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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 27

The situation in Angola: report of the Sub-Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1603 (XV) (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before calling on the speakers listed for this afternoon, I should like to announce that in accordance with the suggestion I put forward yesterday [1089th meeting, para. 136] I intend to close the list of speakers on this item on Monday, 22 January, at 3 p.m.

2. Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): The situation in Angola has been a constant source of grave concern to the international community now for some ten years, and has also been a constant and recurring item on the agenda of the various organs of the United Nations during the past six years, following the admission of Portugal to this world Organization.

3. Representatives to this Assembly of nations are only too well aware of the basic assumptions of the Government of Portugal in their relation to their colonies—which they fondly refer to as the overseas provinces of Portugal—and to Angola in particular. Basically, the Portuguese believe that they have a civilizing mission to fulfil, in Angola as elsewhere, and this leads them inevitably into the erroneous notion that wherever they have settled there are two classes of citizens: the civilized Portuguese settlers, and the uncivilized mass of the indigenous population. This handful of "first-class" Portuguese citizens invariably believe that they are inherently superior to the "second-rate" indigenous citizens. Secondly, the Portuguese have habitually deluded themselves with the utopian and sentimental hope of building a little Portugal in the very heart of the African continent, where Africans will learn to think that they are nothing but Portuguese, and their country only an overseas province of metropolitan Portugal. So fondly do the Portuguese cherish these hopes that Dr. Salazar himself has once been quoted as saying that the Portuguese doctrine of assimilation is so realistic that, amidst the turbulent political hurricane which is sweeping through Africa, engendered by the natural and legitimate desire of peoples of all races to exercise their right of self-determination, this doctrine will be the anchor that will enable Portugal successfully to challenge the irresistible buffet of African nationalism, and that when the time comes, the entire

population of Angola will be found to rally to the side of Portugal. I need hardly mention that this is self-deception on a large scale, and is completely unrelated to the current trends in the bleak history of colonialism.

4. Third is the obvious fallacy that Angola is a Portuguese province beyond the seas, which stems from a fictitious legal formula commonly shared by some colonial Powers, and is a direct challenge to General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, declaring Angola, among others, a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. These are the major assumptions on which Portugal's political, economic, social, as well as educational, policies in the administration of Angola are based, and these are the root-causes of the tragedy which has been unfolding itself so steadily and for so many years in Angola.

5. Since the Portuguese Government so piously believes in its pet doctrine of the complete assimilation of their colonies, which would result in the loss of national identity for these colonial peoples, the right to self-determination for these territories is entirely out of the question as far as Portugal is concerned. As was observed by a Methodist missionary in Angola some time this year:

"The Portuguese believe that Angola is Portugal. They do not recognize Angola as a colony, but as an integral part of Portugal. The Portuguese believe that the great majority—they used to say all—of the Africans consider themselves Portuguese, are content under Portuguese rule, and are loyal to the Government. In their view, the Africans do not want independence, and all political activity is considered the expression of external, foreign, communist influence. The Portuguese believe that they are the only ones who know how to colonize properly. It has become for them a sort of religious crusade. They believe that by slow evolution—it may take centuries yet—the Africans will become completely 'assimilated' into the Portuguese culture."

6. Thus perpetual domination over the people of Angola is the ambition of Portugal. That the Portuguese Government in fact believes in all this is borne out by the following excerpt from the report of the Sub-Committee on the situation in Angola, being a quotation from a speech delivered by Dr. Salazar himself before the Portuguese National Assembly in November 1960:

"The familiar treatment of successive generations has forged and consolidated the unity that was foreseen at the outset. It is, therefore, no political or legal fiction but a social and historical fact translated in Constitutions, which raises very serious difficulties for those who intend to dedicate themselves now to the task of emancipating Portu-

guesse Africa. They come too late, for the job has already been done. That unity does not allow of transfers, cession or abandonment. The juridical figures of the plebiscite, the referendum, auto-determination do not fit into its structure either." [A/4978, para. 386.]

7. I need hardly remind the representatives to this Assembly that this attitude constitutes not only a contradiction of, but also a direct challenge to, General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) on the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter, which explicitly recognizes that the desire for independence is a rightful aspiration of peoples under colonial subjugation, and that the denial of their right to self-determination constitutes a threat to the well-being of humanity and to international peace. And, as I have pointed out earlier, this Assembly has declared that Angola is one of such territories.

8. The resultant effect of Portugal's doctrine of assimilation on the people of Angola is deplorable. The people's right to organize political parties is not recognized, and all those who attempt to engage in this purely wholesome and desirable elementary political activity are invariably branded as communist agitators and compelled to escape abroad for their lives or be driven underground. Thus there is a complete denial of the people's right to participate in political activities at both local government and national levels.

9. In the economic sector the same grim picture presents itself. In accordance with Portugal's obnoxious political doctrine, Angola's economy is completely geared to bolster up that of Portugal. No industry is permitted to grow except where there is no fear of competition with Portugal's products, and even though Angola is a principal source of income for the Salazar Government, no indigenous initiatives are encouraged. Thus both the public and the private sectors of Angola's economy are entirely dominated by Portuguese settlers, while the indigenous Africans are kept down perpetually as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The poorest portions of their own God-given land are allocated to them, the prices of the products raised by the sweat of their brows are dictated from the so-called metropolis, and the people themselves, thus impoverished by oppressive economic measures, are in large numbers annually drafted, as tax defaulters, into compulsory and forced labour under inhuman conditions. As a result of these labour practices, Portugal finds herself in a position in which few or none of the labour conventions to which she has subscribed are being applied in an unmodified form in Angola.

10. The situation created by the political and economic measures thus outlined is clearly an explosive one. But equally explosive is that created by the existence, side by side, of five grades of citizens in Angola of which the overwhelming majority belong to the lowest rung of the social ladder. These latter are, of course, the indigenous African population, who constitute more than 95 per cent of the entire population. These are the people who are liable to forced labour and penal servitude in a form which is worse than slavery. These are the people who are required to carry identification documents in the form of passes. These are the people whose freedom of movement in their own country is so drastically restricted. These, finally, are the people for whom, in the

administration of justice, there is such wide divergence between a policy which is bad enough on paper, and the practice which is much worse than the bad policy.

11. The educational policy of the Portuguese administration is aimed at the production of Portuguese Africans, of Africans who would have to think and do everything the Portuguese way in order to be considered civilized, since the social structure is also based on a fictitious distinction between the civilized Portuguese settlers and the uncivilized indigenous population. It might, perhaps, make an interesting revelation at this juncture to examine the Portuguese notion of civilization, and how tenuous are its claims to be regarded as civilization in the sense that it is recognized by men everywhere whose sense of values has not been perverted. Is it the part of a civilizing mission to treat the legitimate aspirations of a colonial people with such utter contempt as to antagonize them rather than earn their co-operation by reasonable concessions and compromise? Is it the part of a civilized nation to continue to kill and exterminate the Angolan people rather than listen to the voice of reason and yield to the trends of the inevitable evolution of the colonial peoples? Is it an element of the concept of civilization to endeavour by dubious educational policies to make foreigners of a whole nation, rather than educate them in such a way as to fit them into the pattern of life in their own natural environment? For it is common knowledge that the Portuguese legal definition of civilized persons includes, all whites and mulattoes, plus any Negroes who have learned to speak, read, or write Portuguese, and have taken up a "Western" way of life. If this is what civilization means to the Portuguese administration in Angola, then there is absolutely no doubt that this world Organization is perfectly justified in expressing its constant concern at the events in unhappy Angola.

12. While the Portuguese Government is holding obstinately to the illusions of its civilizing mission in Africa, most or all other colonial Powers are adjusting themselves to the inevitable; they are giving recognition to the right to self-determination for all peoples as envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations, and all around the continent of Africa more and more peoples are being liberated and freed from foreign domination, taking their rightful places at the United Nations and assuming full control of their own affairs. In all these places experience has proved that racial co-operation is a much more potent factor in current international affairs than the bankrupt and outmoded doctrine of racial superiority and arrogance implicit in the present Portuguese policy. These developments are there for all to see, but the tragedy is that Portugal has deliberately refused to read the writing on the wall.

13. As one would expect, therefore, the people of Angola have noted with dismay that the hope of ever attaining their cherished goal of independence appeared to be receding farther and farther every day, and the armed conflicts that have taken place in Angola in recent months are only an outward manifestation of a widespread and deeply rooted dissatisfaction with Portuguese oppressive policies. The people of Angola felt the time had come for positive action, and the savage reprisals which followed the incidents which took place at the Luanda prisons and the open revolt in the Baixa de Cassange during the first quarter of 1961 were regarded by the Angolans

as the last straw. The open conflict was inevitable; Angolans were killed by the thousands; innocent citizens were mown down by mortar fire and machine-guns; entire villages were sacked and bombed to ashes; the world Press was forbidden to enter Angola; and there was a complete black-out of news about Portuguese atrocities in the hinterland.

14. The various resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council should be viewed in this context. It became impossible for the United Nations to disregard the continued reports of disturbing news which were being received from Angola every day. The General Assembly, during its fifteenth session, adopted a resolution [1603 (XV)] in which, among other things, it took note of the then recent disturbances and conflicts in Angola resulting in the loss of life of the inhabitants, the continuance of which was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Under the same resolution the Assembly viewed with concern the growing restiveness of dependent peoples throughout the world for self-determination and independence, and recognized that failure to act speedily, effectively and in time to ameliorate the disabilities of the African peoples of Angola was likely to endanger international peace and security. Furthermore, having recalled some previous relevant resolutions, the Assembly, under this resolution, called upon the Government of Portugal to consider urgently the introduction of measures and reforms in Angola for the purpose of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), with due respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola was appointed as provided by this resolution, which was adopted on 20 April 1961. The terms of this resolution were also reaffirmed by the Security Council resolution^{1/} of 9 June 1961, which, *inter alia*, requested the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola to implement its mandate without delay. The Security Council resolution expressly invited the Portuguese Government to extend every facility to the Sub-Committee to enable it to perform its task expeditiously.

15. One would seriously have expected, therefore, that the Portuguese Government would seize the fine opportunity offered by this resolution to dispel wide-spread allegations of maladministration, mass oppression and mass murder on a scale nothing short of genocide. Instead of this, however, the Portuguese Government adopted a clearly negative attitude, and completely refused to co-operate with the Sub-Committee beyond the meaningless gesture of inviting the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, "in his personal capacity", to visit Portugal, whereas the malady of Angola demanded on-the-spot investigation by the Sub-Committee in Angola, and not a visit by the Chairman to Portugal, which is several thousand miles from the actual scene of events. It is surely an understatement to say that this is a disappointing attitude to have adopted, and one can hardly escape the logical conclusion that Portugal obviously has many things to hide in its administration of Angola. Not only did the Portuguese Government disregard with utter contempt the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and not only did it con-

temptuously snub the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, but the arbitrary mass arrests and murders in Angola were stepped up, with the tragic result that the numbers of Angolans killed between the months of February and May 1961 have been variously estimated at between 30,000 and 35,000. Several thousands more were missing.

16. It is the considered opinion of the Nigerian delegation, therefore, that the time has come for a reappraisal of the situation in Angola. We believe that the loss of countless lives in Angola should not be allowed to continue unchecked; we believe that it would augur badly for this Assembly of nations if we should allow its authority to continue to be flouted with impunity; we believe that the United Nations should not adopt the supine attitude of appeasement when the Salazar Government itself has signified its readiness to quit this Organization; we believe, finally, that while there are other nations which, despite their pledge to uphold the sacred principles on which the Organization is based, have yet failed to secure admission to membership, it would hardly be reasonable to harbour under the aegis of the United Nations a country whose policies and practices are the exact opposite of the ideals that this Organization stands for.

17. My delegation feels that, if ever there was need to condemn any country in the strongest terms possible, this is the time to do so in respect of Portugal. The United Nations has affirmed and reaffirmed that the desire of the Angolan people to be independent is a legitimate national aspiration; we have also declared in no uncertain terms that the United Nations accepts the principle of self-determination for all peoples, irrespective of race, colour or creed, and that all are equally entitled to strive for independence from foreign domination and to enjoy unlimited sovereignty within their territorial boundaries. The Portuguese doctrine of assimilation is one that cannot be sustained, just as the doctrine of Angola's being a part of Portugal, based as it is on a legal fiction, must collapse. For this is no more than semantic camouflage of the worst colonial system still in existence today on the African continent.

18. There must be no mistake about the essential and fundamental nature of the problem posed by present-day Portuguese colonial policy in Angola. Portugal maintains the absolute position that Angola is and must remain an integral part of Portugal. It maintains that there can be no negotiation on the status of Angola and has, therefore, proceeded to bolt all doors firmly against any negotiation about it.

19. At a time when fellow European colonial partners of Portugal in Africa are disengaging and decolonizing peaceably, Portugal has refused even to contemplate or to talk about the possibility of ever leaving Angola and its other African colonies. In essence, Portugal is saying that there is no peaceable method of disengagement in its colonial territories in Africa.

20. In his book entitled War or Peace, which was published in 1950, John Foster Dulles, the late United States Secretary of State, wrote that "the possibility of peaceful change is a fundamental prerequisite to peace"^{2/} for "if we set up barriers to all change, we

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4835.

^{2/} John Foster Dulles, War or Peace (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 264.

make it certain that there will be violent and explosive change".^{3/}

21. This is exactly what is happening in Angola today and, as long as the present Portuguese policy continues, the same violent and explosive development can be expected in Mozambique and the other Portuguese colonial enclaves in Africa.

22. On behalf of the Nigerian Government, I should like to warn the Portuguese Government that Nigeria cannot and will not remain indifferent to the fate of its fellow Africans in Angola. The Nigerian Government calls upon Portugal to recognize the fundamental and inalienable right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence. If Portugal recognizes this right, my Government will gladly and willingly offer its co-operation to the Government of Portugal with a view to the peaceful and rapid implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which, among other things, calls for the independence of all territories which are still under foreign domination. But should Portugal persist in its present folly and continue to deny the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence, then my Government must reserve to itself the right—in concert with other free and independent African States—to take whatever measures it may deem necessary to bring about a change.

23. The attitude of the Portuguese Government on the Angola issue is clearly an affront and a challenge, first, to all African and Asian nations, which are solidly behind their gallant compatriots struggling for freedom in Angola; next, to all lovers of freedom everywhere; and, finally to the United Nations, whose authority and whose resolutions have been so thoroughly and utterly disregarded by Portugal.

24. In conclusion, my delegation reserves its right, should we consider it necessary, to intervene once again in this debate.

Mr. Padilla Nervo (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

25. Mr. KIZYA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): This is not the first time that our Organization has considered the item entitled "The Situation in Angola". Last year both the Security Council and the General Assembly devoted considerable time to this important problem. As the Security Council was unable to come to a decision, the General Assembly, at the request of forty Member States, took up this question at the fifteenth session.

26. The fifteenth session of the General Assembly could have been the last session of the United Nations to have Angola on its agenda. This would in fact have been the case if Portugal had answered the General Assembly's appeal and promptly considered the adoption in Angola of measures and reforms aimed at implementing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and more specifically the taking of immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples subjected to foreign domination, "without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom".

27. It is well known, however, that Salazar's Portugal bluntly and provocatively ignores this appeal of

the United Nations and prefers to oppose the wind of freedom by force of arms, terror and mass repression.

28. The tragedy of Angola clearly shows that colonialism in Africa, although mortally wounded, is still alive and even in its death throes is inflicting the greatest anguish and suffering on the people of Angola. Angola today has become a new blood-stained chapter in the history of that frightful evil of humanity, colonialism.

29. What kind of "civilization" have five centuries of tyrannical Portuguese oppression brought to Angola? They have brought the people of that courageous and long-suffering country poverty and have deprived them of their rights, they have robbed them of lands irrigated by the sweat and blood of many generations. In Angola arbitrary rule, hunger, ignorance and disease are rife, and slavery and forced labour have continued unabated. The country has not a single university and hardly any secondary schools.

30. This, then, is the situation in Angola today, after five centuries of domination by Portuguese colonizers. To this very day Portugal maintains in Angola a system of legal slavery. Every year 250,000 persons are sentenced to forced labour, more than a third of them being sold to the mining companies of South Africa.

31. The so-called "free" workers who are recruited by the companies are in a similar situation. Instead of a wage they receive vouchers for meals in the canteens belonging to the company. In the final settlement an undisclosed sum is deducted for this purpose from each worker's salary, and he must also pay a high tax.

32. Here, for example, is what the famous Captain Galvão wrote in his letter to Salazar about the life of these hired workers in Angola:

"In some ways this situation is worse than slavery. In the times of slavery the indigenous inhabitants were bought like cattle, but their owners took care of them just as they took care of horses or oxen. Now, however, the indigenous inhabitant is not bought; he is hired from the Government, although he is called free. And those who hire him care very little about his possible illness or death, because if he should fall sick or die, it is not difficult to replace him."

33. As is stated in the report of the Sub-Committee (and stated, I might add, with the greatest of caution):

"... the main source of dissatisfaction in Angola was the basic distinction in status between 'indígena' and 'não-indígena', formerly known as 'não-civilizado' and 'civilizado' and the concomitant administrative practices. The basic distinction made between European and non-European ways of life permeated all phases of life and has been the basis of various discriminatory practices." [A/4978, paragraph 203.]

34. These words are quite cautious and mild, but even they clearly show the Sub-Committee's conviction that Portuguese colonialism recognizes the inferiority and "non-historicity" of the African race and as a result regards Europeans as the guardians and teachers of the Africans. If the official legislation regards "the assimilation of the indigenous population" as the aim of Portuguese colonial policy, then the "directed", that is, forced labour, is declared to

^{3/} *Ibid.*, p. 18.

be the means of achieving this aim. As Mr. Machado, a former Portuguese Minister for the Colonies, wrote:

"If we wish to fulfil our colonizing mission, we must instill in the black man the idea that it is necessary to work and free himself from his slough and depravity."

35. Needless to say, the Portuguese colonizers are discharging their mission with pitiless cruelty. This is eloquently expressed by the official data which testify that in the last two centuries the population of Angola has fallen from 6 to 4.8 million. This "demographic anaemia" is a direct result of the colonialist banditry of the Portuguese oppressors.

36. The whole world knows that the workers of Angola are denied the right to form trade unions. They do not know the meaning of labour protection, social insurance or unemployment benefits, or of old-age and disability pensions.

37. The situation of the present population is disastrous. One of the most pernicious consequences of Portuguese domination is that the indigenous population has been forcibly deprived of its ancestral lands.

38. The fact that in Angola there is only one hospital per 280,000 inhabitants and one physician per 20,000 inhabitants is further evidence of the harmful effects of Portuguese colonialism in that country. Nearly 99 per cent of the population is illiterate.

39. As the report of the Sub-Committee states:

"The deficiencies in the Angolan educational system and the administrative practices connected with it seem to have created much frustration and disillusionment and made the Africans suspicious of the ultimate objectives of Portugal's policy." [Ibid., para. 301.]

40. Is it not a shocking fact that the total number of Government primary schools in the whole of Angola in 1959 was 211 and that more than 95 per cent of the Angolan school children did not even complete the primary school course?

41. We fully agree with the authors of the report that these facts "would seem to be a serious reflection on the economic and the social conditions in the territory which also urgently need to be remedied" (ibid., para. 302).

42. The overwhelming majority of the local African population is deprived of its elementary political rights and has no, literally no, share in the government of the country.

43. The report further states:

"According to the most recent statistics, of the over-all population of 4,855,219 in Angola approximately 70,000 persons of mixed or native ancestry had become 'assimilated' and enjoyed equal status with European-Portuguese citizens." [Ibid., para. 207.]

44. This figure of 70,000 persons out of a total of 4.8 million is indeed a terrible indictment, but it is not the only figure reflecting the terrible tragedy of Angola, one of the darkest colonial preserves in Africa.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

45. After this far from complete analysis of the situation in Angola, we are not in the least surprised

that the people of that country will not tolerate such arbitrary rule. Despite bloody repression and fascist terror, they are fighting with ever-increasing vigour against the Portuguese colonizers.

46. No one, apart from out-and-out hypocrites who are bargaining with their consciences, can believe the tales about "the infiltration of instigators from outside", "international terrorism and subversive activity", "indirect aggression", etc.

47. In its report the Sub-Committee directly and unambiguously refutes these worthless inventions of the Portuguese colonizers. We read the following:

"... The information available to the Sub-Committee leaves little doubt that the disturbances and conflicts in Angola are mainly the consequences of genuine grievances of the indigenous population against the administration of the territory, including dissatisfaction with economic conditions, the ... rise of political groups seeking redress of grievances and the right of self-determination, and the severe repression to which these groups had been subjected." [Ibid., para. 436.]

48. As a result of these actions of the Portuguese authorities, thousands of persons have been killed, and nearly 150,000 refugees have left the country. The world Press, the documents of the Security Council and of the General Assembly and, finally, the aforementioned report of the Sub-Committee are literally crammed with facts, evidence and statements which paint a dreadful picture of mass arrests and torture, the murder of political prisoners, arbitrary arrests and the mass annihilation of the population by Portuguese troops. Tens of thousands of men, women and children are subjected to lynch law.

49. According to a report submitted last summer to the International Red Cross by a Protestant missionary society, the facts prove that a large number of people were arrested, thrown into prison or killed. The report adds that especially cruel treatment was meted out to village chiefs and those who had any kind of education—I repeat, the chiefs and those who were educated. It also says that this bears witness to the thirst of the Portuguese Administration for destruction and its wish to exterminate all Africans who would be likely to play any kind of leading part.

50. In this connexion I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that today is the first anniversary of the cruel murder of Patrice Lumumba, the national hero of the Congolese people and fiery opponent of colonialism. His murder was a premeditated act of the colonialists aimed at depriving the national liberation movement of the African peoples of its leader. The murder of village chiefs and educated Angolans is the same colonialist policy as that which led to the death of Patrice Lumumba.

51. The facts show that Africans are being executed without investigation or trial and that the bodies of political prisoners from Angola are thrown from aircraft into the Atlantic Ocean in an effort to cover up the traces of the crimes and to destroy all evidence relating to the savage retribution wreaked on the fighters for freedom. These are the barbarous methods by which Portugal attempts to oppose the irresistible march of history.

52. We might reasonably ask how it is possible for a small and backward country like Portugal to defy

the demands of States and peoples and the unambiguous decisions of the United Nations?

53. The answer lies in the close links of Portuguese colonialism and fascism with the powerful foreign monopolies which are the real masters of the Portuguese colonies, including Angola. The savage arbitrariness of the Portuguese slave-owners in Angola has been possible only because they have the support of their senior partners in NATO, especially the United States.

54. The United States monopolies are firmly established in Angola. United States capital is an important factor in the Dayton Company of Angola, which is engaged in working the diamond deposits. The concessions of this company take in almost 90 per cent of the territory of Angola.

55. The diamond industry is largely controlled by a subsidiary of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.

56. The concessions for oil prospecting and oil extraction in Angola are in the hands of United States firms that are subsidiaries of Standard Oil of New Jersey and Gulf Oil. The oil companies of Angola—Combustiveis de Lobito and Petroleum de Angola—are closely linked with the Chase National Bank and National City Bank of New York.

57. It is only with the backing of the colonial Powers and with every kind of help from its senior partners in NATO that Portugal can wage a destructive colonial war against the people of Angola.

58. This results, to put it mildly, in a strange situation. When resolutions are adopted here in the United Nations which in any way condemn Portuguese colonialism, certain Western Powers appear to give their support. When, however, the NATO Council meets, the position is quite different, for there the colonialist policy of Portugal is not only not censured but is even encouraged. There is convincing evidence of this.

59. Take, for example, the United States. In the United Nations the United States delegation supported the demand that Portugal should end the mass repression of the people of Angola, but at the very same time the United States was supplying Portugal with arms and military equipment worth nearly \$300 million.

60. Let us remember that these dollars have brought blood and tears, and the destruction of villages and extensive areas of Angola together with their inhabitants through the fires of napalm bombs.

61. It is obvious to all of us that strengthening the military power of aggressive Portuguese colonialism helps it to extend and intensify its brutal carnage in Angola.

62. This is surely one of the reasons why "during the past few months the situation in Angola has not improved, but deteriorated", as the Sub-Committee states in its report.

63. For a number of months now, blood has been flowing in Angola, and thousands have been dying in the fight for independence. No sacrifices or repressive measures, however, can check the anger that has accumulated over five centuries. The Angolan people are serrying their ranks and are determined to achieve national liberation. Progressive world

opinion sees the tragedy of Angola as a grim indictment of Portuguese colonialism and of its supporters in the West.

64. What is now happening in Angola directly affects the peoples who are still under the yoke of colonialism, for it is in Angola that the most cruel attempt is being made to crush the movement for national freedom and independence. It is the duty of our Organization and of the General Assembly at this session to help the people of Angola in their just and courageous struggle.

65. Timid and happily very rare allusions have come from this rostrum about "leniency" and "moderation" towards the Portuguese colonialists, and an attempt was even made to appeal to their consciences. It is difficult, however, to see how leniency or moderation can be discussed when it is clear to everybody that to maintain the colonial order in Angola would be to condemn the enslaved peoples of Africa to new violence, new outrages and new beastiality, would increase the number of innocent victims and would lead to the shedding of new seas of tears and blood. It was precisely to these intentions of his Government that the representative of Portugal alluded in his speech from this rostrum.

66. The United Nations must be consistent in its actions and must decisively implement its historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

67. So long as the Government of Portugal, notwithstanding all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, maintains a reign of terror in Angola, my delegation feels that it is the duty of the General Assembly at this session to demand the enforcement against Portugal of all the sanctions provided for in Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter.

68. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the declaration made by the Government of the USSR on 27 May 1961 and in particular the statement that the lot of the present rulers of Portugal must be universal censure and contempt; the hand of the executioner threatening hundreds of thousands of human lives must be stayed; and the people of Angola must be saved from mass extermination.

69. It is in the light of these humanitarian considerations that the Ukrainian delegation declares its full support for the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Bulgaria and Poland [A/L.383].

70. Not only does this draft resolution condemn the colonial war pursued by Portugal against the Angolan people and recognize the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence, but it also provides for effective measures of the highest importance which, if approved, would help the Angolan people in their just and noble cause.

71. Among these measures there is a request that the Special Committee set up in virtue of resolution 1654 (XVI) should give priority to the Angolan question. This is perfectly reasonable, for of all the colonial problems coming within the scope of this resolution none is at present more important or more urgent than the problem of Angola.

72. The draft resolution also recommends that all States should deny to Portugal all support and assistance, including military assistance, and that the

Security Council should give urgent attention to the question of applying to Portugal the sanctions provided for in the United Nations Charter.

73. The Ukrainian delegation believes that the adoption of the measures contained in the draft resolution submitted by Bulgaria and Poland would compel Portugal to put an end to its colonial banditry in Angola and comply with the earlier resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

74. Angola's cause is the cause of the entire human race, for no person can tolerate the cold-blooded and diabolical extermination of the population of that African country. The Ukrainian people from the bottom of its heart wishes the courageous and long-suffering people of Angola an early victory in their heroic struggle to throw off the colonial yoke and every success in their national rebirth.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.