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

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Braithwaite (Guyana), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration (continued):

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

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) said that the United Nations resolutions concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration had remained without effect because Portugal, alone among the administering Powers, rejected not only the means of decolonization but its very aims and, in the last analysis, the essential principles of the United Nations Charter. In denying the inhabitants of its colonies the right to self-determination, it was denying their status as human beings and treating them as merchandise that could be handled and transformed at will by third parties.
2. That reactionary stand had been described in the relevant resolutions as a crime against humanity, since the denial of human dignity was tantamount to a sustained aggression against the natural rights on which civilized society was based.
3. Portugal tried to justify itself by putting forward the fallacious theory of assimilation, which it did not even take the trouble to apply consistently, since, besides not granting the indigenous people the same rights as the Portuguese in regard to employment, education, welfare and advancement, it was promoting Portuguese emigration to the African Territories, but

not the emigration of Africans to the metropolitan country. The fact was that Portugal was seeking not to bring Western civilization to its colonies, but to perpetuate its control over them. The establishment of white settlers was a new form of colonialism that was taking the place of occupation by conquest. That phenomenon, which could be witnessed elsewhere, brought misery to the indigenous inhabitants, dislocating their traditional societies and converting them into refugees.

4. The language of persuasion had so far failed to bring the present Portuguese régime to recognize the requirements of logic, justice and law. The appeals addressed to it in the name of the Charter had been in vain. Even the concept of decolonization, which had a definite historical meaning, had been distorted by the Portuguese régime, which identified it with its policy of integration and assimilation. It was obvious that the Portuguese authorities had not consulted the African people about the future that was being planned for them; all that was important to them was to ensure the subjugation of the people. It was not for nothing that the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had said that if Portugal left the Territories, they would fall into the sphere of influence of others.

5. Since attempts at persuasion had failed, the Members of the United Nations had sought ways of depriving Portugal of the means to carry on its aggression, but they had found themselves confronting a powerful alliance of military and economic interests which prevented any effective action. As the USSR representative had said in connexion with the question of the supply of arms to Portugal, the identity of the suppliers of those arms was known and it was also common knowledge that certain great Powers had prevented the Security Council from adopting effective measures against Portugal. The only serious possibility of settling the dispute had thus been discarded, for a solution could be found only when principle prevailed over expediency, when progress and peace were valued above profits derived at the expense of the African people and, above all, when the United Nations offered moral and material support to the Africans who were struggling to defend their freedom.

6. In conclusion, he drew attention to the urgency of the situation, in view of the aggression of which the Democratic Republic of the Congo had been the victim and the increasing probability of another unilateral declaration of independence. He urged the members of the Committee, in the face of that serious problem, to show unanimity and firmness in defence of world peace.

7. Mr. DIARRA (Guinea) said that the various resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council emphasized the deplorable situation prevailing in the Territories under Portuguese administration and expressed the wish that the peoples of those Territories should live in freedom and independence. The fascist Government of Portugal, blinded by its colonialist outlook, believed that it could reverse the course of history. Defying General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), Mr. Salazar had said:

"There will be no surrender, no abandonment as far as the Portuguese nation is concerned, there will be no self-determination or referendum. In accepting the principle of decolonization, the West has failed in its duty. As for us, we do not intend to renounce our civilizing and Christian mission. In defending Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, we are defending the whole of the West."

Those words explained why a small mediæval country like Portugal could sustain a prolonged colonial war: it was able to do so thanks to the material aid it received from its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It was intolerable that, seven years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), certain colonial Powers were imposing their presence in Africa by force. Day after day in the Territories under Portuguese administration, Salazar's soldiers were killing hundreds of old men, women and children. As it retreated, Portuguese colonialism was attacking independent countries such as Senegal, the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Guinea, as could be seen, for example, from a communication dated 13 October 1967 from the Government of Guinea to the President of the Security Council.^{1/} Nevertheless, the nationalist liberation forces were increasing steadily and would ultimately defeat the oppressors.

8. In 1965, the Security Council had decided that the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration was explosive and constituted a threat to international peace and security. The situation was still more serious at the present time and the whole of southern Africa was the victim of a barbarous system of exploitation. Confronted with the threat posed by the alliance between Salazar, Smith and Vorster, who were supported by the imperialist Governments, the African peoples had decided to make history instead of suffering it and the inhabitants of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique had taken up arms to drive the Portuguese from their homeland. It was on that basis that the United Nations should act henceforth. In the face of the common enemy, the United Nations should give its material and moral support to the liberation movements.

9. Consequently, Guinea, faithful to its watchword that imperialist violence must be opposed by revolutionary violence, lies by truth and the false by the true, and to its anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-neocolonialist policy, considered that the hour had come for the international community to help the nationalists by giving them the necessary means for victory in their liberation struggle.

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967, document S/8193.

10. Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia) said that, in the seven years during which the United Nations had been considering the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration, the economic, social and political conditions there had deteriorated. The Portuguese were intensifying their policy of exploiting the inhabitants, who were joining the ranks of the freedom fighters in increasing numbers. In stepping up the colonial war, Portugal was causing untold suffering and material losses to the African people and to the metropolitan country itself. Portugal had recently sent an additional 20,000 soldiers to Africa and its troops there now numbered more than 120,000; at the same time, its military budget had been increased by 33 per cent in comparison with 1966. It might well be asked where Portugal found the necessary resources to fight the African people and to go on dominating them. The answer to that question showed where the crux of the matter lay and what was the obstacle facing the United Nations. The representatives of the liberation movements had explained to the Special Committee that Portugal was able to wage a colonial war because of the military and diplomatic support which it received from certain Western countries. Some of the petitioners had provided evidence that Portuguese colonial troops were using weapons supplied through NATO or under bilateral agreements. It was irrelevant whether the Portuguese Government was using those weapons with or without the knowledge of its allies; the point was that the colonialists were using them to repress the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom. Consequently, if NATO countries did not wish to become accomplices of the Salazar régime, they should take radical steps to prevent Portugal from using those weapons against the African population. It was evident from the report of the Special Committee (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V) and other sources that those same countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, were also giving the Portuguese Government economic aid, increasing their investments in the Portuguese colonies and helping the colonialists to preserve the existing situation and impede the development of the Territories and their progress towards independence.

11. The problem of the Portuguese colonies could not be considered apart from what was happening in southern Africa and other parts of the world in which the people were being prevented by force from choosing the governments they wished. The colonial war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, the practices and policies of the racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, the deplorable situation in South West Africa and the denial of the right of self-determination in other colonial Territories were part of the same policy of conservatism. The developments in southern Africa were acquiring more ominous dimensions as a result of the fact that the racist régimes of the area were consolidating their "unholy alliance" in order to perpetuate white domination over the African population. The Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had told the Press on 30 August 1967 that it was necessary to recognize the factors that had made the southern part of Africa into a special region differing from the remaining areas of the continent. On the same occasion

the Foreign Minister had also stated that Portugal and South Africa had common interests and problems and the same systems of values, and were ready to defend them. The illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, for its part, was able to resist the measures adopted by the international community because of the support extended to it by its main partners, South Africa and Portugal. The Portuguese police were helping South Africa to persecute African nationalists in South West Africa; at the same time, the South African police were exterminating the members of the Zimbabwe liberation movement. The military actions of the racists were directed even against neighbouring independent States, as was shown by the invasion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo by mercenaries from Angola.

12. In spite of brutal repression, the legitimate struggle for liberation was continuing in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Half of the territory of Guinea (Bissau) was already in the hands of the liberation forces, as were large areas of Angola and Mozambique, a fact which proved that even the most modern weapons could not crush the determination of a people resolved to achieve independence and protect its dignity. His delegation felt that General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) enumerated all the basic measures which the United Nations should adopt in order to give more effective help to the peoples under Portuguese domination in gaining their freedom. In the present situation, what was of primary importance was the implementation of that resolution by Member States. The Yugoslav delegation would therefore give its full support to efforts towards that end.

13. Mr. THIAM (Mali) observed that at the current session the Fourth Committee was again considering the serious problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration and wished to place that question in the general context of the present political situation in southern Africa.

14. The case of the Territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique could not be viewed in isolation from the case of Southern Rhodesia or South West Africa, since the racist settlers in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and the fascist régime in Portugal had reached a tacit agreement which could be called an "unholy alliance". The white settlers in southern Africa had formed a front which, by means of brutal repression, prevented the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence which the liberation movements claimed.

15. His delegation wished to define its position in the light of that situation. Portugal had repeatedly declared that Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique were an "integral part" of its national territory. Mr. Salazar, the Prime Minister, had declared in July 1966 that Portugal was an integrated, multi-continental nation. In accordance with that principle he had called upon all Portuguese to fight what he had then called, and what he still called, foreign-inspired subversion in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), this disparaging the courageous revolt of the indigenous peoples against Portuguese colonial oppression. He would not dwell on the futility and the unrealistic nature of that statement, since he had already refuted the Portuguese claims on many occasions in the

Special Committee and in the Fourth Committee, and his views on the subject could be found in all the official documents of the Special Committee and of the General Assembly. He would merely state that he fully agreed with the legal position stated clearly by Mr. Ramani of Malaysia at the 1254th meeting of the Security Council on 9 November 1965, when the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration had been discussed in that important body.

16. His delegation rejected the reservations made by the representative of Portugal and continued to regard Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique as Portuguese colonies, in accordance with the definition in Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. His delegation therefore held that Portugal had incurred obligations towards the peoples whom it was administering and should start at once to comply with the provisions of the Charter and of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, appearing in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

17. The Special Committee had studied the situation prevailing in the Territories under Portuguese administration. As in Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, the black population of the Portuguese Territories was the victim of racial discrimination and harsh exploitation by the white settlers. The Government in Lisbon had promulgated discriminatory laws which robbed the black population of all civil, economic and other rights. Taking advantage of its colonial legislation, Portugal was transplanting between 1,000 and 2,000 European settlers a year to Angola and Mozambique and was granting them the best land, while the black population was concentrated in what could be called Bantustans. At the same time Portugal had started moving and selling black workers from its colonies to South Africa, in order to meet the needs of that country's mining companies. The General Assembly had already condemned that practice as a crime against humanity, but that denial of human rights went on notwithstanding the United Nations resolutions. The Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council had adopted important decisions on the Portuguese colonies. At its seventeenth session the General Assembly, in resolution 1807 (XVII), had urged the Portuguese Government to recognize immediately "the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence". Since then a number of other resolutions had been adopted which had been absolutely unavailing, since Portugal had ignored them all, with the hidden support of the financial Powers of the Western world. Since it was impossible to reach a peaceful solution with Portugal, the nationalists in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique had taken up arms in 1961 in order to recover their sacred right to freedom and independence. The situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination was a grave threat to world peace and security. In its political blindness Portugal was waging a genocidal war against the black peoples. Unfortunately it had the active support of certain States members of NATO. Those States, which were former colonial Powers, were still smarting from the defeats suffered by colonialism and imperialism in Asia and Africa. Imperialism would also lose the final battle. The subjugated peoples of southern

Africa would triumph, because their struggle was a just one. Day after day the nationalists in Guinea were gaining resounding victories over Salazar's interventionist troops. The liberation of a large area of Guinea gave the lie to the Portuguese claim that only a few saboteurs financed from abroad were spreading subversion in the Territory, for the benefit of foreigners. The truth was that the entire people of Guinea, under the leadership of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), had rejected Portuguese rule and was fighting for its freedom. In Angola and Mozambique the nationalists were inflicting heavy losses on Salazar's hordes, were already occupying large areas of the country and, while the liberation struggle went on, had begun national reconstruction in the liberated areas.

18. It might be asked why Portugal refused to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and to apply the decisions of the Security Council, especially those imposing sanctions against Ian Smith's Southern Rhodesia. The answer to that question was one of economics and strategy. Without its colonies Portugal would shrink to the dimensions of a small underdeveloped country. The Special Committee had made a detailed study of the way in which capitalist circles in Lisbon and international trusts were plundering the natural wealth of the Territories under Portuguese administration. The report of the Special Committee revealed that the Portuguese settlers were using forced labour to exploit the rich lands of Angola and Mozambique. From those Territories they obtained cotton, sisal, sugar-cane, etc., which they exported to the factories in Portugal and to other industrial regions of the world. The Portuguese settlers, especially the large sugar-producing Sena Sugar Estates, were making tremendous profits. Colonialism did little or nothing to promote the development of agriculture in the Territories under its rule. All that mattered was the amassing of huge profits in the shortest time and with the least possible risk. For that reason the colonialists enacted laws to prevent the diversification of crops, with the result that the colonial Territories remained subservient to the markets of the industrialized countries, most of which were former colonial Powers. In Mozambique and Angola, for instance, black peasants were forbidden, under pain of reprisals, to cultivate crops other than those authorized by Portuguese colonialist legislation. Apparently the Portuguese agricultural credit bank encouraged the cultivation of industrial crops and granted large credits to the white settlers as an incentive to settle in the colonies. South African, British and United States capital shared in the exploitation of those Territories through the large trust called the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

19. In industry the Portuguese and foreign companies were exploiting the immense mineral resources of Angola. The Companhia do Manganês de Angola and other concerns were extracting manganese, copper and phosphates. According to some reports, the Nippon Mining Company was planning to invest \$US25 million in the exploitation of deposits of copper which had just been discovered in Angola. Other companies, such as the Companhia Mineira do Lobito and the International Mineral and Chemical

Corporation, were reported to be interested in the exploitation of natural phosphates in Angola. It would be tedious to mention all the foreign interests intervening in the Territories under Portuguese domination, but it was significant that all those companies paid taxes to Salazar's fascist Government, thus enabling it to finance its odious colonialist policy in Africa.

20. In order to preserve its advantages in Africa Portugal had begun a trial of strength with the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). It had reduced its development budget by 2.5 per cent, while its defence budget had increased by 220 per cent since 1960, rising from 1,670 million to 5,347 million escudos. Portugal had been obliged to turn to its trading partners, the United States and certain countries of the European Economic Community, for help in balancing its war budget. Moreover, as a member of NATO it had received help in various forms, ranging from supplies of modern armaments to the training of highly skilled personnel in the use of deadly weapons, in defiance of Security Council resolution 218 (1965) and the many recommendations in the resolutions of the Special Committee and the General Assembly. There was no doubt whatever that Portugal's main allies were still South Africa and Ian Smith's Southern Rhodesia. The collaboration between the military forces of South Africa, the interventionist troops of Portugal and the racist settlers of Southern Rhodesia showed itself in the operations against the patriotic forces fighting along a line which stretched from Angola to Mozambique via Southern Rhodesia. That collusion of the racist forces was a threat to peace and security in southern Africa. The Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis was a grave threat to the sovereignty of the recently emancipated African States bordering on Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination.

21. Portugal maintained an occupying force estimated at more than 120,000 men in its colonial Territories. Consequently it was not surprising that mercenary troops coming from Angola and Mozambique frequently violated the sovereign territories of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, where they killed peaceable peasants, or that they used the occupied Territory of Guinea (Bissau) to commit acts of piracy in Senegal or in the Republic of Guinea. It was time that those acts came to an end. He consequently associated himself with the many speakers in the Committee who had made an urgent appeal to the Powers which were still aiding Portugal to reconsider their position. It was common knowledge that colonialism was out of date and it was generally recognized that it must be brought to an end. For that reason international co-operation in that matter was essential. The great Powers which had means of dissuasion at their disposal could do much to end colonialism. Their refusal to co-operate in seeking a rapid solution for that grave problem, and especially their use of a disguised veto against the proposals of the Afro-Asian group in the Security Council, could only be regarded as manifestations of a negative and selfish attitude which served sordid interests based on the exploitation and plundering of weaker countries and countries still under foreign domination.

22. Mali had chosen the side of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. His delegation, therefore, like those of all peace-loving countries, hailed the valiant struggle of the liberation movements and assured them of the unconditional support of the Republic of Mali in the final battle against colonialism in Africa.

23. The General Assembly should reaffirm once more in 1967 the inalienable rights of the peoples under Portuguese domination, in accordance with the Charter and the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

24. The Assembly should unequivocally proclaim its moral and material support for the fighters of the national liberation movements in southern Africa. It should request the specialized agencies to cancel the contracts already concluded with Portugal and South Africa and give greater assistance to the national liberation movements within the framework of national reconstruction in the liberated areas. In that connexion, he thanked all the countries which had provided and were continuing to provide assistance to the liberation movements in the difficult task of reconstruction.

25. The Assembly should vigorously condemn any policy aimed at helping the Salazar régime to go on waging its despicable war in Africa. The Security Council should be asked to review the general situation in southern Africa and, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to impose mandatory sanctions on Portugal, South Africa and the Ian Smith régime.

26. All States should be invited to concert their efforts, in accordance with the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, in order to dispose as soon as possible of the threat posed by the minority and racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the fascist Government of Portugal to the independent countries bordering on the Territories dominated by the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis.

27. His delegation believed that the adoption of such measures and their strict application by all States in the international community would speed the end of the Calvary of millions of subjugated people in southern Africa, and it would support any measures designed to meet those purposes.

28. Mr. OULD CHEIKH ABDALLAHI (Mauritania), seconded by Mr. HASSAN (Sudan), proposed that the statement by the representative of Mali should be reproduced *in extenso* in the record of the meeting.

It was so decided.

29. Mr. MWEMPU-SAMPU (Democratic Republic of the Congo) wished to begin by stating that his country was at present the victim of barbarous aggression by Portugal. The fact that that aggression was being perpetrated at a time when the Committee was considering the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration was proof of the defiant attitude of that under-developed country towards the United Nations. His delegation thanked the representatives who had denounced that aggression.

30. In the first part of his statement, he intended to give a brief account and description of United Nations action and its effects on the Territories in

question; he would then set forth his country's position on the specific problem of the liberation of Angola.

31. In its historic resolution 1514 (XV), of 14 December 1960, the United Nations had recognized the inalienable rights of the colonial peoples and Territories to self-determination and independence. The great Declaration contained in that resolution had not been heeded by Portugal, which had persisted in its efforts to colonize the Territories under its rule instead of encouraging the process of decolonization.

32. Confronted with that attitude on the part of Portugal, which was clearly at variance with the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and other Territories under Portuguese administration, the United Nations had adopted a series of resolutions and recommendations designed to enable the people of those Territories to recover their inalienable rights.

33. In those resolutions the status of those Territories as Non-Self-Governing Territories had been recognized, which meant that Portugal had the manifest obligation to undertake reforms with a view to the transfer of power to the inhabitants of those Territories. All States had been requested to refrain from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance, so that it would be unable to continue its unjust repression of the peoples in the Territories under its administration. States were likewise urged to refrain from selling or supplying arms, ammunition and military equipment to the Government of Portugal. Member States had also been asked in those resolutions to take certain measures, including the severing of diplomatic and consular relations and a boycott of trade with Portugal. Furthermore, the United Nations specialized agencies had been requested not to grant assistance to Portugal, and the activities of foreign monopolies in Territories under Portuguese administration had been denounced as a serious impediment to the process of decolonization in those Territories.

34. It was clear from those resolutions that the United Nations had spared no effort to build up a whole arsenal of practical and appropriate measures to bring Portugal to heel so that that backward country would implement the General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the Territories under its administration. It was indeed inconceivable that Portugal, from Lisbon, should continue to exercise its sway over an area of 2,200,000 square kilometres with a population of 23 million.

35. With regard to what had happened after the adoption of the various resolutions relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, he noted with great regret that the behaviour of South Africa and certain Western countries had not been conducive to the complete success of the United Nations resolutions concerning Portugal's colonial policy in Africa. That lack of support for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions provided the underpinning for the development and financing projects undertaken by Portugal, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, on the strength of foreign loans and investments.

36. In Angola new factories had been built, including a cotton mill, a tobacco factory in Benguela, a metal-chemical plant, a plant for the manufacture of industrial chemical products, and electrical equipment plants at Nova Lisboa and Luanda; while copper deposits were being intensively prospected along the Upper Zambezi and operations were proceeding at the Cassinga mine, whose output was expected to reach 5 million tons in 1968.

37. In Mozambique negotiations had begun with a view to establishing an international consortium to provide the capital needed for constructing a dam with an annual capacity of 1,700 million kW on the Zambezi and developing the Zambezi basin, a new sugar company with an output of 2,500 tons had been set up, and foreign capital was being invested in ports, docks and railways.

38. It was much to be regretted that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) had granted Portuguese companies loans to a value of \$US30 million. Foreign activities and investments of that kind, in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, had given encouragement to Portugal, which thus felt authorized to maintain and consolidate its illegal domination over Territories which had been recognized as non-self-governing. Accordingly, faced with the increasing activities of the liberation movements, Portugal had taken a whole series of measures to strengthen security in the Territories under its domination. An analysis of the draft budget for 1967, which incidentally showed a surplus of \$700 million (a fact which could be explained only as the logical consequence of the foreign financial and economic assistance given to Portugal in spite of the United Nations resolutions), showed that allocations for the extraordinary military forces in the overseas Territories accounted for 40 per cent of public expenditure.

39. It was not surprising to note, therefore, that Portugal was busily building up its navy, which was intended, *inter alia*, for coastal defence in the Territories under its administration; it had ordered the purchase or construction in Europe of torpedo boats, submarines, corvettes, convoy vessels and so on, and the orders were known to be firm ones. In its murderous response to the recrudescence of the armed struggle by the freedom fighters, who rightly rejected Portugal's indefensible rule, Portugal was going to the limit in strengthening its security measures: the civil governors were being replaced by military governors, under a virtual system of martial law, the term of military service had been extended from two years to four, women were being called to the colours and compulsory civil defence services had been established. Among the military measures it was taking, Portugal was preparing the airfield at São Tomé—which also happened to be a strategic stopping-point between Portugal, Angola and Mozambique—as an emergency base for jet planes. Portugal was also planning, with foreign aid and using the Cape Verde archipelago for retransmission, to lay a submarine cable of larger dimensions than that now connecting Europe with South Africa.

40. That military expansion on the part of Portugal was based on and had logistic support from NATO, which was a main supplier of arms for the Portuguese

overseas Territories. Portugal's NATO allies, instead of being concerned and vigorously condemning the continuous injection of military equipment and Portuguese soldiers into the Territories under Portuguese domination, were taking an evasive attitude and playing the innocent. Brigadier-General Kaulza de Arriaga, of the Portuguese Army, referring to the problem of supplying military equipment for the Territories under Portuguese administration, had clearly indicated that NATO was a source of supply and replacement of the arms used by Portugal to wage its colonial wars, as could be seen from the following statement:

"While some foreign sources had been obstructive, others had managed to furnish arms on a more or less regular basis. The real solution lay in substituting arms manufactured in Portugal. Although Portugal was self-sufficient as regards a great deal of the material used by the army, it was dependent on foreign sources for much of its naval and air material." (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V, para. 24.)

It must be asked what that regular basis was, and what those foreign sources were on which Portugal depended.

41. That statement showed that NATO was an accomplice in the arming of Portugal and that the regular and foreign sources were in fact those of that alliance. He did not share the view that the weapons delivered to Portugal under its NATO commitments were used only in metropolitan Portugal and not in the Territories under its administration. That argument was untenable, since Portugal considered that those Territories were legally Portuguese provinces forming part of the area under its jurisdiction. In the light of that legal fiction, Portugal clearly did not limit the range of NATO arms deliveries to the metropolitan country, but extended it to the Territories under its administration, basing itself on the legal thesis of territorial unity which it upheld.

42. It was therefore obvious that no success had been achieved with the effective application of the series of resolutions which the United Nations had adopted to accelerate the decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese domination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). It was greatly to be feared that the non-observance of United Nations resolutions might ultimately paralyse the Organization's activities and cause it to suffer the same fate as that of the defunct League of Nations. That Organization had been doomed to failure largely because of its lack of vigilance and the fact that its work had inspired little respect. He did not believe that, in spite of the vicissitudes experienced by the United Nations, vicissitudes which were inherent in any human enterprise, Member States could cherish such sentiments towards it. He wished to point out, however, that an institution which claimed to be universal, democratic and egalitarian, must respect the principle of majority rule and that its strength lay in the good faith with which its Members respected the recommendations and resolutions adopted.

43. Therefore, if Portugal's NATO allies did not wish to be regarded as accomplices, they should accept the embargo imposed on weapons destined for Portugal, in accordance with Security Council

resolution 218 (1965). The same could be said of IBRD, which should act in good faith and not branch out into an incorrect legal interpretation of its Articles of Agreement or of its Relationship Agreement with the United Nations. As a subsidiary and derivative body, the Bank had a duty to bring its conduct into line with that of the United Nations, which had been entrusted with the sacred mission of promoting international peace and security, and should not act in opposition to the Organization. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo therefore welcomed the fact that UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Africa were complying with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and it was confident that the Bank and the International Monetary Fund would follow that example.

44. With particular regard to Angola, he wished to emphasize the importance which the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo attached to the liberation of that Territory and to the attainment by the fraternal people of Angola of control over their own destiny since, without independence, men could not fully enjoy their fundamental freedoms.

45. Angola had a long frontier with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. On either side of that frontier there lived parents and brothers and sisters who had the misfortune of being separated by a curtain of fire that prevented them from enjoying the advantages of proximity. Angola, whose economic possibilities were promising, had been invaded by settlers who had come from Lisbon to take possession of the fertile lands and to subjugate the indigenous inhabitants. That white population now amounted to some 300,000 settlers, to whom must be added 85,000 Portuguese soldiers who had been sent, in the name of Portuguese cultural colonization, to terrorize the Angolan people striving in vain to regain their inalienable right to independence. The presence of 400,000 armed men considerably aggravated the threatening atmosphere prevailing in that part of Africa. The white settlers, established on fertile lands after having placed the indigenous population on land described as "traditionally African", were systematically plundering the Angolan economy and exporting the fruits of their labour to the metropolitan country in order to enrich it. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Portuguese draft budget for 1967 showed a surplus.

46. The people of Angola were being subjected, contrary to their legitimate aspirations, to a régime of repression and humiliation, despite the fact that Portugal proudly declared its colonial policy of assimilation. In order to acquire that status, however, it was necessary to be able to read and write and that was impossible for the 4.6 million Angolans, for 90 per cent of them were illiterate. There was no indication that education had been intensified. The Angolan people, whom Portugal sought to win over with the benefits of assimilation, had neither political nor civic rights: the Territory did not have democratic institutions but administrative bodies that were under the authority of Lisbon. Four or five Angolans out of the population of 4.6 million were appointed to represent the Angolan people in Lisbon. That unjust Portuguese domination had led the Angolan

people to launch a just struggle in 1961 in order to dislodge Portugal, a backward country which obstinately refused to recognize the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

47. Portugal had since undertaken a colonial war of inhuman repression against the Angolan people in order to maintain its arbitrary rule in Angola. The Territory was today living under a military régime, since the civilian government had been abolished and replaced by a military one.

48. The Congolese Government, in spite of the immense needs that it had to meet, had spared no effort to provide a minimum of assistance to its Angolan brothers fleeing from their flaming villages and from the hateful Portuguese oppression. Large reception centres had been set up in all the bordering Congolese villages, where 500,000 Angolan refugees were engaged in agricultural work. The Congolese schools were open without restriction to Angolan children of school age and the University of Lovanium awarded scholarships to Angolan students who were registered in it.

49. The United Nations had a duty to give more attention to that problem, so that its specialized bodies, such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNESCO and the World Health Organization, could grant increased assistance to hundreds of Africans who hoped to return victorious to Angola. The Angolan people, noting the negative attitude of Portugal, which refused to implement resolution 1514 (XV), had undertaken a just and legitimate struggle of national liberation in order to regain their rights, of which they had been deprived by Portugal. Thanks to the logistic support of NATO, as had been shown, Portugal was increasing its military capacity in Angola and was acquiring torpedo boats, corvettes, and jet aircraft in order to repress the uprising of the Angolan people, who were fighting with improvised means. Civil defence had been made compulsory in Angola, women were being recruited into the armed forces, and military service had been extended.

50. Despite the fact that all those security measures had been strengthened, the Angolan liberation movement had succeeded in inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy: 2,133 Portuguese soldiers had been killed and two captured; forty-four trucks and hundreds of military vehicles had been destroyed, six bridges damaged, ten motorized launches sunk, two helicopters destroyed, etc. In spite of the statement by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs that the situation had returned to normal, the threat continued to increase: at Nova Lisboa there had been a revolt by Portuguese military personnel; Portuguese troops were being moved continually in the vicinity of the Congolese and Zambian frontiers; soldier-settlers had been established along those frontiers, and the 1967 budget showed an increase of 25 per cent in military expenditures compared with 1966.

51. All those measures and facts were evidence of the disorder that prevailed in Angola, where 4.6 million Africans were suffering in the name of Portuguese cultural colonization.

52. Despite the acts of intimidation committed by Portugal against the Democratic Republic of the Congo, such as the threat to block the channel at the mouth of the Congo, the threat to cut the Dilolo-Lobito railway in order to strangle the economy of the Congo and Zambia, and the bombing of peaceful villages along the frontier on the pretext of the right of pursuit, the Government of the Congo reaffirmed its unshakable determination to support the Angolan liberation movements. In so doing, the Democratic Republic of the Congo was complying with operative paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI), which read as follows:

"Appeals to all States to give the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination the moral and material support necessary for the restoration of their inalienable rights and to prevent their nationals from co-operating with the Portuguese authorities, especially in regard to investment in the Territories;"

53. The Democratic Republic of the Congo regarded it as a duty to help the people of Angola to regain their rights, of which they had been deprived by Portugal.

54. Moreover, in accordance with resolution 1542 (XV), under which the Territories under Portuguese administration were recognized as Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Democratic Republic of the Congo considered and would continue to consider Angola as a colonial Territory so long as it was not liberated. It accordingly rejected the false legal fiction advanced by Portugal that Angola was to be regarded as "a Portuguese province", unless that constituted an acquisition or territorial aggrandizement by force, such an act being contrary to the trend of modern rules of international law.

55. The people of Angola had never been consulted in the matter. Changes in their legal status had always come about through a unilateral decision by Lisbon, as was evident from their colonial history. Before 1930, Salazar had promulgated a colonial act whereby Angola had been a colonial Territory until 1951. It had then been converted into a Portuguese province. The sole source of all those changes in Angola's legal status had been Salazar's unilateral wishes, and the views of the subject people of Angola had never been ascertained by any democratic process. Angola was therefore a colonial Territory and resolution 1514 (XV) should be applied to it.

56. The Democratic Republic of the Congo recognized the legitimacy of the struggle that was being waged by nationalist movements for the liberation of their nation and, in accordance with the resolution recently adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fourth ordinary session, held at Kinshasa, it would co-operate with all the Angolan nationalist movements in their effort to form a common front against Portugal's reactionary troops. The enemy was taking advantage of the lack of unified action to maintain its positions.

57. Furthermore, the Democratic Republic of the Congo considered that the liberation of Angola was essential to guarantee the peace and security of

Congolese territory since, under Portuguese rule, Angola afforded a safe base of operations from which the new-style reactionaries and mercenaries could carry out their diabolical schemes for infiltrating the Democratic Republic of the Congo and jeopardizing its sovereignty. Under Portuguese rule, Angola offered the forces of evil a channel for subverting the whole of Africa and especially the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

58. For that reason and in view of the continuing danger of attacks and intervention by mercenaries in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Security Council had taken up the question in October 1966 and July 1967. It had adopted resolutions (226 (1966) and 239 (1967)) condemning the recruitment of mercenaries for the purpose of attacking a State Member of the United Nations and urging Portugal not to allow foreign mercenaries to use Angola as a base of operation for interfering in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

59. The liberation of Angola would be a guarantee of peace and security not only for the Democratic Republic of the Congo but also for all the independent countries in the area. Accordingly, it was the duty of the United Nations to safeguard that peace and security by liberating Angola.

60. It was quite clear from the trend of events that, unless they were liberated, Angola and Mozambique, in league with Rhodesia and South Africa, which planned to include South West Africa in the group, would form a strong settler stronghold in a white Africa from which those forces of evil—the mercenaries—would assault the young African republics. That was not mere conjecture, but an accurate description of the situation, especially as there was evidence that Portugal had no intention of freeing Angola and Mozambique, but was, on the contrary, inundating its Territories with white settlers. It was also common knowledge that South Africa was refusing to withdraw from South West Africa while sending reinforcements to Southern Rhodesia, where a white minority was maintaining itself in power against the wishes of the African majority, and that South Africa and Portugal, through Angola and Mozambique, were providing economic support for the régime of Ian Smith.

61. In the light of those considerations, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo feared that it would one day have to contend with a white racist and colonialist southern Africa, backed by the forces of evil and threatening the existence of the independent African States and, consequently, of international peace.

62. In conclusion, he wished to make some comments concerning a speech made by Mr. Salazar who, in order to justify his continued drive for colonization, or to defy the United Nations, had said:

"By accepting the principle of decolonization, the West has failed in its duty. For our part, we have no intention of renouncing our civilizing and Christian mission. By defending Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, we are defending the entire West. Portugal will not abandon its overseas territories despite the dictates of the United Nations."

63. Such assertions made it clear that Portugal still adhered to the spirit and the letter of the General Act of the Berlin Conference of 1885. That instrument and the ideals underlying it had been irrevocably condemned by the tide of history, which could not be turned back and which, after burying the Act of Berlin, had ushered in other fundamental principles, now endorsed by the United Nations: peace, international security and self-determination of peoples, all principles that were admirably stated in the Charter.

64. The Portuguese rulers must absorb those principles and realize that the resolutions and recommendations resulting from the Organization's proceedings were intended to settle particular situations in the world in accordance with the principles of peace; good-neighbourliness and international security. That was neither blackmail nor phrase-mongering and the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo hoped that the Portuguese rulers would, for their own good, abandon the eighteenth century notion that they still harboured and occupied a worthy place in the community of nations.

65. The Democratic Republic of the Congo was firmly convinced that international pressure, on the one hand, and intensified armed struggle by the peoples under Portuguese rule, on the other, i.e., a combination of those two forces, would crush Portugal. The time would then come for the liberated territories to organize, administer and govern themselves, in keeping with the most legitimate aspirations of their peoples and with their hard-won dignity and freedom.

66. Mr. LADGHAM (Tunisia), supported by Mr. SY (Senegal), Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. BAKEKOLO (Congo, Brazzaville), proposed that the statement made by the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo should be reproduced in extenso in the summary record of the meeting.

It was so decided.

67. Mr. OLUTOYE (Nigeria) said that, ever since Portugal had been admitted to the United Nations in 1955, Member States had continuously striven to convince the Government of that country to comply with its obligations under Article 73 of the Charter, and had invariably received a negative reply. Using the illegal fiction that the Territories under Portuguese administration were really overseas provinces, the Government of Portugal had chosen to defy public opinion with its anachronistic Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces at a time when the other Administering Authorities had begun to accelerate the process of decolonization.

68. In a series of resolutions, the United Nations had shown its determination to attain the purposes enshrined in the Charter and, faced with Portugal's unwillingness to fulfil its obligations, had, at its twenty-first session, condemned Portuguese policy as "a crime against humanity" in resolution 2184 (XXI). Instead of accepting peaceful progress towards independence by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), Portugal had strengthened its

military forces in the African Territories under its administration, on the strength of the would-be civilizing mission and role of protector of Christianity that it had assigned to itself.

69. The fascist policies of the administering Power had left the people of the Territories no choice but to resort to armed struggle to win their freedom and independence—a struggle which the Portuguese had countered with large-scale military operations by land and air, with the use of napalm and poisonous gas, and the bombing of defenceless villages. It should be recalled in that connexion that Portugal's defence allocations for 1967 amounted to 3,500 million escudos, or 1,000 million more than for the previous year.

70. Furthermore, the presence in the Portuguese-dominated Territories of mercenaries, who were fomenting chaos and disorder, was a threat to the independence of the neighbouring African States, and the Portuguese Government should be reminded of the declaration on non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Attention should also be drawn to the responsibility borne by foreign monopolies and certain Governments which, by providing assistance in the form of arms and money, were helping Portugal to pursue its policies in African Territories.

71. The establishment of regedorias, the equivalent of the Bantustans set up for Africans under the policy of apartheid, was a disquieting development, which created a number of problems. In view of the dangers entailed, it was to be hoped that the Portuguese Government would do nothing that might encourage the extremists in its colonies to attempt a unilateral declaration of independence, which could have serious consequences.

72. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was to be commended on his action in seeking to alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate African refugees. Both the High Commissioner and the specialized agencies should persevere in their endeavours, so that imperialism could be brought to heel. Nigeria supported the liberation movement and urged those fighting for their freedom to close ranks so as to hasten the writing of the final chapter on colonialism.

73. Mr. DIARRA (Guinea), supported by Mr. PINTO ACEVODO (Guatemala), proposed that the statement made by the representative of Venezuela at the Committee's 1713th meeting should be reproduced in extenso in the summary record of that meeting.

74. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee was most anxious to have all possible information on the item under discussion. He would, however, ask the Committee to bear in mind the extra costs entailed in the reproduction of statements in extenso.

75. He would take it that, if there were no objections, the Committee decided to adopt the proposal made by the representative of Guinea.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.