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S A L A Z A R S A Y S

THE PORTUGUESE  
OVERSEAS TERRITORIES  
AND THE  
UNITED NATIONS  
ORGANIZATION

*SPEECH DELIVERED BY H. E. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL  
OF MINISTERS, PROF. DR. OLIVEIRA SALAZAR, DURING THE  
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, HELD  
ON JUNE 30th 1961*

SECRETARIADO NACIONAL DA INFORMAÇÃO

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Mr. Chairman of the National Assembly;  
Honourable Members:

The observations I shall make on the overseas question were written with a feeling of deep sorrow but also, I think, with a perfect sense of responsibility, which advises me to avoid aggravating the matter and not to lessen in any manner those values we still possess to safeguard the West. I have therefore shunned criticism of the policy and attitudes of other countries beyond what is strictly necessary for the clarification of the problems set for the defence of our own rights. For us the rights of Portugal have by definition greater importance than any others.

I

Since the Government's communiqué to the National Assembly on the subject of our overseas policy, sent on November 30th last, the activity of the United Nations concerning the overseas territories of Portugal has been very intense, both in the General Assembly, in the Security Council and in some committees. The aim of this activity was to replace the principle always till then respected in the United Nations that each State enjoyed exclusive competence to define its non-self-governing territories and to recognize, or not, the need to give information about them, in the terms of Art. 73 of the Charter. Once this first step was taken, the way would be clear for the principles guiding the future development of such territories to be applied to them under the auspices of the organization, whatever the political constitution of the State responsible for them might be.



On December 15th, then, the Assembly General passed a resolution which discriminated against Portugal and established her obligation to supply the required information. The motion was passed by 68 votes to 6 (Spain, South Africa, France, Belgium, Portugal and Brazil) and 17 abstentions.

Between March 10th and 15th this year the Security Council was called upon to take a decision on the situation in Angola, but the motion was held to be rejected because it obtained only 5 votes in favour (Russia, United Arab Republic, Liberia, Ceylon and the United States) as against 6 abstentions (France, Great Britain, China, Chile, Equador and Turkey).

On April 21st a new resolution was passed by the General Assembly calling the attention of the Portuguese Government to the urgent need for reforms in Angola and setting up an enquiry committee to examine the situation in that province. All necessary measures should be taken, it prescribed, to transfer all powers to the inhabitants of the territories, to enable them to enjoy complete independence. There were 2 votes against (Spain and South Africa), 9 abstentions (Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Great Britain, Holland and Thailand) and 14 countries absent.

On May 19th 1961 a resolution of the Information Committee stressed that Portugal had not supplied the United Nations with any information on the territories she administers and showed no intention of so doing in the future. It also declared that Portugal was obliged to give this information, and that this obligation should be complied with at once. This resolution was approved by 9 countries (Ceylon, Ghana, India, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Argentina, Dominican Republic and the United States), against 2 (Spain and France) and 4 abstentions (Great Britain, Holland, New Zealand and Australia).

From June 6th to 9th the Security Council met once more to deal with the situation in Angola, and on this occasion its resolution was passed by 9 votes (Russia, United Arab Republic, Liberia, Ceylon, China, Chile, Equador, Turkey and the United States) against 2 abstentions (France and Great Britain).

The most noteworthy facts in this summary are these:

- 1) A large number of countries, in their declarations, in their abstentions or in their opposing votes, sought to remain faithful to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter, which does not allow the organization to intervene in the domestic affairs of member states.
- 2) The majorities were obtained principally thanks to communist votes and the votes of the Afro-Asian countries.
- 3) It was in fact this group which took the initiative of calling meetings and presenting resolutions, beyond or outside the Charter.

4) It was after the Security Council meeting in March 1961 that the United States decided to support the Afro-Asian group openly, with the self-confessed aim of gathering supporters for deliberations of moment for the United States and against the U. R. S. S.

I neither criticize nor accuse; there is nothing new in the statement which itself reveals no secret. At that time official representatives of the United States made declarations which set out to define a new policy of the great American nation on Africa. In them explicit criticisms were made of our overseas administration, the retrograde ideas that we were considered to hold in comparison with modern views on the topic, and Angola was specifically mentioned as the example of out-dated colonization, degrading for the inhabitants and mean towards the territories (here I am giving the general sense, not quoting).

The point is that these accusations and attitudes taken up from March 13th to 15th seem to have been received by certain African countries as an indication of agreement for them to support openly the wave of terrorism which swept down on Angola. Of course the United States would not advise or prepare acts of terrorism, directly or indirectly. Subversive elements had long been undergoing training, indoctrination and organization within the province, but above all outside it, with the open aid of the Afro-Asian powers and other States which follow the line of policy laid down by international communism. But, given the present state of Africa and the geographical and political situation of Angola, there was clearly a great advantage in a great, western, anti-communist power speaking certain words and taking up certain attitudes so that words could give place to action, encouraged and organized from outside. And unfortunate words and attitudes were both forthcoming.

## II

The United States have a clear policy as regards Communist Russia and the dangers of its expansionism. It is to support the powers of West Europe with all their might, collaborating generously with them through the North Atlantic Treaty. The Treaty does not go beyond the limits of a defensive alliance but even so it is considered to be the basis of American policy against Soviet expansionism. In spite of its obvious defects the organization was created at a timely juncture and has been able to prevent a head-on attack on the nations of Europe. It is possible, though, that such an attack was not part of Russian plans of action to bring about the crumbling of the West and the expansion of the communist regime in the world.

Since the time of its great doctrinal thinkers Russia has had an equally well-defined policy for Africa: to subvert it as a way to get round



and overcome the resistance put up by Europe. This work of African subversion and desintegration has been systematically and firmly directed by Russia and in this first phase, destined to expel Europe from Africa and to remove the peoples of the continent as far as possible from all influences of western civilization, the results it has obtained are quite clear to all.

Although with different intentions, the United States is now engaging on a parallel policy to the Russian one in Africa, perhaps because of its strong idealism, perhaps also as a result of its historical past, which does not provide us with any analogy. Fundamentally this policy is weakening Europe's resistance and depriving it of its human, strategic or economic strong points, for its own defence and the defence of Africa itself, and it is therefore irreconcilable with what America seeks to do through the North Atlantic Treaty.

This essential contradiction in American policy has already been pointed out by some commentators, even in the United States, and it is a serious one, for contradictions in thought are possible, but they cannot be tolerated in action.

When France, Belgium or Portugal are harmed or weakened by such an African policy, not only is the reciprocal confidence of America's allies in Europe affected but their defensive capacity is also diminished. The troops that are sent to Algeria cannot then fight on the Oder or the Rhine; even the limited forces that we are sending overseas at the present time will leave a gap, however small, in the sector or the actions that may be assigned to us. If America, tied to ideological oversimplifications, persists in this policy, it may become a victim, the last, of this contradiction.

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The surprise shown at the resentment of the Portuguese people and the strong, immediate reaction everywhere against the attitudes and the resolutions of the United Nations, lead me to believe that the United States, whose policy towards us has always been one of absolute understanding and friendliness, has found itself faced with a reality quite different from it had imagined. There was a serious misunderstanding in considering the Portuguese overseas territories as mere colonies. It was a mistake to think that our Political Constitution could integrate dispersed territories without there existing a community of feelings sufficiently expressive of the unity of the Nation. It was an error to believe that Angola, for example, could be kept calm and hard-working in the absence of police, European forces and a strength of only 5,000 Africans, led and organized by a little over two thousand whites, if peaceful intercourse in friendship and work were not the greatest single feature of the

province. With good faith, all mistakes would be rectified at once in view of the attitude of whites and blacks, the victims of indiscriminate terrorism, who proclaim that they will not abandon their land and that their land is Portugal.

Some speakers in the United Nations have paid scant attention to the terms of the Charter and have led others to believe that they desire no more than that the inhabitants should clearly express their preference for Portugal, forgetting that this was done long ago and is expressed and confirmed in the Constitution. This is known as self-determination, the brilliant principle of political chaos in human societies. Even so I shall not shun examining the problem: instead of lengthy theoretical considerations, I shall restrict my remarks to the practical study of the Portuguese case.

### III

Out in the Atlantic, south of the line which marks the political limits of the North Atlantic, we find the ten islands that make up the archipelago of Cabo Verde. From Lisboa to São Vicente or Praia it is 2,900 kilometres, whereas from Washington to the Hawai islands it is 8,000; according, then, to the theory which tends to evaluate national sovereignty by distances we are not so badly placed. The archipelago has an area of 4,000 square kilometres and the population is about 200,000. The general impression is one of arid dryness. The patches of soil would be fertile if there were water, but the archipelago is river-less, rainfall is very irregular, while erosion is active. The uncertainty and limitations of life there lead to extensive emigration to the coast of Africa in the same latitude, above all to Portuguese Guinea. As a result of this proximity and inter-penetration of populations, the present-day exuberant flowering of «movements of liberation» has brought forth a movement for Portuguese Guinea and another for Guinea and Cabo Verde taken together. When those lands were discovered by us they were deserted; we, or others under our direction, settled there, so that the cultural background is different from, and superior to, that of Africa, as is shown by the developed system of education there. This explains both the ambition of some and the mistrust of others who live on the mainland of Africa. So that the independence of Cabo Verde would have to be limited to the archipelago, and it is not feasible.

Even if we do not take into account years of drought or crisis, Cabo Verde is maintained by Portugal proper as regards investments, and its ordinary expenditure is covered thanks to a subsidy from the Treasury. As a result of this, those natives of Cabo Verde who occupy high posts in the diplomatic service, in government or in public adminis-



tration throughout Portuguese territory have never thought of advancing towards a utopian independence but towards integration, by advocating admission of the territory to the same system as is enjoyed by the «neighbouring islands», the Azores and Madeira. Thus the movement of liberation is pure fantasy.

Cabo Verde has, however, one advantage of note which is important for the defence of the South Atlantic, and this is its strategic position. Such an advantage can be negotiated, but only, naturally, in political and ethic circumstances that are not ours. The independence that for other reasons I did not think feasible would at the outset have to be mortgaged or sold, denying itself, merely to earn the daily bread of the inhabitants. Since Brazil is not interested in such a transaction, there can only be one interested party.

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I shall not speak of the small islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, whose economic difficulties and financial shortcomings I am fully aware of. As far as these are concerned I do not think that the leaders of any hypothetical liberation have yet set up in business on foreign territory. Let us go on to Portuguese Guinea, which covers an area of about one third of Portugal proper, and has 600,000 inhabitants. The climate is such that the tillers of the soil are natives of the region, while trade is in the hands of the European or the Levantine, above all from Lebanon. Administration of the region has been as prudent and modest as conditions demand, but in some aspects, such as health and assistance, it has been so extensive and competent that the World Health Organization classified the campaign against leprosy in Guinea as the best in all Africa. Whatever the natives' aspirations to a higher standard of living may be, one thing is certain, that their love of the soil, as individual property, is troubled by the Chinese inspired innovations, planned beyond their frontiers, and their free work, to which they are accustomed, seems to them threatened by the types of work introduced in neighbouring countries. The dangers that menace Portuguese Guinea are not, therefore, really those brought about by the movement to liberate the territory. Their representatives are working for others, even when they bear some mandate or possess some legitimate ambition, for they could do nothing against forces some idea of which can be gained by looking at the neighbouring states on the map and reading the echo of their ambitions in the press or hearing it over the radio. Those who anticipate any federative or other solutions in the near future to remedy the present disorders of Africa are mistaken in their belief. Some of the new leaders of those states have not gained power to come to understandings. Their



inclination is to expand at others' expense, and all this takes place under the delusive sign of the freeing of the African peoples.

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There can be no doubt that the tiny State of India, with its 650,000 inhabitants and 4,000 square kilometres, made up of four or five dispersed territories, is distinctly individual in the Hindustan Peninsula. A fusion of races and cultures has taken place there, and above all there has been created a way of life, so that everywhere the Goese stands out from the Indian and cannot be taken for him, as international statistics prove. The Indian will continue to drag along behind him the division and complexity of castes, the confusion of tongues and the ballast of his oriental culture, while the Goese has received a new light from the West which has achieved a harmonious synthesis with original values, has illuminated individual and collective life and through five centuries of settlement and life in common has moulded his ancient blood with new blood, customs and traditions. It is easy to understand Goa as part of the Portuguese Nation because in its crises the Portuguese State supports it, guides it and maintains it financially, while the State of India could not guarantee its own independence in spite of the typical individuality which all, after considerable tergiversation, have recognised it to possess. The force of evident circumstances has thus led the leading representatives of the «movement to free Goa» to confess that they only seek the independence of the territory so as to make it part of the Indian Union.

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What we call the province of Macau is little more than the city called «Santo Nome de Deus», a place of rest and refuge in the Far East, set in the mainland of China. The province has passed through periods of prosperity and of decadence, this latter now caused by the American blockade of China, which has deprived Macau of the best part of its trade. It cannot extend in area, so that it must suffer its natural limitations. The existence of Macau as a land subject to Portuguese sovereignty springs from old treaties between the Kings of Portugal and the Emperors of China, so that if these agreements maintain their value in spite of the changes of political systems, as they should, the individuality of that territory and its integration in Portugal are assured. But if we leave the sphere of legality and take into account other factors, it is true that whatever resistance we might make Macau would finally be absorbed by China, on which it depends in its daily life. And the western world would be left the poorer culturally.

In the East Indies there is a small island called Timor, which we used to share with Holland and, since 1945, with the Republic of Indonesia. Timor cannot live an independent life, set as it is amidst the thousand islands of that country. Quite apart from what we have had to spend in Timor to develop the territory and to raise the social level of the inhabitants, through extraordinary expenditure on development plans, ordinary revenue is not enough for expenditure and the Treasury finds itself obliged to cover an important proportion of current expenses. Yet the population, when free from outside pressure or influences, lives its quiet existence and during the most serious crises its devotion to the Portuguese Nation approaches heroism.

When, during the last war, the Japanese forces unjustifiably devastated Portuguese Timor, which had no value for them, and the authority representing Portuguese sovereignty was prevented from exercising power effectively, it was practically the inhabitants of the land who alone kept the presence of Portugal alive there in many different ways. It is curious to remember that we owe the restoration of Timor to Portuguese authority to the United States, naturally because of undertakings to that effect it had given us, but against interests that might then have been taken into account had it been dealing with any other country but Portugal.

It is impossible to determine what self-determination might mean in this case as the result of pressure from outside. That small group, of doubtful genuineness, which in Djakarta pretends to be working to free Timor can only want that independence so as to hand Timor to the Indonesian Republic, which would not then feel the scruples it at present feels in accepting the gift. Yet Port Darwin is no more than one hour's flight from the capital, Dili, so that another would be just as disturbed by such an event as we ourselves.

All this means that without exception in these cases, and in view of present circumstances, whenever the United Nations advocate self-determination as a possible means of access to various solutions, those could only bring about the independence of the territories, and, if and when that independence were gained, no other road would be open to them than their integration as parts of other states: that is, the transfer of sovereignty for some of them. As this is the question I should say, without embarking on disagreeable comparisons, that in any hypothesis we cannot be held to be less worthy, or less capable of governing, or less ready than others to exert a civilizing influence over the peoples of different races that make up the Overseas Provinces. It would thus be an act of injustice to try to deprive us of that sovereignty, and not only unjust but also lacking in practical intelligence. I will explain why.



We are an old nation that lives tied to its traditions, and so we are ready to pay for the inheritance the past has bequeathed us with heavy sacrifices. But we find this quite natural. We consider that it is our duty to civilize other peoples and to be able to do this, to pay for the work of colonization with the sweat of our brows. If it were possible to bring some order into the present confusion of international political oratory, perhaps these examples would enable us to distinguish colonization more clearly from colonialism, the human mission from the enterprise of economic development, which, like any other, is maintained if it can show a profit, but abandoned if it cannot. Many will find this difficult to understand because if things are equated to assets and liabilities, national policy could reasonably be based on different premises.

#### IV

But there are the two great African provinces, possessed of far greater resources thanks to their size, population and wealth. Those resources do not mean that they are immune from serious crises, that the State does not make available means for their development, or that the Treasury does not have to come to their aid with funds and interest-free loans to maintain their financial balance. But their sheer size attracts the covetous so that we shall deal with them on their own, and we shall have to refer to the various aspects of greatest interest for us today.

The diatribes directed at the Portuguese work of colonization by responsible individuals are in part due to emotional attitudes and self-seeking interest, but they are surely also based on ignorance of what Angola and Mozambique are. We are partly responsible for this ignorance no doubt because we are so absorbed in our work that we have not taken the trouble to present them to the world properly. Ignorance seems to be general, for so many speak of them as if they were still left to the incompetence of their native inhabitants, as if we were in the 15th century.

On the other hand, those who visit us without any preconceived ideas are amazed by the flourishing, beautiful towns and villages, the progressive agricultural holdings and industrial undertakings, the rhythm of building and the characteristic aspects of social life there.

I am not going to deal with the economic and social state of those two provinces, but I am looking at some official foreign statistics, some of them published by the United Nations Organization, and I shall pick out some significant indications at random. I exclude South Africa, where gold and diamonds are found in plenty and where the numerous white population has been able to develop the land beyond all comparison with other African countries. But apart from South Africa I see the

number of buildings set up in various African territories and I find Angola well ahead of the former French West Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. The number of square metres of built-up area per thousand inhabitants was, in 1959, 76.8 in Angola against 6.3, 51.3, 14.2 and 17.8 respectively in the other four territories mentioned.

In kilometres of railway per thousand square kilometres of area Mozambique is equal to Ghana and is only outstripped by Sierra Leone, Togo and Dahomey, all of which are very small in size. In this respect Angola equals the former Belgian Congo and is followed by the Camaroons, the former French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa and Madagascar. As for rolling stock — engines, carriages and waggons — Mozambique is only exceeded by the Rhodesian Federation, Ghana and British East Africa, while Angola is in a good position if we compare it with other territories south of the Sahara.

As for production capacity and the electrical energy produced per inhabitant we had reasonable returns, since in 1957 we exceeded Nigeria, although we were far outstripped in our turn by the Rhodesian Federation, the former Belgian Congo and the former French Camaroons. It should, however, be noted that both in Angola and Mozambique our figures have at least doubled since 1957 and after the Cambambe dam is concluded they will be even better.

On the west and coasts of Africa the great Angolan ports — Luanda and Lobito — and those of Mozambique — Lourenço Marques and Beira — rival the best in the continent in the quality of the harbour installations and equipment. As regards traffic Lourenço Marques is only surpassed by Durban of all the ports in Africa south of the Sahara, from Mauritania to the Sudan via the Cape. Beira is only exceeded in traffic figures by Durban, Lourenço Marques and Cape Town.

We were the forerunners in Africa of the health campaigns, as we were in the field of assistance to mothers and infants. I will not tire you by quoting the nevertheless impressive figures of our hospital establishments in the African provinces, but I will present some figures supplied by the World Health Organization as regard leprosy in certain African territories. In Mozambique, with a population of 5,547,000, there are 80,000 lepers, over 60,000 of whom are undergoing treatment. Tanganyika, with a population of 8,800,000, has 100,000 lepers, only some 34,000 of them receiving treatment. The respective figures for Ghana are 4,200,000 inhabitants, 50,000 lepers, and 26,000 being treated. Kenya has 25,000 lepers out of a total population of 6,250,000 and only 350 are taking treatment. In its turn Nigeria has 25 million inhabitants, 540,000 lepers and only half of them undergoing treatment or, to be exact, 274,970, and so on. From this we deduce that the proportion of leprosy sufferers undergoing treatment is far higher in Mozambique than in the territories I have mentioned.



In spite of all this we cannot consider ourselves satisfied. The sheer size of the provinces itself suggests innumerable undertakings and even risks making some lose their sense of proportion and lose sight of the material or human resources available for them to be all carried out in a short space of time. In any case, after an impartial examination of many problems, it seems to me that two or three of them should be selected and should receive priority and a special effort towards their solution. These are above all the system of communications, the building of elementary and technical schools and the greater expansion of health departments and stations.

In those territories roads are to be considered the most powerful vehicle of progress. When men can move about they can do much of what remains themselves. With good health we improve the welfare of peoples and their productive capacity. The natives are thirsty for education, for in it they see the way to improve their condition, their economic status and even a means to rise politically. We must quench their thirst without forgetting to balance schools at the secondary and higher levels with the general economic stage of development, to avoid the dangerous creation of an intellectual proletariat, led to agitation by unemployment and to politics by ambition. Had we not been forced to make great efforts to resist terrorism, an effort which is far heavier than an excellent plan of development, we should have devoted ourselves to this programme as being of the greatest yield for the Overseas Provinces. As things are, however, we can only do this with funds from outside them.

## V

These are material elements. They are very important but they should not be thought decisive, for what most matters in a society of men is the type of human relations. The Portuguese nature, the moral principles which underlay the discoveries and our colonization have meant that national territory knows no form of discrimination and that multi-racial societies have been formed, redolent of the spirit of friendly intercourse and co-operation and only for that reason peace-loving. Political integration would not spring from a complete assimilation but especially from the fraternization established without distinction of belief or colour, and the creation of the consciousness of a common nation and common homeland, obviously far vaster than the limited horizon bounding the movements of men and tribes.

It is an undeniable, readily observed fact that in Angola and Mozambique there exists a community of races living together in perfect harmony and understanding with no more differences in public or private

life than are motivated in other societies by diversity of economic levels and personal aptitudes. From afar we understand that only in these conditions, excluding the hypothesis of violent subjection, could the white men, relatively few in relation to the blacks and half-castes, carry out the action that is naturally theirs, direct the work of the community, create work by making investments which are not available to the masses and raise these to their own level of civilization.

In such circumstances it would seem to be futile to argue whether a multi-racial society can exist since it obviously does exist, and nothing can more clearly demonstrate the possibility of existence than existence itself. But do the forms of co-existence need to be argued about? Theoretically yes, but as here we have already established facts and situations, the best light in which to examine the question is to see what the consequences of a destruction of that co-existence would be.

The new African states discriminate against the white man, and they can do this in territories where the work of colonization followed other patterns and where the white man, though working there for his living, did not settle. Now, we stand exactly at the limit of the black racism which sweeps down as far as the Congo river and touches the north and north-west of Mozambique through Tanganyika. This black racism has been so violent and so exclusive that the mixed societies which lie to the south of the area cannot be trusted to it. By killing or expelling the white man the problem can be solved, but racism itself cannot solve it so long as the white man seeks to remain in the land which is also his, for after all he has the same rights and enjoys at least equal legitimacy there.

It matters little that some smile at our constitutional structure which admits provinces as big as states and states as small as provinces or that they amuse themselves questioning sovereignties which are in fact beyond question, or despising indisputably superior civilizations and cultures, or ignoring defence needs connected with territories administered by European powers. The main problem remains: it arises from the permanent settlement of the white population and the fact that it controls almost exclusively the direction of work, the financing of undertakings and the administration of the common weal. This is indeed a question which deserves the attention of statesmen and I am sure that if they were to consider it, they would cease to prevent us from studying a problem that in our own territories we alone can solve, and that by our own methods.

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Political formulas, of whatever nature, cannot ignore or bypass the factual circumstances I have referred to. We are faced with societies whose development is necessarily slow and which I think everything



should be done to save and lead on the road of progress. They are morally dependent on the principle of racial equality but in politics and law they cannot set aside the difference of individual worth, in their own defence and as a guarantee of progress. For these principles to be followed without there being an unjustified subjection of the mass to the white or black ruling class, all must be duly guaranteed the same possibilities of economic or cultural opportunity. Either non-discrimination is present in the whole of public and private activity or then the edifice will come crashing down. On the other hand, if a high degree of physiological and moral solidarity of the inhabitants is not attained, then the edifice will not be maintained without the support that will keep the genuineness of the principles and the life of the community in the balance which presided over its formation.

On occasion I hear talk of political solutions that are different from our constitutional solution and may perhaps be understood some centuries hence. Let us not waste time studying them, for the essential element now is the present and the present can be summed up as follows: what would become of Angola in the present crisis if Angola were not part of Portugal?

This means that the present structure of the Portuguese Nation is capable of saving its constituent parts from a suicidal irredentism, whereas any other would subject them to the risk of being lost not only to us but also to civilization.

As I once pointed out, the constitutional structure has nothing to do with the most far-reaching administrative reforms with a view to greater degrees of autonomy or decentralization, nor with the organization and powers of local authorities, nor with the greater or lesser part played by individuals in the constitution and functioning of the organs of the administration, nor with the share of either in the formation of the organs of sovereignty, nor with the thorough alterations we intend to make in the status of the natives. It has only to do with the nature and solidity of the links that make up our national unity from the various parts.

## VI

I have already tried your patience very far, but I am about to finish.

You will have noticed that I have dealt with what was essential in the United Nations' attitude towards us but not with the manner of its deliberations. I thought it would not be worth while. Everyone has seen for himself how they run counter to the express terms of the Charter, and how wrong they are in relation to the facts and the reaction that a responsible government should take up towards them.

The insistence on disregarding the fundamental principle of non-intervention in the domestic concerns of the member states brought forward such criticism from, and caused such apprehension to, those who still place some trust in the future of the organization that we can foresee that it will have to alter its conduct to survive.

The invitation to the Portuguese authorities to cease at once the measures of repression in Angola is an attitude we might call theatrical on the part of the Security Council, an invitation that it cannot have the least hope of seeing accepted, so seriously does it offend the duties of a sovereign State. Since mid-March neither the Council nor the Assembly has found any opportunity to order the terrorists to cease their massacres and depredations, as so many of their members could have done with authority and effectiveness. But when the authority whose place it is to guarantee the lives, work and possessions of the whole population intervenes, then that obligation or primary duty of the State must not be carried out, for it is necessary to allow the terrorists to go on with impunity in their mission of extermination and the return to a life of savagery.

There may indeed be some foundation for the assertion that the situation in Angola is a potential threat to international peace and security, but only to the extent that some of the voting countries may decide to pass from political and financial aid, as they are giving at present, to direct aid with their own forces against Portugal in Angola. Everything in the world is becoming so topsy-turvy that aggressors are benefactors, those who defend themselves are criminals and those States that are conscious of their duties and do no more than guarantee order in their territories are arraigned by those who are at the bottom of the disorder which reigns there. No, let us not take these exaggerations to tragic lengths. The General Assembly of the United Nations works like the crowd it is, but is nevertheless ruled by those psychological laws and that emotional atmosphere that govern all crowds. In these terms I find it difficult to foresee whether its behaviour will alter for the better or aggravate still further. If however, we see this sign in the sky over New York, I am convinced that catastrophes and the total collapse of the institution of the United Nations will not be long in coming.

In view of the votes cast against Portugal and the number of abstentions, many people infer that our country is becoming dangerously isolated in the concert of nations. I hope we who are sure that we are right and are convinced that we can prove it shall not allow ourselves to be intimidated. International life is not all lived in the United Nations Organization, and the votes cast there are rather the result of a competitive process that has become the habit than the expression of a valid opinion on international or overseas questions. It is true that in certain countries we find a kind of wave of panic and intimidation which corresponds to a lack of faith in the principles of western civilization, which I think are



still valid. At present the Afro-Asian powers seem to be in the right. But with a little courage on our part they will finally come to understand that there are limits that cannot be outstripped.

In spite of the action of an intense campaign of international calumny, skilfully directed by communist Russia, which has already been civil enough to declare its position towards us, we see that this has not been able to dim many of the best minds nor carry along with it the opinion of the countries represented. Let us remember in this connection how the intellectual élite of Brazil reacted to the attack on Angola, the African province that because of many vicissitudes in their common history it almost considers part of its moral inheritance. Let us take a look at Spain which in this crisis has accompanied us moment by moment with its vivacious temperament and its fervent fraternal affection: let us see if Spain has not clearly understood that the attack on Portugal was no more than the use of an opportunity, which could equally well be used against us as against her, or maybe will be used once against her and some other time against us. Until the men of Europe understand, attacks will continue to be made under all kinds of pretext on this south-western corner of Europe, because once it falls the rest will follow.

Whatever the difficulties we meet with and whatever the sacrifices we are called upon to make to overcome them, I can see no other attitude for us than to continue on our way. This decision is the dictate of the national conscience which I feel in unisson with those whom we have charged with the task of defending the land of the Homeland far away from Portugal by force of arms. This decision is imposed on us by all those, white, black or half-caste, who work, struggle, die or see their families cut to pieces, and who by their very martyrdom confirm that Angola is part of the land of Portugal.







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