiced to see them take their rightful place among the free peoples of the world. We have established friendly relations with many African countries and hope to strengthen and develop those relations further in the years to come.

154. The wheel of history is bringing ever closer the liberation of the colonial and dependent peoples, despite the efforts still being made by the colonialist and imperialist Powers and the plots they are hatching. Our duty is to hasten by every means in our power the process of liberating the colonial peoples, for each further day that passes brings new suffering and new victims.

155. In conclusion, I should like to stress once again that my delegation is ready to support any measure which will contribute to the immediate liberation of the Angolan people.

156. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): In the short time that Angola has been brought into the limelight by the United Nations, we have come to know it as a territory where colonialism is practised in all its most brutal manifestations. It is a grim joke to hear the colonial Power concerned present this land, and its virtually enslaved people, in all sincerity as an integral part of Portugal.

157. In less than a year the United Nations has dealt with the situation in Angola three times. The debates resulted in three resolutions, two of them adopted by the General Assembly and one by the Security Council. In the General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) of 20 April 1961 and in the Security Council's resolution S/4835 of 9 June 1961, the United Nations expressed its conviction that the continuation of the situation in Angola is likely to endanger international peace and security. In resolution 1742 (XVI) of 30 January 1962, the General Assembly dropped the phrase "is likely to endanger". It deliberately and unequivocally stated that the continued refusal of Portugal to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence constitutes a permanent source of international friction and threatens international peace and security.

158. The reports of the Sub-Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV), coupled with the statements of the petitioners from Angola made only a few days ago, provide ample proof that the situation in Angola is not only likely to endanger, but does indeed constitute, a threat to international peace and security.

8/ This statement was made at the 1396th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official records of which are published only in summary form.

159. The reports of the Sub-Committee levelled an extremely serious accusation against Portugal, in revealing that the Portuguese authorities were concealing the truth when they asserted in October 1961, that the military operations in Angola had fulfilled their objectives. The Sub-Committee was not able at the time to verify this assertion, but the information which it subsequently gathered indicated that armed action had continued.

160. Witnesses who had stayed for a period of one and a half weeks in the region of Northern Angola, and who are regarded by the Sub-Committee as reliable, challenged Portuguese claims that the rebellion was under control. They maintained that the principal organizations conducting the revolt in this region had organized their forces into small mobile units, appropriate for guerrilla warfare, and had also established the rudiments of government and forms of political and civil administration in all but the most highly populated areas of the Territory under their control. This is only the normal picture of guerilla warfare in the first stage on its road towards inevitable victory.

161. In April 1962, only six months after the Portuguese Government's assertion that the military operation in Angola had fulfilled their objectives, a major Portuguese offensive was launched once more—designed, as the Portuguese put it, to pacify Northern Angola by force of arms. This offensive had all the marks of a modern non-nuclear warfare: strafing and bombing of enemy hideouts by the Air Force, together with indiscriminate destruction of habitations and cultivated land, forcing a mass exodus of the terrorized civilian population to safer places.

162. In June and in August 1962, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs and the permanent representative of Portugal both separately notified the Sub-Committee that the situation in Angola must be considered peaceful and normal. But, again, the Sub-Committee stated in its last and most recent report that on the basis of its investigations, which included the study of reports from Portuguese sources, it could not accept these assertions. Nor does the Sub-Committee find itself able to accept the definition of the current operations as being in the nature of "limited police actions." On the contrary, the Sub-Committee is of the opinion that "war by any definition of the term continues to be waged in Angola" [A/5286, para. 106]. Yes, there is war being waged in Angola and, to quote the Sub-Committee again, "... a tragic loss of human lives is continuing in Angola and . . . will continue so long as the Government of Portugal persists in its efforts to put down the nationalist uprising by force" [*ibid.*, para. 107].

163. The Sub-Committee closes its chapter on the armed action and repressive measures taken by Portugal with the comment that it is more than ever convinced that the Government of Portugal will not be able to restore peace and order in Angola by military means and repressive measures. And the Sub-Committee adds that, without a political settlement responsive to the aspirations of the Angolan people, there is no prospect for an early termination of the war in Angola.

164. Now, what have the Angolan petitioners to say on the situation in their country? Two representatives of the National Liberation Front, the Chairman, Holden Roberto, and another leader, Mr. Kounzika, painted a grim picture for us here only about a week ago.

165. Notwithstanding the many efforts of the National Liberation Movement to make Portugal realize the futility of its methods, the Portuguese Government continues to send troops into Angola to wage war against the nationalist movement; some 200,000 Angolans have fled to the Congo. Kounzika drew our attention to both these facts, when he urged members of NATO to exert pressure on Portugal to grant a political amnesty, to end the war in Angola and to begin talks with representatives of the Angolan people. Roberto appealed to members of NATO to stop supplying arms to Portugal because, according to his testimony, the arms are being used to massacre the Angolans. Both of them warned us that the Portuguese have organized what they term the "Third Force", an organization similar to and patterned after the terrorist OAS in Algeria. So now we are clearly confronted with the horrible prospect of a situation, such as there was in Algeria, developing in Angola.

166. The oppressive régime set up by Portugal has provoked the people into large-scale rebellion. The Liberation Army, despite relentless attacks from Portuguese troops, still exists and is still growing. Only lack of arms has prevented it from defeating the oppressors. But will the Liberation Army always remain thus poorly armed? Certainly not, because the Angolans have numerous friends abroad. Newly-free, as well as older-established, countries in Africa are already giving them political support. Nor are the Asian countries lagging behind. Communist countries are providing their customary and valuable aid. Latin American countries have shown their sympathy for the freedom-loving Angolans. Members of the United Nations, including the United States, are almost unanimous in criticizing Portugal for its policy in Angola.

167. With this impressive backing, there is no doubt that the Angolan freedom movement will continue to grow. And the faster it grows, the more certain it will become that this support will cease to be limited to the political field. Let me quote a significant paragraph from the report of the Sub-Committee, which stated that during the debate on the situation in Angola at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly:

"A number of African representatives said that they could not remain indifferent to the fate of fellow Africans; their Governments would do all they could, within the United Nations and outside it, to help the Angolans to achieve independence. If the Organization did not assume all its responsibilities and the Angolan people had no choice but to continue its fight for freedom, the Governments of the independent African States, they said, would have to take concerted action for the defence of the vital interests of Africans." [*Ibid.*, para. 33.]

This is very serious indeed. However, it must be admitted that Angola is situated in a part of the world where the transition from colonial status to independence is taking a form that augurs ill for the progress of decolonization in the area. For instance, although the example of South Africa should have taught the Governments concerned better, colonial Powers in Africa are preparing the dependent territories for independence by transferring power to small racial minorities, against the expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the people. These colonial Powers, bullied and blackmailed by the white population in the colonies, are knowingly and willingly creating a situation that will inevitably explode, and sooner than they think.

168. Meanwhile, the white minorities in these territories, terrified by the thought that the African majorities might one day use the same methods against them as they now wield against the Africans, are, not unnaturally, seeking co-operation and mutual support amongst themselves. They know full well that they can expect little help from their embarrassed fellow-whites in Europe and the Americas. For the time being they consider that they are strong enough because their big brother, the Republic of South Africa, probably the best armed country on the African continent.

169. However, the white minorities are by no means blind, nor do they entirely inhabit a dream world of wishful thinking. They are certainly realistic enough to know the inevitable course of events. Yet they continue to indulge in attempts to postpone, for as long as possible, the day when the African majorities in the dependent territories will gain their rights. And it is evident by now that the white minorities are not thinking of postponement in terms merely of one or two years; they are thinking in terms of decades, perhaps even centuries. Therein lies their wishful thinking, an attitude that would be pathetic if it did not constitute such a threat to world peace.

170. The white minorities appear willing to risk war, if necessary a world war, for the sake of postponement. But the African majorities, and their friends abroad too, are becoming increasingly willing to risk war to prevent postponement. In their mutual willingness to risk bloodshed for their respective ends, the minorities and majorities are at one. So, at this stage in time, the General Assembly had no choice but to state categorically in its resolution 1742 (XVI) of 30 January 1962 that the situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security. There can be no question any longer of "likelihood", mere likelihood. There is a present threat to international peace and security.

171. Resolution 1742 (XVI) recapitulates the General Assembly's opinion as to the course of action Portugal should take immediately. But there is also a task, or rather a duty, which should be undertaken by the friends of Portugal, especially by the countries of NATO. I personally am convinced that only the NATO countries can persuade Portugal to the right course of action urged by the General Assembly. Roberto and Kounzika have already indicated perhaps the most effective of persuasion—to cease supplying arms to Portugal, since the Government of Portugal is clearly misusing these arms by employing them to massacre Angolans. The armed measures and repressive action taken by Portugal against Angolans have been severely criticized, even by friends of Portugal in the NATO alliance. Yet they must realize that their continual supply of arms to the Portuguese Government only perpetuates the outrageous state of affairs. Surely they should also realize that their reluctance to stop the supply is weakening their general world position. Or to put this another way, that it is in their own interests for them to cease supplying Portugal with arms. The dependent African peoples are well aware that the communist countries actively support their cause.

172. The situation in Angola could be rectified without warfare if the Portuguese Government were to act as requested by the General Assembly last January. The leaders of the freedom movements in Angola have repeatedly stated their desire to settle the question by means of peaceful negotiations. Apparently, however, the Portuguese Government does not wish to act in the manner requested, and has no intention of doing so. My

delegation therefore contends that it is largely up to the friends of Portugal, and to the members of the NATO alliance in particular, to persuade the Portuguese Government. Moreover, since Portugal has ignored, not only the General Assembly resolutions, but also the resolution of the Security Council, we feel it imperative that the Council should consider, as a matter of urgency, strong measures to secure Portugal's compliance. We greatly fear that if Portugal does not shortly take the course of action demanded of it by this Organization and by the exigencies of the actual situation, there will be still more bloodshed in Angola, and that a large-scale war may break out in Africa which will eventually involve the whole world.

173. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): We have in the item before us, the report of the Sub-Committee on Angola, an informative and enlightened document, for which I wish to express my delegation's appreciation to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, Mr. Salamanca, and to the members of the Sub-Committee, for their painstaking and invaluable work in introducing this report [A/5286] with the observations and conclusions of which we are in full agreement.

174. The question of Angola is part and parcel of the whole problem of the territories under Portuguese administration and should be examined in that context. In Angola, however, the armed resistance of its people, since early 1961, and the stern measures of repression by the Portuguese Government that followed, have created a situation of emergency which brought into sharp focus the whole problem of that territory. Hence the separate item in the United Nations with the purpose of dealing with the problem urgently. The sense of urgency was caused by the conflict and the bloodshed which is inseparable from it. The Portuguese Government is at pains to prove that the armed conflict in that territory has ceased and that peace reigns in Angola. This is contradicted by the statement in the report of the Sub-Committee which shows that there is sufficient evidence of continued conflict and military operations, at least as late as 13 September 1962, when a communiqué of the Portuguese military command reported on an action of considerable scope called "Operation North-Wind". The communiqué spoke of heavy losses being inflicted on enemy concentrations on that occasion and on the Army in Angola being permanently in action. So we have here, still, a situation of emergency.

175. However, the problem in the United Nations should be seen in the light of the underlying causes, rather than in its surface manifestations. Whether there is violence or not, the basic problem is that of the denial of freedom and fundamental human rights to the peoples of those territories, if Angola is in a state of upheaval or Mozambique in a less disturbed situation, or any of the other territories under Portuguese administration. Even if a comparative calm, following the military operations, were now to prevail in Angola, the situation in the territory would hardly be significantly different and could certainly not be that of, in the words of the Portuguese Foreign Minister, in his letter to the Sub-Committee of 21 June [see A/5286, para. 60]: "peace, order and normalcy".

176. The hush of death and the quiet imposed by force are not signs of peace and order or of normalcy, but of exactly the reverse. Order and peace can be the result only of harmony that flows from justice and freedom, not from terror. And in this respect the existence, or non-existence, of a state of emergency hardly affects the rights of the peoples of the various

territories to self-determination and independence. It is in this sense, I repeat, that the problem of Angola should be seen in the context of the whole problem of the territories under Portuguese administration. The rights of all these territories, whether under circumstances appearing as peaceful or not, are exactly the same; the territories should be accorded the same rights whether or not there exists a state of emergency. It would be indeed a wrong principle that where there is no disturbance and no violence these rights should be disregarded. Not in the least; such a case should be regarded by the United Nations with the same sense of urgency, for as long as the spirit of a people in any part of the world is in revolt against injustice, there cannot be peace in that territory or in the world.

177. It is in this sense that the work of decolonization acquires such great significance as a necessary step towards universal freedom, without which there can be no hope for world peace. New conditions of life which have now been created by the scientific achievements of our age call for radical reappraisal of our thinking and our action and for new human relations in all fields. Colonialism already belongs to the past. To cling to this anachronism, no matter how doggedly and with what force, can never make it stay. It is doomed to disappear. Consequently, the efforts expended by the Portuguese Government, or by any administering Power, to resist the tide of history not only are wasted efforts, but, worse still, cause immeasurable harm to the resistors themselves and to the rest of the world.

178. The Government of Portugal should take a more positive and progressive attitude in this problem. Its past history should help it to do so. It should abandon the concept of domination by force and suspend its repressive measures. In their place it should seek understanding and co-operation with the United Nations. In this sense it should first abandon, once and for all, the exploded theory that the African territories, in distant lands and with their African populations, form an integral part of Portugal's metropolitan area. This fiction has led Portugal to assume completely unrealistic and untenable positions and, what is more, an uncompromising attitude. The moment it is prepared to abandon this fiction, it will be able to come to better terms with the rest of the world to its own benefit. This is a fiction I need not elaborate upon. It has not even a legalistic argument to support it, because of the vast difference between the laws and rights of citizenship of the people of Portugal and those of the people in these territories. By the admission of the Portuguese Government itself, there is a vast difference in the way these laws apply to the people of Portugal in their rights and privileges and

mode of life, and the way in which they apply to the peoples in the territories. It is not necessary to speak of the realities in those territories.

179. The moment that fiction is abandoned, then a new way of thinking is opened for the Portuguese Government, in which it can see its way to a better understanding with the United Nations. Two things are required of the Government of Portugal in order for it to meet the situation in a co-operative spirit. First, it must recognize immediately—and when I say "immediately" I mean now—the human rights of the peoples of those territories. These rights must be restored without any delay, without any procrastination. The second thing which is required of the Government of Portugal, in addition to the restoration of human rights, is the recognition of the right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence. That recognition is also a thing that must not be delayed. From then onwards there will be a way open for negotiation with the Government of Portugal, with the assistance of the United Nations, with regard to the period of transition from the present state to that of independence. The question of time and the question of mode are matters for negotiation.

180. But for all these matters, I submit on behalf of my delegation that a United Nations presence in the territory is necessary. It is necessary to see to the protection of human rights, necessary to see that there are no extreme attitudes taken, necessary to form a bridge of understanding between the peoples of these territories and the Portuguese Government. It is in the interest of both sides that the United Nations be there present. Once the right of the peoples of the territories to self-determination and independence is recognized, then there is the means for understanding and co-operation, and such co-operation and understanding would be in the interests of both sides.

181. I would therefore, on this occasion, repeat the appeal I have already made to the Government of Portugal in the Fourth Committee [1407th meeting], as Chairman of the Special Committee on Portuguese Territories. That appeal is to proceed without delay to the recognition of the right of the peoples of those territories to self-determination and then to proceed on the way to understanding and a peaceful solution. That is the only way that the Government of Portugal can best serve the interests of the people of Portugal and that is also the best way that it can contribute to the progress of the world towards freedom and towards peace.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.