

**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**

VOLUME III

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 23 (A/9023/Rev.1)



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UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1975

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The report of the Special Committee is divided into five volumes. The present volume contains chapters VII to IX;* volume I, chapters I to III; volume II, chapters IV to VI; volume IV, chapters X to XXI; and volume V, chapters XXII to XXIX; each volume contains a full table of contents.

* The present version of chaps. VII to IX is a consolidation of the following documents as they appeared in provisional form: A/9023/Add.1 of 28 September 1973, A/9023/Add.2 of 3 October 1973 and A/9023/Add.3 of 19 September 1973.

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CHAPTER VII

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its 906th to 911th meetings, between 5 and 27 April, at its 922nd meeting, on 25 June, and at its 946th meeting, on 28 August 1973.
2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including in particular resolution 2908 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972, by paragraph 11 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session". Further, the Special Committee took into account General Assembly resolutions 2945 (XXVII) and 2946 (XXVII) of 7 December 1972 relating to the Territory. The Special Committee also paid due regard to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council concerning Southern Rhodesia.
3. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex to the present chapter) containing information on action previously taken by the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the latest developments in the Territory. The Committee also took into account: (a) the relevant recommendations of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (A/9061); (b) statements made during the special meeting held by the Committee on 23 May 1973 (A/AC.109/PV.914) in observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights; and (c) the resolution concerning Zimbabwe adopted by the Tenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in May 1973. Further, the Committee took into account a cabled message dated 19 April 1973 from the Chairman of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government addressed to the Secretary-General (A/AC.109/PV.907).

Petitions

4. In addition, the Special Committee had before it the following written petitions concerning Southern Rhodesia: *.*

(a) Letter dated 28 January 1973 from Mr. E. J. M. Zvobgo, Director of External Missions, African National Council of Zimbabwe (A/AC.109/PET.1236);

(b) Letter dated 24 September 1972 from Mr. Michael A. Mawema, National Organizing Secretary, African National Council of Zimbabwe (A/AC.109/PET.1246);

(c) Cable dated 31 May 1973 from Canon L. John Collins, President, International Defence and Aid Fund (A/AC.109/PET.1248).

5. The Special Committee also had before it a written petition dated 9 February 1973 from Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General, World Peace Council, relating, inter alia, to Territories in southern Africa (A/AC.109/PET.1244).

6. At its 906th meeting, on 5 April, the Special Committee, by adopting the 178th report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information (A/AC.109/L.850), decided to grant the request for hearing contained in the petition referred to in paragraph 4 (a) above.

7. At the same meeting, Mr. E. J. M. Zvobgo, Director of External Missions of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, made a statement and replied to a question put to him by the representative of the Ivory Coast (A/AC.109/PV.906 and Corr.1). Statements in connexion with the hearing were made by the Chairman and by the representatives of Tunisia and the Congo (A/AC.109/PV.906 and Corr.1).

8. At its 908th meeting, on 24 April, the Special Committee, by adopting the 179th report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information (A/AC.109/L.858), decided to request the Chairman of the Committee to convey to the administering Power its serious concern about the incidents reported in the petition referred to in paragraph 4 (b) above, and to inform the Committee of the results of the approach made to the administering Power. In a letter dated 25 April 1973, addressed to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, the Chairman requested comments or observations which the United Kingdom Government might wish to make concerning the information contained in the petition. No reply has been received to date.

Participation of the national liberation movements

9. In accordance with a decision taken at its previous session, and subsequently approved by the General Assembly, the Special Committee, in consultation with OAU, invited the representatives of the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, namely, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the item.

10. Accordingly, during the consideration of the item, the two movements were represented, as follows:

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU): Mr. S. V. Mtambanengwe,
Secretary for Political Affairs

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU): Mr. T. George Silundika,
Secretary for Publicity and
Information

Mr. Mtambanengwe and Mr. Silundika made statements at the 907th meeting, on 23 April (A/AC.109/PV.907). At the same meeting, Mr. Silundika replied to a question by the representative of Venezuela (A/AC.109/PV.907) and, at the 910th meeting, on 26 April, made a statement concerning the draft resolution referred to in paragraph 13 below (A/AC.109/PV.910). At the 911th meeting, on 27 April, Mr. Mtambanengwe made a statement on behalf of both ZAPU and his own organization (A/AC.109/PV.911 and Corr.1).

General debate

11. The Special Committee held the general debate on the item at its 906th to 909th meetings, between 5 and 25 April. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania at the 906th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.906 and Corr.1); Trinidad and Tobago, China, Indonesia and India at the 907th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.907); Chile and Iran at the 908th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.908); and by Mali, Australia, Sweden, the Congo, Yugoslavia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Ethiopia and Afghanistan at the 909th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.909 and Corr.1).

Draft resolutions

12. At the 910th meeting, on 26 April, the representatives of Sierra Leone and Trinidad and Tobago introduced a draft resolution on the item (A/AC.109/L.860), sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

13. At the same meeting, the representatives of Iraq and Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution relating to specific aspects of the question (A/AC.109/L.861), sponsored by Afghanistan, the Congo, Ethiopia, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia. In his introductory statement on behalf of the sponsors, the representative of Iraq indicated that the following changes should be incorporated in the draft resolution:

(a) In the sixth preambular paragraph, replace the words "by such devious means" by the words "by any means";

(b) In operative paragraph 1, delete the words "refusal and";

(c) Replace operative paragraph 6 by the following:

"6. Calls upon all Governments to refrain from taking any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority régime and to discontinue any collaboration with those activities which are designed to that effect";

(d) Delete operative paragraph 8 and, as a consequence, renumber operative paragraphs 9, 10 and 11, as paragraphs 8, 9 and 10.

Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of India and Iraq, as well as by the representative of ZAPU (A/AC.109/PV.910).

14. At the 911th meeting, on 27 April, the representative of Sierra Leone informed the Special Committee that Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia had become sponsors of the draft resolution referred to in paragraph 12 above (A/AC.109/L.860). The same representative also submitted, on behalf of the sponsors, an oral revision to the draft resolution by which, in the tenth preambular paragraph, the words "and refusal" were deleted.

15. At the same meeting, the representative of Iraq informed the Special Committee that Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia had become sponsors of the revised draft resolution referred to in paragraph 13 above. The same representative, on behalf of the sponsors, announced that a further change had been made in the revised text of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.861/Rev.1), by which operative paragraph 6 was replaced by the following:

"6. Calls upon all Governments to refrain from taking any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority régime; .

16. At the same meeting, the Special Committee took decisions as follows:

(a) The draft resolution contained in document A/AC.109/L.860, as orally revised (see paragraph 14 above), was adopted without objection (see paragraph 21 below).

(b) The revised draft resolution contained in document A/AC.109/L.861/Rev.1 was adopted by 22 votes to none, with 1 abstention (see paragraph 22 below).

Statements in explanation of vote were made on (a) above by the representative of Venezuela, and on (b) above by the representatives of Sweden, Australia and Venezuela (A/AC.109/PV.911 and Corr.1). Following a statement by the Chairman, the representative of ZANU made a statement on behalf of both ZAPU and his own organization (A/AC.109/PV.911 and Corr.1).

17. On 27 April, the text of the resolution referred to in paragraph 16 (b) above was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10923). Copies of the two resolutions referred to in paragraph 16 above were transmitted to all States, including the administering Power, to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, and to OAU.

Illegal sentencing and execution of African nationalists

18. At the 922nd meeting, on 25 June, the Chairman, on behalf of the Special Committee, made a statement concerning the recent execution of African nationalists

by the illegal régime which was adopted by the Committee at the same meeting (see paragraph 23 below). The representatives of Sweden and Australia reserved the position of their respective Governments concerning the fourth paragraph of the Chairman's statement.

19. The text of the statement was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 25 June 1973 (S/10959) and to the administering Power on 26 June 1973.

Issuance of postage stamps by the illegal régime

20. In connexion with the Special Committee's consideration of a related item, the Chairman, at the 946th meeting, on 28 August, drew attention to the issuance by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia of a commemorative stamp for the centenary of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) which incorporated the United Nations emblem in its design. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided to request its Chairman to draw this matter to the attention of the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) for appropriate action. In a letter dated 28 August 1973, addressed to the latter, the Chairman transmitted that decision accordingly.

B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

21. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/421) adopted by the Special Committee at its 911th meeting, on 27 April, to which reference is made in paragraph 16 (a) above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee,

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia,

Having invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, representatives of the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the situation in the Territory, and having heard the statements of the representatives of the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Zimbabwe African People's Union, 1/

Having heard the statement of a representative of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, 2/

Taking into consideration the programme of action highlighted at the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo in April 1973,

1/ A/AC.109/PV.907.

2/ A/AC.109/PV.906 and Corr.1

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, as well as all other resolutions relating to the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their rights, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV),

Condemning the continued oppression of the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority régime, the arbitrary and unlawful imprisonment and detention of political leaders and others and the continued denial of fundamental human rights, including in particular the recent criminal measures of collective punishment, a situation which, as the Security Council has repeatedly affirmed, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Deeply disturbed at the recent legislative and other measures by the illegal white minority régime, including the establishment of the so-called "tribal trust homelands", which would create an apartheid State in Zimbabwe,

Gravely disturbed by the continued illegal presence and intensified military intervention in the Territory of South African forces, which assist the racist minority régime and seriously threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States,

Strongly deploring the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take effective measures to terminate the illegal racist minority régime and to discharge its primary responsibility as the administering Power by enabling the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence,

Reaffirming that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal régime on the basis of independence before majority rule would be in contravention of the inalienable rights of the people of that Territory and contrary to the provisions of the Charter and of resolution 1514 (XV),

Deploing the continued refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence and the legitimacy of the struggle of the people and their national liberation movements to secure by all available means at their disposal the enjoyment of that right;

2. Reaffirms the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Zimbabwe and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the genuine political leaders and the leaders of the national liberation movements, who are the sole and authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, and must be endorsed freely and fully by the people;

3. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland not to transfer or accord, in any circumstances, to the illegal régime any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty, and requests that Government to ensure the country's attainment of independence by democratic means, including a truly representative system of government, in accordance the true aspirations of the majority of the population;

4. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to bring about the conditions necessary to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely and fully their right to self-determination and independence, including:

(a) the unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees;

(b) the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation;

(c) the removal of all restrictions on political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights;

5. Condemns the continued presence and intervention of South African forces in the Territory in violation of the decisions of the Security Council, and calls upon the administering Power to take effective measures with a view to the immediate expulsion of all such forces from the Territory;

6. Further calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to ensure that any ascertainment of the wishes and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe as to their political future should be on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule;

7. Requests all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned, to extend to the people of Zimbabwe, through their national liberation movements and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, all the moral and material assistance necessary in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights;

8. Calls once again upon the Government of the United Kingdom, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, to co-operate with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly and to participate in the work of the Special Committee in connexion with the latter's consideration of the question, as well as to report to the Committee on the implementation of the present resolution;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to publicize, as widely as possible, information on the situation in Zimbabwe and the relevant decisions and actions of United Nations organs;

10. Decides to keep the situation in the Territory under review.

22. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/422) adopted by the Special Committee at its 911th meeting, on 27 April, to which reference is made in paragraph 16 (b) above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee,

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia,

Taking into consideration the programme of action highlighted at the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo in April 1973,

Gravely disturbed at the further deterioration of the situation in Zimbabwe which the Security Council, in its resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, reaffirmed as constituting a threat to international peace and security,

Strongly deploring the fact that measures taken so far have failed to bring the illegal racist minority régime in Zimbabwe to an end, owing primarily to the continued and increasing collaboration which certain States, in particular South Africa and Portugal, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, maintain with the illegal régime, thereby seriously impeding the effective application of sanctions imposed against that régime,

Gravely concerned that, despite the appeals addressed to the Government of the United States of America in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, that Government continues to permit the importation of chrome and nickel into the United States from Zimbabwe, in open violation of the provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, 314 (1972) of 28 February 1972, 318 (1972) of 28 July 1972 and 320 (1972) of 29 September 1972,

Deeply disturbed at the recent delivery of jet aircraft to the illegal régime and condemning any attempt to circumvent sanctions by any means,

Reaffirming its conviction that the sanctions will not put an end to the illegal racist minority régime unless they are comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa and Portugal,

1. Strongly deplores the continued failure of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take effective measures,

in accordance with the relevant decisions of the United Nations, to put an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Zimbabwe, and calls upon that Government to take forthwith all effective measures to bring down the rebellious minority régime;

2. Strongly condemns the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and contrary to their specific obligations under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, continue to collaborate with the illegal racist minority régime in its racist and repressive domination of the people of Zimbabwe, and demands that those Governments cease forthwith all such collaboration;

3. Condemns all violations of, as well as the failure of certain States Members to enforce strictly, the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, as being contrary to the obligations assumed by them under Article 25 of the Charter;

4. Condemns the continued importation by the Government of the United States of America of chrome and nickel from Zimbabwe in open contravention of the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions and contrary to the specific obligations assumed by that Government under Article 25 of the Charter, and calls upon the United States Government to terminate forthwith all such importation and to observe faithfully and without exception the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions;

5. Requests all Governments which so far have not done so to take more stringent enforcement measures to ensure strict compliance by all individuals, associations and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to create conditions conducive to the complete discontinuance by them of any form of collaboration with the illegal régime;

6. Calls upon all Governments to refrain from taking any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority régime;

7. Requests all Governments to take effective steps to prevent or to discourage emigration to Zimbabwe of any individuals or groups of individuals under their jurisdiction;

8. Draws the attention of the Security Council, in view of the further deterioration of the situation resulting from the intensified repressive measures taken by the illegal racist minority régime against the people of Zimbabwe, to the urgent need to widen the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime so as to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and, in particular, to call upon all States to take effective steps aimed at, inter alia: (a) unconditional confiscation of all shipments to and from Zimbabwe; (b) nullification of all insurance policies covering such shipments; and (c) invalidation of passports and other documents for travel to Zimbabwe;

9. Further draws the attention of the Security Council, having regard to their persistent refusal to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council, to the need, as a matter of priority, to consider imposing sanctions against Portugal and South Africa;

10. Invites all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, the United Nations bodies concerned and non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, to take appropriate steps to give widespread and continuous publicity through all the media at their disposal to the work of the United Nations, with particular reference to the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and requests the Secretary-General to take concrete measures in this connexion in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2909 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972, and in particular to effect the widest possible dissemination of information relating to any violations of sanctions.

23. The text of the Chairman's statement on behalf of the Special Committee (S/10959) adopted by the Committee at its 922nd meeting, on 25 June, to which reference is made in paragraph 18 above, is reproduced below:

(1) The Special Committee has learnt with profound sorrow of the recent murder of African patriots of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia. The Committee condemns in the strongest possible terms this fresh outrage perpetrated by the Salisbury régime, which is not only a criminal violation of the fundamental human rights of the people of Zimbabwe, but is also a criminal act against humanity as a whole.

(2) When the Special Committee was first apprised of the illegal sentencing of these African patriots, the Chairman of the Committee dispatched an urgent telegram to the Acting Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, in which he expressed the Committee's grave concern about the continued perpetration by the illegal régime of criminal acts against the people of Zimbabwe and requested immediate intervention by his Government to prevent the illegal execution of the persons concerned.

(3) The Special Committee deeply regrets that, up to the present time, the Government of the United Kingdom has not informed the Committee of any action taken by it in response to the appeal made by the Chairman in the Committee's behalf. The Committee regards this as yet another indication of the failure of the United Kingdom Government to discharge the solemn obligations it has assumed, as the administering Power, under the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

(4) The Special Committee strongly deplores the negative attitude adopted by the United Kingdom Government in regard to the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations concerning Southern Rhodesia. It once again calls upon that Government to fulfil its obligation as administering Power by terminating the illegal régime immediately by all available means.

(5) The Special Committee once again draws the attention of the Security Council to the critical and explosive situation resulting from the intensified repression of the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority régime and to the need for the Council to consider urgently taking all effective measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Annex*

WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

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* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.840 and Adds.1-3.

A. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN 1972 AND EARLY 1973

1. The question of Southern Rhodesia has been under continuous consideration by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples since 1962 a/ and has been the subject of a number of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The text of the relevant resolutions and consensuses adopted by these bodies during 1972 and early 1973 has been made available to the Committee.

Action taken by the Special Committee

2. During 1972, the Special Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its meetings between 1 and 28 March at Headquarters, between 19 and 27 April during its session in Africa, and at its meetings on 18 and 23 August, again at Headquarters. In the course of these meetings, the Special Committee adopted one resolution and heard two statements made by the Chairman on behalf of the Committee which appear in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly:

<u>Resolution/consensus</u>	<u>Meeting</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Resolution of 27 April 1972	869	chap. VIII, para. 23 (A/8723/Add.1)
Statement by the Chairman on behalf of the Special Committee of 18 August	884	chap. VIII, para. 24 "
Statement by the Chairman on behalf of the Special Committee of 23 August	886	chap. VIII, para. 25 "

Action taken by the General Assembly

3. The General Assembly, at its twenty-seventh session, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, adopted two resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia, as follows:

<u>Resolution</u>	<u>Meeting</u>
2945 (XXVII) of 7 December 1972	2102
2946 (XXVII) of 7 December 1972	2102

a/ For the most recent reports of the Special Committee on this subject, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. V; ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VI and ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. VIII.

Action taken by the Security Council

4. Following its meetings in Addis Ababa, which were referred to in the last report of the Special Committee, the Security Council discussed the situation in Southern Rhodesia on three separate occasions in 1972, and again in January and February 1973, when it considered a complaint by the Government of Zambia. The proceedings of the Council are contained in the records of its meetings, which are mentioned below.
5. The Security Council first considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its 1640th to 1642nd meetings, between 16 and 25 February, and at its 1645th meeting on 28 February. On the last-mentioned date, the Council adopted resolution 314 (1972).
6. In paragraph 6 of the above-mentioned resolution, the Security Council requested its Committee established in pursuance of its resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968 to consider ways and means by which the implementation of sanctions might be ensured and to submit to the Council a report containing recommendations to this effect. In accordance with this request, the Committee submitted to the Council a special report b/ containing a number of detailed recommendations and suggestions, including a recommendation that the Committee should seek and receive information from intergovernmental organizations and specialized agencies and that it might invite international non-governmental organizations and competent persons to supply it with information or assistance. The Security Council considered the report at its 1655th meeting on 28 July and at the same meeting adopted resolution 318 (1972), in which it inter alia approved the recommendations and suggestions contained in section III of the Committee's report.
7. The Security Council resumed consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia at its 1663rd to 1666th meetings, between 27 and 29 September. In the course of these meetings, two draft resolutions were introduced and were voted upon by the Council at its 1666th meeting, on 29 September. The first of these draft resolutions was adopted and became resolution 320 (1972).
8. The second draft resolution (S/10805/Rev.1), which was sponsored by Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, was not adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council.
9. At its 1687th to 1691st meetings, between 29 January and 2 February 1973, the Security Council considered a complaint by Zambia of acts of provocation and aggression against Zambia by the illegal régime. At the 1691st meeting, on 2 February, the Council adopted resolutions 326 (1973) and 327 (1973).
10. Subsequently, in a note (S/10880), the President of the Security Council reported that, following consultations with the members of the Council, it had been agreed that the special mission to Zambia referred to in paragraph 9 of resolution 326 (1973) and paragraph 3 of resolution 327 (1973), should be composed of the following four members of the Council: Austria, Indonesia, Peru and the Sudan.

b/ S/10632.

B. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY

1. GENERAL

Geography

11. Southern Rhodesia extends from the Zambezi River to the Limpopo River and from Botswana to Mozambique. It is entirely land-locked, its neighbours being Zambia to the north and north-west, Botswana to the south-west, the Republic of South Africa to the south, and Mozambique to the east and north-east. Part of the boundary with Zambia runs through Lake Kariba which was formed by the dam in the Kariba Gorge, completed in 1959. The total area is 150,820 square miles.

Population

12. In 1971, the African population increased by 180,000, reaching 5.3 million; during that year there was a net decrease through emigration of 9,750 Africans. The European population had reached 255,000 by the end of 1971, an increase of 12,000 compared with 1970, of which the net gain from immigration accounted for 9,400; the level of European net immigration was the third highest ever and the highest in 14 years. At the end of 1971, there were about 17,200 Coloureds and 9,400 Asians, making a total population of 5,591,600. The capital of the Territory is Salisbury, with a population of about 463,000 (at the end of 1971); the second largest city is Bulawayo with about 284,000 inhabitants.

2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

(a) Policy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and proposals for a settlement

Introduction

13. Following negotiations between representatives of the United Kingdom and the illegal régime in November 1971, "proposals for a settlement" were signed by the two parties and published by the United Kingdom Government as a White Paper on 26 November. c/ Specifically, these proposals provided for acceptance of the 1969 "Constitution" d/ as the basic governing instrument of a Republic of Rhodesia. The 1969 "Constitution" would be modified as follows:

c/ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971 (S/10405), p. 60.

d/ For details of the 1969 "Constitution", see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, paras. 14-29.

(a) to allow for progress to African majority rule through the creation of an African higher roll, enrolment on which would be restricted to those Africans meeting the same educational and financial qualifications as the European electorate; (b) to prevent retrogressive amendment of the modified constitution; and (c) to confer a right of appeal to the High Court against violations of the anti-discrimination provisions contained in a new declaration of rights, which would be an entrenched provision of the modified constitution. e/

14. However, as stated in the White Paper, the proposals for a settlement would be confirmed and implemented only after the United Kingdom Government had satisfied itself that they were acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole. For this purpose, a commission was appointed, headed by Lord Pearce, to ascertain directly from all sections of the population whether or not the proposals were acceptable and to report to the United Kingdom Government. If the United Kingdom Government were satisfied that the proposed terms were acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole, the illegal régime would take the necessary legislative steps to implement them. After these had been completed, the United Kingdom Government would introduce legislation in Parliament to confer independence on Southern Rhodesia as a republic, and to terminate economic and other sanctions.

15. The Commission arrived in Salisbury in January 1972. In addition to Lord Pearce, the Commission comprised three deputy chairmen and 18 commissioners, all British, with experience in African or colonial affairs. f/ The Commission completed its work in March 1972 and its report was presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs on 23 May 1972. g/

Pearce Commission report

16. The terms of reference of the Commission were: (a) to satisfy itself that the proposals for a settlement had been fully and properly explained to the population of the Territory; (b) to ascertain by direct contact with all sections of the population whether the people of the Territory as a whole regarded these proposals as acceptable as a basis for independence; and (c) to report to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary accordingly.

17. With regard to the first point, the Commission reported that, in addition to its own arrangements for the distribution of a simplified text of the proposals, known as the Black Book, in English, Shona and Suidèbele, there was also considerable press and radio coverage in the Territory; the illegal régime also published and distributed close to 2 million copies of the proposals.

e/ Details of these modifications appear in ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex, paras. 15-33.

f/ Ibid., para. 52.

g/ Rhodesia. Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce, Cmnd. 4964 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1972) (Hereinafter referred to as the Pearce Commission report).

18. Commenting on the extent of knowledge and understanding of the proposals, the Commission noted in its report that European, Coloured and Asian witnesses were generally well informed. Among the Africans, there had been no major campaign in support of the proposals, but the African National Council of Zimbabwe, which had been formed only four weeks before the Commission's arrival in the Territory, had succeeded in canvassing actively against the proposals in nearly all the areas visited. Although it had been more difficult to assess the comprehension of the Africans at large meetings, all the commissioners had agreed that there was "a reasonable level of comprehension" of the broad issues among the politically motivated and better-educated Africans. As a result, the Commission concluded that a majority of the Africans with whom they had met sufficiently understood the implications of the proposals to pass a valid judgement on them. In this sense, the Commission concluded that the proposals "had been fully and properly explained to the population of Rhodesia".

Method of inquiry and assessment

19. The inquiry itself lasted from 11 January to 11 March. During the period, the Commission explained the proposals, answered questions and assessed opinions throughout the Territory. In the absence of a specific provision in the proposals, the Commission considered that the test had to be basically quantitative, rather than qualitative.

20. In Salisbury and Bulawayo, the Commission heard mainly organizations and leading individuals. It also requested written views from Southern Rhodesians both within and outside the Territory. Of the 20 commissioners, 14 (in pairs) covered the Territory's seven provinces; two covered urban areas; and one woman commissioner met Southern Rhodesian women and participated in other sectors.

21. From those living within the Territory, the Commission reported that it had received over 45,000 letters and memoranda, 2,000 petitions and 46,000 forms. Eighty per cent of the submissions from Africans were against the proposals; most of the submissions from Europeans favoured the proposals. Most of the Europeans interviewed by the Commission also were in favour of the proposals. Support came from various groups: farmers, civil servants, business and professional people, workers in industry, the retired and housewives. Of the minority who opposed the proposals, most were of the view that the proposals went too far in opening up the prospect of majority rule.

22. The Commission especially noted one group of Europeans whose opinions impressed them because of "their individual standing in the community and their well-constructed arguments". This group, termed by the Commission the "liberal Europeans", made no secret of their dislike of the policies of the illegal régime, doubted the sincerity of the régime's acceptance of the proposals, sympathized with many of the African criticisms of the proposals and felt that Africans should be given a larger share more quickly in the effective running of the country. Above all, they expressed fear of the increasing polarization of races which, they believed, could lead only to conflict and bloodshed.

23. The opinion of the small Coloured community (about 15,000, or 0.3 per cent of the total population) was broadly in favour of the proposals. According to the Commission, members of this group generally took the view that the proposals did not go far enough to eliminate discrimination against them; nevertheless they were of the opinion that if there were no settlement, their situation would get worse rather than better and they therefore reluctantly accepted them.

24. The Commission noted that the Asian community (about 9,000, or about 0.2 per cent of the total population), while critical of some aspects of the proposals, particularly for doing too little to end racial discrimination, nevertheless accepted them in default of anything better.

25. In regard to the African population, the Commission separated the views expressed at meetings where the opinion was given publicly from those given in private as members of small groups (20 or less) or as individuals. In the first category, the Commission registered 97,800 rejections, 670 acceptances and 1,830 abstentions (or undecided); in the latter, 9,509 rejections, 2,264 acceptances and 2,461 abstentions (or undecided). Consequently, the Commission stated that "the majority of those Africans... consulted privately or publicly was against the proposals" and expressed its belief that "this represents the opinion of the African population".

26. The Commission noted that the Africans living in the Tribal Trust Lands and African Purchase Areas together amounted to about 55 per cent of the total adult population, and concluded that an "overwhelming majority of the people in those areas who expressed a view rejected the proposals". According to the Commission's findings, apart from certain regional differences, the African population in those areas appeared to be consistent in their rejections; the Commission expressed its belief that "the rejection reported by the large majority of those whom our Commissioners saw was broadly representative of the whole population of the rural areas".

27. Africans living in the main urban areas form about 19 per cent of the total adult African population. The Commission noted that "if the methods of testing opinion and the quality of discussion differed from the Tribal Trust Lands, the views expressed did not"; the large majority of this section of the African population was opposed to the proposals. All Commissioners who at one time or another operated in the urban areas were satisfied that they had met a sufficiently wide cross-section of the people to obtain an accurate assessment of African opinion and that there was a substantial majority for rejection of the proposals.

28. The Commission noted that Africans rejected the proposals on the grounds that they did not accord them dignity, justice and fair opportunities, and that they did not accord them the parity of recognition which was as important to them as parity of representation.

29. In conclusion the Commission stated:

"We are satisfied on our evidence that the proposals are acceptable to the great majority of Europeans. We are equally satisfied, after considering

all our evidence including that on intimidation, that the majority of Africans rejected the proposals. In our opinion the people of Rhodesia as a whole do not regard the proposals as acceptable as a basis for independence."

Position of the United Kingdom Government

30. In his statement to the House of Commons on 23 May 1972, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, outlined the content and conclusions of the report and expressed the hope that, on further reflection, the majority of Rhodesians, both Africans and Europeans, would decide to choose the way of compromise and to work together for orderly political change. He said that it was clear that there must be time for reflection particularly by Rhodesians, as essentially only they could solve Rhodesia's problem.

31. Sir Alec also stated that the Government felt that "plenty of time should be given in which the position can be clarified and that meanwhile no door should be closed". He further declared: "We feel that the best atmosphere for constructive discussion and advance will be provided if we maintain the situation as it is today, including sanctions, until we can judge whether or not a satisfactory settlement will occur." In reply to questions from the Opposition's spokesman, Sir Alec agreed that the next stage ought to be discussions inside the Territory "between the racial groups" and stated in that connexion that "any further arrangement must be within the five principles".

32. Subsequently, on 15 June, the House of Commons agreed to a government motion which read: "This House takes note of the report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion; believes that it is right that there should be time for reflection on the implications of the report; and supports the Government in its desire to achieve a settlement within the five principles." On that occasion, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary again pointed out that Rhodesians of all races had to be given time to think again about the settlement proposals and reaffirmed that in the meantime the status quo, including sanctions, should be preserved. "I am asking", declared the Foreign Secretary, "for one more chance for the people of Rhodesia to say whether it is to be peace between races or whether it is to be war."

Attitude of the illegal régime

33. In a statement on the same day as the Pearce Commission report was presented to the United Kingdom Parliament, the "Prime Minister" of the illegal régime, Mr. Ian Smith, declared that the report contained "many misinterpretations and misconstructions of the true position" and that the conclusion reached was a mistake. On this occasion, Mr. Smith said that he had informed the British Government that he was "fully prepared to implement the agreement" if they would do so. "There will, however, be no question of any part of the proposals being implemented unilaterally" by his régime, Mr. Smith said. He also reaffirmed that there would be no negotiations with a view "to changing any of the terms of the settlement", and that his régime would continue to govern the Territory in terms of the 1969 "Constitution".

34. On 6 June, introducing a motion in the "House of Assembly" to take note of the Pearce Commission report, "Prime Minister" Smith charged the United Kingdom Government with having engineered a "no" verdict because "it was the best answer for them in their present circumstances". He said that as a result of the rejection of the settlement proposals, his "Government's future policy would be to make decisions exclusively on the basis of what was best for Rhodesia and its people without regard for its impact on the United Kingdom".

Termination of direct contacts between the United Kingdom Government and the illegal régime

35. In May, the illegal régime formally requested the United Kingdom Government to allow a "caretaker" Rhodesian diplomat to be based in London in exchange for the continued presence of Mr. Alec Ward, a British official, in Salisbury. Mr. Ward, who had gone to Salisbury in November 1971 with Sir Alec Douglas Home, had remained after the departure of the Pearce Commission "to deal with matters arising from the test of acceptability". Upon the refusal of the United Kingdom Government to accede to its request on the grounds that it might be construed as recognition of the illegal régime, the illegal régime called for Mr. Ward's withdrawal on 31 May. Mr. Ward left Salisbury in early June, thereby terminating direct contact between the illegal régime and the United Kingdom Government.

United Kingdom and sanctions

36. On 9 November, both Houses of the British Parliament voted to approve the Southern Rhodesia Act, 1965 (Continuation) Order 1972. The purpose of the Order is to continue in force section 2 of the Southern Rhodesia Act, 1965, which gives the Queen in Council power to take whatever measures necessary to deal with the situation in the Territory brought about by the illegal declaration of independence. The effect of the Order is to continue sanctions against Southern Rhodesia for a further year. Voting in the House of Commons was 266 in favour and 29 against; in the House of Lords, the vote was 159 to 43.

37. In presenting the Order to the House of Commons, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary announced a number of measures "to alleviate personal suffering" caused by sanctions, which "were never meant to create real hardship for individuals in a way which could have no bearing on the position of the illegal régime". These measures are summarized below.

(a) Financial measures. These include: authorization of transfers, or increased transfers to Southern Rhodesia as follows: (i) for the elderly; those in hardship and for wives and dependent children; (ii) by charitable, religious, medical and educational organizations; (iii) of funds for educational purposes; (iv) of the proceeds of life-assurance policies taken out before 11 November 1965; and (v) of cash gifts to relatives and for humanitarian reasons. In addition, Southern Rhodesian residents visiting the United Kingdom would be able to draw on their funds restricted in suspense accounts in Britain; and people visiting Southern

Rhodesia for compassionate reasons, including elderly relatives of Southern Rhodesian residents or persons visiting elderly relatives in the Territory, would receive foreign currency facilities.

(b) Non-financial measures. United Kingdom passports would henceforth be issued to residents of Southern Rhodesia seeking specialized medical treatment outside the country; and the validity of concessionary United Kingdom passports, issued to Southern Rhodesians ordinarily resident outside Southern Rhodesia, would be extended from 6 to 12 months.

(c) Recognition of marriages, divorces and adoptions. Legislation would be introduced to make divorces, marriages and adoptions in Southern Rhodesia since the illegal declaration of independence (hitherto regarded as invalid by the British courts) valid in Southern Rhodesian law and thus in United Kingdom law.

38. During the debate on the Southern Rhodesia Act, 1965 (Continuation) Order 1972, in November the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary reaffirmed government policy as he had explained it earlier in May and June (see paragraphs 30 to 32 above).

39. He said that the Government believed that "to ensure a harmonious future, the proposals for a settlement must now come from the Rhodesians". He referred to "certain signs, since Lord Pearce's report, of a change of mood" among Rhodesians and emphasized that "the races inside Rhodesia have to do little less than reconsider their whole relationship to each other. After the history of the past six years, that cannot be done in a day". The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary therefore appealed to the House "not to throw away the prize before the race is finished", but to allow the Government to continue to "probe the last crannies of compromise" in Rhodesia while existing sanctions were continued and applied for another year. "We believe", he said, that "our primary responsibility is to bring Rhodesia to legal independence and to do so through the only way which is open to us - the granting of an agreed constitution".

New moves towards a settlement

40. On 4 December, "Prime Minister" Smith, in a press conference, expressed the belief that a new move towards a settlement would take place early in 1973. He said that Rhodesian Africans had come to accept the settlement proposals and that the present problem was to convey this sentiment to the United Kingdom Government. Mr. Smith said that his "Government" would not accept another test of acceptability on the lines of the Pearce Commission, but that it would consider any suggestions from the British Government. The most important task was to impress upon the African that he was free to give his opinion without fear of intimidation. If that were successful, he had no doubt that the answer would be an overwhelming "yes".

41. On 22 December, Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, Chairman of the African National Council (see paragraph 51 below), stated at a press conference in Salisbury that the Africans of Zimbabwe had not changed their minds about the rejection of the

"settlement proposals" and that they remained ready to suffer materially for the sake of free democratic rule and human dignity. If there were to be any way to solve the constitutional impasse, it was the régime and the white electorate which should change their obviously unjust and unacceptable proposals.

42. In a television interview on 29 January 1973, Mr. Smith indicated for the first time that he would hold talks on the question of a settlement with the African National Council, on the condition that a mutually acceptable agenda could be agreed upon beforehand. On 21 February, Bishop Muzorewa stated that Mr. Smith's remarks "came" close to the goodwill we have been looking for", and, on that basis, the Council would consider making a direct approach concerning talks to the illegal régime.

43. On 26 February, the illegal régime dissipated the atmosphere of conciliation by serving detention orders on two executives of the Council, Mr. Carlton C. Ngcebetsha, Secretary-General, and Mr. Arthur Chadzingwa. Commenting on the detentions, Bishop Muzorewa stated, on 28 February, that six executives of the Council had disappeared over the past two days, including four against whom no detention orders had been filed, and that a number of other Council members had been arrested. Bishop Muzorewa also said that it was disheartening that the detention orders had come "at the very dawn of new African trust in the Rhodesian Front régime", possibly terminating the prospects for talks forever. Adding that he had no idea of the reasons for the detentions, Bishop Muzorewa called upon the illegal régime to release those detained without delay unless there were criminal charges against them, in which case they should be brought before a court.

44. Defending the actions of the illegal régime, Mr. Smith, in an interview on 1 March, stated that the two detentions had been ordered on grounds of state security, details of which could not be revealed at that time. He added that the detainees would be brought before a judicial tribunal in the "prescribed time" when the evidence would be revealed. Mr. Smith also alleged that the detentions were not related to the political philosophies of the persons concerned and disagreed that the detentions would jeopardize future talks.

45. On 19 March, Bishop Muzorewa issued a statement saying that the African National Council had decided that the country's need to reach a settlement was "greater than the temporary suffering of our brothers" and that, as a consequence, the organization was "available to talk with anyone who is sincerely and genuinely determined to solve the present impasse". Subsequently, contact was resumed between the Council and the illegal régime.

46. Addressing the South Africa Club on its golden jubilee, in London, on 17 April 1973, Sir Alec Douglas-Home again expressed the view that Southern Rhodesians of all races should come together and present an agreed basis for legal independence. He added, "I still believe that, with concessions on both sides in Rhodesia, provided the necessary will exists, agreement is possible." Pointing out that there were broadly two choices before the world, change by evolution and consent, or change by force, Sir Alec went on to say: "Unless the latter doctrine is to win the day, the moderate majority of all races must take charge and insist on evolutionary change." He said that for Africans, the choice to use "the gun" instead of persuasion could only frustrate their ambitions "as attitudes become more rigid and intransigent".

47. As to the question of a settlement, Sir Alec said: "The essence of all the plans put forward was the gradual introduction of qualified, responsible Africans into the political and administrative life of the country so that when the day comes for an African majority on the franchise the result will be stable, tolerant and responsible government. The Africans rejected the 1971 proposals - wrongly in my view - but they did reject them ... The 1971 proposals contained many of the ingredients of peaceful change essential to African advance. I still believe that, with concessions on both sides in Rhodesia, provided the necessary will exists, agreement is still possible."

48. In response to Sir Alec's call for a "compromise" between the Africans and the white minority in Southern Rhodesia, the illegal régime issued a statement in Salisbury on 18 April 1973 which declared that it was not prepared to offer constitutional concessions because of the activities of the African nationalist guerrillas. The statement added that the guerrillas' aim was immediate African majority, and that the "terrorists will be defeated, now as in the past, by the security forces of Rhodesia, white and black, with the support of the vast majority of the population, white and black, who have no truck with the aims of the terrorists and who wish to live in peace and harmony free from outside interference".

49. The speech of the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary also drew a response from the African National Council of Zimbabwe. Mr. Edison Sithole, Publicity Secretary of the Council, warned that frustration led people to violent measures. He added that Sir Alec should realize that the gun had always been the last resort in problematical situations. "No one cherishes to see the races here cut each other's throats but this stage could be reached if the Africans' aspirations are thwarted without end by the Europeans." Referring to the position of the Council, Mr. Sithole said that his organization wanted a peaceful solution, but its efforts to obtain one were being frustrated daily by "a government that is blind to a deteriorating situation".

50. As to the 1971 proposals, the representative of the African National Council said: "If the British Government wants to see a settlement in Rhodesia, Sir Alec should make it clear to the Rhodesian Government that the 1971 proposals ... are dead because the African people rejected them."

(b) Political developments inside the Territory

Activities of political parties

African National Council

51. The African National Council was formed before the arrival of the Pearce Commission to explain and expose the settlement proposals, to consolidate African opposition, and to co-ordinate a campaign for their rejection. In a statement of evidence read to the Pearce Commission on 28 January 1972, Bishop A. T. Muzorewa described the Council in the following terms:

"The ANC was formed in December 1971 as a spontaneous grass-roots reaction to the announcement of the terms of the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals. Although having a formal structure, it represents the demands of African people in the country to express their view as to the terms of the settlement. ANC is not a political party and is not interested in building up a large membership as such, but is prepared to join with any person of any political party or organization who wishes to say No to these proposals."

In a statement to the Security Council at its 1640th meeting, on 16 February 1972, Bishop Muzorewa declared that the Council sought a peaceful solution to the problems of the country and was prepared to sit down and participate in framing a constitution acceptable to all Africans and whites in the Territory who have non-racial attitudes.

52. The African National Council rejected the "proposals for settlement" specifically because they had been negotiated and concluded without participation or consultation of the African people through the leaders of their choice and because they sought to legalize the unilateral declaration of independence and the illegal "Constitution" of 1969. The Council further rejected the proposals on grounds that they entrenched racial discrimination, minority rule and oppression of the African majority. Acceptance of the proposals would mean giving the Smith régime a mandate to consolidate its position and would amount to signing a political death warrant for the African majority.

53. In evaluating the extent of the Council's influence and its success in opposing the proposals, the report of the Pearce Commission stated, inter alia, that the Council had emerged as the focus of African opposition to the proposals and concluded with the following observation:

"We do not think that the African National Council would have obtained so great and so swift a response had they not met a potential desire among a majority of the people for leadership in a rejection of the terms and in a protest against the policies of the last few years."

54. On 10 March 1972, the day before the departure of the Pearce Commission, the African National Council announced at a news conference that it would continue as a permanent political organization under the leadership of Bishop Muzorewa. It would establish a 55-member national executive council and a 140-member national assembly. The executive council would include two detained nationalist leaders: Mr. Josiah Chinamano, a former member of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and Mr. Eddison Zvobgo, former Deputy Secretary-General of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

55. As stated in its manifesto, the African National Council considered itself to be "the one sole voice and instrument of the African masses of Zimbabwe and all people of good will, in their just and normal struggle for national emancipation from the yoke of racist and oppressive minority rule". It was dedicated to a non-violent, peaceful, orderly but permanent and continuing struggle to be waged within the law for the establishment of a constitutional government. Bishop Muzorewa told the news conference that the Council's immediate goal would be to work for a constitutional conference at which representatives of Africans and whites and of the British Government would negotiate a "just settlement"; he pointed out that unless the Council's recommendations for a constitutional conference were followed, "the alternative would be a violent and bloody revolution to which we are deadly opposed".

56. Early in May, a delegation of the African National Council, headed by the Reverend Canaan Banana, its deputy chairman, called on Sir Alec Douglas-Home in London to ask the United Kingdom Government to recognize African rejection of the settlement proposals, to convene a constitutional conference and to arrange the peaceful transition of power from a repressive and small minority to the majority.

57. On 24 May, Bishop Muzorewa announced at a press conference that the African National Council would soon invite representatives of the full spectrum of the population of Southern Rhodesia to attend a national convention to work towards the organization of a constitutional convention. Bishop Muzorewa said that, according to the Council's plan, after preliminary steps had been taken, the mechanics of holding the convention would be worked out, and the convention itself would finally be convened by the United Kingdom Government; representatives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of the United Nations would also be invited to attend in an observer capacity. Bishop Muzorewa expressed the belief that the Council's plans were in complete harmony with Sir Alec Douglas-Home's appeals to Africans to make a settlement possible. He went on to say that the Pearce Commission's verdict should be regarded "not as a lost opportunity but as a God-given chance for Rhodesians of all walks of life to reason together and try to solve the constitutional problems which had for a long time aggravated relations between peoples in this land".

58. Following the enunciation of these proposals, Mr. Ian Smith described the plans for a constitutional convention as a "circus", and stated that the African National Council had been responsible for much of the lawlessness which had broken out during the visit of the Pearce Commission. According to Mr. Smith, the Council appeared to be composed of a "bunch of unscrupulous politicians" who had "hoodwinked" the Africans into going in a direction which would be to their disadvantage.

59. Repressive measures by the illegal régime against the African National Council began in March, when the Council announced the launching of a large-scale membership drive which was expected to result in 2 million new members by 1973. On the following day, a proclamation signed by "President" Clifford Dupont of the illegal régime banned the distribution of Council membership cards as "undesirable publications" in terms of the "Law and Order (Maintenance) Act". Some 60,000 cards, the first printed out of an order of 500,000, were confiscated by members of the Special Branch of the Southern Rhodesian Police. Under the "Law and Order (Maintenance) Act" a maximum penalty of \$R 400 and two years' imprisonment may be imposed on persons in possession of a card in contravention of the ban.

60. Following the ban, the publicity secretary for the African National Council, Mr. Edison Sithole, stated that although the ban would hurt the membership drive, the Council would go on recruiting members without issuing them cards immediately. The membership drive would be carried out peacefully and without forcing anyone to join who was not interested in the policies, aims and objectives of the organization. At the 869th meeting of the Special Committee on 27 April, Mr. Ronald Sadomba, Deputy Foreign Secretary of the Council, stated that, in the absence of membership cards, the Council was issuing receipts to persons who made donations.

61. On 6 June, several days after it had been reported that the Council had written to African heads of State as well as organizations in Europe and the United States of America to appeal for financial assistance, the illegal régime promulgated the "Emergency Powers (Prohibition of Foreign Aid to Designated Political Parties) Regulations, 1972", naming the Council as a political party for the purposes of the regulations. The effect of this notice was to prohibit the Council from bringing money and goods into Southern Rhodesia or receiving money and goods which emanated from sources outside the Territory. In explaining the action, Mr. Desmond Lardner-Burke, "Minister of Justice, Law and Order", said that "the African National Council, or its members, have been responsible for actions interfering with the peace, order and good government of Rhodesia" and that consequently the receipt of external assistance by the Council would be likely to interfere with public safety, the maintenance of public order, and the preservation of peace.

62. On 16 June, Mr. Lardner-Burke, moving a further extension of the state of emergency, stated that "strict surveillance" of the African National Council would be maintained as it was "inherently improbable" that the organization could pursue a policy of non-violence. He further said that whereas the "Government" did not oppose the formation of a new party which was prepared to work constitutionally for the good of the country, there was ample evidence that elements within the Council had resorted to violence and intimidation, and that many of its officials were former detainees.

63. On 21 June, a branch office of the African National Council at Mrewa, about 60 miles from Salisbury, was closed and six council officials arrested under the so-called state of emergency regulations. On 29 June, the Council stated that police of the Special Branch had detained without explanation some 40 more council members in the Mtoko region, about 100 miles from Salisbury. On 17 July, it was reported that Mr. Eddison Zvobgo, a restrictee, and Mr. Michael Mawema, both

secretaries of the Council, had fled to Zambia via Botswana to evade arrest by the illegal régime. Mr. Zvobgo, a former leading member of ZANU, had been released from Salisbury prison in November 1971 after being held in detention for almost seven years.

64. In August Mr. P. K. van der Byl, the "Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism", tabled in the "House of Assembly" the "Departure from Rhodesia (Control) Amendment Bill", which would enable the "Government" to deprive individuals of travel documents if it was decided that their journey would not be in the public interest. He said that the aim of the control was to prevent people "hostile to Rhodesia from damaging the country outside".

65. On 1 September, the passport of the Reverend Canaan Banana was withdrawn under this "Act" which had been promulgated in the "Government Gazette" on that day. On 8 September, the passport of Bishop Muzorewa was similarly confiscated, as a result of which he was totally confined to the "white" areas of Southern Rhodesia and to African Purchase Areas; since 1970 he has been prohibited access to the Tribal Trust Lands.

66. It was reported that Bishop Muzorewa had originally been scheduled to leave Southern Rhodesia the following week to attend an executive church meeting in the United States. At the same time, he had tentatively planned to stop in London for discussions with United Kingdom officials and to visit the United Nations to attend a meeting of the Security Council. The Reverend Banana had been invited to attend a meeting in the United Kingdom called by the World Council of Churches.

67. On 28 September, Mr. Eshmael Mlambo informed the Security Council, at its 1664th meeting, that as a result of the withdrawal of his passport, Bishop Muzorewa had been denied the right to travel abroad to receive medical treatment; he added that Bishop Muzorewa's health was in danger and that for nearly two months he had been in a hospital with inadequate medical facilities.

68. On 19 October, the African National Council announced the appointment of Miss Judith Todd as its representative to the United Nations and of Mr. Zvobgo as Director of External Relations. At the same time, the Council announced in Salisbury that although it could not seek accreditation to the United Nations, Miss Todd would be available to speak if she were asked. According to the statement, all representatives would be responsible to Mr. Zvobgo and a strict code of conduct would be issued to prevent differences in statements and actions between representatives abroad and Council leaders in Southern Rhodesia.

Rhodesian Front

69. The Rhodesian Front is the "Government party"; Mr. Des Frost is its Chairman. The Front has a membership in excess of 10,000, holds all the 50 European seats in the "House Assembly" and in the "general elections" of April 1970 secured 77 per cent of the votes cast.

70. According to the Pearce Commission, the Rhodesian Front, while expressing reservations on certain points and considering some aspects of the settlement proposals to be impracticable, had recorded its acceptance of them as a package deal. At the same time, the party warned the Pearce Commission that unless the Africans showed "some willingness to reciprocal co-operation with the European", they could not guarantee that the Front would "continue to support wholeheartedly the proposals as a package deal".

Rhodesian Electoral Union

71. The Rhodesian Electoral Union comprises the eight indirectly elected members of the "House of Assembly": all are Africans. These members are chosen by the eight tribal electoral colleges, composed of about 1,400 chiefs, headmen and elected counsellors. Mr. N. C. Makaya is their leader.

72. Mr. Makaya and five of the elected members (two were unable to attend) presented the Pearce Commission on 24 January 1972 with a memorandum which they subsequently published. They declared that they had travelled widely throughout the Territory in their official capacity and that, despite obstacles placed in their way in organizing meetings, they had been able to take the views of the African people. They emphasized their rejection of the proposals, as well as of the procedure for asking opinion, and urged the Commission, in view of the violence which they said its presence had caused, to abandon its task and return to the United Kingdom. They considered that the British Government should call a new representative conference to discuss the future of the Territory.

Centre Party

73. This multiracial party is represented in the "House of Assembly" by seven directly elected members to the eight African-roll constituency seats (see also paragraph 6 below). According to Mr. T. H. P. Bashford, the leader of the party, the Centre Party is "non-racial in membership and ideals". It was founded in August 1968 principally in opposition to the Rhodesian Front's unilateral declaration of independence.

74. The party, although severely critical of Mr. Smith's régime, supported the proposals, with reservations, because it believed that the proposals were a "small step toward a genuine non-racial meritocracy without which there could be no racial peace in Rhodesia"; nevertheless, the party pointed out that they accepted them "under duress". Some members of the Executive based their support for the proposals on the economic benefits and the absence of any other alternative. One elected member, Mr. Sadomba, publicly dissociated himself from the party's policy on the proposals shortly before the Pearce Commission's hearings.

75. In mid-March, Mr. Bashford stated that his party had formally withdrawn its support from the 'Government' on the settlement issue, owing to the failure of Mr. Smith, over a three-month period, to give an assurance that he would end discriminatory measures in the country. Regarding the prospects for a settlement,

Mr. Bashford said that the only thing that remained to be done was to make one final effort to arrange talks between the "Government" and the African National Council "if only to demonstrate to the world at large that the last possible approach to a settlement under the Rhodesian Front /had/ been explored".

National People's Union

76. The National People's Union has the smallest representation in the "House of Assembly"; its sole elected member, and Acting President, Mr. J. Gondo, had been deprived of his office following a public statement that he favoured the proposals. The party claims to have 2,000 paid-up members in addition to a large number of sympathizers. It totally rejected the proposals.

Political parties not represented in the "House of Assembly"

77. Two parties are not represented in the "House of Assembly": the Republican Alliance and the Congress National Union. The guiding principle of the Republican Alliance is "the preservation of European civilization in Rhodesia". As there was nothing in the proposals to support this "principle", it rejected them. The Congress National Union claims to have a paid-up membership of 50,000 Africans. However, the Pearce Commission reported that the Union could produce nothing to substantiate this claim and the Commission was "totally unconvinced by it". The Union supported the proposals "subject to certain reservations".

New African political groups

78. Early in 1973 two African pro-settlement political groups were formed.

79. The establishment of the African Settlement Convention (ASC) was announced on 11 February by its Secretary, Mr. George Charambarara, who stated that his organization, which comprised African businessmen, opposed the aims of the African National Council as totally negative and non-representative of the majority of Africans. Mr. Charambarara said that ASC desired to promote understanding between the races by constant contact through meetings and discussions and that its principal aim was to attempt to reach a settlement by gaining the support of all "influential Rhodesians". Mr. Charambarara claimed that ASC, which he described as non-political, had been functioning for the past six months, although it had had no formal contact with either Mr. Smith's "Government" or the United Kingdom Government and that it had already won the support of 10,000 Africans, including some disaffected members of the Council. According to press reports, the first open meeting called by ASC during the first week-end in March was well attended.

80. The second African organization, whose formation was announced in March, is known as the Rhodesian Settlement Forum. The Forum claimed that during March, it had acquired 80,000 signatures from Africans supporting the proposals for a

settlement which it would submit to the United Kingdom Government as evidence of a change of heart among Africans regarding the rejection of the proposals.

81. On 28 February, Mr. Charambarara stated that private European backers of the two groups had provided them with gasoline, automobiles and other assistance.

New white political parties established in 1972

82. During 1972, presumably as a result of the tensions created by the proposals for a settlement, three new white political organizations were formed in the Territory, representing points of view both to the left and to the right of the ruling Rhodesian Front. Of these, the Rhodesia Party, which identifies itself as a conservative grouping but at the same time stands for a certain degree of elimination of racial discrimination in public life, appears to have attracted the relatively strongest support and to constitute the only potential challenge to the Rhodesian Front.

(a) People Against Racial Discrimination

83. On 14 February, an organization known as People Against Racial Discrimination was established by a group of predominantly white businessmen, clergymen and political figures. The organization, which favoured the acceptance of the settlement proposals, called upon all sections of the community to embrace multiracialism and to work for the removal of job reservation. Founding members included Sir Humphrey Gibbs, former Governor of Southern Rhodesia, the Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland, and two Salisbury city councillors.

(b) United Front

84. On 17 February, a party known as the United Front was formed with the basic principle that "the white man's position must be supreme for all time". The party, temporarily ruled by a steering committee led by Mr. Wilfred Brooks, an editor of Rhodesian Property and Finance, seemingly lost momentum following the rejection of the settlement proposals which it opposed as constituting a "handover".

(c) Rhodesia Party

85. On 31 October announcement was made in Salisbury of the formation of an all-white opposition party, the Rhodesia Party. The party's interim committee is headed by Mr. Roy Ashburner, a farmer, and includes Mr. Alan Savory, an independent member of the "House of Assembly" and former member of the Centre Party. According to a spokesman, the party had been formed because the

Rhodesian Front had failed to solve the country's problems and a new approach was needed. This, according to the introductory manifesto, would include a strengthening of constitutional safeguards against the domination of one race by the other, a curbing of the drift towards extremism and 'petty and unnecessary racialism', and advancement on merit guaranteed to Africans. To this end, the party would eliminate all racial discrimination in public life and establish a common electoral role for all races. The manifesto also stated, however, that political control and administration should remain in the hands of those with the "education, income and possessions to give them an interest in stability and to qualify them for this responsibility". To this end the party would support high franchise qualifications.

86. As regards the question of a settlement, Mr. Savory said that the Rhodesia Party did not support the proposals, primarily because they offered short-term economic benefits but no long-term stability. Once the constitutional dilemma was resolved within the Territory, however, a settlement would follow.

87. White response to the formation of the Rhodesia Party was initially reported to be strongly positive, with over 1,000 memberships issued the first day and a total of 3,000 issued by the end of the first week. As a result, there was speculation that the Rhodesia Party could provide the first meaningful white-party opposition to the Rhodesian Front in 10 years.

88. On 9 January 1973, the Rhodesia Party issued a statement saying it was convinced that the Rhodesian Front was the only obstacle to reaching a settlement, which now depended on broad agreement between the races on an independence constitution. According to the statement, a new initiative with constitutional proposals which met the needs of all Rhodesians realistically was essential and the Rhodesia Party believed that the Rhodesian Front, by its nature and history, would be unlikely ever to resolve the impasse.

Growth of repression

Repression and intimidation in connexion with the proposals for a settlement

89. According to the Pearce Commission, the main and the most serious charges of intimidation fell into three categories:

"First, it was alleged that the Rhodesian Government used intimidatory tactics and pressure to induce the Africans to accept the proposals. Second, employers, almost always Europeans, were accused of using undue influence to persuade their employees to accept the proposals. Thirdly, African nationalists were accused of intimidating other Africans to reject the proposals."

The charges concerning the pressure of "African nationalists" have been denied and rejected by the African National Council as well as by other organizations in the Territory.

90. At the 860th meeting of the Special Committee, on 19 April 1972, Mr. Simpson V. Mtambanengwe, representative of ZANU, said that even before the Pearce Commission arrived, secret instructions had been sent by the illegal régime to all white farmers directing them to instruct and compel their African employees to reply "yes" for more land, "yes" for more education, and "yes" for more jobs; to all white industrialist and commercial chiefs to print "yes" forms for all their employees to sign on threat of losing their jobs should any choose to dissent; to all police and native commissioners to do likewise and to prevent meetings in rural and African Purchase Areas where the proposals would be explained to the people.

91. At the 869th meeting of the Special Committee, on 27 April 1972, Mr. Sadomba, of the African National Council, said that the illegal régime had already taken action against those chiefs who opposed the settlement proposals. Some of them had been suspended, some had had their salaries stopped, and others had been prosecuted. Under the "African Affairs Act", a chief who refused to obey the orders of a district commissioner is regarded as having broken the law; Mr. Sadomba mentioned a case of a subchief who had been charged under the "Act" and sentenced to a fine of \$R 30 or six months' imprisonment.

92. At the 1988th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, on 25 October 1972, Mr. Richard Hove, Secretary for External Affairs of ZANU, declared that since the departure of the Pearce Commission and the subsequent announcement of its findings, the illegal régime "had embarked on mass arrests of anyone, especially at the grass roots, whom it suspected of having worked for the negative decision on the settlement proposals". In addition to the existing detention centres, such as Gonakudzingwa, Whawha, Sikombela, Gokwe and Salisbury Maximum Security Prison, others had been opened in Marandellas, where the Chinamanos were being held (see paragraph 96 and ff. below). Even more people were restricted to their home areas in the so-called Tribal Trust Lands and had to report to the police daily. Chiefs were being bribed to harass their people. Several pro-settlement organizations had been formed and industry was providing funds to pay people to say that they had been misled into rejecting the proposals.

Franchise restrictions

93. On 28 February, the illegal régime announced that, owing to an over-all increase in the consumer price index of 10.1 per cent between December 1969 and December 1972, the financial qualifications for the African voters' roll would be automatically increased from \$R 400 to \$R 440 minimum annual salary. Financial qualifications for whites would be increased from \$R 1,200 to \$R 1,320. On the basis of data elsewhere provided by the illegal régime, the change will severely limit the number of Africans eligible for the franchise, but will leave white eligibility unaffected. As reported by the illegal régime, the average earnings of employed Africans in 1970 were \$R 312 per annum, or \$R 88 less than the minimum

qualification; European earnings averaged \$R 3,104, or about \$R 2,000 more than the minimum qualifications. In 1970, only 726,000 Africans, slightly over 10 per cent of the total African population, were gainfully employed. This would mean that as a result of the recent upward change in voting qualifications, probably even fewer Africans would be eligible to vote.

Detentions and arrests

94. In a memorandum dated 17 February 1972, addressed to the Pearce Commission, the African National Council stated that "the Government, acting through the Police and District Commissioners, has done everything in its powers to try to weaken the impact of the ANC" and to ensure a "yes" vote. Its main weapon to this end has been to detain members of the Council and other Africans who it is thought would be likely to say "no".

95. Under section 45 (1) of the "Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1970", any police officer may arrest and detain for up to 30 days anyone whom he reasonably suspects of having committed or being about to commit any offence. The Commission stated in its report that "these widespread powers were used to detain persons involved in the rioting" and it quoted the following cumulative figures of the number of persons arrested and detained during the whole of the Commission's stay in the Territory, as provided by the illegal régime:

	<u>At 27 January</u> <u>1972</u>	<u>At 28 February</u> <u>1972</u>	<u>At 11 March</u> <u>1972</u>
Arrests	1 119	1 607	1 736
Convictions	176	647	689
Acquittal and releases without trial	446	821	923
Cases pending trial	187	124	109
Cases pending decision	310	15	15

96. On 18 January 1972, the illegal régime detained and placed in solitary confinement the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Garfield Todd, and his daughter Judith, under section 16 of the "Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations". On 21 January, Mr. Josiah Chinamano, Treasurer of the African National Council and former Education Secretary of ZAPU, and his wife were detained under similar "ministerial orders" and imprisoned without trial or charges.

97. In a statement to the press issued on 7 February, the Pearce Commission declared, inter alia, that, in the absence of any satisfactory explanation from the régime about those detained and the failure either to prefer charges against them or to realise them, "the Commission must infer that the purpose of their detention

is to inhibit the free expression of opinion". In its report, the Commission concluded that "on both these counts ... the case must go by default against the Rhodesian Government" and qualified these detentions as "an interference with normal political activities".

98. On 22 February, Mr. Todd and his daughter were released from prison and placed under house arrest at their ranch for "health reasons and on humanitarian grounds". In this connexion, the illegal régime published an amendment to the detention regulations stipulating that no unauthorized visitor would be allowed in the designated detention areas without a written permit from the authorities. The detainees were also forbidden to write letters or use the telephone.

99. Early in March, a judicial tribunal, which had met in camera for three days to review the cases of "four detainees", unanimously recommended their continued detention. According to a spokesman for the "Ministry of Law and Order", the members of the tribunal were "satisfied that the continued detention of all four detainees was necessary in the interests of public safety and public order".

100. On 13 April, Mr. and Mrs. Chinamano were released from solitary confinement in separate jails and removed to a site near Marandellas prison. On 13 July, Miss Judith Todd was released from detention and permitted to leave Southern Rhodesia; the order releasing her provided that she would be rearrested if she returned to the Territory in the future.

Trial and sentencing of Mr. Peter Niesewand

101. It was announced on 6 April 1973 in Salisbury, that Mr. Peter Niesewand, a Southern Rhodesian news correspondent who freelanced for several international news agencies in western Europe and Africa, had been sentenced, after a secret trial, to one year's hard labour, with a second year of hard labour "conditionally suspended" by the illegal régime. The trial and sentencing of Mr. Niesewand, which followed six weeks in solitary confinement, were for an alleged breach of the "Rhodesian Official Secret Act" of 1970. Precisely what Mr. Niesewand was alleged to have done was not known. But Mr. Brendan Treacy, "Director of Public Prosecutions" of the illegal régime, told a court hearing in March 1973 that Mr. Niesewand was charged under a section of the "Act" concerning the publication of information "calculated to be, or which might be useful, directly or indirectly, to any enemy". Prior to his detention, Mr. Niesewand had reported on African guerrilla activities inside Southern Rhodesia, particularly in the area bordering on Mozambique. Neither the details of the charge against him nor the evidence have been given in public. The condition attaching to Mr. Niesewand's suspended one-year sentence is that he does not again contravene the "Act" during the next three years. Mr. J. E. T. Hamilton, the magistrate, said that the suspension had been allowed because Mr. Niesewand had acted openly and not in secret. It is expected that Mr. Niesewand will be held at the Salisbury Remand Prison while waiting for an appeal hearing.

102. The trial and sentencing have provoked very strong condemnation of the illegal régime in the United Kingdom, in the Territory and elsewhere. Sir Alec Douglas-Home,

the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, had lodged a protest with the illegal régime. On 10 April 1973, Mr. Edward Heath, the United Kingdom Prime Minister, told Parliament that Salisbury had still to respond to the protest lodged by Sir Alec.

103. In criticizing the Niesewand trial and sentencing, the Rhodesia Herald, in an editorial published on 7 April 1973, also referred critically to the sentencing of a man, by another Southern Rhodesian magistrate, to six years in gaol for harbouring a guerrilla. According to the editorial, the magistrate had remarked that the individual had to take second place to the interests and safety of the State. Thus, the editorial commented: "Individual safety rests in great measure on the rule of law, an integral part of which is the administration of justice by courts in a way that allows the public to see that justice to individuals is being done. This is the rule from which Rhodesia has departed."

Developments relating to the "Land Tenure Act, 1969"

104. As previously reported, the "Land Tenure Act", the provisions of which are entrenched in the 1969 "Constitution", divided the land of Southern Rhodesia into three categories: European, African and national, Coloured persons (mixed race) and Asians being classified, for the purpose of the "Act", as Europeans. The "Act" further provided, among other things, for the progressive elimination, on payment of compensation, of pockets of land occupied by one racial group within large areas allocated to another racial group. Consequently, the "Act" threatened thousands of Africans with eviction and deportation from lands they had farmed for generations. Although planned evictions by the illegal régime, including that of 3,500 Africans from the Epworth Mission of the British Methodist Church, were said to have been suspended during the visit of the Pearce Commission, further deportations were reported during 1972.

(a) Eviction of Tangwena people

105. Since 1969, members of the Tangwena tribe have been resisting eviction from their traditional land and homes on the white-owned Gaersi Ranch, an area designated as European land. On several occasions since then, the Tangwenas have been driven from the ranch by Southern Rhodesian police, who burnt their dwellings and confiscated cattle.

106. In July 1972, Southern Rhodesian police with dogs landed at the Gaersi Ranch in six air force helicopters to evict Tangwenas who had returned since the police raids in 1971. Ten men were arrested for "illegally" occupying land classified as European. On 27 July, it was reported that the police had burnt all newly constructed dwellings and removed 110 Tangwena children from the adjacent Nyafaru farm where they had been cared for over the past four years. The children, many of whom were under five years old, were alternately reported to have been placed in institutions in Umtali and to have been moved to Salisbury. According to various sources, the children were being held as ransom until their parents complied with the edicts of the illegal régime.

(b) Evictions at Stapleford

107. In 1971, the illegal régime was reported to be considering the eviction of 5,000 Africans from land belonging to the Forestry Commission at Stapleford near the Mozambique frontier. On 19 April 1972, Mr. Nathan M. Shamuyarira, representative of the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI), informed the Special Committee at its 860th meeting that the illegal régime had announced that over 2,000 families from the Stapleford Forest Reserve near Umtali were to be removed to the arid and hot Zambezi Valley.

(c) Other evictions

108. On 3 April, it was reported that the Salisbury City Council had decided to evict some 5,000 African "squatters" from a shanty town known as Old Bricks in Harare township, about three miles from the centre of Salisbury; on the same day, the authorities had reportedly proceeded with the destruction of 1,000 shanties. According to a Salisbury city councilman, the reasons for the evictions included disease, theft and the overloading of services; he also alleged that most of the Harare squatters had come into the city over the past few months, encouraged by "political agitators".

109. Under new regulations, any African family in a township house who has rented space to an illegal lodger will also be subject to eviction.

"Provincialization"

110. In the aftermath of the Pearce Commission's report, the illegal régime proceeded with full implementation of the 1969 illegal "Constitution" and with the original platform of the Rhodesian Front calling for greater separation of the races along the lines of the apartheid system practised in South Africa, including, in particular, a programme of "provincialization". This concept involves the delegation of greater local governing powers to tribal authorities, similar to the Bantustan and homelands system of South Africa, and the investing of greater powers in the chiefs, while simultaneously limiting the influence of elected tribal representatives in the "House of Assembly".

111. Enunciation of the provincialization policy was made in July 1972, both in an article in the Forum, the Rhodesian Front official journal, and in several statements by Mr. Lance Smith, "Minister of Internal Affairs". As stated in the Forum article, under the provincialization system, the administration of the Tribal Trust Lands would be decentralized "on an evolutionary pattern" to provincial authorities. The provincial administration, consisting of local assemblies and executive councils backed by African branches of the public service, would be responsible for the daily administration of health, education, local government, housing, agriculture, labour and social welfare, commerce and industry, local roads, land and game parks and water development; national policy on these matters would emanate from the central "Government".

112. On 12 July, Mr. Lance Smith announced that "provincialization" would be started towards the end of the year. Two African provincial councils would be established, with limited powers, in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. The councils would be elected through electoral colleges where the chiefs would have greater influence than in the colleges which elected tribal members to the "House of Assembly".

113. On the same day, Mr. Lance Smith announced in the "House of Assembly" his plans to give chiefs greater control over "disruptive elements" in their areas and over elections. According to Mr. Smith, the present procedure of nominating African members to the "House of Assembly" had not "given the loyalty towards the chiefs that one might have expected". h/ In future, he wanted to see the chiefs "give their stamp of approval to people whom they believed would serve the tribal authorities and the people's best interests".

114. On 24 November, the illegal régime published in the "Government Gazette" a "Regional Authorities Bill" calling for the establishment of local authorities and enumerating their proposed functions. These included the right to levy taxes on people and property; the authority to acquire, sell, lease or exchange any of its property; the power to make by-laws; and the authority to raise loans within the country on conditions laid down by the "Minister of Internal Affairs" in consultation with the "Minister of Finance". The "bill" envisaged that these local authorities would gradually become involved in certain decisions within the framework of central government policy, for example: health, education, communications and water supply, and would also act in an advisory capacity to the "Government" on all matters within the area of their jurisdiction. The "Minister of Internal Affairs", however, would retain the power to make regulations over a number of essential matters, including the method of appointing or electing members, the qualifications and disqualifications of members, the appointment of advisory officials and other procedures.

115. Provisions of the "bill" came under sharp attack from African members of the "House of Assembly" who accused the illegal régime of attempting to introduce carefully controlled Bantustans in the Territory. They qualified the proposed "bill" as a piece of discriminatory legislation introduced to placate the right wing of the Rhodesian Front, which could only succeed in turning the Africans even more strongly against the "Government".

116. According to a number of statements by "government" officials, it was expected that the provincial authorities would be operating by July 1973.

h/ The Electoral Act stipulates that prospective candidates be endorsed by one chief, two heads of kraals and seven tribesmen.

117. On 26 March, it was reported that the illegal régime had taken the first step towards establishing semi-autonomous "regional authorities" in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. According to a statement by the "Ministry of Internal Affairs", the regional authorities, which would be composed of one chief from each administrative district, would assume much of the "Government's" responsibility for the administration of health, education and general development in African areas, thus furthering the policy of decentralization.

118. In response to the announcement of these new measures by the illegal régime, the African National Council issued a statement on 27 March charging that "provincialization" would inevitably lead to the creation of totally segregated areas similar to the "bantustans" in South Africa and that inasmuch as the "regional authorities" were to be composed of tribal chiefs, they would be no different from the present chiefs' councils.

Intensification of racial segregation

119. Since the failure of the settlement proposals, the illegal régime has taken further major steps to intensify racial segregation in the Territory. A document outlining the intended future course of segregation was presented to the annual congress of the ruling Rhodesian Front in September 1972. The confidential document, prepared by an ad hoc party sub-committee under Mr. Des Frost, called upon the illegal régime, inter alia: (a) to introduce segregation of public facilities, including swimming pools, buses, cinemas, toilets and public parks; (b) to control the "unnecessary" movement of Africans into white areas; (c) to develop African townships complete with industrial and commercial enterprises outside white areas; and (d) to provide separate facilities for whites and Africans in state offices and institutions. Following an intervention by "Prime Minister" Smith, who labelled the measures advocated in the report as "petty racialism", the introduction of which would be to the over-all detriment of the country, the congress did not approve the new racial measures, but unanimously passed a motion of confidence in the "Prime Minister" and his "Government".

120. Nevertheless, from September 1972 onwards, the illegal régime began introducing a series of legislative measures intensifying racial segregation, which are summarized below.

(a) Segregation at swimming pools

121. On 29 September, the illegal régime published a notice in the "Government Gazette" instituting racial segregation at public swimming pools (which had been

desegregated since 1961). By the provisions of this notice, attendance at swimming pools was classified as falling under the "Land Tenure Act", and consequently susceptible to segregation along racial lines. The primary impact of the decision falls on Africans wishing to use swimming pools in European areas, which include all urban centres.

122. It was unofficially reported at the same time that by the "Urban Councils Bill", which was to be considered early in 1973 as a successor to the present "Municipal Act", separate sports, camping, swimming and toilet facilities for Europeans and Africans would also be instituted.

(b) Segregation at bars

123. On 20 October, a notice was published in the "Government Gazette" prohibiting Africans from being served in bars in white areas after 7 p.m. on weekdays, after 1 p.m. on Saturdays and all hours on Sundays and holidays. The regulation, which came into effect on 1 November, was introduced under the "Land Tenure Act".

124. On 16 November, as a result of an appeal by three hotels and an African journalist, the regulation was overruled by the Rhodesian High Court which judged that the regulations were ultra vires the "Land Tenure Act" and had no force or effect. The "Government" thereupon appealed the ruling. On 15 December, the appellate division of the Rhodesian High Court dismissed the "Government's" appeal against the High Court ruling, although, on the previous day, the "House of Assembly" had approved an amendment to the "Land Tenure Act" broadening the terms of the "Act" to allow the imposition of curbs on African patronage of establishments serving liquor in white areas. The judges, ruling in terms of the unamended "Land Tenure Act", found that there was nothing in the "Act" that would empower the "Minister of Lands" to alter the Liquor Act of 1961 which gave Africans the right to buy alcoholic beverages in European areas. Mr. Justice Mac Donald, the Judge President, said in his judgement that the drinking regulations profoundly altered the rights conferred to Africans by statute in 1961 and curtailed the rights of some whites under the Liquor Act to serve all races.

125. On the same day, the Senate approved an amendment to the "Land Tenure Act" to empower the "Government" to make regulations affecting the rights of Africans under the Liquor Act of 1961. In January 1973, new regulations were published in the "Government Gazette" reintroducing curbs on African drinking in European areas.

(c) African registration

126. On 17 November, the illegal régime tabled in the "House of Assembly" the "African (Registration and Identification) Amendment Bill" requiring all Africans over 16 to carry a registration or identity certificate at all times and to apply

for special permission to leave the country. The "bill", introduced by Mr. Lance Smith, "Minister of Internal Affairs", provides for a maximum fine of \$R 100 or one year in prison or both for failure to carry valid identity documents. It also provides that Africans leaving the country must surrender their identity papers and apply for their reissuance upon return. (Present legislation requires that all Africans over 16 must be registered, but does not require them to carry identity documents.) The "bill" further enables the illegal régime to deport foreign Africans who have no registration certificates and to refuse to grant such certificates.

127. According to Mr. Lance Smith, the "bill" would make it possible for the "Government" to remove foreign Africans from the country, and would ensure the reservation of jobs, especially in urban centres, for Rhodesians. He also expressed the opinion that the legislation would have a beneficial influence on security in many parts of the country.

128. The "African (Registration and Identification) Amendment Bill" has come under severe attack from various groups, including the African National Council, African members of the "House of Assembly", leading clergymen and the Centre Party. On 17 November, the Reverend Canaan Banana, of the African National Council, stated that the repercussions of such legislation were bound to be graver than the Rhodesian Front was prepared to anticipate. It was clear that the illegal régime was choosing a collision course out of desperation and therefore had to bear full responsibility for the consequences of their actions. The Reverend Banana also stated that the "bill" was designed to "intimidate Africans into conniving with a corrupt system of government".

129. On 21 November, the Anglican Bishops of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, the Roman Catholic Bishops and the Rabbi of Bulawayo, in separate communications, appealed to the "Minister of Internal Affairs" to withdraw the "bill", which they unanimously labelled apartheid. The clergymen agreed that to impose the burden of identification on one section of the population was discriminatory, oppressive and degrading.

130. During the debate in the "House of Assembly", African members and Mr. Alan Savory, representing the Rhodesia Party, accused the authors of the "bill" of "molesting the dignity" of the African majority. Mr. Edward Watunga, a Centre Party member, stated that the "bill" represented an effort on the part of the illegal régime to blackmail Africans into changing their minds about rejecting the 1971 settlement proposals, but that it was destined to fail. Mr. Savory stated that "if the aim of the bill had been to turn every African in Rhodesia into a terrorist, he would be obliged to praise its effectiveness".

(d) Restriction on school attendance

131. On 17 November, the illegal régime tabled in the "House of Assembly" an "Education Bill" consolidating existing legislation from which was omitted a clause proposed by the Roman Catholic churches safeguarding the Africans' right

to attend interracial private schools. The clause, which was dropped without consultation with representatives of the Church, stated that nothing in the "bill" would preclude the admission, attendance, and instruction of African children at private schools. The omission of the clause met with strong protest, among other groups, from the Catholic Bishops' Conference.

(e) Restriction of public meetings

132. On 23 November, the illegal régime tabled in the "House of Assembly" the "African Affairs Amendment (No. 2) Bill" prohibiting the holding of unauthorized public meetings throughout the African area as defined in the "Land Tenure Act", instead of only in the Tribal Trust Lands and other tribal areas as at present. i/ The "bill" would also extend the powers of district commissioners to prohibit individuals from holding or addressing meetings. In addition, the bill would require that any white person employed at a religious mission in the Tribal Trust Lands or other tribal areas obtain written permission from the "Secretary for Internal Affairs" or the provincial or district commissioner to enter or be in any Tribal Trust Land. The "Secretary for Internal Affairs" would retain the authority to ban anyone, whether white or African, from entering or remaining in any Tribal Trust Land or other tribal area if he believed that the presence of such an individual was against the public interest or the interest of Africans living there. The "bill" would remove an existing provision requiring that prohibition notices be tabled in the "House of Assembly".

(f) Control over urban areas

133. On 24 November, a proposed amendment to the "Vagrancy Act", known as the "Vagrancy Amendment Bill", was published in the "Government Gazette". The amendment, which would empower the district commissioner to prohibit "vagrants" from entering urban areas, defined as a vagrant: (a) any person found in an urban area who is not lawfully resident in that area or who is not employed by such a person; (b) any person who is idle or disorderly; and (c) any person who lives on the earnings of prostitution. The "bill" would further empower the district commissioner to endorse the identification certificate of the prohibited person with the particulars of the order banning him from urban areas.

134. On 1 December, in the course of the debate on the "bill", Mr. Lance Smith stated that one of the principal purposes of the "bill" was to give the authorities the power to control the influx of rural African work seekers into urban areas. He said that this influx had brought with it both disappointment at the failure to find employment and poverty. An African compelled to leave urban areas under the "bill" would return to his Tribal Trust Land "where the tribal influences and system would quickly rehabilitate him": alternatively he might choose to find

i/ The "bill" incorporates two orders issued by the "Minister of Law and Order" on 30 June 1972 and valid for three months, banning political meetings in African Purchase Areas and prohibiting all open-air political meetings.

work in a white rural area where there were "numerous employment opportunities". Mr. Lance Smith said that he had deliberately included a provision in the "bill" to allow a person banned from an urban area to return for humanitarian reasons such as medical attention or to settle private affairs.

(g) Segregated postal facilities

135. In December 1972, the illegal régime introduced in the "House of Assembly" the "Post and Telecommunications (Amendment) Bill" which, inter alia, would provide for separate facilities in post offices for different "classes" of persons. Under the terms of the "bill", the classes of persons would be determined by occupation, language, or any other class the "Minister of Posts" might consider desirable.

(h) Occupation of Tribal Trust Land

136. On 5 December, the illegal régime introduced in the "House of Assembly" the following amendments to the "Land Tenure Act": (a) a provision which would allow wives and children of mixed marriages to apply for permission to live in the "racial" area of their husbands and fathers; (b) a provision which would enable the "Government" to acquire Tribal Trust Land for "public purposes", such as defence, mineral development, transport or communications; (c) a provision which would require "non-tribesmen" wishing in the future to live in Tribal Trust Lands to obtain a permit from the "Minister of Internal Affairs" (the provision would not affect persons already resident in the Tribal Trust Lands, who would be deemed to have been issued with permits); (d) a provision which would permit bona fide religious, educational or charitable institutions to own and maintain interracial premises in either white or African areas. Apart from attendance at church, however, such occupation would be allowed only subject to the granting of a special permit. It will be recalled that the original terms of the "Land Tenure Act" obligated voluntary associations, including churches, to register as either white or African organizations and to apply for permission to own or lease land. The provision, which attempted to ensure that the churches would maintain separate facilities for the different racial groups, met with constant opposition from the Roman Catholic Church which threatened to close down all schools and other institutions if the requirement regarding racial separation was enforced. To avoid such an occurrence, the illegal régime granted the Church an amendment in 1971 "deeming them to have registered under the Act and absolving them from further compliance".

(i) Restrictive title deeds

137. On 7 December, Mr. Jack Howman, "Acting Minister of Justice", tabled in the "House of Assembly" a bill amending the "Deeds Act" to allow a landowner who wished to establish a township or to subdivide land to insert restrictive conditions in the title deeds. When a restrictive condition had been registered, such a landowner could apply to the court for the eviction of anyone who subsequently occupied the property in contravention of the restriction.

138. The bill also contained amendments to the "Municipal Act" to the effect that a municipal council might provide "designated facilities" for the use of separate races if the facilities were provided "equitably". The amendment empowered the "Minister of Local Government and Housing" to determine whether the facilities were "equitable according to the needs of each race".

(j) Restrictions on employment

139. On 27 October, Mr. Roger Hawkins, "Minister of Transport and Power", was reported to have told the Rhodesian Railway Workers' Union that it was "government" policy not to allow non-white drivers on main line locomotives and that there would be restrictions on the advancement of non-whites in shunter and guard grades. The effect of the policy would be to preclude non-whites from holding semi-senior supervisory positions in these grades. Ninety-six Coloureds, Asians and Africans in the enginemen's grades had resigned from the multiracial union on 16 October because of its failure to protect their rights.

(c) Struggle for national liberation

National liberation movements

140. At present, there are three national liberation movements in the Territory, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI). Of these, ZANU and ZAPU were formed in 1963, following the banning in 1962 of the original ZAPU, which had been created to lead a political campaign against the acceptance of the 1961 Constitution. Under the leadership of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Mr. Joshua Nkomo, respectively, these two parties launched an intensive political campaign to liberate the Territory. In August 1964, both ZANU and ZAPU were simultaneously banned by the illegal régime and since then they have been reorganized both inside and outside the country.

141. Since 1966, these parties have waged an armed struggle against the illegal régime, mostly in the form of armed confrontations with the security forces of the illegal régime and guerrilla actions. They have been targets of systematically suppressive actions by the illegal régime and many of their members and leaders have been imprisoned and detained. Mr. Nkomo has been in detention without specific charges since 1964 and the Reverend Sithole has been imprisoned on charges of conspiring to assassinate "Prime Minister" Smith.

142. On 23 March 1972, ZAPU and ZANU announced in Dar es Salaam the formation of a "united military command" under the leadership of Mr. Herbert Chitepo, National Chairman of ZANU. According to a communiqué issued at the time by the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, under whose auspices the agreement was reached, the united military command would be responsible for planning and conducting the revolutionary war in all its aspects.

143. On 1 October 1971, the establishment was announced in Lusaka of the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI), under the leadership of Mr. Shelton Siwela, to wage a military struggle against the illegal régime. In a statement to the press, Mr. Siwela was reported to have said that Zimbabwe could no longer afford the inter-party differences which had heretofore prevented the formation of a united front. He hoped to develop FROLIZI into a broad front which would include trade unionists, students and businessmen. However, he felt that a military struggle was the centre of the confrontation and that it would be the guerrilla army on which any progress would initially depend. In August and September 1972, at FROLIZI's inaugural Congress, Mr. James Chikerema was elected Chairman and a new philosophy was adopted, under which the military struggle would be delayed until FROLIZI had engaged massive support among the African population of Zimbabwe.

Recent activities of the national liberation movements
and repressive measures by the illegal régime

144. On 30 August 1972, a landmine explosion, which the illegal régime attributed to Zambian-based freedom fighters, occurred at the Mana Pools Game Reserve, resulting in the injury of one person. Security forces, who were reported to have been unsuccessful in their efforts to capture suspects, stated at the time that they regarded the explosion as an "isolated incident" and were not "unduly worried". A "Ministry of Information" spokesman stated, however, that the landmine explosion represented something new in the field of "terrorist operations".

145. On 11 September, Mr. Jason Moyó, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of ZAPU, stated in an interview in Dar es Salaam that during August, ZAPU had been responsible for three landmine incidents in Southern Rhodesia. The first of these had occurred on 3 August on the railway line between Thompsons Junction and Victoria Falls and had resulted in the blowing up of a train. Later in the month, a military vehicle had been blown up, killing several soldiers and, on 30 August, the Mana Pools explosion had taken place. The first two reports were acknowledged only later by the illegal régime (see paragraph 152 below). At the 1988th meeting of the Fourth Committee, on 25 October 1972, Miss Jane Ngwenya, representative of ZAPU, declared that on 3 August 1972 a fresh wave of guerrilla activities had started in the Territory.

146. On 28 October, the "Ministry of Information" revealed that one white member of the security forces had been killed and another injured when their vehicle ran over a landmine in the Chete Game Reserve on Lake Kariba. The incident was the second landmine explosion in the country confirmed by the illegal régime in 1972.

147. On 4 December, "Prime Minister" Smith stated in a radio address that Rhodesians would be far more worried about the country's security position if they knew the facts. Information was being withheld, however, on the advice of the heads of the security forces who felt that publicizing certain facts would prejudice their operations.

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148. On 5 December, the "Ministry of Information" announced that over the preceding two-week period, security forces had killed and captured "a number of terrorists" who had infiltrated the country "with the intention of subverting the local population and establishing bases and arms caches" and had captured a considerable quantity of arms and explosives. The illegal régime later stated that the incursion had originated from Mozambique and was the first armed incursion from the east by Zimbabwe "terrorists". In an official statement issued at the time, it was stated that security forces, in conjunction with Portuguese forces on the Mozambique border, had carried out an operation which had resulted in the death of two of the "terrorists".

149. On 21 December, a group of freedom fighters armed with automatic weapons fired on a white farmhouse in the Centenary area on the Zambian escarpment, injuring an occupant. The raid, which was the first African nationalist attack on a white-owned farm since May 1966, marked the beginning of a large-scale series of attacks which were still continuing in February 1973. In the following weeks, freedom fighters attacked several more farmhouses and initiated other operations against the security forces of the illegal régime.

150. On 5 January 1973, the Lusaka radio stated that according to a statement issued by ZANU on that day, 75 members of the illegal régime's security forces had been killed and an unknown number injured during the last week of December. On 8 January, national liberation forces mounted a raid on the village of Mount Darwin, 40 miles east of Centenary, which was reported to indicate that ZAPU and ZANU had joined forces with the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO).

151. The illegal régime launched a wide-scale search for African freedom fighters, cancelling Christmas leaves for members of the security forces, calling up members of the territorial forces (reserves) to assist the security forces, and declaring the Centenary area to be restricted. Police were empowered to stop unauthorized persons in the area, and were reported to be making systematic checks of African kraals, as well as buses and cars. Africans were also required to produce registration certificates and to have a specific reason for being in the area before being allowed to continue. It was estimated that the nationalists being sought by the security forces numbered about 50 members. Until the end of January, however, Southern Rhodesian forces had been unsuccessful in all attempts to locate them.

152. On 9 January the illegal régime closed the Zambian border (see paragraph 174 below), and confirmed, with qualifications, ZAPU's responsibility for four incidents which had taken place since August. A "Ministry of Information" spokesman acknowledged that 2,800 grammes of undetonated TNT had been found on 3 August 1972 on the railway line near Victoria Falls, and that further evidence of ZAPU's presence had been found in connexion with the Mana Pools explosion, the death of a white member of the security forces on 29 October, and the explosion the previous day involving members of the South African police.

153. On 12 January the political correspondent of the Rhodesia Herald reported that during the current wave of attacks, the illegal régime, for the first time, was facing severe obstacles in its counter-insurgency operations in the north-eastern areas, owing largely to a new spirit of co-operation shown by the Africans to the freedom fighters. The report also stated that the recent operations had revealed a different approach by the "guerrillas", with the principal aims being to establish contact with the local population and to avoid direct confrontations with the security forces. In the past, the "guerrillas" had been relatively willing to engage in clashes with the Southern Rhodesian forces.

154. In a radio broadcast on 18 January, "Prime Minister" Smith officially acknowledged that African tribesmen had been co-operating with freedom-fighters in the north-eastern part of the country, but alleged that the co-operation was a result of intimidation at gunpoint and bribery of witch doctors. He also said that evidence pointed to further action on the part of African nationalists. As a result, Rhodesians would have to be on their guard everywhere in the country and it would be some time before the situation returned to normal. On the same day, the illegal régime announced new measures which would empower chiefs to impose collective punishment on communities whose members "deliberately co-operated" with freedom fighters. Press reports were also issued stating that the illegal régime had arrested about 180 "tribesmen" on charges of aid to the nationalists.

155. On 19 January, the illegal régime published new state of emergency regulations empowering a provincial commissioner to impose unlimited fines on any community if he was "satisfied" that any individual was guilty of subversion, i.e., of aiding "guerrillas" or of failing to report their presence. Fines could also be imposed if an individual was suspected of having committed murder, arson, malicious injury to property, or of contravening the security laws. Under the regulations "it would be lawful for a provincial commissioner to exercise these powers without giving notice to the persons affected and without affording them any opportunity to make representations against the proposed exercise of those powers". If the community could not pay its fine in cash, the provincial officer might seize cattle or movable property as compensation.

156. An article in the press expressed the view that the action taken by the illegal régime to empower white provincial commissioners rather than chiefs to act directly against the African population was an admission that the chiefs were no longer considered fully reliable in their capacity as "government" appointees.

157. Towards the end of January, security forces of the illegal régime reported their first encounters with groups of freedom fighters. In clashes on 22, 24 and 25 January, security forces stated they had killed a total of 14 "guerrillas", wounded others and captured caches of arms.

158. It was reported in mid-February that the illegal régime had for the first time invoked the new regulations providing for "collective punishment" on entire communities without trial because of suspected "offences" of individuals. The punishment was imposed on members of Chikykwa Village, about 60 miles north of Salisbury, on Chiweshe Tribal Trust Land, for allegedly sheltering freedom fighters.

Fines were imposed on the village and cattle were seized by the office of the "Provincial Commissioner". The illegal régime also closed schools and stores in the Chiweshe area for "security reasons", and it was reported that a "major anti-guerrilla operation" was under way there. Chief Makope, a tribal chief in the area, was arrested by the security forces of the illegal régime "in connexion with a security matter". The Chiweshe land adjoins the white farming district of Centenary.

159. On 16 February, it was reported that the illegal régime had increased the penalties for aiding freedom fighters or failing to report their presence from 5 to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labour. The regulations, which were made under the terms of the state of emergency, without passing through the "House of Assembly", were initially described as interim measures; it was later stated, however, that legislation would be presented to "Parliament" at its next sitting to amend the "Law and Order (Maintenance) Act" along the lines of the emergency regulations. Between February and April, more than 200 Africans were allegedly arrested on charges of aiding or harbouring "terrorists" or failing to report their presence.

160. On 27 February, it was reported that the air force of the illegal régime had launched a rocket attack on suspected bases of freedom fighters on the Mozambique border. The attacks were the first reports of air power being used against the national liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia.

161. On 7 March, the High Court sentenced three Africans to death for the "murder" of a member of the security forces who was blown up in a landmine explosion in the Centenary district on 23 December 1972. Two other Africans were sentenced to 20 and 16 years' imprisonment respectively in connexion with the charges.

162. In March 1973, the illegal régime reportedly began the use of unprecedented methods of cruel psychological warfare against the African population, with a view to ending their co-operation with the national liberation movements. In this new move, two types of leaflets, printed in Shona, had been widely distributed in areas that have been under attack by freedom fighters since December 1972, and where African co-operation with the liberation movements has assumed major proportions. The first type of leaflet invokes the name of one of the more widely believed spiritual entities, warning that the "tribal gods" are abandoning the people and are demonstrating their dissatisfaction with those aiding the freedom fighters by causing the present drought (see paragraph 222 below). It calls upon Africans to inform the police and soldiers of the presence of any freedom fighters and to report anyone suspected of aiding them. The leaflet goes on to say that the "tribal gods" consider the freedom fighters to be committing a great crime and that "they must be destroyed by the people working hand in hand with the soldiers".

163. The second type of leaflet, entitled "Warning", shows photographs of Africans, killed by security forces, accompanied by a text which reads: "These men have died because they helped the terrorists ... Do not help the terrorists. Tell the police and our soldiers where the terrorists are."

164. In a communiqué issued on 24 April 1973 by the illegal régime in Salisbury, it was announced that the régime's security forces had lost four men killed and five seriously wounded in its latest operations against African guerrilla fighters. The casualties reflect the increased numbers and growing activities of the national liberation forces. Since December 1972, the illegal régime has announced the following casualties: 11 dead and 26 wounded in the security forces, in addition to 2 South African "policemen" killed. During the latest engagement, which was announced to have taken place about 120 miles north-east of Salisbury, several other members of the security forces received minor injuries. In regard to guerrilla losses, the communiqué claimed that three had been killed and others captured. According to the claim of the illegal régime, this brought to 40 the total number of deaths among the liberation forces since December 1972.

165. Members of the illegal régime claimed in the Southern Rhodesian "Parliament" that in recent months the African freedom forces had received increased support from the local populace and that for a time, intelligence information reaching the illegal régime had "dried up". Sources in Salisbury report that the African freedom forces are increasingly well armed and show a growing inclination to fight.

Other activities of the illegal régime relating to
the liberation movement

166. On 2 June 1972, at the opening of a new session of "Parliament", "President" Clifford Dupont stated that during the coming year security forces would be maintained at peak efficiency owing to threats from Zambian-based "terrorists". On 6 June, a "Defence Procurement Bill", authorizing the establishment of a "Defence Procurement Board" and a related "Defence Procurement Fund" to handle defence spending, was tabled in the "House of Assembly". Under the terms of the "bill", the board would be under the chairmanship of the "Secretary of Defence" and would include three other members appointed by the "Minister of Defence". The "board" would be empowered to handle the supply of equipment to the defence forces, to manage the "fund" and to borrow additional sums of money. The proposed "fund" would consist of moneys voted by the "House of Assembly" as well as loans, grants or donations from any approved source. The "bill" also contained provisions permitting information on the security of the Territory to be withheld if publication were "prejudicial to the public interest".

167. On 16 June, the "House of Assembly" voted to extend the state of emergency for another 12 months. Moving the extension, Mr. Lardner-Burke, "Minister of Justice, Law and Order", referred to the threat of "terrorist" incursions from beyond Rhodesia's borders and also stated that there was evidence to suggest that "terrorist" organizations had examined their tactics to find more efficient means of "destroying law and order within the country" and that the pattern now seemed to be directed towards "stimulating internal subversion with the aid of dissidents already within the country". He said that the extension of the activities of FRELIMO in Tete District in Mozambique was also a threat to internal security. Mr. Lardner-Burke further stated that the disorders during the test of acceptability served as a reminder that emergency powers had to be readily available at short notice when the political climate was disturbed by agitators and intimidators. Mr. Lardner-Burke accused both OAU and the World Council of Churches of lending financial support to what he termed "terrorist organizations".

168. On 18 August, the "House of Assembly" extended the "Government's" powers of restriction under the "Law and Order (Maintenance) Act" for a further five years. Mr. Lardner-Burke stated that at present no one in the country was restricted under the "Act, but that the powers were necessary to deal with both the definite and potential threats which Rhodesia faced.

169. In the same month, the "Minister of Defence" tabled a new "Defence Bill" which, inter alia, would empower the "Government" to extend the period of national service from nine months to a year and to extend the term of service in the Territorial Forces (reserves) from the present four years to six. These provisions would be used only if the need arose and then only with the approval of the "Defence Council" and the "Cabinet" as a whole. Mr. Howman, "Minister of Defence", stated that in the light of the threat to southern Africa as a whole, it would be imprudent if the "Government" did not have the necessary flexibility to meet any future emergency. On 15 December, the illegal régime announced that the period of national service in the armed forces would be extended to one year beginning in 1973.

170. On the same day, Mr. Howman stated in an interview that the borders to be patrolled had been considerably extended and at present included the border with Botswana, as well as those with Zambia and Mozambique, a total of about 2,000 miles.

Action by the Organization of African Unity (OAU)
concerning Southern Rhodesia

171. The Council of Ministers of OAU, meeting at its nineteenth ordinary session in Rabat, Morocco, from 12 to 15 June 1972, adopted a resolution on Zimbabwe in which, inter alia, it pledged to increase assistance to the people of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle for independence; reaffirmed support for the principle of no independence before majority rule; called on the Government of the United Kingdom not to accord any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty to the illegal régime; and urged the United Kingdom to convene as soon as possible a national constitutional conference in which the genuine political representatives of the people of Zimbabwe would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory for subsequent endorsement by the people under free and democratic processes. The resolution also called on the United Kingdom Government to create the conditions necessary to permit free expression of the right to self-determination, including: (a) the release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees; (b) the repeal of all repressive discriminatory legislation; and (c) the removal of all restrictions on political activity; and further called on the United Kingdom Government to ensure that any future exercise to ascertain the wishes of the people of Zimbabwe as to their political future would be held by secret referendum on the basis of one man, one vote. By this resolution, the Council of Ministers further condemned the United Kingdom Government for its failure to take effective measures to bring an end to the illegal régime; decided to give full support and co-operation to the United Nations in all measures designed to endorce the mandatory

sanctions imposed by the Security Council; and expressed full agreement with four proposals submitted by Guinea, Somalia and Sudan in their capacity as members of the Security Council, namely that the Security Council should: (1) reaffirm the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure enjoyment of those rights; (2) request States continuing to have economic and other relations with Southern Rhodesia to end such relations immediately; (3) undertake as a matter of urgency consideration of action to be taken in view of the refusal of South Africa and Portugal to implement sanctions; and (4) call upon all States to employ additional measures against the illegal régime, namely those provided for in Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations.

172. The Council of Ministers also condemned the United States Government for its continued importation of chrome ore from Zimbabwe in contravention of relevant Security Council resolutions and its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter and called on the United States Government to desist from further violations of sanctions.

173. In its resolution on apartheid and racial discrimination, the Council of Ministers called on all Governments, organizations and individuals to give more substantial moral, political, humanitarian and material support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, either directly through the liberation movements or through OAU.

(d) Other developments

Confrontation with Zambia

Closure of the borders and economic blockade by the illegal régime

174. On 9 January 1973, the illegal régime, charging that the Zambian Government had ignored repeated requests to stop "guerrillas" from using its territory as a base for raids into Rhodesia, closed the 400-mile frontier with Zambia to all freight traffic except Zambian copper exports (which are normally routed via Rhodesia Railways to Beira in Mozambique). According to a spokesman for the illegal régime, the border would stay closed until the Zambian Government had given "satisfactory assurances" that it would act against the "guerrillas". The spokesman also said that the illegal régime had made clear to Zambia a number of times that "Rhodesia would take protective action" if the "guerrillas" were allowed to continue their activity and that it had become clear that the Zambian Government had decided to ignore those warnings.

175. On the same day the Zambian Government issued a statement declaring that, in closing the border, the illegal régime was trying to use Zambia as a "scapegoat" to strengthen "the low morale of the white community in Rhodesia which for a long time had been given a sense of false security".

176. On 10 January, in a statement to Parliament, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, reaffirmed his country's solidarity with the freedom fighters and said that Zambia was prepared to defend its borders against all acts of aggression by desperate men. President Kaunda also said that the liberation of southern Africa was an unfinished task, which Zambia could not view as a placid observer. Zambia, which had already suffered the consequences of its geographical proximity to the illegal régime, could not be secure as long as conditions of conflict prevailed in the areas around it. On the same day, a spokesman for the Zambian Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism stated that although Zambia had permitted refugees from Southern Rhodesia to settle there, "under no circumstances were armed refugees permitted to roam the country". The spokesman added that the Zambian Minister of Foreign Affairs had made it clear on several occasions that Zambia "does not harbour and will never harbour armed terrorists". The Southern Rhodesians therefore could not blame Zambia every time freedom-fighters made an incursion into their country.

177. On 11 January, the Zambian Government announced that it would no longer send any copper exports by rail through Southern Rhodesia. In addition, it had ordered all Zambian commercial banks to suspend foreign exchange dealings with Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. As a further measure, payments for all imports in transit from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa would be withheld until the goods arrived. Alternative routes for Zambian transit traffic were being worked out, including a road and rail line to Dar es Salaam (United Republic of Tanzania) and a rail line through Zaire and Angola to Lobito.

178. According to Zambian sources, landmines planted by members of the security forces of the illegal régime had exploded on 11 and 12 January at Kazungula and Chirundu, with the result that three Zambians had been killed and five injured, including civilians. Subsequently, on 16, 18 and 19 January, members of the security forces fired shots and flares into Zambian territorial waters, but were repelled by Zambian patrols.

179. On 19 January, the Zambian Government charged that some 4,000 additional South African troops had arrived in Southern Rhodesia on 16 January and had been deployed along the Zambian border in support of forces belonging to the illegal régime. The charges were denied by the Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force.

180. On 26 January, three persons were killed and eight injured in a landmine explosion at Kazungula, bringing the total number of persons killed and injured by mine explosions in Zambia to 6 and 13 respectively. On 4 February, the Zambian Minister of Defence stated that on 2 February, a sixth landmine explosion had occurred on the Southern Rhodesian/Zambian border, injuring one Zambian.

181. On 18 January, "Prime Minister" Smith, in a nationwide radio broadcast, stated that the aim of the illegal régime in closing the Zambian border was "to bring the Zambian Government to its senses and to get it to face up to its responsibilities". However, his "Government" would not wish to do anything "to seriously prejudice the Zambian economy". Rhodesia was now asking Zambia to dissociate itself from the "indiscriminate warfare being waged against us from Zambian soil".

182. On 3 February, the illegal régime announced that it would reopen its border with Zambia the following day; according to an official statement, the illegal régime had received "messages" as a result of which it was satisfied that their objectives in closing the Zambian border had been achieved.

183. On 4 February, the Government of Zambia stated that it would continue to keep its border with Southern Rhodesia closed and would build up permanent alternative routes for exports and imports to avoid Southern Rhodesia. President Kaunda, at a news conference that day, said that he had not been in touch with the illegal régime nor had he given them any undertaking whatsoever.

Security Council considers complaint by Zambia

184. On 24 January, the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider serious acts of aggression committed against his country by the illegal régime (S/10865). In his letter he stated, inter alia, that since the closing of the border on 9 January the illegal régime had committed numerous acts of subversion and sabotage against Zambia, while its troops, reinforced by 4,000 South Africans, were deployed along the Zambian border.

185. At the 1687th meeting of the Security Council, on 29 January, the representative of Zambia said that the illegal régime had declared an economic war on Zambia, which it was supporting with incidents of the nature of military aggression. The intention of the illegal régime was to undermine the Zambian economy in order to stop Zambia from supporting the liberation movement and to reduce it to the status of a puppet government. In these actions, the illegal régime was acting in collusion with the Government of South Africa, which had had forces in the Territory since 1967. From 9 to 26 January, the illegal régime, supported by South Africa, had committed nine acts of aggression against Zambia, including primarily the laying of landmines which, in exploding, had killed several Zambians and seriously injured others. The illegal régime's forces had also fired on Zambian civilians during attempts to plant additional landmines. These acts, together with the presence of both Southern Rhodesian and South African troops along the Zambian border, represented the intention of these régimes to use force against Zambia in order to block the coming of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

186. The representative of Zambia recommended that, to alleviate the situation, the Security Council should, inter alia, demand the withdrawal of South African forces from Southern Rhodesia; request the Secretary-General to send a special representative to assess the political and military situation in the area and request the Secretary-General immediately to dispatch a team of experts to assess the needs of Zambia in maintaining an alternative system of road, rail, air and sea communications for sustaining its economy.

187. On 2 February, the Security Council adopted two resolutions on the question. By resolution 326 (1973), the Security Council condemned all the acts of provocation

and harassment against the Republic of Zambia by the illegal régime in collusion with South Africa demanded the immediate and total withdrawal of South African military and armed forces from Southern Rhodesia and the Zambia/Southern Rhodesia border; and decided to dispatch immediately a special mission, consisting of four members of the Security Council, to assess the situation in the area and to report to the Council not later than 1 March 1973.

188. By resolution 327 (1973), the Security Council decided to entrust the special mission to be established in pursuance of resolution 326 (1973), assisted by a team of six United Nations experts, to assess the needs of Zambia in maintaining alternative systems of road, rail, air and sea communications for the normal flow of traffic.

189. On 5 February, the President of the Security Council reported that the special mission would be composed of the representatives of Austria, Indonesia, Peru and the Sudan (S/10880).

190. The Security Council mission left New York on 8 February. After stopping in London for talks with the United Kingdom Government as the administering Power of Southern Rhodesia, the mission proceeded to Nairobi (Kenya), Lusaka (Zambia) and Dar es Salaam (United Republic of Tanzania). After completing its task, the mission reported to the Security Council (S/10896/Rev.1).

Relations with Portugal and South Africa

Relations with Portugal

191. In May 1972, the illegal régime revealed that its security force patrols had been extended along the north-eastern border with Mozambique because of what was regarded as a potential threat from FRELIMO forces. In August 1972, Mr. Howman, "Minister of Defence", affirmed that, if requested by Portuguese authorities, the illegal régime would probably send security forces into Mozambique.

192. On 13 October, "Prime Minister" Smith paid a "courtesy call" on Portuguese Prime Minister Marcello Caetano. No communiqué was issued following the meeting, but it was generally assumed that the purpose of the encounter was a discussion of the situation in Mozambique and in the region as a whole. Towards the end of November, it was reported in the press that Portuguese Prime Minister had publicly rebuked Mr. Smith, in a nationwide broadcast, for "spreading alarm" about the security situation in Mozambique, which Portuguese forces were well able to contain.

193. At about the same time, it was reported in the press that the security forces of the illegal régime were operating secretly alongside Portuguese forces in Tete District in Mozambique and had recently suffered a number of casualties. Southern Rhodesian intervention in Tete was confirmed by FRELIMO sources which said that security forces of the illegal régime had carried out two raids on Mozambique villages in August and September 1972, killing 14 villagers.

194. On 3 January 1973, a press report, citing an unofficial but well-informed source, stated that Rhodesian security forces had helped the Portuguese army in its Christmas-New Year's offensive against FRELIMO in Tete District in Mozambique. The report stated that the Rhodesian forces had driven the FRELIMO fighters over the border into Mozambique where they were "picked off" by Portuguese troops. A total of 149 FRELIMO members were said to have been killed. It was considered likely, according to the report, that thereafter the Portuguese and Rhodesian forces would maintain a much closer liaison.

Relations with South Africa

195. During the first week of June 1972, "Prime Minister" Smith, while vacationing in South Africa, was reported to have had talks with Prime Minister B. J. Vorster of South Africa at which the main topic of discussion was the rejection of the proposals for a settlement and alternative courses of action for the future.

196. On 26 October, Mr. P. W. Botha, South African Minister of Defence, together with Admiral H. H. Biermann, Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force, arrived in Salisbury for four days of talks with Mr. Howman, "Minister of Defence", and Lieutenant-General G. P. Wells, "Chief of the General Staff". According to press reports, one of the principal reasons for the meeting was to discuss co-operation among the defence forces of Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in view of the situation in Mozambique. It was reported that South Africa shared the anxiety of the illegal régime with regard to the activities of FRELIMO and had also volunteered to lend forces to the Portuguese military.

197. On 19 January 1973, Mr. Vorster stated that the decision of Rhodesia to close its borders with Zambia had been taken without prior consultation with South Africa. Although South Africa was not party to that decision, it would continue to treat the matter in accordance with previously articulated basic principles, namely, that South Africa: (a) would not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries; (b) would not initiate boycotts or reply to sanctions with counter-boycotts; (c) was unconditionally opposed to terrorism and would render assistance within its means to Governments who sought it in their fight against terrorism; (d) would at all times take all necessary steps to protect the life and property of its people and its territorial integrity when and where it was directly threatened. j/

j/ See also S/10870.

3. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Introduction

193. Information on the economy of Southern Rhodesia is contained in previous reports of the Special Committee to the General Assembly, as well as in studies prepared by the Secretariat on activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration with respect to the Territory. k/ Further information concerning the mandatory economic and financial sanctions imposed on the Territory by the Security Council is contained in the reports of the Committee established by the Security Council in pursuance of its resolution 253 (1968) of 28 May 1968. 1/

199. Since the illegal declaration of independence in 1965, most of the pertinent information on the state of the economy has been withheld by the illegal régime to protect the Territory against the impact of international sanctions. Information from within the Territory on economic and other related questions was further curtailed in 1969 by the introduction of the "Emergency Powers Regulations" which, inter alia, prohibits the parties and companies involved from "giving away economic secrets either deliberately or through negligence". Whatever information is made available, either by the illegal régime or by business and commercial interests, is largely incomplete and of a general nature.

General

200. In April 1972, the illegal régime published an Economic Survey of Rhodesia for 1971 containing selected statistics on the state of the economy. According to this survey, the gross domestic product (GDP) (at factor cost) of Southern Rhodesia increased from \$R 957.7 million in 1970 to a record \$R 1,088.4 million in 1971, achieving a rate of growth of 13.6 per cent, as against 7.3 per cent in 1970. In real terms, after adjusting for price increases, the growth rate was about 10 per cent, compared with 4.5 per cent in 1970. Total salaries and wages increased by 12.2 per cent (8.4 per cent in 1970) and gross profits and other income increased by 15.6 per cent (5.8 per cent in 1970). The most significant increases in rate of growth were reported for the agricultural, construction,

k/ For the most recent, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 A (A/8023/Rev.1/Add.1), annex, appendix II. ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 A (A/8423/Rev.1/Add.1), annex, appendix III; ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. V.

1/ For the most recent, see Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement No. 2 (S/10229 and Add.1 and 2; ibid., Special Supplement No. 2 A (S/10229/Add.2, annex III); S/10408; S/10580 and Add.1; S/10593; S/10632; S/10852 and Add.1 and 2).

distribution, hotel and transport sectors; finance, public administration, education and health also showed improvement.

201. In the remaining sectors, the rate of growth was said to be much the same as in 1970. Manufacturing, the principal component of the gross domestic product (20.6 per cent), increased by 16.2 per cent to \$R 252 million; agriculture, (16.7 per cent), by 12.3 per cent, to \$R 182 million; and mining (5.5 per cent), by 2.5 per cent, to \$R 64.7 million; building and construction increased by 17 per cent to \$R 72.2 million; distribution and hotels by 21 per cent to \$R 138.7 million; and transport and communications by 17 per cent to \$R 76.2 million.

202. As concerns the balance of payments, the survey showed a deficit of \$R 18.6 million on combined capital and current accounts, in contrast to a surplus of \$R 4.3 million in 1970, resulting primarily from higher import prices. During the year, total domestic exports rose in value by 7.5 per cent to \$R 270.8 million, from \$R 256.3 million in 1970; re-exports to \$R 6.5 million from \$R 6.1 million; and gold sales to \$R 12.8 million from \$R 11.7 million. Imports increased in value by 20 per cent to \$R 282.4 million from \$R 234.9 million in 1970, resulting in a small surplus on visible trade of \$R 1.4 million. A deficit of \$R 44.4 million on invisible transactions, however, left a total current account deficit of \$R 42.9 million (\$R 37.1 million in 1970). Capital formation was estimated at about \$R 210 million, or 19 per cent of the gross domestic product.

203. According to a review of future prospects included in the Economic Survey, the illegal régime expected that during 1972, the strain on resources would become even more acute. The country remained heavily reliant on the export of primary products rather than manufactures, and would thus continue to be susceptible to world market conditions and prices. During 1972, exports were not expected to expand sufficiently to cover the increased volume and rising cost of imports. Current expenditure would therefore be restricted and the pressure on the balance of payments would continue. The prospects for 1972 appeared to be a moderate rate of growth combined with stronger inflationary pressures.

Effect of sanctions on Southern Rhodesia

204. Sanctions reduced the value of Southern Rhodesia's merchandise exports from \$US 399 million in 1965 to \$US 249 million in 1966 and \$US 245 million in 1968. Thereafter, exports rose to \$US 308 million in 1969, \$US 354 million in 1970 and \$US 388.2 million in 1971, a figure 2.71 per cent lower than the 1965 level at current market prices. Mr. Ian Smith stated in his New Year message that during 1972 exports had increased a further 14 per cent, thereby exceeding, in money terms, the 1965 level prior to the imposition of sanctions.

205. Owing to the policy of the illegal régime to withhold pertinent economic data, there is no official information available on the direction and nature of these exports. In 1971, exports valued at \$US 52 million were declared by reporting countries to have been received from Southern Rhodesia, as follows: Zambia, \$US 29 million; Malawi, \$US 16 million, Switzerland, \$US 5 million; others, \$US 1 million. In addition to this recorded trade, it has been estimated that

South Africa received Southern Rhodesian exports amounting to \$US 90 million. The balance, amounting to some \$US 240 million, which was not specifically accounted for, appears to have reached world markets via neighbouring countries and to have been reflected in world trade statistics as imports from those countries.

206. Southern Rhodesia's imports in 1971 were valued at \$US 395 million (\$US 329 million in 1970). Based on data submitted by reporting countries, Southern Rhodesian imports were distributed as follows: Australia, \$US 5 million; Malawi, \$US 5 million; Switzerland, \$US 3 million; United Kingdom, \$US 2 million; Federal Republic of Germany, \$US 2 million; other countries, \$US 2 million, making a total of \$US 18 million. In addition to this recorded trade, it has been estimated that South Africa sent to Southern Rhodesia \$US 170 million worth of goods. It would appear, therefore, that some \$US 210 million of Southern Rhodesian imports have not been reflected in the corresponding 1971 export figures of world trade.

207. It will be recalled that on 25 January 1972, the United States Treasury Department, under the terms of the Military Procurement Act, 1972, formally lifted import restrictions on shipments of chrome ore and "other strategic and critical materials" from Southern Rhodesia. A total of 14 minerals are covered by the act, including asbestos, nickel, copper, manganese, tin and tungsten.

208. On 22 March, the representative of the United States, acting under instructions from his Government, informed the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) that 27,902 tons of Southern Rhodesian chromium ore had arrived in the United States via an Argentine vessel, the Santos Vega (S/10580). The unloading of a second shipment of chromium ore, amounting to 29,682 tons, on 4 April 1972, was confirmed by the United States Government at a later date (S/10593).

209. In letters dated 10 July and 11 October, the United States Mission to the United Nations informed the Security Council Committee that a further 19 shipments of "strategic minerals" from Southern Rhodesia had arrived in the United States between 1 April 1972 and 1 October 1972. These comprised 33,560 tons of ferrochrome; 962.6 tons of nickel cathodes; 1,649 tons of high-carbon ferrochrome; 1,651 tons of low-carbon ferrochrome; 3,873 tons of ferrochrome silicon; 160 tons of asbestos fibres; and 27 tons of beryllium ore.

Boeings sale to Air Rhodesia

210. In a major breach of the United Nations sanctions, Air Rhodesia received on 15 April 1973, three Boeing 720 passenger jets which arrived unheralded at Salisbury airport. Commenting on this acquisition, Air Rhodesia's chairman said that the arrival of the aircraft was "a great morale booster for Rhodesians". The

significance of this breach of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia lies in the fact that modernization of Air Rhodesia would probably enable the company to enter the intercontinental travel route for the first time, perhaps with a flight to Lisbon, via Luanda. At present, the aging fleet of Air Rhodesia, which is made up of seven Viscounts and three Dakotas, operates only to South Africa, Malawi and Mozambique. Mr. Roger Hawkins, "Minister of Transport" of the illegal régime, declared in Salisbury that the acquisition of these aircraft, each of which could seat 112 passengers, was "undoubtedly one of the biggest holes knocked in sanctions for a number of years". He added that the move could presage more breaking of sanctions in the future, and that through such acquisitions, "we hope to extend into long services eventually". Estimates given by aviation experts put the price of each of the aircraft at £200,000.

211. Press reports on the origin of the three aircraft indicate that they had been at Basle airport (Switzerland) for more than a year, ever since the charter company that operated them, Calair of Frankfurt, went into liquidation. According to the same reports, Jet Aviation, a Swiss aviation services company which had done maintenance work for Calair, had started working on the aircraft prior to their being flown to Lisbon. It was also reported that the aircraft had been initially bought from Calair by a firm in Liechtenstein whose name is not available.

212. The "Minister of Transport" of the illegal régime has stated that the aircraft would come into service in September. The initial routes would be from Salisbury to Johannesburg and Durban and to Beira and Lourenço Marques.

Budget for 1972/73

213. On 13 July 1972, Mr. John Wrathall, "Minister of Finance" of Southern Rhodesia, introduced in the "House of Assembly" the budget for the fiscal year 1972/73. The budget provides for a current account expenditure of \$R 287.9 million and revenue receipts of \$R 272.0 million, leaving a deficit on current account of \$R 15.9 million. An accumulated surplus of \$R 14.2 million brought forward from the preceding year would reduce the estimated over-all deficit to \$R 1.7 million for 1972/73. The increase in estimated current expenditure, compared with the preceding year, amounted to \$R 53.2 million, or 22 per cent. Estimated revenue receipts rose by approximately \$R 30 million, or 12.4 per cent, an increase attributed to natural growth and not to increased taxes. Loan account expenditure was estimated at \$R 128.3 million (\$R 113.9 million in the preceding year), of which over \$R 78.0 million was designated for development expenditure (including \$R 2.3 million for Tribal Trust Lands) and \$R 55.0 million for long-term loans and advances, including \$R 28.3 million to Rhodesia Railways. As regards current

account expenditure, increased allocations were noted for the following: agriculture, an increase of \$R 4.6 million to \$R 26.0 million; m/ the army, by \$R 2.5 million to \$R 14.4 million; the air force by \$R 1.5 million to \$R 9.4 million; and the police, by \$R 800,000 to \$R 17.5 million. Increases were also reflected in the appropriations for African education (12.8 per cent, to \$R 22.9 million), European, Coloured and Asian education (8.9 per cent, to \$R 21.9 million), and the grant to Tilcor for Tribal Trust Land Development, which was increased from \$R 500,000 to \$R 1.0 million. On 15 November, supplementary estimates, totalling nearly \$R 2.5 million, were tabled in the "House of Assembly".

214. The revised public sector investment programme for the period 1972-1975, which was also published in July, reflected an increase in estimated expenditure of 10.5 per cent, to \$R 397.3 million, over the three-year period. Of the total, economic services were expected to receive \$R 364.6 million (about 92 per cent); social services, \$R 20.2 million; and administrative services, \$R 12.5 million. Major allocations under these categories included: transport, \$R 127.6 million (\$R 96.2 million to Rhodesia Railways); local authorities and "government" townships, \$R 112.9 million; the Agricultural Finance Corporation, \$R 20.0 million; Tribal Trust Lands, \$R 7.0 million; European, Asian and Coloured education, \$R 6.5 million; and African education, \$R 2.2 million.

215. During 1972, the illegal régime was known to have successfully floated at least two loans totalling \$R 35 million to finance development and repay maturing debts, bringing the total amount of money raised for this purpose since 1965 to \$R 275 million. An additional loan of \$R 20 million was floated in October to be used for the development of economic, social, general and administrative services.

216. During the course of the budget speech, Mr. Wrathall also announced a new export incentive scheme, effective 31 March 1973, to replace the present tax incentive. Under the new scheme, designed to promote the entry of new manufactures into the export market, exporters would receive a cash payment of 5 per cent of the export price. The incentive would not apply to the mining industry for which it would possibly be necessary to find new tax benefits.

217. Mr. Wrathall also stated that any improvement of exports would not be sufficient to outweigh the increased volume of imports and the rising cost of services. Foreign currency allocations to the private sector had therefore been increased only marginally and it had been necessary to "place the utmost restraint" on "government" recurrent expenditure.

m/ Of this sum, \$R 20.0 million was allocated to cover the losses of the tobacco industry, bringing the total spent for this purpose, since the imposition of sanctions, to \$R 88 million.

Agriculture

218. During 1971, the value of agricultural production compared with 1970 increased by 15 per cent (\$R 35.4 million) to \$R 269.4 million. Volume increases were reported for all crops, amounting to 82 per cent for maize, 46 per cent for cotton and 39 per cent for wheat. Compared with 1970, the value of Virginia flue-cured tobacco production increased by 23 per cent, cattle slaughterings by 26 per cent and dairy produce by 10 per cent. In his 1973 New Year message, "Prime Minister" Smith indicated that total agricultural production for 1972 would show an increase of 7 per cent over 1971.

219. It will be recalled that, to compensate for the loss of its major tobacco markets following the imposition of sanctions, the illegal régime has since 1966 attempted to reduce the emphasis on tobacco, previously the major export crop, and to encourage diversification of agriculture by means of a system of subsidies. By 1971, the number of tobacco farmers had been reduced from 3,000 to 1,600.

220. In 1971, Mr. David Smith, the "Minister of Agriculture", stated that the battle to diversify agriculture had apparently been won and that less financing would be made available for this purpose in the future. Owing to rising costs, however, which were for the most part absorbed by the farmer rather than the consumer, the 1972/73 budget estimates allocated \$R 7.2 million for subsidies to growers, compared with \$R 1.8 million in 1971/72. In November 1972, a further \$R 1 million was voted as subsidies to maize growers.

221. For the 1971/72 season, the quota for tobacco production, which has been regulated by the "Government" since the imposition of sanctions, was set at 145 million pounds, the highest since 1965 (300 million pounds), and 13 million pounds more than the four previous years. The minimum price per pound guaranteed to growers (the "support price"), was 23 cents (Rhodesian) per pound (compared with an average price of about 33 cents per pound prior to 1965), resulting in a guaranteed gross return to growers of \$R 33.4 million.

222. In January 1973, it was reported that the Territory was in the midst of the most severe drought in 30 years, with losses already suffered during the current growing season conservatively estimated at \$R 20 million. In a statement on 4 January, the president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association said that the drought conditions would almost certainly mean that tobacco production in 1972/73 would fall short of the target figure of 145 million pounds. Farmers in some northern areas, where the bulk of the tobacco and maize crops are grown, were expected to lose about 75 per cent of their maize and 50 per cent of their tobacco crops; grazing conditions were also deteriorating rapidly. It was reported that the loss of agricultural export earnings, the primary source of foreign exchange, would inevitably worsen the already precarious balance of payments situation.

Manufacturing and related enterprises

223. Since the illegal declaration of independence, manufacturing has exhibited the fastest growth rate of all primary sectors of the economy by 1968 replacing agriculture as the largest single contributor to the gross domestic product. The main impetus to the expansion and diversification of the sector has been the need to produce goods locally which had previously been imported prior to sanctions, and simultaneously to reduce the demand for foreign exchange. As a consequence, most of the productive capacity of the Territory is directed to the manufacture of goods for local consumption, with a relatively small percentage available for export.

224. In 1971, the value of manufacturing output rose to \$R 684 million, an increase of 15 per cent over the previous year, reflecting some expansion in every sector. However, declines in the rate of growth, in comparison with the previous year, measured in volume of output, were reported for 7 of the 11 industrial sectors, constituting about 62 per cent of the total production. These included metal and metal products, which declined from 19.9 to 12.3 per cent; chemicals, from 22.3 to 7.9 per cent; beverages and tobacco; paper and printing; and non-metallic products. Sectors reporting higher rates of growth comprised food-stuffs (from 10.4 to 11.4 per cent); clothing and footwear; transport and transport equipment; and textiles. Of all industrial sectors, cotton has exhibited the fastest individual rate of growth, the index of production increasing from 100 in 1964 to 215 in 1970.

225. In July 1972, it was reported that a near-record of 1,311 new companies, with a total nominal capital of over \$R 46 million, had been registered in 1971 (1,321 companies in 1957). Of these, 12 were public companies, 1,298 were private companies and one was non-profit. During the year, a total of 414 companies were removed from the register, leaving a total of 14,847 locally registered companies and 211 foreign companies. Registration applications by foreign companies, however, were said to have declined appreciably following publication of the Pearce report in May, and to have remained at a low level for the rest of the year.

226. Throughout 1972, it was reported that the over-all output of manufacturing industries, especially those dealing with non-priority items, was being automatically curtailed by the rising cost of imports in relation to the relatively stable foreign currency allocations. Preference in foreign currency allocations was given to industries meeting essential needs or furthering exports, rather than to those producing for local markets. On 12 October, Mr. Jack Mussett, "Minister of Commerce and Industry", stated that it was vital to ensure that the limited supplies of raw materials were not used to the detriment of industries producing vital commodities and that the "Government" would take whatever action was necessary to "protect existing industry from unnecessary new ventures".

Mining

227. The total value of mineral production in 1971 amounted to a record \$R 101.2 million, compared with \$R 99.0 million in 1970, while the volume of production increased by about 9 per cent. During the year, production of nickel and copper continued to receive major emphasis. They appear to be the principal export minerals of the Territory. There was also renewed interest in the output of chromium ore, following the decision of the United States Government to lift import restrictions on chrome and other minerals (see also paragraphs 207-209 above). Other minerals currently being mined in the Territory include coal, asbestos and gold. New areas of prospecting, for which 42 new exclusive prospecting orders were granted during the year, include tungsten and refractory minerals such as wolfram, kyanite, flint clays and magnesite.

228. During 1972, it was reported by Mr. I. B. Dillon, the "Minister of Mines", that recent investigations of the Great Dyke area had indicated vast deposits, amounting to about 4,000 million tons of ore of various minerals, including the platinum group, high-grade asbestos, lithium, various refractory minerals, coal, iron and limestone. As a consequence, he predicted that the value of mining would reach \$R 200 million by the mid-1970s. The Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Rhodesian Chrome Mines, Ltd., a subsidiary of the Union Carbide Corporation of the United States, and Rio Tinto (Rhodesia), Ltd., revealed that they were involved in prospecting in the Great Dyke area, with special emphasis on platinum-bearing ores.

229. In July, Mr. Dillon stated that he hoped to see Southern Rhodesia's gold output doubled in the near future to about 960,000 ounces, worth \$R 38.0 million at current market prices. If this were achieved and sanctions were maintained on tobacco, gold would become the largest single foreign exchange earner for the Territory, as the total output would be available for export. It was reported at the time that, encouraged by the United States gold price, Lonrho, Ltd., was reopening the Shamva mine, with a potential output of 300,000 ounces, and that Falcon Mines, Ltd., and Coronation Syndicate, Ltd. (CORSYN), the traditional major gold producers, which had jointly accounted for 180,000 ounces in 1971, were planning to increase production substantially. Considerable expansion involving two mines in the Penhalonga Valley, the Redwing and the Rezende, was also being undertaken by a consortium comprising three local businessmen. It was anticipated that the output of the Rezende mine alone would be about 34,285 ounces a year, valued at \$R 1.4 million.

230. At the end of October, the illegal régime resumed publication of monthly mining statistics for the first time since the illegal declaration of independence. According to this data, production value had increased 3.3 per cent in the first eight months of 1972, to \$R 68.9 million, compared with \$R 101.2 million for the whole of 1971. Output volume had increased by 7.2 per cent.

231. Major developments being undertaken by established mining companies have been noted in the previous report of the Special Committee (see foot-note k/ above).

The most important of these include the development by the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, Ltd., of South Africa (JCI) (Johnnies), of a large nickel and copper mine at Shangani, 60 miles north-east of Bulawayo, at a cost of \$R 27 million, and the establishment of an asbestos mill at a cost of \$R 25 million at Mashaba, 161 miles from Bulawayo, by the Rhodesia and General Asbestos Corporation, a subsidiary of Turner and Newall, Ltd., of the United Kingdom. At the time of this writing, neither project had been completed.

232. During 1972, Gold Fields of South Africa, one of the largest gold mining groups in the world, was reported to have initiated prospecting operations in Southern Rhodesia. The company, which plans to seek copper, zinc and nickel deposits, applied for exclusive prospecting orders in the Bulawayo district (65 square miles) and the Gwelo district (101 square miles).

Wankie Collieries

233. On 6 June 1972, a massive explosion at the Wankie Collieries resulted in the death of 490 miners, 95 per cent of whom were Africans. According to Sir Keith Acutt, Chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, owner of the mine, the explosion might have been caused by trapped coal gas; other sources referred especially to the inadequate safety measures in the mine as a principal source of the disaster. It was reported that the survivors of the victims received an average "compensation" of \$R 41.

234. In July 1972, Mr. Roger Hawkins, "Minister of Transport and Power", announced that a massive thermal power station would be constructed at Wankie coal mine at a cost of \$R 240 million. The final installed capacity of the power station would be 1,320 megawatts, which would considerably reduce Southern Rhodesia's dependence on the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique and provide for Southern Rhodesia's power needs until 1985-1990.

235. The first stage of the project is expected to be completed by 1976 and the whole project to be operative by 1982. As a result of the undertaking, Wankie Colliery would have to double coal production to nearly 8 million tons annually, thereby becoming one of the largest coal producers in Africa.

236. The first phase of the installation, costing \$R 100 million, is expected to result in orders to local industries of about \$R 40 million.

Rhodesia Railways

237. Rhodesia Railways is the largest industrial undertaking under a single management in Southern Rhodesia. Its annual wages and salaries bill amounts to \$R 47.5 million and its purchases from local sources amount to \$R 10.0 million annually. During 1971/72, Rhodesia Railways, which carries over 80 per cent of the country's import, export and transit traffic, reported record handling of both freight and passengers. Freight haulage increased by 7 per cent over the previous year to 12.5 million tons.

238. In October 1972, Rhodesia Railways provided details of its \$R 93 million expansion programme for 1971-1974. During 1971/72, the first year of the programme, capital expenditure would be about \$R 35 million, \$R 28 million of which would be in the form of a "government" loan.

239. In the same month, Rhodesia Railways also announced its first increase in passenger and freight fares in 11 years. The 10 per cent increase, to be effective 1 April 1973, was described as inevitable in view of rising costs and wages. Despite the improvement in finances, the railway was budgeting for a loss of \$R 3 million in 1972/73, with the certainty of an even greater loss the following year.

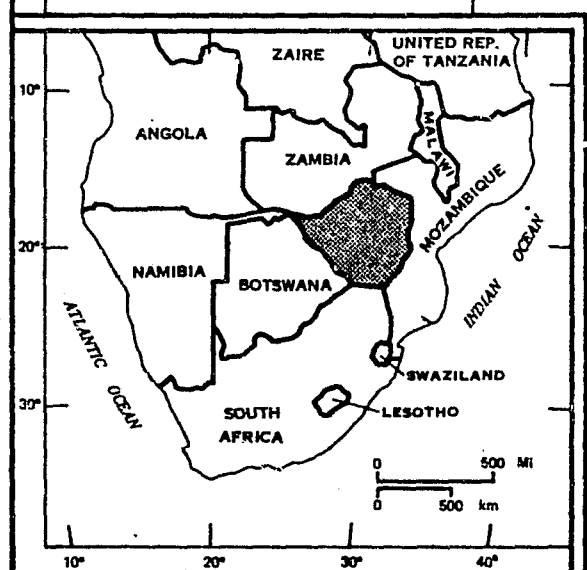
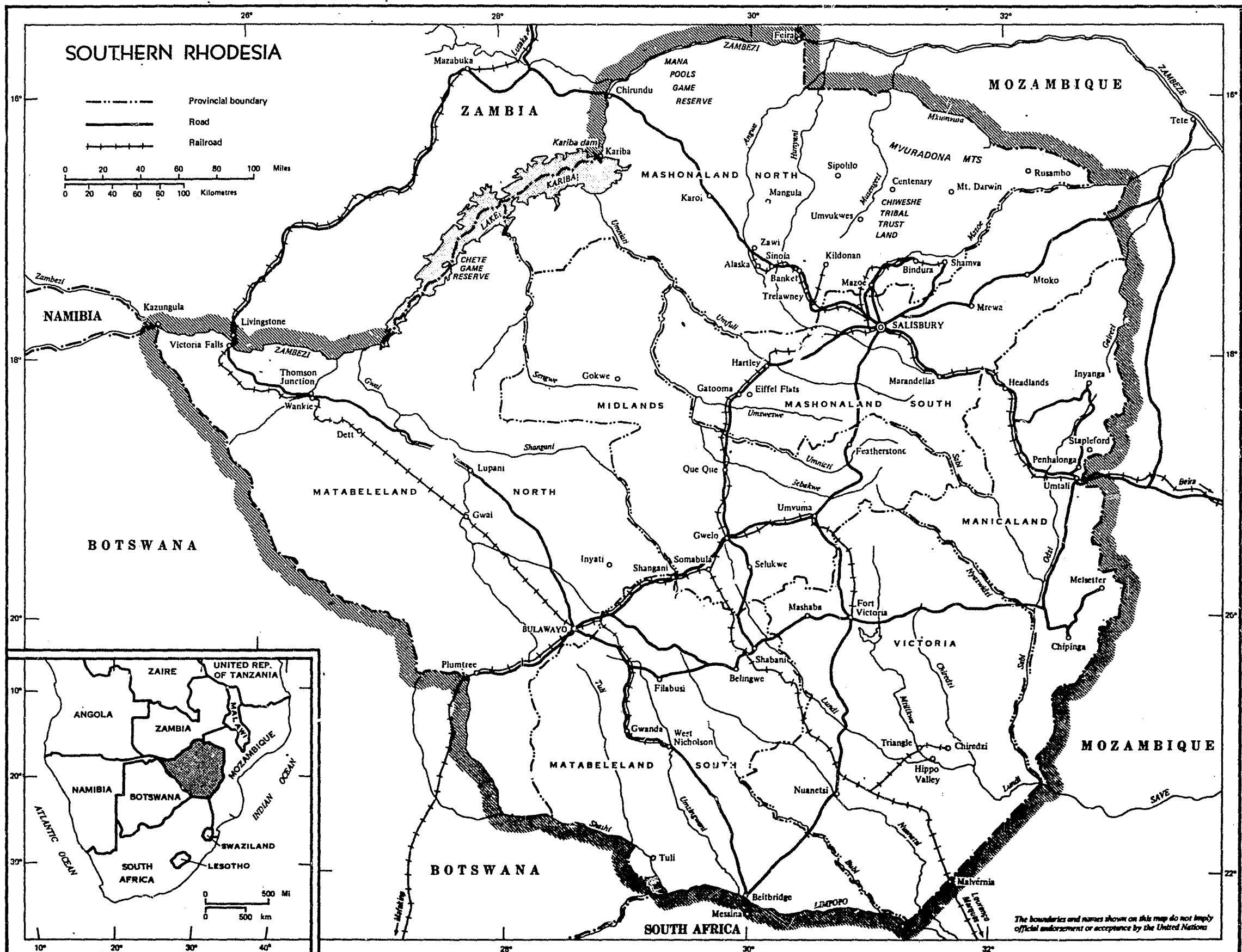
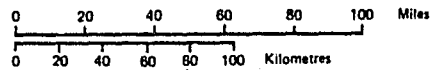
240. In January 1973, it was estimated that as a result of the loss of Zambian transit traffic (see paragraphs 174 to 190 above), Rhodesia Railways would lose about £8 million to £9 million annually of its total revenue. Zambia normally ships 27,000 tons of copper per month via Rhodesia Railways to Beira (Mozambique), and imports 750,000 tons annually of assorted merchandise via the same route.

Interest from Southern Rhodesian stock

241. At the end of February 1972, gross interest due on Southern Rhodesian stock to United Kingdom residents amounted to £14.3 million and redemption funds to £26.1 million. On 27 October, the High Court of England ruled, in a test case, that Mr. Henry Franklin, a United Kingdom citizen, could present a "petition of right" to the Queen for payment of his interest from Southern Rhodesian stock. If the petition were granted, interest payments would come out of Southern Rhodesian government assets frozen in the United Kingdom since the unilateral declaration of independence.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

- Provincial boundary
- Road
- Railroad



The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

CHAPTER VIII

(A/9023/Add.2)

NAMIBIA

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A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee considered the question of Namibia at its 922nd to 926th meetings, held between 25 and 29 June 1973.

2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including in particular resolution 2908 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, by paragraph 11 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session". The Special Committee was also guided by the relevant provisions of resolution 3031 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972 on the question of Namibia, by paragraph 8 of which the General Assembly "commends the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia to ... the subsidiary organs of the General Assembly ... for appropriate action in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council". Further, the Special Committee took into account other pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the Territory, in particular resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, whereby the Assembly requested the Special Committee to discharge, mutatis mutandis, the tasks formerly assigned to the Special Committee on South West Africa, as well as other resolutions subsequently adopted by the Assembly concerning Namibia. The Special Committee also paid due consideration to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council concerning Namibia and to the reports and decisions of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

3. In considering the item, the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex to the present chapter) containing information on action previously taken by the United Nations bodies dealing with Namibia, as well as on the latest developments concerning the Territory. The Committee also took into account: (a) the relevant recommendations of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April, under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (A/9061); (b) statements made during the special meeting held by the Committee on 23 May 1973 (A/AC.109/PV.914) in observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights; (c) the resolution concerning Namibia adopted by the Tenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in May 1973; and (d) the Declaration adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at Lusaka on 14 June 1973. 1/

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/9024), part II.

Petitions

4. In addition, the Special Committee had before it a written petition dated 19 June 1973 from Miss Barbara Rogers, Friends of Namibia, relating to the Territory (A/AC.109/PET.1247).
5. The Special Committee also had before it a written petition dated 9 February 1973 from Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General, World Peace Council, relating, inter alia, to Territories in southern Africa (A/AC.109/PET.1244).
6. At its 921st meeting, on 22 June, the Special Committee, by adopting the 182nd report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information, decided to grant the request for hearing contained in the petition referred to in paragraph 4 above.
7. At the 922nd meeting, on 25 June, Miss Rogers made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.922).

Participation of the national liberation movement

8. In accordance with a decision taken at its previous session, and subsequently approved by the General Assembly, the Special Committee, in consultation with OAU, invited the representative of the national liberation movement of Namibia, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the item.
9. Accordingly, during the consideration of the item, SWAPO was represented by Mrs. Putuse Norah Appolus, who made statements at the 922nd and 926th meetings, on 25 and 29 June, respectively (A/AC.109/PV.922 and 926).

General debate

10. The Special Committee held the general debate on Namibia at its 922nd to 926th meetings, from 25 to 29 June. In accordance with established practice, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and his representatives participated in the work of the Committee. Statements in the general debate were made by the President of the Council for Namibia and by the representatives of Bulgaria and Sweden at the 922nd meeting (A/AC.109/PV.922), by the representatives of Iran, Chile, Iraq, China and India at the 923rd meeting (A/AC.109/PV.923 and Corr.1 and Corr.2), by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mali, Yugoslavia, the Congo and Tunisia at the 924th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.924), by the representative of Sierra Leone at the 925th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.925) and by the representative of Afghanistan at the 926th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.926).

Draft consensus

11. At the 926th meeting, on 29 June, the Chairman, at the request of the Special Committee, submitted for its consideration the text of a draft consensus on the

item (A/AC.109/PV.926). Following statements by the representatives of Australia and Sweden, the Special Committee adopted the draft consensus without objection (see paragraph 14 below), it being understood that the reservations expressed by the representatives of Australia and Sweden would be reflected in the record of the meeting (A/AC.109/PV.926).

12. On 3 July, the text of the consensus was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10963). Copies of the consensus were also transmitted to States, to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to OAU.

Namibia Day

13. At the 937th meeting, on 15 August, the Chairman drew attention to a communication from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia inviting the Chairman to address the Council, on behalf of the Special Committee, at the Council's special meeting, to be held on 24 August 1973, in commemoration of Namibia Day. At the same meeting, the Committee decided without objection to request its Chairman to accept the invitation. In conformity with that decision, the Chairman made a statement on the occasion at the 181st (special) meeting of the Council, on 24 August (A/AC.131/SR.181).

B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

14. The text of the consensus (A/AC.109/425) adopted by the Special Committee at its 926th meeting, on 29 June, to which reference is made in paragraph 11 above, is reproduced below:

(1) Having considered the question of Namibia within the context of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and having heard the statements by the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), participating as an observer, and by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples expresses once again its profound concern at the extremely dangerous situation resulting from South Africa's adamant refusal to live up to its international responsibilities in respect to Namibia and its increasing resort to coercion and oppression of the Namibian people in an endeavour to perpetuate and consolidate its illegal occupation of the Territory, thereby denying to the Namibian people the exercise of their inalienable and imprescriptible right to freedom and national independence.

(2) The Special Committee recalls that six years have elapsed since the United Nations, under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, terminated South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia and itself assumed direct responsibility for the Territory and its people. During

all this time, South Africa has continued to violate its obligation under the Charter of the United Nations by refusing to accept and implement that decision or to comply with subsequent decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for its immediate withdrawal from Namibia, even after the International Court of Justice had confirmed, in its advisory opinion of 21 June 1971, the legality of the act of the General Assembly in terminating the mandate. By its continued defiance of United Nations decisions and by obstructing United Nations efforts to discharge its special responsibility towards the Territory and people of Namibia, the Government of South Africa has created a situation which seriously undermines the authority of the United Nations. This situation has been made all the more critical and explosive by South Africa's further extension to the Territory of its criminal policies of apartheid, including the creation of so-called "self-governing homelands", or "bantustans", aimed at destroying the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, its denial to the Namibian people of their most fundamental human rights and its persistent and increasing resort to repression and coercion as a means of perpetuating its illegal presence in the Territory.

(3) With regard to the contacts and efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolutions 309 (1972) of 14 February 1972, 319 (1972) of 1 August 1972 and 323 (1972) of 6 December 1972, it is the opinion of the Special Committee that the statements by the Government of South Africa, contained in the latest report of the Secretary-General, 2/ make it clear that South Africa has still no intention of complying with United Nations decisions calling for its immediate withdrawal from Namibia, or of abolishing its apartheid policy of so-called "homelands", which has been condemned by the United Nations and is vehemently opposed by the overwhelming majority of the people of Namibia. In view of the above, the Special Committee fully endorses the decisions adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 14 June 1973 3/ and by the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its tenth ordinary session, to the effect that these "contacts" should be terminated as they are detrimental to the interests of the people of Namibia.

(4) The Special Committee is strengthened in this opinion by the fact that even while the contacts were going on, the Government of South Africa was pressing forward with the implementation of its "homelands" policy in Namibia. On the basis of the so-called "Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Amendment Act", passed earlier this year, South Africa has already proclaimed two "homelands" - Ovamboland and Kavangoland - to be "self-governing areas"; furthermore, in March 1973, it created a so-called advisory council, the composition of which is restricted predominantly to members of the "homelands" administrations and excludes the

2/ S/10921 and Corr.1.

3/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/9024), part II.

true representatives of the Namibian people. In carrying out these measures, the South African régime has acted not only in total disregard of the views of the majority of the people of Namibia and their legitimate demand for the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and the exercise of their imprescriptible right to national independence, but also in direct contravention of the principles established by the international community in respect of Namibia and embodied in Security Council resolution 323 (1972). The Special Committee notes, furthermore, that the situation in the Territory has been aggravated as the result of the continued policies of repression pursued by the South African régime. In particular, the recent arrest and detention of 10 nationalist leaders in Ovamboland has caused a further increase of tension in the region.

(5) The Special Committee condemns the Government of South Africa, both for its persistent non-compliance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning Namibia and for its ruthless use of armed force to suppress the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Namibian people. It also condemns the support which South Africa receives in perpetuating its illegal occupation of Namibia, especially from those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which continue to collaborate with the racist régime, and, in particular, from its major trading partners and from those financial, economic and other interests which have joined with the illegal occupying régime in exploiting and exhausting the Territory's natural resources to the detriment of their rightful owners. The Special Committee calls upon all Governments and interests concerned to discontinue such support forthwith. It calls upon all States to comply with the provisions of Security Council resolutions 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970 and 310 (1972) of 4 February 1972 as well as with General Assembly resolution 3031 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972.

(6) In the light of the continued defiance of United Nations decisions by South Africa as well as its intensified repression of the Namibian people, and bearing in mind the direct responsibility of the United Nations for the Territory and its people, the Special Committee expresses the hope that the Security Council will take effective measures, in accordance with the Charter, to secure South Africa's compliance with its resolution 310 (1972) calling for its immediate withdrawal from the Territory.

(7) The Special Committee commends the people of Namibia for their stalwart opposition to South Africa's illegal presence in the Territory and to its racist and oppressive policies. The Special Committee notes with particular satisfaction the continuing struggle of SWAPO for the liberation of Namibia and also the united stand taken by the National Convention of Non-White Peoples of Namibia in support of freedom and independence for Namibia. The Special Committee reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and calls upon all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with OAU, to provide the people of Namibia, through their liberation movement, with the increased moral and material assistance which they require in their struggle

against foreign occupation and repression. In this connexion, the Special Committee wishes to draw particular attention to the need for the provision of broadcasting and other communication facilities and the training of the requisite personnel.

(8) The Special Committee considers that the struggle for liberation of the Namibian people has reached a crucial stage. The people of Namibia have demonstrated beyond any doubt their will and determination to free their country from illegal foreign occupation and to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all means at their disposal. Their action in the face of police-state repression by the racist régime of South Africa deserves universal admiration and the full support of the international community. The Special Committee expresses its determination to give all possible support to the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO in their legitimate struggle to attain freedom and independence by all available means.

ANNEX*

WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

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* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.863 and Add.1 and Corr.1.

A. ACTION TAKEN IN 1972 AND EARLY 1973 BY UNITED
NATIONS BODIES CONCERNED WITH NAMIBIA

General

1. During the period under review, the question of Namibia has been under continuous consideration by the United Nations Council for Namibia which was established by the General Assembly in 1967 to take over the administration of the Territory and prepare it for independence. The question has also been considered by the Special Committee since 1962, a/ and has been the subject of a number of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The texts of the relevant resolutions and consensuses adopted by these bodies during 1972 and early 1973 have been made available to the Committee.

Action taken by the United Nations Council for Namibia

2. In its seventh report to the General Assembly, b/ covering the period from 29 October 1971 to 8 September 1972, the United Nations Council for Namibia described its work for the period in question, and set forth a number of recommendations, some of which were eventually embodied in the two General Assembly resolutions mentioned below. In discharging the responsibilities and functions entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Council has been continuously engaged in, among other things, defending and representing the interests of Namibia on the international level; assisting Namibians, notably through the issuance to them of travel and identity documents and the conclusion of agreements with Governments relating to the granting and acceptance of such documents; the maintenance of contact with Namibians and with the situation in the Territory; and the mobilization of world-wide support for the cause of Namibia and its people.

Action taken by the Special Committee

3. During 1972, the Special Committee considered the question of Namibia at its meetings between 21 and 30 March at Headquarters; between 20 and 27 April during its visit to Africa; and at its meetings on 16 May and 21 August, again at Headquarters. At its 869th meeting, held on 27 April, the Special Committee adopted a consensus which appears in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session (see paragraph 1 above).

a/ For the most recent reports of the Special Committee on this subject, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI; ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VII; and ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. IX.

b/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/8724).

Action taken by the General Assembly

4. At its twenty-seventh session, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, adopted two resolutions on the question of Namibia, as follows:

<u>Resolution</u>	<u>Meeting</u>
3030 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972	2114th
3031 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972	2114th

Action taken by the Security Council

5. At its meetings in Addis Ababa, which were referred to in the last report of the Special Committee, the Security Council discussed the situation in Namibia and, on 4 February, adopted resolutions 309 (1972) and 310 (1972). In terms of the first of these resolutions, the Secretary-General was requested to initiate contacts with all parties concerned regarding the establishment of the necessary conditions to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

6. The Secretary-General visited Namibia and South Africa from 6 to 10 March 1972, and on 17 July 1972 presented his report. c/ This report was discussed at the 1656th and 1657th meetings of the Security Council, held on 31 July and 1 August 1972, and, on the latter date, the Security Council adopted resolution 319 (1972) of 1 August 1972 which approved the Secretary-General's proposal to appoint a representative.

7. Mr. Alfred Martin Escher was appointed Representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia. He visited Namibia and South Africa from 8 October to 3 November. On 15 November 1972, the Secretary-General presented a further report, d/ to which was annexed the report of Mr. Escher. The Secretary-General's report was discussed at the 1680th to 1682nd meetings of the Security Council, held from 1 to 6 December. On 6 December, the Security Council adopted resolution 323 (1972) which invited the Secretary-General to continue his efforts. On 30 April 1973, the Secretary-General submitted a further report e/ regarding these contacts with the Government of South Africa.

c/ S/10738.

d/ S/10832 and Corr.1.

e/ S/10921 and Corr.1.

B. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY

1. LAND AND PEOPLE

8. The Territory of Namibia, formerly called South West Africa, is situated in Africa along the South Atlantic Ocean between approximately the 17th and 29th parallels of south latitude. It is bound on the north by Angola and Zambia, on the east by Botswana, and on the south-east and south by the Republic of South Africa. The area of the Territory is approximately 318,000 square miles. From north to south, the Territory measures about 800 miles and from west to east an average distance of 350 miles.

9. The total population of Namibia in 1970 was reported to be 746,328, of whom 655,670 were classified as non-whites and 90,658 as whites.

2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

General

10. Notwithstanding the advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice in June 1971, and repeated resolutions of the United Nations calling for the withdrawal of its administration, South Africa has maintained its illegal occupation of Namibia and, during the period under review, continued to apply its racist policy of apartheid to the Territory, notably by the creation of separate "homelands" for the principal non-white ethnic groups, or "Native nations", in accordance with the plan which was first outlined in the report of the Odendaal Commission, published in 1964. f/ As is indicated by the information set out below, the application of this policy of so-called "separate development of the races", appears to have been speeded up since the adoption by the Security Council of its resolution 309 (1972). This trend is confirmed by the creation of the East Caprivi Legislative Council, in March 1972, the enactment by the South African Government of the "Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Amendment Act", in February 1973, and the subsequent proclamation of Ovamboland and Kavangoland as "self-governing" areas. At the same time, there is evidence of growing opposition in the Territory to South Africa's policies. The present working paper describes the new developments which have taken place since the Special Committee considered the question of Namibia in 1972.

f/ For a summary of the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into South West African Affairs (the Odendaal Commission), see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8, (part I), (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. IV, paras. 18 et seq.

"Homelands" policy and related legislative measures

11. The "Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Act" of 1968 and the "South West Africa Affairs Act" of 1969 g/ are the basic instruments governing the internal political structure of the Territory. The 1968 act, which takes its inspiration from the proposals of the Odendaal Commission, provided for the creation of so-called autonomous "homelands" for each of the six main, non-white ethnic groups, or "Native nations". h/

12. The process of creating these "homelands" in Namibia has been taking place in three stages. The first stage consists of the designation of a continuous area to become a "homeland". In some cases, the area so designated has consisted of an already-existing "Native reserve", with some modification of its boundary; in other cases, steps have been taken, or are being taken, to consolidate scattered "Native reserves" into a single unit by the transfer of land and the forced removal of the Africans concerned. In yet others, it has been found necessary to promulgate a "homeland" where no "Native reserve" previously existed.

13. The second stage is the establishment in each case of a "homeland authority", consisting of a "legislative council", the members of which are either appointed by the South African Government or elected by a tribal system of selection, and an "executive committee", selected from among the members of the "legislative council" and headed by a chief councillor. At this stage, the "legislative council" has limited powers to pass enactments which, however, do not have the force of law. Its field of competence is restricted and does not extend to the principal fields of administration which continue to be controlled directly by the Government of South Africa, and particularly by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. By the end of 1972, three "homelands", Ovamboland, Kavangoland and the Eastern Caprivi, had reached this stage.

14. The third stage in this planned progression consists in the elevation of the "homelands authorities" to the status of local governments. In order to prepare for this stage, the Government of South Africa, in February 1973, enacted the "Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Amendment Act" which purported to amend the basic act of 1968 by empowering the State President of South Africa to issue a proclamation declaring a "homeland" to be a self-governing area. The act provides, inter alia, that, in such case, the "legislative council" should be empowered to make laws, subject to the assent of the State President of South Africa, in respect of a range of subjects relating to the internal government of the "homeland", and that the "executive government" should be vested in a "chief minister" and "cabinet" composed of ministers with responsibility for departments of the administration assigned to them. Provision is also made for the establishment of a "high court" in each such "self-governing

g/ For information concerning the "South West Africa Affairs Act" of 1969, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex, paras. 36-44.

h/ The six "homelands" provided for in the 1968 Act were: Damaraland, Hereroland, Kaokoland, Kavangoland, Eastern Caprivi and Ovamboland. For further details, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex, paras. 36-44.

area". It should be noted that the powers which may be entrusted to a "legislative council" under the act do not include the power to make laws in regard to the entry into, or operation within, the "homeland" of South African military forces and police.

15. Prior to its adoption, the act was discussed at length in the South African House of Assembly. In a speech delivered in the House on 16 February, Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, explained the purpose of the bill as follows:

"With this bill the Government is reaffirming its undertaking to give the various population groups systematic practical experience on a regional basis in the field of self-government, so as to enable them eventually to exercise their right to self-determination in a proper manner.

"The stage has now been reached where there is a general need on the part of the Native nations that have legislative councils available to them to obtain enabling legislation in terms of which their specific regions may be declared self-governing areas. The introduction of this bill is aimed at providing for the enabling legislation. After mature consideration, on the ground of experience, and in consultation with the Native Governments concerned, who in turn consulted their people in the customary way, the procedures as contained in this bill were decided upon, since these would best promote the further constitutional development of the regions concerned, with due allowance for the specific nature of each. This legislation, of course, is not automatically applicable to the population groups of the various regions. What it is creating is the necessary machinery for the development of self-government on a regional basis. Therefore, when a government or region is of the opinion that it is capable of exercising further powers of self-government, it will be able to request that the legislation concerned be made applicable to it, and the State President may then apply it in accordance with that request, by way of proclamation. The choice here rests with the regional authority concerned."

16. Subsequently, Sir de Villiers Graaff, the leader of the Opposition, drew attention to a phrase in the explanatory memorandum accompanying the bill in which the Government asserted its "firm and irrevocable intention" to "lead individual nations in South West Africa and the Eastern Caprivi to self-government and independence". Recalling that his party, the United Party, was opposed to separate independence for each "homeland", he asked for an assurance, preferably from the Prime Minister, that this was not the intention of the bill and that it would in no way affect the Prime Minister's "negotiation with the United Nations".

17. In a lengthy statement, delivered in the House on 19 February, Mr. B. J. Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, emphasized that the purpose of the bill was to give "certain peoples of South West Africa the experience of self-government" which, he said, was "an essential element for self-determination". What happened thereafter would be for them to decide and "all options are kept open". According to a report in the press, the phrase in the explanatory memorandum on which the leaders of the Opposition had disagreed was later amended.

18. Early in May 1973, on the basis of the above legislation, Ovamboland and Kavangoland were declared to be "self-governing". Further information on these developments is set out below.

Situation within the individual "homelands"

Ovamboland

19. Ovamboland, which, in 1970, had a resident population of 282,210, is by far the largest of the "homelands" in Namibia and also the oldest, having been created in 1968. Ovamboland is, moreover, traditionally the main source of migrant workers who constitute the majority of the labour force in the so-called "white" area of Namibia. In a statement released in Pretoria in June 1972, Chief Philemon Elifas, the "Chief Councillor" of Ovamboland, said that when he and members of his "executive council" had visited Cape Town shortly before, they had asked the South African Government to grant "self-government" to Ovamboland. According to him, the Prime Minister of South Africa had agreed to their request.

20. Subsequently, in a proclamation entitled the "Ovambo Constitution Proclamation 1973", published in the Government Gazette of 27 April, the State President of the Republic of South Africa declared "Ovambo to be a self-governing area within the Territory of South West Africa", with effect from 1 May 1973.

21. The proclamation sets out the new governmental structure of the "homeland", which consists of a "legislative council" and a cabinet of ministers. The "legislative council" is composed of 60 members: 35 designated by various tribal authorities and 25 to be elected on the basis of direct adult suffrage in elections scheduled to take place in 1973. The right to vote is accorded to every member of the Ovambo "nation" aged 21 years or over, who is in possession of a registration card issued within the terms of the "Ovambo Nation Registration Enactment of 1972". No person is qualified to be or remain a member of the "legislative council" if he is under the age of 26 years, is not a member of the Ovambo "nation", or has been convicted "in Ovambo or elsewhere in the Republic of South Africa or in the Territory of South West Africa". The life of the "legislative council" is to be five years.

22. The "cabinet" consists of a chief minister and six other ministers who at present are the members of the former executive committee. The "legislative council" elects the chief minister from amongst its members. The other ministers are appointed by the chief minister from amongst the members of the "legislative council". Members of the "cabinet" hold office for the life of the "legislative council". The "legislative council" may petition the State President of the Republic of South Africa to remove the chief minister and to order the election of a new chief minister in his stead. Under the proclamation, the functions of the "cabinet" remain "within the purview of the administration of Ovambo". Provision is made for recognition of Ndonga as the official language of "Ovambo".

Kavangoland

23. A system of local government was established in the Kavangoland "homeland" in 1970. Under the system of government introduced at that time, Kavangoland had a "legislative council" and a five-member "executive committee" elected by the council from amongst its members. Each member of the "executive committee" was responsible for one or more government departments. In a statement, the text of which was released to the press on 17 July 1972 by the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Chief Linus Shashipapo, the "Chief Councillor" of Kavangoland, asked the South African Government to take the necessary steps to ensure that the "homeland" should become self-governing. His request was similar to that made a month earlier by the "Chief Councillor" of Ovamboland.

24. The assent of the South African Government to this request was made known in a statement made in the Kavangoland "legislative council" on 27 October 1972 by Mr. J. de Wet, the "Commissioner General for the Native Nations of South West Africa". Subsequently, in January 1973, the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development announced that Kavangoland would be "elevated to a higher level of self-government" during 1973 and that elections to the "legislative council" would also be held in the course of that year.

25. On 9 May 1973, following the publication in the Government Gazette of a proclamation by the State President of South Africa, Kavangoland became the second "homeland" to attain "self-government", with a governmental structure similar to that of Ovamboland. The occasion was marked by a ceremony, which was attended by Mr. de Wet, representing the South African Government, at which the members of the former "executive committee" were sworn in as the first "Cabinet of Kavango".

Damaraland

26. Unlike the Ovambo and Kavango "homelands", which were simply based on "Native reserves" that had existed in substantially the same form since the time of the German occupation of the Territory in the nineteenth century, a territorial base for the Damara "homeland" had to be created.

27. In August 1971, after 223 farms had been purchased from white farmers by the South African Government, an interim administration was set up in the Damara "homeland" under Paramount Chief David Goraseb. The administration consisted of 10 headmen and 33 councillors all reportedly elected on the basis of one man, one vote. It was said to be the first time such elections had been held in any African community in Namibia. Although the number of Damaras in Namibia was reported to be 65,000 in 1971, only 7,700 were living inside the newly established "homeland".

28. By 1972, the Damaras were represented by two bodies: the Damara Council of Headmen, probably representing residents of the proposed Damara "homeland", and the Tribal Executive Committee, a traditional body appointed by headmen, which claimed to speak for the Damaras living outside the Damara "homeland".

29. On the occasion of his installation in August 1971 by the South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Chief Goraseb was reported to have stated that his people refused to choose between South Africa and the United Nations and did not wish, at that stage, to become involved in international politics.

30. In June 1972, the Damara Council of Headmen addressed an appeal to Mr. de Wet, asking him to arrange a meeting with the South African Prime Minister, in order to discuss a new government regulation which required African women workers to register at labour bureaux. The regulation compelled all Africans in employment to be in possession of service documents, a requirement which previously applied only to men. The letter containing the appeal stated that this new measure had been introduced without prior consultation with the Damara Council of Headmen.

31. The South African Government responded to this appeal by assigning Mr. de Wet to attend a meeting with the Damara Council in Khorixas, the capital town of the Damara homeland, formerly known as Welwitschia. Disappointed at the absence of the Prime Minister, whom they had expected to be present, the Damara leaders withdrew from the meeting and thereupon issued a joint statement which was apparently signed by both the Damara Council and the Tribal Executive Committee. In the statement, they said that they were not prepared to discuss the question of "self-government" for the Damara "homeland" unless they were first allowed to hold talks with the South African Prime Minister himself on "profound policy problems". The statement added that the problems were deeply rooted in South Africa's policy of "multinational development" and could not be resolved solely through talks with officials of the South African Ministry of Bantu Administration and Development.

32. Press reports have suggested that the appeal for a meeting with the Prime Minister of South Africa was motivated by the concern of the Damaras regarding not only the compulsory registration of female workers but also the introduction of labour employment offices in the Damara "homeland". The Damaras reportedly believed that this system of labour recruitment, which had previously been applied only in Ovamboland, would be extended to all African population groups in the Territory.

33. A joint statement issued at the beginning of July by the Damara Council of Headmen and the "Commissioner General for the Native Nations of South West Africa" stated that the Prime Minister of South Africa had agreed to hold talks with the Damara leaders in Pretoria on 30 August. The statement said that the talks would concern "certain grievances and a certain lack of clarity about the form of self-government for the Damara people". The statement added that the Damaras rejected the United Nations policy of "one man one vote" and that they wanted a "homeland". Nevertheless, they qualified their acceptance of the "homeland" policy with the following reservations: (a) they did not agree with the present division of land among the racial groups in the Territory; (b) they insisted upon recognition of their human rights; and (c) they also insisted that Damaraland, once it was fully independent, should be entitled to choose federation with other "self-governing parts of South West Africa".

34. At the end of August, a group of Damara leaders, including Mr. Justus Garoeb, the Senior Headman, travelled to Pretoria to discuss a proposal that a Damara "homeland" (an area consisting of 4.8 million hectares) should be established and should receive partial "self-government". Later, Mr. de Wet issued a statement announcing that the Damara Council had accepted the idea of a "homeland" in principle but wished, first of all, to discuss various questions relating to the frontier. He said that a number of meetings were planned for this purpose and that he would speak at these meetings.

35. Expressing his "personal views" in a statement issued on 1 November 1972, Mr. Garoeb stated that if the South African Government continued on its present course, all non-whites in the southern part of Namibia would associate themselves with the position of the United Nations. He criticized the division of land, and also said that non-whites living in urban areas should be accepted there as permanent residents and should be accorded their fundamental rights.

36. In December 1972, it was announced that the Damara Council had asked the State President of South Africa to grant self-government to Daramaland, and shortly afterwards it was reported that legislation to this effect was being drafted. In a statement issued on 22 February 1973, however, Mr. O. Kharuxab, on behalf of the Damara Tribal Executive Committee, rejected the proposed Damara "homeland" which, he said, was the "greatest fraud" perpetrated by the "illegal South African Government" on the Damaras.

Hereroland

37. As far as is known, the South African Government has made no progress in its attempt to resettle the Hereros, who number about 49,000, into a "homeland". The South African Government has continued to refuse to recognize Chief Clemens Kapuuo as Paramount Chief of the Hereros, although he is generally recognized as such by the Hereros themselves. A small faction of the Hereros has continued to press the claims to leadership of Prince Frederick II, another Herero chief.

Caprivi Strip

38. The population of the Caprivi Strip, which was 15,000 in 1963, was reported to have increased to 25,000 in 1971, according to information published by South Africa. In July 1971, it was announced that the area of jurisdiction of the "Commissioner-General for the Native Nations of South West Africa" was being extended to include the eastern part of the Caprivi, an area which had previously been under the direct jurisdiction of the South African Government.

39. Following discussions in November 1971 between representatives of the two tribes inhabiting the eastern part of the Caprivi Strip and officials of the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development, an Eastern Caprivi "legislative council" was formally established on 22 March 1972 in Ngweze, near Katima Mulilo. On the following day, Mr. Botha, the South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, on behalf of the State President of South Africa, opened the first session of the Eastern Caprivi "legislative council".

Bushmanland

40. According to the 1971 census figures, the number of Bushmen in Namibia totalled 22,000. The Bushmen, who are traditionally migrants, live in various parts of western Namibia near the frontier of Botswana. The Government of South Africa has allocated an area of approximately 2.4 million hectares for a Bushmen "homeland", but efforts to move the Bushmen into this area have reportedly met with resistance.

Rehoboth Gebiet

41. The Rehoboth Basters, reported to number 16,000 in 1971, occupy an area traditionally known as the Rehoboth Gebiet and have possessed certain limited powers of local government since before the advent of South African administration in Namibia. It will be recalled that, in June 1971, elections were held in the Rehoboth Gebiet to elect seven members to the Rehoboth Advisory Council for a three-year term. Although opposed by candidates of the newly formed Bastervereniging (Baster Association), which had declared itself ready to negotiate with the South African Government with a view to self-rule for the Rehoboth Gebiet, the candidates of the Volkspartei, the leading political party, which is traditionally opposed to co-operation with South Africa, were re-elected to all seven seats. The vote was considered to be an expression of confidence in the Volkspartei which, inter alia, has been actively campaigning for the abolition of the Government controlled Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation, set up by the South African Government to acquire land and promote economic development in the Gebiet. The Volkspartei considers this to be a threat to the social and political structure of the community which, it claims, has sufficient funds to finance the development of the area.

42. In January 1972, the Rehoboth Advisory Council passed a resolution by which it decided to request the South African Government to authorize the election of a new Captain and People's Council, in accordance with the patriarchal laws of the Rehoboth community adopted at its founding in 1873. The new Rehoboth People's Council would then be assigned the task of drafting a completely new constitution for the Rehoboth area. There is no information on any action taken by the South African Government on these requests.

Namaland

43. The Nama population numbered 32,000 in 1971 and, prior to the creation of a Nama "homeland", had been grouped into six "Native reserves" in the southern part of Namibia. In March 1972, a "Namaland Consolidation and Administration" bill providing for the creation of a Nama "homeland" was introduced in the South African Senate. The bill also provided that any money derived from prospecting and mining in the area would be used for promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of Namaland. During the second reading of the bill in May 1972, Senator J. P. Niehaus, the spokesman for the opposition United Party, who represents a white constituency in Namibia, said that in so far as the aim of the bill was simply the consolidation of areas occupied by Namas, the bill had

the support of the Opposition. He considered, however, that the proposed "homeland" could never become economically self-supporting and that it would be unrealistic to envisage its political independence.

"Advisory Council for South West Africa"

44. It will be recalled that, during contacts with the Prime Minister of South Africa in November 1972, Mr. Escher, the Representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia, was informed of the Prime Minister's intention to create an advisory council drawn from representatives of the various regions, regional governments or authorities in the Territory. Although the functions of such a body were not disclosed in Mr. Escher's report, i/ it was assumed that the council would be advisory to the Prime Minister who had informed Mr. Escher that he would assume over-all responsibility for the Territory as a whole.

45. Opposition to the plan was voiced by non-white political organizations and leaders both inside and outside the Territory. In a statement issued in London on 12 March 1973, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) charged that the creation of the advisory council would constitute a continuation of South Africa's "homelands" policy in Namibia. The statement asserted that the council would be composed of "hand-picked stooges" from each "homeland" and that it was "a move designed to confuse the issues surrounding the United Nations initiative; it is aimed to frustrate the peoples' demand for independence; and it represents an attempt to legitimize the continued South African presence in South West Africa which has already been declared illegal."

46. Inside Namibia, Chief Kapuuo, the Paramount Chief of the Hereros, who is also Chairman of the National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO), stated that he would accept the idea of a consultative body on an interim basis, provided it was supervised by the United Nations and was truly representative of the various groups in Namibia. Chief Kapuuo added: "The black people of this country are not interested in an advisory council appointed by the South African Government". Subsequently, in a letter published in a newspaper in Namibia, Mr. A. Kuwuseb, writing in his capacity as Vice-Chairman of NUDO stated:

"We agree to an advisory council only if it is under the supervision of the United Nations, and the true leaders are chosen by the people and not by the South African Government. The inhuman policy of apartheid practised by the South African Government in Namibia is so deeply entrenched that it is difficult to believe that it will be done away with in every sense. The so-called advisory council to be appointed by Mr. Vorster's Government has already earned the nickname of 'stooges' among our people because they will receive big sums of money to follow the apartheid laws."

i/ S/10832 and Corr.1, annex II, sect. II, para. 13 (f).

47. Opposition to the proposed advisory council was also expressed by Mr. Gerson Veii on behalf of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU). In a statement issued on 6 March 1973, he pointed out that South Africa had no legal and moral right to direct the affairs of the Territory, inasmuch as its mandate had been terminated. He said that the non-white people in Namibia could not see how a council composed of puppets could lead them to nationhood and independence. A similar statement was issued on the following day by the National Convention which represents the views of a number of non-white political parties and groups. The National Convention declared that the nominations for membership in the council were not representative of African opinion, and that the overwhelming majority of Namibians were opposed to the council. Opposition to the council was also expressed by the Chairman of the Damara Tribal Executive Committee, in a telegram addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and by leaders of the Namas who announced their refusal to participate in the council.

48. On 6 March, a riot occurred in the African township of Katutura, outside Windhoek. According to newspaper reports, the riot, in which 5,000 Ovambo workers were involved, resulted from an attempt by a member of the Kavango "legislative council" to address Kavango workers on the question of the advisory council. In the course of the riot, a municipal office in the Ovambo workers' compound was set on fire and destroyed. Eighty-seven persons were arrested and later fined for not being in possession of identity documents; five persons were charged with having committed public violence.

49. The "advisory council" held its first meeting in Windhoek on 23 March 1973, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of South Africa. According to information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa and annexed to the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council, j/ the membership of the "advisory council" was as follows:

Damaraland	Mr. Justus Garoeb Councillor Andreas Tja-tjamai
Ovamboland	Chief Councillor Philemon Elifas Councillor Cornelius Njoba
Kavangoland	Councillor Alex Kudomo Mr. Leevi Hakusembe
Eastern Caprivi	Chief Councillor M. Moraliswani Councillor M. Mamili
Bushmanland	Mr. Geelbooi
Hereroland	Mr. David Tjatjitua Mr. Munjuku Nguvauva
Tswanaland	Mr. Dominikus Mokalobatho
Coloured population group	Mr. D. Bezuidenbout Mr. A. J. F. Kloppers
White population group	Mr. D. F. Mudge Adv. E. van Zijl

j/ S/10921 and Corr.1, annex I.

50. On 21 March, the Rehoboth Baster Council nominated Messrs. M. Olivier and H. Diergaardt to represent the Rehoboth Gebiet on the "advisory council". The Council then withdrew these nominations until clarity could be obtained on certain questions. Subsequently, on 22 March, the Rehoboth Baster Vereniging, the party which opposes the ruling Rehoboth Volkspartei, indicated that it wished to nominate Dr. B. J. Africa and Mr. P. J. Mouton as candidates. The Prime Minister ruled that Dr. Africa could attend the meeting as an observer. In the case of Namaland, senior representatives of the Nama people declined the invitation to nominate representatives to the "advisory council". However, a segment of the Nama people inhabiting the Bondelswarts "Native reserve" subsequently nominated Mr. Frank Basson, their Acting Headman, to represent them on the "council". The Prime Minister accorded Mr. Basson observer status. In the case of "homelands" which have not yet been created and for which there is no authority recognized by the South African Government (i.e., Bushmanland, Kackoland, Tswanaland, Hereroland and Namaland), the Foreign Minister reported that all shades of opinion had been consulted at meetings in the various areas. In the case of the Hereros, it was stated that the invitation to nominate representatives had been accepted by certain sections of this population group and rejected by others.

Struggle for national liberation

South West Africa. People's Organization (SWAPO)

(a) History and policies

51. In 1959, a few months before the massacre by South African police of Africans opposed to being moved from the former Native location in Windhoek to Katutura, Messrs. Herman Toiva Ja Toiva, Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kuhangua were instrumental in founding the Ovamboland People's Organization in Cape Town. This organization was later transformed into the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) with the support of leaders of other groups in Namibia. For some years, SWAPO concentrated its efforts on seeking action by the United Nations to expel the South African administration, but, in 1963, it began training guerrilla forces. Young men left Namibia in great numbers to join these forces. Military operations against South African forces began in 1966. In 1970, 1971 and 1972, SWAPO continued its military activities and it was reported that the South African authorities were concealing the true extent of their casualties in military operations by holding military funerals under a publicity black-out inside South Africa.

(b) SWAPO activities in 1972

52. The Namibia International Conference was held in Brussels, under the sponsorship of SWAPO and a Belgian National Committee, from 26 to 28 May 1972. k/

k/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. IX, annex II.

The Conference was attended by some 500 delegates from 80 countries in addition to representatives of several organizations. Representatives of the Special Committee, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on Apartheid also attended the Conference.

53. In November 1971, representatives of SWAPO, led by their Administrative Secretary, Mr. Moses Garoeb, visited Canada to ask the Canadian Government to discourage Canadian investment in Namibia. The group was received by officials of the Ministry of External Affairs. It will be recalled that, in the same month, Falconbridge Nickel Mines, Ltd. of Canada opened a mine in Namibia and that the company is still prospecting there. In April 1972, it was reported that SWAPO had been admitted as a full member of the Mouvement Pan Africain de la Jeunesse which is based in Algiers. In November, SWAPO presented a memorandum to the European Economic Community (EEC) in which it asked EEC to recognize the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people and also to recognize the illegality of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia and its exploitation of Namibia's natural and human resources. In the same month, SWAPO submitted a memorandum to the Government of France asking it to endorse the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, to discourage French investment in Namibia and to contribute to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. The memorandum also raised the question of the use in Namibia of arms sold by France to South Africa.

54. On 31 July, Mr. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, issued a statement saying that further talks between the Secretary-General and the South African Government would be "meaningless", and that it was difficult to believe that the South African Government valued these talks, because it was arresting SWAPO members in Namibia. In a telegram addressed to the President of the Security Council, towards the end of November, Mr. Nujoma stated that further contact between the Secretary-General and the Government of South Africa would serve no useful purpose. Speaking on behalf of SWAPO before the Security Council on 1 December 1972, Mr. P. Mueshihange, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, stated that his organization had had doubts about the policy embodied in resolutions 309 (1972) and 319 (1972) and that these doubts had been reinforced by the continued creation of new "homelands" in Namibia by the South African Government. Believing that the South African Government had never intended honestly and seriously to resolve the differences between it and the United Nations, SWAPO considered that the South African response to the contacts was dubious and even negative. Because of its conviction that the contacts had failed to produce any positive result, SWAPO called for their termination.

South West Africa National Union (SWANU)

(a) History and policies

55. The South West African National Union was founded in September 1959 and its first President was Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi. Mr. Nujoma was also elected to the national executive. SWANU's initial policy was to campaign for United Nations intervention in Namibia, with a United Nations force manned by "troops drawn from Afro-Asian and other uncommitted countries". In 1968, Mr. Charles Kauraisa became chairman of SWANU's External Council.

56. In 1966, Mr. Kozonguizi resigned the presidency of SWANU and was succeeded by Mr. Gerson Veii who was convicted in 1967 under South Africa's Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. During Mr. Veii's imprisonment Mr. Gerson Kanguuehi, Vice-President of SWANU, became Acting President. With the reinstatement of Mr. Veii, on his release from prison in 1972, Mr. Kanguuehi became Assistant President.

(b) SWANU activities in 1972

57. In 1972, SWANU concerned itself particularly with the question of the contacts between the Secretary-General and the South African Government, initiated pursuant to resolutions of the Security Council. A statement issued in Windhoek on 15 September by Mr. Kanguuehi said that if the Secretary-General had visited South Africa to consult with the South African Government, it was a waste of time and money. It also said that the so-called "homelands" were the greatest sin committed by the South African Government against the people of Namibia. According to the statement, 95 per cent of the Africans in Namibia were opposed to the system of "homelands". The statement said the non-whites had no hatred for the whites and added "we only hate the Government with its policies".

58. Asked for his views on the proposed advisory council for Namibia, Mr. Veii said it was inevitable that such a council would be composed of "tribal lackeys" of the South African Government. Commenting on the South African Prime Minister's statement that he might consider the possible abolition of some restrictive legislation, Mr. Veii stated: "We don't want the removal of these laws. All we want is the removal of the South African presence in South West Africa."

59. In a statement to the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 December 1972, Mr. Kauraisa, speaking on behalf of SWANU, condemned the Western Powers for the hypocrisy which he said they had shown during the debates in the Security Council on the question of Namibia, and said that they were putting profit before principle. Mr. Kauraisa also expressed the desire of representatives of the National Convention to visit the United Nations in order to establish an "effective understanding", particularly with the United Nations Council for Namibia.

Other developments

60. In 1971 and 1972, several new groups were formed, reflecting a resurgence of political activity among Namibians inside Namibia. The new groups are described below.

National Convention

61. In an effort to bring together all non-white political parties inside Namibia, a National Convention was created and held its first meeting on 13 November 1971 in Rehoboth. Invited by a group of

Rehoboth Basters, the principal participants in this first Convention were a number of members of the Chief's Council of the Herero nation including Chief Kapuuo and six of his councillors, and members of the Rehoboth Advisory Board. The Convention, which met in closed session, was believed to have discussed the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and other political matters.

62. The National Convention held a much larger second meeting on 13 February 1972. This meeting was attended by Mr. David Meroro, National Chairman of SWAPO inside Namibia; Chief Kapuuo, representing NUDO; a member of the Rehoboth Advisory Council; representatives of SWANU; the Rev. B. G. Karuera, representing the Association for the Preservation of the Tjamuaha-Maharero Royal House (which disputes the claim of Clemens Kapuuo to the chieftaincy of the Hereros and supports the claim of Prince Frederick II); representatives of the Rehoboth Baster Volkspartei, led by Mr. J. S. A. Diergaardt; representatives of the South West Africa United National Independence Organization (SWAUNIO), whose membership consists mainly of Namas; representatives of the Voice of the People, a party headed by Mr. Jeremias Jagger; representatives of the Damaras; and Chief Hendrik Samuel Witbooi, representing the Nama people.

63. The meeting, which was attended by 100 invited delegates and 200 other persons, was chaired by Mr. Hans Diergaardt of the Rehoboth Baster Volkspartei. The agenda for the meeting included the following items: (a) co-operation among the non-white peoples of Namibia; (b) the future system of government for Namibia; and (c) the elimination of repression. A resolution calling for co-operation between non-white races and a "Declaration of Human Rights" were adopted. The convention also appointed a central committee which was given the task of drafting a constitution for an independent Namibia and of calling the next meeting. The National Convention subsequently held a third meeting, which agreed upon a text to be transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

64. The Coloured Federal People's Party of South West Africa, which had been excluded from previous meetings of the National Convention in April 1972, expressed its desire to associate itself with the Convention on three conditions: (a) that there should be equitable representation for all races, including whites; (b) that there should be a dialogue with the South African Government about "South West Africa"; and (c) that there should be unequivocal rejection of any interference by the United Nations in the Territory.

65. In early 1973, as mentioned above, the National Convention campaigned actively against the "advisory council".

66. At the annual meeting (1972) of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Chief Kapuuo claimed that the National Convention, through its six member parties, represented the majority of Africans in Namibia. He said that the National Convention was opposed to the creation of "homelands" and wanted Namibia to be one country. He bitterly criticized the South African administration in Namibia for having deprived the black people "of about 90 per cent of their traditional lands" and for "selling these lands to white farmers from South Africa". He believed there should be a fair distribution of land and that the contract

labour system, which separated men from their families, should be abolished. "We want the United Nations to take over South West Africa and prepare the people for self-government and independence." Following the establishment of the "advisory council", Chief Kapuuo reported that the Executive Committee of the National Convention had met at Windhoek and decided to reject the proposal because it did not consider that the Government of South Africa had the right to appoint such a body. The Executive Committee pointed out that South Africa was illegally occupying the Territory and that the proposed members represented only a "small minority of cliques". 1/

Democratic Co-operative Development Party

67. The aims of this party were described in a press statement issued in mid-May 1972 by Mr. Johannes Jefta Nangutuuala, who had headed the Ovambo Labour Committee during the strike of the Ovambo migrant workers in December 1971 and January 1972. In his statement, Mr. Nangutuuala said that the party rejected apartheid and the fragmentation of the Territory into "homelands". He also stated that the party would "fight police Governments and would not tolerate interference by South Africa in Namibia". Shortly afterwards, Mr. Nangutuuala called for a political meeting to be held in Ovamboland on 27 May 1972 to press for the abolition of all non-white "homelands". The meeting was prohibited by Chief Philemon Elifas, "Chief Councillor of the Ovamboland legislative council".

68. In a press interview given in July 1972, Mr. Nangutuuala said that there would never be peace in Ovamboland as long as the Ovambos of Angola were separated from the Ovambos of Namibia by a border fence. Regarding the announcement that Ovamboland would be given a greater measure of self-government, Mr. Nangutuuala said that although he was suspicious about it, his party would participate in any election for that purpose. His aim would be to work towards the rejection of the "homelands" policy. He said that the proposed banning of SWAPO, which had been called for by the "executive councils" of Kavangoland and Ovamboland, was ridiculous.

69. At a meeting of the Constitutional Committee of Ovamboland, held at the beginning of October, Mr. Nangutuuala delivered what was reported to be a "fiery speech" and signed a statement condemning the South African Government's "homelands" policy. Together with five other officials of his party, he was arrested by Ovamboland tribal police and detained for five days. In a press release issued towards the end of October, Mr. Nangutuuala stated that the registration of Ovamboland residents, which was then in progress, was being carried out by the South African Government with the aim of countering the people's opposition to the meetings of the Constitutional Committee of Ovamboland.

70. Early in 1973, the "executive council" of Ovamboland refused permission for a political meeting which Mr. Nangutuuala had scheduled for 20 January and, on

1/ The statement was dictated by Chief Kapuuo to Bishop C. Winter over the telephone and Bishop Winter reported it to the United Nations Council for Namibia at its 168th meeting, on 29 March 1973.

15 January it announced that all unauthorized political meetings in Ovamboland would be considered "illicit". Earlier, Chief Philemon Elifas had stated that all unofficial meetings in Ovamboland would be prohibited until the Constitutional Committee had concluded its report. Questioned by newspapermen about these events, Mr. de Wet, "Commissioner-General for the Native Nations of South West Africa", stated that it was a tradition in Ovamboland to obtain permission for holding a meeting and that the prohibition had not been made under the South African Government's proclamation placing Ovamboland under emergency rule.

Voice of the People

71. According to a press report, the Voice of the People is a small political party with support from elements of the Damara and Nama groups. Its public attitude is reported to differ from that of other movements, and particularly from that of SWAPO, inasmuch as the Voice of the People is prepared to condemn violence as a solution to the problems of Namibia. In September 1972, a delegation of the Voice of the People, led by Mr. K. H. Conradie, was received in Pretoria by Prime Minister Vorster, in a departure from his usual policy of receiving only the leaders of officially recognized "homelands". The delegation made a plea for permission to go to the United Nations to present testimony on Namibia. It also complained of discrimination in municipal affairs, and sought the lifting or easing of a restriction order on Mr. Brendan Simbwaye, former President of the Caprivi African National Union, who was confined to a farm near Khorixas in Damaraland. It also called on the South African Government to cease promulgating laws in respect of Namibia.

72. In a statement issued on 21 November 1972, the Voice of the People rejected the proposed "advisory council". The statement said that the council would be simply another manifestation of the "homelands" policy, and it challenged the Prime Minister to hold a plebiscite under United Nations supervision to determine the wishes of the Namibian people concerning their future. The statement concluded that the contacts between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and South Africa were a waste of time, and that the Security Council should apply compulsory measures against South Africa.

Activities of religious groups

(a) Evangelical Lutheran Church

73. As reported previously, there has been a growing dissatisfaction among religious groups with South African policies in the Territory. In June 1971, Bishop Leonard Auala, President of the Church Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church, and Moderator Paulus Gowaseb, President of the Church Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa, addressed a joint letter m/ to the Prime Minister of South Africa. In that letter, they complained

m/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. IX, annex I, para. 56.

that South Africa had failed to maintain human rights in Namibia and called for the establishment of Namibia as a separate and independent State. They followed up their letter with a pastoral letter to their own congregations in which they expressed support for the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and criticized the "homelands" policy of the South African Government as contributing to the division between the races, which would prevent them from participating in the development of the country. According to reports, Bishop Auala also complained to the Prime Minister that police in Namibia abused their powers and that innocent people were beaten and given shock treatment and that firearms were pointed at them while they were threatened with death.

Mr. Gowaseb complained that all the aged people who had been moved (as part of the "homelands" policy) to Okombahe in the Damara "homeland" in 1967 had died in destitution and misery.

74. In an article published in The British Weekly, a church newspaper, Bishop Auala said that his people's patience was "at a breaking point". He expressed his fear of violence among his people if there were no change in South African policies regarding apartheid, the contract labour system and the Government's refusal to grant independence to the Territory.

75. At the conclusion of the Fifth Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, held in Otjimbingwe and presided over by the Rev. Eiseb, a statement was issued on 4 October 1972 containing the following three principal points: (a) the Synod endorsed the open letter written in 1971 by Bishop Auala to the South African Prime Minister; (b) the Synod noted with deep regret libellous statements against its indigenous and overseas fellow workers which were being spread, mainly by an organization called Die Christliche Not und Arbeitsgemeinschaft and which characterized those church workers as "communistically oriented"; and (c) the Synod took note with "profound disappointment and grief" of the fact that the South African Government was exerting increasing pressure on churches through the refusal of visas to direly needed Christian fellow workers.

76. Following a meeting held jointly by the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church in early 1972, a decision was taken to merge the two churches under the name of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa. The combined church would have a total membership of 300,000. In a statement issued at that time, representatives of the new United Church expressed the hope that the German Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa, the membership of which was white and which had dissociated itself from the open letter to the South African Prime Minister, would also merge with the new United Church.

(b) World Council of Churches (WCC)

77. Church groups outside the Territory have also increased their activities in support of the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia. Meeting in Utrecht in August 1972, the 120-member Policy-Making Central Committee of WCC voted to instruct its financial directors to sell immediately its shares in companies which were directly involved, through either investment or trade, with South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and any of the African Territories under Portuguese administration. The Central Committee urged its 250 member churches, representing 350 million Christians, "to use all their influence, including stockholder action and disinvestment, to press corporations to withdraw investments from and cease

trading with these countries". Only four delegates voted against the resolution and six abstained. The vote to increase the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism from \$US 500,000 to \$US 1 million was also passed by an overwhelming majority.

(c) Church of England

78. In a statement issued on 19 September 1972, the Commissioners of the Church of England, generally known as the Church Commissioners, stated that they had sold all their shares in the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation which had amounted to a total value of about £1.5 million. The Commissioners said that this action followed "intensive consideration" of their holdings in the Corporation. It was reported that full details of the operations in southern Africa of the group of companies associated with the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation were being studied by the Church Commissioners. n/ It was also reported that the British Council of Churches was expected to set up a study group to examine the whole question of church investments in southern Africa.

Positions of South African parties

79. For many years, the whites of Namibia, exercising exclusive control over the local political institutions of the Territory, have enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy from the Republic of South Africa. The "Legislative Assembly of South West Africa", which is elected by, and composed exclusively of, whites, wielded considerable powers over both the whites and the Africans in the Territory. In accordance with the Odendaal Plan, the South African Parliament passed the "South West Africa Affairs Act" in 1969. This Act had the effect of transferring practically all powers over Africans in the Territory from the "Legislative Assembly of South West Africa" to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and the Department of Bantu Education of the South African Government. At the same time, the powers of the whites in the "Legislative Assembly" were reduced. The net effect of these moves was that the "Legislative Assembly" was downgraded to the status of similar bodies in the four provinces of the Republic of South Africa.

80. The above changes did not affect the arrangements by which the all-white electorate of Namibia elects the members of the "Legislative Assembly" and also sends to the South African Parliament in Cape Town six members of the House of Assembly and two Senators. For many years, the "South West African" seats in the South African Parliament have been occupied by members of the ruling National Party.

81. Commenting on the above changes at the start of the United Party Congress in "South West Africa", held in September 1972 in Windhoek, Senator Niehaus said that the United Party offered to return to the "Legislative Assembly of South

n/ For details of the activities of the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation in Namibia, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. V.

West Africa" all the powers of which it had been deprived under the Odendaal Plan, together with an increase of these powers where necessary. At the same Congress, Sir de Villiers Graaff, the leader of the United Party in South Africa, stated that the United Party envisaged the creation of a multiracial assembly for the Territory which reportedly would be similar to the federal assembly proposed by the United Party for the Republic of South Africa itself. The Congress then passed a resolution demanding that the South African Prime Minister give immediate effect to his policy of self-determination for the Territory "by immediately transferring back all Government departments and to place them under the jurisdiction and control of the South West Africa Administration as was the case previously".

82. Speaking in Windhoek at the beginning of November, the Chief Secretary of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in South Africa, Mr. Louis Stoffberg, stated that "South West Africa" had been sold out and that its detachment from the Republic of South Africa was an accomplished fact. Referring to the discussions which had taken place between South Africa and the United Nations, he stated that the South African Prime Minister had made a concession in stating that the Territory had an international status, and a further concession in agreeing to negotiate with the United Nations, with the result that the United Nations "were given a say" in the affairs of the Territory.

83. In contrast to this assessment, Senator Niehaus stated at the end of December that one of the most important developments of 1972 had been that the South African Government, by reversing its policy of 20 years, had affirmed its purpose to lead the Territory towards self-rule and independence. By entering into negotiations, he said, the United Nations had acknowledged South Africa's juridical position in "South West Africa".

84. In November 1972, Mr. A. H. du Plessis, the South African Minister of Works and Community Development, a member of the National Party from "South West Africa", stated in Windhoek that the South African Government would brook no interference from outside, or within, in its own plans for the Territory. Replying to a question regarding the incorporation of Namibia into South Africa, Mr. du Plessis remarked, "some future crisis, however, could possibly bring about incorporation".

Repressive acts by the South African Government

85. The general character of repression by the South African authorities has reportedly been described by SWAPO o/ as follows:

"Guerrilla activities lead to mass-arrests, detentions of innocent civilians, brutal retaliation and victimization of the Namibian population. Some will argue that we bring unnecessary suffering to our civilian population by continuing our guerrilla struggle. We do not accept this. Time and again we have pointed out that there are many parallels between Vorster's South Africa and Hitler's Germany, but it does not seem to register. The atrocities performed by the South African Government are as brutal and inhuman as those performed by Hitler's henchmen. However, they are not performed just outside the European front door, they are performed far away.

o/ Namibia News (July/December 1969), Vol. 2, Nos. 7-12, pp. 1-2, as quoted in Richard Gibson, African Liberation Movements (London, Oxford University Press, 1972).

in a part of the world where people happen to be black, happen to be exploited victims of international indifference. By taking to arms in order to free ourselves, we know that we not only fight for our freedom, we also combat a force which is threatening world peace."

86. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations but made public by WCC, Mr. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, said that the South African Government had carried out a campaign of large-scale murder, imprisonment, and torture in Namibia after the visit there in March 1972 of the Secretary-General. According to a statement made in London by Bishop Winter in March 1972, following his expulsion by the South African authorities from Namibia, a South African police patrol p/ had shot and killed five Africans who were part of a group of worshippers leaving a church service. The police claimed that they had opened fire on a crowd which had attacked them with spears and bows and arrows. Bishop Winter asserted that the members of the group had been completely unarmed. He stated that the South African authorities were using torture, detention without trial, violence and shooting in an attempt to suppress the Ovambo people.

87. In June 1972, the finding of an inquest on the killings was released in Ondangwa, the capital of Ovamboland. According to the coroner's report, eight Ovambos were shot dead by South African police in two separate clashes which took place in Ovamboland during January at the time of the strike of migrant workers. Five were said to have been killed after a church service and the other three after an attack on a subheadman's kraal. The official finding of the inquest was that the men had been killed when the police fired in the course of duty. The documents relating to the case were not released to the press or to the public. A statement released by SWAPO said that the police had opened fire on an unarmed group of Africans who were leaving a church service. Commenting on the incident, the South African newspaper, The World, stated that conflicting versions of the incident were circulating and that even the exact dates and location of the incident or incidents were uncertain.

88. In June 1972, the "executive committee" of Ovamboland requested the South African Government to ban SWAPO in Ovamboland on the grounds that SWAPO's aims were terror and the use of force. The request followed a similar one made by the Chiefs' Council of Damaraland. The statement by the Council of Damaraland said that, initially, SWAPO had been in favour of non-violence but later, at the Namibia International Conference, in Brussels, SWAPO had spoken in favour of the use of force. Shortly afterwards, the "executive committee" of the Kavango "legislative council" asked the "Commissioner General for the Native Nations of South West Africa" to have SWAPO banned.

89. Late in July, Mr. Nathaniel Gottlieb Maxhuilili, Vice-President of SWAPO in Namibia, was served with a banning order which confined him to the magisterial district of Walvis Bay for a period of five years. Mr. Maxhuilili may not discuss politics, is prohibited from attending meetings and is confined to a specific area. The order stipulates that Mr. Maxhuilili is not permitted to visit the harbour, any "native hostel or compound" or any factory. However, he is permitted to go to work in the factory where he is employed. Mr. Maxhuilili was later selected by Amnesty International for its annual "Prisoner of Conscience Week".

p/ Three types of police operate in Namibia: the civil police forces of the white municipalities, the tribal police of Ovamboland, and the paramilitary South African Police, heavily armed, militarily trained and using military vehicles and helicopters.

90. According to a number of reports received by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) up to mid-1972, and later reproduced in the press, more than 50 people were killed by the South African police in Ovamboland (10 in Tsumeb, 8 in Grootfontein, 7 in Windhoek and 4 in Okahandja) during the strike of migrant workers in December 1971 and January 1972. The reports also indicated that large numbers of people had disappeared or had been arrested, and that many women had approached the churches in Namibia asking for help in trying to find their husbands. On 18 September, ICFTU, which had previously brought the question of contract labour in Namibia before the United Nations as a violation of human rights, urged the United Nations to set up a commission to inquire into the fate of large numbers of people who had disappeared in Namibia at the time of the strike, and into the alleged mass killings.

91. In his book, Passport to Truth, published in England in 1973, Georg von Konrat, who had been the South African Government's Resident Engineer in Ovamboland in 1971, stated that the South African administration was maintaining itself and the puppet Ovamboland Government in power by repressive action. "Disappearances" of Ovambos and killings by the police were known events. The police were assisted by a network of well-paid informers among the Ovambos. At the same time, many of the white officials in the administration and even in the Water Affairs Department in Ovamboland were actually plain-clothes policemen who were not qualified for the jobs which they nominally held.

92. In a statement made in April 1972, in the South African House of Assembly, Mr. S. L. Muller, the Minister of Police, said that, in connexion with the detention of 213 people in Ovamboland, 130 persons had been released by 14 April and 83 were still being held. The detentions had been made on the basis of regulations promulgated to deal with unrest following the strike of Ovambo contract workers.

93. In Ondangwa, Mr. Philip Aluendo, a cafe owner, was sentenced to a fine of R200 q/ after being convicted on a charge of making intimidatory declarations or committing illegal acts at the time of the visit of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to Ovamboland. Mr. Aluendo had displayed a placard on which was written "Vorster must get out of Namibia". He was arrested three weeks after the Secretary-General's visit, and was brought to trial after being detained in prison. Mr. Aluendo was one of a group of about 40 demonstrators who had assembled at the time of the Secretary-General's visit to Ovamboland.

94. On 11 December, 107 Ovambos were arrested by the Windhoek municipal police in a "round up of loiterers" and 71 were subsequently charged. The principal counts in the indictments were that they were not in possession of work permits or identification papers and that they were in an urban area illegally. The arrests were apparently made at Katutura, outside Windhoek.

q/ One rand (R) equals \$US 1.50.

95. At the end of January 1973, at a press conference, Brigadier W. Louw, the Divisional Commissioner of Police, announced that a "mopping-up operation" for "loiterers" would soon be launched throughout Namibia. As an indication of the dimension of the problem of "loitering", he stated that within an eight day period, court orders had been issued for the repatriation of 132 persons to their "homelands".

96. On 9 May, it was reported that 10 political figures had been arrested in Ovamboland. Those arrested comprised six members of the SWAPO youth movement who had been seized over the Easter week-end at an Ovamboland mission prior to the holding of a scheduled meeting to discuss, inter alia, the "terrorist activities of the police"; two members of the Democratic Co-operative Development Party, who had been arrested in the first week of May for holding a demonstration in Ondangwa, capital of Ovamboland; and two members of SWAPO.

97. The two members of the Democratic Co-operative Development Party who were arrested were Mr. Nangutuuala, leader of the party, who was held in Grootfontein, outside Ovamboland, and Mr. Andreas Nuunkwawo, a party member. The SWAPO members were Mr. John Otto, a party leader, and Mr. Jimmy Ampala, a party activist. The group had been seeking an interview with Chief Elifas to urge him not to accept "self-rule". The six members of the SWAPO youth movement who were arrested were Messrs. Ezekiel Maxhuilili, son of the banned Vice-President of SWAPO; Frans Nangutuuala, brother of Johannes Nangutuuala; Dixon Namolo; Patrick Hadipo; Tomas Kamati and Patricio Shelenge.

3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

General

98. The economy of Namibia has been described as a dual economy, consisting of a predominantly modern exchange sector and a traditional subsistence sector. The exchange sector is represented by a small number of mining companies, a rapidly expanding fishing industry, a commercial community in the large cities and a large number of white-owned farms. Economic activities in the non-white areas, including the "homelands", are mainly related to subsistence. The economy has for many years been controlled by South African and other foreign interests; most of the larger companies active in Namibia are either subsidiaries or branches of companies whose headquarters are outside the Territory or the majority of whose shares are owned by non-Namibians. r/ The principal bases of these foreign interests are the Republic of South Africa, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. The only large-scale enterprises owned by residents of the Territory are concerned with agriculture and livestock products, notably karakul farming. They are almost exclusively owned by whites.

r/ For further details, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. V; and A/9023 (part III), chap. IV.

99. In 1971, the total gross profits before taxes of foreign-owned companies operating in Namibia were estimated to amount to R84 million.

100. The following paragraphs deal with some general aspects of the economic situation not related to the activities of foreign economic interests. It should be noted that information on general aspects of the Namibian economy is limited as a result of the policies of the South African Government which, on the one hand, has consolidated economic data relating to Namibia with data relating to the Republic of South Africa and, on the other, has prohibited the publication of data concerning the mining industry.

Public finance

101. According to a statement by an official of the South African Government, Namibia's gross national product in 1970, the latest year for which information is available, was R350 million. As previously explained, however, no comprehensive budget for the whole of Namibia is published by the South African Government. What is commonly known as the "budget of South West Africa" relates only to those expenditures which are within the competence of the executive and legislative organs of the white areas.

102. In May 1972, Mr. J. van der Walt, the "Administrator of South West Africa", announced that expenditure for the 1972/73 fiscal year was expected to amount to R63.4 million, an increase of R10.3 million over the preceding year. Principal headings of expenditure were: administration, R3.5 million; education, R10.4 million; public buildings, R8 million; and health, R7.6 million. An additional sum of R28 million would be transferred from the Territorial Income Fund to the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund.

103. The revenues of the Territory were expected to be R56.5 million. The principal sources of revenue were: personal income tax, R6.0 million; company income tax, R1.6 million; tax on foreign shares, R4.0 million; sales tax, R4.5 million; amortization of state credits, R4.0 million. In addition there would be a "contribution" of R27.3 million from the South African Government to the Territorial Income Fund from revenues paid to the South African Government under the terms of the South West Africa Affairs Act of 1969.

104. The budget, which was reported to be designed to stimulate growth and investment, did not contain any increases in taxation and there were a number of tax concessions.

Cunene River Basin scheme in Angola

105. In September, it was reported that, for the first time, water from the Cunene River flowed into a reservoir in Ovamboland. The scheme for utilization of the Cunene River, which is being undertaken jointly by South Africa and Portugal, involves the use of the waters on both sides of the frontier between Namibia and

Angola and the supply of electric power to South Africa. The project includes the construction of 12 dams on the Cunene River. The total cost of the scheme has been estimated at R400 million, and will be financed mostly by South Africa. Strict secrecy was reportedly being preserved regarding the names of companies which had tendered for work on the hydroelectric station at Ruacana Falls on the Cunene River. Apparently eight tenders had been received when bidding closed on 16 June 1972, four tenders each for two different parts of the scheme. It was expected that several months would elapse before any decision was announced. According to the report, the foreign companies concerned wished to keep secret the fact that they had tendered for work on the project on the grounds that they might become targets of campaigns by international pressure groups as had happened in the case of companies involved in the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique.

4. SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Labour

106. In discussing the labour situation in Namibia, reference should be made once more to the labour unrest which took place in December 1971 and January 1972. It will be recalled that, in December 1971, 13,000 Ovambo workers left their work in a strike that spread to most parts of Namibia. The strike was a protest against the whole system of contract or migrant labour which had the effect of making Namibians foreigners in their own country. The system denied workers stability of employment (i.e., beyond a fixed-term contract) and the right to choose their occupation and also resulted in the separation of men from their families during long periods. The strike began among Ovambo workers lodged in the municipal compound in Walvis Bay, who announced their intention to cease work on 14 December and issued an appeal to Ovambos workers in other parts of the Territory to do likewise.

107. The strike spread rapidly to Windhoek and various mining centres, notably Klein Aub (near Rehoboth) and Tsumeb. By 18 December the number of striking Ovambos exceeded 10,000 and the strike was spreading from the mining centres to the farms. In a pamphlet issued by their leaders, the striking workers demanded inter alia, freedom to select their employment and to undertake work of which they have experience and knowledge.

108. An agreement between the South African Government and the authorities of the Ovambo and Kavango "homelands" was signed at Grootfontein on 20 January 1972 following two days of discussions between representatives of the Government of South Africa and the "governments" of the two "homelands". Mr. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, led the South African delegation, which held discussions with the "executive committees" of Ovamboland and Kavangoland. The main provisions of the new system included the abolition of the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA). In its place, the "governments" of the Ovambo and Kavango "homelands" would provide labour employment bureaux in the different regions. Under the new system, a written

agreement must be entered into directly between each employer and employee, and the latter must be given a copy of his contract at the time of recruitment which must set out the conditions of employment, including salaries, overtime, bonuses, hours of work, vacation and the duration of the contract. In addition, the employee may enter into a further contract with the same employer or with another employer upon the expiration of a contract, and any contract of employment may be terminated by either party. Breaches of contract are no longer criminal offences but a matter for civil action.

109. On 20 August 1972, Mr. Botha stated in Stellenbosch that the South African Government was moving towards "a new labour deal for Africans" involving direct negotiation and "bilateral agreements" between the South African Government and the various "homelands" authorities. However, contract workers in white areas would still be regarded as "foreigners". They would have full citizenship rights only in their own "homelands" and a secondary status in the white areas. Under the new policy, Mr. Botha said that "homelands" authorities would have a "sizeable say in formulating labour agreements" as had been the case in the recent agreement between the South African Government and representatives of the Ovamboland "homeland".

110. In a statement issued on 14 September, Mr. A. C. Arnold, the Town Clerk of Windhoek, said that inspectors of the Windhoek municipality and members of the South African Police, following a period of leniency, would take action against Africans who had taken up employment without having registered and were therefore in the urban area illegally, as well as against employers who had unregistered Africans in their employ, or who allowed Africans to reside on their premises without proper authorization. It was pointed out at the time that municipal inspectors and members of the South African Police were empowered, by Government Notice No. 6 of 3 January 1967, to enter and search any premises if they suspected that an African resided there, or was accommodated or employed contrary to the provisions of the Natives (Urban Area) Proclamation No. 56 of 1951.

111. The 1972 Congress of the South West Africa Agricultural Union had as a major item on its agenda the problem of attracting migrant workers from Ovamboland to work on white farms. It was reported in the press that the officials of the Agricultural Union had circulated a document containing proposals for increased minimum wages; the proposals were not revealed to the press. s/

Education

112. Information on the number of African and Coloured children enrolled in segregated schools in Namibia during 1972 is set out in the table below:

s/ For additional information on current labour conditions see A/9023 (part III), chap. IV, annex, appendix IV.

Namibia: African and Coloured children enrolled in schools, 1971

<u>Level</u>	<u>African children</u>	<u>Coloured children</u>
Substandard A	30 000	3 597
Substandard B	18 281	3 149
Standard 1	14 742	2 899
2	11 284	2 465
3	9 163	2 061
4	5 788	1 808
5	4 021	1 426
6	3 714	1 179
7	-	553
8	-	243
9	-	92
10	-	51
Form I	938	-
II	644	-
III	368	-
IV	106	-
V	44	-
Total	99 196	19 523

113. The total number of white pupils enrolled in segregated state and private schools was reported to be 22,775; however, no breakdown according to standard or grade is available.

114. In March 1972, Mr. J. J. Loots, the South African Minister of Rehoboth and Coloured Affairs, who is responsible for the education of Coloured people, Rehoboth Basters and Namas, announced his intention of introducing in the South African Parliament bills which would provide for the establishment of three separate educational systems for these groups. The three bills were subsequently introduced and received their first reading in the House of Assembly on 1 May 1972, whereupon the opposition United Party registered its objection to the transfer of the administration of education for these communities away from the "Administration of South West Africa" to the South African Department of Rehoboth Affairs and the Department of Coloured Affairs. The Minister pointed out however, that the control of all aspects of administration of these communities had been transferred to the Government of South Africa under the provision of the South West African Affairs Act of South Africa. All that was happening now, the Minister said, was that separate legislation was being created for the administration of education for each of those communities.

CHAPTER IX

(A/9023/Add.3)

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

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A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee considered the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration at its 895th meeting, on 2 February, at its 903rd and 915th to 922nd meetings, between 8 March and 25 June, and at its 929th and 930th meetings, on 20 July and 2 August 1973.
2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including in particular resolution 2908 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, by paragraph 11 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session". Further, the Special Committee took into account General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972 concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration. The Special Committee also paid due regard to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council relating to the question.
3. During its consideration of the question, the Special Committee had before it working papers prepared by the Secretariat (see annex I to the present chapter) containing information on action previously taken by the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the latest developments in the Territories. The Committee also took into account, inter alia: (a) the relevant recommendations of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April, under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (A/9061); (b) statements made during the special meeting held by the Committee on 23 May 1973 (A/AC.109/PV.914) in observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights; and (c) the declaration concerning Territories under Portuguese domination adopted by the Tenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in May 1973. In addition, the Special Committee took into account two telegrams received from the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), dated respectively 10 July 1973 (A/AC.109/427) and 27 July 1973 (A/AC.109/PV.930).

Petitions

4. The Special Committee had before it the following written petitions concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration:

Angola

Letter dated 29 December 1972 from Dr. S. Bosgra, Angola Committee, Netherlands (A/AC.109/PET.1242).

Mozambique

(a) Letter dated 19 December 1972 from Mr. Edmond Perret, Secretary-General, World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Geneva (A/AC.109/PET.1243);

(b) Letter dated 5 April 1973 from Ms. Fanny Edelman, General Secretary, Women's International Democratic Federation (Berlin) (A/AC.109/PET.1249);

(c) Telegram dated 10 July 1973 from Mr. Otto Kersten, General Secretary, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), Brussels (A/AC.109/PET.1251).

Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde

(a) Telegram dated 25 January 1973 from the Pan-African Students Association and Democratic Front, Khartoum University, Khartoum (A/AC.109/PET.1238);

(b) Telegram dated 23 January 1973 from Mr. Burgess Carr, General Secretary, All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), Nairobi, (A/AC.109/PET.1239);

(c) Telegram dated 26 January 1973 from the Secretariat of Trade Unions International of Agricultural, Forestry and Plantation Workers, Prague (A/AC.109/PET.1240);

(d) Letter dated 11 January 1973 from Mr. Domingos Joseph Da Sylva, Frente de Luta pela Independência Nacional da Guiné Bissau (FLING-UNIFIE) (A/AC.109/PET.1241).

5. The Special Committee also had before it a written petition dated 9 February 1973 from Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General, World Peace Council relating, inter alia, to Territories in southern Africa (A/AC.109/PET.1244).

6. The Special Committee granted the following requests for hearing concerning the item:

Petitioner

Meeting at which request for hearing was granted

Lord Gifford, Chairman of the
Committee for Freedom in
Mozambique, Angola and Guiné
(A/AC.109/PV.902 and Corr.1)

902nd

Miss Eileen Hanson, member, Chicago
Committee for the Liberation of
Angola, Mozambique and Guiné
(A/AC.109/PV.919)

919th

7. At the 903rd meeting, on 8 March, Lord Gifford made a statement and replied to questions put to him by the representatives of India, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Ethiopia and Tunisia (A/AC.109/PV.903). Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of India and the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.903). At the 919th meeting, on 19 June, Miss Eileen Hanson made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.919).

Participation of the national liberation movements

8. In accordance with a decision taken at its previous session, which was subsequently approved by the General Assembly, the Special Committee invited, in consultation with OAU, the representatives of the national liberation movements of the African Territories under Portuguese administration to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the item.

9. Accordingly, the following national liberation movements were represented at the meetings of the Special Committee during its consideration of the item:

Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA):

Mr. Sasa Mbala, representative
Mr. Mesamesa Tshamba, representative

Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA):

Mr. Manuel Jorge, Adviser to the Central Committee

Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO):

Mr. Jorge Rebelo, member, Central and Executive Committees
Mr. Sharfudine Khan, representative in New York

Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC):

Mr. Silvino Manuel da Luz, member, Supreme Council.

At the 915th meeting, on 13 June, Messrs. Rebelo, Manuel da Luz and Jorge made statements (A/AC.109/PV.915 and Corr.1). At the 917th and 920th meetings, on 18 and 21 June, Mr. Mbala made statements (A/AC.109/PV.917 and 920). At the 921st meeting, on 22 June, Mr. Jorge made a statement on behalf of the participating national liberation movements.

10. Subsequently, in connexion with the Special Committee's consideration of the massacre of villagers in Mozambique (see paragraphs 18-25 below), Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, also participated in the Committee's proceedings (A/AC.109/PV.929).

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC

11. At its 894th meeting, on 30 January, the Special Committee decided to hold a special commemorative meeting in honour of the late Mr. Cabral, to which all Members of the United Nations and of the organizations within the United Nations system were to be invited.

12. In conformity with the above decision, the Special Committee devoted its 895th meeting to tributes to the memory of the late Mr. Cabral. Statements were made by the Chairman and by the representatives of Kenya (President of the Security Council), Zambia (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia), the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid), Morocco (on behalf of the current President of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, and of Arab Members), Liberia (on behalf of African Members), Sweden (on behalf of Nordic and some Western Members), Barbados (on behalf of some Caribbean Members), Bulgaria (on behalf of Eastern European Members) and Yemen (on behalf of Asian Members) (A/AC.109/PV.895 and Corr.1). Statements were also made by the Executive Secretary of OAU and by the representatives of Cuba, Nigeria, Algeria, Chile, China, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ethiopia, India, the Ivory Coast, Fiji and Yugoslavia, as well as by the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Decolonization and the Under-Secretary-General, Special Adviser on African Questions (A/AC.109/PV.895 and Corr.1). On the proposal of the Chairman, the Committee also decided without objection to reproduce in a committee document the text of the prepared statements of the delegations of Iran, the Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Mali and Sierra Leone (A/AC.109/420).

13. In conformity with a decision taken by the Special Committee at the same meeting, the Chairman, in letters dated 14 February 1973, transmitted the record of the meeting (A/AC.109/PV.895 and Corr.1; A/AC.109/420) to the leaders of PAIGC, the President of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, President Sékou Touré of Guinea, the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, the Executive Secretary of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa and to Mrs. Cabral.

General debate

14. The Special Committee held the general debate on the Territories under Portuguese administration at its 916th to 919th meetings, between 15 and 19 June. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania at the 916th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.916); Iraq, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the Congo at the 917th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.917); Iran, Mali and India at the 918th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.918); and Australia, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, the Ivory Coast, Chile, China, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the 919th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.919).

Draft resolution on the item

15. At the 920th meeting, on 21 June, the representatives of Mali and the Syrian Arab Republic introduced a draft resolution on the item (A/AC.109/L.874), sponsored by Afghanistan, Bulgaria, the Congo, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia. Statements in that connexion were made by the representative of FNLA, and by the representatives of Iraq and Tunisia, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.920).

16. At the 921st meeting, on 22 June, the representative of Fiji made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.921). At the same meeting, following a statement in explanation of vote by the representative of Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.921), the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 21 to none, with 1 abstention (see paragraph 26 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Venezuela.

The representative of Venezuela made a statement in explanation of vote (A/AC.109/PV.921). The representative of Mali also made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.921). Statements were also made by the representative of MPLA and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.921). Subsequently, the representative of Ethiopia, at the 922nd meeting, on 25 June, stated that had his delegation been present at the time of voting, it would have cast an affirmative vote (A/AC.109/PV.922).

17. On 25 June, the text of the resolution (A/AC.109/424) was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10960). Copies of the resolution were also transmitted to all States, to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to OAU. Further, with regard to the invitation addressed to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in paragraph 5 of the resolution, a copy of the resolution was transmitted to the President of that organization, with the request that information be provided on action taken or envisaged by ICRC in its implementation. A substantive portion of a letter received subsequently as a reply is contained in a note by the Secretariat (see annex II to the present chapter).

Draft consensus on the massacre of villagers in Mozambique

18. On 11 July, the Chairman issued a statement in connexion with a report by the Reverend Adrian Hastings of the College of the Ascension, Birmingham, England, concerning the massacre of villagers in Mozambique (see paragraph 28 below).

19. At the 929th meeting, on 20 July, statements were made by the Reverend Hastings and Mr. dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, concerning the massacre (A/AC.109/PV.929). The Reverend Hastings replied to questions put to him by the Chairman and by the representative of India (A/AC.109/PV.929); Mr. dos Santos replied to a question put to him by the representative of India (A/AC.109/PV.929). Statements were also made by the representatives of Sweden, Australia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Iraq, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Tunisia, China, Chile, Indonesia, the Congo and Mali (A/AC.109/PV.929).

20. At the same meeting, following a statement by the Chairman, the Special Committee adopted without objection the text of a draft consensus on the matter (A/AC.109/429) prepared by the delegation of Sweden (see paragraph 27 below).

21. At the same meeting, the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Radha Krishna Ramphul (Mauritius), made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.929). On his proposal, the Special Committee decided without objection to transmit the record of the meeting, together with all other related documents, to the Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations for the attention of His Holiness Pope Paul VI for appropriate action.

22. Copies of the consensus were transmitted to the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations and to the Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations.

23. At its 930th meeting, on 2 August, also in connexion with the massacre of villagers in Mozambique, the Special Committee heard a statement by Mr. Niall MacDermot, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists. Mr. MacDermot replied to questions put to him by the representative of India (A/AC.109/PV.930 and Corr.1).

24. At the same meeting, on the proposal of the representative of India, the Special Committee decided without objection that the Office of Public Information should be requested to disseminate as widely as possible all information made available to the Committee concerning the massacre of villagers in Mozambique, and in particular to prepare a special publication for dissemination on related subjects.

25. In conformity with the above decision, a special supplement to Objective: Justice was prepared and disseminated widely by the Office of Public Information.

B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

26. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/424) adopted by the Special Committee at its 921st meeting on 22 June, to which reference is made in paragraph 16 above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee

Having considered the question of Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, representatives of the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of these Territories, and having heard the statements of the representatives of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola and Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola, 1/

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, as well as all other resolutions relating to the question of Territories under Portuguese domination adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Recalling in particular the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972 and Security Council resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972, in which the Government of Portugal was called upon, inter alia, to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that exists in the Territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique and permitting the peoples of those Territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence,

Taking into consideration the programme of action adopted at the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo in April 1973,

Bearing in mind the Declaration on Territories under Portuguese Domination, adopted by the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its tenth ordinary session,

Condemning the repeated acts of aggression committed by the armed forces of Portugal against independent African States which border the Territories under its domination - the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States which seriously disturbs international peace and security in the African continent, as reaffirmed in Security Council resolution 312 (1972) of 4 February 1972,

Condemning any attempt by Portugal to place at the disposal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for military purposes, any of the facilities in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique,

Condemning the continued collaboration of Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, designed to perpetuate colonialist and racialist domination in the region, and the persistent intervention against the peoples of the Territories concerned by police and armed forces, as well as mercenaries from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia,

1/ A/AC.109/PV.915 and Corr.1 and PV.917.

Strongly deploring the policies of those States, particularly some of the military allies of Portugal which, in defiance of repeated requests addressed to them by the United Nations, continue to provide Portugal with military and other assistance both within the context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and bilaterally, without which Portugal could not pursue its policies of colonial domination and oppression of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique,

Deeply disturbed by the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, are directly or indirectly assisting Portugal in its colonial wars and obstructing the realization by the peoples of Territories under Portuguese domination of their legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence,

Noting with deep concern that the constitutional changes introduced by the Government of Portugal in 1971 and 1972 are not intended to lead to the exercise of self-determination and the attainment of independence by the African peoples of the Territories, but are designed to perpetuate Portuguese domination,

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in those Territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes in the liberated areas, despite the formidable obstacles confronting them,

Noting with particular satisfaction the impressive progress made by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, in the liberation struggle in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, including the recent elections and the establishment of the Popular National Assembly of Guinea (Bissau), and aware of the fact that there are States which are ready to accord recognition to the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde as the sole effective power in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique and other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence, as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right;

2. Reaffirms that the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those Territories and recommends that, pending the accession of those Territories to independence, all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and the United Nations bodies concerned should, when dealing with matters pertaining to the Territories, ensure the representation of those Territories by the liberation movements concerned in an appropriate capacity and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity;

3. Condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to comply with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, the intensified armed repression by Portugal of the peoples of the Territories under its domination, including the mass destruction of villages and property and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances, in order to stifle the legitimate aspirations of those peoples for freedom and independence;

4. Demands that the Government of Portugal should cease forthwith its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, withdraw its military and other forces and discontinue all practices which violate the inalienable rights of those populations including the eviction from their homes and the regrouping of the African populations and the settlement of foreign immigrants in the Territories;

5. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to treat the freedom fighters of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war in accordance with the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949, 2/ and, in that connexion, invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to make available to the liberation movements, as the parties to the conflict, reports on prison camps and treatment of prisoners detained by Portugal and to make the necessary arrangements to secure the exchange of prisoners of war, as appropriate;

6. Appeals to all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations to render to the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories, all the political, diplomatic and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the achievement of their inalienable right to freedom and independence;

7. Urges all Governments, particularly those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which continue to render assistance to Portugal, to withdraw any assistance that enables Portugal to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, and to prevent the sale or supply of all arms and military matériel to Portugal, including civil aircraft, ships and other means of transport capable of being used for transporting military matériel and personnel, as well as supplies, equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition that it uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa;

8. Appeals to all States, in particular the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to refrain from any collaboration with Portugal involving the use of any of the Territories under its domination for military purposes;

2/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75 (1950), No. 972.

9. Calls upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures: (a) to put an end to any activities that help to exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein; (b) to discourage their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contribute to Portugal's domination over those Territories; and (c) to exclude Portugal from taking part on behalf of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique in any bilateral or multilateral treaties or agreements relating particularly to external trade in the products of these Territories;

10. Draws the attention of the Security Council, having regard to the explosive situation resulting from the policies of Portugal in the colonial Territories under its domination and from its constant provocations against the independent African States bordering those Territories, and in the light of the outright disregard by Portugal of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolutions 312 (1972) and 322 (1972), to the urgent need for taking, as a matter of priority, all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and of the related decisions of the United Nations;

11. Requests its Chairman, in the light of the relevant decisions 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 and the General Assembly, to continue his consultations with the Organization of African Unity and with the liberation movements to work out the necessary modalities for the dispatch of a special mission to the Territories concerned, as appropriate;

12. Invites the Secretary-General, bearing in mind the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2909 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972, to continue to take effective and concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give widespread and continuous publicity to information relating to the situation obtaining in these Territories;

13. Decides to keep the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination under continuous review.

27. The text of the consensus (A/AC.109/429) adopted by the Special Committee at its 929th meeting on 20 July, to which reference is made in paragraph 20 above, is reproduced below:

(1) The Special Committee has noted with abhorrence further reports which have recently come to light on atrocities committed by Portugal against the population of the African Territories under its domination, in particular, the detailed and precise information made public by the Reverend Adrian Hastings on the massacre by Portuguese troops of hundreds of villagers in Mozambique. These reports have attracted world-wide attention and have shocked international public opinion. Against this background, the Special Committee has invited the Reverend Hastings to testify before the Committee. The Special Committee benefited by the active participation of

the delegation of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), led by its Vice-President, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, who came specifically to New York for the purpose of taking part as an observer in the proceeding of the Committee on the matter.

(2) The evidence presented to the Special Committee gives further proof of the Portuguese Government's total disregard for human life and basic moral values. Such barbarous atrocities must be unequivocally condemned by all Governments. They serve to illustrate once more the cruel practices inherent in Portugal's colonial warfare, to which the Special Committee has repeatedly drawn the attention of the world community. As the Chairman of the Special Committee pointed out in his recent statement, the records of the United Nations abound with reports of the cruel terror perpetrated by Portugal against the people of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, whose only crime consists in their persistent desire for, and their tireless efforts to attain the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - freedom and independence - which is also one of the principal goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

(3) Portugal's colonial warfare is in flagrant violation of long-established international precepts, both legal and humanitarian. The Portuguese Government has no right to deny to the international community complete access to all facts concerning the atrocities perpetrated by it within the African Territories under its domination. It must allow a thorough and impartial investigation of such atrocities on the spot, through the competent organs of the United Nations. All individuals representing Portuguese military and civilian authorities involved in the atrocities must be placed at the disposal of United Nations representatives for systematic interrogation. In the pursuit of such investigation, the United Nations organs should solicit the co-operation and assistance of the national liberation movements.

(4) The Government of Portugal cannot escape responsibility for its barbarous acts against the oppressed populations of the Territories under its domination. The latest revelations must give new impetus to the efforts of the international community to put an end to Portugal's despicable colonial policies.

(5) So long as the Government of Portugal refuses to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, it is evident that the suffering in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde will continue. The Government of Portugal must immediately cease its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, withdraw the military and other armed forces which it employs for that purpose and discontinue all practices which violate the inalienable rights of the African people, enabling them to attain their freedom and independence.

(6) Now more than ever, it is an obligation of the international community to support the cause of the suffering people in these Territories. Increasing pressure must be brought to bear at all levels against the Government of Portugal. At the same time, international assistance to the national liberation movements of these Territories must be increased. Likewise, all Governments must withhold from the Government of Portugal any support which enables it to continue its colonial wars.

C. STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE CHAIRMAN ON 11 JULY 1973

28. The text of the statement issued by the Chairman (A/AC.109/L.885) on 11 July concerning the massacre of villagers in Mozambique, to which reference is made in paragraph 18 above, is reproduced below:

(1) The report by the Reverend Adrian Hastings appearing in The Times of London of 10 July 1973, 3/ containing a shocking account of the genocidal atrocities committed by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique, not only corroborates the previous findings of the various United Nations bodies concerned but also confirms once again the characteristic contempt and callous indifference with which the fascist régime in Lisbon responds to the pleas for reason and sanity addressed to it by the world community during the past several years.

(2) Indeed, the annals of the Organization abound with the cruel records of the campaign of terror perpetrated by Portugal against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, whose only crime constitutes their rightful desire for and their tireless efforts to attain freedom and independence - the goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. Speaking before the Fourth Committee, the Security Council and the Special Committee, the authentic representatives of the people of these Territories have repeatedly drawn attention to the urgent need for a concerted international action to put an immediate end to the criminal acts of repression by Portugal against those peoples.

(3) It will be recalled in this connexion that, in the light of the testimony given by the representatives of the peoples of the Territories and taking into account the findings of the Special Mission of the Special Committee which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), the General Assembly, at its twenty-seventh session, condemned in particular the continuation by Portuguese military forces of the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, the wholesale destruction of villages and property and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, and called upon the Government of Portugal to cease immediately its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of the Territories.

(4) According to the information furnished to the Special Committee in June this year by the representative of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), the Portuguese military authorities have, on the contrary,

3/ See enclosure below.

further intensified the repressive measures by resorting to massive and indiscriminate bombing of villagers. The testimony given by the representatives of the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde has similarly disclosed the all-out war efforts being made by Portugal in those Territories as well. Furthermore, according to a cable received today by the Chairman from the Acting Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), 4/ further acts of atrocity are being committed by Portugal against the people of Guinea (Bissau), in particular in the liberated sector of Tombali, where napalm and other incendiary bombs have caused the death of 19 persons, including 11 children and four women, in the villages of Gandua, Gantonaz and Ilhev-Colbert.

(5) That the revelations by the Reverend Hastings on the systematic genocidal massacres perpetrated by the Portuguese colonial authorities in Mozambique should arouse the outrage and indignation of the international community is only logical. But it is not sufficient to be outraged. Nor does it help the plight of those who have been compelled to languish under Portuguese colonial barbarism for the world community simply to express its abhorrence at the My Lai-like killings in Mozambique. This is particularly so when the peoples of the Territories concerned know perfectly well that Portugal's way of prosecuting its colonial wars has not only been full of My Lais but has at times far exceeded the horrors of My Lai.

(6) It is interesting to note the reported denial issued by the spokesman of the Government of Portugal on the horrifying incident. Such a ludicrous denial is indeed reminiscent of those naïve denials made by the Lisbon authorities following the visit to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April 1972 by the Special Mission of the United Nations. In short, if anything, the nature of the denial serves to further confirm that these atrocities have indeed taken place.

(7) What is now needed is a concerted and determined international action to stop once and for all these dastardly criminal monstrosities of the Lisbon authorities. This is not the time to fraternize under whatever excuse with those who have flouted all norms of civilized behaviour. This is not the time to give comfort to those who consider the wholesale massacre of innocent people, including women and children, as an integral part of their arsenal in order to maintain their anachronistic colonial presence in Africa. The Portuguese Government must be made to feel the impact of the indignation and outrage of civilized humanity. That régime must be totally isolated for as long as it continues to unleash its aggression against the people of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique. It must, to all intents and purposes, be treated for what it is - an international outcast.

(8) In this connexion the role of the allies of Portugal is crucial. As has been clearly established, it is obvious that Portugal can only wage its colonial wars in Africa because it is permitted to receive material, political and diplomatic support from its allies, particularly those within the framework

4/ For the full text of the cable, see document A/AC.109/427.

of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Armed with the weapons it thus receives and assisted by the influx of economic and other vested interests, Portugal has been able to maintain its colonial presence in Africa, exploiting the human and natural resources of these Territories. The responsibility to prevent further intensification of Portuguese atrocities and barbarism therefore lies primarily on the shoulders of a handful of Governments - particularly those permanent members of the Security Council which are also members of NATO, namely, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Those who provide arms and equipment to Portugal should search their conscience in the light of these revelations. In the same vein, those who at this material time would find it fit to embrace Portuguese leaders as partners should reflect on the consequences of their actions.

(9) On 22 June 1973, the Special Committee, following its examination of the further deteriorating conditions in these Territories, adopted yet another resolution, 5/ setting out a number of recommendations addressed to all concerned with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, with respect to the Territories under Portuguese domination. It is hoped that these recommendations will receive the full support of the Member States, particularly those within the Security Council. Of particular importance is the urgent need to intensify moral and material assistance to the victims of the genocidal atrocities of Portuguese colonialism - the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique - who, through their national liberation movements, have vowed to free themselves from tyranny and oppression regardless of the cost and sacrifice involved.

Enclosure

PORTUGUESE MASSACRE REPORTED BY PRIESTS a/

Father Adrian, of the College of the Ascension, Birmingham, based this article on reports received from Spanish missionaries working in Mozambique.

Western Central Mozambique has for the past few years been in a state of continual conflict between the Portuguese Army and FRELIMO (the Mozambique Liberation Front). Many Africans in the area, as elsewhere in Mozambique, sympathize with the FRELIMO guerrillas, and give them food and shelter from time to time, partly doubtless under coercion.

The principal reason why they support the guerrillas is the brutal treatment they frequently receive from government representatives. This was true of the past but it is even more true of today. Faced with the growth of guerrilla activity, the Portuguese forces have grown ever more brutal, carrying out the systematic genocidal massacre of people in villages thought to have helped FRELIMO.

5/ See para. 26 above.

a/ The Times of London, 10 July 1973.

There was a whole series of such massacres in the Mucumbura area between May and November 1971, for ghastliness each rivalling that of My Lai, in Viet-Nam. The security forces feel free in the knowledge that there are no journalists for hundreds of miles and the victims know no European language; but the Spanish missionaries in the area obtained detailed information and themselves buried many of the victims.

As a result of their attempts to protest and bring what was happening to public notice the two Fathers, Martin Hernandez and Alfonso Valverde, were arrested and have now been in prison, untried, for 18 months in Lourenço Marques. Since their arrest early in 1972 many further massacres have taken place, the latest of which we know being that of several hundred people at the village of Wiriyamu last December. Hitherto no news of it has reached the rest of the world.

Since then all the missions in the country areas of that part have been closed by the Government so that it is hardly possible to obtain information of more recent atrocities.

The full account of the Wiriyamu massacre, carefully and secretly compiled by missionaries in the area is as follows:

In spite of the difficulties which have arisen in making a complete list of the names of the victims of the massacre in the village of Wiriyamu, the sources of the detailed information we have collected give us the right to maintain the affirmation that there were more than 400 victims.

From our search we can vouch for the following facts: On the afternoon of 16 December 1972, the village of Wiriyamu was the victim of a military attack on the part of the armed forces.

Following a bombardment, the soldiers who had been transported here by helicopter and had already surrounded the village invaded it with ferocity, increasing the terror of the inhabitants already terrorized by the bombs. Once inside the village the soldiers started ransacking the huts, and this was followed immediately by the massacre of the people.

One group of soldiers got together a part of the people in a courtyard to shoot them. The villagers were forced to sit in two groups, the men on one side and the women on the other, so that they could more easily see those who were being shot. By means of a signal a soldier indicated whom he wished either man or woman.

The indicated person stood up, separating himself from the group. The soldier shot him. The victim fell dead. This procedure brought about the largest number of victims. Many children at the breast and on the backs of their mothers were shot at the same time as their mothers.

Among others the following 86 people were shot:

Dzedzoreke (adult man), Mafita (adult woman), Kuguniwa (adolescent), Birista (adult woman), Lwa (child of two years), Lekerani (adult), Sinoria (wife of Lekerani), Chandidi (son of Lekerani, five years old), Ng iya (adult woman), Tangueradzulo (adult man).

Zerista (adult woman), Tinta (girl aged seven), Aqueria (adult woman), Filipe (adult man), Bziyeze (wife of Filipe), Feta (son of Filipe, aged four), Meza (son of Filipe, aged one), Bwezani (adult man), Kapitoni (adult man), Bunito (wife of Kapitoni), Mamaria (wife of Kapitoni), Chaguene (son of Kapitoni, aged two), Chinai (son of Kapitoni, aged four), Kuoniwa (son of Kapitoni, aged 12).

Liancla (adult woman), Djemuse (adult man), Julina (adult woman), Adjipi (aged seven), Alista (adult woman), Misipho (girl aged 10), Nsemberembe (aged nine), Vira (adult woman), Tomasi (adult man), Artensia (girl aged 13), Dualinia (adult woman), Dzaisi (adult man), Maviranti (adult woman), Domingos (boy aged five).

Malodze (adult woman), Sederia (adult woman), Mboy (girl aged six), Guaninfua (boy aged four), Kachigamba (boy aged four), Kuchupike (adult man), Manani (wife of Kuchupike), Mapalata (wife of Kuchupike), Sirio (son of Kuchupike), Kutonguiwa (adult man), Maria (daughter of Kutonguiwa, aged three).

Sadista (adult woman), Florinda (adult woman), Siria (adult woman), Kupensar (adult man), Olinda (girl aged 10), Laina (adult woman), Luina (adult woman), Aluviana (adult woman), Kuitenti (adult man), Caetano (boy aged five), Kuchepa (boy aged 12), Bziwenani (adult man), Njinga (adult man), Alufinati (adult man).

Dzabere (girl aged 14), Aesta (girl aged 16), Rosa (girl aged 15), Zaberia (girl aged 16), Alista (adult woman), Mbiriandende (adult man), Guideria (adult woman), Kembo (adult man), Kamusi (boy aged two), Chiteya (girl aged four), Suntural (adult man), Adziwani (boy aged 12), Zeca (boy aged 12).

Magreta (adult woman), Dino (son of Magreta, aged two), Hortensia (adult woman, sister of Magreta), Mario (brother of Magreta, aged 10), Chuva (adult man), Kirina (wife of Chuva), Fuguete (adult man), Rita (girl aged four), Eduardo (boy aged seven), Tembo (boy aged three).

One woman called Vaina was invited to stand up. She had her child in her arms, a boy of nine months. The woman fell dead with a bullet shot. The child fell with his mother and sat by her. He cried desperately and a soldier advanced to stop him crying. He kicked the boy violently, destroying his head. "Shut up, dog", the soldier said.

The prostrate child cried no more and the soldier returned with his boot covered with blood. His fellow soldiers acclaimed the deed with a round of applause. "Well done, you are a brave man." It was the beginning of a macabre football match. His companions followed his example.

Other soldiers wandering about, forced people into their huts which they then set alight and the people were burnt to death inside them. Sometimes, before setting fire to the huts, they threw hand grenades inside which exploded over the victims. In this manner, among others, the following 34 people died:

Chakupondeka (adult man), Bwambuluka (wife of Chakupondeka), Kulinga (adult man), Naderia (wife of Kulinga), Luwa (daughter of Kulinga, aged two), Maria Helena (daughter of Kulinga, aged four), Tembo (son of Kulinga), Keresiya (adult woman), Joaozino (son of Keresiya, aged two), Malota (daughter of Keresiya, two months old), Kanchembere (girl aged one month), Masanlambani (boy aged six), Chinai (boy aged five).

Domingos (boy aged five), Mboy (girl of 10 months), Chipose (girl aged three), Augusto (boy aged one), Farau (boy, aged two months), Antonio (boy aged six), Anguina (adult woman), Jantar (adult man), Luisa (girl aged four).

Matias (boy aged two), Nchonde (boy aged one), Xanu (boy aged seven), Djone (adult man), Chawene (boy aged three), Lodia (adult woman), Mario (boy aged five), Fostina (girl aged 11), Rosa (girl aged four), Maria (girl aged two), Alista (adult woman), Boy (girl aged three).

Wandering about the village the soldiers found a woman named Zostina who was pregnant. They asked her the sex of the child inside her. "I don't know", she replied, "You soon will", they said. Immediately they opened her stomach with knives, violently extracting her entrails. Showing her the foetus, which throbbed convulsively, they said: "Look, now you know." Afterwards the woman and child were consumed in the flames.

Other soldiers amused themselves by grasping children by their feet and striking them on the ground. Among many others the following died in this way:

Domingas (girl aged one month), Chanu (boy aged one year), Kuléwa (boy aged three), Chipiri (boy aged two), Chuma (girl aged four), Maconda (boy aged two), Marco (boy aged one), Luisa (girl aged five), Mario (boy aged five), Raul (boy aged five).

Several officers of the Directorate-General of Security (DGS) accompanied the soldiers and were also involved in the killing. One of them before killing began sometimes by attacking the victims with his fists until they were exhausted. Then he gave them the finishing shot. Among those who died in this way were Kupesa, a boy, and Chakupa and Djone, adult men.

Many people were taken outside the village and killed. On the following day many corpses of adolescents and children from 11 to 15 years were found at the Nyantawatawa river. They could be counted by tens. The bodies were totally mutilated.

Some of them had been decapitated and others had had their heads smashed. The corpses were lying about in different positions. Some were piled up in mounds, others thrown aside, some side by side, the greater number scattered along the river. There were indications that there had been some ghastly game before the victims were massacred. There were no survivors to explain what happened.

A voice with authority had kept on shouting: "Kill them all that no one be left." One witness said that an Army officer had suggested a policy of clemency, with the idea of taking these people to a fortified village, but the voice was heard to say: "These are the orders of our chief, kill them all. Those who remain alive will denounce us."

Two children found by accident after the end of the massacre were burnt inside a hut by the same officer of the DGS. These scenes continued until nightfall. Taking advantage of the darkness, which fell rapidly, some victims managed to escape death by flight.

There is no comparable episode on record in the history of twentieth century colonialism in Africa.

Annex I

WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

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A. PORTUGAL AND ITS COLONIAL POLICY*

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* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.865 and Add.1.

I. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1. Early in 1961, following the outbreak of disturbances in Angola, the General Assembly, at its resumed fifteenth session, and the Security Council became seized with the question of the situation in that Territory and a sub-committee was appointed to report thereon. a/ The question of the Territories under Portuguese administration and of the non-compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 have been discussed in the General Assembly since the sixteenth session and in the Security Council since 1963 and have been the subject of a number of resolutions adopted by these bodies. The text of the relevant resolutions adopted during 1972 have been made available to the Committee. The Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations concerning these questions have been set out in its reports to the General Assembly at the seventeenth to twenty-seventh sessions. b/

Action taken by the Special Committee

2. During 1972, the Special Committee considered the question of Territories under Portuguese administration at its meetings held between 14 March and 1 August and adopted the following resolutions which appear in the report to the General Assembly: c/

<u>Resolution</u>	<u>Meeting</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Resolution of 13 April 1972	854	Chap. X, para. 34 (A/8723/Add.3)
Resolution of 20 April 1972	862	<u>Ibid.</u> , para. 35

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 16 (A/4978).

b/ For the most recent, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, para. 17; ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, paras. 30-32; ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, paras. 34-36.

c/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X.

Action taken by the General Assembly

3. The General Assembly, at its twenty-seventh session, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972.

Action taken by the Security Council

4. In addition to its consideration of the Territories under Portuguese administration during its meetings held in Addis Ababa between 28 January and 4 February 1972, the Security Council adopted two other resolutions during the year: one relating to the complaint of the Republic of Senegal (resolution 321 (1972) of 23 October 1972) and the other relating to the situation in the Territories (resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972).

II. INTERNATIONAL ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Participation in the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)

5. In 1970, by resolution 194 (IX) on the question of associate membership for Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia, ECA recommended that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) should propose the names of representatives of the peoples of the countries in question. In response to this decision, OAU proposed that Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) be represented respectively by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and by the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA), the Frente de Libertação de Mocambique (FRELIMO), and the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC). d/ Representatives of these movements attended the tenth session of ECA at Tunis, from 8 to 13 February 1971, as observers, until their full participation was decided upon by the General Assembly.

6. In 1971, ECA submitted the question of the representation of the four Territories to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council. e/ At its 1785th meeting, the Council decided to transmit to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, for appropriate action, the information concerning the proposed arrangements for the representation of these movements. By resolution 2795 (XXVI) of 10 December 1971, the General Assembly approved the arrangements relating to the representation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) as associate members of ECA as well as the list of representatives of those Territories proposed by OAU. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have since become associate members of ECA, represented at meetings by the liberation movements referred to above.

Participation in the Special Committee and the General Assembly

7. In 1972, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, and in view of the progress achieved by the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, the Special Committee decided to consider inviting, in consultation with OAU and through it, the representatives of the liberation movements concerned to participate when necessary, and as observers, in the Committee's proceedings relating to their respective countries (A/AC.109/PV.887).

8. At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee, on the suggestion of the Chairman of the Special Committee, also decided to invite,

d/ E/5051.

e/ E/5073.

in consultation with OAU and through it, the representatives of the liberation movements concerned to participate, in an observer capacity, in its proceedings on the Territories in southern Africa (A/C.4/744). Following this decision, observers from PAIGC and FRELIMO participated in the discussions of the Fourth Committee on the Territories under Portuguese administration.

International recognition

9. In its resolution adopted on 13 April 1972, the Special Committee, among other things, took note of the fact that "there are States which are ready to accord recognition to the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde as the sole effective power in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde". It also affirmed its recognition of PAIGC as the only and authentic representative of the people of the Territory, and requested all States and specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take this into consideration when dealing with matters pertaining to that Territory.

10. At its twenty-seventh session, by resolution 2918 (XXVII), the General Assembly affirmed that the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique were the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples and deemed it imperative that negotiations should be initiated at an early date between the Government of Portugal and the national liberation movements in order to bring about as a matter of priority:

"(a) The immediate cessation by Portugal of its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, the withdrawal of its military and other forces and the elimination of all practices which violate the inalienable rights of those populations, including the eviction and regrouping of the African populations and the settlement of foreign immigrants in the Territories;

"(b) The just treatment of the freedom-fighters of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war, in accordance with the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949, f/ and in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949: g/"

Action by the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations

11. In addition to establishing a training programme for inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese administration, which, since 1967, has become part

f/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 972, p. 135.

g/ Ibid., No. 973, p. 287.

of the consolidated United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), the General Assembly, in resolution 2980 (XXVII) of 14 December 1972, enlisted the assistance of the specialized agencies and other international organizations associated with the United Nations in support of the struggle of the colonial peoples for national liberation, calling for provision of assistance to refugees, and, through OAU, to peoples in the Territories, including those in liberated areas; discontinuance of all collaboration with, and refusal of assistance to, the Government of Portugal; and, in consultation with OAU, representation of the national liberation movements in an appropriate capacity in matters pertaining to those Territories.

12. Details of the actions taken by the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations are contained in the reports of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly in connexion with the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations. h/

h/ See A/8314 and Add.1-6, A/8647 and Add.1-2 and A/9051 and Add.1-4.

III. PORTUGAL'S COLONIAL POLICY

1. GENERAL

13. The Territories under Portuguese administration comprise Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda; Mozambique; Guinea (Bissau); the Cape Verde Archipelago; São Tomé and Príncipe and their dependencies; and Timor and dependencies. These Territories cover an area of approximately 805,323 square miles (2,085,777 square kilometres) and have over 15.3 million inhabitants. The area of Portugal itself is 35,500 square miles (91,900 square kilometres) and the provisional data for the 1970 census gave the population as 8.6 million.

	<u>Population</u>	
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u> (provisional)
Angola, including Cabinda	4 830 449	5 673 046
Mozambique	6 603 653	8 233 834
Guinea (Bissau)	521 336	487 448
Cape Verde	201 579	272 000
São Tomé and Príncipe and dependencies	64 406	73 811
Timor and dependencies	517 079	610 541

14. In view of Portugal's refusal to recognize the right of the peoples of the Territories to self-determination and independence, national liberation movements are carrying on an active struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. As a result of this struggle, in 1972, large areas in each of the three Territories were declared liberated from Portuguese control. These claims were confirmed by various visitors to the liberated areas, including a mission of the Special Committee which spent a week in the area of Guinea (Bissau) under the administration of PAIGC. i/ Information on the struggle for national liberation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde is contained in the separate background papers (annex I.B-F below).

i/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex I.

2. STRUCTURAL CHANGES AFFECTING THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL TERRITORIES

Revision of the Overseas Organic Law

15. Under the Portuguese system, the Constitution lays down basic principles concerning the status and general political organization of the overseas Territories, and the Overseas Organic Law defines the powers and functions of the central and territorial Governments. In addition, a political and administrative statute defines the structure of the organs of Government of each Territory. j/

16. The constitutional amendments of 1971 affecting the Territories were followed by the promulgation in 1972 of a revised Overseas Organic Law (No. 5/72, 23 June). The text proposed by the Government of Portugal was approved by the National Assembly with only minor changes, with the exception of the inclusion of a provision, in keeping with article 133 of the Constitution, for the creation of unified national services throughout "the whole of Portuguese Territory". k/

17. Commenting on the new constitutional changes, Prime Minister Marcello Caetano said in May 1972 that the wider autonomy granted the Territories aimed at providing the local inhabitants with the possibility of drawing up their own legislation and adopting solutions best suited to their own conditions. He said that because Portugal was a multiracial and pluri-continental nation, with diversity among its regions as regards populations, their level of civilization and economic conditions, it had been necessary, in addition to a strong spiritual integration and political solidarity brought about by a common direction, to make it possible for the local inhabitants to draw up their own legislation. The new Overseas Organic Law should not be conceived as giving greater power to a certain ethnic group to oppress others; nor was it intended that the economic power of certain sectors should be transformed into political power, because Portugal did not accept any form of racial discrimination. Hence, the retention of authority by the central Government in specific areas and the right to nominate the governors of the overseas areas to ensure their independence from local interests were indispensable guarantees against domination by the oligarchies, and at the same time ensured the protection of the weakest levels of the populations.

18. On another occasion, Mr. Caetano declared that the revised law represented a new spirit and had to be "understood and implemented" also with a new spirit. The new law, he said, aimed at accelerating to the extent possible "the building of a multiracial society". As previous reports have shown, however, the constitutional

j/ For information on the territorial Governments, see the working papers on the individual Territories (annex I.B-F below).

k/ For details of the constitutional amendments and the draft bill of the Overseas Organic Law, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 9-59.

reforms and the revised Overseas Organic Law make no changes in the basic system of administration in which the real power is vested in the population of Portuguese descent.

Revision of the political and administrative
statutes of the Territories

19. Under the Portuguese Constitution as revised in 1971, the Overseas Minister remains responsible for the issuance of the political and administrative statutes of the Territories after consulting the Legislative Assembly of each Territory and the Overseas Council meeting in plenary session.

20. According to the Portuguese press, in October 1972, the Overseas Council began consideration of the new political and administrative statutes for the overseas Territories which had been submitted to it for observations. It is not clear to what extent the territorial Governments had been consulted in the preparation of the proposed text. Late in November, the Council transmitted its comments on the statutes to the Overseas Minister. 1/

21. In Angola, during the second session of the Legislative Council in October, some members expressed dissatisfaction that they had not been consulted on the draft statutes. In reply to this complaint, the presiding officer, acting for the Governor-General, explained that the Legislative Assembly had not yet been constituted and the provisions did not apply to the Legislative Council in its present form.

22. The new political and administrative statutes published in December 1972 came into force on 1 January 1973. Although the new provisions have not introduced major changes in the system of government and have not granted any degree of self-government to the Territories, they appear to give more administrative autonomy to the territorial organs of government. In turn, in the African Territories, more power will devolve to the non-African minority which will continue to hold most of the posts in the executive and legislative organs of the territorial Government. As reported previously, m/ the revised Overseas Organic Law appears to have met most of the requests included in a petition from the economic associations of Angola addressed to the Prime Minister of Portugal in 1969.

1/ Representatives from the Territories in the Overseas Council included Messrs. Teixeira da Mota, Cape Verde and Guinea (Bissau); Castelo Branco Galvão, São Tomé and Príncipe; Pinto Furtado, Angola; Gonçalo Mesquitela, Mozambique; and Adolfo Jorge, Timor.

m/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 56.

23. Under the new provisions, each of the six Territories is designated as an "autonomous region", with a governor appointed by the Council of Ministers on the advice of the Overseas Minister. As before, the two larger Territories, namely Angola and Mozambique, will each have a governor-general with the rank of Minister of State who may be called to sit in the Council of Ministers in Portugal.

24. In the larger Territories, the governors-general will now be assisted by a Government Council composed of the provincial secretaries. Previously, under legislation introduced in 1969, although the provincial secretaries were not organized into any formal body, they usually met once a month with the Governor-General (Decree 48,955, 7 April 1969). The formal recognition given to the role of provincial secretaries as members of a "cabinet" is the only major change in the system of government introduced by the new provisions. The Government Council will meet at least once every fortnight, or as often as requested by the Governor-General. When matters concerning "defence or maintenance of public order" are discussed, the head of the armed forces in the Territory is required to attend the meeting.

25. Under the new statute, the legislative assemblies, which have replaced the legislative councils, are composed of elected members: 53 in Angola; 50 in Mozambique; 17 in Guinea (Bissau); 21 in Cape Verde; 16 in São Tomé and Príncipe; and 20 in Timor. As shown in the table below, the membership of the legislatures has been considerably increased and, as before, some of the representatives in the legislative assemblies will be elected by direct vote and some by various interest groups. Inasmuch as the pattern of composition remains largely the same as that of the legislative councils, n/ which the assemblies have replaced, it is doubtful that the forthcoming elections will result in any substantial African representation.

26. Under the new provisions, the Economic and Social Council has been replaced by an advisory board with similar powers and functions, but with an increased membership which is discussed in the separate papers on each Territory. The only major innovation worthy of note is that the governor of a Territory may appoint as members of the advisory board individuals of "known competence and prestige in their social milieu". However, only after such appointments are made will it be possible fully to assess the significance of this innovation.

n/ The only significant changes in composition are: (a) the elimination of representatives of individual taxpayers registered as paying a minimum of direct taxes which was fixed for each Territory; (b) representatives of "business enterprises" (empresas) replace representatives of "employers"; and (c) representatives of "moral and cultural" interests replace those of "religious" interests.

Composition of the legislative assemblies

(As established under the political and administrative statutes of 1972)^{a/}

	<u>Angola</u>	<u>Mozambique</u>	<u>Guinea</u> <u>(Bissau)</u>	<u>Cape</u> <u>Verde</u>	<u>São Tomé</u> <u>and</u> <u>Príncipe</u>	<u>Timor</u>
<u>Total number of members</u>	53(36) ^{b/}	50(29) ^{b/}	17(14) ^{b/}	21(21) ^{b/}	16(13) ^{b/}	20(14) ^{c/}
Members elected (total)	53(34)	50(27)	17(11)	21(18)	16(10)	20(11)
By direct vote	32(15)	20(9)	5(3)	11(6)	6(3)	10(3)
By "organic vote" ^{d/}	21(19)	30(18)	12(8)	10(12)	10(7)	10(8)
Indigenous authorities	6(3)	6(3)	3(3)	--(--)	--(--)	2(3)
Administrative bodies	6(4)	6(3)	3(2)	4(2)	2(2)	2(--)
Economic interests	3(3)	6(3)	2(--)	2(4)	3(1)	2(--)
Workers' interests	3(3)	6(3)	2(--)	2(2)	3(1)	2(--)
Moral and cultural interests	3(3)	6(3)	2(1)	2(2)	2(1)	2(1)

^{a/} Figures in parentheses indicate membership in the former legislative councils.

^{b/} Includes ex officio members.

^{c/} Includes ex officio members and representatives of public services and other organized bodies.

^{d/} Includes representatives of taxpayers paying a minimum tax varying from 1,000 to 15,000 escudos (25.50 escudos equal approximately \$US 1.00).

27. The new statutes do not introduce any changes in the system of local administration; however, legislation is to be issued to regulate the powers and functions of local administrative authorities.

28. Local administration will continue to be based on the concelho subdivided into freguesias (parishes); areas occupied by indigenous inhabitants living under "traditional law and custom" will continue to be divided into regedorias, each with its own regedor or "traditional authority". Africans living in regedorias will be represented in the Legislative Assembly by a number of regedores as their specially elected representatives who will be chosen by all the regedores, acting as an electoral college. For instance, as shown in the table above, the African population of Angola living in regedorias (which are the majority) will be represented in the Legislative Assembly of 53 members by only 6 representatives of the regedores.

29. According to a press article, although Angola will be the only Territory with a "directly elected majority" in its Legislative Assembly, this was considered significant, and there was speculation in Lisbon that such a measure "would eventually lead to a black majority at least among the electorate". This article reported that franchise qualifications were the ability to read and write Portuguese, with automatic registration for civil servants. Registration of voters was reported to have begun in the overseas Territories early in January 1973, and elections were expected to take place before the end of March.

30. In a nation-wide television address, in which he outlined some of the major "political developments" in the overseas Territories, the Portuguese Prime Minister emphasized that

"... in all the developments regarding the increased local autonomy given the overseas territories, the proportion of native inhabitants had radically increased and would continue to do so, as was shown in the recent municipal and local elections, which were held throughout the overseas territories".

Mr. Caetano explained that, although the Government was not inactive in its search for "political solutions to the advancement of the territories", these solutions could not be imposed by others. He added that Portugal had never "ruled out nor intended to do so, any dialogue".

31. Nevertheless, although the General Assembly deemed it imperative that negotiations should be initiated at an early date between the Government of Portugal and the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique (resolution 2918 (XXVII)), Mr. Caetano did not mention this decision. Presumably referring to the Security Council resolution calling upon Portugal "to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned", Mr. Caetano said that those "really concerned with the future of the Portuguese Territories" could only be "the populations themselves".

32. Referring to the forthcoming elections in the overseas Territories, an editorial in The Times of London of 17 February 1973 commented as follows:

"The elections, when they occur, will be scrutinized to see if they support an assertion which FRELIMO is in arms to disprove. It will not just be a question of who won seats and on what platform, but of how many on the qualified franchise registered as voters and how many voted. Beyond that assessment must come the analysis of how far the autonomy is real: is there freedom to attack Lisbon as well as the Lourenço Marques government and police methods; above all, is there freedom to form an independence or 'Brazilian solution' party? Can a state or region really be autonomous when a large-scale rebellion exists and security conditions must override ordinary law?... "

Election of the head of State

33. Prior to 1961, the head of State of Portugal had been elected by direct vote under the same law governing elections to the National Assembly. The Constitution as amended that year introduced indirect election of the head of State by an electoral college.

34. Before the presidential election in July 1972, it had been reported in the international press that an "unprecedented campaign" was being waged by supporters of Mr. Caetano to persuade Admiral Américo Thomaz to stand down so that Mr. Caetano would have a chance of being elected. However, the Accção Nacional Popular (ANP), the government party, formally endorsed Admiral Thomaz in July and he became the only candidate. Speaking before the election, Mr. Caetano said in a nation-wide address that the country should not be divided and urged all to rally behind Admiral Thomaz who represented the national expression of unity and determination.

35. On 25 July, Admiral Thomaz was re-elected President of Portugal. The electoral college comprised 688 members as follows: 122 deputies to the National Assembly; o/ 216 members of the Corporative Chamber; 280 representatives of the municipal councils, of which 141 were from Portugal; 122 from the overseas Territories and 17 from the adjacent islands; and 70 members representing the legislative councils in the overseas Territories. At the 1965 elections, the electoral college comprised 616 members. Angola and Mozambique each had 51 representatives, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, 18, and the other Territories 5 each. There are no comparable data for 1972. However, as a result of the creation of additional municipal councils in recent years, especially in Angola and Mozambique, both Territories probably had an increased representation in the

o/ The National Assembly comprised 130 members at the time but some seats had become vacant.

electoral college, p/ although, as in previous elections, there was little if any participation by the African population in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

Elections to the territorial legislative assemblies^{q/}

36. Commenting on the procedures envisaged for the elections in the Territories, Mr. Rui Patrício said, in early March, that the Portuguese authorities believed that the constitutional reforms introduced and the elections which were to take place met the needs of the Territories in the second half of the century. He noted, however, that Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese Guinea" and the other Territories were not yet ready for political parties which were therefore still banned; consequently, there could be no political campaigning in the accepted sense. He pointed out that lists of candidates could be presented for nomination by residents in the various electoral districts and that voting would be open to anyone, regardless of race or colour, who was over 21 years of age and who could read Portuguese. r/

37. The scheduled elections to the newly created legislative assemblies in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe and Timor began on 25 March 1973. These elections were apparently organized as an

p/ According to the Angola budget estimates for 1972, the Territory had 68 municipal councils. This would raise the Territory's representation in the electoral college to 69. For details on the composition of municipal councils, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 78-82.

q/ For the composition of the legislative assemblies, see paragraph 26 above.

r/ It may be pointed out that the requirements mentioned by the Foreign Minister differ substantially from the conditions laid down in the electoral law of 6 December (Decree 45,408) which heretofore has governed elections to legislative and advisory bodies in the overseas Territories. Up to the end of March 1973, however, no new electoral law had been published in the government gazette, Diário do Governo. Under the 1963 electoral law, those entitled to vote are: (a) male citizens of age (over 21), or emancipados who could read and write Portuguese; (b) female Portuguese citizens of age, or emancipadas, who had completed the first cycle of secondary education or equivalent ability; (c) male and female Portuguese citizens of age who, though unable to read and write Portuguese, are heads of family; and (d) female Portuguese citizens who are married, can read and write Portuguese, and pay, either in their own right or jointly with their husbands, property taxes amounting to not less than the minimum set by the territorial governments. Furthermore, for the purpose of this law a "head" of family is specially defined in such terms as to exclude the property of Africans living under traditional customary law (see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 71-73).

endorsement, by Portuguese settlers and an African minority, of a single, government-approved list of candidates for office and the results are being presented to the world public as an example of Portugal's enlightened policy of gradually establishing self-government in the Territories under its administration. Moreover, the importance attributed by the Portuguese authorities to the elections made them appear as a counter-move to the intensified opposition to its colonial wars from within Portugal, from the liberation movements and from the United Nations.

38. The published results show that although a large percentage of the registered voters participated in the elections, in fact, only a very small proportion of their respective populations was qualified to vote (see table below). However, information regarding the ethnic composition of the electorate is not precise. According to The Financial Times, an estimated 25 per cent of those who went to the polls in Mozambique were Africans. A Portuguese source estimated that, in Angola, only 20 per cent of the electorate was white. No information is available on the ethnic characteristics of the electorates in the other Territories.

Territories under Portuguese administration: General results
of the elections to the legislative assemblies

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Registered voters</u>	<u>Registered voters as percentage of population (calculated)</u>	<u>Actual voters as percentage of registered voters</u>
Mozambique	7 500 000	109 171	1.4	92
Angola	5 652 000	584 000	10.3	85
Timor	610 540	12 644	2.0	87
Guinea (Bissau)	600 000	7 824	1.3	89
Cape Verde	150 000	25 521	14.0	84
São Tomé and Príncipe . .	74 500	5 881	7.9	85

Source: Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens, 6 April 1973.

39. With respect to the composition of the legislative assemblies, it appears that there was an explicit policy to select a larger number of African candidates for the African Territories. In Mozambique, of the total membership elected 24 are white and 26 are non-white. Other sources also suggest that the composition of the legislative assemblies in Angola and Guinea (Bissau) includes a large number of Africans.

40. The Minister for the Overseas Territories, Mr. Silva Cunha, commenting on criticism in the foreign press to the effect that the electorates were not proportional to the population of the Territories, pointed out that the special characteristics of such populations had to be taken into account, in particular the fact that they lived largely in a tribal system with cultural standards different from those required to participate in a voting process.

41. The Economist, commenting on the voting in the Territories, pointed out that:

"The franchise is based on education, not race, but since the whites are still far better educated than the blacks, an enormously higher proportion of whites than blacks will be able to vote. All candidates have been nominated by the Portuguese Government."

42. An independent European observer commented that the proportion of Africans was decided when the lists of candidates were drawn up in Mozambique and Angola by the officials of ANP, the only authorized political organization operating in the Territories under Portuguese administration. The liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) have attacked the elections as a political manoeuvre, aimed at misleading African opinion into believing that autonomy had been granted to the Territories when, in fact, the members of the new legislative assemblies were not representative of the majority of the local population and the Territories would remain under the control of the Government in Lisbon.

43. To some observers, the elections were simply a move to channel the professional and intellectual élite of the Territories away from the opposition to the colonial regime through greater participation in the local decision-making process.

44. Other observers, however, interpret the elections as a new stage in the political development of the Territories under Portuguese administration. In Portugal, Mr. Silva Cunha, the Minister for the Overseas Territories, considered the results of the voting as another step in the successful implementation of the constitutional reforms to give greater autonomy to the Territories. Reflecting this view, The Times of London suggested that

"the increased powers of the newly constituted Legislative Assembly will put its relations with the Governor General on a par with the relationship between the National Assembly in Lisbon and the central Government".

45. An article in Le Monde expressed the view that the elections demonstrated the desire of the Portuguese Government to prove its ability to maintain a "normal" political life in the Territories despite the activities of national liberation movements.

3. PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN POLICY

46. During 1972, there were a number of contradictory reports in the international press concerning Portugal's position on the overseas Territories. In one article, published in August, it was said that the feeling in Portugal was that the country was "over the worst" in Africa and that, from Portugal's point of view, the situation would probably improve. According to the article, this feeling had been born out of the pride most Portuguese felt over the past that the country had been able to withstand the constant pressure of world opinion against its African policy. At the same time, there was said to be a greater degree of "rethinking" on African policy in Lisbon than there had been for many years, as evidenced by the constitutional changes which purported to give the Territories more autonomy and increased representation in the National Assembly.

47. Other articles, however, mentioned dissatisfaction in Portugal over the colonial issue. The Association for Economic and Social Development (SEDES), a liberal group formed in 1971, issued a report during the year denouncing the low priority given by the Government to economic and social development and "the excessive polarization caused by the colonial issue", and stating that the colonial issue, in effect, seemed to have paralysed life in all areas. In another article, it was said that Mr. Caetano did not seem to have any far-reaching plan for the colonies, and that his main goal appeared to be simply to gain time. This source claimed that some of the Prime Minister's aides had conceded privately that independence was inevitable and had talked hopefully of some kind of Portuguese commonwealth in 30 to 50 years' time.

48. In July 1972, a long article in the French press discussed the possibility of a "Rhodesian style" formula for independence in Angola and Mozambique. It speculated that some circles appeared to view such a solution in an increasingly favourable light, based on political, economic and military considerations, arising from Portugal's growing difficulties with its colonial wars. Particularly in the case of Mozambique, such a solution would have the advantage of reconciling the interests of the white minority in power and those of Western military strategy in the Indian Ocean.

49. This article reported that in Mozambique, as in Angola, the white minority was determined to remain and to retain its power, while the Portuguese military leaders in the African wars wished to settle the matter as soon as possible and were in favour of a decolonization which would preserve the multiracial character of the Territories and their economic links with Portugal.

50. Statements by Portuguese government officials during 1972 revealed an increasingly uncompromising position in regard to the overseas Territories. In a nation-wide broadcast in July, Mr. Caetano again declared that Portugal could not "abandon" the overseas Territories. The negotiations which had been urged upon Portugal would have to be made with "illegitimate groups who were supported by

foreign powers ready to take advantage of Portugal's capitulation". He said that he had no doubt that such negotiations would amount to a "surrender" which would tragically hand over people who, because of the colour of their skin or their loyalty, would become victims of revenge and lead to the devastation of "the work of civilization which Portugal had so painstakingly built". In the course of the same speech, Mr. Caetano again claimed that Portugal's goal in Africa was to build a multiracial society; he called on all Africans to collaborate in this effort.

51. In November 1972, even before the Security Council had adopted the resolution (322 (1972) of 22 November 1972) in which it called on Portugal to enter into negotiations, Mr. Caetano had already reiterated his view that negotiations were "impossible, for it would be a sacrilege to hand over Portuguese Territories to groups organized to serve foreign interests". He said that Portugal was ready for "all conversations which have as their objective the return of the terrorists to their land, then re-integration in the Portuguese fatherland and even the study of the participation of the inhabitants of the provinces in the administration and local government". He said that Portugal desired this participation which was in the spirit of the revised Overseas Organic Law.

52. Following the adoption of resolution 322 (1972) by the Security Council, the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement clarifying the Government's position. Among other things, it said that the Security Council had no competence to discuss the internal matters of Member States; that the Security Council resolution was only a recommendation and was not binding; that the Portuguese Government had made it clear that it could not "abdicate" its responsibility in regard to the Territories without grave injustice and irreparable harm to the majority of the population of the Territories; that the Portuguese Government reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of all races in the African Territories, in fraternity with their compatriots from Portugal, to defend themselves against attacks by groups organized and supported from the outside which called themselves "liberation movements".

53. Disregarding the intention of the Security Council resolution in calling for negotiations, the Portuguese statement repeated proposals for discussions with the African States which had never been acceptable to them. According to the statement, the Portuguese Government maintained its proposals for conversations with neighbouring African countries with a view to ending the military operations made necessary because of the support given by those countries to what the Portuguese Government called "terrorist" groups coming from the outside to attack the populations of the Territories. It also recalled the invitations which the Portuguese Government had addressed to the Secretary-General, the General Assembly and the Security Council to visit Angola, Mozambique and "the Province of Guinea" in order to ascertain the lack of veracity of the claims as to the existence of

so-called "liberated areas". As there had been no reply to the invitation, s/ the Portuguese Government thought it could only signify that some people or countries were afraid of the truth, which they did not wish to face, in order to maintain their allegations.

54. Similarly, the statement recalled that the Portuguese Government had expressed its willingness, within the context of the Charter of the United Nations, to initiate conversations with qualified representatives of the African States on the situation in the Territories and on their development, as well as on any other problems of interest to the African continent. According to the statement, it was Portugal's desire to contribute to the solution of real problems with an open and constructive spirit through an enlightened dialogue.

4. PORTUGAL AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

55. In 1972, the armed struggle for national liberation intensified in the African Territories under Portuguese administration. As shown in the separate reports on the individual Territories, the liberation movements have continued to make further gains, despite the fact that Portugal has more than 160,000 troops in Africa. In Angola, liberation forces extended their activities to the southern border with Namibia and renewed attacks in Cabinda, leaving only four central and coastal districts not yet affected by the war. In Mozambique, FRELIMO gained further advances in Tete, particularly in the area south of the Zambezi, and for the first time reported the opening of a new front in the former district of Manica e Sofala. In Guinea (Bissau), where PAIGC has already declared two thirds of the Territory under its control, liberation forces intensified their attacks against towns and military posts held by Portuguese forces.

s/ On 8 May 1972, the Permanent Mission of Portugal addressed a letter to the Secretary-General inviting him to appoint a mission of the Secretariat which would visit the Territory "with a view to ensure that the situation prevailing in Portuguese Guinea may be fully clarified". In his letter, dated 3 June 1972, the Secretary-General replied that "after full consideration of the matter, I came to the conclusion that in the circumstances it would not be appropriate for me to act without a decision of a competent deliberative organ". He added that if the Portuguese Government wished to pursue the matter further it could address a letter to a competent deliberative organ of the United Nations requesting the appointment of a mission to visit the Territory, and, should the organ concerned reply in the affirmative, he would be happy to implement its decision within the terms of the mandate conferred upon him by that decision.

56. Portugal's strategy is well known. It aims at internationalizing the wars by identifying the liberation movements with foreign support, by encouraging foreign investment in the Territories and by associating Cape Verde and the other African Territories with the strategic importance of the South Atlantic. At the same time, all opposition to the colonial wars is characterized as a threat to national unity, while, in the Territories, increased use is made of military operations involving air strikes against the liberation forces and of psycho-social measures, combined with large-scale resettlement of the local population. Recent developments illustrating Portugal's strategy are reported below.

South Atlantic

57. In the past few years, Portuguese military authorities have repeatedly stressed the need for the extension of some kind of defence organization to the South Atlantic. In October 1970, for instance, General Sá Viana Rebelo, Portuguese Minister of Defence and of the Army, offered to place Portugal's naval and air bases in Cape Verde, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola in the service of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). t/

58. In November 1972, the Parliamentary Assembly of NATO adopted a recommendation that the Supreme Allied Command of NATO should be authorized to draw up plans for the protection of shipping lines in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic. This recommendation was based on a report submitted by the military committee of the Assembly which described in some detail the importance of the Cape route and the strategic positions of Cape Verde, São Tomé and the Azores. According to a press report, Admiral Koudije of the Netherlands was chairman of the military committee which included Mr. Patrick Wall, a British Member of Parliament, and General Câmara Pina of Portugal.

Development of air warfare

59. Information relating to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) shows that during the past year, more than ever before, Portugal began to make increased use of aircraft for the transport of troops, for combat and bombing missions and, reportedly, for the use of defoliants and other chemical agents.

60. As indicated by an official letter from the Portuguese Chief-of-Staff of the Armed Forces to the National Merchant Marine Board in September 1972, a new system of air transport has replaced the use of commandeered merchant ships for the transport of troops from Portugal to the overseas Territories. This information would appear to confirm previous reports in the press that civil aircraft which Portugal had acquired from the United States in January 1971 are being used for troop transport.

t/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.A, para. 102.

61. In addition to Fiat G-91 R-4 fighter bombers, North American T-6Gs and Alouette IIIs used by the Portuguese air force, other planes reported to be used in the wars, especially in Angola and Mozambique, include Dakotas, the "Friendship" and Norman-Batten Islander planes. u/ Furthermore, since 1970, the Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique have made a charter arrangement with the territorial civil airline Direcção de Exploração dos Transportes Aéreos (DETA) for the transport of troops and supplies. v/

Land sales and concessions in the Territories

62. In December 1972, the Corporative Chamber began consideration of a government-proposed bill to revise the 1961 land concession legislation. The introduction explains that the bill affirms the Government's continuing concern both to protect the interests of the population settled in the overseas Territories and to develop the use of natural resources. There is no mention of the interests of the indigenous populations. The main purpose of the bill appears to be to make it easier for individuals and enterprises to buy or to acquire the use of large areas of land, especially in Angola and Mozambique.

63. In the first place, under the new measures proposed, vacant land in the overseas Territories will no longer be divided into three classes as before, with one class especially for the use of the indigenous population living in regedorias (i.e., under "traditional law and custom"). Instead, there will be only two classifications, namely urban and rural land, and both types of land are to be available for sale. Also, whereas the previous legislation specifically restricted sales to Portuguese nationals, the new bill apparently opens the way to the purchase of land by non-nationals.

64. Second, wider powers are devolved to the territorial Governments to grant leases or to sell land, presumably to speed up the present time-consuming procedures. In the two larger Territories the Governor-General will have the authority to sell or grant aforamento w/ rights for areas of land up to 7,500 hectares and to grant lease-hold rights for up to 37,000 hectares. Sales or the right to use larger areas of land may be authorized by the Minister for Overseas Territories, but the concession of areas of rural land of 100,000 hectares to 250,000 hectares may only be made by the Council of Ministers. In the smaller

u/ Ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. VI, annex, appendix I, paras. 17 ff.

v/ Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix III, para. 26.

w/ Aforamento is the right to use land at a nominal foro payment, subject to the requirement that the land granted will be developed. It differs from lease-hold in that once the land has been developed the foro payments may be discontinued.

Territories the corresponding figures are 1,500 hectares for aforamento and 7,500 hectares for lease-hold. Even district governors in the larger Territories will have the authority to grant the use, pending final approval of an aforamento title, of areas up to 2,500 hectares, or the occupation of up to 1,000 hectares.

65. The new bill omits the provision contained in the 1961 legislation for the demarcation as class 2 of land five times the areas occupied by the indigenous population living in regedorias. The new bill is also silent on the special measures included in the previous legislation to enable Africans in regedorias to acquire individual use of land. x/

Psycho-social measures

66. The psycho-social measures used by Portugal in its strategy of repression of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde are all directed at the massive underprivileged majority of the African population. Although Portuguese sources describing psycho-social measures have usually emphasized efforts designed to ameliorate African living conditions, it appears that at least one of the important military leaders has different ideas on the subject.

67. Extracts purportedly taken from a text by General Kaúlza de Arriaga (currently the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in Mozambique) used in the course of strategy in 1966/67 puts forward a strategy for maintaining the Portuguese presence in Africa by keeping a favourable balance between white settlers and the "more evolved blacks". y/ According to this thesis, the tribal way of life of the African population "favours" Portuguese strategy while "development" gives rise to "racism". Hence, it is argued that Portugal will be able "to keep Angola and Mozambique under white domination, which is a national objective", only if the number of white settlers keeps pace with, and indeed at least slightly exceeds the number of "more evolved blacks". If whites are exceeded by the number of "more evolved blacks" either Portugal would have to introduce apartheid, or there would eventually be black governments and an end to Portuguese administration in the overseas Territories. In order to secure the desired balance, it is suggested that white settlement should be promoted and family allowances in Portugal should be high enough to encourage people to have many children, and, in the name of multiracialism "to retard somewhat the advancement of the black peoples".

68. On the other hand, a secret report attributed to Dr. Afonso Mendes, Director of the Labour Institute in Angola, deals with the problem of

x/ For details on the 1961 legislation, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1), chap. V, appendix, annex II, paras. 10-38.

y/ Communicated to the Secretariat by the White Fathers.

"counter-subversion" on the basis of the need to eliminate inequalities between the black majority and the white minority. The report points out that, although the inhabitants of the "black race" constitute the overwhelming majority, which will become a more accentuated majority as health conditions improve, nevertheless "almost all the wealth, all the positions of leadership, all agricultural, livestock, industrial, and commercial enterprises and the real decision-making power will remain in the hands of the European segment of the population". This situation, the report says, results in a "striking economic inequality" between the "white group" and the "black group" and to social inequality and the maintenance of cultural inequality. Because of these inequalities, it is estimated that, in the case of Angola, some 90 per cent of the entire population may be considered to be "malcontents" whose sympathy can be won over by forces against the Government.

69. The report then identifies 12 areas in which inequalities or abuses or both need to be eliminated. These include abuses arising from the political and administrative structure, discrepancies between the standards of living, abuse of power by authorities, expropriation of African lands, and obstacles to the improvement of African agriculture.

Military expenditure

70. Portugal's budget estimates for 1973 provide 7,715.8 million escudos for military expenditure, compared with 7,583.4 million in the 1972 budget. Of the 1973 allocation, 5,000 million escudos are for the overseas military forces, 1,500 million escudos for the equipment of the army and the air force and 587.5 million escudos are for the acquisition of new naval escorts, submarines and corvettes.

71. Past reports have shown, however, that the budgetary estimates often provide only about half of the total actual expenditure during the year. Final figures for Portugal's military expenditure in 1971 are not yet available but were reported to have amounted to 15,300 million escudos, or about double the original estimates. In terms of a percentage of the gross national product, military expenditure increased from 7.3 per cent in 1969 to 7.8 per cent in 1971. In 1972, the estimated military budget was increased by at least two further allocations, one of 102.8 million escudos for the construction of airfields and other aeronautical facilities in the three African Territories, and 1,040 million escudos for the overseas military forces; the final figure is also expected to exceed 15,000 million escudos. By contrast, the expenditure forecast under the Third National Development Plan was only 6,200 million escudos in 1972, but actual expenditure was expected to be below this amount.

72. In recent years, the military budgets of the overseas Territories have also risen sharply. According to a statement by the Secretary of State for the Treasury, between 1961 and 1970, military expenditures in Angola rose from 12 per cent of the budget to 27 per cent, and in Mozambique, from 14 per cent to 27 per cent. In 1972, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in Mozambique

stated that the Territory's military and related expenditures amounted to 45 per cent of the territorial budget. Information is not yet available on the territorial military budgets for 1973.

5. OPPOSITION IN PORTUGAL TO THE COLONIAL WARS

73. It will be recalled that, faced with growing protests against the colonial wars, the Portuguese Government was granted special powers in November 1971 under article 109 of the Constitution to "repress subversion and prevent it from spreading, with such restrictions on individual liberties and guarantees as are considered to be indispensable". z/ Nevertheless, acts of protest continued throughout 1972 and official concern over internal security increased.

74. In April 1972, the Ministry of the Interior announced that the Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS) (formerly PIDE) had apprehended a group of persons carrying explosives with plans to attack various installations on 1 May as a protest. The statement said that those apprehended were linked to the Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA), the Brigadas Revolucionárias and other "subversive" groups. As a preventive measure, DGS ordered the prohibition of all public manifestations scheduled for 1 May. Later in the month, DGS announced that it had uncovered new information that the Liga de União e de Acção Revolucionária (LUAR) was planning a series of attacks against various institutions during June and July to make it the "hottest summer". The DGS said that it had also discovered a large cache of explosives on an estate in Portel in the Algarve.

75. In June, there was an attack on a powder magazine by four armed men who successfully carried away "hundreds of kilograms" of explosives. A month later an explosion destroyed 13 French manufactured heavy trucks awaiting delivery to the Portuguese Army at a depot in Olivias, a bastion suburb of Lisbon. Portuguese sources, which attributed the bomb attack to "enemies of order", estimated the cost of the trucks at 150,000 escudos.

76. In August, one hour before the inauguration ceremony of President Thomaz, a series of explosions in Lisbon disrupted the electricity supply in Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto. Later in the month, there were a number of fires in the northern part of the country. Between September and the end of the year several more acts of protest occurred: a bomb attack on two stations of the Companhia Telegráfica Portuguesa Rádio Marconi which form part of the company's telecommunications network with South Africa; a fire on board the ship Cabo Verde in October; and an explosion at an explosives factory in December.

77. Mr. Gonçalves Rapazote, Minister of the Interior, expressed the view that the attacks against the "régime" are aimed at destroying the integrity of the

z/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 92.

nation because the stubborn defence of national institutions and the principles on which they are based are linked with the defence of the integrity of the nation. He considered that although the enemies of the nation included "terrorists, apostles of violence, deserters and agitators", the "real enemy", the only enemy capable of subverting the established order was one who doubted the strength of Portugal's political ideas, of its national rationale, thus destroying the nation's unity and collective existence. Subsequently, DGS published a review of the protest actions since 1970 in which it attributed the following attacks to ARA: the ship Cunene in October 1970; helicopters at the Tancos air base in March 1971; telephone circuits in June 1971; NATO headquarters in October 1971; a warehouse and the electricity supply in August 1972; the NATO base in November 1971; the Bateria de Canhões at Santo António de Charneca in November 1971; and the Berliet trucks in July 1972. The explosives found in the Algarve in June 1972 were attributed to the Frente Patriótica de Libertação Nacional acting through its "revolutionary brigades". Other acts of protest involving the Portuguese consulates in Rotterdam and Luxembourg in 1971 and the Banco de Agricultura in April 1972 were attributed to LUAR.

78. According to government sources, the student protests in Portugal have also been connected with the general atmosphere created by the colonial wars. Nor has the student protest been limited to Portugal. In Mozambique, the Mozambique Students' Association was closed in October 1972 following disturbances at the university earlier in the month. Subsequently, seven students were placed under house arrest for a year, for "subversive activities against the security of the State". As defined, such activities include the organization of and attendance at illegal meetings, and the preparation and distribution of posters, communiqués and pamphlets against the authorities and with a view to inciting the people to "subversion" which includes advocacy of, or support for, the independence of the overseas Territories.

79. During the year, the Portuguese press carried a number of notices of trials of persons charged with activities against the State. Some have been charged specifically with urging people to become objectors or with attacking Portuguese policy in Africa. A number of those charged have been students.

80. Among six persons sentenced in December 1972 for instance, an Angolan student received the heaviest sentence of three years' imprisonment and had his political rights suspended for 15 years. There is no information on the total number of arrests made in 1972. According to the National Commission for Aid to Political Prisoners, at the end of 1971, there were 135 political prisoners, compared with 70 at the end of 1970. In a government statement issued in November 1972 it was reported that the total number of prisoners in Portugal had steadily declined over the years from 10,418 in 1950 to 5,176 in 1972. No separate figures were given for political prisoners. However, Mr. Mário Soares, the leader of the socialist opposition, said in October 1972 that there were 25,000 political prisoners in Portugal.

81. More recently, members of the Roman Catholic Church have openly joined the protests. On 30 December 1972, a group of about 80 "progressive Catholics" held

a meeting in a chapel in the neighbourhood of Largo do Rato in Lisbon to discuss Portugal's wars in Africa. This vigil was accompanied by the explosion of a number of mechanical devices in various parts of Lisbon which scattered leaflets supporting the group. When the group resisted a police order to disperse, some individuals were detained for questioning. On the following day, some 12 people were arrested, including two priests and two well-known figures of the Portuguese opposition, Messrs. Pereira de Moura and Teotónio Pereira. Subsequently, civil servants who participated in the vigil were dismissed by the Council of Ministers.

82. The Ministry of the Interior had characterized the vigil as an "act of treason" against the nation. According to one source, one of the documents which the vigil group had intended to discuss was a report prepared by a group of members of the diocese of Oporto and approved by its bishop. In addition to declaring open and sympathetic support for the accession by peoples to autonomy and independence, the report also expressed concern over the massacres in the war by both sides, the number of people jailed without trial and the repression of individuals and organizations respected by the civilian population. It went on to demand an analysis of the events with a view to obtaining truth and justice. It will be recalled that the Bishop of Oporto had been exiled for 10 years during the Salazar era and was only allowed to return to Portugal in 1968, after Mr. Caetano became Premier.

83. On January 1973, during another series of explosions, leaflets were scattered criticizing "the colonial war in Africa" and demanding the release of the persons held in connexion with the peace vigil. According to the leaflets, the vigil had been approved by Monsignor António Ribeiro, Archbishop of Lisbon.

84. Efforts by opposition groups to mobilize the Portuguese population against the régime of Premier Caetano increased steadily during the first half of 1973. This sharpening of the internal political conflict took place at the same time as the local elections in the Territories which were held with the purpose of strengthening the legitimacy of the colonial authorities.

85. On 9 March, several bombs caused damages to military installations in central Lisbon. The "revolutionary brigades" of the Frente Patriótica de Libertação Nacional of Portugal claimed responsibility for the action and indicated that military maps of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique had been taken from the Portuguese authorities and would be delivered to the liberation movements in Africa. On 6 April, two bombs exploded at the military facilities in Oporto at the time when the opposition groups were holding their caucus in Aveiro. On 16 April, bombs used to release manifestos of the opposition exploded in different parts of Portugal. There were no casualties or material damage. On 1 May, another powerful bomb exploded in the building of the Ministry of Corporations, Social Security and Health, causing significant material damage but no casualties. Police action dispersed any attempted popular demonstrations.

86. Students have also increased their protests. On 1 May, DGS distributed a press release indicating that since the beginning of the year, 48 university students had been gaoled for revolutionary activities. In Coimbra and Oporto, 344 university students were identified as participants in revolutionary activities. The communiqué of DGS also indicated that, on 1 May, many bombs had exploded releasing printed appeals for revolutionary action in many parts of Portugal. On 3 May, persistent attempts of university students to promote demonstrations were frustrated by the police which eventually dispersed the groups by using

tear gas, police dogs and firearms. Further student demonstrations in Lisbon on 14 May led to confrontations with the police in which some students were wounded and, as a result, according to Le Monde, the Faculty of Letters was immediately closed for an indefinite period.

87. Groups known as "revolutionary brigades" have claimed responsibility for the explosions and attacks. Their latest feat was to explode, on 29 April and 1 May, in 74 different places in Portugal, 200 bombs with 500,000 pamphlets containing revolutionary proclamations. The "revolutionary brigades" were started in 1968 by a group of militants who decided to characterize the struggle against the régime in Portugal as part of the anti-colonial campaign. According to press reports, they were initially autonomous organizations but are now directed by a national co-ordination committee. It is not clear from the latest available information whether the "revolutionary brigades" are still associated with the Frente Patriótica de Libertação Nacional.

88. In addition, various opposition groups have been making known their views on the African wars through the circulation of manifestos. The People's Resistance to Colonialism - Revolutionary Organization of Soldiers and Sailors, for instance, issued a document in which it proclaimed its opposition to the war in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and expressed the solidarity of the Portuguese people with the peoples of the colonies. Another group calling itself A Group of Christians sent an open letter to the Bishop of Lisbon protesting against Portugal's "colonial war". The letter called for the bishops to take a stand on the war; it also called on the church to discuss the war and asked for recognition of conscientious objectors. Inasmuch as the Government considers any questioning of the African wars as treason, these documents reflect strong undercurrents of opposition to the régime.

Congress of the Oposição Democrática

89. The most significant episode in the political protest against the colonial wars was the Congress of the Oposição Democrática, held in Aveiro from 4 to 9 April. The Congress included a wide range of political opinions. Despite heavy censorship and restrictions on public demonstrations, 1,500 persons participated in the deliberations of the Congress. Some participants attempted to defy the ban on public demonstrations but were forcibly dispersed by the police. A statement at the end of the Congress declared that:

"Twelve years of colonial war represent a crime against humanity by the destruction of African populations and cultures and by the absurd sacrifice that has bled the country in lives and in resources and which constitutes a profound sapping of moral energies of a people that needs to mobilize them to build the future."

90. Some members of the Portuguese opposition did not accept the orientation of the final statement. Mr. Rodrigo de Abreu, a former associate of General Humberto Delgado, opposed the support given to the liberation movements in Africa and the general orientation of the Congress.

91. In reply to the complaints about the lack of reforms, Prime Minister Caetano said in a statement on 9 April 1973 that four years in government was too short a time to judge his efforts to promote orderly social change in Portugal. He made no reference, however, to the attacks on the colonial wars by the Congress of the Oposição Democrática at Aveiro.

Congress of the Acção Nacional Popular (ANP)

92. The ANP, the only legitimate Portuguese political organization, convened its first congress at Tomar from 3 to 6 May.

93. It will be recalled that ANP was established by the Fifth Congress of the National Union in February 1970. Mr. Elmano Alves, President of the Executive Commission, said at the opening of the Congress of ANP that the main purposes of the organization were to facilitate the co-optation of individuals into the Government; to mobilize the population for the legitimization of the policies of the State; and to promote the "political education" of the people in consonance with the goals of the political leadership.

94. The Congress brought together 1,500 delegates under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, in his role as chairman of the Central Commission: to approve the report of the outgoing members of the Central Commission; to elect eight alternate members of the Central Commission; and to modify the statutes and discuss problems of doctrine and plans of action.

95. The Congress met in 15 sections or working groups to consider reports called "basic communications" prepared by the Minister of State and other government officials on various topics of national interest. The reports were discussed and a final report with recommendations was approved by the Congress. In general, the key speeches by the government leaders at the Congress revealed no changes in the political views of the government party.

96. Mr. Silva Cunha, Minister for the Overseas Territories, emphasized that there could be no renunciation of Portugal's presence in the overseas Territories. He pointed out that, in keeping with the principle of the political unity of the Portuguese State, the authorities were carrying out the reforms to promote the administrative autonomy of the overseas Territories. He indicated that the Government would extend the educational reforms in Portugal to the Territories. However, the implementation of the reforms would take into account the cultural differences of the Territories within the objective of consolidating the Portuguese nations. The Minister gave a general description of the policies which, in his view, contributed to the development of the human and material resources of the Territories under Portuguese administration.

97. Mr. Rui Patrício, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, reaffirmed the Government's policy regarding the overseas Territories and attacked internal opposition to the African colonial wars. He rejected the demands contained in the resolutions of the United Nations for negotiations with the liberation movements

and repeated the argument that the territorial limits of the Portuguese State were described in the Portuguese Constitution and could not be the object of negotiation by any Government. The United Nations position with respect to Portugal was, in his view, an illegitimate interference in the internal affairs of Portugal. He again asserted that the United Nations had no political, legal or moral authority in the contemporary world. He also expressed the view that the United Nations was incapable of dealing with the important issues of the day and claimed that the majorities in the United Nations were merely mechanical majorities and had no relevance to the issues involved.

98. Referring once again to Portugal's role in NATO, the Foreign Minister emphasized that owing to the geographical position of its Territories, Portugal played a strategically valuable role in European collective security and in the defence of the values of Western civilization. He pledged continued Portuguese co-operation with NATO in the military, political and other fields, according to the interests and possibilities of the Portuguese nation.

99. On the last day of the Congress, Prime Minister Caetano made a closing statement in the course of which he referred to the overseas Territories and declared that:

"The Portuguese people who have generously fought for the defence of the overseas Territories do not want the overseas Territories given to movements created, maintained, armed, subsidized, supported and manipulated by foreign interests."

He also charged that the first goal of the opposition in Portugal was the "struggle against the colonial war" and expressed perplexity that the only dividing issue amongst the opposition groups was whether or not to negotiate with the liberation movements.

100. The final report of the Congress closely reflected the position of its Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for the Overseas Territories, on matters relating to Portuguese colonial policy.

101. Some British sources have interpreted the discussions at Tomar as an indication that Portugal's African involvement would be a key electoral issue. The Financial Times suggested that the Congress of the Oposição Democrática at Aveiro had adopted a losing and unpopular position by attacking government policies in Africa. At Tomar, on the other hand, the progovernment forces reaffirm their identification with the Prime Minister's policies in committing massive resources to the maintenance of Portugal's colonial empire.

Strengthening of security measures

102. During 1972, security measures in Portugal and the overseas Territories were further amended. In June, two amendments to the Penal Code were promulgated, one to limit the maximum period of "security measures" to only two successive periods of three years each, and the other to require that the order of preventive detention be made in the presence of the defendant.

103. In July 1972 (Decree No. 239/72, 18 July), provisions governing "administrative security measures" in the overseas Territories were amended to apply only to persons "who commit or collaborate in the commission of acts prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the nation", as determined by DGS. Such administrative security may consist of internment in an agricultural colony or residence in a specified locality. As in Portugal, the term of an administrative security measure is limited to three years, which may be extended by another three years if the conditions which brought about the application of the measure still persisted. Such measures may not be applied concurrently with any penalty involving deprivation of liberty or security measures of a judicial nature.

104. According to a press article, the amendment appeared to give the security police even broader powers, because the DGS decisions do not require intervention by the courts or military tribunals.

105. The special powers of the security police were defined in a decree of October 1972. According to the decree, the Overseas Minister has the same powers in relation to the activities of DGS in the Territories as the Minister of Interior in Portugal. Security officers of the rank of inspectors and above are given almost all powers previously exercised by the judge and the Public Prosecutor's Office in respect of orders for arrest, interrogation and bail. Furthermore, the presence of a defence lawyer at the interrogations may be prohibited when it is inconvenient for the interrogation, or when it is justified "by the nature of the crime". Members of DGS are authorized to enter freely any place of entertainment, recreational clubs, local public meetings, railway and river stations, commercial or private airports, camping sites or other places where "police supervision or control is considered necessary".

106. In November 1972, the so-called "security measures" which had previously allowed for almost indefinite detention of political prisoners were abolished in Portugal. At the same time, however, relatively minor political offences became punishable under the law. For instance, forming, belonging to, or subsidizing, a group that subverts the social order or acts against state security is henceforth subject to prison terms ranging from six months to three years; such acts as gathering illegally in public places, causing a disturbance, using violence or the threat of violence or preventing the functioning of a public service are subject to fines; these fines are doubled for printing or distributing subversive pamphlets or for writing subversive slogans on walls.

107. Recently, the National Assembly in Portugal has shown signs of becoming more intolerant towards opposition to the colonial wars in Africa. One such indication was the revision of the rules of procedure (regimento) of the National Assembly; a new provision was added to disqualify members who express opinions contrary to the existence of Portugal as an independent State, or who in any way instigate violent subversion of the political and social order.

108. Since the adoption of this amendment, at the end of January 1973, two of the "liberal" members, Dr. Francisco Sá Carneiro and Dr. Miller Guerra have resigned their seats. Both these members had been among the small group of "liberal minded" deputies who had been invited to stand for elections four years ago with a view to providing an opposition within the legislature. According to an article in the international press, the "extreme right wing" has become increasingly intolerant of any discussion of the colonial wars, while the "liberals" have insisted that the criticisms should nevertheless be heard. In the same article, it was said that the departure of Dr. Miller Guerra, a prominent young physician, from the National Assembly marked the end of the post-Salazar parliamentary liberalization period in Portugal.

IV. PORTUGAL AND THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

109. As previous reports have shown, owing to its limited natural resources and the low level of its technological development, Portugal has always relied on its colonial Territories for raw materials, cheap labour and foreign exchange earnings to sustain its economy. In order to maintain this special relationship and at the same time have access to the European Common Market, in 1971 Portugal began discussions with the European Economic Community (EEC), with a view to obtaining a trade agreement as distinct from full participation in accordance with the Rome Treaty. The association agreement was signed on 22 July 1972 and came into force on 1 January 1973.

110. It is reported that in the negotiations, the pattern of Portugal's exports was a main source of concern for the Portuguese authorities who requested more favourable terms for its agricultural products as well as for the agricultural products of the overseas Territories. In respect of imports from EEC, the Portuguese authorities sought terms which would allow a more gradual elimination of Portuguese tariffs on industrial products from member countries of EEC. Concessions were sought on the grounds that 30 per cent of the Portuguese exports to the six original members of EEC and 21 per cent of its exports to the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) had been made up of agricultural products, while Portugal's agricultural imports from EEC comprised only 5 per cent of its total imports from the Common Market.

111. Although many Portuguese agricultural exports did not benefit from the agreement, the concessions on key products were considered satisfactory. The products on which concessions were obtained were port and Madeira wines, canned sardines and tomato concentrates. For the canned sardines, the Community established a 40 per cent rebate on the custom duties, with the reservation that minimum prices be maintained. The quotas established for Portuguese wines as well as the quota and minimum price system for tomato concentrates, were also considered adequate.

112. No details are available on concessions regarding agricultural products from the overseas Territories. In general, however, Portugal was able to retain its preferential treatment for the products from the overseas Territories and did not have to adjust its special economic relations with them as would have been the case if it had joined EEC as a full member. Additional flexibility was introduced by a clause providing for further negotiations to extend the agreement to other aspects of the economic relations between Portugal and EEC.

113. The importance of Portugal's association agreement with EEC is related to Portugal's urgent need for increased resources to develop its economy. The military efforts of Portugal to suppress the liberation movements in the African Territories have strained the capabilities of the country's economy which the Economic Survey of Europe described as an already inadequate productive structure with a very low domestic savings ratio and a low rate of expansion of employment

in the modern sector. aa/ Moreover, from the point of view of its manpower structure, nearly 50 per cent of the labour force is employed in the agricultural sector, yet its contribution to the gross domestic product is less than 20 per cent.

114. Although the available information does not refer to agreements on direct foreign investments in Portugal, it is clear that Portuguese participation in EEC will open the way to an inflow of capital from member countries which can be expected to play an important role in increasing the productivity of the Portuguese economy and at the same time in compensating for the drain of resources resulting from the Government's intensified efforts to repress the national liberation movements in the African Territories.

V. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF PORTUGAL AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION

115. At the international level, Portugal has continued its efforts to intensify the mobilization of diplomatic support for its African policies. These renewed efforts may be viewed as an attempt to offset growing public opinion against the continuation of Portuguese colonial presence in Africa, and especially the convening of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held in Oslo in April 1973.

Relations with South Africa

116. During the first half of 1973, Portugal engaged in intensive diplomatic activities in order to build up support for its colonial policy in Africa. Mr. Rui Patrício, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, made an official visit to South Africa from 5 to 9 March 1973. During his visit, he was received by Prime Minister B. J. Vorster and had discussions with the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Finance. These discussions dealt with co-operation between South Africa and Portugal, including military matters and economic and financial issues of common interest in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

117. In their first public announcement to the press, Mr. Hilgard Muller, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa, emphasized the co-operation of Portugal and South Africa in the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River projects. Mr. Rui Patrício indicated that neighbourly relations were necessary for the stability of the region but that such relations did not imply ideological alignment. In their subsequent public statements, Mr. Muller emphasized the importance of co-operation and defence and Mr. Rui Patrício denied that there were any plans for a military pact between Portugal and South Africa or for such a pact with the future participation of Southern Rhodesia.

aa/ Economic Commission for Europe, Economic Survey of Europe, 1970, part II, p. 59.

Relations with the United States

118. Portugal's problems have recently received special attention also from United States foreign policy officials. Mr. David Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who was on his way to Bonn, stopped for two days in Lisbon for discussions with Portuguese officials. On 20 March, he held talks with the Portuguese Foreign Minister. This was the first time that Mr. Newsom, whom The Financial Times called the "United States' top policymaker on African affairs", had held discussions with Portuguese authorities.

119. No press releases were issued on the discussions in Lisbon. Subsequently, Mr. Newsom said that the purpose of his visit to Lisbon had been to explain fully to Portuguese authorities the policy of the United States towards Africa and to listen to the Portuguese point of view with respect to the Territories under their administration.

Relations with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

120. Diplomatic activity between Portugal and the United Kingdom has also increased in the last few months. On 9 February, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the United Kingdom Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs held discussions with Mr. Rui Patrício, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, during his brief stop in Lisbon on his way to visit West African States. In March 1973, Sir David Francis Muirhead, the United Kingdom Ambassador to Lisbon, made a tour of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. On his return, he told the press that impressive efforts had been made to improve the living conditions of the population.

121. In April, Messrs. Patrick Wall and John Bigg-Davidson, two British Members of Parliament, visited Lisbon. At the end of their visit, they said that they had been impressed with the high percentage of the population of registered voters who took part in the elections in Angola and Mozambique, which they both claimed to know well. With reference to their experiences in those Territories, Mr. Wall was of the opinion that the results obtained by the Portuguese authorities were very important in the economic, military and cultural fields. Mr. Bigg-Davidson, speaking about the celebration of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, declared that this union had the highest moral and political significance and was indispensable to the future of Europe and of the West.

122. Widespread publicity is being given to arrangements for the celebration of the 600 years of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The Duke of Edinburgh visited Lisbon from 5 to 8 June 1973 and the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Caetano, is scheduled to visit the United Kingdom from 16 to 19 July 1973. Several festivities are being organized to celebrate the occasion.

123. On 30 April, four warships from the United Kingdom arrived in Lisbon for a four-day visit to mark the anniversary of the alliance. It will be recalled

that Portugal, as a member of NATO, is also the headquarters of the Iberian Atlantic Command (COMIBERLANT), situated at Oeiras near Lisbon. bb/

124. Preparations to celebrate the anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance are being opposed by the Labour Party in the United Kingdom. A resolution adopted on 28 March by the Executive Committee of the Party qualifies the celebration as "shameful" and emphasizes that:

"Portuguese rulers who conduct a cynical colonial war overseas and suppress democratic liberties in the metropolitan territory have nothing in common with the working class of the United Kingdom."

Relations with Spain

125. Foreign Minister Rui Patrício visited Spain from 4 to 8 May for discussions with Mr. Gregorio Lopez Bravo, the Foreign Minister of Spain, on relations between the two countries. The visit was carried out in the context of an additional protocol to the friendship and non-aggression treaty signed by the two countries in May 1970. As a result of the discussions, a final joint communiqué was published indicating the general character of the agreements reached. Both Governments expressed satisfaction with the preliminary results of the preparatory meetings for the European security conference. The two Foreign Ministers declared their opposition to "terrorist activities" and to direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of States.

126. After his return to Portugal, Mr. Rui Patrício declared that he and the Spanish Foreign Minister had exchanged views on the problems of the African continent and on the positions of their respective Governments in international organizations.

Relations with Brazil

127. General Emílio Garrastazu Médici, the President of Brazil, visited Portugal from 14 to 19 May 1973. In a joint communiqué summarizing general points of agreement, both Governments reaffirmed the principles and spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Consultation of 1953 and affirmed the duty of States to prevent and repress violence in any form. The two heads of State vowed to strengthen the bonds which brought their two peoples together.

bb/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 96.

Other relations

128. According to Portuguese sources, Portugal has invited the representatives of several countries to visit Angola and Mozambique during the months of June, July and August. Those invited to participate in the tour of the Portuguese colonial Territories include the following ambassadors: Heinrich Calice of Austria; Max Wéry of Belgium; Manrique Alvarez of Colombia; Danilo Sansón Román of Nicaragua and Antonio Martin Araujo of Venezuela.

B. ANGOLA*

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* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.842.

1. GENERAL

1. The Territory of Angola, comprising an area of 1,246,700 square kilometres, lies south of the Equator between latitude 4°22' S and 18°03' S and longitude 24°05' E and 11°41' E. Except for the Cabinda enclave which is administered as part of it, the entire Territory lies south of the Congo River. It is bound on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by the People's Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Zaire, on the north-east by the Republic of Zaire, on the east by Zambia and on the south by Namibia.

2. According to provisional 1970 census figures, the total resident population of the Territory was 5,673,046, compared with 4,830,449 in 1960. The European population was estimated at 350,000 by one source and between 500,000 and 600,000 by another. Most of the European population is concentrated in some eight major cities with 124,352 in Luanda, the capital, alone. a/ The population pattern of the Territory is unchanged: urban islands of European settlement, surrounded by an almost completely African rural population. This pattern reinforces the political and economic dominance of the non-African elements in the urban areas.

3. By 1972, large areas of Angola, containing more than one million inhabitants, had been declared free of Portuguese control, as a result of armed struggle by the local population in their fight for national liberation from colonial domination. In addition, there were more than 600,000 Angolans living in the Republic of Zaire.

a/ For further information on the 1970 census, including a table on the population by district, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.B, paras. 1-4.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

4. Since the uprising in Luanda and the northern part of the Territory in 1961, the liberation movements have gradually extended activities to other areas of Angola. By early 1966, the liberation movements were active in the northern districts of Luanda, Malanje, Cuanza-North, Uíge and Zaire and in Cabinda; and in the second half of the year national liberation forces opened a new front in the eastern region of the Territory.

5. The three liberation movements waging an armed struggle in Angola are the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA); the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA); and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA). Since 1970, the liberation movements have concentrated on attacks along the northern border extending to the Dembos forest and on expanding their activities from the eastern border to the plateau heartland of Angola. By May 1971, the armed struggle was reported to have reached the left bank of the Cuanza River in the Bié District. During 1972, there were several reports of armed struggle along the Cuango River which divides the districts of Malanje and Luanda. In February 1972, with the appearance of nationalist military activities along the southern border of Angola with Namibia, 12 districts had become involved in the national liberation struggle. Only four districts have not yet reported nationalist military activities: the central and coastal districts of Cuanza-North, Benguela, Huambo and Moçâmedes, all of which, apart from Luanda, have the greatest European population density.

6. In 1972, responding to a call by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), FNLA and MPLA reached an agreement for the unification of their political and military forces. Following the East and Central African Summit Conference held in Dar es Salaam in September 1972, a committee comprising the presidents of the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia was set up to help FNLA and MPLA to find ways of implementing their agreement.

7. It was reported in December 1972 that FNLA and MPLA had established three common organs, namely the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola (CSLA) in which Mr. Holden Roberto of FNLA is president and Mr. Agostinho Neto of MPLA is vice-president; the Unified Military Command (CMU) with a member of MPLA as president and a member of FNLA as vice-president; and the Angola Political Council (CPA) with a member of FNLA as president and a member of MPLA as vice-president. The latter will be responsible for the administration of liberated areas and for diplomatic activities.

8. Since 1971 Angola has been represented at meetings of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) by delegates from FNLA and MPLA. Angola is an associate member of the Commission.

Political developments

FNLA

9. In 1972, FNLA reported that it had under its control areas in the north-central, north-eastern and eastern regions of Angola with more than 900,000 inhabitants.

10. In 1962, FNLA established the Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio (GRAE), which consists of a president, a council of ministers and a 45-member National Council. In 1972, the Council of Ministers, headed by the President, was composed of seven ministers responsible for interior, foreign affairs, information, planning and economy, education, finance, health and social affairs. GRAE also has a Department of Land and Settlement responsible for the organization of agriculture, ranching, hunting and industrial activities. There is a branch (intendence) of this department at each of the three war fronts. Each of the three war fronts under the control of FNLA comes under a Politico-Military Revolutionary Council. The war fronts are divided into zones, regions and sectors. In October 1972, FNLA announced that it was organizing its First Extraordinary National Conference to discuss a new political and military strategic programme.

MPLA

11. According to its reports, MPLA controls more than one third of the Territory, corresponding to an area of approximately 500,000 square kilometres, with a population of about 1 million. The largest areas under MPLA control are those in Moxico and Cuando-Cubango, where some 100,000 people live under MPLA administration.

12. For political, administrative and military purposes, MPLA has divided Angola into six regions: Luanda, Cuanza-North, Uíge and Zaire districts compose the first region; Cabinda, the second; Moxico and Cuando-Cubango, the third; Malanje and Lunda, the fourth; Bié, the fifth; and the remaining districts, Huambo, Huíla, Cunene, Moçâmedes, Benguela and Cuanza-South, the sixth region.

13. The MPLA administrative structure comprises five levels: national, regional, zone, sector and group or village. Each village has up to 100 people. Villages are grouped into sectors under the traditional chiefs. Five or six sectors make up a zone.

14. The National Congress is the highest organ of MPLA. At the national level there is an Executive Committee of 42 members variously referred to as the Comité Director, Central Committee, Directing Committee or Steering Committee. At the regional level there are steering committees and below these there are action committees. Instructions from the Executive Committee are passed down through the military commands. It has been reported, however, that owing to war conditions, MPLA is at present actually governed by a five-member Committee for Political and Military Co-ordination headed by the President of MPLA, which reports to the Executive Committee.

15. As reported previously,^{b/} at a plenary session held in Angola in 1971, the Executive Committee of MPLA decided to hold the First National Congress, at a time and place still to be decided, preceded by seminars of the local organizations in each zone and locality. Among other things, it was planned that the National Congress would revise the party statutes and programmes, set up a regular army, establish a popular national assembly and create an Angolan currency. In 1972, MPLA was reportedly proceeding with preparations for the Congress.

16. During the year several international observers visited areas under MPLA control. In August 1972, a Yugoslav delegation, composed of representatives of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia, trade unions and the Union of Youth spent 20 days in liberated areas under MPLA control. Other visitors to liberated areas under the control of MPLA included Mr. Rolf Henning Hintze, a German journalist representing Africa Heute (Frankfurt), who spent several weeks in these areas; Miss Melba Smith of the Methodist Church in New York (United States of America) and Knut Andreassen, a Swedish journalist. In particular, Mr. Hintze said that MPLA had achieved considerable success under the most difficult conditions, that it had the support of the people and that, under substantially improved conditions and growing international recognition, it was moving closer to the goal of independence for Angola.

UNITA

17. In March 1972, UNITA reported that over 1 million people were living in bases and areas it had liberated in the districts of Cuando-Cubango, Bié, Malanje and Moxico. Areas under UNITA control are divided into 12 zones and 25 subzones.

18. The cell is the basic unit of the political and administrative structure of UNITA, and the supreme organ is the General Assembly or Congress formed by delegates from all other organs. The Central Committee elected by the Congress is the major decision-making body on the political level, and the High Command of the Forças Armadas de Libertação de Angola (FALA) exercises the same function on the military level. At the local level, there are provincial, district and regional committees. In each liberated zone there is a commander, FALA forces, clinics, schools and meeting places where branch representatives convene every two weeks. Each branch comprises four to five villages. Each village has an elected committee which is responsible for the implementation of decisions related to its branch.

19. The UNITA Congress met in 1968 and 1969. Its Second Congress, in 1969, was attended by 55 local committee delegates, 25 members of FALA, and 10 delegates from women's brigades.

Military operations of the liberation forces

FNLA

20. In 1972, FNLA had an army of some 10,000 men and was engaged in an armed struggle on four fronts. In the north, FNLA forces were reported to be active in

^{b/} Ibid., para. 42.

the areas of Zaire, Uíge, Luanda, Cuanza-North, Cuanza-South and Malanje districts; in the north-east, the areas of Malanje and Lunda districts; in the east, the areas of Lunda and Bié districts and the northern part of Moxico district; and lastly, in the southern part of Cabinda. As a result of its activities, FNLA reported that Portuguese economic activities in these regions were almost at a standstill. In Lunda district, for example, in the areas of Cazage, Nova Chaves, Muriege and Chiluge, Portuguese activities had been limited to the urban centres where the European population had taken refuge.

21. In the period January-March 1972, FNLA reported 179 military actions, of which 60 were on the northern front, 60 on the north-eastern and 59 on the eastern front. Also, one plane and six helicopters were shot down, 87 motor vehicles were destroyed and large caches of arms and ammunition were seized; telephone cables linking Luanda to other localities were cut, and the Luanda railway was sabotaged at points between Golungo Alto, Cacuso and the town of Malanje. In April, FNLA reported that its forces had attacked and occupied a Portuguese army post near Bela Vista in north-eastern Angola.

22. In the period April-June, FNLA reported an intensification of its armed struggle, with more than 700 operations in southern Cabinda and on the three other fronts. Activities in southern Cabinda included attacks on Portuguese camps at Fubo, Chimbuande, Zau and Tshela. During this period, FNLA cut telephone cables in the Henrique de Carvalho area and along the Benguela Railway between Cassai and Luacano. Two planes and six helicopters were shot down and 413 motor vehicles were destroyed. It also extended its activities to Muxima in Luanda; Mumbondo, Kissongo and Kachibo in Cuanza-South; Duque de Bragança and Cacusu in Malanje; and Xingue, Cacolo and Xassengue in Lunda; and to the region where Malanje and Bié have common borders.

23. In October 1972, FNLA reported an attack on Nambuanguo and action against Portuguese military posts at Mamarosa, at Tongue near Noqui and at Luvo in Zaire district. The military airport at Tongue was reported to have been completely destroyed.

MPLA

24. MPLA is reported to have a total of some 7,000 men under arms. According to information received in 1972, it has reorganized its forces for greater striking power into larger units of 100 to 150 men each, and to have resumed operations in Cabinda district where there had been no fighting since 1970; its forces in this area were reportedly equipped with heavy artillery. With the opening of a new war front in Cunene district along the border with Namibia, c/ MPLA announced that its forces were now fighting in 11 districts.

c/ Ibid., paras. 29-37.

25. In April 1972, an MPLA spokesman told the Special Committee that between November 1971 and March 1972, MPLA forces attacked numerous Portuguese barracks, including: Sanga Mongo in Cabinda District; Ninda, Muié, Jamba, Kazombo, Kaianda, Lutembo, Lumbala, Mussuma, Luatamba, Chilombo, Chiume and Sessa in Moxico District; Cazaji in Lunda District; and Lupire in Cuando-Cubango District. He also said that MPLA forces had destroyed a number of Portuguese military bases and that the Karipanda and Sete barracks in Moxico District had been completely evacuated by the Portuguese armed forces after the attacks. During the same period, MPLA carried out 140 ambushes, destroyed 23 vehicles and 5 bridges, sunk a patrol boat and shot down a helicopter. More than 100 mines were set off by the Portuguese forces who lost 287 regular troops and 21 African mercenaries.

26. In the same month, there were reports that MPLA had expanded its activities into new areas of Lunda District. In Cuando-Cubango District, MPLA forces sank a Portuguese boat. In May, MPLA reported clashes with Portuguese forces along the Zambian border and attacks on Portuguese barracks at Miconje in Cabinda District and on the Umpulo post in Bié District. During an attack in the Lumbala barracks in July, MPLA forces clashed with a Portuguese cavalry company in the Mavinga area of Cuando-Cubango District.

27. According to MPLA reports on its activities in Cabinda, in June its forces shot down a helicopter in that district. In July, an MPLA patrol attacked a timber company on the banks of the Lombe River in the Alto Maiombe area. In August, an MPLA detachment clashed with Portuguese troops on their way to their barracks at Ximbete.

28. During the same month, MPLA reported heavy attacks on Portuguese installations in the Lumbala area of Moxico District and the Mavinga area of Cuando-Cubango District. Portuguese forces had to abandon their barracks at Mavinga leaving behind a large cache of ammunition and some 8,000 tins of food.

29. Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of MPLA, said in August that as a large number of Portuguese troops had been sent to the Cunene District, MPLA militants had formed resistance groups in the bush. MPLA forces had already created areas where Portuguese troops could not go on foot. He also said that a resistance movement was operating in Benguela District. Parallel to the armed struggle in rural areas, MPLA reported an intensification of its activities in urban centres. Early in 1972, a military vehicle was blown up in the streets of Luanda.

UNITA

30. In 1972, UNITA reported that its forces consisted of 4,000 trained guerrillas active in seven districts of Angola: Lunda, Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Bié, Huíla and Cunene.

31. In a special communiqué, UNITA claimed responsibility for the incidents which had taken place earlier in 1972 in Cunene District along the border with Namibia. d/ According to the communiqué, military action in that area had been a result of three years of political organization and mobilization of the people by UNITA.

d/ Ibid.

It was also reported that on 20 January 1972, UNITA commandos had clashed with a Portuguese patrol at Paiva Couceiro in Huíla District.

32. Other UNITA activities in the early part of the year included a clash with Portuguese troops at Kamunda in Bié District near the border with Malanje, an attack on three lorries between Chitembo and Mumbué in Bié District and an ambush of two military jeeps on their way from Muangai to Luso in Moxico District. According to captured Portuguese documents, the jeeps were part of a Portuguese operation code-named Andorinha, operating against UNITA forces in the region.

33. No information is available on UNITA activities during the latter part of the year.

Reconstruction efforts in the liberated areas

FNLA

34. According to an FNLA report, economic activities in areas under its control are co-ordinated through a Department of Land and Settlement. Agriculture in the liberated areas is organized in a system of co-operatives. To avoid the destruction of all crops from Portuguese attacks with herbicides, farmers also cultivate plots on an individual basis. The following table shows the areas of cultivated land as well as the number of individually cultivated plots (number of households) as reported by FNLA:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Cultivated</u> <u>land</u> (hectares)	<u>Agricultural</u> <u>population</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>households</u>
North-central front	781 000	392 954	61 563
North-eastern front	250 000	22 762	34 859
Eastern front	375 000	153 435	24 038

35. Because of the presence of large numbers of Angolan refugees in the Republic of Zaire, FNLA has concentrated its educational and health activities in that country. FNLA schools were at first organized along the Portuguese system but the French language was later introduced for refugees beginning studies in Zaire. In 1970, FNLA had 7 primary schools in Zaire with 1,500 students and 33 teachers. In Angola, there were 92 schools with 7,000 students and some 100 teachers. FNLA also had a secondary school at Kinshasa, with 300 students and 9 teachers.

36. In 1972, the staff of FNLA's medical and social assistance services included 2 doctors, 69 assistants, 150 nurses, 300 midwives, 300 social workers and 350 assistant social workers. Medical and social assistance activities come under the Direction de services d'assistance médico-sociale. This staff serviced more than 200 dispensaries, mobile brigades and medical-social centres in the liberated areas. The medical and social assistance services have already vaccinated 700,000 persons against polio, cholera and measles. Since 1968, FNLA has maintained a hospital and refugee centre on a 20-acre plot at Kingantoko (Zaire), some 40 kilometres from Kinshasa. In 1972, it was planning to set up two other hospitals at Shaba and Bandundu, also in Zaire.

MPLA

37. In the area under MPLA administration, farmers are being organized in collective farms as part of the programme to change the agricultural pattern of the Territory. Apart from collective farming, each family is allowed to cultivate its own garden. Crops under cultivation include rice, cassava, potatoes, millet and maize. Trade is handled through people's shops which enable farmers to exchange their produce for necessities such as canned meat, salt, powdered milk, cotton cloth and soap which are imported into the liberated areas. The people's shops are controlled by the action committees which fix uniform prices for all the MPLA liberated areas. Each people's shop serves from 80 to 125 villagers.

38. Educational activities are centred in the Centros de Instrução Revolucionária (CIR) which since 1967 have been training cadres and organizing courses inside the Territory. Primary schools in areas controlled by MPLA provide five years of schooling, including an initiation class and four regular primary school classes. MPLA has prepared its own literacy textbook which relates literacy teaching to political training. In each literacy class, a political theme is developed by the instructor and pupils together.

39. The first MPLA secondary school is in operation at Dolisie in the Congo. It provides four years of secondary education divided into two-year terms. The first term is general, the second specialized. The specialized term comprises two groups of courses: (a) intermediary and higher technical courses, and (b) medical, para-medical, biological and related courses. According to a statement by an MPLA representative before the Security Council, e/ MPLA was organizing an Angolan Education Institute which would be partly financed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

40. Medical assistance, provided by MPLA, through the Serviço de Assistência Médica (SAM), has been in operation since 1963. SAM has a programme of preventive medicine and training for medical cadres. It supplies medical services to MPLA forces and civilian populations. SAM is headed by a doctor and there is a regional doctor director for each politico-military region. In 1969, SAM set up a school of elementary medical care which offers courses in anatomy, physiology, first aid, pathology and hygiene. The hospital operated by SAM at Dolisie has 12 beds, an operating room, two consulting rooms, a laboratory and treatment rooms. It is used for treating MPLA forces fighting in Cabinda, the population living along the border and refugees in the Congo. The situation on the eastern front is reported to be more difficult, as medical supplies have to be transported from Dar es Salaam (United Republic of Tanzania), over 3,000 kilometres away, and SAM lacks adequate transport facilities. In eastern Angola, there are dispensaries at MPLA military bases, and mobile teams accompany the military columns. In 1972, an MPLA spokesman reported that its medical services were being expanded. All zones and sectors already had health posts, and the third, fourth and fifth regions had training schools for nurses and first aid assistants. SAM had a total of 7 doctors and 120 nurses and first aid assistants in 1972.

e/ S/PV.1674.

UNITA

41. Early in 1972, UNITA reported that almost every zone had an agricultural co-operative. UNITA is working on improving farming techniques, and envisages bringing about changes in rural life without destroying existing social arrangements. Thus, agriculture is practiced on an individual as well as a collective basis.

42. UNITA also reported that 12,000 children and adults were enrolled in its schools in the liberated areas. According to Mr. Fritz Sitte, an Austrian journalist who visited liberated areas under the control of UNITA in 1972, UNITA has established boarding schools for children inside the Territory. Two centres of political and military education have also been set up.

43. The clinics in areas under the control of UNITA have provided medical care to more than 25,000 persons since the start of its activities in 1966.

3. PORTUGAL'S STRATEGY OF REPRESSION

44. In 1972, the monthly Portuguese military communiqués reported continuing activities by the liberation movements throughout the year, particularly in the eastern region and in the Dembos region as well as other areas in the north. There was also new outbreaks in Cabinda District.

45. General Costa Gomes, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Angola, said in April 1972 that the liberation movements had become better trained and better armed. He said that because they operated in small groups, were completely familiar with the terrain and were careful about their security it was often difficult to locate them. In August, General Luz Cunha, Commander of the Angola Military Region, succeeded General Costa Gomes as Commander-in-Chief.

46. According to Portuguese sources, there were fewer nationalist military actions during the first three months of the year compared with 1971. The communiqué for June however, reported an increase in the number of attacks and ambushes around Dembos allegedly with a view to disrupting the coffee harvest. These sources also reported intensified Portuguese military operations, especially in Moxico District. From September onwards, Portuguese sources again emphasized the low level of guerrilla activities while stressing the success of Portuguese military missions in operations to intercept, detect, neutralize and destroy "enemy groups". According to official sources, Portuguese forces killed 1,090 members of the liberation forces and lost only 68 men over the period January-October. It was also claimed that more than 8,000 persons returned to areas under Portuguese control during the same period.

47. Information on Portuguese military activities in the main regions is summarized below.

Dembos and the northern region

48. Between January and October 1972, Portuguese forces carried out more than 20 code-named operations in the Dembos region, aimed at dislodging the liberation movement activists. A special communiqué issued in April claimed the destruction of an MPLA camp in this region. However, the Portuguese communiqué for October reported that the liberation movements were reorganizing their forces in the Dembos region and acknowledged an intensification of fighting there.

49. During the year, Portuguese communiqués also reported military activities in other parts of the northern region, including areas along the northern border with Zaire. In June, for instance, a special communiqué reported that paratroopers ferried in by helicopter attacked liberation forces on the south bank of the M'Bridge River in Zaire District. In the second half of the year, the Portuguese communiqués reported increased activities by the liberation movements in areas of Uíge District and acknowledged disruptions of the coffee harvest. The attack by FNLA in October on Portuguese barracks at Mamarrosa was reported in a Portuguese communiqué.

Eastern front

50. In the east, the Portuguese communiqués reported military activities mainly in Moxico, Cuando-Cubango and, to a lesser extent, in Bié District. Early in 1972, they reported the shelling by liberation forces of Cangombe, Chiume and Mussuma in Moxico District and Dima and Lupire in Cuando-Cubango District. In March, Portuguese forces carried out operation "Zurzir" over an area of 3,000 square kilometres in Cuando-Cubango and claimed the destruction of six liberation movement camps. In May, Portuguese militia clashed with liberation forces in the Cazambo enclave in Moxico District. Portuguese sources also reported an attack in May on a cargo train on the Benguela Railway near Léua, and an attack on Portuguese troops on the Cuando River. Early in October, Portuguese forces claimed the seizure of a large cache of arms in an unspecified area of Bié District. The Portuguese communiqué for the month of October reported that Portuguese troops were engaged in a series of special operations in an attempt to destroy installations of the liberation movements in the east.

Cabinda

51. Early in the year, an official communiqué reported that MPLA had shelled Miconje in Cabinda. This was the first attack in Cabinda reported by Portuguese sources since the second half of 1970. Later in the year, there was another report of an ambush of Portuguese troops in Cabinda.

Chemical warfare

52. Since 1971, there have been reports by MPLA on the use of chemical substances by the Portuguese armed forces in Angola. f/ Early in 1972, MPLA reported that Portuguese forces had used herbicides and defoliants in areas controlled by MPLA which had destroyed almost two thirds of the crops cultivated. In August Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA, informed the Special Committee that Portuguese forces had intensified the use of chemical substances, particularly in the Kassai area of Moxico District and in areas of the Cuando-Cubango and Cuanza-North districts. As a result, famine was threatening tens of thousands of Angolans. He said that the chemicals used by the Portuguese forces included 2,4-D (dichlorophenoxyacetic acid); 2,4,5-T (trichlorophenoxyacetic acid); cacodylic acid; and Picloram.

Measures for Portuguese security

53. In July 1972, the districts of Zaire, Uíge and Cuanza-North, the Nambuangongo concelho and the posts of Quicabo and Ucua (Dande concelho) and Bela Vista (Ambriz concelho) in Luanda District were placed under a special security régime. This whole region was placed under a military commander, with the respective

f/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, para. 30.

district governors reporting to him.^{g/} It will be recalled that the Luanda, Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Malanje and Bié districts had been placed under a special security régime in February 1971. ^{h/}

54. Security measures in the western part of Lunda District were strengthened in June 1972 when the Government of Angola made it compulsory for all persons travelling in the circunscrições of Capenda, Lubalo, Camulemba and Cacolo to carry a special pass.

Troop deployment

55. Portuguese troops in Angola have been variously estimated between 60,000 and 80,000, plus special local forces totalling anywhere between 10,000 and 20,000, including three groups of Africans: the Tropas Especiais (TE), the Grupos Especiais (GE) and the Flechas. The GE are officially described as local volunteers who have not had any previous political affiliation with the liberation movements. These units are used for agricultural work and to assist the armed forces in their respective regions. The TE, on the other hand, are part of the armed forces, and the Flechas, who work under the Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS) (the intelligence police), comprise former members of the liberation movements who have been "re-educated" (mentalizados).

56. Among the paramilitary organizations in Angola the most important is the Organização Provincial de Voluntários e Defesa Civil (OPVDC) (Provincial Organization of Volunteers and Civil Defence) which was first created in 1961 and reorganized in 1967 when it was placed on a permanent basis with organized units throughout the Territory. It was reported to have a membership of 25,000 volunteers in 1971. The OPVDC is responsible for the organization of civil defence drills and the training of African militia. In 1971 there were some 8,000 African militia in 1,400 aldeamentos (strategic villages). The rural guard, which was created in the early 1960s and integrated with the Public Security Police (PSP) in 1966, is responsible for patrolling roads and especially for protecting plantations. Composed mainly of Europeans, it is reported to be the most feared among the security groups.

57. In 1972, the Portuguese Government introduced special measures to protect diamond mining concessions (Decree 340/72, 26 August 1972). Diamond concession areas are to be divided into three general zones, namely "exploitation", "reserve" and "protection" zones. Exploitation zones will be guarded by special security personnel and will be off limits except for company personnel. Local residents in the exploitation zones will be relocated. Reserve and protection zones will be patrolled by a new paramilitary organization, the Polícia Mineira (mining police).

^{g/} Portugal, Portaria, No. 380/72, 13 July 1972.

^{h/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix III, para. 6.

58. Over the past years there have been various reports of South African troops in Angola. On 19 May 1972, the Zambia Daily Mail reported the presence of South African troops based near Luso in Moxico District. In August, MPLA reported that two more companies of South African troops had arrived in southern Angola and had been placed under the Portuguese command.

59. In the same month, two deserters from the Portuguese armed forces reported that some 40 members of a United States military unit known as the "Green Berets" were stationed in Angola as advisers to the Portuguese armed forces. The report was denied by the United States Ambassador to Zambia.

Military expenditure

60. In 1972, estimated expenditures for military, paramilitary, security police and related activities in Angola amounted to a total 2,586.8 million escudos, i/ representing some 25 per cent of the total estimated ordinary budget. Of this total, 1,925.1 million escudos were for the regular armed forces with 1,518.9 million escudos for the army, 281.2 million escudos for the air force and 125.0 million escudos for the navy. Other paramilitary and security expenditures comprised 466.5 million escudos for PSP; 73.1 million escudos for "national security"; 70.4 million escudos for OPVDC; and 51.7 million escudos for the territorial naval services.

i/ 25.50 escudos equals approximately \$US 1.00.

4. CONDITIONS IN AREAS UNDER PORTUGUESE CONTROL

Political and administrative developments

61. Under the Portuguese Constitution as revised in 1971 and the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, Angola remains an "overseas province" of Portugal. j/ The Overseas Organic Law of 1972 grants the Territory the honorific designation of "the State of Angola". Although the Constitution provides for some measure of political, administrative and financial "autonomy", the exercise of this autonomy "shall not affect the unity of the nation, the solidarity among all portions of the Portuguese territory or the integrity of the sovereignty of the State" (article 136). k/

62. The present Portuguese system provides for the participation of the Territories in the direction of national policy through: (a) the election of the head of State every seven years; (b) representation in the National Assembly elections every four years; (c) representation in the Corporative Chamber; and (d) representation in the Overseas Council.

63. At the elections of the head of State in 1965, Angola was represented by 51 members in the electoral college of 616 members. There are no corresponding figures for the presidential election which took place in 1972.

64. Angola is represented by seven members in the Portuguese National Assembly, which has a total of 130 members. At the last elections, which took place in 1969, there was only one slate of candidates (representing the National Union), which was elected. Of the seven deputies elected, four were born in Angola and three in Portugal; only one was of African descent. At the 1965 elections to the National Assembly, 174,241 persons were registered as voters; this represented 3.5 per cent of the population of Angola at the time. No information is available on the electorate which participated in the 1969 elections. It is not known yet how many representatives from Angola will sit in the National Assembly, whose membership has been increased from 130 to 150. l/

65. Apart from the National Assembly, Angola is represented by four members in the 218-member Corporative Chamber, and three representatives in the Overseas Council, which is the highest consultative body on matters affecting the overseas Territories.

j/ For a detailed description of the constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law of 1963, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 17-73 and 112-116; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 18-82 and annex I.B, paras. 2-34.

k/ Portugal. Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Secretariat of State for Information and Tourism, 1971. English text.

l/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 36

66. The main outline of the structure of the territorial Government is set out in the Overseas Organic Law of 1972 (Law No. 5/72). m/ Details concerning the structure of the territorial Government are contained in the new political and administrative statute of the Territory which was published on 22 December 1972 (Decree 544/72).

67. Under these new provisions, Angola is designated an "autonomous region of the Portuguese Republic" having its own "juridical personality in public internal law". However, with the exception of the formal recognition given to the role of provincial secretaries as members of a cabinet, there are no major changes in the system of government.

68. The territorial Government comprises the Governor-General, the Government Council, the Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board. The Governor-General continues to be appointed by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Overseas Minister, and he remains the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory. He has the rank of Minister of State and may be called to sit in the Council of Ministers.

69. In his executive functions, the Governor-General is assisted by a Government Council composed of the provincial secretaries. The new statute does not fix the number of provincial secretariats. The Overseas Minister authorizes the number of provincial secretariats and appoints the secretaries on the proposal of the Governor-General. The Government Council meets at least once every fortnight, or as often as requested by the Governor-General. When matters concerning "defence or maintenance of public order" are discussed, the head of the armed forces in the Territory is required to attend the meetings. Previously, under legislation introduced in 1969, although the provincial secretaries were not organized into a formal body, they usually met once a month with the Governor-General (Decree 48,955, 7 April 1969). n/

70. Under the new statute, a 53-member Legislative Assembly has replaced the Legislative Council, which had a membership of 34. The Legislative Assembly is presided over by the Governor-General, but the Attorney-General and the Director of Public Finance are no longer ex officio members. Of the 53 elected members, 32 are elected by direct franchise with two for each district, and the remaining as follows:

(a) Six by the autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities) from among their own members;

m/ The draft of the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, which was adopted with only minor changes, is summarized in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 32-59.

n/ In February 1973 the Provincial Secretariats in Angola were reorganized as follows: General Secretariat, and Provincial Secretariats of: health and assistance, education, economy, agriculture, public works, finance and planning, labour and social security and communications. The text of the decree is not yet available, therefore it is not known if there have been any changes in the areas of responsibility of the new secretariats. The previous system was described in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.B, paras. 5-7.

(b) Six by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest;

(c) Three by corporative bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations of economic interests;

(d) Three by bodies representing workers' interests;

(e) Three by bodies representing moral and cultural interests, one of whom must always be a Catholic missionary.

71. The former Legislative Council included representatives of: (a) individual taxpayers registered as paying a minimum of 15,000 escudos in direct taxes; (b) employers; and (c) "religious" interests. In the new Legislative Assembly, the first of these categories has been dropped; the second has been replaced by representatives of business enterprises; and the third has been replaced by members representing "moral and cultural" interests.

72. Under the new provisions the 17-member Economic and Social Council has been replaced by an Advisory Board with similar powers and functions. The Advisory Board may have a total membership of 20 members as follows:

(a) Twelve elected members (eight in the former Economic and Social Council):

(i) Three by administrative bodies from among their own members (2);

(ii) Three by bodies representing moral and cultural interests, one of whom must be a representative of the University of Luanda (2);

(iii) Three by corporative bodies representing business enterprises and associations or activities of economic interest (2); and

(iv) Three by corporative bodies representing workers (2).

(b) Four ex officio members (five): the deputy of the Attorney-General; the head of the Civil Administration; the Treasurer; and the head of the Planning Department.

(c) Up to a maximum of four individuals "of known competence and prestige in their social milieu", to be appointed by the Governor-General.

73. The Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in the Territory, the Dean of the University of Luanda, and the heads of the Economic and Educational Departments, who were formerly ex officio members of the Economic and Social Council, are not included in the Advisory Board. As in the Legislative Assembly, groups representing employers and "religious" interests have been replaced by those representing business enterprises and "moral" interests.

74. The Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board are to begin functioning by May 1973, and elections to both are to be held before 31 March 1973. Voter registration was started in January 1973, following publication of the new political and administrative statute of the Territory.

75. The new statute does not introduce any changes in the system of local administration; o/ however, legislation is to be issued to regulate the powers and functions of local administrative authorities.

76. In October 1972, Mr. Fernando Augusto Santos e Castro was appointed Governor-General of Angola, replacing Colonel Rebocho Vaz who had served in that post since 1966. The new Governor-General is a civilian who had been Mayor of Lisbon since March 1970. In accordance with usual practice, the appointment of the Governor-General was followed by changes in the provincial secretaries. New appointments were made to the post of Secretary-General, who now has a military rank, and to those of the provincial secretaries of education, rural development, and economy. Mr. Walter Marques, former Secretary of Economy, was appointed to the Department of Planning and Finance.

77. In 1972, the Legislative Council held its two regular sessions, one in April-May and the other in October. From reports available, the Council appears to have met for fewer than 10 days. Three bills were scheduled for discussion during the first session: an authorization to produce a new type of gasoline; hunting regulations; and payment of back wages to rural workers. The first two bills were approved, but the third does not appear to have been discussed. At the second session of the Legislative Council, four members complained that the Council had not been consulted on the text of the new political and administrative statute of the Territory before it was considered by the Overseas Council. The presiding officer explained that, although the revised Overseas Organic Law provided that the Legislative Assembly should be consulted on any changes in the Territory's political and administrative statutes, until that body was established, the only body which had to be heard was the Economic and Social Council.

The colonial economy

General economic conditions

78. As previous reports have shown, a¹ major sectors of the economy of Angola are controlled from Portugal, including the granting of exclusive mining concessions, establishment of industries, foreign investments, conditions of loans and regulation of production, processing and exports. In recent years, the European settlers in Angola have played an increasingly important role in the economic life of the Territory, particularly through their investments and through their representatives in the Territory's Economic and Social Council. As a result, most of the information from Portuguese and international sources relates mainly to the European-dominated monetary sector in Angola. There are little or no reliable data on the economic conditions of the majority of the African population of whom, in 1969, some 4 million were estimated to have no participation in the European economy, and only some 600,000 were employed mainly

o/ For details on the system of local administration, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 78-82, and annex I.B, paras. 17-34.

as unskilled labour. Even fewer were employed in fishing, construction, plantation work, or as crane operators, truck drivers and at the lower levels of the civil service. p/

79. In Angola, the Portuguese policy of encouraging foreign investments has been accompanied by an intensified effort to change the rural structure in the more strategic areas by the resettlement of the African population and the introduction of new, non-African settlers. Apart from the settlement plans related to the Cunene River Basin scheme, the territorial Government has also drawn up regional plans for the districts of Bié and Huambo which are intended, on the one hand, to offer an improvement in the standard of living of the African population as a means of preventing the further advance of the liberation movements and, on the other hand, to expand non-African agricultural and other activities and to ensure occupation of the land and improved utilization of African labour to increase production.

80. Although agriculture still accounts for the largest share of the Territory's exports, minerals have begun to play an increasingly important role as a result of the expansion of mining activities with the help of foreign capital. However, the growing exports of minerals has had little effect on the standard of living of the African population or on the Territory's economy, except in earning foreign exchange for Portugal. q/

External trade and payments

81. In 1971, the Territory's exports dropped to 11,788.1 million escudos, while imports rose further to 12,127.7 million escudos, resulting in a trade deficit of 339.6 million escudos (see table 1 below). Compared with the previous year, the 1971 figures showed a drop in the value of exports, mainly because of the fall in the value of diamond exports, which was partly attributed to exhaustion of the mines owned by DIAMANG in Lunda District, source of the best gems. Iron ore exports decreased owing to reduced purchases by Japan. The drop in fish meal exports was partly compensated, however, by large exports of fish. Coffee, petroleum and cotton lint showed a gain over 1971:

<u>Exports</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u> (value in million escudos)	<u>Balance</u>
Coffee	3 880.0	4 020.0	+ 149.0
Diamonds	2 340.1	1 523.2	- 816.9
Iron ore	1 422.5	1 188.2	- 234.3
Maize	314.6	171.8	- 142.8
Fish meal	288.7	209.3	- 79.4
Petroleum	1 397.3	1 811.5	+ 414.2
Cotton lint	421.7	648.5	+ 226.8

p/ Hudson Institute, Angola, Some Views of Development Prospects
(Croton-on-Hudson, New York, 1969), vol. I, pp. 78-79.

q/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session,
Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1, chap. V, annex, appendix I, paras. 13-14.

Table 1

Angola: Balance of trade by principal areas, 1962-1971
(million escudos)

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Foreign countries other than Portugal	1 148.1	1 269.3	1 627.3	708.1	636.6	-735.1	-625.3	-199.7	890.5	-380.1
Portugal	-759.3	-767.0	-552.8	-638.3	-278.1	-518.1	-500.2	75.3	444.8	-170.1
Other Territories under Portuguese administration	-77.3	-106.9	-12.9	-28.9	-49.5	36.5	-112.2	73.5	20.9	-58.0
Others ^{a/}	<u>54.8</u>	<u>76.9</u>	<u>91.7</u>	<u>105.3</u>	<u>102.8</u>	<u>145.8</u>	<u>189.2</u>	<u>177.0</u>	<u>221.3</u>	<u>268.6</u>
Net trade balance	366.3	472.3	1 153.3	146.2	411.8	-1 070.9	-1 048.5	126.11	577.5	-339.6

Sources: 1962-1970: Banco de Angola, Annual Report and Economic and Financial Survey of Angola, 1965 and 1970.

1971: Angola, Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Estatística. Boletim Mensal de Estatística, No. 12, December 1971.

a/ Includes mainly supplies to navigation.

82. The rise in the value of imports was partly due to an increased demand for various durables and certain consumer goods, such as clothing, which rose by 62.7 million escudos, or some 5 per cent of the total increase over 1970.

83. In 1971, Portugal and the United States retained their places as the first and second most important beneficiaries of Angola's export trade. Portugal accounted for 31.6 per cent of the Territory's imports and 31.1 per cent of its exports, which resulted in a trade deficit for Angola with Portugal amounting to 170.0 million escudos. The United States accounted for 11.1 per cent of the Territory's imports and 20.2 per cent of its exports. r/

84. In 1971, the Territory's global balance of payments deficit reached a record high of 1,813 million escudos (see table 2 below). The Territory's balance of payments deficit with Portugal rose from 2,084 million escudos in 1968 to 2,604 million escudos in 1969 and dropped to 2,363 million escudos in 1970. Figures for 1971 are not yet available. Because of this situation, a crisis developed over payments due to Portugal, and towards the end of 1971, the Portuguese Government introduced legislation revising the system of exchange controls and reintroducing import controls in all the Territories.

85. It was reported that, as a result of these import controls, the value of imports dropped by 845.3 million escudos during the first half of 1972, compared with the same period of 1971. The value of imports for the calendar year 1972, which had been originally estimated at 13,800 million escudos, was revised to 12,300 million escudos, whereas exports were expected to reach 12,000 million escudos.

r/ For details of the trade pattern of the principal trading partners, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 A (A/8423/Rev.1/Add.1), annex, appendix II.A, paras. 98-111 and annex.

Table 2

Angola: Global balance of payments, 1968-1971
(million escudos)

<u>Items</u>	<u>Balance</u>			
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Current transactions	-1 337	-2 685	-1 360	-1 883
Goods	-1 004	-1 662	-1 075	-2 222
Current invisibles	- 333	-1 023	- 285	+ 339
Tourist trade	- 393	- 438	- 466	- 512
Transport	+ 89	+ 172	+ 592	+ 569
Insurance and reinsurance	- 26	- 26	- 4	- 3
Earnings from capital	- 532	- 600	- 628	- 198
State	+ 729	+ 447	+ 532	+ 279
Other services and payment of earnings	+ 162	- 177	+ 19	+ 514
Private transfers	- 362	- 401	- 330	- 310
Capital operations	<u>+ 484</u>	<u>+1 198</u>	<u>+ 601</u>	<u>+ 70</u>
Total	- 853	-1 487	- 759	-1 813

Sources: 1968-1970: Banco de Angola, Annual Report and Economic and Financial Survey of Angola, for respective years.

1971: Angola, Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Estatística, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, No. 12, December 1971.

Agriculture

86. Although minerals have begun to play an increasingly important role in the Territory's economy, agriculture still accounts for about 50 per cent of its visible exports, with coffee alone accounting for 35 per cent of the total value of exports in 1971. Production has been restricted, however, owing to the world surplus of coffee, and its importance in the Territory's economy is expected to decline further in the future.

(a) Coffee

87. As a result of excessive rain in all the coffee-growing areas and the effect of coffee rust in the Arabica coffee areas, production in 1970/71 dropped from 215,000 tons in the previous year to 204,000 tons, representing 6.3 per cent of the total world exportable production.

88. Production figures for 1971/72 are not yet available, but the value of coffee exports is reported to have reached an all-time high of 4,029.0 million escudos (see table 3 below). The United States and the Netherlands have traditionally been the largest importers of Angola coffee accounting, respectively, in an average year for some 40 per cent and 25 per cent of the Territory's coffee exports. In 1971, the United States accounted for 57 per cent of Angola's coffee exports. According to reports, the two largest United States importers of Angola coffee are J. Aron and Company and A. C. Israel and Company, whose biggest customers are the General Foods Corporation and the Nestle Company.

89. A consumer boycott of coffee from Angola was started in the Netherlands in February 1972. s/ A month later 12 Dutch coffee importers who supply over 90 per cent of the Dutch market were reported to have joined the boycott. By October, imports of Angola coffee into the Netherlands had dropped to 2.3 per cent of total Dutch coffee imports from an average of 30 per cent of the total in the period 1965-1970. It was also reported that coffee imports from Angola into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland rose to 3,124 tons in January-July 1972, compared with 295 tons during the same period of the previous year. In November, Mr. Andrade Pinto, Director of the Brazilian Coffee Institute, said that Brazil would soon have to import coffee from Angola as Brazil's production had fallen well below its own needs. According to Mr. Andrade Pinto, Angola robusta coffee would be processed into soluble coffee in Brazil for local consumption and export. In December, however, a spokesman for the Portuguese Inter-ministerial Coffee Committee said that there was no basis for recent press reports on the sale of Angola coffee to Brazil.

90. Portugal is a producer country member of the present International Coffee Agreement which will expire in 1973. Negotiations are to take place during the year for the drafting of a new agreement covering the next five years. Mr. Artur Medina, Portugal's permanent representative in the International Coffee Organization (ICO), said that Portugal was interested in the continuity of the agreement which ensured Portugal better prices than it could obtain in an open market. In October, it was reported that the International Coffee Organization Diversification Committee would lend \$US 2.6 million to the Portuguese Government

s/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, appendix I, para. 8.

for the construction of warehouses in Angola. In November, after consultations held during his visit to Angola, Mr. Andrade Pinto announced that Brazil and Portugal would adopt a common position at the forthcoming meetings concerning a new international coffee agreement. It will be recalled that Mr. H. A. Hudes of the Angola Comité in a petition addressed to the Special Committee in 1972 (A/AC.109/PET.1195/Add.2), suggested that support from the Special Committee for the expulsion of Portugal from ICO could be very influential in connexion with the renegotiation of the International Coffee Agreement in 1973.

Table 3

Angola: Coffee exports and main destinations
(thousand tons and million escudos)

<u>Exports</u>			<u>Main destinations</u> (value)					
<u>Year</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Portugal</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>Netherlands</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Spain</u>	<u>South Africa</u>
1965	159.2	2 687.1	179.3	1 288.2	607.2	30.7	18.9	11.5
1966	156.4	3 058.4	200.3	1 489.4	724.6	102.5	58.4	78.2
1967	196.5	3 546.7	208.1	1 792.1	600.6	112.3	58.8	72.1
1968	188.6	3 530.4	220.8	1 806.9	706.5	165.5	120.7	110.3
1969	182.8	3 234.4	255.9	1 397.8	779.1	137.3	185.8	98.6
1970	180.5	3 880.0	245.4	1 809.8	886.5	249.5	214.1	81.9
1971	181.0	4 029.0	263.3	2 308.5	623.7	241.3	226.7	115.7

Source: 1965-1969: Angola, Comércio Externo, vol. II, for respective years.
1970-1971: Angola, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, December 1970 and December 1971.

(b) Cotton

91. As shown in table 4 below there has been a steady increase in the output of seed cotton since 1966. In the period 1965-1970, seed cotton production rose by 300 per cent from 20,360 to 81,555 tons. As explained below, this increase was due mainly to the expansion of European mechanized production; African production in 1969/70 even decreased in Malanje, the largest cotton-growing district.

Table 4

Angola: Cotton production by region, 1965-1970
(tons)

<u>District</u>	<u>1965/66</u>	<u>1966/67</u>	<u>1967/68</u>	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1969/70</u>
Zaire	36	-	-	-	-
Malanje	11 356	16 943	17 861	28 624	35 225
Benguela	-	316	1 180	2 440	3 218
Luanda	2 155	2 600	2 570	3 903	4 761
Cuanza-North	216	266	158	310	634
Cuanza-South	6 570	6 977	17 051	19 303	31 853
Lunda	11	7	1	4	-
Huíla	16	258	1 740	5 405	5 811
Moçâmedes	-	2	-	68	53
Total	20 360	27 369	40 561	60 057	81 555

Source: Banco de Angola, Annual Report and Economic and Financial Survey of Angola, 1970.

92. In the 1970/71 season, cotton output was expected to reach 90,000 tons. A lower rate of growth was expected, compared with previous years, owing to the effects of cotton parasites on crops in the coastal areas.

93. In 1970, there were 81,353 hectares under cotton cultivation spread over eight districts. The two most important cotton-growing areas are Malanje and Cuanza-South, where cotton production has been expanding in recent years. In 1970 there were 33,801 hectares under cotton cultivation in Malanje District, comprising 25,620 hectares occupied by 286 European farms and 8,181 hectares under cultivation by 16,900 African growers. European growers produced 30,334 tons and Africans 4,948 tons of seed cotton. Compared with the previous year, the number of African growers decreased by 7,612, the area under their cultivation decreased by 6,029 hectares and their output dropped by 244 tons.

94. The reduction in African grown cotton appears to be the result of a Government policy to mechanize cotton cultivation and to convert land under cotton cultivation, now held by Africans on a communal basis, into individually owned farms. As part of this policy, the Angola Cotton Institute has established "cotton-blocks" cultivated by Africans resettled under the rural regrouping plan. ^{t/} By 1971/72, it was expected that 4,000 hectares would have been divided into "cotton-blocks" in Malanje District, with one hectare to each cotton grower. The Angola Cotton

^{t/} Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.B, para. 112.

Institute is reported to have spent some 10 million escudos on the construction of storage facilities and ginneries and on technical assistance to cotton growers in Malanje District and the northern coastal area.

95. With a view to increasing cotton-lint exports from Angola to foreign countries, the Portuguese Government is gradually changing its cotton classification to make it comparable to international standards. In 1971, for the first time, Angola was authorized to export up to 20 per cent of its production of cotton-lint to foreign destinations. Its exports during the year were valued at 649 million escudos, compared with 422 million escudos in 1970. Heretofore, Angola's cotton-lint exports had been limited to Portugal. In recent years, cotton has replaced sisal as the second export crop after coffee.

96. In 1972, the Portuguese Government abolished all restrictions in the overseas Territories on cotton-lint exports, which will now be traded according to international practice (Decree Law 189/72, 6 June 1972).

(c) Sisal

97. In 1970, Angola produced 67,834 tons of sisal and exported 65,863 tons, valued at 237.6 million escudos. The amount exported exceeded the Territory's quota of 57,800 under the Rome Hard Fibre Agreement, because exports to Portugal are not subject to the Agreement. In 1971, the value of sisal exports was only 221 million escudos. Many sisal growers in Angola consider the Territory's quota inadequate. According to the President of the Benguela Commercial Association, the difficulties of the Angola sisal growers have been aggravated by the fact that sisal manufacturing industries in Portugal prefer to import sisal from Brazil because the duty is less than that on sisal from Angola. In 1971, Portuguese industrialists requested the Overseas Minister to make it compulsory for Angola to import sisal products from Portugal up to at least 50 per cent of the value of Angola's sisal exports to Portugal. They threatened to boycott sisal from Angola and purchase it only from Brazil if their request were not granted.

98. Government plans to assist sisal growers in the Territory include diversification out of sisal and the expansion of the sisal manufacturing industry. In 1971, tobacco and bananas were suggested as alternative crops in Benguela District, the origin of 90 per cent of Angola's sisal output (158 of the 212 sisal plantations are located in Benguela). The President of the Benguela Commercial Association noted, however, that Portugal also levied very high duties on tobacco imported from Angola, and that the Ministry of Finance had already opposed a suggestion to remove those duties.

(d) Maize

99. Maize is the most important African food crop in Angola, but there is no information on actual yield. The only figures available are those for the excess maize purchased by the Grémio dos Comerciantes e Exportadores de Milho (Maize Traders and Exporters Grémio). u/ Although the introduction of hybrid maize in 1970

u/ For details on this organization, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, appendix II, paras. 164-172.

had been expected to increase production, v/ the grémio purchases declined in 1970 and 1971 (see table 5 below). This has been attributed to low prices paid by the Government, exhaustion of land under cultivation and emigration of African growers to urban areas. In 1972, more than half of the maize production in Huambo was expected to be lost as a result of a drought on the central plateau.

100. The decline of maize output is expected to create some difficulties in the Territory not only because it is the main staple of the African diet but also because its export helps the Territory's balance of payments. The value of maize exports has fluctuated, from 305.1 million escudos in 1969 to 314.6 million escudos in 1970 and 172.0 million escudos in 1971.

Table 5

Angola: Maize purchased by the grémio, 1969-1971
(metric tons)

<u>Region</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Luanda-Malanje	1 821	2 480	1 237
Benguela-Lobito	12 396	8 780	180
Huíla-Moçâmedes	83 231	79 300	64 407
Huambo-Bié	98 262	66 265	27 346
Total	195 710	156 825	93 170

Source: 1969-1970: Banco de Angola, Annual Report and Economic and Financial Survey of Angola, 1970.

1971: O Comércio, Luanda, 4 October 1971.

(e) Sugar

101. Sugar, once among the Territory's major exports, has since lost its importance, and in 1971 accounted for less than 0.3 per cent of total exports by value. In 1971, 76,073 tons of sugar were produced although only 8,061 tons, valued at 32.9 million escudos, were exported, compared with 36,609 tons in 1961, 24,700 tons in 1965 and 11,357 tons in 1970.

(f) Tobacco

102. Tobacco production, which has for many years been encouraged by the Government as a new cash crop, received new impetus in 1967 when measures were introduced to assist tobacco growers (Diploma Legislativo 3711, 25 February). At the time, tobacco was grown by more than 12,000 African growers, concentrated in the Malanje area, and by more than 400 European growers, mainly in Huíla, but also in the Moçâmedes and Benguela districts.

v/ Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.B, para. 85.

103. Nevertheless, despite Government efforts to expand production, especially of the Virginia type grown mostly by Europeans, total tobacco output declined after reaching a peak of 7,000 tons in 1967, dropping to 4,100 tons in 1969 and to 3,680 tons in 1970, partly because of adverse weather conditions.

104. Most of the decline in production has occurred in the districts of Huíla, Benguela, and Moçâmedes, where seed selection, cultivation techniques and handling are being improved. According to the report of the Bank of Angola for 1970, "decadence" had been observed both in organized planting and in traditional style tobacco growing. The Agricultural Department was reported to be providing assistance to improve production. As part of a new scheme, 326 "traditional style farmers" (African) were being organized on a mechanized plantation of 326 hectares. By January 1972, this scheme had been extended to a total of 400 families. In August, the Portuguese Government set up a Comissão para o Fomento e Assistência à Cultura do Tabaco (Committee for Development of and Assistance to Tobacco Cultivation). With the help of this body, the Government hopes to increase production by 40 per cent within the next six years.

105. There are three tobacco manufacturing companies in Angola which make direct purchases from the growers. In an average year about 60 per cent of the total production is exported to Portugal and part of the remaining output is exported to other overseas Territories and to the Canary Islands.

g) Timber

106. As reported previously, timber is abundant in Angola, especially in the Lunda and Moxico districts. Timber exports, which almost doubled in the period 1962 to 1966, rising to 102,036 tons, reached a peak in 1969 when 152,071 tons were exported. In 1970, exports dropped to 134,733 tons, valued at 222.8 million escudos, and in 1971 declined further to 115,919 tons, valued at 189.3 million escudos.

(.) Rural markets

107. Rural markets were first created in 1963 in Angola to regulate trading in African-grown crops and livestock. w/ Detailed regulations were introduced in 1965 which, with some amendments, remained in force until they were further revised in 1971.

108. Under the new legislation (Diploma Legislativo 4083, 15 February 1971) livestock transactions are no longer made at the rural markets. An important innovation is the creation of the Fundo de Comercialização (Trading Fund) which may be used to purchase African-grown products considered of major economic importance to the region but for which there are no buyers. Revenues from taxes levied on transactions at rural markets will be equally divided between expenditures for the upkeep and operation of the rural markets and the financing of rural regrouping projects.

109. As shown in table 6 below, purchases at rural markets in 1970 totalled 588.2 million escudos, compared with 516.5 million escudos in 1969. As in previous years, the main product sold at the rural markets was coffee.

w/ Ibid., Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II (A/6700/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 156-159.

Table 6

Angola: Purchases at rural markets, 1969-1970
(million escudos)

	<u>1969</u>		<u>1970</u>	
	<u>Tons</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>Value</u>
Coffee	75 362	333.7	76 448	394.3
Seed cotton	15 931	76.3	19 364	97.1
Rice	10 779	23.1	15 694	33.1
Ground-nuts	6 774	19.6	7 202	21.9
Cattle	15 931	36.2	3 648	15.5
Others	2 887	27.6	9 732	26.3
Total	<u>127 664</u>	<u>516.5</u>	<u>132 088</u>	<u>588.2</u>

Source: Banco de Angola, Boletim Trimestral (No. 255), July-September 1971.

Transport and communications

(a) Roads

110. In 1971, Angola had a total of 72,350 kilometres of roads, including 18,000 kilometres of "national" roads, 27,850 kilometres of district roads and 26,500 kilometres of local roads. "National" roads come under the responsibility of the Junta Autónoma de Estradas de Angola (Angola Autonomous Roads Board), created in 1964; district roads come under the responsibility of district governments; and local roads, which are unpassable part of the year, are the responsibility of the municipal administrations. At December 1970, 5,317 kilometres of "national" roads were paved, compared with 448 kilometres in 1962.

111. The colonial Government plans to pave all "national" roads. Although in the past this has been done at an average rate of 600 kilometres per year, which would take some 20 years to complete the task, a new programme has been established to give priority to road building, partly, in connexion with "national defence". This programme, which covers the period 1971-1973, envisages an expenditure of some 1,600 million escudos to add 3,100 kilometres of paved roads to the existing network.

112. As funds allocated under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, would not be enough to finance this programme, x/ the colonial Government has

x/ The Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, envisaged an investment of 3,626.1 million escudos in transport and communications over the six-year period, at an average of 604.3 million escudos per year (ibid., Twenty-Third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex II, para. 148). For the programmed and actual expenditures in the period 1968-1971, see table 9 below.

increased the tax levied on gas oil and authorized loans totalling 250 million escudos from the Angola Credit Institute to the Roads Board. For 1972, the Roads Board had a programme involving expenditure of 700 million escudos of which 133 million escudos were for road construction and 175 million escudos for road maintenance and improvement.

(b) Ports and railways

113. The programme of works of the Serviços de Portos, Caminhos de Ferro e Transportes for 1972 included the expansion of the ports at Luanda, Lobito and Cabinda, and the construction of a variant route of the state-owned Moçâmedes Railway which will facilitate the transport of iron ore from the Cassinga mines to the mineral port at Moçâmedes. y/ The Department purchased an IBM-370/135 computer which was reported to be in operation by the second half of 1972.

114. The Benguela Railway, in which Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd. holds 90 per cent of the share capital and all the debenture capital, reported revenues amounting to 802 million escudos in 1970, an all-time high. In December 1971, Benguela Railway reported that work was under way on the new line at Cubal which will shorten the distance between Cubal and Lobito by 35 kilometres and will ease traffic on the coastal part of the railway. In 1972, the Export-Import Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank of the United States each granted a loan of \$US 1.6 million to the Benguela Railway to cover 90 per cent of the purchase of 10 locomotives and spare parts from the General Electric Company, also of the United States.

(c) Air services

115. Starting in November 1971, the Portuguese airline, Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP), scheduled 15 weekly flights between Lisbon and Luanda. In 1971, TAP granted an 80-million escudo loan to the colonial Government for expansion of the Territory's airports under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973. The Craveiro Lopes International Airport at Luanda is to be expanded to handle passengers of two Boeing-747 aircraft simultaneously. Other airports which are to be expanded are those of Cabinda, Carmona, Malanje, Silva Porto, Nova Lisboa, Pereira de Eça and Serpa Pinto.

116. It was reported early in 1972 that studies were under way for the creation of a new domestic airline in Angola which would take over the state-owned Divisão de Exploração de Transportes Aéreos de Angola (DTA). The colonial Government would hold 51 per cent of the share capital of the new company, TAP 30 per cent and the existing air taxi companies the remaining 19 per cent. The colonial Government would receive its shares and possibly a cash sum for the assessed value of DTA. TAP was also reported to hold an interest in a luxury hotel under construction in Luanda.

y/ As reported previously, various improvements have been added to the Moçâmedes Railway relating to the exploitation of the Cassinga mines. See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 68 (A/7320/Add.1), annex, appendix III, paras. 35-38; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 A (A/7623/Rev.1/Add.1), annex, appendix II, para. 38; ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, appendix IV, paras. 3-61.

117. According to a report of the Angola Comité of the Netherlands, in 1972, the Dutch Fokker VFW Company supplied two F-27 Friendship aircraft to Portugal for use in Angola. The two aircraft will be flown by DTA. The 1972 Yearbook on World Armaments, published by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) reported that DTA aircraft were being used by the Portuguese Government for military transport.

(d) Telecommunications

118. Between 1972 and 1974, the colonial Government is reportedly planning to install 37,000 new telephone stations. By 1973, 10,000 new lines are expected to be in operation. The contractors for this expansion are the Portuguese companies, Standard Eléctrica and Piesley Automática Eléctrica Portuguesa. Satellite communications between Angola and Portugal are expected to start by the end of 1973, on completion of a satellite station to be built by the Companhia Portuguesa Rádio Marconi in the Bengo Valley.

119. In 1971, the privately owned Rádio Club do Lobito applied for the installation of the Territory's first television station to broadcast to the Benguela-Lobito area. In July 1971, a new government-owned radio station known as "Voz de Cabinda" started broadcasting in Cabinda District. Early in 1972, it was reported that an official radio station would soon be installed at Pereira de Eça, capital of Cunene District.

Public finance

120. In 1970, total actual revenue, at 11,090.9 million escudos, was 33 per cent higher than the original budgetary estimates (see table 7 below). Most of the increase came from industries under special régimes, which yielded 272.7 million escudos above the estimates, and from indirect taxes, including consumer taxes on sugar and petroleum products. Revenue from indirect taxes exceeded estimates by 263.8 million escudos, with customs duties and the stamp tax accounting for most of the increase.

121. Total expenditure in 1970, at 10,290.0 million escudos, was 23 per cent higher than the original budgetary estimates. Ordinary expenditure exceeded estimates by 1,093.9 million escudos and extraordinary expenditure by 806.5 million escudos. Of the total extraordinary expenditure, 1,346.4 million escudos were spent on the implementation of the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973 (see below). Ordinary and extraordinary expenditures on national defence amounted to 1,211.9 million escudos.

122. On 31 December 1970, the public debt of Angola amounted to 7,319.8 million escudos, which was 797.6 million escudos higher than in the previous year. Most of the increase was due to loans contracted in Angolan escudos, which included 250 million escudos from the Bank of Angola, 500 million escudos from overseas development bonds and 200 million escudos from overseas development promissory notes. The increase in public debt was partly offset by repayments made during the year on previous loans. Budgetary estimates for 1972 are shown in table 7 below.

Table 7

Angola: Public finance, 1969-1972

A. Revenue
(million escudos)

	Actual		Estimates			
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1971	1972
Ordinary revenue	7 388.5	8 766.8	5 994.2	6 836.0	8 690.9	10 232.7
Direct taxes	927.8	1 120.7	831.0	970.0	1 155.0	1 283.5
Indirect taxes	1 619.2	1 885.4	1 411.6	1 621.6	1 833.0	2 163.0
Special régime industries	1 048.0	1 197.3	954.6	732.2	1 140.2	1 766.4
Income from services	385.8	483.0	322.7	368.8	538.0	641.7
Income from state and private industries	317.1	542.3	262.9	342.9	401.1	371.9
Income from shares	60.4	62.1	58.7	75.1	84.8	74.7
Refunds	152.1	162.5	102.8	101.4	148.3	175.2
Consigned receipts	2 878.1	3 313.5	2 049.9	2 624.0	3 390.5	3 756.3
Extraordinary revenue	1 998.6	2 324.1	1 844.9	1 553.6	1 907.4	2 150.0
Total	9 387.1	11 090.9	7 839.1	8 389.6	10 598.3	12 382.7

Table 7 (continued)

B. Expenditure

	Actual		Estimates		
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1971
Ordinary expenditure	6 941.2	7 929.9	5 994.2	6 836.0	8 690.9
Public debt	389.1	395.3	469.0	368.3	546.3
Government	21.8	28.6	21.6	26.7	38.8
Pensions	64.0	69.3	75.0	80.0	110.0
General administration	1 596.9	2 036.4	1 554.9	1 847.0	2 363.2
Treasury	132.9	166.9	157.6	167.6	215.3
Justice	89.0	109.9	103.8	106.1	145.0
Development services	2 580.2	2 952.2	1 962.2	2 423.5	3 097.6
"National" defence - armed forces	846.6	861.9	627.5	686.5	796.2
Navy Department	33.0	36.9	31.0	32.4	50.1
General expenditure	1 176.9	1 258.6	983.4	1 087.7	1 317.4
Other	10.8	13.8	8.2	10.2	11.0
Extraordinary expenditure	2 025.9	2 360.1	1 844.9	1 553.6	1 907.4
Development plan	1 201.8	1 346.4	1 327.9	895.0	1 174.0
Other	824.0	1 013.7	517.0	658.6	733.4
Total	8 967.1	10 290.0	7 839.1	8 389.6	10 598.3
					12 382.7

Sources: 1969-1972 estimates:

Banco de Angola, Annual Report and Economic and Financial Survey of Angola, 1969; Angola; Diploma Legislativo 4,078, 5 February 1971; Portaria 17,593, 20 March 1971; Diploma Legislativo 21/72, 19 February 1972.

1969-1970 actual revenue and expenditure: Portugal, Diário das Sessões, Supplement No. 164, 8 March 1962.

Development financing

123. As reported previously, the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, envisages a target expenditure of 25,383.5 million escudos in Angola. Spread over six years, this would require an average annual rate of expenditure of 4,230.5 million escudos. z/ In the period 1968-1970, the total actual investment under the Third National Development Plan amounted to 3,899.7 million escudos, which was only 15 per cent of the total envisaged for the six-year period.

124. Table 8 below shows that actual expenditures in 1968, 1969 and 1970 corresponded respectively to 25, 18 and 20 per cent of the authorized programmes for those years. Only expenditures in education and research and transport and communications have been close to the original targets.

125. In 1971, the colonial Government included under the extraordinary budget estimates an allocation of 1,174.0 million escudos for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan. This allocation corresponded to some 20 per cent of the authorized programme for 1971 (see table 8 below). The estimated expenditure for 1971 was to be financed as follows: loan from the Bank of Angola, 300 million escudos; loan from Portugal, 155 million escudos; overseas development promissory notes, 120 million escudos; development bonds, 100 million escudos; sobrevalorização tax, aa/ 110 million escudos; revenue from Development Fund, 65 million escudos; balance brought forward from previous periods, 316.5 million escudos; revenue from money coining, 7.5 million escudos.

Education

General

126. In recent years, official Portuguese sources of information have alleged that the growing school enrolment in the Territory is evidence of social progress and of the eventual prospects of greater African participation in political and economic activities. While available information shows that both public expenditure on education and school enrolment are increasing each year, any real progress can only be assessed on the basis of detailed school statistics which are not available beyond 1969/70. The need for such statistics is particularly important because under the Portuguese system there are two types of primary schools in Angola. One type, called the "school post", which is found mainly in the rural areas, provides only the three first classes of primary school as well as pre-primary class intended to teach African children Portuguese customs and language. The other type, called primary school, provides all four primary classes and is generally located in urban areas. For most African children, however, primary education ends with the third class or even before, but the lowest entry grade into government services requires at least four years of primary education.

z/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.B, para. 93.

aa/ The sobrevalorização is an additional tax on coffee exports which is assessed on the difference between the current export price and that prevailing in 1949.

Table 8

Angola: Implementation of the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973
(million escudos)

	Actual expenditure			Programmed expenditure			
	<u>1968</u> (revised)	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1968</u> (revised)	<u>1969</u> (revised)	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Agriculture, poultry and livestock	131.1	91.2	81.2	200.8	262.3	1 218.3	373.9
Fisheries	33.1	12.3	36.8	140.7	244.6	188.2	146.6
Rural improvement	22.1	66.3	67.2	42.0	109.2	169.6	166.7
Electric power	39.0	71.6	100.0	183.0	241.3	317.2	336.3
Marketing	6.1	9.0	3.7	2.5	11.8	53.8	31.4
Industry							
Mining	34.9	40.1	104.5	2 727.0	3 892.0	2 014.9	2 064.3
Processing industries	105.0	3.9	—	792.2	757.6	1 087.9	1 128.6
Transport and communications	741.1	593.7	615.5	823.0	622.9	741.8	950.3
Tourism	4.3	4.3	5.8	28.4	36.2	209.6	197.0
Housing and urban improvement	19.8	15.7	32.3	197.8	132.5	269.7	299.6
Social improvement							
Education and research	146.5	216.5	207.6	179.7	243.3	237.3	283.4
Health and welfare	68.5	87.2	89.8	130.6	111.7	175.4	160.6
Total	1 351.5	1 201.8	1 346.4	5 447.7	6 665.4	6 683.7	6 138.7

Sources: Actual expenditure: 1968: Banco de Angola, Relatório e Contas, Exercício de 1968; 1969 and 1970: Portugal, Presidência do Conselho, III Plano de Fomento, Relatório de Execução, for respective years. Programmed expenditure: Portugal, Presidência do Conselho, III Plano de Fomento, programa de Execução, for respective years.

127. Furthermore, the two types of primary schools have different standards of teaching. Most of the school posts are taught by specially trained teachers, called monitores, who themselves have completed only four years of primary education and have passed only a two-month teacher-training course before they begin to teach a one-month training course in the following year. The primary schools are taught by teachers who have completed five years of secondary education and a two-year teacher-training course. For all these reasons, figures given below should not be taken solely at face value.

128. In 1970/71, the Missão de Inquérito Agrícola de Angola carried out an inquiry on "rural acculturation". Data was collected in 153 aldeias (villages) in farming areas and in 632 settlement nuclei in areas where stock-raising is of primary importance. The inquiry covered some 50 per cent of the Territory's total area. Most of the northern and eastern regions were not covered owing to "circumstances of force majeure", which has been interpreted to mean the activities of liberation movements in those regions. Some of the results already made available showed that one third of the "heads of families" in the farming villages had no knowledge of the Portuguese language, and another third had "very little knowledge". About 8.5 per cent of the "heads of families" could "more or less" read some language (not necessarily Portuguese), while only 4.3 per cent could read "well". Ninety per cent of "other adults" in the farming villages had no knowledge of the Portuguese language and 4 per cent had "little". Among "other adults" more than 90 per cent could not read in any language. The above data indicate that the proclaimed educational policies of the Portuguese authorities to benefit the African population may be seriously questioned with respect to their goals, methods and results.

School statistics

129. According to the latest available school statistics, during the school year 1969/70 there were 4,551 schools in Angola, 13,014 teachers and 452,815 students (see table 9 below).

130. There are no statistics by race for the Territory. According to information on Angola published by the Overseas Companies of Portugal, bb/ Africans make up between 25 and 30 per cent of the university students, about 40 per cent of the secondary school students and over 85 per cent of primary school students.

131. According to another report, although some 25 per cent of the students in the lower classes of secondary school are Africans, the number of African pupils drops to less than 10 per cent in the higher classes.

Expenditure

132. Between 1969 and 1970, actual expenditure on education from the territorial budget rose from 648.5 million to 881.7 million escudos. As table 10 shows, expenditure for university education has risen more sharply than that for general education services.

bb/ Overseas Companies of Portugal, Fact Sheet on Portugal, Mainland and Overseas Education, Washington, D.C., 1971.

Angola: School statistics, 1967-1970

Source: Angola, Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística, Estatística da Educação, ano lectivo de 1967/68, Luanda, 1968, p. 19; *ibid.*, ano lectivo de 1968/69, Luanda, 1969, p. 21; *ibid.*, ano lectivo 1969/70, Luanda, 1970, p. 19.

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133. In reply to growing criticism in the United States against its mining activities in Angola, the Gulf Oil Company issued a statement showing, among other things, that the 1971 territorial budget provided a larger allocation for education (\$US 31.6 million) than for military activities (\$US 27.8 million). Although these figures were apparently taken from official sources, by the end of the year, allocations for military expenditure had risen to \$US 68.5 million and were thus more than double that spent on education. cc/ However, as table 10 shows, of the 962.1 million escudos allocated for education, some 25 per cent was for the university level in which the enrolment is at least 75 per cent non-African, and another 7 per cent was for the Portuguese youth movement and not education as such.

134. Under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, a total of 1,390.9 million escudos was to be spent on improving educational services, with an average annual expenditure of 231.8 million escudos. In 1970, extraordinary expenditure for education under the Development Plan amounted to only 80.1 million escudos. This included 9 million escudos for primary schools, 25 million escudos for schools offering the preparatory cycle of secondary education, 8.5 million escudos for academic secondary schools and 10.5 million escudos for commercial and industrial schools.

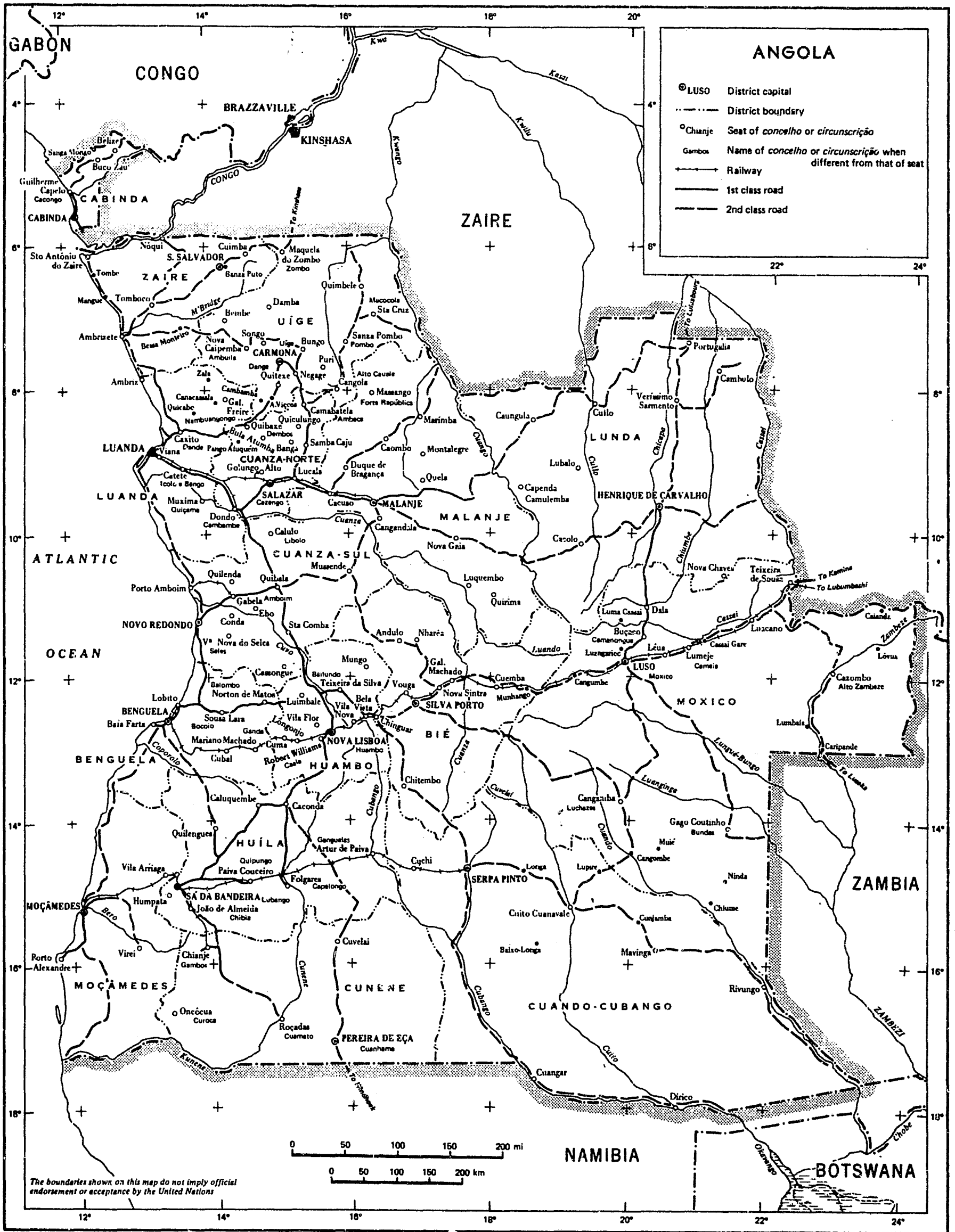
Table 10

Angola: Education, budgetary estimates and actual expenditure, 1969-1972

	<u>Actual expenditure</u>		<u>Budgetary estimates</u>			
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Educational Department	447.9	558.0	401.7	457.4	611.8	842.3
University	126.5	182.8	97.2	145.5	235.5	286.1
Mocidade Portuguesa	28.8	48.1	28.8	48.2	56.8	57.0
Assistance to Roman Catholic missions	<u>45.3</u>	<u>52.8</u>	<u>45.6</u>	<u>52.6</u>	<u>58.0</u>	<u>58.0</u>
Total:	648.5	881.7	573.3	703.7	962.1	1,243.4

Sources: Angola, Boletim Oficial, budgetary estimates and accounts for respective years.

cc/ Escudos converted into United States dollars at the rate of 28 escudos per \$US 1.00.



ANGOLA

⊙ LUSO

District capital

District boundary

○ Chianje

Seat of *concelho* or *circunscrição*

Gambos

Name of *concelho* or *circunscrição* when different from that of seat

—+—

Railway

—

1st class road

- - -

2nd class road

The boundaries shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

C. MOZAMBIQUE*

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* Previously issued under symbol A/AC.109/L.843 and Add.1.

1. GENERAL

1. The Territory of Mozambique, comprising an area of 783,030 square kilometres, lies south of the Equator between latitude 10°30' and 27°. It is bound on the north by the United Republic of Tanzania, on the west by Lake Nyasa, Malawi, Zambia and Southern Rhodesia, on the south by Swaziland and South Africa and on the east by the Indian Ocean.

2. According to provisional 1970 census figures, the total resident population of the Territory was 8,233,834, compared with 6,603,653 in 1960. The non-African population was reported at 220,000. Most of the European population is concentrated in the port cities along the coast, the most important of which are Lourenço Marques, Beira, Inhambane and Porto Amélia. It is estimated that about half of all the European resident population lives in Lourenço Marques. In contrast, the great majority of the Africans live in the rural areas. (The total population by district is shown in table 1.) Apart from the resident population in Mozambique, in 1972 there were 61,000 inhabitants of the Territory living in adjacent countries.

3. Since 1964, the liberation movements have been engaged in an armed struggle to free the Territory from Portuguese colonial rule. In 1972, one quarter of the area of the Territory with over 1 million inhabitants had been declared liberated.

Table 1

Mozambique: Distribution of population by district

<u>District</u>	<u>Area (square kilometres)</u>	<u>1960 Census</u>	<u>1970 Provisional Census</u>	<u>Change over 10-year period</u>	<u>1960 population density</u>	<u>1970 population density</u>
Lourenço Marques	16 380	436 916	799 358	+ 362 442	26.7	48.8
Gaza	82 937	681 753	753 347	+ 71 594	8.2	9.1
Inhambane	68 470	583 059	746 711	+ 163 652	8.5	10.9
Manica e Sofala ^{a/}	129 854	779 767	1 085 209	+ 305 442	6.0	8.4
Tete	100 714	471 352	492 233	+ 20 881	4.7	4.9
Zambézia	102 880	1 368 731	1 756 864	+ 388 133	13.3	17.1
Moçambique	78 265	1 452 395	1 735 206	+ 282 811	18.6	22.2
Cabo Delgado	78 374	548 597	567 478	+ 18 881	7.0	7.2
Niassa	120 135	281 083	297 428	+ 16 345	2.3	2.5
Total	778 009 ^{b/}	6 603 653	8 233 834	+1 630 181	8.5	10.6

Sources: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, 1970, vol. II;
Anuário da Província de Mozambique, 1967-1968.

a/ Now divided into the districts of Beira and Vila Pery.

b/ The United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1970, lists the total area of the Territory as 783,030 square kilometres.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Political developments

4. The principal liberation movement in the Territory is the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO). In addition there are three other movements: the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO); the Movimento de Libertação de Moçambique (MOLIMO); and the Frente Unida de Moçambique (FUMO).

FRELIMO

5. FRELIMO was formed in 1962 by the merger of the three movements: the União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (UDENAMO), the Mozambique African Nationalist Union (MANU) and União Africana de Moçambique Independente (UNAMI). At the FRELIMO congress that year, a programme was adopted with a view to strengthening national unity through consolidation and mobilization, preparation for war, provisions for education and external relations.

6. At its second party congress in July 1968 which, according to reports, was held inside Mozambique, structural changes were made in the party's organization to give wider representation to members responsible at the lower levels.

7. Estimates of the strength of FRELIMO forces inside Mozambique, which numbered 200 in 1964, ranged from 6,000 to 20,000 men in 1971.

8. The supreme organ of FRELIMO is the Party Congress, comprising elected representatives of the people, which meets every four years. A Central Committee of 40 members, elected by the Congress, exercises legislative functions. This Committee meets every six months. An Executive Committee, appointed by the Central Committee, is composed mainly of secretaries of the administrative departments. This Committee meets every two months or within two weeks of a call for its convocation. The Executive Committee, in turn, appoints a Politico-Military Committee, responsible for decision-making on a daily basis.

9. The organizational capabilities of FRELIMO and its increasing claims to legitimacy were further enhanced in 1971 when the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) recognized Mozambique as an associate member, represented at meetings of the Commission by delegates from FRELIMO.

COREMO

10. COREMO was organized in 1965. In 1972, COREMO reported that it was active throughout the districts of Tete, Manica e Sofala and Zambézia. COREMO is reported to have some 5,000 followers inside Mozambique.

11. COREMO's highest body is the Popular Council, elected by the People's Congress. An Executive Committee is the decision-making body on the political level.

12. At a conference held in August 1971, COREMO decided to enlarge the Popular Council by appointment and election and to create provincial representation. It also decided to fill by appointment any vacant places in the Executive Committee until the next People's Congress, and to appoint a study commission to revise the constitution and programme of action of the party.

13. COREMO reports that in the past year it has given priority to political mobilization of the masses and to the consolidation of its position among the people in the countryside as well as gradually extending work to urban areas.

MOLIMO

14. MOLIMO was organized in 1971 with headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. MOLIMO has a National Executive Body composed of nine members and a chairman. Each of the nine districts of Mozambique has a district committee, with members appointed by the Executive Body.

15. There are no reports of activity by MOLIMO inside Mozambique.

16. Early in 1972 it was reported that MOLIMO and FUMO had merged with COREMO. There is no information available on the composition and activities of FUMO.

Attitude towards Portugal

17. FRELIMO has always claimed that it was willing to open negotiations with Portugal for the transfer of power as soon as Portugal recognized the right of the people of Mozambique to self-determination and independence. This position was restated by Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, both in the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly and in the Security Council in 1972.

18. COREMO's position appears to be similar to that of FRELIMO. In April 1972, Mr. Paulo Gumane, President of COREMO, told the Special Committee that the people of Mozambique "wanted and demanded from the Portuguese Government full rights of self-determination and independence".

19. MOLIMO has asked for peaceful negotiations with Portugal for the granting of independence to Mozambique. This is stated in its constitution and has been reiterated on various occasions by its President, Mr. Almeida Magaia.

20. In view of Portugal's refusal to negotiate, now the national liberation movements, in particular FRELIMO, continue to be engaged in an armed struggle against the Portuguese occupation of Mozambique.

Military operations of the liberation forces

21. The armed struggle for national liberation in Mozambique began in September 1964 when, faced with Portugal's adamant refusal to recognize the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence, FRELIMO

declared a general armed insurrection. Since then, the war for liberation has intensified and by 1972 large areas of the Territory were affected, including especially the northern districts of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete.

22. Although between 1969 and 1971 COREMO's forces were reported active in the extreme northern part of Tete District, FRELIMO forces have been responsible for most of the fighting in the Territory. In the past three years FRELIMO has intensified its activities, especially in Tete where the Cabora Bassa dam is being built. In May 1971, as a result of widespread FRELIMO activities and the refusal of the population to co-operate with the Portuguese authorities, Tete was made a special military region and soon after a military governor was appointed with full powers over civil and military matters. By mid-1972, FRELIMO forces were reported to have opened a new front in the former district of Manica e Sofala and to have attacked the Vila Pery-Beira highway.

Situation in Tete District

23. During 1972, FRELIMO activities in Tete were generally intensified with a view to gaining wider control and impeding the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam. FRELIMO's growing strength was evidenced by the fact that in the first seven months of the year, there were five major attacks on the Beira-Tete railway. These included an ambush attack on the Cabora Bassa rail link in January; a landmine explosion in February on the Beira-Tete railway, which resulted in the destruction of eight wagons of a goods train some 133 kilometres from Beira (this was reported to be the eleventh attack on the railway since September 1971); two attacks in April, one on the Cabora Bassa link and another near Mecito; a derailment of a freight train en route to Cabora Bassa in May; and a landmine explosion in July which destroyed seven freight cars bound for Moatize. In addition, there were frequent reports of landmine explosions on the major roads. In February, for instance, FRELIMO blew up a lorry on the Tete-Songo road. During March, April and May, liberation forces killed over 250 enemy troops and shot down one Southern Rhodesian airplane and a Portuguese helicopter.

24. In June 1972, official Portuguese sources reported one of the first joint operations against the liberation forces in Tete using commandos and helicopter-borne parachutists in the area west of Zobué. This was followed in July by the announcement of the appointment of Colonel A. M. Videira of the Paratroops as the Military Governor of the district. Colonel Videira was the highest ranking field commander in the Gordian Knot operations in Cabo Delgado District in 1971. a/

25. An account of the situation in the Territory was described in a South African newspaper in June 1972. It was stated that FRELIMO forces had already crossed the Zambezi River from the north and had penetrated several hundred kilometres southward along both the Malawi and Southern Rhodesian borders. The report added

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, paras. 36-38.

that FRELIMO forces moved freely through most of Tete, and that they had made travel on most roads unsafe except with a military escort, including the international road between Southern Rhodesia and Malawi. The article also reported that, according to Portuguese estimates, FRELIMO had some 1,800 men in the district and it suggested that such a force could tie down between 18,000 and 50,000 regular troops. Other estimates around that time put FRELIMO forces in Tete at some 2,000 to 3,000 men.

26. From July 1972 onwards, FRELIMO forces made further gains in the district. With fighting continuing in Cabo Delgado and Niassa, it was reported that Portuguese resources were being overextended, especially in regard to helicopters and vehicles. In September, FRELIMO forces again attacked the Beira-Tete railway near the district capital and destroyed a train. Attacks on the main roads steadily increased, and by November several articles in the press reported that the international road from Southern Rhodesia through Mozambique to Malawi had become unsafe even for vehicles travelling in Portuguese military convoys which had to move at a walking pace behind troops on foot who had to test the road for landmines.

27. In September 1972, a Portuguese communiqué reported that FRELIMO attacks in the district were gradually being brought under control. These sources alleged that although FRELIMO had been successful initially because it had been able to command some support among the local population, the increased military and police operations against the liberation forces and the resettlement of the local population into villages had already put an end to further expansion of FRELIMO activities. The same source, however, acknowledged FRELIMO activities in the Angónia region and in the area known as the Isthmus of Tete, although it claimed that the liberation forces there had been repelled.

28. Despite the Portuguese claims, on 9 November, FRELIMO forces were reported to have made a major attack on the town of Tete and on the airport located outside the city with 122 mm. rockets, destroying 17 planes, one helicopter and 30 hangars and barrack sheds. The FRELIMO attack on the Tete airport was not reported in the Portuguese press, however, until news of the event became known. Portuguese sources then issued a special communiqué conceding the attack but denied any damage. A special press release, dated 24 November, issued by the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations said that "None of the shots fired was able to reach its target, either at the airport or in the city, the terrorist elements being quickly located and overpowered".

29. On 15 November, it was reported that FRELIMO had started a major new offensive with an attack on the Beira-Tete railway in which some 20 landmines were placed on a 100-mile stretch of the railway and the tracks were cut in several places. Later the same month, a FRELIMO landmine placed on the Beira-Tete railway between Moatize and Mutarara derailed a train, caused the death of one person and injured two others.

30. Portuguese sources also reported an attack by the liberation forces on an aldeamento (strategic village) north of the Zambezi River near Zumbo.

31. Towards the end of November, the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia were reported to be concerned about the "ineffectual performance" of the Portuguese troops. However, early in December, at a press conference in Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia), Mr. Ian Smith declared that rumours of disagreement between Portugal and Rhodesia were unfounded, and that he had no doubt that the Portuguese were capable of controlling the situation in Mozambique.

32. According to FRELIMO, Southern Rhodesia is directly involved in the fighting in Tete, not only in joint operations by Portuguese and Southern Rhodesian troops but also, at times, taking the initiative. In August 1971, for instance, Southern Rhodesian troops reportedly carried out a raid on a village in the region of Mutarara, killing six villagers. On 5 September 1971, eight persons were killed in another attack in the same region. FRELIMO also said that the Southern Rhodesian soldiers, who came from Sinoia, had tortured the villagers.

Situation in Cabo Delgado

33. In April 1972, FRELIMO reported that its forces had shot down a Portuguese air force plane at the border of the United Republic of Tanzania formed by the Rovuma River. From May to July, FRELIMO forces made 17 major attacks, carried out 13 acts of sabotage, and destroyed 2 post offices, 4 administrative posts, 2 military camps, 14 vehicles and 1 armoured car and extended their activities southwards beyond the Messalo River; but most of its activities, as confirmed by Portuguese military communiqués, were concentrated in the area of Nangade-Mueda-Mocímboa da Praia-Palma, and south to Miteda, Chai, Macomia and Ancuabe.

34. In September, FRELIMO carried out an attack on the city of Mueda, during which a Portuguese aircraft was shot down.

35. Official Portuguese communiqués during the year reported reduced activities of nationalist forces in Cabo Delgado as a result of military operations and resettlement of the population. In late October, reviewing the military situation in Mozambique, Governor-General Manuel Pimentel dos Santos mentioned FRELIMO activities at Ancuabe, between Montepuez and Porto Amélia, the administrative capital of the district, as well as at Sitera, an aldeamento south of Macomia. Both are located much further south than points mentioned in official communiqués during the past two years.

Situation in Niassa

36. Despite claims by Portuguese military authorities that the situation in Niassa has been "under control" since 1971 and that the southern part of the district had been "completely pacified", official sources have since admitted activities of the liberation forces in Niassa, particularly in the area of the FRELIMO stronghold of Jecy Sierra, located between Unango and Maniamba.

37. In February 1972, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos told the Security Council:

"In the province of Niassa our control is almost undisputed by the enemy, which from time to time attempts to mount what is called a 'large-scale offensive'. He brings his soldiers into the area by helicopter, but as soon as they land they are attacked by our forces. If at times they succeed in massacring our civilian population and burning our crops, they are, however, eventually compelled to leave again after having suffered considerable losses." b/

38. During 1972, FRELIMO reported activities in the area from Jecy Sierra west to Cóbue at Lago Niassa (Lake Nyasa) and south to Catur, some 240 kilometres below Vila Cabral, the administrative capital of the district. FRELIMO has also been active along the Messinge, Lucheringo and Litunde rivers.

39. In February, FRELIMO units destroyed a Portuguese outpost between Unango and Lulimbo, as well as three bridges and a railway engine, and blew up two wagons. In another attack, FRELIMO forces mined a train carrying Portuguese troops and freight from Catur to Luchima. In March, FRELIMO forces shot down a helicopter at Ngueni, and on 13 April, FRELIMO ground fire hit a Portuguese reconnaissance plane flying from Vila Cabral. In May, FRELIMO attacked 5 military posts, destroyed 6 military vehicles and killed 40 Portuguese troops.

40. During the first quarter of the year, Portuguese sources reported military operations aimed at eliminating FRELIMO bases at Jecy Sierra. From February to March, the Portuguese forces launched five sweep-and-search operations code-named "Operação Gibóia", with the use of artillery and infantry units, airborne troops, special marine groups, local militia and special groups.

41. One of the operations was launched after intensified FRELIMO attacks in the areas of Lunho and Miandica, some 130 kilometres north of Vila Cabral. Portuguese airborne troops, local militia and special group forces made an assault on a FRELIMO village where security and intelligence quarters and a small field hospital were located.

42. One of the March military operations was carried out by special group forces against FRELIMO forces along the Lucheringo River, in the area of N'Colese. Another operation, code-named "Gugunhama", was carried out by three Portuguese artillery units against a FRELIMO base at Jecy Sierra, and a third was carried out by two groups of special fusiliers in the area between Melolucas and Meponda, at Lago Niassa. Portuguese sources claimed that this operation, which lasted eight days, was successful in wiping out FRELIMO activities in Niassa District.

b/ S/PV.1632.

43. In August, however, Portuguese military communiqués reported deploying Portuguese fighters against the liberation forces on the Miandica plateau, north of Lunho, and in the Cóbue region.

44. Later in the month, official Portuguese sources reported operations against FRELIMO bases located at Chala and at Catur, located south of Vila Cabral, where the Portuguese authorities had previously claimed to be in "total control".

Reconstruction efforts in the liberated areas

45. As a result of the armed struggle in Mozambique, more than a quarter of the Territory has been declared liberated by FRELIMO. In the liberated areas a new political and administrative structure has been created with the aim of establishing governmental authority based on the support of the people. The principal administrative unit is the province. Each province has a Provincial Council, with a secretary, which represents FRELIMO, interprets its policy, and implements its resolutions and decisions. In addition there is a provincial subsecretary directly responsible for military affairs.

46. A Political Commissariat directs the district, local and community political secretariats. The Commissariat is subdivided into sections dealing with political matters, health questions, recruitment, training and formation of cadres. The political subsection comprises the militia and a women's detachment which works closely with the village population, organizing and mobilizing them, and helps to transport materials and the wounded. Production, co-operatives and education are also the responsibility of the Political Commissariat.

47. People's management committees, elected by the people themselves, are created whenever possible to supervise general tasks. The Provincial District and local committees, each at its own level, directs the establishment of the people's committees.

48. Various visitors to the liberated areas have confirmed the progress made by FRELIMO in establishing a new political and administrative structure. In 1972, such visitors included a team of journalists and cameramen from the People's Republic of China who spent three weeks with FRELIMO forces from December 1971 to January 1972. According to the report of this team, FRELIMO was in control of a large area of Mozambique territory and organs of state power at different levels had been or were being set up in the liberated areas.

49. Early in 1972, Mr. Nash Basom, a photographer from the Church World Service of New York, visited the liberated areas of Cabo Delgado District. He reported that during 11 days he walked some 150 miles and visited eight FRELIMO centres of various types, including military camps; a food production camp for disabled combatants; a local cell headquarters; two district headquarters which included infantry training, a school, a health unit and a militia division; and a "pilot" centre, which included a three-year primary school.

50. In September, Lord Gifford, a British Labour peer and Chairman of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, reported that he had spent 16 days with Mozambique fighters in Tete District. He said he had crossed into Mozambique from Zambia, and had marched south for 60 miles to the Fíngoè region. According to Lord Gifford, FRELIMO dominated Tete, and the Portuguese were restricted to their garrison quarters, as they no longer controlled the countryside.

51. Lord Gifford also said that Southern Rhodesian forces were actively co-operating with the Portuguese Army and taking part in bombing and helicopter raids. He charged that the Portuguese were burning villages and crops and shooting people who did not come forward immediately for settlement in aldeamentos.

52. In October, a delegation of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa spent two weeks in the liberated areas of Mozambique. The delegation was led by the Executive Secretary of the Committee who declared afterwards that the entire area visited by the delegation, especially Cabo Delgado, was under the firm control of FRELIMO. He emphasized that the purpose of the visit had been "to gather on-the-spot information about the problems that confronted the liberated areas, including those that concerned their struggle to provide social amenities to the people such as schools, health facilities and agricultural equipment". Declaring himself very much impressed by the progress of the war, he said that he was convinced that victory for the liberation movements was "around the corner".

53. Other visitors during the year included a team of journalists and cameramen from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics who made a documentary film in Tete District; a journalist from the Federal Republic of Germany who spent 16 days in Tete; an Italian delegation from the city of Reggio Emilia, who visited Cabo Delgado in August 1972; and a Canadian lecturer, who visited Tete at the same time as Lord Gifford.

54. Mr. dos Santos said in February 1972 that national reconstruction work was going on at an accelerated pace in the liberated areas. The entire colonial structure had been destroyed and a popular structure would replace it once people took the management of their affairs into their own hands.

55. FRELIMO sources report that agricultural production is being developed by the extension of cultivated areas and through introduction of new cultures and production techniques. The people in the liberated areas produced enough food to meet their needs as well as a surplus, which enabled FRELIMO to buy articles they were not yet producing themselves. The main exports were sesame, castor oil, cashew and peanuts. In 1971, these exports accounted for over two thirds of an estimated 1,000 tons exported from the district of Cabo Delgado. Other exports included dried fish, tobacco and wooden sculptures. Imports consisted mainly of textiles, clothing, soap and production equipment.

56. In 1971, FRELIMO was already reported to have about 20,000 children enrolled in 160 primary schools in the liberated areas, of which 16 were pilot boarding

schools. In addition, it had a large pilot boarding school, a secondary school with 133 pupils, and a training course for teachers. Adult literacy courses were reported to be operating in all the villages.

57. FRELIMO has also established a medical aid system comprising a network of first-aid posts, with district posts and central regional hospitals. According to FRELIMO, in 1971, in Cabo Delgado, there were 60 first-aid posts, 17 district posts and a central regional hospital manned by a staff of 340. In Niassa there were nine first-aid posts, seven district posts and a central regional hospital.

3. PORTUGAL'S STRATEGY OF REPRESSION

58. The growing concern of the Portuguese Government with the situation in Mozambique was recently highlighted by reports that it was pressing General Kaulza de Arriaga, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in Mozambique, to end the war within the next six months, before his appointment expires.

59. It will be recalled that General Arriaga was first appointed as Commander-in-Chief in February 1970. c/ In March 1972, he was reappointed for another year, at which time he said that he had accepted the extension of his appointment because, in his view, the task of fighting the war in Mozambique was a mission which had to be completed, and that he therefore had a responsibility to bring the mission to a satisfactory end.

60. According to a recent report, the decision of the Portuguese Government to extend General Arriaga's appointment reflected its concern with the expansion of the activities of the liberation forces inside Mozambique, despite General Arriaga's policy of creating military areas to control the economic and social activities of the African population and thus isolate them from the liberation forces. It was also reported to reflect the decision of the Portuguese Government to launch decisive military operations in the next few months.

61. In addition to combat involvement as described above, Portugal's strategy of repression of the operations of the liberation movements, includes measures of a technological, organizational and administrative nature to increase its capabilities.

Use of defoliants

62. During 1972, there were new reports that Portugal was using chemical defoliants in the northern part of Mozambique. One article described an operation in which six mercenaries from South Africa participated in a chemical warfare raid against FRELIMO forces. According to the article, three South Africans, a Frenchman, a Briton and an Australian flew six aircraft - four Piper Pawnees, an Australian-built Transavia airtruck and a Cessna - to Mozambique in April to spray FRELIMO crop areas with a mixture of 2,4D and Tordon. This group, which used Nangololo as its base, was escorted by Portuguese forces in two helicopters, two Fiat jets and two Harvards - the Fiats carried bombs and the Harvards carried rockets and machine-guns. According to one FRELIMO report, the defoliants had destroyed the pumpkin and cassava crops but had not created starvation in the liberated areas.

63. According to another source, Convolvotox, a mixture containing 2,4D, was being used. Convolvotox was reportedly being manufactured in South Africa by Agricura Laboratório (Pty), one of the several wholly owned subsidiaries of Sentrachem, Ltd. in which British Petroleum Co., the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa (IDC) and Federale-Volksbeleggings Bpk. hold interests.

c/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.C, paras. 34-35.

Detentions and arrests

64. As a result of the intensification of the struggle for national liberation in Mozambique, repressive measures were applied more rigourously in the Territory during 1972. These measures included arrests of students and persons charged with "subversive activities against the State" and with supporting the activities of the national liberation movements.

65. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, which visited Mozambique between 26 November and 17 December 1972, 1,800 persons were being detained for political reasons in the following 11 detention centres: Machava, Ponta Mahone, Nampula, Porto Amélia, Ibo, Vila Cabral, Tete N. I, Tete N. II, Beira, Quelimane and Nocoadala.

66. In June 1972, there were reports of a wave of mass arrests in Mozambique, including some 30 Presbyterian Church leaders. Among the church leaders arrested were Messrs. Zedequias Maganhelas and José Sidumo, both of whom were reported in late December 1972 to have committed suicide in prison after undergoing months of interrogation.

67. The Portuguese authorities acknowledged that Mr. Maganhelas had died in prison and an investigation on the case was carried out by Supreme Court Judge Valadas Preto. d/ In April 1973, the authorities issued an official note on the result of the investigation stating that the conclusions reached by Judge Valadas Preto were that Mr. Maganhelas had committed suicide by hanging on the night of 11 to 12 December 1972; that there were no signs that he had been maltreated; and that he had been under the régime of "benign imprisonment" and was allowed to receive visits from family and friends.

68. The Portuguese authorities denied, however, that Mr. Sidumo had committed suicide. According to one source, the Portuguese Embassy in Paris was reported to have stated that Mr. Sidumo had died of "illness".

69. On the other hand, FRELIMO charged that "there has been a wave of arrests and prison murders throughout the Territory, the most recent victims being two Mozambican Protestant priests".

70. The death of the two church leaders was decried by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Geneva, which requested that the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International take steps to see that human rights were respected in Mozambique and that legal aid was made available to people in prison.

71. In January 1973, the Portuguese authorities released the other church leaders who had been arrested in June 1972 and held for six months at Machava prison, in Lourenço Marques.

d/ Ibid., paras. 31-33.

72. During the same month, two Portuguese and two Spanish Roman Catholic priests were brought before a military tribunal for denouncing the activities of the Portuguese army in Mozambique. The two Spanish priests had been working in the district of Tete and were reported to have been detained by the Southern Rhodesian police in Salisbury and handed over to the Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS) (Directorate-General of Security). The two Portuguese priests, Father Joaquim Sampaio and Father Fernando Mendes, had been arrested in January 1972 in Beira for having refused to allow the Portuguese flag into their church in Makuti during a boy scout ceremony. e/ According to a report, all four priests had been held incommunicado during their arrests and were denied legal assistance.

73. During the trial of Father Sampaio and Father Mendes, in January 1973, one of the witnesses for the prosecution was Mr. Jorge Jardim, owner of the Beira daily Notícias da Beira, who is reportedly an avowed advocate of a form of independence for Mozambique similar to that claimed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. f/ One of the witnesses for the defence was Bishop Felix Ribeira who was reported to have told the court during his testimony that he had information about "mass atrocities by Portuguese troops, including the burning of African women and children".

74. According to The Observer of London, which reportedly received transcripts of the case, evidence from the trial showed that Portuguese troops, aided by Southern Rhodesian forces had burnt villages, massacred their inhabitants, forcibly resettled communities and defoliated crops.

75. Father Sampaio and Father Mendes were found guilty of anti-government activities, were fined the equivalent of \$US 50 each and received suspended jail sentences. Both men appealed their convictions to the Supreme Military Tribunal in Lisbon. In May 1973, the Tribunal upheld the convictions.

76. Another arrest which has been denounced in the international press is that of Mr. Domingos Arouca, an African attorney from Mozambique who was arrested in Lourenço Marques in March 1965 and sentenced to four years in prison in July 1967 for "subversive political activities". He is still serving his sentence in Lisbon, and is said to be the only remaining prisoner held in Portugal under security measures which were repealed in 1972 (Decree 239/72, 18 July) (see annex I.A above, paras. 102 and 103).

77. The case of Mr. Arouca was the subject of a petition (A/AC.109/PET.1170) submitted to the Special Committee in 1971. In December 1972, Mr. Arouca began a hunger strike to protest against the prolongation of his imprisonment and against racial discrimination in his case. Following this event, in January 1973, the British Section of Amnesty International, communicated its concern over the imprisonment of Mr. Arouca to Prime Minister Marcello Caetano of Portugal.

e/ Ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.C, para. 60.

f/ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, foot-note j.

Measures for Portuguese security

78. As reported previously, g/ Portuguese military efforts to suppress and contain the national liberation movements in Mozambique have been accompanied by: (a) resettlement of the African populations in aldeamentos, most of which are fortified; (b) strengthening of the auxiliary police and paramilitary and territorial security forces; (c) increased Africanization of the war; and (d) tightening of Portuguese security measures.

Resettlement of the local population

79. In its effort to contain the activities of the liberation movements in Mozambique, Portugal has launched a large-scale resettlement of the African population into aldeamentos.

80. This mass resettlement is officially described as a military-administrative policy to extend the concentration of the populations both with a view to their social and economic development and for "self-defence" purposes. The main purpose of the resettlement schemes, however, is to prevent the people from providing support to the liberation movements.

81. In 1970, there were 382 aldeamentos in the three northern districts, with 115 in Niassa, 222 in Cabo Delgado and 45 in Tete. According to an article in the international press in 1972, there were over 500 aldeamentos in the Territory with a total population of about 750,000 people. It was estimated that more than 120 aldeamentos had already been built in Tete District with another 85 scheduled for completion during the year. As described in the article, Nova Chibero is a typical aldeamento in Tete, located some 10 miles from the site of the Cabora Bassa dam project. It consists of 200 huts built of traditional materials laid out in a grid system of blocks each with about six huts, and each block is individually fenced. About 1,000 Africans live in Nova Chibero. In addition to the local militia, a Portuguese garrison is located nearby.

Strengthening of paramilitary forces

82. By 1971, four paramilitary organizations had been set up to assist the regular Portuguese armed forces, which are estimated at some 60,000. These were the Public Security Police (PSP), the Fiscal Guard, the Organização Provincial de Voluntários e Defesa Civil (OPVDC) (Provincial Organization of Volunteers and Civil

g/ Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.C, paras. 62 et seq.; ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.C, paras. 52-53.

Defence) and a militia composed of Vizinhos de Regedoria (Corpo de Milícias das Regedorias).

83. In April 1972, the Government decided to create the Corpo de Polícia dos Serviços dos Portos, Caminhos de Ferro e Transportes de Moçambique (Ports and Railways Police Corps, Decree 127/72, 22 April). This new police force is charged with the responsibility of maintaining public security and order, and of the security of personnel and material in areas under the jurisdiction of the Ports and Railways Services.

84. In August 1972, the Portuguese Government established the Comando-Geral de Segurança de Moçambique (CGS) (Security Command), in order to co-ordinate more closely the activities of the various security police units with the armed forces, Decree 305/72, 16 August 1972). This command, which comes under the authority of the Governor-General, is to be headed by an army officer with the rank of brigadier or colonel. In co-operation with the office of the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, the new command will co-ordinate the activities of PSP, the Fiscal Guard, the Ports and Railways Police, OPVDC, and the militia corps which will eventually be placed under the jurisdiction of OPVDC.

Creation of African units

85. In Tete, the Corpo de Milícias de Tete, a special African militia corps, which was first created in 1965, has since been steadily enlarged and, according to Portuguese sources, comprised some 2,000 men in 1972. This special militia corps co-operates with the armed forces in supervising all personal movements in the aldeamentos and is responsible for the protection of sensitive areas and of civilian personnel engaged in tactical and logistic work.

86. In Cabo Delgado, five African companhias de comando (special commando units) have been formed. According to General Kaulza de Arriaga, this is part of "the progressive integration of Mozambicans into the armed forces". All the comandos have been trained at Montepuez. The latest company formed is composed of 172 men and officers. During its training period, the comandos participated in active fighting in Cabo Delgado, in the area of Lake N'Guri.

87. According to the Portuguese authorities there are at present 43,000 armed Africans in Tete District. Of these, 2,500 belong to regular army units recruited in Mozambique; an additional 16,800 are members of the militia; 2,500 more belong to special groups which serve as search-and-destroy units; and about 4,000 Africans are organized into self-defence groups.

Tightening of Portuguese security measures

88. Statements by the Governor-General indicate that there has been a growing concern with problems of Portuguese security in Mozambique. At the April session of the Legislative Council, when the Governor-General outlined the programme his Government intended to follow in the next four years, he gave special emphasis to

the need to prevent the weakening of resistance and confidence on the home front and to prevent the development of a credibility gap between the people, the armed forces and the Government. He hinted that any failure along these lines would be as dangerous as losing a battle.

89. To strengthen Portugal's position in the Territory, the Governor-General proposed the establishment of the CGS; reorganization of PSP, incorporating the militias de intervenção h/ and the administrative police and their extension to the rural areas; strengthening the human and material resources of PSP; and equipping OPVDC and the militia corps with the necessary means to assume responsibility for the traditional militia in the regedorias. i/

90. At the second session of the Legislative Council, in October, the Governor-General again stressed the danger to Portuguese security and warned all to be on constant guard as "the enemy" was trying to create confusion and rumours "in the cafés of Lourenço Marques".

91. The following measures were approved by the Legislative Council during the year: (a) an increase in the number of PSP personnel in five areas of Vila Pery District; (b) the reorganizational OPVDC; and (c) the granting of a wide range of benefits to government officials posted in areas of unhealthy climate, isolated areas, and areas of "active subversion". The benefits include counting the length of service as double for purposes of retirement and the granting of special bonuses, free travel and special overseas leave.

92. In addition, new regulations were approved for the self-defence of sensitive areas (auto-defesa de pontos sensíveis). These areas include industries, societies, co-operatives, or any public or private institution which must provide and finance its own defence.

93. On 6 September, the Mozambique Students' Association was closed down by the Government on charges of "activities against the interests of the national community and the basic principles of moral order". The Association, originally set up in 1968 as a sports body, had been allowed to extend its scope to other activities. According to the Government, however, the Association had engaged in "objectionable activities which were the more serious at a time when the very survival of the nation was at stake". One report said that some students had tried to avoid military service.

94. On 29 October, the Governor-General's office issued a statement announcing that seven persons had been placed under house arrest for a year, for "subversive activities" against the security of the State. As defined officially, these activities included the organization of and attendance at illegal meetings and the preparation and distribution of posters, communiqués and pamphlets against the authorities with a view to inciting the people to "subversion". All seven were students at the University of Lourenço Marques.

h/ Ibid., Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II (A/6700/Rev.1), chap. V, para. 249.

i/ Ibid., para. 117.

95. The "administrative structure" is being expanded to bring various parts of the Territory under better control. According to the priority goals established by the Governor-General in his four-year programme, the following new administrative units are to be created: 5 new concelhos, 6 new circunscrições and 26 administrative posts (see table 2 below) with corresponding local government bodies, consisting mainly of European settlers and government officials. j/

Table 2

New administrative units to be created in Mozambique

	<u>Concelhos</u>	<u>Circunscrições</u>	<u>Administrative posts</u>
Lourenço Marquês	2	-	-
Gaza	1	-	3
Inhambane	1	-	6
Vila Pery	1	-	1
Tete	-	1	3
Zambézia	-	2	5
Cabo Delgado	-	2	4
Niassa	-	1	3
Moçambique	-	-	1

Source: Diário, Lourenço Marques, 28 April 1972.

Military expenditure

96. In 1972, military, paramilitary, police and related activities accounted for 1,646 million escudos. k/ This included 1,303.3 million escudos for the regular armed forces: 967 million for the army; 245 million for the air force; and 90 million for the navy. It also included 112.1 million escudos for public security and 67.2 million escudos for DGS.

j/ For a description of the local government system, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 41-46 and 78-82, and annex I.B, paras. 17-34.

k/ 25.50 escudos equal approximately \$US 1.00.

97. Additional allocations included 118.8 million escudos for PSP and 10 million escudos for the Volunteer Corps, under the extraordinary budget; and 110.0 million escudos for public security ("unforeseen expenditure") and 1.0 million escudos for the Volunteer Corps under the ordinary budget.

98. As previous reports have explained, however, the actual military expenditure of the Territory is probably considerably higher than that indicated by the above figures. In September 1972, General Kaulza de Arriaga said that while the Territory's total military and related expenditure amounted to 45 per cent of its budget, with the participation of Portugal and other allocations it came to only 30 per cent. He also pointed out that not all allocations earmarked for military activities were spent on the war, as the armed forces also helped in the construction of roads, bridges and other public works.

4. CONDITIONS IN AREAS UNDER PORTUGUESE CONTROL

Political and administrative developments

99. Under the Portuguese Constitution as revised in 1971 and the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, Mozambique remains an "overseas province" of Portugal. 1/ The Overseas Organic Law of 1972 grants the Territory the honorific designation of "the State of Mozambique". Although the Constitution provides for some measure of political, administrative and financial "autonomy", the exercise of this autonomy "shall not affect the unity of the Nation, the solidarity among all portions of the Portuguese territory or the integrity of the sovereignty of the State" (article 136). m/

100. The present Portuguese system provides for the participation of the Territories in the direction of national policy through: (a) the election of the Head of State every seven years; (b) representation in the National Assembly elections every four years; (c) representation in the Corporative Chamber; and (d) representation in the Overseas Council.

101. At the election of the Head of State in 1965, Mozambique was represented by 51 members in the electoral college of 616. There are no corresponding figures for the presidential election which took place in 1972.

102. Mozambique is represented by seven members in the Portuguese National Assembly, which has a total of 130 members. At the last elections, which took place in 1969, there was only one slate of candidates (representing the National Union), who were duly elected. Of the seven deputies elected, three were born in Mozambique and two were born in Portugal. The birthplace of the other two is not known. Only one is of African descent. At the 1969 elections to the National Assembly, 82,539 persons were registered as voters; this represented 1.15 per cent of the population of Mozambique. The actual number of votes cast was 79,336. It is not known yet how many representatives from Mozambique will sit in the National Assembly, the membership of which has been increased from 130 to 150. n/

103. Apart from the National Assembly, Mozambique is represented by four members in the 218-member Corporative Chamber and three representatives in the Overseas Council, which is the highest consultative body on matters affecting the overseas Territories.

1/ For a detailed description of the constitutional provisions and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 17-73 and 112-116; and Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 18-82, and annex I.C, paras. 4-16.

m/ Portugal. Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Secretariat of State for Information and Tourism, 1971. English text.

n/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 36.

104. The main outline of the structure of the territorial Government is set out in the Overseas Organic Law of 1972 (Law No. 5/72). o/ Details concerning the structure of the territorial Government are contained in the new political and administrative statute of the Territory which was published on 22 December 1972 (Decree 545/72).

105. Under these new provisions, Mozambique is designated an "autonomous region of the Portuguese Republic" having its own "juridical personality in public internal law". However, with the exception of the formal recognition given to the role of provincial secretaries as members of a cabinet, there are no major changes in the system of government.

106. The territorial Government comprises the Governor-General, the Government Council, the Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board. The Governor-General is still appointed by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Overseas Minister, and he remains the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory. Under the new statute, he has the rank of Minister of State and may be called to sit in the Council of Ministers.

107. In his executive functions, the Governor-General is assisted by a Government Council composed of the provincial secretaries. The new statute does not fix the number of provincial secretariats. The Overseas Minister authorizes the number of provincial secretariats and appoints the secretaries on the proposal of the Governor-General. The Government Council meets at least once every fortnight, or as often as requested by the Governor-General. When matters concerning "defence or maintenance of public order" are discussed, the head of the armed forces in the Territory is required to attend the meetings. Previously, under legislation introduced in 1969, although the provincial secretaries were not organized into a formal body, they usually met once a month with the Governor-General (Decree 48,955, 7 April 1969). p/

108. Under the new statute, a 50-member Legislative Assembly has replaced the Legislative Council, which had a membership of 30. Like the Legislative Council, the Legislative Assembly is presided over by the Governor-General, but the

o/ The draft of the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, which was adopted with only minor changes, is summarized in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 32-59.

p/ In February 1973 the provincial secretariats in Mozambique were reorganized as follows: General Secretariat and secretariats for health and assistance, education, economy, agriculture, public works, finance and planning, labour and social security, and communications. As the text of the decree is not yet available, it is not known if there have been any changes in the areas of responsibility of the new secretariats. The previous system was described in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, paras. 5-7.

Attorney-General and the Director of Public Finance are no longer ex officio members. Of the 50 elected members, 20 are elected by direct franchise (two for each district) and the remaining 30 as follows:

- (a) Six by the autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities) from among their own members;
- (b) Six by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest;
- (c) Six by corporative bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations of economic interests;
- (d) Six by bodies representing workers' interests;
- (e) Six by bodies representing moral and cultural interests, one of whom must always be a Roman Catholic missionary.

109. The former Legislative Council included representatives of: (a) individual taxpayers registered as paying a minimum of 15,000 escudos in direct taxes; (b) employers; and (c) "religious" interests. In the new Legislative Assembly, the first of these categories has been dropped; the second has been replaced by representatives of business enterprises and the third has been replaced by members representing "moral and cultural" interests.

110. Under the new provisions, the Economic and Social Council has been replaced by an Advisory Board with similar powers and functions. The Advisory Board may have a total membership of 21 members as follows:

- (a) Thirteen elected members (eight in the Economic and Social Council):
 - (i) Three by administrative bodies from among their own members (2);
 - (ii) Four by bodies representing moral and cultural interests, including a representative of the University (2), a Roman Catholic missionary and a representative elected from among members of other religious denominations in the Territory;
 - (iii) Three by corporative bodies representing business enterprises and associations or activities of economic interest (2); and
 - (iv) Three by corporative bodies representing workers (2).
- (b) Four ex officio members (5): the deputy of the Attorney-General; the head of the Civil Administration; the Treasurer; and the head of the Planning Department.
- (c) Up to a maximum of four individuals "of known competence and prestige in their social milieu", to be appointed by the Governor-General.

111. The Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in the Territory, the Dean of Estudos Gerais Universitários (now the University of Lourenço Marques), and the heads of the economic and educational departments, who were formerly ex officio members of the Economic and Social Council, are not included in the Advisory Board. As in the Legislative Assembly, groups representing employers and "religious" interests have been replaced by those representing business enterprises and "moral and cultural" interests.

112. The Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board are to begin functioning by May 1973, and elections to both are to be held before 31 March 1973. Voter registration was started in January 1973, following publication of the new political and administrative statute of the Territory.

113. The new statute does not introduce any changes in the system of local administration; q/ however, legislation is to be issued to regulate the powers and functions of local administrative authorities.

The colonial economy

114. As in Angola, all major sectors of the economy of Mozambique are controlled by Portugal, although almost 90 per cent of the active African population is engaged in agriculture and produces some 90 per cent of the cotton, 80 per cent of the cashew and 50 per cent of the copra.

115. Since 1967, as a result of Portugal's effort to attract foreign capital, there has been a considerable influx of foreign investments, especially in petroleum prospecting and mining, although this sector is not yet important in the Territory's economy. Foreign capital is also helping the expansion of the communications and transport network, and the construction of the Cabora Bassa project.

116. Most of the available information describes the economic sectors controlled by Portugal; there is little information on the economic life of the African population whose earnings, either as unskilled labourers or from cash crops, remain extremely low.

External trade and balance of payments

117. In 1970, Mozambique had a trade deficit of 4,805.2 million escudos, which was almost 50 per cent higher than that of the previous year. Compared with 1969, imports rose by nearly 20 per cent in value, from 7,491.0 million to 9,302.2 million

q/ For details on the system of local administration, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 78-82, and annex I.B, paras. 17-34.

escudos and exports by less than 2 per cent, from 4,081.0 million to 4,497.0 million escudos (see table 3 below). In 1971, as a result of stringent controls imposed by the Government the year before, r/ there was little change in the import situation, and although exports improved slightly, rising by 2.5 per cent, the Territory's trade deficit rose to 5,025 million escudos. In 1971, Mozambique's balance of payments deficit with Portugal amounted to 1,038 million escudos, compared with 1,662 million escudos in 1970 and 1,343 million escudos in 1969. In 1971, the Territory's balance of payments with foreign countries showed a surplus of 597 million escudos (see table 4 below).

118. In 1971, Portugal remained the Territory's principal trade partner (see table 5 below), supplying over 25 per cent of the Territory's imports, and taking more than 37 per cent of its exports. South Africa was Mozambique's second most important supplier, providing over 14 per cent of all imports, followed by the Federal Republic of Germany (8.6 per cent), the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (8.1 per cent) and the United States of America (7.5 per cent). The United States, however, replaced South Africa as the Territory's second best customer, accounting for 13.5 per cent of its exports.

119. In 1970, the Territory's imports included airplanes, valued at 346.4 million escudos. In 1971, there were further imports of airplanes valued at 273.4 million escudos. In both years the United States accounted for more than three quarters of the total.

120. Principal exports in 1971, accounting for 64.7 per cent of the total value, were cashew, shelled and unshelled (21.5 per cent); sugar (14.9 per cent); raw cotton (14.2 per cent); tea (6.0 per cent); copra (5.0 per cent); timber (4.1 per cent); and sisal (1.3 per cent).

r/ Ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 133 et seq.

Table 3

Mozambique: Trade statistics, 1969-1971
(million escudos)

A. Imports

<u>Product</u>	<u>Value</u>		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total imports	7 491.0	9 302.2	9 638.7
Crude petroleum	377.8	377.6	518.8
Automobiles	486.6	575.1	513.6
Motors, machinery	895.6	895.6	500.8
Cotton textiles	356.1	301.0	326.6
Airplanes	18.0	346.4	273.4
Tractors	171.5	180.8	176.5
Generators	314.1	-	176.1
Wheat	119.3	145.9	174.2
Wines	250.1	254.3	152.9

B. Exports

Total exports	4 081.0	4 497.0	4 612.9
Cashew, shelled and unshelled	780.0	855.2	993.4
Sugar	547.7	555.2	687.4
Raw cotton	794.5	738.6	656.8
Tea	234.0	238.8	275.6
Copra	198.1	234.1	232.2
Timber	207.2	187.6	189.9
Sisal	89.1	117.9	59.8

Sources: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, 1970, vol. II; Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, December 1971.

Table 4

Mozambique: Balance of payments, 1969-1971
(million escudos)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Goods	-3 088	-3 960	-3 801
Current invisibles	+1 977	+2 601	+3 101
Tourism	+ 99	+ 172	+ 108
Transport	+1 907	+1 990	+2 362
Earnings from capital investments	- 313	- 287	- 150
Private transfers	- 7	+ 88	+ 267
Others	+ 291	+ 638	+ 514
Capital transactions	- 168	- 211	+ 259
Total	-1 279	-1 570	- 441

	<u>Foreign Countries</u>			<u>Escudo zone</u>		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Goods	-2 675	-3 336	-3 339	- 413	- 624	- 462
Current invisibles	+2 969	+3 495	+3 646	- 992	- 894	- 545
Tourism	+ 325	+ 373	+ 307	- 226	- 201	- 199
Transport	+1 945	+2 106	+2 349	- 38	- 116	+ 13
Earnings from capital	- 90	- 124	- 31	- 223	- 163	- 119
Private transfers	+ 272	+ 367	+ 463	- 279	- 279	- 196
Others	+ 517	+ 773	+ 558	- 226	- 135	- 44
Capital transactions	- 230	- 67	+ 290	+ 62	- 144	- 31
Total	+ 64	+ 92	+ 597	-1 343	-1 662	-1 038

Source: Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral, No. 90, April-June 1972.

Table 5

Mozambique: Principal trade partners, 1969-1971
(million escudos)

A. Imports

	Value			Percentage of total value		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total imports	7 491.0	9 302.2	9 638.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
Portugal	2 337.5	2 569.0	2 552.5	31.2	25.8	26.5
South Africa	1 127.2	1 429.0	1 423.5	15.1	14.3	14.9
Federal Republic of Germany	635.8	713.0	816.2	8.5	7.2	8.6
United Kingdom	608.0	760.0	769.5	8.4	7.6	8.1
United States	488.9	911.0	728.8	6.5	9.1	7.5
Japan	396.3	561.0	530.4	5.4	5.6	5.6
Iraq	378.0	364.0	486.8	5.0	3.7	5.1
Italy	148.7	282.0	408.1	2.0	2.8	4.2
France	259.8	316.0	337.5	3.5	3.2	3.5

B. Exports

Total exports	4 081.0	4 497.0	4 612.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Portugal	1 679.1	1 724.0	1 726.5	41.1	38.3	37.4
United States	400.9	417.0	623.5	9.9	9.3	13.5
South Africa	419.6	465.0	434.5	10.4	10.3	9.5
United Kingdom	196.7	221.0	200.3	4.8	4.9	4.4
Federal Republic of Germany	127.0	119.0	91.6	3.0	2.6	2.0
Netherlands	48.3	95.0	63.9	1.4	2.1	1.4

Sources: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, 1970, vol. II; Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, December 1971.

Agriculture

121. As is well known, although Africans grow almost the entire cotton crop, most of the ground-nuts, more than half of the cashew crop, mainly from uncultivated trees, and about one third of the copra, most of the export crops are in fact controlled by European capital. Over the past decade this pattern has not changed significantly, although the Government has begun to encourage the formation of African producers' co-operatives in some areas. As far as is known, there are still no African-owned and operated cotton ginneries or cashew processing plants, and few if any Africans can meet the financial requirements to register as cotton or cashew traders. s/

122. It may be noted that out of a total of 3,216 agricultural enterprises existing in 1966/67, 3,153 were Portuguese owned. Of the remainder, 18 were owned by nationals of the Federal Republic of Germany, 8 by British interests, 6 by South Africans and 6 by Swiss nationals.

s/ The financial requirements for cotton traders are described in ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, appendix I, paras. 105-107.

Table 6

Mozambique: production of main agricultural products, 1969-1971
(thousand tons)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u> (estimates)
Raw cotton	136.8	139.1	110.0
Cashew (unshelled)	152.0	154.0	185.0
Sugar	226.1	285.8	311.6
Peanuts	80.0	85.0 ^{a/}	90.0
Maize (estimates)	450.0	320.0	400.0
Copra	65.0	57.2	62.0
Tea	16.0	17.0	16.5
Rice	99.8	106.5	115.9
Tobacco	3.0	3.2	4.8
Sisal	28.5	28.2	32.0
Bananas	30.4	20.0	35.0
Citrus	14.0	16.0	17.0
Timber (m ³)	318.8	305.3	286.0

Source: Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral, No. 90, April-June 1972.

a/ Subject to revision.

(a) Cashew

123. In recent years, cashew has become the Territory's leading export. In 1971, the value of unshelled cashew exported amounted to 333 million escudos, and that of shelled cashew to 660.4 million escudos, bringing the total to 993.4 million escudos, compared with 687.4 million escudos for sugar exports and 656.8 million escudos for cotton exports. In 1970, for the first time, the value of shelled cashew exceeded that of unprocessed cashew by 1.6 per cent. In 1971, this rose to 7.1 per cent. The volume of cashew kernels exported in the 1969-1971 period rose from 12,800 tons in 1969 to 14,700 tons in 1970 and 20,400 tons in 1971. There are no recent figures on the Territory's total processing capacity. According to one report, present capacity is still below the authorized level and some plants were not yet fully operative.

(b) Cotton

124. Although cotton is one of the most important crops of Mozambique, it accounts for less than 1 per cent of world production. For some years after the introduction of new legislation on cotton growing, the number of African growers t/ dropped to less than 500,000, but by 1971 their number had again risen to some 550,000. The total area under cultivation was reported to have increased from 297,000 hectares in 1960 to 310,000 hectares in 1970 and to 400,000 hectares in 1971. According to a recent report, 350,000 hectares were under cultivation by Africans in 1971.

125. As previous reports have shown, the system of concessionary companies was abolished in 1964. In practice, however, the new system heavily favours the large companies, particularly the former concessionaries which own ginneries and storage facilities and are in a better position to bid for the right to purchase cotton.

126. An examination of the 1970/71 cotton regulations (Portaria 542/71, 1 June) shows how the system discriminates against the small grower, who is usually African. These regulations divide the Territory into 22 cotton producing zones, each with an assigned minimum production. The minimum price of first quality cotton is fixed at 4 escudos per kilogramme and that of second quality at 2.2 escudos. Dealers are invited to bid for the purchase of the cotton by regions on the understanding that they undertake to purchase all the cotton produced, whatever the quality, and that they process it at the ginnery authorized for that particular region.

127. For each ton of seed cotton purchased within the expected minimum production, the dealers are required to pay the Mozambique Cotton Institute a scheduled fee per ton varying from zone to zone, generally ranging between 275 to 350 escudos. For each ton purchased above the minimum production, the fee is much higher, sometimes double. Since in most regions a dealer winning the bid would have to purchase more than 2,000 tons of cotton, he would have to have close to 10 million escudos (approximately \$US 300,000) capital to pay for the seed cotton and the Cotton Institute fees. Thus, even if African growers had the knowledge and experience required to become dealers, the amount of capital needed would be prohibitive.

t/ In the past Africans were designated "farmers" only if they fulfilled certain conditions. In Mozambique for instance, under an order dated 1948, able-bodied Africans between the ages of 18 and 55 were designated agricultores (cotton farmers) if they cultivated one hectare of cotton, increased by half a hectare for each additional wife beyond the first, plus an equal area of food crops. (See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, appendix III, para. 23.)

128. The number of cotton zones established for each district is as follows: Niassa, two; Cabo Delgado, two; Moçambique, seven; Zambézia, four; Tete, two; Gaza, two; Inhambane and Vila Pery, one each. Seven companies appear to monopolize the ginnery industry, the Companhia dos Algodões de Moçambique being the largest, with the right to process a minimum of 47,000 tons of seed cotton.

129. As in Angola, most of the cotton lint produced in Mozambique has traditionally gone to Portugal. In 1971, for the first time, Mozambique was authorized to export up to 20 per cent of its production of cotton lint to foreign destinations. In 1972, the Portuguese Government abolished all restrictions on cotton lint exports from the overseas Territories which now will be traded according to international practice (Decree Law 189/72, 6 June 1972).

(c) Sugar

130. Over 50 per cent of the sugar production in Mozambique is exported to Portugal under a special arrangement whereby Portugal guarantees to purchase from the overseas Territories all the sugar it needs for domestic consumption. According to official statistics, of the 188.3 million tons of sugar imported by Portugal in 1971, Mozambique supplied 155.1 million tons and Angola 2.6 million tons, the remaining coming from other countries.

131. For the 1972/73 season, Portugal's sugar consumption quota has been set at 240,000 tons and the sugar companies in Mozambique have been authorized to supply 234,000 tons (the remainder of the quota is assigned to Angola). However, based on their own estimates, the Mozambique companies will be able to supply only some 138,000 tons.

(d) Sisal

132. In 1970, sisal production dropped to a new low from an average of 31,000 tons a year over the period 1965-1968 to 28,200 tons. Owing to the drop in world prices, sisal exports have steadily declined, dropping from 31,400 tons in 1965 to 21,200 tons in 1970, which was much below the Territory's 30 per cent share in Portugal's quota of 91,600 tons under the agreement established by the Consultative Sub-Committee of the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) Study Group on Hard Fibres in 1970. As a result of the drop in world demand for sisal, Portugal took almost 50 per cent of the Territory's exports of this product in 1970. The change in pattern of the main destination is shown in table 7 below.

Table 7

Mozambique: sisal exports and main destination, 1969-1971
(thousand tons and million escudos)

<u>Destination</u>	<u>1969</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1971</u>	
	<u>Tons</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>Value</u>
Portugal	4.1	15.9	10.5	39.0	2.9	10.5
Belgium/Luxembourg	1.0	3.9	2.9	10.1	5.4	18.9
France	4.6	17.7	2.9	9.6	0.9	3.0
Federal Republic of Germany	3.8	14.8	1.8	6.1	2.2	8.2
Italy	0.8	3.2	0.8	2.6	0.9	2.8
Netherlands	4.1	16.3	0.9	2.3	0.7	2.6
Spain	1.9	8.6	0.2	1.9	0.7	2.6
Others	2.3	8.8	1.2	3.5	2.9	11.2
Total	22.6	89.2	21.2	75.1	16.6	59.8

Sources: Notícias, Lourenço Marques, 1 August 1971 and 23 January 1972:
Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, December 1971.

Transport and communications

133. In October 1971, the Government announced a new programme of road construction known as the Plano Rodoviário 1971-1979, to be carried out at a cost of 10,500 million escudos. The objective of this programme is to provide the Territory with a network of 12,000 kilometres of paved roads, as well as a number of major bridges, including a 2,400 metre bridge over the Zambezi River at Vila Fontes.

134. Among the works to be completed is a 4,000 kilometre road from Lourenço Marques in the extreme south to the Rovuma River border with the United Republic of Tanzania. Under the plan, the part of the road between Lourenço Marques and Beira, which has been under construction for almost 10 years, was to be completed by February 1972. From Beira, one branch road will be built to Cabora Bassa and another branch will continue north to the Rovuma River. The Government expects that the new road plan, when completed, will open up areas of previously unexploited land, to give further impetus to the tourist industry and, in particular, to help contain guerrilla warfare. The first phase of this programme envisages the construction of 1,000 kilometres of paved roads and 14 bridges. International firms were invited to participate in the project on condition that they were associated with Portuguese contractors. In February 1972, the Government

invited tenders for the first phase of the road plan which will cost 7.4 million escudos. Six firms were reported to have presented bids. Two of the firms, Construtora do Tâmega and Companhia de Destroncas e Aluguer de Máquinas (CODAM) already have contracts for works related to the Cabora Bassa dam. The other four firms are: Azevedo Campos, Irmãos, Lda., M. Bronze, Ltd., Sociedade de Construções de Pontes e Estradas, and Construtora do Niassa. As at December 1972, the outcome of the bidding was not yet known. In October of that year, however, Azevedo Campos, Irmãos, Lda. reportedly received a favourable response from the Economic and Social Council and subsequently from the Governor-General.

135. In 1971, the ordinary estimated budget of the Roads Board, which was twice revised upwards, amounted to 903.5 million escudos. Road projects planned or under construction in 1971 included the following: a 115-kilometre paved road connecting Mutorro to Montepuez in Cabo Delgado, linked to the road between Porto Amélia and Vila Cabral (47.8 million escudos); a bridge over the Save River, under construction for the past five years, which was due for completion by November 1971; improvements to the roads linking Monapo to Lumbo, in Moçambique and Moatize to Lue, in Tete (54 million escudos); and the construction of a 40-kilometre paved road from Quelimane to Zalala beach, in Zambézia (8 million escudos). Contracts amounting to over 24 million escudos were awarded by the Roads Board during the year for various works and for the purchase of tractors and other equipment.

136. In November 1972, the Banco Nacional Ultramarino granted a 250-million escudo loan for the financing of road works in Mozambique under the responsibility of the Autonomous Roads Board.

(a) Ports

137. Port traffic through Beira declined steadily over the period 1967-1971, dropping from a total of 3.5 million metric tons to 2.6 million metric tons (see table 8 below). Incoming traffic declined by over 30 per cent; outgoing traffic had declined 50 per cent by 1970, but reached a deficit of about 25 per cent in 1971. At Lourenço Marques, incoming traffic also decreased in this period although total traffic rose by over 20 per cent in the same period.

138. Portuguese official sources claim that by the end of 1970 the losses sustained by Mozambique as a result of the sanctions applied to Southern Rhodesian trade amounted to 6,000 million escudos. According to a radio broadcast from Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia) in October 1971, the Beira blockade caused losses to Mozambique amounting to \$US 125 million. This was considerably below the Portuguese figure.

139. Port facilities at Lourenço Marques and Nacala are currently being expanded. Work on the 600-metre extension of the Gorjão docking facilities was completed in August 1971. A petroleum and mineral quay at Matola is expected to be completed in four years, at a cost of 1,000 million escudos. At Nacala, a new wharf is being built to handle traffic expected from the rail link with Malawi. ^{v/} In September 1971, the Government authorized a new contract with Construções Técnicas, Lda., for the construction of a 40-metre quay, at an estimated cost of 171.3 million escudos.

^{v/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.C, paras. 97 and 100.

Table 8

Mozambique: cargo traffic through Beira and
Lourenço Marques, 1967-1971
(thousand metric tons)

	<u>Beira</u>			<u>Lourenço Marques</u>		
	<u>Incoming</u>	<u>Outgoing</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Incoming</u>	<u>Outgoing</u>	<u>Total</u>
1967	1 687.7	1 831.7	3 519.4	3 543.8	6 647.9	10 191.7
1968	1 901.9	1 659.2	3 561.1	3 710.5	8 345.6	12 056.1
1969	1 201.7	1 373.7	2 575.4	3 110.5	7 808.2	10 918.7
1970	1 121.0	950.0	2 071.0	3 074.0	8 842.0	11 916.0 ^{a/}
1971	1 162.0	1 398.0	2 560.0	3 535.0	9 408.0	12 943.0

Source: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística.

a/ Revised figures.

(b) Air transport

140. Mozambique's major airports are located at Lourenço Marques, Beira, Lumbo and Nampula, the latter two both located in Moçambique District. A new major airport, designed to serve as an alternative airport for long-range aircraft bound for Lourenço Marques and Beira, is to be constructed at Inhambane.

141. Measures to improve air communications included the delivery in November 1971 of the third 707 jet plane purchased by the Direcção de Exploração de Transportes Aéreos (DETA). v/ A fourth Boeing 707 is expected to be delivered by the end of 1972.

142. In July 1972, the Portuguese airlines Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP) granted a loan for 80 million escudos to DETA for airport extension work in Mozambique, within the framework of the Third National Development Plan.

143. Other improvements in air communications during 1972 included the opening of a new 1,500-metre landing strip, suitable for Nord-Atlas and Fokker-Friendship type planes, at Doa airport in Tete, between Moatize and Caldas Xavier. The project cost some 7 million escudos and was reported to have been finished in record time. The runways of the Vila Coutinho airport, in Tete, near the Malawi border, and of Lumbo airport, in Moçambique, were also expanded, at a cost of 10 and 5 million escudos respectively. A new landing strip was also added to the Mocímboa da Praia airport, in Cabo Delgado. In October 1972, the new Cabora Bassa airport, in Songo, was inaugurated. Located some 6 kilometres from the dam site, the airport is equipped with a control tower and paved landing strips.

v/ Ibid., para. 104.

(c) Railways

144. According to a recent report, Mozambique's railway network covers 3,700 kilometres. From 1966 to 1970, railway traffic in the Territory reportedly increased from 13.6 million to 18 million tons, with a corresponding increase in net profits from 1 million to 1.6 million escudos.

145. In September 1971, the railway link between Mozambique and Malawi was officially inaugurated. This link, which was built at a cost of 110 million escudos, extends from Nova Freixo, in Niassa District, to Entre-Lagos, where it connects with the Malawi railway. The Nova Freixo to Nacala link had begun operating in 1970 w/ and now provides Malawi with a direct outlet to the sea.

Public finance

146. In 1970, actual ordinary revenue and expenditure exceeded estimates by approximately 20 per cent. Ordinary revenue which amounted to 8,331.8 million escudos, exceeded estimates by 1,879.0 million escudos. The major sources of additional revenue were consigned receipts, including revenue from ports, harbours and railways which rose from 2,973.7 million to 4,287.6 million escudos; direct taxes, which increased by 221.1 million escudos; and indirect taxes including import and export duties, which rose by 169.0 million escudos (see table 9 below).

147. The largest single increase in expenditure, under the heading of "development services", exceeded estimates by 1,091.0 million escudos.

148. Although final accounts for 1971 have not yet been published according to figures published in the Mozambique Boletim Mensal de Estatística for December 1971, actual ordinary revenue for 1971 exceeded estimates by 11.4 per cent.

149. The Territory's estimated ordinary budget for 1972 is balanced at 8,893.1 million escudos, representing an increase of 791.7 million escudos over 1971. Itemized budgetary estimates are shown in table 10 below.

w/ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, para. 134.

Table 9

Mozambique: public finance, 1969-1972

(million escudos)

A. Revenue

	<u>Actual</u>			<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Total revenue	8 157.2	9 322.7	10 048.3	6 639.2	8 101.4	8 893.1
Ordinary revenue	7 423.1	8 331.8	8 986.1	6 452.8	7 855.3	8 585.7
Direct taxes	1 293.7	1 363.3	1 560.0	1 142.2	1 297.5	1 498.0
Indirect taxes	960.4	1 098.2	1 127.0	929.2	1 007.7	1 096.5
Industries under special régimes	652.5	721.6	774.4	661.4	712.5	630.6
Revenue from services	410.0	507.6	555.3	397.4	480.9	488.4
Income from state and private industries	43.1	41.6	38.6	36.0	37.5	42.5
Earnings on capital	11.6	6.9	14.7	9.4	11.5	10.7
Refunds	292.9	305.0	418.4	303.5	428.4	437.9
Consigned receipts	3 758.9	4 287.6	4 501.8	2 973.7	3 879.3	4 381.1
Extraordinary revenue	734.1	990.9	1 062.3	186.4 ^{a/}	246.1 ^{a/}	307.4 ^{a/}

B. Expenditure^{b/}

Total expenditure	8 115.3	8 883.9	4 893.5	6 639.2	8 101.4	8 893.1
Ordinary expenditure	7 203.5	7 891.7	4 051.3	6 452.8	7 855.3	8 585.7
Public debt	333.9	379.7	231.4	383.7	521.8	572.4
Territorial Government	18.7	29.5	27.8	29.0	36.1	36.8
Retirement and pension	67.2	71.6	82.4	80.0	114.0	131.6
General administration	1 092.4	1 284.6	1 137.1	1 125.3	1 374.7	1 562.7
Treasury	130.0	157.1	150.1	154.4	185.7	193.9
Justice	80.6	96.4	96.2	99.1	116.4	128.6
Development services	3 382.2	3 585.4	289.7	2 494.4	3 142.2	3 479.4
Military services	1 015.3	1 026.4	958.6	932.1	993.1	1 076.3

Table 9 (continued)

	<u>Actual</u>			<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Naval services	118.4	124.8	87.6	124.4	143.9	142.7
General expenditure	959.0	1,116.7	986.2	1,027.0	1,224.0	1,257.9
Other	5.8	19.5	4.3	3.4	3.4	3.4
Extraordinary expenditure	911.8	992.2	842.2	186.4 ^{a/}	246.1 ^{a/}	307.4 ^{a/}

Sources: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, March and December 1971, and budget estimates for respective years.

^{a/} Not including allocations under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973.

^{b/} Figures for 1969 are revised.

Table 10

Mozambique: selected items of estimated expenditure, 1969-1972
(million escudos)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Agricultural Department	42.0	52.6	65.3	75.0
Education	214.1	234.7	289.9	361.7
Public health services	241.9	266.9	322.9	347.0
DGS	41.5	52.3	61.4	67.2
Prisons	14.7	18.3	21.3	20.8
Railways	1 692.0	1 830.0	2 000.0	2 300.0
Post, telegraph and telephone	262.9	250.7	301.7	323.0
Settlement board	13.5	14.3	15.9	15.9

Source: Budgets for respective years.

Implementation of the Third National Development Plan

150. For 1971, the programmed expenditure was 4,115.5 million escudos, but only 1,371.7 million escudos x/ (33.3 per cent) had been authorized by the end of the year (see table 11 below). Priority was again given to transport and communications, which accounted for 40 per cent of the total (558.9 million escudos), followed by agriculture, forestry and livestock, with 29.6 per cent (406.6 million escudos), and education, with 16 per cent (230.3 million escudos). Figures of actual expenditures for 1971 are not yet available.

151. The funds authorized for 1971 were to be financed as follows: Portuguese Government, 13.6 per cent; Mozambique Government, 32.3 per cent; Mozambique autonomous bodies, 1 per cent; public bodies, 4.0 per cent; credit institutions, 49.1 per cent.

Table 11

Mozambique: Implementation of the Third National
Development Plan, 1969-1972
(million escudos)

	Actual expenditure		Authorized expenditure			
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1971 (Revised)	1972 ^{a/}
Agriculture	224.8	207.0	239.1	263.8	406.6	101.1
Industries	6.4	38.0	12.5	17.6	17.5	3.3
Rural development	18.6	16.7	20.3	19.0	17.7	1.5
Electric power	4.5	23.5	10.0	10.9	27.6	11.0
Marketing	-	24.4	4.2	18.2	41.2	16.7
Transport and communications	257.0	449.4	357.1	519.5	558.9	252.0
Tourism	0.1	15.1	5.7	6.0	7.0	-
Education	116.6	283.5	220.0	235.1	230.3	57.1
Housing	1.8	2.0	1.8	-	0.9	6.7
Health and welfare	33.3	53.6	56.8	43.5	64.0	17.2
Total	663.1	1 113.2	927.5	1 136.6	1 371.7	466.6

Sources: Portugal, Diário das Sessões, Contas G.ais do Estado (Ultramar) 1969 and 1970; Mozambique, official gazettes, 1970-1971.

a/ Provisional figures up to July 1972.

x/ These figures have been revised since first reported in the Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 A/8423/Rev.1, chap. VIII, annex I.C, table 4.

Education

152. The Provincial Secretary of Education of Mozambique reported in October 1971 that school enrolment in the Territory had increased from 449,551 students in 1960 to 626,362 in 1971 and that the number of teachers had increased from 7,608 to 14,509. Because of the lack of qualified professional teachers it had been necessary to engage 1,138 professores de ensino eventual (supplementary teachers) during the academic year 1970/71. He added that, at the same time, the Government had increased the number of training courses for monitores, y/ or rural school post teachers, as well as courses for regular teachers, to improve the teaching standard and to introduce new methods. In 1970/71, there were 9,745 monitores teaching in the government schools. Budgetary allocations for these teachers for 1971/72 was expected to amount to 218 million escudos.

153. According to the same source, there were some 28,000 students enrolled in private schools in the Territory in 1970/71, of whom 17,447 were in primary schools and 6,469 in secondary schools. The Government is seeking to encourage expansion of the role of private schools and in 1971 introduced measures granting tax exemptions on capital investment in private schools, tuition loans and improvement of school buildings (Diploma Legislativo 3047, 24 September).

154. The Government also authorized the establishment of 24 new schools and 22 new school posts in 1971. The new schools were to be located as follows: seven in Lourenço Marques; one each in Inhambane, Beira and Vila Pery; two in Zambézia; five each in Cabo Delgado and Moçambique; and two in Niassa. The new school posts were to be distributed as follows: four in Gaza; three in Inhambane; one in Beira; three in Vila Pery; one in Tete; five in Zambézia; three in Cabo Delgado; and two in Niassa. According to a press report, 279 new school posts were created in Mozambique in 1971, but their locations were not specified.

155. In 1970, there were 1,700 students enrolled in the University of Lourenço Marques, which has faculties of art, veterinary medicine, engineering, economics, natural sciences, pharmacy and medicine.

156. Under the Third National Development Plan, 230.3 million escudos were allocated for education for 1971. Budget estimates for education for the same year amounted to 289.9 million escudos. Allocations for assistance to Roman Catholic missions amounted to 78.9 million escudos, and for the University of Lourenço Marques, 147.7 million escudos. The 1972 budget estimates provide 361.7 million escudos for education, 157.4 million escudos for assistance to the Roman Catholic missions and 74.8 million escudos for the University of Lourenço Marques.

y/ Most of the rural school posts which provide only three years of primary school and the pre-primary class are taught by monitores. These are teachers who have completed four years of primary education and a special two-month training course before they begin to teach, plus a one-month training course the following year. Full primary schools provide four years of schooling.

157. As previously reported z/ plans to build a university city in Lourenço Marques were approved in 1970. In September 1971, the Overseas Minister authorized a loan of 33 million escudos from the Mozambique Credit Institute to purchase land for the project. In November 1971, the contract for construction of the first phase of the project was awarded to the Centro de Projetos Industriais (PROFABRIL). When completed the building complex will occupy an area of 95 hectares. The total cost of the project is estimated at 300 million escudos.

158. Portuguese authorities do not publish information on the ethnic composition of the student population or the teaching profession. It is not possible therefore, to evaluate more specifically the relative effect of Portugal's educational and cultural policy on the African population of the Territory. On the basis of general information regarding the policies of the Portuguese Government, it may be assumed however that the proportion of Africans in high school and in the teaching profession is very low.

Table 12

Mozambique: School statistics, 1970

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Pupils</u>
Primary	5 096	9 745	579 840
Intermediate	60	912	16 315
Secondary (<u>liceu</u>)	54 ^{a/}	667	8 209
Technical	42 ^{a/}	920	14 521
University	<u>1</u>	<u>...</u>	<u>1 700</u>
Total	<u>5 251</u>	<u>12 244</u>	<u>615 585</u>

Source: Compiled from The Washington Post, 6 February 1972, Supplement prepared by Garpel, Lisbon, Portugal.

a/ Includes private schools.

z/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.C, para. 110.

D. GUINEA (BISSAU) AND CAPE VERDE*

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APPENDICES

- I. MAP OF GUINEA (BISSAU)
- II. MAP OF CAPE VERDE

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.844.

I. GUINEA (BISSAU)

1. GENERAL

1. The Territory of Guinea (Bissau) lies on the west coast of Africa between latitudes 12° 40' N and 10° 52' N and longitudes 13° 38' W and 16° 43' W. Besides the mainland, it comprises the Bijagós Archipelago and a string of islands. The total area of the Territory is 36,125 square kilometres, of which approximately one tenth is periodically submerged by tidal waters and largely covered with mangrove. The Territory is bound on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by Senegal, and on the east and south by the Republic of Guinea.

2. According to the provisional figures of the 1970 Portuguese census, the total resident population of the Territory was 487,448 compared with 521,336 in 1960. Therefore, the population counted by the Portuguese Government dropped by almost 7 per cent during the decade. Since 1950, the Portuguese Government has not published statistical data by race. According to the 1950 census, out of a total population of 510,777, there were 2,263 Europeans, 4,568 mestiços, 11 Indians, 1,478 "assimilated" Africans and 502,457 Africans. A newspaper source estimated that in 1970 the Territory had a total population of 800,000, of whom 3,000 were Europeans. In 1971, the population of Bissau, the capital, was reported at 25,000, but no other town had more than a few thousand residents. In 1972, it was also estimated that there were some 80,000 refugees from the Territory living in Senegal.

3. In 1972, the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) reported that, as a result of the armed struggle for national liberation of the Territory from colonial domination, almost three quarters of the Territory had been liberated and two thirds were under PAIGC control.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

4. Since the beginning of the armed struggle in Guinea (Bissau) in 1963, the forces of PAIGC have gradually penetrated the entire Territory. By 1964, PAIGC was already organizing its liberation forces into a regular army. In 1968, PAIGC began attacks on Portuguese military outposts and by 1969 was striking urban centres. PAIGC reports that, by June 1969, the Portuguese forces had withdrawn to the main urban centres, to road sections linking the main urban centres and to some waterways essential for supplying inland military camps. In 1970, PAIGC attacked almost all the main urban centres. In an attempt to obstruct the liberation process, Portuguese forces were reported to have stepped up activities against the people of the liberated areas, including the bombing of schools and the use of napalm, white phosphorous and fragmentation bombs. By 1971, it was reported that Portuguese forces were no longer safe in any part of the Territory; civilians in urban centres lived in a permanent state of alert; and most Portuguese officials had sent their families back to Portugal. Portuguese forces continued their frequent bombing of the liberated areas, particularly with napalm and helicopter operations. In June 1971, despite Portuguese repression, PAIGC artillery with infantry support managed to break through the Portuguese defences of Bissau, the capital, and attack military positions in the town. The attack on Bissau was followed up with an intensification of political activities in the capital.

5. Early in 1972, speaking before the Security Council during its meetings in Africa, a/ Mr. Amílcar Cabral, the late Secretary-General of PAIGC, said that the people of the Territory had already achieved self-determination through nine years of armed struggle, and the situation in Guinea (Bissau) was comparable to that of an independent State with certain portions of its national territory occupied by foreign armed forces.

6. Since 1971, PAIGC has represented Guinea (Bissau) in the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), of which the Territory has been designated an associate member.

Political developments

Political and administrative developments inside Guinea (Bissau)

7. PAIGC was founded in Bissau in 1956 by Mr. Amílcar Cabral who was its leader until his assassination in January 1973 (see below). In 1959, after Portuguese troops had put down a dock strike in Pídjiguiti and killed 50 workers, PAIGC decided to prepare for an armed struggle and started to work in the countryside to mobilize the peasantry.

a/ S/PV.1632.

8. The PAIGC programme envisages the total and unconditional national independence of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and the takeover of power by their inhabitants. The programme envisages economic, political, social and cultural unity of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and also provides that the characteristics of the various ethnic groups of Guinea (Bissau) would be taken into account. It calls for the organization of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde after independence into a democratic republic based on political institutions to be defined by representatives of the people elected by universal, direct, secret ballot.

9. In 1964, one year after the launching of the armed struggle, PAIGC held a party congress inside Guinea (Bissau) which decided, among other things: (a) to divide the Territory into regions and zones around strategic bases; (b) to revise the party's political structure; and (c) to create a regular army, the Forças Armadas Revolucionárias do Povo (FARP).

10. Following the Party Congress of 1964, PAIGC proceeded to establish a network of elected village committees which are responsible for the supervision of trade, education, public health and everyday security and for the administration of the law. Their major task is envisaged as widening and intensifying popular participation in the government of the liberated areas. In 1969/70, PAIGC created sector committees with elected members for some 30 administrative sectors into which it had divided the liberated areas. In 1971, in a further step to consolidate its structural hierarchy, PAIGC set up elected regional committees for each of its 15 regions.

11. This political and administrative organization of the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) provided the structure for the elections of the first People's National Assembly in 1972. The decision to hold general elections for the creation of the Assembly was taken by the Supreme Council of the Struggle in August 1971. The electoral process was divided into several phases. The first was a campaign of political explanation followed by the drawing up of an electoral register for each sector. Direct and secret elections were then held in the villages where "yes" and "no" votes were cast for lists of local candidates for each sector. Finally, the elected candidates were organized into 15 regional councils from which 72 representatives were chosen to sit in the People's National Assembly. To these were added 5 more to represent the trade unions of Guinea (Bissau) and 3 persons elected by students, most of whom were in Europe. To the total of 80 elected representatives, PAIGC added another 40 from its members.

12. According to a PAIGC communiqué on the elections, the total number of registered voters was 87,517, which included 4,517 voters outside the Territory. A total of 82,032 persons cast their votes, or 93.73 per cent of the registered electorate. Of this total, 79,680 voted "yes" and 2,352 voted "no". The largest number of voters was registered in the liberated areas of the north.

13. Mr. Basil Davidson, an African specialist, who was present in the last phase of the elections inside Guinea (Bissau) wrote that the registration of

voters was no easy task, given the circumstances of the war and the fact that Portuguese colonial rule had done almost nothing to promote literacy. He noted that, although the total number of registered voters was far less than the population of the liberated areas, it was "an undoubtedly convincing start to this first-ever exercise in electoral consultation". According to Mr. Davidson, the election of the People's National Assembly with a minority of members from PAIGC and two thirds elected by secret ballot may be seen as the beginning of the separation of powers between legislative and executive, State and party, to which PAIGC leaders had frequently referred in their discussions with the electorate.

14. In Mr. Cabral's New Year's Message, released by PAIGC early in 1973, he announced that a constitution was under preparation. Under the constitution, the People's National Assembly would be the supreme organ of the people's sovereignty. A People's National Assembly would also be formed in the future in Cape Verde, and the national assemblies of the two Territories would together form the Supreme Assembly of the Peoples of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. Mr. Cabral said that a major task to be accomplished in 1973 was to ensure the functioning of the recently elected People's National Assembly and that, during 1973, the Assembly would meet to proclaim the State of Guinea, set up an executive power and promulgate the constitution. From that moment on, the executive of the new State under the leadership of PAIGC would be the only legitimate representative of the people of the Territory at the national and international levels.

Assassination of Amílcar Cabral

15. On 20 January 1973, Mr. Amílcar Cabral, the founder and Secretary-General of PAIGC, was assassinated in Conakry. Mr. Cabral was fatally shot outside his house at PAIGC headquarters by Mr. Inocêncio Camilo, the commander of the naval force of PAIGC. It was reported that Mr. Camilo had joined the PAIGC some three years ago as a defector from the Portuguese armed forces. The assassination was announced by President Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea who immediately called a meeting of the Central Committee of the Parti démocratique de Guinée and members of his Government. The meeting was also attended by the Algerian and Cuban ambassadors to Guinea and by a delegation from the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO). At the meeting, the Guinean authorities took measures to initiate an immediate investigation of the assassination, including the holding of hearings of the suspects. The Guinean authorities then announced that, after the assassination, the Guinean Navy had overtaken three PAIGC boats which had set out in the direction of Bissau with the aim of handing over to the Portuguese authorities the members of PAIGC who had been kidnapped.

16. President Sékou Touré set up a Committee of Inquiry to further investigate the assassination. The Committee, which heard evidence from 465 witnesses, was composed of Guinean political leaders and representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Egypt, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, as well as representatives of FRELIMO and PAIGC. It was reported that 43 persons had been charged with participation in the assassination and related

incidents, 9 had been charged with complicity and 42 were still considered suspect. On completion of the Committee's investigation, the Guinean authorities were reported to have handed over responsibility for the trial to PAIGC.

17. Prior to Mr. Cabral's assassination, an article by Mr. Colin Legum in The Observer (London, 14 January 1973) pointed out that the real threat Portugal faced in the immediate future was in Guinea (Bissau). The new People's National Assembly formed by PAIGC would shortly proclaim the Territory's independence and would apply for recognition by the United Nations of the Territory's independent status, which would be accorded by most States. Therefore, there was no single escape for Portugal from its hostage position in Guinea (Bissau). Mr. Legum wrote that the strategist behind the PAIGC plan was Mr. Amílcar Cabral, "one of the most significant revolutionary leaders so far produced in the Third World", and concluded that a great deal more was likely to be heard about him. In April 1973, Mr. Basil Davidson wrote that the evidence from the inquiry, partly conducted by PAIGC, into the assassination of Mr. Cabral led directly to the Portuguese authorities in Bissau. The colonial Government in Guinea (Bissau), aware that military means would never be enough to defeat PAIGC, had turned to political warfare and launched its "better Guinea" programme. But it had become rapidly apparent that this programme could hope to succeed only if PAIGC were destroyed.

18. Mr. Nzo Ekangaki, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), expressed deep shock at the assassination, an act which, in his view, would, nevertheless, only serve to strengthen the determination of the PAIGC fighters. Major Kevame Baah, the Chairman of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, declared that Africa would surely avenge the death of Mr. Cabral. The Secretary-General of the United Nations deeply deplored the assassination as a brutal act of violence, and the Special Committee held a special meeting to pay tribute to Mr. Cabral (see A/AC.109/PV.895).

19. On 24 January 1973, the Portuguese press announced that Mr. Vitor Monteiro, a Cape Verdian and Lisbon-educated economist, would succeed Mr. Cabral as Secretary-General of PAIGC. On 28 January, Radio Conakry denounced the Portuguese statement as "a divisionary manoeuvre organized by imperialism to ruin by subversion the moral and ideological unity of the liberation movements". According to Radio Conakry, there had been no election of a new Secretary-General either in Conakry or in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau).

20. Early in February, PAIGC announced that Mr. Aristides Pereira, Deputy Secretary-General of PAIGC, would be Acting Secretary-General pending a meeting of the higher organs of the party. The PAIGC also announced that the first meeting of the People's National Assembly would be held in the first half of 1973.

Other developments

21. Apart from PAIGC, another liberation movement related to Guinea (Bissau) is the Frente para a Libertação e Independência da Guiné Portuguesa (FLING) which was formed in 1953 as a merger of several small groups. One of these groups, the

Movimento de Libertação da Guiné (MLG), which continued somewhat independently within FLING until 1964, was reportedly responsible for attacks on towns bordering Senegal as early as 1961. There has been no information on further military activities by FLING or any of the groups which were amalgamated into FLING.

22. On 11 January 1973, Mr. Domingos Joseph Dasylva addressed a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in which he reported that, in 1970, at a general assembly held at Dakar, a new bureau had been elected to represent the movement, known as the Frente de Luta pela Independência Nacional da Guiné Bissau (FLING-UNIFIE). Mr. Dasylva is the Secretary-General of FLING-UNIFIE (see A/AC.109/PET.1241).

Military operations of the liberation forces

23. As reported in paragraph 9 above, soon after the beginning of the armed struggle, PAIGC began to organize its forces into a regular army, known as FARP. By 1967 mobile groups of 23 men had been formed, each comprising a group commander, a political commissar and 21 men armed with sub-machine guns, a bazooka and a heavy machine gun. Some groups were reported to have a mortar. In 1971, it was reported that the army had become better equipped and had secured its rear, thus permitting the forward units to increase their activities particularly against urban areas including Bissau, the capital. The military communiqués issued by PAIGC in 1972 indicate that FARP forces were organized into commando units.

24. In 1972, a newspaper report quoted Mr. Cabral as putting the strength of PAIGC forces at 10,000 armed men. According to another source, FARP comprised 5,000 men plus 2,000 to 3,000 auxiliary forces and some 2,000 members of village militia. The latter are self-defence units which protect their own villages and also have responsibility for explaining the party and its objectives to the local population. Early in 1973, one press report estimated the strength of the PAIGC army at 7,000 regulars and some 10,000 militia.

25. The PAIGC forces engaged in intense military activity throughout 1972. Most of the military operations were directed against fortified Portuguese camps near urban centres. The next most frequent type of action was the ambush of Portuguese military vehicles and troops on roads linking the main towns. The main urban centres attacked by PAIGC forces included Bafatá, Bolama, Catió, Farim, Gabu (Nova Lamego) and Mansoa. PAIGC communiqués also reported attacks on Portuguese garrisons at Barré, Bigene, Geba, Guidage, Mansabá, Ngoré, Olossato, São Domingos and Sumbundo in the north; Pirada and Sare Bacar in the north-east; Buruntuma, Canquelifá and Pitche in the east; and Bedanda, Cacine, Cufar, Empada, Guiledge, Kebo, Xime and Xitole in the south.

26. Among the major operations carried out in 1972 were an attack on the Catió airport in January and an attack in March on the international airport of Bissalanca, located 9 kilometres from Bissau. PAIGC also claimed responsibility for bombs which exploded in Bissau early in the year. In May, a FARP commando

unit attacked the new radio transmitter recently dedicated by the Overseas Minister at Nhacra, some 25 kilometres from Bissau. PAIGC forces shot down a helicopter Alouette 2 at Paunca in the north-east part of the Territory and a Cessna reconnaissance airplane near Pirada in the same region. During an attack on the Portuguese garrison at Gabu, PAIGC forces reached the centre of the town. In November, as a result of 75 major actions, PAIGC reported that its forces had killed over 140 Portuguese soldiers and wounded another 100, the highest monthly casualty figure for Portuguese troops since the beginning of the war. PAIGC forces also destroyed six military vehicles and two helicopters and repulsed an attack by 400 Portuguese airborne troops in the north-east.

27. In 1972, Mr. Cabral said that the revolutionary movement had spread throughout the country and not a simple urban area or a single fortified camp was safe from the attacks of PAIGC. Mr. Cabral is reported to have expressed the view that the Portuguese authorities had recognized that they had lost, militarily, in Guinea (Bissau), but that they were unwilling to admit the fact because of the effect it would have on the situation in Angola and Mozambique.

28. According to the Portuguese official military communiqués, during 1972, PAIGC forces had continuously shelled Portuguese positions along the border areas as well as some areas inside the Territory. The main locations shelled by PAIGC included Suzana, São Domingos, Ingoré, Bigene, Guidage, Farim, Cambaju, Sare Uale, Sare Bacar and Pirada in the north; Buruntuma and Piche in the east; Guilege and Aldeia Formosa in the south-east; Guilejé, Gadamael Porto and Cacine in the south; and Catió, Bedanda and Empada in the south-west. Most of these places were attacked several times, for example, Aldeia Formosa was shelled on at least 10 different occasions, São Domingos, 9 times, Guilejé, 7 times and Guidage and Pirada each 6 times.

29. Other PAIGC military activities described in the Portuguese military communiqués included the laying of mines, disruption of rural work in Portuguese-controlled areas and attacks on motor vehicles. Some of these activities took place in central areas of the Territory, such as the disruption of rural work in the Bafatá region in January; a clash with Portuguese troops in the Empada region in February; and a clash in a forest area of the Bafatá region in March.

30. The Portuguese military communiqué for the first fortnight of May 1972 acknowledged the PAIGC attack on the new radio transmitter at Nhacra (see paragraph 26 above).

Reconstruction efforts in the liberated areas

31. In its reconstruction efforts in the liberated areas, PAIGC has paid particular attention to developing agriculture, the work of artisans and small local industries. The cultivation of rice, the main food staple of the Territory, has been expanded to new areas. Other crops under cultivation include cassava, potatoes and beans.

32. The basic needs of the population in the liberated areas are supplied by a network of people's stores. Production from the liberated areas is also traded through these stores. The main goods imported into the liberated areas are cotton textiles, mosquito netting, machetes, hoe blades, salt, sugar, tobacco, bicycles, saucepans, sewing machines, fish-hooks and lines, matches, torches and torch batteries. The main goods exported are rice, cola nuts, crocodile and other skins, coconuts, rubber and bees' wax.

33. Developments in the educational field in the liberated areas have been based on a PAIGC general directive of 1965 which read in part:

"... to create schools and spread education in all liberated regions. Select young people between 14 and 20, those who have at least completed their fourth year, for further training. Oppose without violence all prejudicial customs, the negative aspects of the beliefs and traditions of our people. Oblige every responsible and dedicated member of our Party to work daily for the improvement of their cultural formation."

34. In 1965/66, PAIGC was reported to have set up a network of 127 primary schools in the liberated areas with 191 newly trained teachers and 13,361 pupils aged 7 to 15 years. In 1972, PAIGC reportedly had 20,000 children enrolled in some 200 primary schools with a staff of 251 teachers. These schools have been supplied with textbooks printed in the Scandinavian countries as well as books provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), including exercise books supplied by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A total of 495 persons were attending high schools or universities in friendly countries. By 1972, PAIGC had also trained 497 high-level and middle-level civil servants and professionals who were working within the PAIGC administrative structure inside the Territory.

35. Health services have also been expanded in the liberated areas. In 1969, PAIGC was reported to have 6 field hospitals, 120 clinics and 23 mobile medical teams at work. Its main hospital at Boé in the south-west had approximately 200 beds and was equipped for conducting surgical operations. By January 1973, 200 clinics had been established in the liberated areas.

3. PORTUGAL'S STRATEGY OF REPRESSION

Military activities

36. According to Portuguese military communiqués issued in 1972, Portuguese troops were engaged in military activities aimed at repressing the struggle of PAIGC to complete the liberation of the Territory and protect areas already under its control. Portuguese troops carried out a score of code-named operations with the objective of dislodging PAIGC forces from areas they hold. In one operation carried out in the Sare Bacar region in the north, Portuguese sources claimed that a large cache of arms had been seized from PAIGC forces; in another operation, carried out in the forests near Catió in the south, Portuguese paratroopers were ferried in by helicopters to attack a PAIGC meeting place. In general, most of the activities reported in the Portuguese communiqués appear to have been initiated by PAIGC forces who held the offensive throughout the year. Nevertheless, as in previous years, the Portuguese communiqués reported a small Portuguese death toll, seldom more than five or six in a month, while claiming that PAIGC had lost on an average some 50 men a month.

37. In April 1972, a Portuguese military communiqué reported that PAIGC forces were engaged in "creating security conditions for the visit of a small group of foreigners who constituted a special mission of the Committee of 24". According to the communiqué, Portuguese troops were immediately sent to the south in an attempt to disrupt the security arrangements made by PAIGC. During the same month, the Overseas Minister made a tour of the Territory. The time of his visit was reported to have coincided with the visit of the United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas under PAIGC control and, therefore, with the intensified bombing of these areas, which is described in that mission's report. b/

38. In June, General Sá Viana Rebelo, the Portuguese Minister of National Defence and the Army, toured the areas controlled by the Portuguese. Upon his return to Lisbon, he claimed that he had visited by car and helicopter border areas and the interior of the Territory including the region visited by the United Nations Special Mission. According to one report, the Minister's visit was an attempt to strengthen Portugal's image following the visit of the United Nations Special Mission to the areas liberated by PAIGC.

39. In August 1972, the Portuguese authorities installed a new military garrison at Cubisseco in the south to protect the construction of an aldeamento (fortified village). The Portuguese communiqués for September-October reported an intensification of PAIGC military activity in the Cubisseco region where the garrison had been deployed.

40. An increase in the military activities of PAIGC towards the end of the year appears to have led to the visit of Admiral Pereira Crespo, the Portuguese Minister of the Navy, in December, and the visit of General Costa Gomes, the Portuguese Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, in January 1973.

b/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex I, para. 17.

41. In December, also, the Portuguese armed forces launched a large-scale operation in the south envisaging "the military occupation of the Cantanhez region with a view to setting up a network of new villages". The first military garrisons were deployed at Caboxanque and Cadique Iala. These villages are located between Bedanda and Cabedu. In the Portuguese report, it was noted that they had been indicated in the itinerary of the United Nations Special Mission. In January 1973, the deployment of troops was extended to Cafal Balanta, another village in the Cantanhez region. General António Spínola, the Governor of the Territory, and General Costa Gomes flew to Cafal Balanta for the arrival of troops. According to one report the reoccupation of the Cantanhez region is part of a development plan for the southern region which envisages the implementation of rural housing, health, educational and agricultural projects. The population is to be resettled in new aldeamentos built and guarded by Portuguese troops. c/

42. According to reports in the international press, the operation under way in the Cantanhez region is the largest combined operation launched by the Portuguese armed forces since the beginning of the war. General Spínola is in personal command of this effort to retake liberated areas in the south. The operation was preceded by heavy strikes by Fiat G-91 fighters and sea-borne landings by thousands of assault forces. The operation was reportedly planned to prevent what was anticipated to be the largest PAIGC attack on Portuguese positions. News of the PAIGC build-up was said to have been confirmed by a defector who informed the Portuguese authorities that PAIGC was massing armour in the south, including amphibious armoured vehicles mounted with cannons and machine-guns. There has been no indication of the results of the Portuguese offensive.

Troop deployment

43. In 1972, Portuguese troops stationed in the Territory were estimated at 26,000 by the Financial Times (London) and at 45,000 by Le Monde. Some of the Portuguese officers participating in military operations in Guinea (Bissau) have reportedly attended an anti-guerrilla commando course at Fort Bragg in the United States of America under the direction of the military group known as the Green Berets.

44. During 1972, the Portuguese authorities claimed that more all-African military units were being trained. Locally recruited new units formed during the year included a third commando company and six new militia companies. The Territory's three commando companies had been organized into the first commando battalion. According to the Portuguese press, African forces under Portuguese command in Guinea (Bissau) now include a commando battalion, two detachments of special fusiliers, regular garrisons and scores of militia companies, totalling an estimated 40 per cent of the Portuguese troops in Guinea (Bissau).

c/ Plans to exploit bauxite deposits in the Boé region also appear to be related to this attempt of reoccupation. See para. 80 below.

45. General Spínola has stated that the "Africanization" of the Portuguese armed forces in Guinea (Bissau) was the first priority in the process of "regionalization of structures" (see paragraph 64 below). He was reported to be using Africans in the war because of their "natural adaptation to the environment, their complete familiarity with the terrain, and their ability to move about and survive in the bush". According to one source, the African force was created mainly because of the increase among members of the Portuguese army in the number of disputes and conflicts concerning the colonial war resulting in a high rate of desertion.

46. In 1972, General Spínola dedicated two housing projects for the exclusive use of African members of the Portuguese armed forces. The first project, dedicated in August, is located at Bra, a suburb of Bissau on the road to the airport. It consists of 28 houses and will include a school and a playground. The second project, dedicated in November, is located in Suzana in the north-west.

4. CONDITIONS IN AREAS UNDER PORTUGUESE CONTROL

Political and administrative developments

47. Under the Portuguese Constitution as revised in 1971 and the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, Guinea (Bissau) remains an "overseas province" of Portugal. d/ Although the Constitution provides for some measure of political, administrative and financial "autonomy", the exercise of this autonomy "shall not affect the unity of the nation, the solidarity among all portions of the Portuguese territory or the integrity of the sovereignty of the State" (article 136). e/

48. The present Portuguese system provides for the participation of the Territories in the direction of national policy through: (a) the election of the Head of State every seven years; (b) representation in the National Assembly elections every four years; (c) representation in the Corporative Chamber; and (d) representation in the Overseas Council.

49. At the elections of the Head of State in 1965, Guinea (Bissau) was represented by five members in the electoral college of 616 members. There are no corresponding figures for the presidential elections which took place in 1972. f/

50. Guinea (Bissau) is represented by only one member in the Portuguese National Assembly, which has a total of 130 members. At the last elections, which took place in 1969, Mr. Jaime Pinto Bull, an African and the incumbent deputy representing the Territory, was re-elected. From July 1970, when Mr. Pinto Bull was killed in a helicopter accident during a visit to the Territory, until early 1972, the Territory had no representative in the National Assembly. Following amendment of the regulation governing elections to the National Assembly to provide for separate elections to fill vacancies (Decree Law 556/71), early in 1972, Mr. Nicolau Martins Nunes, the candidate of the government party, Acção Nacional Popular (ANP), was elected to represent the Territory in the National Assembly. Mr. Nunes was the only candidate. Dr. António Baticã Ferreira, an

d/ For a detailed description of the constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law of 1963, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 17-73 and 171-176, and ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 18-82 and annex I.D, para. 3.

e/ Portugal. Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Secretariat of State for Information and Tourism, 1971. English text.

f/ For an over-all breakdown of the composition of the 1972 electoral college, see annex I.A above, para. 35.

African of the Manjaco ethnic group, now a physician in Lisbon, had intended to stand for election but failed to register his candidacy in time. No information is available on the electorate in the Portuguese-controlled areas of Guinea (Bissau). It is not yet known how many representatives from Guinea (Bissau) will sit in the National Assembly, whose membership has been increased from 130 to 150. f/

51. Apart from the National Assembly, Guinea (Bissau) is represented by one member in the 218-member Corporative Chamber, and two representatives in the Overseas Council, the highest consultative body on matters affecting the overseas Territories.

52. The main outline of the structure of the territorial Government is set out in the Overseas Organic Law of 1972 (Law No. 5/72). h/ Details concerning the structure of the territorial Government are contained in the new political and administrative statute of the Territory which was published on 22 December 1972 (Decree 542/72).

53. Under the new provisions, Guinea (Bissau) is designated an "autonomous region of the Portuguese Republic" having its own "juridical personality in public internal law". However, there are no major changes in the system of government.

54. The main decision-making organs of the territorial Government comprise the Governor, the Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board. The Governor continues to be appointed by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Overseas Minister, and he remains the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory.

55. Under the new statute, a 17-member Legislative Assembly has replaced the Legislative Council, which was created in the Territory by the Overseas Organic Law of 1963 and had a membership of 14. The Legislative Assembly is presided over by the Governor, but the deputy of the Attorney-General, the Treasurer and the Secretary-General are no longer ex officio members. Of the 17 members, only 5 are elected by direct franchise and the remaining are elected by various interest groups as follows:

- (a) Three by the autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities) from among their own members;
- (b) Three by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest;

g/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 36.

h/ The draft of the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, which was adopted with only minor changes, is summarized in the Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 32-59.

- (c) Two by corporative bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations of economic interest;
- (d) Two by corporative bodies representing workers' interests;
- (e) Two by bodies representing moral and cultural interests.

56. The former Legislative Council included two representatives of taxpayers registered as paying direct taxes amounting to a minimum of 1,000 escudos and representative of "religious" interests. In the new Legislative Assembly, the first category has been dropped; the second has been replaced by representatives of "moral" interests; and new members have been added, representing the groups indicated above.

57. The Government Council has been replaced by an Advisory Board with similar powers and functions. The former Government Council was composed of four ex officio members (namely the Secretary-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the deputy of the Attorney-General and the Treasurer), and three members of the Legislative Council, one of whom had to be a representative of the autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities). The new Advisory Board will have five elected members and four ex officio members. In addition, the Governor may appoint as members of the Board individuals of "known competence and prestige in their social milieu". The elected membership will be as follows:

- (a) One by administrative bodies from among their own members;
- (b) One by bodies representing moral and cultural interests;
- (c) One by corporative bodies representing business enterprises, associations or activities of economic interest;
- (d) One by corporative bodies representing workers;
- (e) One by the autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities).

The ex officio members are as follows:

- (a) The Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces or, if the Commander-in-Chief is the Governor, the most senior commander among the commanders of the three branches of the armed forces;
- (b) The deputy of the Attorney-General;
- (c) The Treasurer;
- (d) The head of the Planning Department.

58. It will be noted that Guinea (Bissau) is the only Territory where the Commander-in-Chief is an ex officio member of the Advisory Board, probably owing to

the war situation and to the system of military administration which has been in force since 1967 in those areas of Guinea (Bissau) still under Portuguese control. i/

59. Although in his statements on the "better Guinea" policy General Spínola, has emphasized the need for the participation of the local population in the development of the Territory and, particularly, their participation in the administration of their own affairs, the memberships of the new Legislative Assembly and Advisory Board do not appear to correspond to those principles. In the Legislative Assembly, there are only five members to be elected by direct franchise compared with three in the previous Legislative Council. The increase is of no significance, and, furthermore, unless the requirements for eligibility to the Legislative Assembly are changed, few Africans will be able to qualify as candidates. j/ Apart from the three members elected by indigenous authorities, which are the same as those represented in the Legislative Council, all other members are to be elected by Portuguese organizations and economic interests and it is not likely that any of these will be Africans. In particular, there is no information to show that any of the major economic activities in areas still under Portuguese control are in the hands of Africans. The continuing dominance of Portuguese interests also characterizes the membership of the Advisory Board in which only one member will represent indigenous authorities.

60. The Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board were to begin functioning by May 1973, and elections to both were to be held before 31 March 1973.

61. The new statute does not introduce any changes in the system of local administration; k/ however, legislation is to be issued to regulate the powers and functions of local administrative authorities.

62. In October 1972, General Spínola called a special joint session of the Legislative Council and the Government Council "to analyse and discuss" the proposed new political and administrative statute of the Territory. In itself this procedure represented a departure from that adopted in Angola where the Legislative Council was not consulted on the new political and administrative statute (see annex I.B above, para. 77). In his speech introducing the new statute,

i/ For details on this system, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex IV, paras. 19-20.

j/ The basic requirements for eligibility are: (a) to be a Portuguese citizen of age (over 21); (b) to be able to read and write Portuguese; and (c) to have resided in the Territory for over one year. This last requirement has been reduced from three years, which means that it is now easier for a Portuguese settler to register as a candidate.

k/ For details on the system of local administration, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 78-82.

General Spínola said that the existing situation in the Territory had resulted from the able exploitation by others of the delayed adjustments needed in Africa after the Second World War and of the socio-political differences among ethnic groups. He said that the Portuguese Government could not ignore the African reality, but it would not accept renunciation as a solution or the granting of a classic form of independence which would only serve to throw the people of the Territory into a supposedly "Machiavellian colonial process". The Portuguese Government believed that it was necessary to develop schemes of co-operation and interdependence linking Africans and Europeans in the construction of a solid political and economic unity. It was stated rather equivocally that in effect the problem would only be solved when Portugal could offer the Africans a country which they actually felt was also theirs, in which they found satisfaction of their expectations of well-being and political and social expression.

63. According to a report in the international press, General Spínola has acknowledged the fact that there was little more the Portuguese armed forces could do militarily than what they were already doing. Their role was to maintain the status quo while Portuguese authorities exerted a massive effort to win over the population. This effort has been the basis of General Spínola's policy of a "better Guinea" which was first enunciated by Prime Minister Caetano when he visited the Territory in 1969. ^{1/} Early in 1972, when General Spínola's four-year term as Governor was nearing its end, it was reported that many people feared in Lisbon that if he were to leave, his policy of counter-revolution would decline in Guinea (Bissau). In April, however, the Portuguese Government extended General Spínola for another two-year term as Governor.

64. On several occasions during 1972 and early in 1973, General Spínola restated Portugal's colonial policy for Guinea (Bissau). Despite the obvious inadequacies of the educational system in the Territory, he asserted that the main objective of that policy was the building of a Luso-African society which could ensure economic and social progress at a rapid rate and could guarantee social justice and equality under the law for "all the Portuguese of Guinea". He also claimed that the objective of the Government was a "better Guinea" administered by Guineans under the Portuguese flag, which would be attained by a process of "regionalization of structures". He described this process as one by which Africans would be gradually trained to meet the manpower needs of the Territory both in the private and public sectors. The development of Africans, he said, had to be gradual because "to know how to command one must first learn how to be commanded". The principle of gradual development also implied the idea of selectivity to ensure that the administration of public and private interests did not become a political and economic tool for ill-disguised oligarchies.

65. Although reiterating that his willingness to see the over-all concept of "free choice for the peoples" implemented by a plebiscite whenever it was deemed necessary, he maintained that the people of the Territory had already made their

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.D, paras. 6-12.

free choice. Therefore, in the current situation in Guinea (Bissau) there was no need for a plebiscite, "not only because Guinea is an integral part of an independent nation, but above all, because its peoples have been demonstrating clearly... their unmisakable support of the current policy of the Portuguese Government, a policy which can thus be regarded as a plebiscite without recourse to formal processes".

66. During 1972, the Portuguese authorities sponsored a "Third Congress of the People of Guinea" in Bissau. As in the case of the previous congresses, it was also preceded by regional congresses of various ethnic groups. m/ General Spínola has claimed that these congresses will soon be formalized as a means of discussing with Africans their own interests and therefrom informing the Legislative Assembly. During the same year, ANP, the government and only legal political party, set up 7 committees, 26 delegations and 105 núcleos (centres) in the Portuguese-controlled areas of the Territory. The ANP is reported to have some 20,000 members in Guinea (Bissau). As part of its programme of more intense communication with the African population, during 1972, ANP reportedly held 50 meetings in Bissau and 2,000 meetings in other areas of the Territory to "adequately inform the people of Guinea on the authenticity of the current policy".

67. In view of the well-known authoritarian character of Portuguese political institutions, the claims put forth regarding broader African political participation have been seriously questioned. For instance, commenting on General Spínola's policy of a "better Guinea", Major Joaquim Silva of PAIGC said that what General Spínola was promising in Guinea (Bissau) was "what the Portuguese cannot do in their own country". "Portugal", he said, "has always considered us as inferior beings and has deceived us and exploited us all the time. This is a new manoeuvre to deceive our people. In order to do all these things, the Portuguese would first have to stop being colonialists, and they cannot stop being colonialists." The late Mr. Cabral had reported that, as a result of the Portuguese effort to counter the national liberation revolution, the main towns still under Portuguese control were crowded with thousands of people fleeing the danger and destruction of the military campaigns. These migrations, resulting from the ravages of war, have disrupted food supplies and increased common crime. In recent addresses to the Legislative Council, General Spínola has acknowledged the rising cost of living in the Portuguese-controlled areas.

Colonial economy

68. Owing to the threat to colonial economic interests as a result of the intensification of the war for liberation, the Portuguese authorities in the Territory have been attempting to develop certain areas of strategic importance for the continuation of Portuguese occupation. As shown below, in recent years

m/ For information on the previous congresses, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.D, para. 8; and ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.D, paras. 7-8.

transport and communications have accounted by far for the largest share of development expenditures by the Portuguese Government in the Territory, followed by rural improvement expenditures which include the regrouping of the local populations for strategic control. In a letter dated 15 February 1973, addressed to the Secretary-General (A/9048), the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations claimed that, by the end of 1972, his Government had spent a total of 173 million escudos n/ in various programmes "for displaced populations and refugees". On the other hand, recent trends in the granting of additional concessions to foreign interests in the Territory indicate that Portuguese policy appears to be seeking increasing internationalization of the colonial issues relating to Guinea (Bissau).

External trade and payments

69. The latest statistics available for external trade in areas of Guinea (Bissau) still under Portuguese control show a steady deterioration in the balance of trade as a result of mounting imports, mainly in connexion with the war. In 1970, the trade deficit rose to a record high of 696.2 million escudos (see table 1 below).

Table 1

Guinea (Bissau): external trade, 1966-1970
(million escudos)

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u> (provisional)
Imports	433.5	471.8	506.7	672.2	786.0
Exports	<u>85.1</u>	<u>91.2</u>	<u>87.5</u>	<u>105.0</u>	<u>89.8</u>
Balance	-348.4	-380.6	-419.2	-567.2	-696.2

Source: Portugal, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1970.

70. In 1970, the total value of imports rose to 786.0 million escudos from 672.2 million escudos in the previous year. Four main categories of goods correspond to over 60 per cent of the total value of imports: textiles, 16 per cent; food-stuffs, 16 per cent; machinery, 11 per cent; agricultural products, 10 per cent; and chemicals, 9 per cent. Although there was no complete breakdown by type of goods, it was reported that the main items imported were rice (7 per cent), followed by cotton textiles (6 per cent), gas oil and jet oil (4 per cent) and wheat flour (2 per cent).

n/ 25.50 escudos equal approximately \$US 1.00.

71. The main crops exported from the areas under Portuguese control are ground-nuts, coconuts, lumber and hides and skins. Prior to 1972, with the exception of a slight increase in the value of exports of ground-nuts, there had been a continuous drop in all other main exports. In 1970, ground-nut exports also dropped to 61.2 million escudos, from 66.0 million escudos in 1969; coconuts dropped to 15.6 million escudos, from 24.0 million escudos; and hides and skins dropped to 0.8 million escudos, from 2.2 million escudos. Only timber registered a slight increase: 2.8 million escudos in 1970, compared with 2.4 million escudos in 1969.

72. In 1970, the main suppliers of the Territory's imports were Portugal, which accounted for 55 per cent of the total value; other Territories under Portuguese administration, 6 per cent; Japan and the United Kingdom, 6 per cent each; the Federal Republic of Germany, 5 per cent; Spain, 3.5 per cent; and France and the Netherlands, 3 per cent each. The Territory's main client was Portugal which took 88 per cent of all exports by value. Other clients of some significance were the Federal Republic of Germany (4 per cent) and the Netherlands (2 per cent).

73. The latest information available for the balance of payments in the areas controlled by Portugal is for the year 1969 when there was a surplus of 11 million escudos. As shown in table 2 below, the main item compensating for the trade deficit is the expenditure by the Portuguese Government, mainly in connexion with the colonial war.

Table 2

Guinea (Bissau): balance of payments, 1969
(million escudos)

	<u>Incoming</u>	<u>Outgoing</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Trade	78.4	660.4	-582.0
Tourism	0.1	11.4	- 11.3
Transport	0.2	35.4	- 35.2
Insurance	0.8	0.7	0.1
Revenue from capitals	-	20.0	- 20.0
Government	635.1	0.8	634.3
Services and other revenue	4.2	12.6	- 8.4
Private transfers	0.4	15.1	- 14.7
Private capital	55.5	7.6	47.9
Other	0.4	0.1	0.3
Total	<u>775.1</u>	<u>764.1</u>	<u>11.0</u>

Source: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral, No. 82/83, second and third quarters of 1970.

Agriculture

74. There is no recent information on agricultural output in the areas of Guinea (Bissau) under Portuguese control.

75. As part of the Portuguese effort to obtain broader support from different sectors of the local population, it was reported that, in 1972, General Spínola dedicated a rural co-operative in the Madina Bonco-Bigili area o/ which was expected to be the first in a network of co-operatives. General Spínola claimed that, as a result of the creation of co-operatives, agricultural products would be traded at fairer prices.

Mining

(a) Petroleum

76. Since 1966, Esso Exploration Guiné, Inc., a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, United States, has held an exclusive petroleum concession in the Territory. The concession, which is estimated to cover some 50,000 square kilometres, comprises all the land area of the Territory, including the banks of lakes and rivers and the seashore. p/ It was reported that since 1966, Esso has spent 750 million escudos in the Territory and has located some potential areas for petroleum exploitation along the coast.

77. According to a press report, the terms of the Esso concession were revised in January 1973, and Esso was granted a further exclusive concession over the continental shelf of the Territory, comprising an area of some 9,700 square kilometres.

78. During the first three years of the contract, Esso undertakes to spend not less than 8.1 million escudos. The concession may be extended three times for three, two and two years respectively. Esso undertakes to spend 93.5 million escudos during the period of each extension, bringing the total minimum investment over the 10-year period up to 288.6 million escudos.

79. Esso also undertakes to pay an annual surface rent of 350 escudos per square kilometre during the initial period, which corresponds to some 3.4 million escudos a year. The annual surface rent will increase to 400 escudos per square kilometre during the first extension, 500 escudos during the second and 600 escudos during the third. In areas under exploitation, the surface rent will be 1,500 escudos per square kilometre.

o/ It has not been possible to identify this area in the maps and gazetteer available in the Secretariat.

p/ For details on this concession, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6700/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 342-352..

(b) Bauxite

80. Bauxite deposits in the Boé region of Guinea (Bissau) have been estimated to contain some 200,000 tons of ore. As reported previously, the Companhia Lusitana do Alumínio da Guiné e Angola was interested in developing the deposits. ^{q/} It was reported in 1972 that the bauxite reserves will soon be exploited by the Dutch-owned company N. V. Biliton Maatschappij, which has already allocated £71,400 for this project. Exploitation is to be started in an area on the south bank of the Corubal River in the south-eastern part of the Territory near the border with the Republic of Guinea. The mineral will be transported to the river port at Buba.

Industries

81. In September 1972 an unidentified beer company started construction of a factory at Bissau. Production was expected to start in the first quarter of 1973 at the rate of 15 million litres of beer and 5 million litres of soft drinks per year. Total investment was expected to amount to 100 million escudos.

Fisheries

82. In 1972, a fishery called Companhia de Pesca e Conservas da Guiné was set up at Bolama. The fishery was expected to supply the Territory with 80 to 100 tons of fish a month and process and export another 300 tons. Its first 1,000-ton trawler arrived in the Territory in July 1972. No details are available on the ownership and financial arrangements of the company. Later in the year, Portuguese authorities in the Territory guaranteed a 45 million-escudo loan to the company. The source of the loan was not identified.

Public finance

83. The latest data available on public finance for the Portuguese-controlled areas of Guinea (Bissau) are shown in table 3 below. Budgetary estimates are not available for the period after 1970.

84. In the four-year period 1967-1970 the most important items of ordinary revenue were consigned receipts and indirect taxes. In 1970, consigned receipts reached a total of 115.8 million escudos, including 46.2 million escudos from the Ports, Railways and Transport Department; 30.5 million escudos from the Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Department; and 12.2 million escudos from the Overseas Military Defence Fund. Indirect taxes amounted to 91.2 million escudos, of which 80.9 million escudos were from customs duties and 10.3 million escudos from the stamp tax. During the four-year period, the main single item of expenditure was the allocations to the development services which, in 1970, at 109.5 million escudos, was more than 35 per cent of the total ordinary expenditure.

^{q/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6700/Rev.1), chap. V, para. 342.

85. Most of the extraordinary revenue consisted of loans from Portugal for the implementation of the development plans. Table 3 below shows a substantial increase in extraordinary expenditure in 1969 and 1970, over 90 per cent of which was for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973.

86. The role played by development expenditure reflects General Spínola's policy of counter-revolution discussed above. Available information on the development plans for the Territory is reported below.

Table 3
Guinea (Bissau): public finance, 1967-1970
(million escudos)

A. Actual revenue

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Ordinary revenue:	223.1	250.7	282.8	333.2
Direct taxes	36.9	38.9	40.1	41.5
Indirect taxes	63.1	67.5	74.8	91.2
Special régime industries	24.7	28.8	34.4	38.1
Income from services	19.5	25.3	29.6	35.0
Income from State and private industries	1.8	2.3	1.7	1.8
Income from shares	-	0.8	1.5	0.6
Refunds	5.7	6.1	7.2	9.2
Consigned receipts	71.4	81.0	93.5	115.8
Extraordinary revenue	<u>88.9</u>	<u>82.3</u>	<u>168.8</u>	<u>210.6</u>
Total	312.0	333.0	451.6	543.8

B. Actual expenditure

Ordinary expenditure:	211.8	229.3	254.3	308.1
Public debt	15.9	15.3	1.1	1.5
Government	1.6	1.5	1.8	4.1
Pensions	5.8	7.3	6.9	8.5
General administration	53.0	56.8	66.3	87.9
Treasury	10.2	10.3	9.2	11.0
Justice	1.5	1.6	2.2	2.3
Development services	72.4	77.9	88.0	109.5
Military services	12.1	12.1	2.1	2.1
Naval services	5.1	6.9	6.2	6.3
General expenditures	33.9	39.2	68.9	72.3
Other	0.3	0.4	1.6	2.6
Extraordinary expenditure	<u>88.9</u>	<u>82.3</u>	<u>137.5</u>	<u>210.6</u>
Total	300.7	311.6	391.8	518.7

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1968 and 1970.

87. As at 31 December 1970, the public debt of Guinea (Bissau) was 543.6 million escudos, of which 477.3 million escudos were owed to the Portuguese Government. In 1969, the Portuguese Government authorized suspension of repayments on loans, in order to ease the Territory's financial situation.

Development financing

88. Under the Third National Development Plan, the Portuguese Government envisaged a total expenditure of 1,259.3 million escudos in Guinea (Bissau) over the six-year period, which corresponds to a yearly average expenditure of some 210 million escudos. Table 4 below shows the proposed expenditures for the years 1968-1972.

89. Information on the first three years of implementation of the Plan shows that only some 60 per cent of the envisaged annual target was actually met, and in all three years, most of the actual expenditures were used for transport and communications and rural improvement, two areas of strategic relevance for the Portuguese counter-revolution effort in Guinea (Bissau). Actual expenditures and the share of those two areas in 1968-1970 were as follows (in million escudos):

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Transport and communications</u>		<u>Rural improvement</u>	
	<u>Value</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Percentage of total</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Percentage of total</u>
1968	58.2	42.6	73.19	0.8	1.20
1969	128.5	75.7	58.83	10.3	8.02
1970	197.2	115.1	58.37	20.3	10.29

90. According to press reports, under the Fourth National Development Plan, 1974-1979, the Portuguese Government envisages a total investment of 1,700 million escudos in the Territory. Transport and communications will continue to have priority, accounting for 46 per cent of the total.

Table 4

Guinea (Bissau): Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973
Programme of investments for 1968-1972
(million escudos)

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	6.3	6.8	6.8	11.9	13.6
Fisheries	5.1	-	-	-	-
Industry					
Mining	80.0	72.0	67.0	3.5	11.4
Processing industries	5.0	4.0	10.9	16.9	200.0
Rural improvement	0.2	7.5	1.4	2.2	11.0
Electric power	16.0	10.9	12.0	10.5	-
Marketing	3.0	0.1	0.9	-	-
Transport and communications	64.7	77.9	102.0	110.5 ^{a/}	92.4
Tourism	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.1
Education and research	9.6	12.7	10.1	3.8	6.2
Housing and urbanization	11.2	10.8	4.0	16.6	13.3
Health	<u>3.0</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	204.6	210.0	226.2	185.3	358.0

Source: Portugal, Presidência do Conselho, III Plano de Fomento - Programa de Execução for respective years.

^{a/} Includes 7.5 million escudos from the Ministry of National Defence for the construction of a bridge wharf at Bissau.

Education

91. The latest official school statistics for the areas of Guinea (Bissau) under Portuguese control are for the school year 1969/70 (see table 5 below). Towards the end of 1972, an article in the Portuguese press claimed that 54,851 pupils were enrolled in Portuguese schools in Guinea (Bissau), compared with a total enrolment of 40,129 pupils in the school year 1969/70.

92. It will be noted that in 1969/70 the number of government primary schools was drastically reduced in comparison with the previous years. This reduction was probably due to the effects of the colonial war. The number of teachers was cut by half, thus substantiating a statement by the late Mr. Cabral that new schools created by the Portuguese authorities often could not operate for lack of teachers.

93. Since 1969, the Portuguese authorities have been training military personnel as school post teachers, to meet the shortage of teachers in the areas under their control. Both Portuguese and locally recruited troops have been trained to teach in the so-called "military school posts". r/ In September 1972 it was reported that 98 individuals from the military were receiving this training.

94. Facilities for secondary education are limited to Bissau. As indicated in table 5 below, in the school year 1969/70 the secondary preparatory cycle, which in the Portuguese system provides the first two years of secondary education, was introduced in Guinea (Bissau). s/ According to Mr. Cabral, owing to the effects of the war, the Portuguese authorities were using teachers for secondary education without adequate professional qualifications.

r/ School posts provide the pre-primary class and the first three years of primary education. In the Portuguese system, four years of primary education is the minimum educational qualification for clerical posts in the civil service.

s/ The secondary preparatory cycle is a unified two-year course for students who plan to continue their academic or technical secondary education.

Table 5

Guinea (Bissau): school statistics, 1968-1970

	<u>1968/69</u>		<u>1969/70</u>	
	<u>Government</u>	<u>Missionary</u>	<u>Government</u>	<u>Missionary</u>
<u>Primary (including school posts)</u>				
Schools	257	85	153	88
Teachers	643	172	305	153
Pupils	...	...	26,401	11,724
<u>Secondary preparatory cycle</u>				
Schools	-	-	1	-
Teachers	-	-	52	-
Pupils	-	-	1,254	-
<u>Academic secondary</u>				
Schools	2	-	1	-
Teachers	72	-	22	-
Pupils	...	-	394	-
<u>Technical secondary</u>				
Schools	1	-	1	-
Teachers	25	-	35	-
Pupils	...	-	346	-

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1969 and 1970.

II. CAPE VERDE

I. GENERAL

95. The Cape Verde Islands lie off the west coast of Africa, the nearest point being about 600 kilometres from Dakar (Senegal). They form a crescent-shaped archipelago facing west and extending between latitudes 14° 48' N and 17° 12' N and longitudes 22° 41' W and 25° 22' W. There are 10 islands and 5 islets divided into 2 groups: the Barlavento (Windward) and the Sotavento (Leeward) islands. The Barlavento group, which lies to the north-west, comprises six islands: Santo Antão, Boa Vista, Sal, São Nicolau, São Vicente and Santa Luzia, an uninhabited island. The Sotavento group, which lies to the south, comprises the islands of Brava, Fogo, Maio and Santiago, on which Praia, the capital of the Territory, is located. The islands range in size from 991 square kilometres (Santiago) to 35 square kilometres (Santa Luzia), the total land area being 4,033.3 square kilometres.

96. According to the provisional results of the 1970 census, the total population of the Territory was 272,000, compared with 201,579 in 1960. Almost half of the total population lives on São Vicente and 71,422 live in Praia, the capital. The Portuguese Government no longer publishes data on the distribution of the population by ethnic groups. In 1950, the ethnic distribution of the population was as follows: 69.0 per cent mestiço, 28.84 per cent African and 2.06 per cent European.

97. Over the past years, the population of Cape Verde has shown sharp fluctuations. ^{t/} Thousands of Cape Verdians have emigrated to Portugal and other overseas Territories during the last five years, owing to the severe drought in the Territory (see below).

98. Mr. Amílcar Cabral, the late Secretary-General of PAIGC, charged in 1972 that the Portuguese Government was taking advantage of the drought situation by exporting workers to Portugal and other Territories in order to weaken the people's strength and thus undermine their struggle for national liberation. The Portuguese Government, on the other hand, claims that the emigration is a result of over-population and the lack of sufficient good soil to support a larger population. One article in a series published in Diário de Notícias (Lisbon) pointed out that emigration was not "a new practice" in Cape Verde; it had frequently resulted from over-population and subsequent pressures on the available food supply. The article quoted the chief of the Agricultural Services of Cape Verde as saying that there were over 100,000 persons in the Territory dependent on agriculture, "an excessive number for such a fragile resource base". The article pointed out, however, that in the past there had been random emigration, whereas nowadays it was closely "oriented, controlled and supervised" (orientada, controlada e vigiada), by the Overseas Ministry, the Ministry of Corporations and Social Welfare and the National Secretariat for Emigration.

^{t/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.E, paras. 4-5.

99. According to the same source, there were 15,000 Cape Verdians working in Portugal in 1972. The majority came from rural areas and had had only one or two years of primary schooling. Such data suggest that Cape Verdians who migrate to Portugal accept employment in sectors of the economy in which the metropolitan Portuguese population are no longer willing to work. Furthermore, there is a labour shortage in Portugal as a result of emigration and military conscription, the latter related to the Government's attempts to repress the liberation movements in its overseas Territories.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Activities of PAIGC

100. The PAIGC (see paragraph 7 above) is the principal political party seeking the liberation and independence of Cape Verde.

101. The PAIGC programme envisages the total and unconditional national independence of Cape Verde and the transfer of power to the people of the Territory. It also envisages the unity of Cape Verde and Guinea (Bissau) on the basis of popular support expressed through democratic processes. The form of unity between the two peoples is to be established by their legitimate and freely elected representatives.

102. In the educational field, the PAIGC programme envisages the development of the cultures of the various ethnic groups, including the preparation of a written form of the Creole dialect.

103. In October 1972, the late Mr. Cabral told the Fourth Committee that the Portuguese authorities were intensifying their oppression in the islands because of the political activities of PAIGC. He stressed that PAIGC was determined to promote the struggle for independence by all necessary means in order to obtain freedom for the people of Cape Verde, and to make whatever sacrifices were necessary to liberate the islands from Portuguese domination.

104. According to Mr. Cabral, the political work of PAIGC in Cape Verde led the Portuguese authorities to declare a state of siege in Praia in September 1972 for six days, during which a number of arrests were made. These events constituted the first clash between the population of the Territory and the forces of colonial oppression, and highlighted the extent of tension which had developed as a result of the political situation in Cape Verde.

Repressive measures by Portugal

105. Portuguese sources have made no reference to the events reported by Mr. Cabral. It may be noted, however, that repressive measures appear to be increasing in Cape Verde. According to an article published in June 1972 in Cape Verde's weekly newspaper, O Arquipélago, military authorities were keeping a "day and night vigil" of the Territory. The highest military authorities were reported to have claimed that the armed forces of Portugal were capable of exercising control of the islands.

106. In the past few years there have been a number of arrests of people accused of having connexions with PAIGC. These arrests were mentioned by Mr. Charles Diggs, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa of the United States House of Representatives, in a report to the House of Representatives on his visit to the Territory in August 1971. A member of PAIGC told the Special Committee in 1972 that a growing number of persons in Cape Verde were joining the party despite the arrests, and that the liberation movement was continuing to grow. He described the situation in the islands as one of poverty and hopelessness, and of oppression by the Portuguese authorities.

107. Cape Verde's ordinary budget estimates for 1972 show an increase of over 58 per cent in the allocation for the Public Security Police (PSP), rising from 4.6 million escudos in 1971 to 7.7 million escudos in 1972. In addition, under the extraordinary budget, 4 million escudos were allocated for PSP personnel from Portugal serving in the Territory, twice the amount allocated in 1971. The ordinary budget also included 3.4 million escudos for defence, 2.2 million escudos for the Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS) (Directorate-General of Security), and 0.5 million escudos for Chão Bom Prison.

108. In July 1972, Brigadier Lopes dos Santos, the Governor of Cape Verde, made a five-day visit to Guinea (Bissau). This trip was a return visit for that of General Spínola, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Guinea (Bissau) to Cape Verde in January 1972. u/ Both trips appear to have been connected with Portuguese military measures relating to the two Territories. According to reports in the Portuguese press, Governor dos Santos, travelling by air and accompanied by General Spínola, toured military installations and was briefed on the military situation prevailing in Guinea (Bissau). At a press interview during his visit, Governor dos Santos dealt extensively with the importance of the South Atlantic in the international context, and on the strategic position of Cape Verde, in view of its privileged location at the crossroads of the major shipping lines and airline routes from Europe and Africa to the Americas.

109. He again echoed the often-repeated y/ Portuguese position that, because of its strategic importance, Cape Verde was the real target of the attacks on Guinea (Bissau). He also stressed the value of the ports and airports of the Territory, especially the international airport on Sal Island and the port of São Vicente. According to PAIGC, the Portuguese authorities have established a naval base at Ribeira Julião on São Vicente in order to maintain their control over the Territory. Expansion and improvement of the ports and airports of the Territory, w/ particularly the international airport on Sal, which has been equipped to receive "747" type jet planes, is another indication of the growing concern of the Portuguese authorities with the strengthening of the Territory's communication network in relation to its strategic position and the need for its defence.

110. Other factors relating to the tightening of security measures include the visit of a group of officers from the Curso de Altos Comandos Militares in March 1972, and the visit of the Portuguese Minister of Defence the following June. During his stay on Cape Verde, the Defence Minister visited the Territory's most important military garrisons, located on Sal and São Vicente.

111. According to Portuguese sources, various military projects have been carried out in the Territory, and Portuguese troops (an estimated 3,000) were engaged in a major effort in the "occupation" of Cape Verde which, although a "peaceful zone", had to be watched carefully.

u/ Ibid., para. 16.

v/ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.E, para. 16.

w/ Ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.E, paras. 53 et seq.

3. COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

Political and administrative developments

112. Under the Portuguese Constitution, as revised in 1971, and the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, Cape Verde remains an "overseas province" of Portugal. x/ Although the Constitution provides for some measure of political, administrative and financial "autonomy", the exercise of this autonomy "shall not affect the unity of the nation, the solidarity among all portions of the Portuguese territory or the integrity of the sovereignty of the State" (article 136). y/

113. The present Portuguese system provides for the participation of the Territory in the direction of national policy through: (a) the election of the head of State every seven years; (b) representation in the National Assembly elections every four years; (c) representation in the Corporative Chamber; and (d) representation in the Overseas Council.

114. At the election of the head of State in 1972, Cape Verde was represented by seven members in the electoral college of 688. z/

115. Cape Verde is represented by two members in the Portuguese National Assembly, which has a total of 130 members. At the last elections, which took place in 1969, there was only one slate of candidates (representing the National Union), who were duly elected. It is not yet known whether there will be an increase in the number of representatives of Cape Verde in the National Assembly, the membership of which has been increased from 130 to 150. aa/ No information is available on the number of persons registered as voters in Cape Verde.

116. Apart from the National Assembly, Cape Verde has one representative in the 218-member Corporative Chamber and two representatives in the Overseas Council, which is the highest consultative body on matters affecting the overseas Territories.

x/ For a detailed description of the constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law of 1963, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 17-73 and 112-116, and ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A., paras. 18-82.

y/ Portugal, Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Secretariat of State for Information and Tourism, 1971. English text.

z/ For an over-all breakdown of the composition of the 1972 electoral college, see annex I.A above, para. 35.

aa/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 36.

117. The main outline of the structure of the territorial Government is set out in the Overseas Organic Law of 1972 (Law No. 5/72). bb/ Details concerning the structure of the territorial Government are contained in the new political and administrative statute of the Territory which was published on 22 December 1972 (Decree 541/72).

118. According to this statute, Cape Verde is an "autonomous region of the Portuguese Republic" having its own "juridical personality in public internal law". However, there are no major changes in the system of government.

119. The territorial Government comprises the Governor, the Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board. The Governor continues to be appointed by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Overseas Minister and remains the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory.

120. Under the new statute, a 21-member Legislative Assembly has replaced the Legislative Council, which had a membership of 18. Like the Legislative Council, the Legislative Assembly is presided over by the Governor, but the Secretary-General, the deputy of the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer, are no longer ex officio members. Of the 21 elected members, 11 are elected by direct franchise, and the remaining 10 as follows:

(a) Four by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest;

(b) Two by corporative bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations of economic interests;

(c) Two by bodies representing workers' interests;

(d) Two by bodies representing moral and cultural interests.

121. The former Legislative Council included representatives of: (a) individual taxpayers registered as paying a minimum of 1,000 escudos in direct taxes; (b) employers; and (c) "religious" interests. In the new Legislative Assembly, the first of these categories has been dropped; the second has been replaced by representatives of business enterprises; and the third has been replaced by members representing "moral and cultural" interests.

122. Under the new provisions, the Government Council has been replaced by the Advisory Board with similar powers and functions. The new Advisory Board will have five elected members and three ex officio members. In addition, the Governor

bb/ The draft of the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, which was adopted with only minor changes, is summarized in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 32-59.

may appoint as members of the Board individuals of "known competence and prestige in their social milieu". The elected membership of the Advisory Board is to be as follows:

- (a) Two by administrative bodies from among their own members;
- (b) One by bodies representing moral and cultural interests;
- (c) One by bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations or activities of economic interest;
- (d) One by corporative bodies representing workers' interests.

The ex officio members are to be as follows:

- (a) The chief of the Planning Department;
- (b) The deputy of the Attorney-General;
- (c) The Treasurer.

123. The Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board were to begin functioning by May 1973, and elections to both were to be held before 31 March 1973.

124. The new statute does not introduce any changes in the system of local administration; cc/ however, legislation is to be introduced to regulate the powers and functions of local administrative authorities.

Colonial economy

125. Cape Verde has always been heavily dependent on financial assistance by Portugal because it has few natural resources and suffers from general aridity and irregular rainfall.

126. During the past five years the Territory has been affected by a severe drought which has paralysed all agricultural activity, the mainstay of the Territory's economy. As a result, the majority of the active population, which depends on agriculture for a living, has had to rely on government relief assistance or on work programmes set up by the Government.

127. In 1972, a member of PAIGC told the Special Committee that the majority of the peasants in Cape Verde were landless and had to seek work at very low wages. In the rural areas, the only jobs available were those provided by Portuguese colonial

cc/ For details on the system of local administration, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 78-82.

authorities. Job security and trade union organizations were non-existent and the workers could barely provide for their families. During times of drought the price of consumer goods rose as speculators took advantage of the situation.

128. An article in the Diario de Noticias (Lisbon) reported in November 1972 that wage rates in Cape Verde were very low, ranging from 15 to 25 escudos (\$US 0.50 to 0.85) per day for the average worker. It also said that the only available jobs were those offered by the Government to offset unemployment resulting from the quiescent state of agricultural activity which, under normal conditions, would engage the vast majority of the active population of the Territory.

129. Governor dos Santos, speaking before the Legislative Council in May 1972, claimed that "contrary to what was sometimes reported in the press abroad", the Government was continuing to provide work for everyone in the proportion necessary to provide for their essential needs. In addition, those who for justified reasons could not work for a living were being properly assisted by the Government. In September 1972, however, Governor dos Santos admitted that the agricultural production of the Territory was nil. The situation was further aggravated by the lack of pasture for cattle and the effect of the drought on the wells and springs. As a result, it was expected that the cattle would soon have to be exported or slaughtered for consumption, which would create a scarcity of meat in the future. The progressive drying up of the wells and springs would cause a more serious problem, since it would not be possible to import all the water needed.

130. In November 1972, the Governor declared in the Legislative Council that the Government would continue to provide work for the population and assistance for those who could not work. In this connexion, he reported that the Portuguese Government had already provided over 400 million escudos for drought relief. He also announced that authorized expenditure for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan in 1973 and subsidies for aid to the population, estimated at over 620 million escudos, would exceed those of 1972.

131. Despite claims by Portuguese officials that the situation in the Territory was under control, the effects of the drought have been described as catastrophic, and the situation of the population comparable, in the view of many, with that of victims of a major disaster area. According to the Financial Times (London), there have been reports of pellagra, a disease resulting from malnutrition.

132. There is little information on economic conditions in the Territory from other than Portuguese sources. There are no published statistics for 1971.

133. The following paragraphs summarize the latest information available on economic conditions in the Territory.

Drought relief

134. Portuguese sources estimate that drought relief assistance to Cape Verde during 1968-1972 amounted to over 800 million escudos, including non-reimbursable subsidies granted by the Portuguese Government, and nearly 400 million escudos provided by Angola, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe; as well as allocations under the Third National Development Plan. A further non-reimbursable subsidy of 360 million escudos was authorized by the Portuguese Government in November 1972.

135. Most of the aid provided has been used to develop programmes to meet the needs of the local populations, including distribution of food, milk and vitamins, and long-range projects such as desalination plants and underground water surveys. These projects have been described in previous reports of the Special Committee. dd/ Further information on these projects is summarized below.

Desalination plants

136. A desalination plant at Mindelo on São Vicente began operating in June 1971 on an experimental basis. Since January 1972, it has been operating regularly, supplying the city of Mindelo with some 23,000 tons of water daily, at a cost of 25 escudos per cubic metre to the consumer, and 22 escudos per cubic metre to navigation. The plant has three reservoirs with a total capacity of 4,800 tons, and a fourth one is being planned with a capacity of 10,000 tons. By October 1972, there were 12,000 registered consumers, with a waiting list of over 600. It is estimated that each consumer uses an average of 10 cubic metres of water per month, at a cost of 250 escudos, which is more than the total income of the average worker.

137. In May 1972, a supplementary budget of 1.4 million escudos was authorized for the purchase of a desalinator with a capacity of 90 cubic metres of water daily. It was to be installed at Santa Maria on Sal and placed in operation in August. In October, a further supplementary allocation of 1 million escudos was again earmarked for the purchase of a desalinator, to begin operating in November. By February 1973 there was still no information on whether the desalinator had been placed in operation.

Underground water

138. No recent information is available on the underground water survey being undertaken on the islands of Santiago, Fogo, Boa Vista and São Nicolau. As previously reported, the survey was started in 1971 by the Brigada de Águas Subterrâneas de Cabo Verde, a specialized task force set up for this purpose.

dd/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.E, paras. 22-32; and *ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.E, paras. 32-36.

Subcontracts were subsequently awarded to the French firms, Bureau de géologie appliquée et d'hydrologie souterraine (BURGEAP) and Compagnie générale géophysique (CGG).

139. Other measures to improve the water supply include a project to obtain 2,000 cubic metres of water from springs on Fogo, at an estimated cost of 15 million escudos, and a similar project on Brava to obtain 2,000 cubic metres of water, at a cost of 10 million escudos.

Silo food storage

140. It will be recalled that, in 1970, the Government began construction of silos for food storage. The first silo was built at Porto Grande on São Vicente, at a cost of approximately 17 million escudos. The silo, which has a storage capacity of 4,000 tons, was opened in June 1972. The Porto Grande silo project was undertaken by Construções Técnicas, Lda., but was designed and assembled by Muhlenbau und Industrie G.m.b.H. Brauschweig, a firm in the Federal Republic of Germany. Another silo, with an estimated storage capacity of 12,000 tons, is being planned for Praia on Santiago.

Agriculture

141. The most important crops cultivated in Cape Verde are maize, with 16,900 hectares under cultivation, and beans, occupying 14,300 hectares. Cultivation of sweet potatoes occupies some 7,000 hectares, coffee, 339 hectares and peanuts, 215 hectares. The two latter crops are grown mainly on Fogo (64 per cent and 92 per cent, respectively of the total cultivation of the Territory).

142. Bananas and sugar-cane are the most important crops cultivated in irrigated areas. At the time of the 1961-1963 agricultural census, there were already 2,365 hectares (1,300 hectares on Santo Antão, and 900 hectares on Santiago) under cultivation. Bananas are the Territory's major export crop, and its production is destined almost entirely for Portugal. According to a Portuguese source, banana exports from Cape Verde have been threatened in the past few years by competition from Angola and Madeira.

143. In an average year, production of maize, beans, manioc, sweet potatoes, bananas, coffee and sugar-cane amounts to a total of 75,000 to 85,000 tons, valued at 170 to 190 million escudos. As seen in table 6 below, agricultural production in 1970 dropped by some 37 per cent from that of 1969. Statistics are not yet available for 1971. Imports of maize, the major food staple of the population, rose from 3,200 tons in 1968 to 31,900 tons in 1969. In 1970, imports of maize amounted to 19,100 tons.

Table 6

Cape Verde: Agricultural production, 1968-1970

(tons)

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Peanuts	72	164	14
Bananas	6 889	9 291	8 323
Sweet potatoes	3 172	3 895	2 306
Coffee	82	94	113
Sugar cane	11 223	14 377	8 072
Manioc	2 934	3 008	2 095
Maize	678	3 354	910
Beans	392	983	339
Total	<u>25 442</u>	<u>35 166</u>	<u>22 172</u>

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1969 and 1970.

External trade

144. In 1970, Cape Verde's exports, which amounted to 47.7 million escudos, covered just over 10 per cent of its imports, and the Territory's trade deficit increased to 441.7 million escudos, nearly 55 per cent higher than in 1968. As seen in table 7 below, the only marked decrease in principal imports between 1969 and 1970 was on automobiles and maize, probably owing to the stringent control measures imposed on imports in 1970. Fish products showed an increase of over 44 per cent from 1969, and replaced bananas as the leading export of the Territory.

145. Portugal continued to be the Territory's main trading partner, supplying 69.3 per cent of its imports and purchasing 57.7 per cent of its exports. Angola remained the Territory's second most important trading partner. The United States, which in previous years has supplied an average of 3 per cent of the Territory's imports, was replaced in 1970 by Spain, but remained its second most important purchaser (see table 8 below).

Table 7

Cape Verde: External trade, 1968-1970
(thousand tons and million escudos)

A. Main imports

	<u>Volume</u>			<u>Value</u>		
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Total imports:	51.1	88.2	84.1	281.9	418.8	469.4
Maize	3.2	31.9	19.1	7.7	72.9	43.9
Sugar	4.0	4.8	4.9	18.2	21.7	22.3
Cement	14.6	15.6	21.1	9.6	10.4	15.1
Rice	1.7	2.3	2.7	10.7	14.2	14.5
Wheat flour	2.6	2.8	3.0	11.4	12.1	13.1
Cotton textiles	0.2	0.1	0.2	14.6	10.2	12.7
Automobiles (number)	161	129	131	13.7	15.1	12.0
Wines	1.3	1.1	1.0	8.2	7.7	8.2

B. Main exports

Total exports:	125.9	122.9	104.4	40.8	44.6	47.7
Fish and fish products	1.0	1.6	1.0	8.3	13.7	17.5
Bananas	5.2	5.2	5.0	10.4	10.3	10.0
Water supplies for visiting ships	78.9	75.2	64.0	3.3	3.2	3.1
Salt	...	24.9	17.5	2.9	2.4	1.7
<u>Pozzolanas</u>	...	13.9	14.3	1.9	2.6	1.7
Peanuts	...	-	-	2.9	-	-

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1969 and 1970.

Table 8
Cape Verde: Principal trading partners, 1968-1970
(million escudos)

A. Imports

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Total imports:	281.9	418.8	469.4
Portugal	177.3	207.5	269.9
Angola	25.0	91.9	77.5
Spain	0.2	0.7	20.4
United States	10.8	12.5	15.4
United Kingdom	9.4	15.9	14.9
Netherlands	6.5	13.0	12.9

B. Exports

Total exports:	40.8	44.6	47.7
Portugal	25.7	29.3	33.1
United States	3.2	5.3	6.1
Water supplies for visiting ships	4.6	4.9	4.3
Guinea (Bissau)	3.4	2.1	1.7
Zaire	1.8	1.6	0.8

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1969 and 1970.

Industries

146. Apart from the fish and food processing industries and the extraction of salt, lime and pozzolana for exports, Cape Verde's industrial activity is very limited. In 1971, a mission of the Banco de Fomento Nacional (National Development Bank) visited the Territory ee/ to study the possibility of extending its activities in Cape Verde and to assess the potential of existing industries and the development of new ones. In October 1972, a second mission visited the Territory, at which time they considered various requests for credit facilities.

ee/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.E, paras. 43-44.

Previously, in July 1972, the Bank had approved loans totalling 58 million escudos including 20 million escudos to Sociedade Frigorífica Exportadora for the purchase of a boat and two trawlers, and for the expansion of its facilities; 14 million escudos to a private concern for the establishment of a grain mill in São Vicente; 2 million escudos to another private concern for the purchase and equipment of a boat; and 14 million escudos and 8.4 million escudos respectively to the municipal councils of São Vicente and Praia for expansion of their electric power supply systems.

147. Two new industries were established in the Territory in 1972; Moagem de Cabo Verde, Lda. (MOAVE) and Prefabricados e Comércio Lda. (COPREL). MOAVE was established in July 1972 on São Vicente for the production and marketing of food starches. The company has an initial registered capital of 10 million escudos. Initial investments are estimated at 30 million escudos, and the company is reported to have financial and technical support from the Banco do Fomento and the Banco Nacional Ultramarino. COPREL is also located on São Vicente, and is involved in civil construction. There is no information on its capital or planned investments.

Tourism

148. As previously reported, the Portuguese Government has increased its promotion of tourism as a stimulus to the economic development of Cape Verde. Articles in the Portuguese press constantly refer to the favourable location of the islands for tourism, but apart from the creation in August 1972 of three tourist zones on Santiago, no new investments have been reported apart from those of the three major groups already engaged in developing tourist projects in Cape Verde: the Sociedade para o Desenvolvimento e Turismo da Ilha do Sal (DETOSAL); Atlântico-Interplano Empreendimentos e Investimentos Ultramarinos, SARL (AIP); and Sociedade de Turismo da Ilha de Maio, SARL (TURMAIO). ff/

Transport and communications

149. In the past few years, there has been a growing awareness by the authorities of the need to develop transport and communications in the Territory. The effects of the drought particularly have pointed to the need for more domestic air and shipping traffic between the islands. Under the Third National Development Plan for 1968-1973, approximately 50 per cent of the total investments have been earmarked for transport and communications. Provisional data for the implementation of the Plan in 1973 shows that 55 per cent of the proposed expenditure is for development of transport, communications and meteorology. The most important projects are road construction, improvement of ports and airfields, and establishment of a telecommunications system to link the islands and connect them with Portugal.

ff/ For the latest available information on the activities of these groups, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.E, paras. 45-48.

Roads

150. Road expansion work during 1972 included an estimated 20 million escudos spent on Fogo. In addition, some 55 million escudos are expected to be spent on Santiago and Santo Antão (40 million escudos and 15 million escudos respectively).

Maritime transport

151. According to Governor dos Santos, maritime transport, especially cargo, is very expensive in the Territory owing to limited traffic and the small size of the boats. In 1972, there was only one boat providing a regular service among the islands. The boat was owned by a private concern, but received a government subsidy of 1.6 million escudos per year.

152. There are five ports in the Territory: São Vicente, Santiago, Fogo, Brava and São Nicolau. Another port is to be constructed at Sal to serve the Sociedade dos Armadores de Pesca de Lagosta, SARL (SAPLA), a lobster fishing concern. SAPLA is reported to have invested 30 million escudos for improvement of its facilities on Sal Island.

153. A harbour at Praia has been under consideration for some time. A provisional dock was built in 1971 at an estimated cost of over 4 million escudos. In January 1973, the concern Construções Técnicas, Lda. was awarded the contract for the final construction. The new harbour is to be equipped with a 200-metre dock capable of accommodating large ships, as well as a small dock to handle domestic traffic, in addition to facilities for cargo storage. The contract was awarded for 68.4 million escudos, and the work is expected to be completed by 1976.

154. Construções Técnicas, Lda. is also involved in the preliminary studies for the construction of a petroleum quay at São Vicente, and is active in Mozambique (see annex I.C above, para. 139). The ownership of Construções Técnicas, Lda. is not known.

Air transport

155. The need for the development of air services among the islands has become very pressing. In November 1972, Governor dos Santos noted that the number of passengers carried by Cape Verde's only airline, Transportes Aéreos de Cabo Verde (TACV) increased from 11,000 in 1968 to 24,000 in 1971. It was expected that by 1972 the number would increase to 30,000.

156. TACV has purchased two twin-motor Islander type planes with eight seats and the territorial Government is planning to purchase two more airplanes with 30 seats each, at an estimated cost of over 90 million escudos. According to Governor dos Santos, it will be necessary for Portugal to help defray the cost of these planes, owing to the limited financial resources of the Territory.

157. Of the nine inhabited islands, only five are equipped with airports. The most important is the international airport at Espargos, on Sal. Expansion work on the airport was completed in June 1972, and it was expected that South African Airways would soon begin to make regular stopovers on its regular Johannesburg-London flights. Further work is planned for the next five years at an estimated cost of over 150 million escudos and includes the expansion of runways to a total length of 3,300 metres. The upkeep of the airport is estimated at some 15 million escudos a year.

158. In addition to the international airport on Sal, there are two airports on Fogo, one of which is to have its runway expanded from 800 to 1,200 metres; and one airport each at Praia, São Vicente and São Nicolau. Three more airports are being planned for Santo Antão, Brava and Boa Vista, respectively. The airport at Praia is also to be expanded to accommodate "727" type jet planes.

Telecommunications

159. The telecommunications network of the Territory, on which work was started in 1971, is expected to be completed in 1973. The project, which includes telephone communications, telex, facsimile, and a television channel, is expected to cost 80 million escudos. It also envisages the use of closed circuit television in the educational system. According to a source, the Fourth National Development Plan, scheduled to go into effect in 1974, will have allocations for this purpose. Parts of the system already working include the circuits linking São Vicente-Santo Antão, Fogo-Brava, and Santiago-Maio. Connexion between Sal and Santiago was expected to be completed by the end of 1972.

Public finance

160. There is no information available on the Territory's 1973 budget estimates nor on actual revenue and expenditures for 1971 and 1972. In November 1972, the Governor of Cape Verde said that 84 per cent of the ordinary revenue for 1972 was for administrative costs and subsidies. Actual revenue and expenditure for 1969 and 1970 and estimates for 1970-1972 are shown in table 9 below.

Implementation of the Third National Development Plan

161. Actual expenditures in 1970, amounting to 98 million escudos, were only about 57 per cent of the annual target envisaged for Cape Verde under the Third National Development Plan. gg/ Of that total, 50.9 million escudos were for transport and communications, the only sector in which actual investments met the planned target. There is no information available on the actual implementation of the Third National Development Plan for 1971. As seen in table 10 below, authorized expenditure up to June 1972 amounted to only 54.2 million escudos, which was some

gg/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.E, paras. 60-61.

Table 9

Cape Verde: Public finance, 1969-1972
(million escudos)

A. Revenue

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Total	303.0	323.5	146.6	171.9	319.2
Ordinary revenue:	169.2	195.8	144.0	169.0	196.1
Direct taxes	27.2	29.1	24.8	28.6	29.5
Indirect taxes	53.9	58.6	48.2	54.0	61.2
Industries under special régime	2.5	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.3
Revenue from services	24.0	25.8	18.5	23.6	25.5
Income from state and private enterprises	4.0	9.9	5.0	4.2	4.6
Earnings on capital, bonds from banks and companies	-	-	1.2	1.2	-
Reimbursements	4.0	3.7	3.7	5.1	5.1
Consigned receipts	53.6	66.7	40.4	49.8	67.9
Extraordinary revenue:	133.8	127.7	2.6	2.9	123.1
Loan from Portugal for Development Plan	117.0	-	-	-	116.8
Budget surplus	10.6	-	-	-	6.3
Loan for the Agricultural Credit Fund	6.2	-	-	-	-

B. Expenditure

Total	276.0	292.8	146.6	171.9	319.2
Ordinary expenditure:	142.2	170.1	144.0	169.0	196.1
Public debt servicing	2.9	2.9	2.8	-	-
Government and administration	69.6	80.3	77.3	91.3	64.8
Pensions	5.0	6.1	6.4	6.8	11.3
Treasury	12.1	14.3	12.2	15.7	14.1
Justice	2.7	3.3	3.6	4.5	4.8
Development services	29.5	37.0	23.9	32.9	43.3
National Defence	4.7	7.6	5.1	3.5	3.4
Navy	15.3	17.8	12.5	14.1	20.3
Other	0.5	0.9	0.2	0.2	34.1
Extraordinary expenditure:	133.8	122.7	2.6	2.9	123.1
Third Development Plan	118.4	98.0	-	-	123.1
Other	15.4	24.7	-	-	-

Source: Actual: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1970.
Estimates: Budgets for the respective years.

Table 10

Cape Verde: Implementation of the Third National
Development Plan, 1968-1973

(million escudos)

Expenditure

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Authorized</u>		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972^{a/}</u>
Agriculture	11.2	7.3	7.3	8.9	0.2
Fisheries	2.9	3.7	3.7	3.8	-
Electricity	4.5	4.7	5.0	4.2	-
Industries	1.0	0.9	4.0	4.5	2.0
Transport and communications	68.9	50.9	52.2	57.5	33.1
Health, education and welfare	13.3	10.6	12.1	27.1	6.5
Housing and urbanization	15.9	17.4	23.0	14.8	11.0
Other	0.7	2.5	7.5	6.9	1.4
Total	118.4	98.0	114.8	127.7	54.2

Source: Actual: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1970.

Estimates: Cape Verde, Official Gazettes.

a/ Provisional figures up to June 1972.

60 per cent below the programmed expenditure. In November 1972, however, Governor dos Santos claimed that some 200 million escudos were being spent in the Territory under the Development Plan.

162. According to press reports, programmed expenditure for 1973 amounts to 167.2 million escudos, including 93.2 million escudos (55.8 per cent) for transport and communications; 18.6 million escudos for housing and urbanization; and 18.4 million escudos for education. Portugal is to finance 79.6 per cent of the total programmed expenditure with 133 million escudos. This includes an allocation of 39 million escudos from the Ministry of Communications for the international airport at Espargos, on Sal.

Education

163. Official Portuguese sources have claimed that enrolment in the Territory of all children of school age has been achieved. According to PAIGC, however, only 25 to 30 per cent of the children in the Territory are able to go to school, and only 1 per cent goes on to secondary school.

164. The literacy rate of the Territory is not known. The latest figures from UNESCO are for 1960, when the illiteracy rate was 72.8 per cent. In the past few years, the Government has created a number of new schools, and has begun to concentrate on developing technical education. In 1971 primary school attendance was made compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 and 12 years, and failure to comply with the law became punishable by a fine. hh/

165. The latest available school statistics are for the 1969/70 academic year, and show that there were 43,843 pupils, 1,043 teachers and 347 schools (see table 11 below). The relevance of these figures, however, cannot be ascertained, inasmuch as there are no data available on the distribution of population by age group.

hh/ See also Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.E, paras. 67-72.

Table 11

Cape Verde: Educational statistics, 1969/70

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Pupils</u>
Total	347	1,043	43,843
Primary:	332	840	40,685
Official	266	734	
'Missions	48	71	
Private	18	35	
Secondary:			
Preparatory cycle	5	63	2,006
Official	2	59	
Mission	-	-	
Private	-	4	
Academic (liceu):	7	106	799
Official	4	102	
Private	3	4	
Technical:	2	23	249
Official	1	22	
Private	1	1	
Teachers' college:	1	11	104

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1970.

Appendix I

MAP OF GUINEA (BISSAU)

Appendix II

MAP OF CAPE VERDE

E. SÃO TOME AND PRINCIPE*

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* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.845.

1. GENERAL

1. The two islands of São Tomé and Príncipe are situated in the Gulf of Biafra, west of the Republic of Gabon. Their total area is 964 square kilometres, and they lie between 1° 44' N and 0° 1' S latitude and 6° 28' EG and 7° 28' EG longitude. The area of São Tomé is 854 square kilometres; the area of Príncipe, which lies about 120 kilometres north of São Tomé, is 110 square kilometres.

2. According to the 1970 census, the total resident population of the Territory was 73,811, of whom 69,149 were on São Tomé and 4,662 were on Príncipe. There is no recent information on the distribution of the population by ethnic groups. At the 1960 census, the two islands had a population of 64,406, of whom about 60 per cent were considered to be autóctone; the remainder were from Portugal and other "national" Territories, mainly Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique, including 2,655 Europeans.

2. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

3. In the past, the colonial exploitation of São Tomé and Príncipe by Portugal was characterized by strong oppression of the people in connexion with the manpower needs of the plantations. For many years workers were recruited from Angola and Mozambique, but since the early 1950s this practice has been gradually discontinued, and the Portuguese authorities have put pressure on local employers to induce them to replace imported plantation labour. In 1953, efforts by plantation owners to use local manpower led to protests when large numbers of people were arrested and, according to one report, 1,032 were killed in less than a week by Portuguese troops and armed European settlers.

4. In 1960, as a result of continued oppression and the development of a desire for self-determination and independence among inhabitants of the Territory, the Comité de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (CLSTP) was formed. In 1961, CLSTP, which had established its headquarters at Libreville, participated in the founding conference of the Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP) (Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies) in Rabat. It also participated in the Second Congress of CONCP held in 1965 in Dar es Salaam. CLSTP is reported to have developed an underground organization within the Territory.

5. In 1962, during its visit to Africa, the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration granted a hearing to Mr. Miguel Trovoada, the President of CLSTP. a/ Mr. Trovoada described to the Committee the conditions in the Territory resulting from Portuguese colonial domination.

6. In 1965, Mr. Trovoada reported in a petition (A/AC.109/PET.365) that as a result of his people's declaration of their desire for an amicable settlement of

a/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 54, document A/5160.

their colonial dispute with Portugal and their repeated appeals to the Portuguese Government, Portugal had strengthened its machinery for colonial oppression and police and military repression in the Territory. He said that Portuguese military and paramilitary groups in the Territory comprised about 3,000 men. In 1966, the Special Committee heard a statement by Mr. Thomas Medeiros, a member of CLSTP, who further denounced Portugal's colonial policy in the Territory and the repressive measures adopted by the Portuguese authorities (A/AC.109/SR.454).

7. In January 1973, at its meeting held in Accra, the OAU (Organization of African Unity) Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa granted recognition to CLSTP.

8. Although reports on the transfer of Portuguese troops in and out of the Territory indicate the continuation of repressive measures by the Portuguese, there is no information on the number of Portuguese troops stationed in the Territory at present. Portuguese military authorities have also begun training troops in the Territory; in 1972 it was reported that two groups of local recruits had completed their military training. In December, the Portuguese authorities set up a security corps to police the urban centres at night.

3. COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

Political and administrative developments

9. Under the Portuguese Constitution, as revised in 1971, and the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, São Tomé and Príncipe remains an "overseas province" of Portugal. b/ Although the Constitution provides for some measure of political, administrative and financial "autonomy", the exercise of that autonomy "shall not affect the unity of the nation, the solidarity among all portions of the Portuguese territory or the integrity of the sovereignty of the State" (article 136). c/

10. The present Portuguese system provides for the participation of the Territory in the direction of national policy through: (a) the election of the head of State every seven years; (b) representation in the National Assembly elections every four years; (c) representation in the Corporative Chamber; and (d) representation in the Overseas Council:

11. The Territory of São Tomé and Príncipe is represented by one member in the Portuguese National Assembly, which has a total of 130 members. At the 1969 elections for the National Assembly, only 5,085 persons were registered as voters;

b/ For a detailed description of the constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law of 1963, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 17-73 and 198-202, and ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 18-32.

c/ Portugal, Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Secretariat of State for Information and Tourism, 1971. English text.

this represented about 8 per cent of the population of São Tomé and Príncipe. It is not yet known if there will be any increase in the number of representatives of São Tomé and Príncipe in the National Assembly, the membership of which has been increased from 130 to 150. d/

12. The Territory is represented in Lisbon by one member in the 218-member Corporative Chamber, and by two representatives in the Overseas Council, which is the highest consultative body on matters affecting the overseas Territories.

13. The main outline of the structure of the territorial Government is set out in the Overseas Organic Law of 1972 (Law No. 5/72). e/ Details concerning the structure of the territorial Government are contained in the new political and administrative statute of the Territory which was published on 22 December 1972 (Decree 543/72).

14. The Territory of São Tomé and Príncipe is an "autonomous region of the Portuguese Republic" having its own "juridical personality in public internal law". However, there are no major changes in the system of government.

15. The territorial Government comprises the Governor, the Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board. The Governor is still appointed by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Overseas Minister and remains the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory.

16. Under the new political and administrative statute, a 16-member Legislative Assembly has replaced the former Legislative Council, which had a membership of 13. The Legislative Assembly is presided over by the Governor, but the Secretary-General, the deputy of the Attorney-General and the Treasurer are no longer ex officio members. Of the 16 elected members, 6 are elected by direct franchise and the remaining as follows:

(a) Two by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest;

(b) Three by corporative bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations of economic interest;

(c) Three by corporative bodies representing workers' interests;

(d) Two by bodies representing moral and cultural interests, one of whom must be a Roman Catholic missionary.

d/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 36.

e/ The draft of the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, which was adopted with only minor changes, is summarized in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 32-59.

17. The former Legislative Council included representatives of: (a) individual taxpayers registered as paying a minimum of 1,000 escudos f/ in direct taxes; (b) employers; and (c) "religious" interests. In the new Legislative Assembly, the first of these categories has been dropped; the second has been replaced by representatives of business enterprises; and the third has been replaced by members representing "moral and cultural" interests. There are no representatives of the autóctone (local population) in the Legislative Assembly.

18. The former Government Council has been replaced by an Advisory Board with similar powers and functions. The new Advisory Board will have six elected members and three ex officio members. In addition, the Governor may appoint as members of the Board individuals of "known competence and prestige in their social milieu".

19. The elected membership of the Advisory Board is to be as follows:

- (a) One by administrative bodies from among their own members;
- (b) One by bodies representing moral and cultural interests;
- (c) Two by bodies representing business enterprises and associations of economic interest;
- (d) Two by corporative bodies representing workers' interests.

The ex officio members are as follows:

- (a) The deputy of the Attorney-General;
- (b) The head of the Finance Department;
- (c) The head of the Civil Administration Department.

The Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board were to begin functioning by May 1973, and elections to both were to be held before 31 March 1973.

20. The new statute also introduces changes in the structure of local administration. g/ The Territory is still divided into concelhos which are formed by freguesias (parishes). There is no longer any provision, however, for the creation of administrative posts, into which regedorias were previously grouped where it was not feasible to create freguesias. In the Portuguese colonial system, the regedorias are a basic unit organized in accordance with traditional African

f/ 25.50 escudos equals approximately \$US 1.00.

g/ For details on the system of local administration, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 41-46 and 78-82.

custom. Accordingly, it is probable that the former administrative posts may be transformed into freguesias, thus completing the obliteration of traditional customs by the colonial system. Further legislation is to be introduced to regulate the powers and functions of local administrative authorities.

Colonial economy

21. There is no information available on the economic situation of the Territory in 1971 or 1972. The latest available official statistics, covering 1970, appear in the last report of the Special Committee. h/ A summary of the major features of colonial exploitation of the Territory by Portugal is given below.

External trade

22. The main export crop in São Tomé and Príncipe is cocoa which, in an average year, accounts for 80 per cent of the total export value (about 190 million escudos). Next in importance to cocoa is copra which accounts for some 10 per cent of the total export value (27 million escudos) in an average year. Other export crops include coconuts, coffee and palm oil.

23. Most consumer goods are imported, because industry in the Territory is almost completely limited to the processing of raw materials for export. Wines and beer account for about 12 per cent of the value of total imports, followed by textiles, cigarettes, sugar and gasoline.

24. The Territory's main customers are Portugal and the Netherlands which together take more than two thirds of the exports. In 1970, the Territory exported 7,912 tons, valued at 88.9 million escudos, to Portugal, and 4,127 tons, valued at 76.1 million escudos, to the Netherlands. Other important customers are the Federal Republic of Germany (27.8 million escudos in 1970), Denmark (15.6 million escudos) and the United States of America (11.6 million escudos). The Territory's main suppliers are Portugal, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Agriculture

25. The production of cocoa is the main economic activity in São Tomé and Príncipe. Cocoa is produced on large plantations which occupy 93 per cent of the cultivable land on which live some 50 per cent of the local population. Since 1965, when cocoa and copra production reached a peak (10,577 and 6,314 tons, respectively), there has been a significant decrease in the total agricultural output followed by only a mild recovery. In recent years, there has been an effort to introduce some new crops, such as bananas, cola and cinnamon, but cocoa and copra continued to account for most of the Territory's agricultural output.

h/ Ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.F.

26. In January 1973, Portugal, on behalf of São Tomé and Príncipe, signed the International Cocoa Agreement adopted by the United Nations Cocoa Conference on 20 October 1972. i/ The Territory of São Tomé and Príncipe is listed under annex C of the Agreement as an exporting country producing fine or flavour cocoa (50 per cent). As a producer of such cocoa, the Territory is not included in the basic quota system for exporting countries established under the Agreement. An international cocoa organization, of which Portugal will be a member, will be set up to administer the Agreement when it comes into force, possibly in April 1973.

27. In 1972, the Portuguese Government authorized a loan of 25 million escudos from the National Development Bank to the Caixa de Crédito (Credit Bank) for investments in agriculture and transforming industries (Decree 380/72, 9 October 1972).

Mining

28. As reported previously, j/ Hidrocarbo, Hidrocarbonetos de São Tomé e Príncipe, SARL, a subsidiary of Ball and Collins (Oil and Gas), Ltd., of the United Kingdom, and the Texas Pacific Oil Company, a division of Joseph E. Seagram and Sons, Inc., of the United States, hold a concession to prospect for and exploit oil reserves in the Territory.

29. No new information is available on the activities of the petroleum concessionaries.

Fishing

30. Fishing is an important economic activity of the local population. In 1969, it was estimated that some 3,000 persons were engaged in fishing activities. Traditionally an activity of the subsistence sector of the economy, in recent years fishing has become a target of Portuguese colonial economic policy. From 1965 to 1969, the Portuguese authorities granted loans totalling about 1 million escudos for the development of fisheries for export. In 1972, the Governor of the Territory reported that a Portuguese company had applied to the Portuguese Government for authorization to build fishing wharves and freezing facilities.

Transport and communications^{k/}

31. The Territory's greatest need is for better transport and communications facilities. Under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, of the total of 637.6 million escudos, nearly 180 million escudos were allocated for transport and

i/ TD/COCOA.3/8.

j/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.F, paras. 10-11.

k/ Ibid. Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Add.3), chap. VII, annex I.F, paras. 29-32.

communications, which corresponds to a yearly average expenditure in this sector of some 30 million escudos. In the first three years of the implementation of the Plan, only 53.4 million escudos were spent, or just over half the planned amount.

32. In 1972, it was reported that the Portuguese authorities were installing new radio transmitters in the Territory. Six antennae were to be built to serve medium-wave transmitters of 10 to 100 kw. frequency and short-wave transmitters of 10 kw. frequency. The territorial Government acquired a new launch for shuttle service between São Tomé and Príncipe.

Public finance

33. In 1971, government revenue decreased for the second successive year, dropping from 198.2 million escudos in 1970 to 189.4 million escudos. The decline in revenue resulted from lower revenues derived from services and direct and indirect taxes. No information is available on expenditures in 1971 or on the 1972 or 1973 budgetary estimates.

34. In 1972, the Portuguese Government authorized the extension of repayment terms of any loans already granted or to be granted to São Tomé and Príncipe (Decree-Law 410/72, 26 October 1972). This action was taken because of the Territory's inability to repay its loans to Portugal, owing to lack of financial resources.

Development financing

35. Out of a total expenditure of 637.6 million escudos envisaged under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, only 135.6 million escudos were spent during the first three years of its implementation. Of this amount, approximately 40 per cent was spent for transport and communications, some 40 per cent for "social development", mainly educational activities, and some 8 per cent for "local improvements". In 1972, the Portuguese Government reportedly authorized expenditures totalling 37 million escudos under the Plan.

Education

36. The latest school statistics for the Territory are reproduced in the table below. In 1970, the Portuguese Government claimed that all children between 7 and 12 years of age were enrolled and that the Territory had the highest school enrolment among the overseas Territories in Africa. Inasmuch as there are no significant data on the quality of Portuguese educational activities, the results of Portuguese educational measures cannot be evaluated, particularly with respect to its colonial implications.

São Tomé and Príncipe: educational statistics, 1967/68-1969/70

	Schools			Teachers			Pupils		
	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70
Total	45	47	50	465	369	383	8 411	9 439	9 410
Primary	43	43	45	381	280	299	7 566	8 281	9 089
Official	25	27	28	226	237	256	...	...	...
Missionary	5	4	4	127	18	18	...	...	...
Private	13	12	13	28	25	25	...	...	...
Secondary	2	3	4	84	77	73	845	1 124	1 278
Preparatory cycle	-	1	1	-	26	29	-	453	901
Academic	1	1	1	72	32	19	665	544	264
Technical	1	1	2	12	19	25	180	127	113
Teacher-training	-	1	1	-	12	11	-	34	43

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1968, 1969 and 1970.

F. TIMOR*

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* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.846.

1. GENERAL

1. The island of Timor is located at the tip of the chain of islands forming the Republic of Indonesia. It lies between latitudes 8° 17' S and 10° 22' S and longitudes 123° 25' E and 127° 19' E. The western part of the island is part of the Republic of Indonesia. The area under Portuguese administration totals 18,899 square kilometres comprising the eastern part of the island (17,900 square kilometres); the enclave of Oé-Cussi Ambeno (850 square kilometres); the island of Ataúro off the northern coast (144 square kilometres); and the uninhabited island of Jacó off the extreme eastern tip (5 square kilometres).

2. According to the 1970 census, the total population of the Territory was 610,541, compared with 517,079 in 1960. There is no recent information on the distribution of the population by ethnic groups. In 1950, there were 568 persons of European origin, 2,022 mestiços and 3,128 Chinese.

2. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

3. Little information is available on the activities of liberation movements in Timor. In 1971, the Portuguese authorities denied rumours that a liberation movement had declared the independence of Timor.

4. As indicated previously, a number of incidents have been reported along the Indonesian and Portuguese-controlled frontiers of the Territory during the past year, and meetings to discuss the situation have been held between Indonesian and Portuguese authorities. a/ On his arrival in Lisbon on a working visit in January 1973, Colonel Fernando Alves Aldeia, the Governor of Timor, indicated that trade, cultural and sports exchanges had been resumed with the area of Timor which is part of Indonesia (Nusa Tenggara Timor).

5. According to one source, there are about 1,000 Portuguese soldiers stationed in Dili, the capital.

6. In September 1972 the new quarters of the Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS) (Directorate-General of Security) were inaugurated by the Governor in Dili.

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.H, paras. 6-7.

3. COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

Political and administrative developments

7. Under the Portuguese Constitution as revised in 1971 and the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, Timor remains an "overseas province" of Portugal. b/ Although the Constitution provides for some measure of political, administrative and financial "autonomy", the exercise of this autonomy "shall not affect the unity of the Nation, the solidarity among all portions of the Portuguese territory or the integrity of the sovereignty of the State" (article 136). c/

8. The present Portuguese system provides for the participation of the Territory in the direction of national policy through (a) voting in the election of the head of State (every seven years); (b) representation in the National Assembly elections every four years; (c) representation in the Corporative Chamber; and (d) representation in the Overseas Council.

9. Timor is represented by one member in the Portuguese National Assembly, which has a total of 130 members. At the last elections, which took place in 1969, there was only one candidate, represented by the National Union, who was duly elected. At the 1969 elections for the National Assembly, 4,716 persons were registered as voters; this represented less than 1.0 per cent of the population of Timor. The actual number of votes cast was 3,781. It is not yet known if there will be any increase in the number of representatives of Timor in the National Assembly, the membership of which has been increased from 130 to 150. d/

10. Timor is represented by one member in the 218-member Corporative Chamber, and by two representatives in the Overseas Council, which is the highest consultative body on matters affecting the overseas Territories.

11. The main outline of the structure of the territorial Government is set out in the Overseas Organic Law of 1972 (Law No. 5/72). e/ Details concerning the structure

b/ For a detailed description of the constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law of 1963, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chap. V, paras. 17 and 73 112-116, and ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 18-82.

c/ Portugal. Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Secretariat of State for Information and Tourism, 1971. English text.

d/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, para. 36.

e/ The draft of the Overseas Organic Law of 1972, which was adopted with only minor changes, is summarized in the Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.A, paras. 32-59.

of the territorial Government are contained in the new political and administrative statute of the Territory which was published on 22 December 1972 (Decree 547/72).

12. Under these new provisions, Timor is an "autonomous region of the Portuguese Republic" having its own "juridical personality in public internal law". However, there are no major changes in the system of government.

13. The territorial Government comprises the Governor, the Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board. The Governor is still appointed by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Overseas Minister and remains the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory.

14. Under the new statute, a 20-member Legislative Assembly has replaced the former Legislative Council which had a membership of 14. The Legislative Assembly is presided over by the Governor, but the Secretary-General, the deputy of the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer are no longer ex officio members. Of the 20 elected members, 10 are elected by direct franchise and the remaining as follows:

(a) Two by the autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities) from among their own members;

(b) Two by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest;

(c) Two by corporative bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations of economic interests;

(d) Two by bodies representing workers' interests;

(e) Two by bodies representing moral and cultural interests.

15. The Legislative Council included: (a) two representatives of individual taxpayers registered as paying taxes amounting to a minimum of 1,000 escudos; (b) employers; and (c) religious interests. In the new Legislative Assembly, the first of these categories has been dropped; the second has been replaced by representatives of business enterprises (empresas); and the third has been replaced by "moral" interests.

16. Under the new provisions, the former Government Council has been replaced by an Advisory Board with similar powers and functions. The Government Council was composed of four ex officio members, namely the Secretary-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the deputy of the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer, and three members of the Legislative Council, one of whom had to be a representative of the regedorias. The new Advisory Board will have eight elected members and four ex officio members. In addition, the Governor may appoint as members of the Board individuals of "known competence and prestige in their social milieu".

17. The elected and ex officio membership of the Advisory Board is to be as follows:

(a) Eight elected members:

- (i) Two by administrative bodies from among their own members;
- (ii) Two by bodies representing moral and cultural interests;
- (iii) Two by bodies representing business enterprises (empresas) and associations of economic interests;
- (iv) Two by corporative bodies representing workers' interests.

(b) Four ex officio members: the deputy of the Attorney-General; the head of the Planning Services; the head of the Civil Administration; and the Treasurer.

18. The Legislative Assembly and the Advisory Board were to begin functioning by May 1973, and elections to both bodies were to be held before 31 March 1973.

19. The new statute does not introduce any changes in the system of local administration; f/ however, legislation is to be introduced to regulate the powers and functions of local administrative authorities.

Colonial economy

20. There is no information available on the economic situation of the Territory in 1971 and 1972. The latest available statistics, covering 1970, were reported in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session. g/ A summary of the major features of the Territory's economy and recent developments in its various sectors is given below.

External trade and balance of payments

21. The Territory's exports are limited. In an average year, coffee, copra and rubber account for more than 90 per cent of the total value of exports. Coffee is by far the most important crop, accounting for over 80 per cent of all exports.

f/ For details on the system of local administration, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 41-46 and 78-82.

g/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.H.

No statistics are available for 1971; however, according to the Governor of the Territory, coffee exports in 1972 exceeded 131 million escudos, h/ an increase of 27 per cent over 1970.

22. As there is little industry in the Territory, consumer goods account for most of the imports, with textiles accounting for about 20 per cent of the total value in an average year, followed by food products, metals, machinery and vehicles.

23. The Territory's main clients are the Netherlands, Denmark and Portugal, which in 1970 purchased respectively 36, 19.3 and 14.2 per cent of the total exports by value. The main suppliers are Portugal (54.8 per cent) and Singapore (17.9 per cent).

24. Timor's balance of trade is traditionally deficitary, with exports covering less than 50 per cent of imports. The trade deficit is met by governmental transactions because the balance of the capital account is also negative. Revenue from tourism totalled only 1 million escudos in 1969. Governor Aldeia claimed that, in 1972, the balance of payments was favourable but owing to the lack of data the significance of the statement cannot be evaluated.

Agriculture

25. Apart from the production of coffee and rubber for export, the agricultural production of the Territory is destined for local consumption and includes maize, rice, manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, barley and ground-nuts. There are only a few agricultural companies in Timor, which together employ some 3,000 persons on a regular basis and some 6,000 during the coffee harvest. The traditional sector, however, accounts for most of the agricultural production.

26. According to the Governor, the Government is planning a number of irrigation projects in order to develop the agricultural potential of the Territory. By 1974, it is expected that some 10,000 hectares of irrigated land will be in use in the area of Maliane.

Mining

27. No new information is available on the activities of the four companies known to be engaged in mining prospecting in the Territory: the Companhia de Petróleos de Timor, SARL; Broken Hill (Pty.), Ltd.; Amalgamated Petroleum NL; and the International Oils Exploration Corporation NL, all with headquarters in Australia. i/

h/ 25.50 escudos equal approximately \$US 1.00.

i/ For details concerning these companies, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.H, para. 9; and ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1), chap. X, annex II.H, paras. 12-20.

28. Other foreign interests have been reported to be interested in the mineral resources of Timor, including the Kennecott Copper Corporation, a United States concern, and the Planet Oil Company of Australia, but no further information is available.

29. Although Portuguese sources have in the past reported that Timor is known to have deposits of petroleum, manganese, copper, chromium, gold and zircon, a recent study by the Banco Nacional Ultramarino noted that nothing or nearly nothing positive was known regarding the possibilities of the Territory in the mining sector and that, for the time being, no contribution could be expected from that sector towards the development of the Territory.

Industries

30. Apart from the processing of rice for local consumption and coffee for export, there are only a few small factories in the Territory producing, among other things, soap, pottery and non-alcoholic beverages. A textile complex which was announced by the Government in 1971 was reported to be still under construction early in 1973. Among other industries under construction are a factory for the extraction and processing of crude oils and a soap factory. A brewery and a cigarette factory are to be constructed shortly.

Tourism

31. Recently the Government began to encourage tourism in Timor. Articles appearing in the Portuguese press extoll the tourist potential of the island and several foreign concerns were reported to be interested in investing large sums in this sector. A new hotel, the Hotel de Turismo, was inaugurated in Dili in 1970, and 2.1 million escudos were reported to have been invested in improving other hotel facilities. The Government is also planning to expand the international airport at Dili with a view to attracting the tourist trade.

Transport and communications

32. Timor has neither railroads nor inland water transport. Its only important port is Dili, the capital of the Territory. A new programme for the development of the transport and communications system, announced by the Government in 1972, envisages the improvement and extension of airports, roads and telecommunications. It is estimated that over 400 million escudos will be invested in this programme within a period of five years, mostly financed by Portugal.

33. The central automatic telephone exchange of Dili, which was inaugurated in 1972, expanded the Territory's communications with Indonesia and Australia; it now has a capacity of 800 lines and 10 kW power. Telegraph and telephone communications have been started by the Marconi concern. There is a project to establish a VHF radial network linking the 12 concelhos of the Territory as well as Oé-Cussi and Ataúro Island. The contract for this project was expected to be awarded by February 1973.

Public finance and the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973

34. There is no information available on the Territory's 1972 budget estimates nor on actual revenue and expenditure for 1971; nor is there any information available on the actual implementation of the development plan in 1971. Up to June 1972, 19.6 million escudos had been authorized for the implementation of the plan in 1972, to be financed as follows: loans from the Portuguese Government, 8.4 million escudos; budgetary surpluses, 11 million escudos; and funds from the Territory, 0.1 million escudos. The average annual target for the implementation of the Plan in the Territory was set at 93.4 million escudos. j/

Education

35. There are no recent school statistics for the Territory. The latest statistics available, covering 1968/69, have already been reported. k/

36. In January 1973, Governor Aldeia claimed that the school enrolment in the Territory had reached 53 per cent of the children of school age. Inasmuch as no data are available on the distribution of population by age and ethnic groups, the impact of the colonial educational system in the Territory cannot be properly evaluated.

j/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.H, table 4.

k/ Ibid., paras. 16-17.

Annex II*

NOTE BY THE SECRETARIAT

1. At its 921st meeting, on 22 June 1973, the Special Committee adopted a resolution on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration (see para. 26 of the present chapter), paragraph 5 of which reads as follows:

"5. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to treat the freedom fighters of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war in accordance with the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949, and, in that connexion, invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to make available to the liberation movements, as the parties to the conflict, reports on prison camps and treatment of prisoners detained by Portugal and to make the necessary arrangements to secure the exchange of prisoners of war, as appropriate;"

2. On 2 July 1973, the text of the resolution was transmitted to the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). At the same time, the latter's attention was drawn to the above provision, with the request that information be provided on action taken or envisaged by ICRC in the implementation thereof.

3. The substantive portion of a letter received in reply, dated 26 July 1973, from the ICRC delegate to international organizations reads as follows:

"In situations of conflict, disorder or tension which the Detaining Power does not recognize as being of an international character or which are of a domestic nature, the main concern of the International Committee of the Red Cross is to have access to detainees in order to try, as far as possible, to improve the conditions of their detention. In such situations, ICRC practice has always been to limit distribution of its reports on prison visits to the authority which permitted the visits. Very often, moreover, permission to visit is granted only on condition that the ICRC reports are not more widely circulated.

"This policy is one of the factors which has enabled ICRC to act with some degree of success for more than 50 years in very many such situations and to assist some 100,000 detainees in more than 70 countries who were not prisoners of war within the meaning of the Geneva Conventions or to whom the Detaining Power did not grant that status.

* Previously issued under symbol A/AC.109/L.906.

"In the case in question, it should be noted that ICRC is in constant touch with the African liberation movements. Some of those movements have authorized ICRC to visit the prisoners detained by them and in such cases it is to those movements that our delegates' findings and recommendations have been made available. On several occasions, too, certain liberation movements have spontaneously handed over to ICRC delegates prisoners whom they wished to release. Should other releases or possible exchanges be contemplated, ICRC is, of course, ready to facilitate such operations.

"Lastly, ICRC is always prepared to give personal news of their relatives to the families of those detainees whom it is allowed to visit in the Territories covered by resolution A/AC.109/424, a/ in accordance with our practice in such matters."

a/ See para. 26 of the present chapter.

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