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

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, A/C.4/L.872);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (A/6825)

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded) AND CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.4/L.872

1. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania), on behalf of the sponsors, introduced a draft resolution on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration (A/C.4/L.872). Some might consider the draft resolution long, but its length was due to the importance of the problem and to the fact that the sponsors had tried to take into consideration the different views and suggestions put forward by various delegations during the debate.

2. Discussing the operative part of the draft resolution, he said that paragraph 1 reflected the views expressed by many delegations which had stressed the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of the Territories to achieve freedom and independence. With regard to paragraph 3, it would be no exaggeration to say that not a single delegation which had spoken during the debate had failed to refer to the persistent refusal of the Portuguese Government to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions. Paragraph 4 condemned Portugal's colonial war not only as a crime against humanity but as a grave threat to international peace and security. He hoped that no delegation would try to deny the former concept, and the latter merely repeated what had already been stated by the Security Council. At the previous meeting the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo had described

the way in which Portugal recruited Europeans to settle in Africa and give them the best land at the expense of the Africans, who were moved to less fertile land. Many other delegations had referred to Portugal's forcible export of the Africans to work in the South African mines, where conditions were intolerable, a transaction which earned foreign currency for Portugal. Such policies were condemned in paragraph 5. With regard to paragraph 6, it could not be denied that Portugal was able to pursue its policies only because of the financial assistance it received from its allies and that it was the economic involvement of the latter which was impeding the progress of the people towards independence. The foreign economic interests concerned appeared to forget all moral values; in fact, they were helping the Portuguese Government to exploit the Africans for their own profit. The unconditional political amnesty called for in paragraph 7 (c) was essential if the people of the Territories were to embark upon the path of independence. He hoped that Portugal's military allies would realize that, if they failed to comply with the provisions of paragraph 8, they could not avoid sharing the responsibility for what was happening in the Portuguese colonies; he thought that they could comply without impairing the capacity and power of NATO. Many speakers had referred to the fact that the Territories under Portuguese domination were not only an anachronism in Africa but were being used as a beach-head for aggression against independent African States, a policy which was condemned in paragraph 9. The latest complaint by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which was being considered by the Security Council, showed how great a threat to independent African States Portuguese colonialism represented. Other countries, including his own, had also suffered. Paragraph 13 repeated an appeal which had been made the previous year; it appeared that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were still unwilling to comply with the relevant General Assembly resolutions. He pointed out that paragraph 13 called upon them to refrain from granting Portugal any assistance only as long as the Government of Portugal failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

3. It was the hope of the Afro-Asian group and Yugoslavia that the draft resolution would receive unanimous support. The support of the Latin American countries for the resolution concerning Southern Rhodesia had been much appreciated, and he hoped that their support would again be forthcoming, since the problem was equally grave, especially as Portugal refused even to recognize the competence of the United

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967, document S/8218.

Nations to deal with the Territories. Portugal should be made to realize that it was isolated and that its policy was condemned by the whole international community. Support for the draft resolution would also give some moral support to the people in the Territories who were struggling to gain independence.

4. Mr. LADGHAM (Tunisia) supported the draft resolution. The importance of some of the operative paragraphs could not be stressed too much. One of those was paragraph 4. The colonial war which Portugal had been waging since 1961, using modern means of destruction against people struggling for their right to freedom and independence, must be condemned as a crime against humanity. Moreover, the war was being carried beyond the frontiers of the Territories under Portuguese administration into the territory of independent African States, a fact to which the attention of the Security Council was drawn in paragraph 10. Portugal's claim that it was merely pursuing bands of marauders was simply a camouflage for its aggressive acts against neighbouring African States to punish them for giving shelter to refugees from the Territories. The Security Council was now considering the complaint lodged by the Democratic Republic of the Congo concerning the raid on its territory by a band of mercenaries based in Angola; he hoped that it would take adequate steps to ensure that such raids ceased. Paragraph 8, in particular sub-paragraph (a), was important since Portugal had only modest resources of its own and could not continue to wage its colonial war without the help of its allies in NATO. Paragraph 3 was also important; Portugal's refusal to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions was a betrayal of its obligations under the Charter.

5. He appealed to all members to support the draft resolution and so help to achieve the common goal.

6. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) said that the previous speakers had demonstrated how anachronistic Portugal's doctrine and policies were and had stressed the threat to international peace and security. The operative paragraphs of draft resolution A/C.4/L.872 indicated the course to be followed. Portugal's colonial policy and the foreign interests which encouraged Portugal in its adamant refusal to decolonize had to be condemned. All States, particularly Portugal's allies, should be requested to stop giving military and economic aid to the Portuguese Government. An important point in the draft resolution was the condemnation of Portuguese immigration and of the export of African workers, both sinister policies which denied the right of the colonial peoples to self-determination and to their land, property, personality and culture. The draft resolution rightly drew the Security Council's attention to the threat that the policies of the Portuguese Government represented to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the independent African countries and to international peace and security as a whole. The duty of States to assist the people of the Territories was expressed in a mild appeal for aid, while an appeal was also made to the specialized agencies. It was not asking too much of the States Members of the United Nations to call upon them to recognize the gravity of the problem and unanimously to support the course set forth in the draft resolution.

7. Mr. MYFTIU (Albania) said that, in spite of the striking successes achieved in the struggle of the peoples of the world for liberation from colonial slavery and the heavy defeats suffered by the imperialist Powers, the latter were doing their utmost to preserve their positions in the colonial countries. The peoples of the world were confronted by a ferocious enemy in the form of United States imperialism, which, in pursuit of its aim of world domination, supported the colonial Powers in resisting the struggle of the peoples for freedom. The oppression of the African population of the so-called Portuguese Territories by the Lisbon fascists was only a manifestation of the policies of the imperialist Powers aimed at maintaining their strategic and economic positions in Africa and throughout the world. In order to perpetuate its colonial rule and to preserve the interests of the imperialist Powers, Salazar's fascist clique had for years been waging a war of genocide in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). It was only able to bear the burden of that war and to persist in its absurd claim that the Territories formed an integral part of the Portuguese nation because it was financed, armed and guided by the United States of America and the other imperialist Powers. It was not the Lisbon fascists alone who were exploiting the peoples of the Territories; the imperialist coalition led by the United States had embarked on a war against the African peoples in order to prolong the colonial system and thus continue to derive fabulous profits by plundering the wealth of the Portuguese colonies. He was convinced that the imperialist Powers would never stop supplying weapons to Portugal, because that would be in conflict with their colonial and neo-colonial interests.

8. Portugal had also received financial assistance from IBRD and IMF. Although those two bodies were specialized agencies of the United Nations system, they were controlled by the United States, and that was why they ignored the resolutions of the United Nations and made themselves accomplices in the colonial war being waged by the Lisbon régime.

9. With the aid of the United States and United Kingdom imperialists, a reactionary coalition had been formed by the Portuguese fascists and the racist cliques in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which aided each other in repressing liberation movements and committed grave acts of provocation against independent African countries such as the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, seriously endangering their independence. There was ample evidence that the colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers were endeavouring to transform southern Africa into a strategic base for the subjugation of the whole African continent.

10. The resolutions adopted by the United Nations over the years had done nothing to improve the situation in the Territories occupied by Portugal; instead, the situation had grown increasingly serious every year as a result of the arrogant attitude of the Portuguese colonial régime. The United Nations had shown itself to be impotent in the face of the aggression of the imperialists against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. There was no doubt that as long as the United Nations allowed itself to be mani-

pulated by the two great Powers, which used it as a centre for plots against the freedom of peoples, it would not be able to carry out its tasks in accordance with the principles of its Charter. In the present situation, the United Nations could do nothing to promote the cause of freedom and any hopes placed in it would be a vain illusion, with dangerous consequences for the liberation struggle. The peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination did not expect to find their salvation either in the generosity of the imperialists or in the hypocritical demagoguery of the Soviet revisionists, who were betraying the immortal ideas of the great October Socialist Revolution. They were more than ever convinced that armed struggle was the only sure means of achieving liberation and they would not be diverted from that course by massacres, napalm or poison gas. They were determined to reply to counter-revolutionary violence by revolutionary violence and to fight until the last colonialist left their soil. The victories won by the freedom fighters inspired the patriots in those countries to new acts of heroism and proved, as had been proved by the valiant people of Viet-Nam, that the enemies of the peoples could not resist the revolutionary struggle. The Albanian Government and people were behind the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in their fight and were convinced that their cause would triumph.

11. Mr. LADGHAM (Tunisia) said that Portugal obstinately refused to recognize the realities of the times and was waging a rear-guard struggle in the belief that it could halt the irresistible tide of decolonization. Since 1961 the Lisbon authorities had replied to the legitimate demands of the people of the Territories under their administration by brute force. To the United Nations resolutions calling on them to recognize the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence, they had replied by enacting an organic law which classified the Territories as Portuguese Overseas Provinces. Nevertheless, neither brute force nor the legislation of Mr. Salazar's Government had succeeded in shaking the determination of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to continue their just struggle until they attained their objectives. Despite the colossal war effort undertaken by Portugal, the resistance of the people was constantly growing. Many of them had joined the ranks of the guerrilla fighters who were already in control of large areas of the Territories.

12. The persistent refusal of the Portuguese Government to implement the United Nations resolutions was equalled only by its blind adherence to a hopeless policy whose utility had been frequently demonstrated. Experience had shown that whenever a colonial Power had had recourse to the type of policy practised by Portugal, it had met with defeat, for freedom could not be murdered with machine-guns.

13. Many people of various shades of opinion in Portugal itself had criticized the anachronistic policy of the Salazar Government and had supported the right of the peoples under Portuguese domination to self-determination.

14. Several delegations had drawn attention to the vast military and financial aid which many countries

were giving Portugal, in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It was clear that without considerable external assistance Portugal would be unable to wage such a costly war thousands of miles from its territory. Such solidarity, however, would never prevail over the principles of justice and international morality. Apart from the unspeakable suffering to which the Portuguese forces of repression were subjecting the people of the Territories, Portugal was attacking the dignity and freedom of man.

15. Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 218 (1965) on 23 November 1965, the situation had steadily deteriorated. Portuguese troops had continued to invade the territory of neighbouring States, where they terrorized and even massacred the peaceful inhabitants of the frontier settlements. Hundreds of thousands of persons had been forced to flee and take refuge in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Congo (Brazzaville), the United Republic of Tanzania and Senegal. The repercussions of that pitiless war constituted a permanent threat to the security and internal stability of those countries. In addition, the Portuguese authorities in Angola were assisting all subversive operations directed against the independence and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A few days previously a group of European mercenaries from the Angolan town of Texeira had once again invaded the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and attacked the railway installations at Dilolo in western Katanga. The Congolese Government had consequently submitted a complaint against Portugal to the Security Council.

16. The United Nations had spared no efforts to make Portugal realize its responsibilities under the Charter. Systematic refusal to implement United Nations resolutions had become a political doctrine for the Portuguese Government. It was time that the great Powers which had special responsibilities in respect of the maintenance of peace complied with the United Nations resolutions by taking the necessary steps to induce Portugal to see reason.

17. At the fourth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held at Kinshasa in September 1967, the African countries had reaffirmed their unconditional support for the liberation movements that were fighting in the Portuguese Territories. Tunisia would continue to support those movements in their just struggle.

18. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria) said that the report of the Special Committee (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V) provided a true picture of the struggle for national liberation waged by the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). More than 12 million Africans were subjected to a modern form of slavery, but under the leadership of the revolutionary movements they were stubbornly resisting the inhuman policy and practices of the Salazar régime and had inflicted heavy losses on its military forces. While still engaged in the struggle against the Portuguese army, equipped by its NATO allies, the national liberation movements were organizing a new and democratic way of life for the people of the liberated

areas and were laying the political, economic and social foundations of future independent states, as the petitioners from the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) had described.

19. It was encouraging that the representatives of the national liberation movements had shown their confidence in the United Nations. They had, however, expressed their conviction that the United Nations could do more to promote their cause and had suggested certain effective steps which the General Assembly and the Security Council might take in order to compel Portugal to implement Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) fully and without delay.

20. The statements of the petitioners and the events of the past year showed that the struggle had entered a decisive phase. The people of the Territories were determined to continue the struggle until the Territories had been completely liberated, and they were convinced that no amount of repression could stop the national liberation movements. They rightly regarded their struggle not as an isolated event, but as an integral part of the struggle of the people of Africa and of the whole world against imperialism and colonialism. They could count on the support of progressive forces throughout the world which had already broken the chains of imperialism. That growing solidarity of progressive forces marked the new phase of the struggle of the African peoples still under colonial and racist régimes. The anti-imperialist forces, especially in the Afro-Asian and socialist countries, had united their efforts to increase their moral and material aid to the national liberation movements. During the seven years since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly, despite the fierce opposition of the imperialist Powers, had adopted several resolutions reflecting the proposals of the ever-growing majority of the anti-imperialist forces within the United Nations. The various inhuman manifestations of Portuguese colonialism had been described as crimes against humanity; the armed struggle of the people for national liberation had been declared a legitimate struggle; and the General Assembly had appealed to all Member States to grant moral and material assistance to the people and, in resolution 2107 (XX), had urged Member States to take a number of steps designed to isolate Portugal economically and politically in order to compel it to grant independence to the Territories. The United Nations had also tried to mobilize its own resources and those of the agencies within the United Nations family in order to increase its aid to the national liberation movements.

21. All those efforts, however, had so far proved ineffective and Portugal continued to defy United Nations decisions and to commit crimes against the people of the Territories in an attempt to perpetuate its domination. That failure was due to the fact that the United Nations had not attacked the heart of the problem, namely, the increasing political, military and economic collaboration between the NATO Powers and Portugal. The debate had clearly shown that the former were participating with the Portuguese colonialists in the exploitation of the people of Angola,

Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). In the face of the facts adduced in the reports of the Special Committee and in the statements of the petitioners, all the expressions of sympathy voiced by the representatives of the United States and of the other NATO Powers were meaningless. The United States claim that certain gifts or scholarships offered to people from the Territories in some way repaired the harm it had done should be vigorously refuted. The Governments of the United States and the other Western Powers must understand that the crumbs which they offered to the Africans in no way repaired the harm done by their military and economic collaboration with Portugal. Their aid to colonial and racist régimes made them accomplices in the crimes committed daily. Encouraged by their support, the racist régimes in Africa had formed an aggressive alliance against the independent African States.

22. The twenty-second session of the General Assembly was significant in that it would study in detail the role of financial interests in southern Africa, including the Territories under Portuguese domination. That would enable the United Nations to mobilize world public opinion against the co-operation of the United States and other NATO Powers with Portugal and the other racist régimes, without which Portugal could not continue to defy the international community. Those Powers should heed the warnings of the African countries that if they did not cease their military and economic support of the Salazar, Smith and Vorster régimes, they would cause untold suffering and aggravate racial hatred in Africa, with catastrophic consequences.

23. It was reassuring that during the current year the petitioners heard by the Special Committee, and especially the representatives of the national liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique, had addressed specific requests to the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations. Although the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization and other bodies had taken some action, their contribution to the work of decolonization was still small. IBRD and IMF had continued to grant loans to Portugal. Only the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had taken steps to help the refugees. Since the repeated appeals by the General Assembly to the specialized agencies had produced no tangible results, Bulgaria had asked for the inclusion of item 97 in the General Assembly's agenda (A/6835). The Assembly would now be able to make adequate recommendations to the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations and dispel any doubts which they might still have. It was essential that in the Territories under Portuguese administration humanitarian assistance to the oppressed peoples should be granted in consultation with the national liberation movements. Since the struggle for national liberation had been declared legitimate by the General Assembly, there was no reason to hesitate to establish contact with its leaders. The OAU would undoubtedly play an active part in organizing consultations with them.

24. His delegation was ready to support any resolution or take part in any effort to assist the peoples

of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in their heroic struggle. He stressed the solidarity of the Bulgarian people with the people of those Territories. Despite the fierce resistance of the forces of reaction and racism, he was confident that the anti-imperialist forces would succeed in eliminating imperialism from Africa.

25. Mr. ABDEL-WAHAB (United Arab Republic) extended his delegation's sincere congratulations to the Government and people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution. His delegation wished to express its appreciation of the contribution made by the peoples of the Soviet Union in the field of decolonization and of their support of the people struggling for freedom and independence.

26. It was not until 1960 that the General Assembly had been able to consider the Territories under Portuguese administration as Non-Self-Governing Territories, for until then all the efforts of the anti-colonial Powers to discuss the problem in the Assembly had met with strong opposition from certain States, which were today opposing any effective action to compel Portugal to comply with the resolutions of the Assembly and were assisting that country in its colonial war against the peoples struggling for freedom and independence.

27. Portugal was almost the only colonial Power which still denied the people their right to self-determination and independence. Yet, the United Nations had so far been unable to meet that challenge, owing to the non-co-operation of certain Member States.

28. Portugal was a small, under-developed State and it was inconceivable that it could maintain its domination of Territories which were many times its size, resist the tide of freedom and defy the entire international community; it was clear that, with its limited resources, it could not wage an extensive colonial war on three fronts without external assistance. It had been argued that the military assistance given to Portugal through NATO, or the financial and economic aid made available through loans or through the economic monopolies, had no effect on the present situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination. He would draw attention, however, to a statement by the former Portuguese Secretary of State for Air, who had said that Portugal's low per capita income seriously affected the country's defence capacity and that accelerated economic development would therefore be an essential factor affecting national strategy and defence. Portugal's policy, according to its officials, could be outlined as follows: Portugal was determined to resist any action to liberate the Territories under its domination; it considered that the colonial war which it was waging against the African peoples was the only way to perpetuate its rule over the African Territories; such a war required great economy for its conduct and accelerated economic development would therefore be an essential factor affecting national strategy and defence; and Portugal should depend on external aid.

29. In the diplomatic and psychological field, Portugal received all kinds of assistance. Its allies and

friends were waging a large-scale political and propaganda campaign against any effort to eliminate Portuguese domination from Africa. In the United States many public relations agencies were helping Portugal in such fields. Mr. Mondlane, the President of FRELIMO, had told the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that the Portuguese had engaged Downs and Roosevelt Inc., a firm that concentrated on influential people rather than on the population in general. Mr. Mondlane had said that the Ford Foundation had intended to give assistance to FRELIMO, but that as a result of the intervention of the Roosevelt firm the Foundation had guaranteed that it would not make any grant to organizations in Territories under Portuguese administration without the prior approval of the Portuguese Government (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V, paras. 875 and 876).

30. In the economic field, Portugal received huge loans from its allies and friends and from international organizations. Members of the Committee were aware of the loans granted to Portugal by the United States and IBRD. Foreign economic and financial monopolies, too, were aiding Portugal either directly or indirectly in its military operations against the African people. They had their own armies and police forces which were used to assist Portugal in suppressing the liberation movements. The profits gained from their activities helped the Portuguese Government, not the African people.

31. In the military field, Portugal was still receiving large quantities of arms from its friends and allies, through NATO, through bilateral agreements or through a third party. The Security Council's resolution prohibiting the supply of arms to Portugal was thus being violated. The representative of the Mouvement populaire de libération de l'Angola (MPLA) had said that the United States continued to give financial and military support to Portugal in exchange for the facilities in the Azores, and that West Germany had set up a military base at Beja (*ibid.*, para. 580). Mr. Mondlane had said that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had delivered eight bombers to Portugal in 1966. It was the assistance that Portugal received from its allies and friends that enabled it to defy the will of the peoples struggling for independence and freedom and the will of the international community. The States which had abused their power by strengthening alien rule in the Territories under Portuguese domination must share the responsibility for the events taking place in those Territories. That Portugal had no intention of changing its policy was clear from the Portuguese Prime Minister's statement that the Portuguese Government refused to adopt a policy that would lead to the disintegration of the nation. Portugal was not only waging a brutal colonial war against peaceful African people, a fact which in itself constituted a threat to international peace and security, but it was committing acts of aggression against independent African States.

32. Tens of thousands of African refugees were fleeing to neighbouring countries. At the same time emigrants from Portugal and South Africa were pouring into the Territories, in an attempt to change

the balance in the racial composition of the population. If that was allowed to continue, the United Nations might be faced with another tragedy similar to those in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Palestine. Those primarily responsible for the present situation because of their assistance to Portugal should ponder the consequences of their actions.

33. In conclusion, he paid a tribute to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) for their devotion and courage and assured them of the continued support of the Government and people of the United Arab Republic.

34. Mr. PAKHARENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the fact that the General Assembly was once again obliged to take up the problem of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in order to implement in those Territories the principles of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples showed that the forces of imperialism and colonialism, headed by the United States, the United Kingdom and other Western countries, had no intention of abandoning their position. The Lisbon authorities continued to flout the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Ignoring the legitimate demands of millions of Africans, the fascist Salazar régime stubbornly asserted that Portugal would fight to the end. In its efforts to suppress the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), Portugal had sent to those Territories an army of 150,000 men, equipped with the latest means of mass destruction.

35. Portugal, however, was only a junior partner of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other imperialist States in the colonial exploitation of the African continent. It was known that international monopolistic capital controlled two thirds of all capital investments in Portugal and its colonies. Like the racist Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia, the fascist Salazar régime was carrying out the role of henchman in its colonies, serving the interests of the United States, United Kingdom, Belgian, West Germany, South African and other imperialist monopolies. Nowhere in Africa did foreign companies hold such sway as in the Portuguese colonies. The Angola Diamond Company alone possessed exclusive rights over a territory of more than 1 million square kilometres. Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, Mozambique Gulf Oil Company, Mozambique Pan American Oil Company and other United States firms held exclusive rights for the mining of petroleum in extensive areas. The West German firm Krupp had huge interests in the mining industry. The same dominating influence of foreign capital was to be observed in agricultural production, communications and other spheres. Colonialist exploitation enabled foreign monopolies to obtain much greater profits in the Portuguese colonies than in their own countries. From 1961 to 1965 the Angola Diamond Company had increased its income by 74 per cent and had earned \$70 million in profits, almost half of which had been expatriated.

36. Seeking to preserve the colonial conditions of exploitation, the foreign monopolies strengthened the Salazar régime in every possible way and pro-

vided it with direct assistance in the struggle against the national liberation movement. The Angola Diamond Company, in addition to providing the Portuguese Government with 770 million escudos, had given it a further 72 million escudos for the so-called "defence of the national territory", i.e., for the purpose of suppressing the struggle of the African peoples for freedom and independence. The international monopolies were building military installations in the Portuguese colonies and maintaining their own police forces and army there. They also provided the Portuguese Government with long-term, interest-free loans amounting to tens of millions of dollars, thus maintaining the colonial régime and financing its war against the African peoples.

37. His delegation found it deplorable that a United Nations specialized agency, IBRD, in which a decisive role was played by the United States and the United Kingdom, had granted a large loan to the Salazar régime, and that it was openly ignoring the recommendations of the General Assembly on that subject.

38. As was evident from the documents of the Special Committee, the Portuguese colonialists were using the latest weapons of British, West German and Israel manufacture in their war against the African people. Portugal's NATO allies regarded the Portuguese colonies, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia as a military and strategic beach-head against the national liberation movement of the African peoples, which thus faced a united front of imperialist Powers. The revanchists in Bonn were particularly active in providing assistance to the Portuguese colonialists. The Federal Republic of Germany not only supplied Portugal with arms on a continuing basis but sent military instructors who used the experience in mass destruction gained by the Hitlerite fascists in Europe to train Portuguese military personnel. In contrast to the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic scrupulously complied with the resolutions of the United Nations on colonial questions and supported the just struggle of the African peoples for independence.

39. The intervention of the United States in Vietnam, its flagrant interference in the affairs of other countries and the active encouragement of Israel's aggression against the Arab countries all served to confirm Salazar in the belief that he would not be left to the mercy of fate. Together with his companions in the unholy alliance of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, Salazar had assumed the role not only of the oppressor of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), but of an aggressor against the neighbouring independent African countries. Portuguese soldiers and aircraft had frequently violated the sovereignty of Senegal, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, provoking military incidents and creating tension in Africa.

40. Portuguese domination in Africa was essentially a matter of economic and military domination of international imperialism, headed by the United States. Without the direct political, financial and military assistance of the United States and the NATO bloc,

Portugal would not be able to preserve its colonial empire. Despite that assistance, however, the Portuguese colonialists would not succeed in suppressing the just struggle of the African peoples. The national liberation forces had already liberated vast areas in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and local authorities were being set up, democratic legislation was being enacted and hospitals, dispensaries and schools were being constructed in the liberated regions. That was convincing evidence of what the people could accomplish once they had thrown off the shackles of slavery and colonialism.

41. It was the duty of the United Nations to do everything in its power to assist the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in their struggle for freedom. The General Assembly should state clearly that the responsibility for the failure to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations decisions on Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) was borne by Portugal and its NATO allies, including the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom. The United Nations should condemn the provision by Western countries of assistance to the Portuguese colonialists and call on those countries to cease providing such assistance. In that connexion, his delegation supported the Soviet Union's proposal (1709th meeting) that the Special Committee should be requested to examine the question of what steps should be taken by the Western countries concerned to comply with the United Nations decisions relating to the Portuguese colonies.

42. The General Assembly should condemn the colonial war waged by Portugal against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and demand that that country should immediately and unconditionally cease its military action and withdraw its troops and police forces from Africa. It should reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese Territories and call on all States to increase their assistance to those people in their struggle. All the means at the disposal of the United Nations should be used to give the widest possible publicity to the situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and the struggle of the inhabitants of those Territories for freedom and independence, with particular emphasis on the advances made in the liberated regions. It was the duty of all the specialized agencies of the United Nations to give the peoples of the Portuguese colonies assistance in their legitimate struggle; they should be called upon to increase such assistance, in particular, to the liberated regions of the Portuguese Territories. The General Assembly should also call on such institutions as IBRD and IMF to cease providing assistance to the Portuguese colonialists and to cancel any loans already granted to Portugal.

43. On behalf of the delegations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, he expressed sincere gratitude to all those who had extended congratulations and good wishes to the people of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the greater October Socialist Revolution. True to the ideals of that revolution, the Ukrainian SSR had always supported and

would continue to support all peoples in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Rapporteur, took the Chair.

44. Mr. MAVOUNGOU (Congo, Brazzaville) said that the question of Territories under Portuguese administration had been the subject of several debates in the Security Council, which had found that the situation resulting from Portugal's policies was a threat to international peace and security. The Council had consequently called for the immediate application of the principle of self-determination and had asked Members of the United Nations to refrain from giving the Portuguese Government military assistance which would assist it in the oppression of the people under its administration. Nevertheless, despite all the resolutions of the United Nations, the racist fanatics persisted in their crimes and the Western Powers continued to provide them with military assistance.

45. Portugal tried to camouflage its colonial policy by distorting the concept of a "nation" and claiming that the African countries under its domination formed an integral part of Portuguese national territory. In fact, the notion of a "multi-continental Portuguese nation" was no more than a trick to hinder the development of an African national conscience. For several years Portugal had been waging a colonial war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in the hope of preserving its colonial empire. The Portuguese troops engaged in that war were equipped with various types of modern weapons which Portugal itself could obviously not manufacture. Without the material support of certain Western Powers, Portugal would not be capable of fighting a large-scale war on three fronts; it would either face economic catastrophe or be obliged to call a halt to the war. Portugal's friends, however, included not only South Africa and the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia but more powerful countries within the NATO alliance, although in the United Nations its NATO allies cynically condemned Portugal's colonial wars and tried to give the impression that they were in no way involved.

46. Salazar's policies were supported also by foreign monopolies which were deriving huge profits as a result of the colonial occupation of the Territories. Southern Africa was being converted into an armed camp, representing a constant threat to the neighbouring independent African countries. Indeed, Portugal was now extending its military activities to a number of independent African States. It appeared from recent events in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that Portugal was engaged in a huge operation of recruiting and training mercenaries to preserve the interests of the colonialists.

47. Despite its frequent invocation of the principles of Christianity, Portugal was continuing to inflict unmentionable tortures on the Africans and had re-established the slave-trade with South Africa. It was using napalm to exterminate the African population and at the same time encouraging the immigration of white settlers. Nevertheless, in spite of the increasing numbers of troops sent to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the people of the Territories were determined to continue their armed

struggle. The revolutionary Government of the Congo (Brazzaville) reaffirmed its full support of the freedom fighters.

48. It was clear that Portugal's policies in the Territories under its domination constituted a crime against humanity and a grave danger to international peace and security. The United Nations, which had recognized the legitimacy of the patriotic struggle in the Portuguese colonies, should provide moral and material support for that struggle. The Committee should adopt a strong resolution requesting all countries to give the freedom fighters all possible moral, financial and military aid. It should condemn the attitude of Portugal, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the NATO countries, particularly the United States, and should ask the Security Council and the General Assembly to set a date for the attainment of independence by the Territories still under the Portuguese yoke. If Portugal refused to accept that decision, it should simply be expelled from the United Nations, together with its South African henchmen.

49. Mr. MARAMIS (Indonesia) deplored the increasing repression to which Portugal was subjecting the people in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). Portugal was pursuing its policy of perpetuating the status quo in those Territories by stepping up its military activities and applying its policies of racial discrimination, forced labour, denial of civil and political rights and economic exploitation, thus creating a situation which had sent thousands of refugees into neighbouring countries. The administering Power's policy of encouraging the settlement of foreign immigrants in its Territories and of exporting indigenous inhabitants to South Africa was reminiscent of the events which had occurred in Southern Rhodesia, and it was not unlikely that a strong minority might eventually usurp control from Portugal.

50. Further proof of Portugal's deliberate scheme to consolidate its power in southern Africa was its tolerance of foreign mercenaries, who used its Territories as bases from which they launched aggression against independent African States.

51. It was obvious that Portugal could not support the cost of the war it was waging in its African Territories but must rely upon its allies for a large part of its arms. Moreover, the proceeds from the exploitation of the Territories by foreign financial interests were being used against the liberation movements.

52. The harsh measures directed against the national liberation movements in the Portuguese Territories, far from deterring the forces of liberation, had increased their determination and they would finally prevail. While the major burden of the struggle lay with the inhabitants of the countries themselves, the United Nations, as an expression of the international conscience, had a vital role to play. It should press for the implementation of the pertinent Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. All States should be asked to give the peoples in the Territories under Portuguese domination all possible moral and material assistance and to take steps to prevent their nationals from helping the Portuguese authorities in any way. It was imperative that action should be taken

immediately, before the already critical situation assumed such proportions that it could not be handled without further violence.

53. Mr. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) said that, in spite of twenty-two resolutions adopted by the United Nations since 1960 calling on Portugal to recognize the right of the peoples of its colonies to self-determination and independence and to cease its repression of those peoples, it was clear that Portugal was merely intensifying its colonial war and devoting increasingly enormous sums of money to it. In the 1967 budget, military expenditures had increased by 33 per cent over the previous year. Portuguese troops in the Territories numbered more than 120,000 and the period of military service had been extended. Portugal was not alone in its adventure, but was supported by the imperialist forces led by the Government of the United States of America. United States support for Portugal was an example of the new phenomenon of collective colonialism. At the Tricontinental Conference,^{2/} held at Havana in January 1966, a resolution had been adopted in which it was pointed out that, whereas in the past each colonial Power had opposed interference by other Powers in what it regarded as its sphere of influence, the growing movement of national liberation had now forced the colonial Powers to act together. As evidence of the assistance supplied to Portugal by the United States, he drew attention to the statements of petitioners recorded in the Special Committee's report (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V), in particular paragraph 879, which referred to bombers supplied to the Portuguese by the CIA and an incident in which a pilot accused of flying military aircraft without authorization had been acquitted after he had explained that he had been working for the CIA. He also drew attention to the statement summarized in paragraph 653, in which the United States representative, replying to a statement by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, had said that the B-26 bombers in question had been surplus stock made available for private purchase on the open market and that the buyers had tried to smuggle them to Portugal. He wondered whether delegations were expected to imagine that bombers were sold in supermarkets and that twenty aircraft could be smuggled past customs officials in a coat pocket. It seemed that the United States authorities were only efficient when it came to preventing trade with revolutionary countries. In the light of such evidence, the Committee should draw attention to the reactionary forces which were supporting Portugal's colonial war with their military assistance, and, in particular, condemn the United States Government for its complicity.

54. The Special Committee's report revealed that the riches of the Portuguese colonies were still being plundered by companies based in Portugal and other European countries, as also by the huge United States monopolies. Some of the names mentioned, such as the First National City Bank of New York, the Gulf Oil Company, Standard Oil and Firestone, were well known to his delegation because they had once plundered Cuba.

^{2/} Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

55. He would have liked to be able to express his delegation's optimism at the achievements of the United Nations in the direction of the decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration, but the fact was that the influence of the United States in the Organization was obstructing the efforts of the anti-colonial States. On the other hand, his delegation was encouraged by the statements of the petitioners and the news that half of the territory of so-called Portuguese Guinea and a fifth of the territory of Angola had already been liberated, while in Mozambique some 800,000 persons were already living in liberated areas. The struggle being waged by the liberation movements was the sure way of achieving independence.

56. His delegation would support any measures recommended by the African States with a view to the independence of the Portuguese colonies, and in particular the appeal to all States to render moral and material assistance to the liberation movement.

57. Mr. KANNANGARA (Ceylon) said that his country, encouraged by the record of the United Kingdom and France in the field of decolonization, had hoped that discussions in the United Nations would lead to progress with regard to the Portuguese colonies too. It was therefore extremely disheartening to note that the colonial situation in the Portuguese Territories in Africa remained unchanged. No amount of legal argument could alter the fact that Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea were classic colonial possessions of Portugal and that the General Assembly was competent to discuss them. The great wealth of documented material now available on the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration in Africa could not but lead an impartial observer to the conclusion that the struggle of the peoples of those Territories for freedom was a legitimate one.

58. In resolution 218 (1965) the Security Council had affirmed that the situation resulting from Portugal's policies seriously disturbed international peace and security. It was obvious that Portugal's repressive measures were disturbing peace in Africa, since violent repression would always be met by violent resistance.

59. His delegation did not question Portugal's right to be a member of NATO, but was inclined to feel that it was thanks to the NATO alliance that Portugal was able to enforce the measures it was adopting in its colonies. Ceylon was confident that other members of NATO did not agree with Portugal's colonial policy, and it therefore joined in the call to Portugal's NATO allies to desist from giving Portugal any military assistance that could be used against the colonies. The matter must be considered in the context of the Security Council's finding that the situation was disturbing international peace and security and of the obvious fact that weapons must be denied to the country responsible for such a situation.

60. The people of Portugal had the good wishes of the people of Ceylon, but Ceylon could not counte-

nance the activities of the Portuguese Government in its colonial Territories, nor could it countenance the channelling of aid received from international organizations into military operations in the colonies. Frequent reference had been made to the need for international organizations, particularly IBRD and IMF, to withhold assistance from Portugal. At the previous session (1645th meeting), the General Counsel of the Bank had adduced legal arguments casting doubts on the usefulness of appeals from the United Nations to the Bank in that regard, in the light of the terms of the Bank's Articles of Agreement and the Relationship Agreement between the two organizations. The real question, however, was how the Bank's policies could be changed so as to prevent loans to those of its members which the General Assembly considered delinquent. In his delegation's view, the answer was for the members of the Committee who were also members of the Bank and the Fund to raise the matter in the Boards of Governors of those two institutions. That course would seem more likely to yield results than criticisms of the policies of the Bank and the Fund in the debates of United Nations bodies. In that regard, he recalled that Article 48, paragraph 2, of the Charter required Members of the United Nations to carry out the decisions of the Security Council both directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they were members.

61. His delegation requested the Portuguese Government to acknowledge the right of the indigenous peoples in the Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence and to take all necessary steps to ensure the exercise of that right without further delay. It was a grave error for a Member State to attempt to ignore world opinion and it was equal folly for other Member States to associate themselves with such an attempt. It was in that context that his delegation had been compelled to give earnest consideration to the measures that would be necessary should such folly continue.

Mr. Tomeh (Syria) resumed the Chair.

62. Mr. SUN (China), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that at the 1709th meeting the Soviet Union representative had referred to the position taken by China in the Security Council in 1965 regarding the Territories under Portuguese administration.

63. His delegation wished to state the following for the record. China had been one of the seven members of the Security Council who had voted in favour of resolution 218 (1965) at the 1268th meeting. China's position at that time had been clearly reflected in the resolution, which, *inter alia*, deplored the failure of the Portuguese Government to recognize the right of the peoples under its administration to self-determination and independence, and requested all States to refrain from giving any assistance to the Portuguese Government for its continuance of repression, including the sale and supply of arms which could be used in the Portuguese Territories.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.