



**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 II**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

OFFICIAL RECORDS : TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1)

**UNITED NATIONS**

**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 II**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION**

**SUPPLEMENT No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1)**



**UNITED NATIONS**

New York, 1973

## 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 four volumes. The present volume contains chapters V to VII;\* volume I chapters I to IV; volume III chapters VIII to XVI; and volume IV chapters XVII to XXI; each volume contains a full table of contents.

For documents A/7200 and addenda and A/7623 and addenda, mentioned in the present report, see respectively: *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes*, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), and *ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23* (A/7623/Rev.1).

---

\* The present version of chapters V to VII is a consolidation of the following documents as they appeared in provisional form: A/8023/Add.1; A/8023/Add.2; and A/8023/Add.3.

CONTENTS

VOLUME II

(Chapters I to IV)

Paragraphs

ABBREVIATIONS

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Chapter

I. ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A.	Establishment of the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 10
B.	Opening of the Special Committee's meeting in 1970 . . . . .	11 - 37
C.	Organization of work . . . . .	38 - 45
D.	Meetings of the Special Committee and its Working Group and Sub-Committees . . . . .	46 - 71
E.	Consideration of Territories . . . . .	72 - 73
F.	Question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable . . . . .	74 - 77
G.	Matters relating to the small Territories . . . . .	78 - 80
H.	Publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization . . . . .	81 - 87
I.	Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination: petitions from the peoples of the colonial countries . . . . .	88 - 93
J.	Consideration of other matters . . . . .	94 - 125
K.	Relations with other United Nations bodies and international institutions associated with the United Nations . . . . .	126 - 154
L.	Relations with the Organization of African Unity . . . . .	155 - 157
M.	Review of work . . . . .	158 - 171
N.	Future work . . . . .	172 - 181
O.	Approval of the report . . . . .	182

CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter

Paragraphs

Annexes

I.	REVIEW OF WORK (1970): REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II	
II.	PUBLICITY FOR THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DECOLONIZATION: FIFTY-THIRD REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP	
III.	PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS: FIFTY-FOURTH REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP	
IV.	LETTER DATED 30 NOVEMBER 1970, FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO TO THE UNITED NATIONS, ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	
V.	LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	
II.	MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY COLONIAL POWERS IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION WHICH MIGHT BE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 6
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	7
	ANNEX: REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I . . . . .	
III.	QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING MISSIONS TO TERRITORIES	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	
IV.	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	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 12
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	13

Annexes

- I. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
- II. REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN

CONTENTS (continued)

VOLUME II

(Chapters V to VII)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
V. SOUTHERN RHODESIA (A/8023/Add.1)		
A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 16	2
B. Decisions of the Special Committee . . . . .	17 - 18	5
ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT . . . . .		9
VI. NAMIBIA (A/8023/Add.2)		
A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 11	34
B. Examination of petitions . . . . .	12 - 15	36
C. Decisions of the Special Committee . . . . .	16 - 17	37
ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT . . . . .		41
VII. TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION (A/8023/Add.3)		
A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 16	74
B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	17	77
ANNEXES		
I. WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT . . . . .		81
II. REPORT OF THE DELEGATION OF OBSERVERS FROM THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF PORTUGUESE COLONIES, HELD IN ROME, ITALY, FROM 27 TO 29 JUNE 1970 . . . . .		299

CONTENTS (continued)

VOLUME III

(Chapters VIII to XVI)

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Paragraphs</u>
VIII.	SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 8
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	9
	ANNEXES	
	I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
	II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I	
IX.	SPANISH SAHARA	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 7
	B. Decisions of the Special Committee . . . . .	8 - 9
	ANNEXES	
	I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
	II. EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SPAIN	
X.	GIBRALTAR	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 4
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	5
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
XI.	FRENCH SOMALILAND	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 5
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	6
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
XII.	FIJI	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 7
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	8
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	

CONTENTS (continued)

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Paragraphs</u>
XIII.	OMAN	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 5
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	6
	ANNEXES	
	I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
	II. STATEMENT MADE BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON OMAN, AT THE 775TH MEETING, ON 29 OCTOBER 1970	
XIV.	GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS, PITCAIRN AND THE SOLOMON ISLANDS: NIUE AND THE TOKELAU ISLANDS: NEW HEBRIDES: AMERICAN SAMOA AND GUAM: TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS: PAPUA AND THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA, AND THE COCO (KEELING) ISLANDS	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 25
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	26 - 27
	ANNEXES	
	I. AIDE MEMOIRE DATED 19 JUNE 1970 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL	
	II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II	
	III. WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
XV.	BRUNEI	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 5
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	6
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
XVI.	HONG KONG	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 4
	B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . .	5
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	

CONTENTS (continued)

VOLUME IV

(Chapters XVII to XXI)

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Paragraphs</u>
XVII.	ANTIGUA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA, ST. LUCIA AND ST. VINCENT	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 6
	B. Decisions of the Special Committee . . . . .	7
	ANNEXES	
	I. WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
	II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III	
XVIII.	BAHAMAS, BERMUDA, BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS, CAYMAN ISLANDS, MONTSERRAT, TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS AND UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 10
	B. Decisions of the Special Committee . . . . .	11
	ANNEXES	
	I. WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
	II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III	
XIX.	FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 5
	B. Decisions of the Special Committee . . . . .	6
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
XX.	BRITISH HONDURAS	
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . .	1 - 4
	B. Decisions of the Special Committee . . . . .	5
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	

CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter

Paragraphs

XXI. INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES  
TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS

- A. Consideration by the Special Committee . . . . . 1 - 9
- B. Decision of the Special Committee . . . . . 10

ANNEX: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

CHAPTER V  
(A/8023/Add.1)  
SOUTHERN RHODESIA

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	1 - 16	1
B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	17 - 18	4
ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT . . . . .		7

## CHAPTER V

### SOUTHERN RHODESIA

#### A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its 725th, 743rd to 747th, 750th to 752nd, and 758th and 759th meetings, between 6 March and 25 August 1970.
2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2548 (XXIV) of 11 December 1969 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By that resolution, the General Assembly, in paragraph 10, requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration 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". In paragraph 12, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to... Southern Rhodesia...". The Committee also took into account the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2508 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969, concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, by paragraph 15 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to keep the situation in the Territory under review".
3. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex below) containing information on action previously taken by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly, as well as the latest developments concerning the Territory.
4. In addition, the Special Committee had before it the following written petitions concerning Southern Rhodesia:
  - (a) Letter dated 9 April 1970 from Mr. Tim Smith, Assistant for African Affairs, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ (A/AC.109/PET.1129);
  - (b) Letter dated 17 November 1969 from Mr. G. Higgs, Chairman, Epsom and Leatherhead and District Branch of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, United Kingdom (A/AC.109/PET.1137);
  - (c) Letter dated 14 January 1970 from Mr. A.J. Tapera Nkomo, President, Youth Organization of Zimbabwe (A/AC.109/PET.1138);
  - (d) Cable dated 2 March 1970 from Mr. Harm G. Buiter, General Secretary, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) (A/AC.109/PET.1139);

(e) Letter dated 28 February 1970 from Messrs. Roy Philibert, President, and P. White, Secretary, African Co-operative Ltd., Jamaica (A/AC.109/PET.1140);

(f) Letter dated 22 April 1970 from Mrs. A.M. Hughes, State Secretary, Union of Australian Women (A/AC.109/PET.1141);

(g) Letter dated 9 August 1970 from Mr. Ian D. Aiken, Amnesty International, Victorian Section (Australia) (A/AC.109/PET.1150).

5. The Special Committee also took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee at its 740th meeting on 21 April 1970 (A/AC.109/L.641). The Group visited Africa during May/June 1970 for the purpose of establishing contact with representatives of national liberation movements from colonial Territories in that continent in connexion with the preparation of the analytical study and the suggested programme of action called for under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2521 (XXIV) of 4 December 1969 relating to the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The report included, inter alia, the views expressed by the following representatives of the national liberation movements from Southern Rhodesia: Messrs. Charles K.D. Chikerema, G.B. Nyandoro and T.F. Silundika, Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU); and Messrs. Henry Hamadziripi and S.V. Mtamhanengwe, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

6. At its 725th meeting, on 5 March, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the representative of India, decided as a matter of urgency to request its Chairman to submit a draft consensus dealing with a specific aspect of the question for the consideration of the Special Committee.

7. Accordingly, at the 726th meeting, on 9 March, the Chairman submitted a draft consensus to the Special Committee. Following statements by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mali, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Norway and Italy (A/AC.109/PV.726) the Special Committee adopted the draft consensus, it being understood that the reservations expressed by the members would be reflected in the record of the meeting. The text of the consensus is reproduced in paragraph 17 below.

8. At the same meeting, the Special Committee also decided, without objection, to authorize the Chairman to transmit the text of the consensus to the President of the Security Council for the attention of that body. Accordingly, the Chairman, in a letter dated 9 March, transmitted the text of the consensus to the President of the Security Council (S/9686 and Corr.1).

9. At its 737th meeting, on 13 April 1970, the Special Committee, by approving the forty-seventh report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.623), decided, inter alia, to hold a general debate covering the question of Southern Rhodesia, together with two other items, namely, the questions of Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration. In taking that decision, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that individual draft resolutions on matters covered by those items would be considered separately following the conclusion of the general debate.

10. The general debate covering the question of Southern Rhodesia, together with the two other items referred to in paragraph 9 above, took place at the 743rd to 747th, 750th and 751st meetings between 14 May and 20 July. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of Sierra Leone (A/AC.109/PV.743), Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.744), Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.745 and Corr.1), Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.746), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Afghanistan and Ethiopia (A/AC.109/PV.747 and Corr.1), Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.750), Poland and India (A/AC.109/PV.751 and Corr.1). Statements in exercise of the right of reply were made by the representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, Ethiopia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.747 and Corr.1).

11. At the 758th meeting, on 11 August, the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution, which was finally sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.655/Rev.1).

12. The Special Committee considered the draft resolution at its 758th and 759th meetings, on 20 and 25 August. Statements on the draft resolution were made by the representatives of Poland, Venezuela and the United Kingdom (A/AC.109/PV.759). In his statement to the Special Committee, the representative of Venezuela suggested that in the eighth preambular paragraph the words "on the basis of majority rule" should be replaced by the words "on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule". The sponsors accepted the suggestion by the representative of Venezuela.

13. At its 759th meeting, the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.655/Rev.1), as orally revised, by a roll-call vote of 16 to 2, with 2 abstentions. The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Italy, Norway.

14. The text of the resolution is reproduced in paragraph 17 below.

15. Statements in explanation of vote were made by the representatives of the United States, Norway and Italy (A/AC.109/PV.759). The representative of Iran stated that had his delegation been present during the voting on the draft resolution, it would have voted in favour of it.

16. On 26 August 1970, the text of the resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/9920). Copies of the resolution were also transmitted to States, including the administering Power, for the attention of their Governments, to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

## B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

17. The text of the consensus adopted by the Special Committee at its 726th meeting on 9 March 1970, to which reference is made in paragraph 7 above, is reproduced below:

(1) The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples strongly condemns the purported assumption of republican status and other illegal acts by the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. While the Special Committee has no doubt whatsoever about the illegality of these acts, it is gravely concerned at the extraordinarily far-reaching and arbitrary powers which the régime has now arrogated to itself to intensify the oppression of the African majority by the racist minority.

(2) Noting that recent developments have led to a further worsening of the situation in southern Africa, constituting a dangerous threat to international peace and security, the Special Committee calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as the administering Power to take all necessary measures to put an end to that régime and to restore to the people of Zimbabwe their right to self-determination and independence. The Special Committee also calls on all States to co-operate in bringing the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end by complying fully with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Furthermore, having regard to the latest developments, the Special Committee requests all States not to extend recognition to, or to entertain diplomatic or other relations with, the illegal régime, and to refrain from any action which would assist or encourage that régime.

(3) In view of the further aggravation of the situation which has previously been determined by the Security Council to be a threat to international peace and security, it is the feeling of the Special Committee that the Security Council should urgently consider taking further appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations to bring the rebellion to an end and to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

18. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/360) adopted by the Special Committee at its 759th meeting, on 25 August 1970, to which reference is made in paragraph 13 above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia,

Having examined the views expressed by the representatives of the national liberation movements of Southern Rhodesia, 1/

Recalling General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and other relevant resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly and 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,

Bearing in mind the provisions of Security Council resolutions 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968 and 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, in particular, the affirmation by the Security Council that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Deeply concerned at the purported assumption of republican status and the introduction of other illegal measures by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia,

Deeply concerned at the presence of South African armed forces in the Territory and the threat to the sovereignty of neighbouring African States resulting from their presence and also from the dangerous situation existing in Southern Rhodesia,

Deeply concerned that the sanctions adopted by the Security Council have not so far brought about the end of the illegal racist minority régime,

Bearing in mind that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, has the primary responsibility for putting an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and for transferring effective power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. Condemns the purported assumption of republican status by the illegal racist minority régime and other illegal measures adopted by that régime for the purpose of depriving the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights;

3. Condemns the policies of Governments, particularly the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which continue to have political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, in defiance of the

---

1/ A/AC.109/L.641.

8. Urges all States to work towards the isolation of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in all aspects, including the severance of political, economic, military and other relations as well as of contacts in the fields of culture and sports;

9. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the increasingly dangerous situation in the Territory because of the further repressive measures taken by the illegal racist minority régime;

10. Stresses the necessity of extending sanctions to South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments, by refusing to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council, are primarily responsible for the continuance of the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia;

11. Decides to keep the situation in Southern Rhodesia under review.

\*  
ANNEX\*

WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
A. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY . . . . .	1 - 5
B. ACTION TAKEN PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 253 (1968) . . . . .	6 - 11
C. MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA . . . . .	12 - 13
D. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY	
1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS . . . . .	14 - 45
2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS . . . . .	46 - 75

---

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.616.

A. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
AND BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. The situation in 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 and has been the subject of numerous General Assembly resolutions. It has also been considered by the Security Council both before and after the illegal declaration of independence. a/
2. During 1969, the Special Committee first considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its meetings between 4 and 26 March 1969, in the light of the situation arising out of the trial and conviction of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole; and steps being taken by the illegal régime to entrench separate development of the races into a system of government. At its 665th meeting on 26 March, the Special Committee adopted a resolution (A/7623/Add.1, section B.1), in which it expressed its profound indignation at the trial and conviction of the Reverend Sithole and the continued detention, imprisonment and assassination of nationalist leaders by the illegal racist minority régime. It also called upon the administering Power to take immediate steps to secure the release of all political prisoners; and to prevent the régime from introducing its so-called new constitution for Southern Rhodesia which would entrench separate development in the Territory to the detriment of the legitimate rights of the African population.
3. The Special Committee gave further consideration to the question of Southern Rhodesia at its meetings held between 12 May and 10 June. At its 698th meeting the Special Committee adopted a second resolution (A/7623/Add.1, section B.2) on the question in which it reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and declared illegal all steps being taken by the racist minority régime, including the so-called referendum and new constitution. Noting with concern that the sanctions adopted had failed to put an end to the illegal régime, it condemned in that respect certain specific policies of the administering Power, the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, and the activities of foreign economic and other interests concerned. It also called upon the administering Power to take effective measures, including the use of force, to put an immediate end to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer all powers to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule; and asked all States as well as the specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned to extend all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe directly or through the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It further called upon

---

a/ For information on action prior to 1969, see the Special Committee's reports to the General Assembly at its twenty-second to twenty-fourth sessions (Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (Part I), (A/6700/Rev.1), chapter III; A/7200/Add.1, chapter VI; A/7623/Add.1; chapter VI).

the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in view of the inhuman treatment of prisoners of war, to ensure the application to that situation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949. b/

4. The resolution also drew the attention of the Security Council to the gravity of the current situation in the Territory and the danger of aggression by the illegal régime against neighbouring States which constituted a threat to international peace and security; and to the urgent necessity of applying the following measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations:

(a) The scope of the sanctions should be widened further to include all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter with respect to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia;

(b) Sanctions should be imposed on South Africa and Portugal, the Governments of which have blatantly refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council.

5. On 21 November 1969, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 2508 (XXIV) on the question of Southern Rhodesia. The operative paragraphs of the resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"2. Declares illegal all measures taken by the racist minority régime to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights and to entrench its policies of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia;

"3. Condemns the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, to take effective measures to bring down the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule in accordance with all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

"4. Condemns the intervention of South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia, which constitutes an act of aggression against the people and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe, and calls upon the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African forces from Southern Rhodesia;

"5. Condemns the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and other Governments which continue to have political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia in contravention of the relevant United Nations resolutions, thereby violating their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations;

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

"6. Condemns the policies of those States which make it possible for their nationals to emigrate to Southern Rhodesia in violation of Security Council resolution 253 (1968);

"7. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom, in fulfilment of its responsibility as the administering Power, to take effective measures, including the use of force, to put an immediate end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer all powers to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule;

"8. Calls upon the administering Power to ensure the immediate release of the African nationalists who are in detention and to prevent further assassination and imprisonment of African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia;

"9. Calls upon all States which continue to maintain political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia to bring them to an immediate end;

"10. Calls upon all States, specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned to extend all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity;

"11. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom, in view of the armed conflict in the Territory and the inhuman treatment of prisoners, to ensure the application to that situation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, dated 12 August 1949;

"12. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the gravity of the situation arising from the intensification of suppressive activities against the people of Zimbabwe and from armed attacks perpetrated against neighbouring States in violation of international peace and security;

"13. Reaffirms its conviction that the sanctions will not put an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia unless they are comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa and Portugal;

"14. Further draws the attention of the Security Council to the urgent necessity of applying the following measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter;

"(a) The scope of the sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime should be widened to include all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter;

"(b) Sanctions should be imposed on South Africa and Portugal, the Governments of which have blatantly refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council;

"15. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to keep the situation in the Territory under review;

"16. Calls upon the administering Power to report to the Special Committee on its action in the implementation of the present resolution."

B. ACTION TAKEN PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 253 (1968)

6. The Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) has to date transmitted two reports to the Security Council (S/8954 and S/9252 and Add.1). Pursuant to the same resolution, the Secretary-General has reported (S/8786 and Add.1-11) to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of resolution 253 (1968). The reports of the Committee and the Secretary-General cover the implementation of extensive mandatory sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia by Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

7. According to the reports of the Secretary-General (S/8786 and Add.1-11), as at 6 June 1969, ninety-nine States Members of the United Nations and five members of the specialized agencies had reported to the Secretary-General on the implementation of the resolution.

8. The great majority of the States that reported to the Secretary-General stated that they were complying with the provisions of the resolution. A number of them stated in their replies that they did not recognize the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and had no relations of any kind with it. Some States had not found it necessary to take specific measures. Some others stated that they had already taken or were taking necessary measures for the implementation of the resolution. Several States gave details of the measures taken or submitted texts of relevant legislation or orders. In taking measures for the implementation of the resolution, some States had made a distinction between mandatory and other provisions of resolution 253 (1968). Four States, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Malawi and Zambia, pointed out the adverse effect on their economies of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Portugal stated in its reply that "since the Security Council is unable or unwilling to make clear its position with regard to the points which have given rise to concern on the part of the Portuguese Government, it is difficult to see how Portugal can be asked to take a position on problems and questions which the Council refuses to consider".

9. As at 25 February 1970, thirty-one States, twenty-seven of them Members of the United Nations (including South Africa), and four members of the specialized agencies, had not replied to any of the communications from the Secretary-General requesting information on measures taken to implement the resolution.

10. In its reports (S/8954 and S/9252 and Add.1), the committee of the Security Council analysed all the information available to it and also examined specific cases brought to its attention, and the foreign trade of Southern Rhodesia for 1968. On the basis of the above, the committee made the following observations in its second report to the Security Council (S/9252, paras. 42-49):

"...

"The Committee deems it necessary to bring to the attention of the Security Council, the following observations based on its comprehensive study and analysis of the information available to it in the communications from States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies and the statistical and other information provided by the Secretariat as well as its study and investigation of communications relating to a number

of cases of possible violations of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia established by the Security Council in its resolution 253 (1968).

"In this connexion, the Committee wishes to recall that in resolution 253 (1968), the Security Council reaffirmed that, to the extent not superseded in that resolution, the measures provided for in resolutions 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965 and 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, as well as those initiated by Member States in implementation of these resolutions should continue in effect. By resolution 217 (1965), the Security Council called on all States to do their utmost to break off all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, including an embargo on oil and petroleum products. By resolution 232 (1966), the Council imposed sanctions against Southern Rhodesia covering fifteen major commodity groups.

"The Committee draws the attention of the Security Council to information compiled by the Secretariat on the trade of Southern Rhodesia. A summary and analysis of this trade can be found in paragraphs 1 and 2 of annex I of this report (S/9252 and Add.1). The Committee also draws attention to paragraphs 28 and 32 of the report on consular representation and on airlines.

"The Committee notes that the majority of States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies have reported taking measures to comply with the decision of the Security Council. Certain States, however, are not complying or are not yet complying fully with the measures imposed by the Security Council. On the basis of all the facts at its disposal, the Committee wishes to state that the Governments of South Africa and Portugal have not taken any measures to implement the provisions of resolution 253 (1968), have continued to maintain close economic, trade and other relations with the illegal régime and to permit the free flow of goods from Southern Rhodesia through the territories of South Africa and the colony of Mozambique and their ports and transport facilities.

"The Committee also noted with regret that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has been carrying on trade with States other than South Africa and Portugal in contravention of the sanctions and that this illegal trade, according to one estimate, amounted to approximately 244 million in 1968. The halting or reduction of this trade, which is taking place in contravention of the measures adopted by the States, would greatly increase the effectiveness of the sanctions. It is believed that by the exercise of greater vigilance, the application of more stringent requirements with regard to documents in the case of suspected transactions and more thorough examination of documentation, much could be done by the States complying with sanctions to interrupt the flow of covert trade.

"Having regard to the information available to the Committee in the course of its investigation of the specific cases of suspected violations of the resolution, the Committee believes that many States have not taken all possible measures to prevent their nationals from engaging in activities to promote the export of goods of Southern Rhodesian origin and the import into Southern Rhodesia of goods needed by the illegal régime or the use of ships and aircrafts of their registration or under charter to their nationals.

"As a result of the refusal of South Africa and Portugal to take measures and the failure of some other States to fully implement the provisions of resolution 253 (1968), as stated above, the Committee is compelled to observe that the sanctions established by that resolution against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia have not yet brought about the results desired by the Security Council.

"The Committee feels that consideration should be given to more effective measures to ensure full implementation of Security Council resolution 253 (1968)."

11. The Security Council considered the reports of the Committee established in pursuance of its resolution 253 (1968) (S/6954 and S/9252 and Add.1) at its 1475th to 1481st meeting held between 13 and 24 June 1969. During its meetings, the Security Council considered a five-Power draft resolution (S/9270/Rev.1) co-sponsored by Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia, which would extend sanctions to cover South Africa and the Portuguese Territory of Mozambique; and also widen the present extensive mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to make them comprehensive and total. At its 1481st meeting on 24 June 1969, the five-Power draft resolution was rejected by a vote of 8 in favour, none against and 7 abstentions (Colombia, Finland, France, Paraguay, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America).

C. MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

12. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its sixth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 9 September 1969, adopted a manifesto on Southern Africa. c/

13. On 20 November 1969, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2505 (XXIV) in which it welcomed the above Manifesto and recommended it to the attention of all States and peoples. The full text of the resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having received the Manifesto on Southern Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 9 September 1969,

"Convinced of the need for intensifying international efforts for the elimination of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in order that peace and security in Southern Africa may be assured,

"Recalling its resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965 on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

"1. Welcomes the Manifesto on Southern Africa and recommends it to the attention of all States and all peoples;

"2. Expresses once again the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in Southern Africa."

---

c/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

D. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY

1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

White Paper on constitutional proposals

14. The illegal régime's proposals for a new constitution, aimed at perpetuating the domination of the African majority by the European minority, were published as a White Paper in Salisbury on 21 May 1969. An introduction to the White Paper stated that the régime believed "that the present constitution is no longer acceptable to the people of Rhodesia because it contains a number of objectionable features, the principal ones being that it provides for eventual African rule and, inevitably, the domination of one race by another and that it does not guarantee that government will be retained in responsible hands". Certain major changes in the "1965 Constitution" would be made "in order to remove these objectionable features". The proposed new constitution, the introduction stated, "will ensure that government will be retained in responsible hands" and would allow Africans to "play an increasing part in the government as they earn it by increased contributions to the national exchequer".

15. The régime's White Paper was in three parts which set out respectively matters to be contained in a proposed new constitution, matters to be contained in an electoral act, and matters to be contained in new land tenure legislation. The introduction specified that all references to a European meant any person (including Coloured and Asian) who was not an African.

Referendum

16. Under the terms of a bill passed by the Rhodesian Legislative Assembly on 30 April 1969, a referendum was held in Southern Rhodesia on 20 June of all persons registered as voters on the present "A" and "B" electoral rolls, d/ voting together,

d/ After a campaign for the re-registration of voters in Rhodesia which ended in April 1967, the illegal régime in May 1967 issued figures of the number of voters registered on the present rolls. These were reported to be as follows (December 1964 figures in parentheses):

	<u>"A" Roll</u>	<u>"B" Roll</u>
Africans . . . . .	1,645 (2,291)	4,280 (10,623)
Asians . . . . .	985 (1,257)	90 (118)
Europeans . . . . .	78,648 (91,887)	536 (663)
Coloureds . . . . .	1,016 (1,323)	99 (181)
Totals	82,294 (96,758)	5,005 (11,585)

to determine whether voters were in favour of, or against, two proposals: the adoption of a republican form of constitution; and the régime's constitutional proposals of 21 May 1969. Voting in the referendum was 61,130 in favour of a republic, with 14,327 against, and 54,724 in favour of the constitutional proposals, with 20,776 against.

#### Implementation of constitutional proposals

17. Following the referendum, the Legislative Assembly approved on 3 September 1969 the Constitution (Amendment No. 2) Bill, purporting to make it lawful for the legislature to repeal the so-called 1965 Constitution and introduce a new one. On 11 September 1969, the régime published the proposed constitution as the Constitution Bill, followed later by the Land Tenure Bill, the Electoral Bill, and the High Court Bill, all based closely on the proposals contained in the White Paper. The Constitution of Rhodesia Bill and its ancillary legislation were adopted by the Legislative Assembly on 17 November 1969. The motion on the Constitution Bill was approved by 47 votes to 13. The voting on the other legislation was: Electoral Bill - 47 in favour with 11 against; the Land Tenure Bill - 47 in favour with 12 against; the High Court (Amendment) Bill - 46 in favour with 11 against.

18. Mr. Clifford du Pont, "Officer Administering the Government", signed the Electoral Bill and the Rhodesian Constitution Bill on 28 and 29 November 1969 respectively. A "Ministry of Information" spokesman was reported to have stated that the "Constitution" would come into operation after new voters' rolls had been prepared and new constituencies set up for the first election under the new "Constitutional Electoral Act". On 26 February 1970 it was announced in Salisbury that the "Constitution" would enter into force on 2 March when the existing Legislative Assembly would be dissolved. General elections under the new "Constitution" would take place on 10 April 1970.

#### Provisions of the new "Constitution"

##### (a) Executive and Legislature

19. The new "Constitution" provides for the creation of a republic with a President as head of state and commander-in-chief (with limited constitutional powers) serving for not more than two five-year terms; an executive council consisting of the Prime Minister and other ministers, to advise the President; and a legislature consisting of the head of state and a bicameral parliament. There will be a senate of 23 members; 10 elected Europeans, 10 African chiefs elected by the council of chiefs, and 3 persons of any race appointed by the head of state. The Senate's power will be strictly limited to delaying legislation even in the case of bills which, on the advice of its legal committee, the Senate considers to be inconsistent with the "Declaration of Rights" to be embodied in the "Constitution". The House of Assembly will consist initially of 66 members. Of these, 50 members will be Europeans elected by single-member European constituencies, and 16 members will be Africans, of whom 8 will be elected by African registered voters in as many African constituencies, and 8 elected by tribal electoral colleges of chiefs and other office holders in tribal trust lands. The existing "A" and "B" rolls of voters will cease to exist and will be replaced by separate European and African rolls.

20. The "Constitution" proper will contain specifically entrenched provisions relating to the composition of the Senate and House of Assembly, the judicature, the "Declaration of Rights", and certain provisions of the "Electoral and Land Tenure Acts". These will be subject to amendment only by the affirmative votes of two thirds of the total membership of each of the two houses of parliament, voting separately. However, if the Senate rejects such an amendment, the bill can be passed back to the Senate after six months for reconsideration, requiring only the agreement of more than half the total membership to become law.

21. A provision for increases in the number of African members in the House of Assembly up to, but never exceeding, parity with the European members, will be tied directly to the proportion of total assessed personal income tax contributed by Africans. Such an increase will not start to operate until Africans pay more than 16/66ths (approximately 24 per cent) of the total income tax - the present ratio of African seats to European seats in the House of Assembly.

22. The above tax ratio representation provides in theory that as Africans pay more direct taxes, they will be entitled to greater representation. The African community according to the tax ratio representation will become entitled to equal parliamentary representation when the amount of income tax paid by Africans equals the total paid by Europeans. e/

(b) "Declaration of Rights"

23. The "Constitution" contains a declaration of rights with a clause stating that it will not be enforced by the courts. It also declares loyalty to Southern Rhodesia as a fundamental duty of every citizen. Among other things, the "Declaration of Rights" entrenches detention and restriction without trial "for the purposes of national defence, public safety or public order". However, it provides for a review of each case by "an impartial tribunal" within three months, at the request of the detainee. It also provides for the automatic review of each case at intervals of not less than twelve months from the date of detention or restriction. The "Declaration of Rights" allows freedom of thought and religion, freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association and freedom from interference with correspondence. However, it adds the proviso that these freedoms can be withdrawn "in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health, or the economic interests of the State, or to protect the rights and freedoms of other persons". The "Constitution" also gives the State power to "regulate" radio, television, newspapers and other publications, as well as exhibitions and entertainments.

(c) Franchise

24. As regards the franchise, the "Electoral Act", certain parts of which will be treated as specially entrenched clauses of the "Constitution", provides higher means and educational qualifications than those required at present for registered voters. For Europeans, this will be possession of an income of £900 a year or

---

e/ The Africans' present share of personal tax amounts to 0.5 per cent out of a total of £11.8 million; the European community pays 200 times as much income tax as the African community.

property in Southern Rhodesia worth £1,800 or (if the person had completed at least four years of secondary education) an income of £600 a year or property valued at £1,200. For Africans, the qualifications will be either possession of an income of at least £300 a year or property worth £600 f/ or alternatively the completion of two years of secondary education g/ plus possession of an income of £200 a year or ownership of property valued at not less than £400. The Act will allow for the means and educational qualifications for African voters to be increased from time to time as the number of African members of the House of Assembly increases, so that when the African members attain parity with Europeans the means and educational qualifications for both groups would be the same. Persons who have been restricted or detained for more than six months will be disqualified from nomination for five years after their release.

25. Another feature of the new franchise is that it will abolish cross voting. h/ Voters in the existing "A" and "B" rolls will be automatically transferred, in the case of Europeans to the European roll and, in the case of Africans, to the African roll. The nomination of Africans for European seats and vice versa will be prohibited.

(d) Delimitation

26. Another provision of the "Electoral Act" calls for the appointment of a delimitation commission, among other things, to divide Southern Rhodesia into 50 European roll constituencies (of which 18 will be rural). Mashonaland and Matabeleland will each be divided into four African roll constituencies; there will also be tribal electoral colleges which will choose 8 traditional African members to the House of Assembly.

(e) Land tenure

27. The "Land Tenure Act", certain provisions of which are to be treated as specifically entrenched clauses of the new "Constitution", will replace the Land Apportionment Act. It will abolish the present category of "unreserved" land under the Land Apportionment Act and divide the land of Southern Rhodesia into three parts - African land, European land and national land: the European area will total 44,952,900 acres, the African area 44,944,500 acres and the remaining 6,617,500 acres will become national land which will be inalienable but may be leased to persons of either race. This will represent an increase of

---

f/ According to an Economic Survey for 1968 published by the régime, the average annual earnings of African employees was £144; the average earnings of European employees amounted to £1,444.

g/ On 16 October 1969, Mr. Michael Steward, United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in reference to the franchise, stated in the House of Commons that ten times as much was at present spent on the education of a European child than on the education of an African child; while about 11 per cent of European children moved from primary to secondary school, only 1 per cent of the African children did so.

h/ Voting by "B" roll voters in "A" roll constituencies and by "A" roll voters in "B" roll electoral districts.

9 million acres in the total area reserved for Europeans. For land tenure purposes, coloured persons and Asians will be recognized as Europeans. Provision is made for elimination, subject to proper compensation, of small pockets at present allocated to one race in the middle of big areas allocated to the other race, and for legislation on the ownership and occupation of land in European areas, which makes provision for different classes of Europeans. The rights of Europeans and Africans in the lands reserved for them will be paramount.

28. Under the Land Apportionment Act, which is to be replaced by the new "Land Tenure Act", the whole of Southern Rhodesia is divided into the following categories of land:

	<u>Acres</u>
Tribal trust land (previously called Native reserves)	40,127,600
African purchase area	4,276,700
Unreserved land	5,961,900
European area	35,660,900
National land (national parks and game reserves)	10,497,400
	<hr/>
	96,524,500

29. On 15 October 1969, the "Minister of Lands", Mr. van Heerden, stated in the Legislative Assembly that in 1968 44.4 million acres of the African area produced crops and livestock of an estimated gross value of £27.4 million, of which £3.5 million went into the money economy, while the 35.6 million European acres produced crops and livestock worth £64.1 million of which £59.2 million went into the money economy.

#### United Kingdom Government and Southern Rhodesia

30. In the course of his statement to the House of Commons on 21 May, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Stewart, said that the United Kingdom Government would pursue steadily the present course of denying recognition and maintaining sanctions against an illegal régime which denied human rights. It would neither condone what was happening in Southern Rhodesia nor relax the measures now being taken against the illegal régime.

31. On 24 June 1969, the Governor of Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, formally resigned as the Queen's representative in Southern Rhodesia. In a statement issued the same day, the Governor said that it was apparent that the majority of the electorate (referring to the referendum) had demonstrated that they wanted Southern Rhodesia to break all ties, not only with Her Majesty the Queen, but also with Britain and the Commonwealth. As there appeared to be no chance of a negotiated settlement in the foreseeable future, there was no further useful purpose to be served by his remaining in office. Sir Humphrey was appointed Governor by the Queen in 1959. In November 1965, Mr. Smith's régime purported to supersede him by an "Officer Administering the Government".

32. In a statement to the House of Commons on 24 June 1969, Mr. Stewart stated that, in view of the resignation of the Governor and of the referendum results, the United Kingdom Government had decided that it would serve no useful purposes to maintain the United Kingdom Residual Mission in Salisbury and that Rhodesia House in London should be closed. The United Kingdom Government had proposed a period of three weeks for closure on either side. Mr. Stewart added that the United Kingdom Government stood ready to resume links whenever there were people in power in Southern Rhodesia who shared its principles and with whom it could talk. It would remain the policy of the United Kingdom Government to work for an honourable settlement when that day came.

33. The United Kingdom Residual Mission in Salisbury was formally closed on 10 July 1969; and Rhodesia House in London was officially closed on 14 July 1969.

34. The Southern Rhodesia Act 1965 (Continuation) Order 1969 was approved by both the House of Commons and the House of Lords on 16 and 21 October respectively. The effect of the order is to continue in force section 2 of the 1965 Act which enables the Queen in Council to take any action concerning events in Southern Rhodesia. During the debates on the order, ministers expressed the British Government's condemnation of the illegal régime's proposed constitutional and other legislation, reaffirmed Britain's adherence to the six principles and made clear the Government's determination to continue the policy of sanctions.

#### Mr. Ian Smith's visit to South Africa

35. Mr. Smith arrived in South Africa on 8 March 1969 on what was officially described as a six-week vacation. During his stay in South Africa, Mr. Smith held a number of meetings with Mr. John Vorster, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa. On 10 March 1969, Mr. Smith held a 95-minute talk with Mr. Vorster, which was officially described as a courtesy call on the Prime Minister. Mr. Smith described their discussions as confidential. Following their second meeting, on 11 March 1969, Mr. Smith stated that the talks had been fruitful, constructive and confidential. They had discussed relations with Britain, but that had not formed a major part of the talks. They had discussed many matters of common interest to their two countries. Mr. Smith's visit to South Africa was his fourth since the illegal declaration of independence. On the three previous visits, Mr. Smith had also held confidential discussions with Prime Minister Vorster.

#### Armed forces

36. It was reported on 30 January 1969 that the strength of Southern Rhodesia's army was to be increased. A spokesman for the Minister of Defence was reported to have stated at the time that the Special Air Services Squadron would be doubled and the Rhodesian Light Infantry enlarged.

37. On 23 April 1969, the Prime Minister of South Africa said in Cape Town that South African "police" stationed in the Territory would remain on Southern Rhodesia's borders as long as necessary in the interests of the Republic's own security. He said South Africa had embarked on the operation to deal with terrorists from banned South African organizations who infiltrated into Rhodesia and that it was only right that the Republic should play its part.

38. On 5 January 1970, Southern Rhodesian security forces reported that African nationalist guerrillas had crossed the Zambesi River from Zambia and attacked a Rhodesian patrol launch, wounding one policeman. It was the first report of a guerrilla incursion since mid-1968. Communiqués issued by the security forces of Southern Rhodesia through the first week of February 1970 reported sporadic fighting with African nationalist guerrillas in the Zambesi Valley and that sixteen "terrorists" and two members of the security forces had been killed in the operations. According to the communiqués, an undisclosed number of prisoners had been taken and substantial quantities of arms, ammunition and equipment captured.

#### Eviction of Tangwena tribesmen from Inyanga area

39. A proclamation published on 21 February 1969 ordered the removal of Tangwena tribesmen of Trasi's Kraal at Gairezi Ranch, Inyanga, to a permanent home in an adjoining tribal trust land. A statement issued by the "Ministry of Lands" on the same day stated that the tribesmen were to be moved from their ancestral home because they were illegally occupying private property in a European area. Their new home would be identical in character to the area from which they would be evicted.

40. The Tangwena tribesmen, under their Chief Rekayi Tangwena, in defiance of the eviction order, refused to move from their ancestral homeland of thirty square miles in the eastern highlands. On 8 September 1969, Southern Rhodesian troops and police forcibly evicted the tribesmen from their ancestral homeland. In an announcement after the eviction, the "Ministry of Information" said that the eviction had been accomplished without incident.

#### New political parties

41. On 21 June 1969, the two African political parties with parliamentary representation, the United People's Party and the Democratic Party, united to form a new opposition party, the National People's Union. The former Chairman of the Democratic Party, Mr. Gordon Chavunduka, was elected President, and the former UPP leader, Mr. Percy Mkudu, was elected Vice-President. In its draft constitution, published on 26 August, the party advocated majority rule in Southern Rhodesia and the establishment of a democratic nation in which the government would be elected by universal adult suffrage and would remain at all times responsible to all the people. On 27 August 1969, the NPU in the Legislative Assembly elected Mr. Chad Chipunza as leader of the opposition in place of Mr. Percy Mkudu who subsequently resigned from the party.

42. The formation of another political party in Southern Rhodesia, the Conservative Alliance, was announced by Mr. Robin James, a member of the Legislative Assembly. He stated that the new party would be pledged to the preservation of the European and his civilization. Other aims in the new party's manifesto are the abolition of political integration and separate racial community identification.

#### Other developments

43. On 7 March 1969, the Rhodesian Executive Council announced that it had reprieved forty-nine African nationalists and commuted their death sentences to life imprisonment. The men had been given mandatory death sentences under the Law

and Order (Maintenance) Act for carrying arms, but since their trial, the Legislative Assembly had repealed the automatic sentence for this offence. The Council's statement said that no deaths had resulted from the men's actions. On 19 August 1969, a further nineteen African prisoners under sentence of death on similar charges were reprieved by the régime.

44. On 6 August 1969, the "Minister of Justice, Law and Order", Mr. Lardner-Burke, stated in the Legislative Assembly that at that time there were 187 people in restriction and 140 in detention in Southern Rhodesia.

45. On 10 December 1969, Mr. John Roger Nicholson, Financial Editor of the Rhodesia Herald, was sentenced in Salisbury to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour, on charges of economic espionage on behalf of an unidentified foreign Government; on 18 December 1969, Mr. Alfred Trevor Gallagher, a Salisbury lawyer, was also sentenced to four years' imprisonment with hard labour, on similar charges. On 16 January 1970, the régime announced that the two men convicted of espionage had been declared prohibited immigrants and deported from Southern Rhodesia.

## 2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

### Economic survey for 1968

#### (a) General

46. In April 1969, the Smith régime published an Economic Survey of Rhodesia for 1968 in which it provided selected statistics on the state of the economy. i/ According to the survey, the gross domestic product (preliminary estimates) increased from £R369.6 million in 1967 to a record level of £R389.9 million in 1968, an increase of 5.5 per cent at current prices. The gross national product increased from £R387.4 million in 1967 to £R408 million in 1968.

47. Increased activity in the manufacturing and building and construction industries was largely responsible for the rise in the gross domestic product. The contribution of these two sectors increased by £R13.8 million, while that of agriculture fell by £R11.4 million. The contribution of the mining sector to the gross domestic product declined by 2 per cent. Increases were registered in the contribution of all other sectors.

#### (b) Foreign trade and balance of payments

48. The value of domestic exports was sustained at £R87.4 million, compared with the previous year's level of £R88.4 million; re-exports fell from £R6.0 million in 1967 to £R4.2 million; and gold production was at a slightly lower level than in 1967 and amounted to £R5.8 million. Imports increased by £R10 million to £R103.5 million. j/

49. The visible trade balance decreased from £R8.5 million in 1967 to a deficit of £R7.7 million in 1968 which together with the net deficit for invisible transactions on current account resulted in a total current account deficit of £R26.8 million. There was a net inflow of capital amounting to £R25.2 million and the deficit on combined current and capital accounts was £R1.6 million, compared with a surplus of £R3.3 million in 1967.

---

i/ For the United Kingdom Government's views on the régime's economic survey for 1968, see document S/9252/Add.1, annex II.

j/ The illegal régime does not publish information as to the direction and nature of its foreign trade. A detailed analysis of the foreign trade of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of information available is contained in document S/9252/Add.1, annexes 1 and 2.

(c) Agriculture

50. The value of agricultural production decreased from the record level of £R92.5 million achieved in 1967 to £R81.5 million. <sup>k/</sup> The value of maize production was reduced substantially and tobacco production fell short of the target of 132 million pounds. Sugar production was not affected by the drought as the crop was produced under irrigation and its value increased by 4 per cent. The value of livestock slaughtered increased by 8 per cent. One reason for this increase was the drought which badly affected some grazing areas. There was a rise of 16 per cent in the value of dairy produce following a rise of 10 per cent in the previous year.

(d) Manufacturing and construction output

51. There was a decline in the value of manufacturing output following the imposition of sanctions in 1965 but this was only of temporary duration. Since September 1966, there had been a steady recovery, culminating in 1968 in a record level output of £R219 million, 13 per cent higher than that in 1967.

52. Following the reduction of the tobacco crop the volume of output of the tobacco grading and packing industry fell by nearly 40 per cent. Apart from this industry and the textiles and clothing industry in which the output fell by less than 1 per cent all other sectors experienced increased levels of production. The output of the non-metallic mineral products industry rose by as much as 41 per cent in sympathy with the rise in building activity. The chemical and the transport equipment industries registered gains in output of 16 per cent and 14 per cent respectively.

53. Total construction output increased in value by over 30 per cent, from £R35.7 million to £R46.8 million.

(e) Other developments

54. Mineral production was valued at £R33.7 million compared with the previous record production figure of £R33.4 million in 1967. It was expected that the value of mineral production would show an upsurge during 1969 as a result of the main developments that have been taking place.

55. Although gross fixed capital formation declined in 1966, it recovered during 1967 to the high 1965 level of over £R47 million. Preliminary estimates for 1968 indicated that capital formation increased sharply by some £R18 million to approximately £R65 million.

Southern Rhodesia and sanctions

56. Sanctions reduced Southern Rhodesia's exports from £R164 million to £R104 million in the first year after the illegal declaration of independence, and

---

<sup>k/</sup> The economy of Southern Rhodesia was also afflicted during 1968 by a widespread drought. Rainfall in many parts of the country was less than half that experienced in an average season. The drought was followed later by unusually severe frosts. Both these factors adversely affected agricultural production.

have since kept them down to £R101 million in 1967 and £R97.4 million in 1968. The commodity most seriously hit has been tobacco, exports of which fell from £R49 million in 1965 to an estimated £R15 million in 1968 (largely as a result of the loss of the United Kingdom market to which over £R20 million annually was exported before the illegal declaration of independence). In an assessment of the effect of sanctions on the Rhodesian economy up to the end of 1968 (S/9252/Add.1, annex II), the United Kingdom Government stated that:

"After deducting estimated totals of Rhodesian exports to countries which have made it clear that they either will not or - like certain of the African countries which border on Rhodesia - cannot afford to apply sanctions (or at least to apply them fully), it appears that some £R44 millions' worth (nearly one half of the whole) went to countries outside Africa whose governments are applying sanctions as called for in Security Council resolution 253 (1968). Only about £R7 million of this trade is accounted for in the published statistics of the countries concerned, and the rest was presumably sent under false declarations of origin so that it was reckoned for statistical purposes under some other heading."

The over-all impression of the United Kingdom Government up to the end of 1968 was that although sanctions had kept exports down to 60 per cent of the 1965 level, this had been compensated for by developments elsewhere in the economy, notably the establishment of import substitution industries and the diversification of agriculture (e.g. the switch from tobacco into cotton and maize). The situation had also been helped by a continued high level of mining output and, with the exception of 1968, good harvests. As a result, the general level of economic activity, which had declined in 1966 under the immediate impact of sanctions, rose to slightly above the 1965 level in real terms by the end of 1968. This apparent improvement had only been achieved by a large net increase in stocks, which it estimated at a net increase of £R46 million.

#### Budget for 1969-1970

57. On 17 July 1969, the "Minister of Finance", Mr. John Wrathall, introduced in the Legislative Assembly the budget for the financial year 1968/69. The budget provided for a current account expenditure of £R102 million, and revenue receipts of £R99.3 million, leaving a current account deficit for the year of £R2.7 million. This is almost entirely covered by a surplus brought forward from the previous year of £R2.6 million, leaving an estimated over-all deficit next year of £R174,000. The largest departmental allocations for the current year were distributed as follows: £R8.8 million for African education; £R8 million for non-African education; £R7.5 million for the police; and £R8.5 million for the armed forces.

58. In his budget statement, Mr. Wrathall announced important tax changes aimed at shifting the balance away from direct towards indirect taxation. It reduced income tax and abolished super tax, undistributed profit tax and personal tax; but introduced compensatory increases in taxes on general goods. The sales tax - applying to all transactions, except on basic necessities - was raised from 8d. to one shilling in the pound. Company tax was raised significantly from 7 shillings and 3 pence to 8 shillings in the pound.

59. He stated in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament that the foreign exchange position was improving, allowing for a 9 per cent rise in import quotas for the rest of 1969. He predicted a strong balance of payments position both for 1969 and 1970, though he said the need for tight restraint on imports continued. Mining production was "rising strongly" and agricultural output rose more than 20 per cent in 1969 to a record of more than £R104 million. Manufacturing output had increased by 7 per cent in the first five months of 1969.

## Agriculture

### (a) Tobacco crop

60. In 1965, prior to the illegal declaration of independence, Southern Rhodesia's tobacco growers produced close to 300 million pounds of tobacco for an average price of thirty-three pence per pound. Foreign earnings from tobacco totalled £R49 million in 1965, by far the largest single item in total exports of £R165 million. With the imposition of sanctions, the 1966/67 crop was reduced to 200 million pounds. With a government-guaranteed minimum price of twenty-four pence per pound, the 1967/68 crop was further reduced to 132 million pounds and the average price increased to twenty-eight pence. The maximum production target for the 1968/69 and the 1969/70 flue-cured tobacco crops was maintained at the same level as in 1967/68 (132 million pounds) but the average producer price was twenty-five pence per pound showing a gross return to growers of £R13.75 million for each season, compared with £R33 million in 1965.

61. On 3 December 1969, Mr. David Smith, "Minister of Agriculture" informed the ninth Annual Congress of the Rhodesian Tobacco Association that the régime would guarantee an average producer price of twenty-seven and a half pence per pound for the 1970/71 and 1971/72 tobacco crops but that the crop target would be reduced for each of these years to 100 million pounds, reportedly the lowest for at least fifteen years. As a result, total financial support from the régime for the growers is reduced from £R13.75 million in the current season to £R11.25 million. However, one important offsetting factor, which could increase this return to growers, is a decision to allow growers to submit an extra 10 per cent above their quotas for a price two-thirds of the normal price for that grade of leaf. In announcing the reduction in the crop target, Mr. Smith informed the growers that tobacco was being sold at prices much lower than the average of twenty-five pence per pound price. Markets were limited and the main market (Britain) remained tightly closed to Rhodesia. Further substantial contributions from the Treasury, in addition to the £R16.5 million provided in the last two budgets (1968/69 and 1969/70), would be needed to support the stockpile, costs of which were constantly increasing (see A/7623/Add.1, chapter VI, para. 113). He also stated that the régime had established a working party to look at ways and means of improving production of crops other than tobacco.

62. On 4 December, the Congress unanimously adopted resolutions expressing "complete lack of confidence" in the régime's handling of the tobacco industry and rejecting the régime's new tobacco policy.

### Other crops

63. Sugar, the next most important crop, which in 1965 accounted for £R4 million in exports, reportedly has also continued its downward trend. It was reported

that large quantities of the crop continued to be stockpiled. The régime is providing price support payments as a subsidy to growers to keep the industry going.

64. The régime is making increased efforts to encourage farmers to diversify into other crops in order to alleviate the impact of sanctions on the tobacco and sugar crops. Farmers are being encouraged, by grants, subsidies and loans from the régime, to diversify by growing more cotton, wheat, maize, beef, soya beans, groundnuts and other crops - all of which have a lower acreage return than tobacco. The main emphasis in the diversification programme has been on cotton, beef and maize. Southern Rhodesia was reported to have sold £R11 million worth of maize to South Africa in 1969.

#### Manufacturing industry

65. Following the imposition of sanctions, Southern Rhodesia's manufacturing output declined in value from £R198.8 million in 1965 to £R183.4 million in 1966. However, encouraged by import control, manufacturers turned their attention to the home market to provide import substitutes which has enabled output to recover the ground lost when Rhodesia's main export markets were cut off. Manufacturing output achieved a record level of £R219 million, which was 13 per cent higher than in 1967 (£R194 million).

66. On 26 November 1969, the Executive Officer of the Association of Rhodesian Industries (ARNI), Mr. John Graylin, stated in Johannesburg that Rhodesian industrialists were prospering under sanctions. For the first time in the history of Rhodesia, industry was responsible in 1968 for the largest single contribution to the gross domestic product. He further estimated that, on the basis of the figures for the first nine months of 1969, this contribution would increase by between 12 and 14 per cent in money terms. He estimated that 1,000 new industrial projects, including expansion and diversification schemes, had been approved by the régime since 1966. Only 100 of these had subsequently been abandoned.

#### Mining

67. Southern Rhodesia's mineral production in 1968 was valued at £R33.7 million compared with the previous record production of £R33.4 million in 1967. At the time of the unilateral declaration of independence, asbestos was Southern Rhodesia's most valuable mineral, followed by gold and copper, which together accounted for two-thirds of the total value of all minerals mined. Coal and chrome were the next most important minerals and together with the above-listed minerals, accounted for 89 per cent of the total value of mineral production of £R32 million in 1965.

68. Information available indicates that mining activity has increased considerably since the illegal declaration of independence. In the first nine months of 1969 forty-one new exclusive prospecting orders were granted to mining companies, compared with forty-four for the whole of 1968, only six in 1967 and twenty-five in 1966; exclusive prospecting orders granted so far cover an area of 6,000 square miles, of which 3,271 square miles were granted in 1969. The companies which have been granted exclusive prospecting orders were reported to be spending an estimated £R2 million annually in prospecting and exploration. They include the

Anglo-American Corporation, Ltd. (South Africa), Roan Selection Trust (United Kingdom/United States), South African Manganese (South Africa), Messina (Transvaal) Johannesburg Consolidated Investment (South Africa), Rhodesia Chrome (United States), Rio Tinto and Lonrho (United Kingdom), Anglovaal (South Africa), General Mining (South Africa), and Kamativi Tin Mines (Netherlands). The majority of the exploration and prospecting activity is for nickel and copper though considerable interest is being shown in platinum, gold aluminium, scheelite and chrome.

69. The most spectacular development in base mineral mining since the illegal declaration of independence concerns the exploitation of nickel. About £R15 million, financed from sources within Southern Rhodesia, has been invested in opening up nickel deposits. The companies engaged in these developments are the Anglo-American Corporation, which has invested £R10 million in the Madzima Mine at Shamva, and the Trojan Nickel Mine and Smelter at Bindura; and Rio Tinto, which is investing an estimated £R5 million in the Empress Nickel Mine, west of Gatooma, which is expected to reach full production in 1972. It is estimated that when the three mines are in full production, they will contribute more than £R10 million annually to the mineral output of Southern Rhodesia. The Trojan Nickel Mine began production in May 1968 and the Madzima Mine in April 1969; the smelter at Bindura was scheduled to come on stream by mid-1969. It was reported that these mines had started to make a substantial contribution to the mineral production of Southern Rhodesia.

70. In addition to nickel, it was also reported that copper production had increased substantially as a result of the opening of new mines and the development of new techniques of mining. In February 1968, the "Ministry of Mines" announced that two big copper deposits had been found. One of these, which is in the Headlands area, and involves a large investment capital by Eastern Minerals, Ltd., is already in production.

71. According to statements by the "Ministry of Mines", thirty-seven new mining companies began operations in Southern Rhodesia in 1968; ten new mines with a capital investment of £R4.5 million were expected to come into production by the end of 1970; and a further seventeen mines were at the planning stage. On the basis of present developments in mining activity, the "Minister of Mines", Mr. Ian Dillon, estimated that the value of annual mineral production would reach £R100 million by 1975 or 1976.

72. On 29 July, the Minister of Mines of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Carel de Wet, was in Southern Rhodesia for a six-day visit. In November 1969, the South African Secretary for Mines, Mr. N.J. Uys, also visited Southern Rhodesia on the basis of an offer of technical assistance made by the Minister of Mines when he was in Southern Rhodesia. It was reported that South Africa was showing a keen interest in Rhodesian mining developments and that the visit of the two officials foreshadowed increased co-operation between the two countries.

73. On 8 November 1969, it was reported that the Messina (Transvaal) Development Company would open two new copper mines in Southern Rhodesia - one at the Gwai River in the Wankie area and the second at Shackleton near Sinoia, at a total cost of £R2 million. The Gwai mine would be in full operation by 1970, while the Shackleton mine would begin production in 1972/73. The two mines were reported to have 15 million tons of ore reserves between them. In December 1969, it was

also reported that Messina (Transvaal) had found deposits of tungsten, near Port Victoria, and that mining operations would begin in 1970. Production of the new mine would be about 22,000 tons annually and most of the tungsten would be exported. Messina, which already owns three copper mines in Southern Rhodesia, was reported to be investing an additional £R6 million in the next five years in mining operations in Southern Rhodesia.

Official statement on the present state of the economy

74. In a statement on 1 January 1970, Mr. Smith said that the external trading position had improved remarkably in 1969, and would show a substantial visible trade balance. The current account of balance of payments in 1969 was in surplus compared with the deficit of 1968. Preliminary estimates of the gross domestic product for 1969 indicated a growth of at least 13 per cent to over £R440 million. Mr. Smith also stated that the value of manufacturing output had also made a significant increase during 1969, while mineral production had achieved even more remarkable results. There was every indication that capital formation would be even greater than the £R69 million achieved in 1968, which was the highest since the period during which the Kariba project was under construction. Evidence available to him pointed conclusively to the fact that the tempo of economic development would increase and that Southern Rhodesia's problem would be to control and maintain a balance in the surge of anticipated expansion.

"Emergency Powers (Sanctions Counter-espionage) Regulations"

75. On 15 August 1969, the régime introduced counter-espionage regulations aimed at further curtailing economic information on the Territory. The "Emergency Powers (Sanctions Counter-espionage) Regulations" provide for a fine of not more than £R1,000 or imprisonment for not more than two years, or both, for persons found guilty of aiding the sanctions campaign against Southern Rhodesia; while the new emergency powers do not apply to persons who have to give information in the normal course of business, they apply to people who give away economic secrets either deliberately or through negligence.

CHAPTER VI  
(A/8023/Add.2)

NAMIBIA

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	1 - 11	32
B. EXAMINATION OF PETITIONS . . . . .	12 - 15	34
C. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	16 - 17	35
ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT . . . . .		39

## CHAPTER VI

### NAMIBIA

#### A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. At its 737th meeting, on 13 April 1970, the Special Committee, by approving the forty-seventh report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.623), decided, inter alia, to hold a general debate covering the question of Namibia, together with two other items, namely, the questions of Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration. In taking that decision, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that individual draft resolutions on matters covered by those items would be considered separately following the conclusion of the general debate.

2. The Special Committee considered the question of Namibia at its 743rd to 747th, 750th to 755th and 764th meetings between 14 May and 18 September 1970.

3. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2548 (XXIV) of 11 December 1969 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By that resolution, the General Assembly, in paragraph 10, requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration 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". In paragraph 12, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to... Namibia". The Special Committee also took into account other pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly including, in particular, resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, whereby the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to discharge, mutatis mutandis, the tasks formerly assigned to the Special Committee on South-West Africa, as well as resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, 2324 (XXII) of 15 December 1967, 2325 (XXII) of 16 December 1967, 2372 (XXII) of 12 June 1968, 2403 (XXIII) of 16 December 1968 and 2517 (XXIV) of 1 December 1969. Further, the Special Committee paid due regard to the resolutions of the Security Council concerning Namibia, particularly resolutions 264 (1969) of 20 March 1969, 269 (1969) of 12 August 1969, 276 (1970) of 30 January 1970, 283 (1970) and 284 (1970) of 29 July 1970.

4. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex below) containing information on action previously taken by United Nations bodies directly concerned with Namibia, as well as on the latest developments concerning the Territory.

5. In addition, the Special Committee had before it the following written petitions concerning Namibia:

(a) Letter dated 22 December 1969 from Mr. John A.F. Ennals, Director-General, United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/AC.109/PET.1134);

(b) Letter dated 9 January 1970 from the Rev. James A. Trimble (A/AC.109/PET.1135);

(c) Letter dated 11 June 1970 from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (A/AC.109/PET.1147).

6. The Special Committee also took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee at its 740th meeting on 21 April 1970 (A/AC.109/L.641). The Group visited Africa during May/June 1970 for the purpose of establishing contact with representatives of national liberation movements from colonial Territories in that continent in connexion with the preparation of the analytical study and the suggested programme of action called for under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2521 (XXIV) of 4 December 1969 relating to the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The report included, inter alia, the views expressed by the following representatives of the national liberation movements concerned with Namibia: Messrs. Ewald Katjivena, P. Katjavivi, Andrew Shipanga and Ban Amathila, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO); Messrs. J. Makatini, Alfred Nzo and Duma Mokwe, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC); Messrs. P.K. Leballo and T.M. Ntantala, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC); and Mr. Wycliffe M. Tsotsi, Unity Movement of South Africa (UM-SA).

7. The general debate covering the question of the administration of Namibia, together with the two other items referred to in paragraph 1 above, took place at the 743rd to 747th, 750th and 751st meetings between 14 May and 28 July. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of Sierra Leone (A/AC.109/PV.743), Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.744), Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.745 and Corr.1), Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.746), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Afghanistan and Ethiopia (A/AC.109/PV.747 and Corr.1), Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.750), Poland and India (A/AC.109/PV.751 and Corr.1). Statements in exercise of the right of reply were made by the representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Ethiopia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.747 and Corr.1).

8. At the 752nd meeting, on 30 July, the Chairman, at the request of the Special Committee, submitted for its consideration the text of a draft consensus concerning the item (A/AC.109/PV.752 and Corr.1). The Special Committee considered the draft consensus at its 752nd to 754th meetings. Statements concerning the draft consensus were made at the 752nd meeting by the representative of Bulgaria and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.752 and Corr.1). At the 753rd meeting, the Rapporteur, at the request of the Chairman, read out to the Committee a revised text of the draft consensus (A/AC.109/PV.753). Statements concerning a revised text were made by the Chairman and by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.753 and 754 and Corr.1), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Italy (A/AC.109/PV.754 and Corr.1).

9. At the 755th meeting, on 11 August, following a statement by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.755 and Corr.1) the Special Committee decided, without objection, to request the Chairman to submit to it a concluding statement expressing the

Committee's position on the item. The Chairman thereupon informed the Committee that, in consequence of that decision, the revised text of the consensus referred to in paragraph 8 above, should now be deemed to be withdrawn.

10. At the same meeting, the Chairman made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.755 and Corr.1) in response to the Special Committee's request referred to above. The text of the Chairman's statement is reproduced in paragraph 16 below.

11. At the same meeting, on the proposal of the representative of Afghanistan and following statements by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, the United Kingdom, Syria, Iraq and the United States (A/AC.109/PV.755 and Corr.1), the Special Committee decided, without objection that the statement made by the Chairman should be transmitted to the President of the Security Council for the attention of that body. On 11 August, the text of the Chairman's statement was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/9905).

#### B. EXAMINATION OF PETITIONS

12. By operative paragraph 3 of its resolution 1805 (XVII), the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to discharge, mutatis mutandis, the tasks formerly assigned to the Special Committee on South West Africa by resolution 1702 (XVI) of 19 December 1961, taking into consideration the special responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to that Territory. One of the tasks accordingly assigned to the Committee is that of examining petitions relating to Namibia.

13. Since 1962, the Special Committee has examined petitions relating to Namibia in accordance with its established procedures. In addition, in compliance with the procedures laid down for the former Special Committee on South West Africa by General Assembly resolution 844 (IX) of 11 October 1954, it included in its reports to the General Assembly at the latter's nineteenth to twenty-first, twenty-third and twenty-fourth sessions, draft resolutions on the petitions examined by it for adoption by the General Assembly.

14. During 1970, the Special Committee received and examined three petitions relating to Namibia 1/ which it took into account in its consideration of the Territory within the context of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and having regard to the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI), 2248 (S-V), 2325 (XXII), 2372 (XXII), 2403 (XXIII) and 2517 (XXIV).

15. In view of the special responsibilities of the United Nations in regard to Namibia, the Special Committee, on the proposal of its Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.664), decided, at its 764th meeting, on 18 September, to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution on petitions relating to Namibia examined by the Committee in 1970. The text of the draft resolution is reproduced in paragraph 17 below.

---

1/ Certain petitions which raised matters of concern to the United Nations Council for Namibia, were moreover, brought to the latter's attention by the Secretariat.

### C. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

16. The text of the statement made by the Chairman of the Special Committee at its 755th meeting, on 11 August 1970, to which reference is made in paragraph 10 above, is reproduced below:

(1) The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, having considered the conditions in Namibia and having examined the views of the representatives of the national liberation movement of Namibia, reiterates its grave concern at the extremely serious situation existing in that Territory as a result of the continued defiance by the Government of South Africa of the authority of the United Nations and the further intensification by that Government of the repressive measures, including the use of armed force, which are designed to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory and to deny to the Namibian peoples their inalienable right to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

(2) The Special Committee notes that the Government of South Africa, in open defiance of the provisions of the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, has not only refused to withdraw from the Territory and thereby frustrated the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it, but has also persisted in the application of the policies of apartheid and other measures aimed at destroying the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and at consolidating South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory.

(3) In particular, the Government of South Africa, in contravention of the relevant provisions of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, has continued to apply with respect to the Territory measures under the so-called "Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Act, 1968" and the "South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969". Additional legislative measures have also been adopted which will further intensify racial segregation by forcibly relocating Africans and destroying their homes in complete disregard of their well-being.

(4) The Special Committee further notes that in July and August 1969 the Windhoek Supreme Court tried a further group of eight Namibians under the South African Terrorism Act, 1967, and the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, in disregard of repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The "trial" resulted in the "conviction" and "sentencing" of six of the defendants. In October, they applied for leave to appeal against their "sentences", but judgement on the application was postponed indefinitely. In further contravention of these resolutions, the South African authorities in early 1970 were reported to be in the process of preparing a secret trial of ten leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) under the Terrorism Act.

(5) The Government of South Africa, in close collaboration with Portugal and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, has thus continued to intensify its acts of repression against the Namibian people and its suppression of the legitimate struggle of the liberation movement, in particular by the massive

expansion during recent years of its military power. It has intensified its military operations against the people of Namibia who are struggling against occupation and oppression, has provided more military assistance to the neighbouring colonial and racist régimes and has increased its threat to the security of neighbouring independent African States opposed to the policies and actions of that Government.

(6) Mindful of the direct responsibility towards the people of Namibia which the United Nations assumed under General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), and in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Special Committee once again deems it necessary to call upon all States to co-operate fully with the United Nations in its efforts to bring this situation to an early solution.

(7) The Special Committee condemns all measures of political and military repression and economic exploitation carried out against the people of Namibia by the minority Government of South Africa and its allies, in particular Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia. The Committee further condemns the support given to South Africa in the pursuit of its repressive policies in Namibia by the allies of South Africa and, in particular, its major trading partners and certain economic and other interests. It accordingly calls upon the Governments concerned immediately to cease extending any assistance and co-operation to South Africa.

(8) The Special Committee reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia to attain their inalienable right to freedom and independence and, in that connexion, calls upon all States, the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations to extend all possible moral and material assistance to those people in their struggle against occupation and oppression.

(9) Finally, in drawing the attention of the Security Council to the dangerous situation obtaining in Namibia, the Special Committee expresses the hope that the Council, in the light of the relevant provisions of its resolution 233 (1970) and bearing in mind the views expressed in this statement, will take effective steps or measures to ensure attainment of the objective of ending the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa and of the enjoyment by the Namibian peoples of their fundamental rights in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

17. The text of the draft resolution concerning petitions relating to Namibia, recommended by the Special Committee for adoption by the General Assembly, to which reference is made in paragraph 15 above, is reproduced below:

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the special responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to Namibia, including in particular those set out in General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, 2325 (XXII) of 16 December 1967, 2403 (XXIII) of 16 December 1968 and 2517 (XXIV) of 1 December 1969,

Noting that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has received and examined during 1970 three petitions concerning Namibia, in accordance with paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 and within the context of the implementation of the Declaration,

Noting further that these petitions relate, inter alia, to the general situation and recent developments concerning Namibia, to the refusal by South Africa to implement General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V) and, in particular, to the continued implementation by South Africa of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, including the removal of Africans from their ancestral lands,

1. Notes that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has taken these petitions into account in its consideration of the situation in Namibia within the context of the implementation of the Declaration,

2. Notes further that those petitions which raised matters of concern to the United Nations Council for Namibia have been brought to the latter's attention by the Secretariat and have been taken into consideration by the Council in the performance of the functions assigned to it by the General Assembly in resolutions 2248 (S-V), 2325 (XXII), 2403 (XXIII) and 2517 (XXIV),

3. Draws the attention of the petitioners concerned to the report on the Territory submitted by the Special Committee and to the resolutions on the question of Namibia adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, as well as to the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

ANNEX\*

WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
A. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY UNITED NATIONS BODIES' DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH NAMIBIA . . . . .	1 - 28
B. MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA . . . . .	29 - 30
C. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY	
1. GENERAL . . . . .	31
2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS . . . . .	32 - 89
3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS . . . . .	90 -130

---

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.621.

A. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY UNITED NATIONS BODIES DIRECTLY  
CONCERNED WITH NAMIBIA

1. GENERAL

1. Action taken prior to 1969 by the various bodies directly concerned with Namibia has been described in the previous report of the Special Committee. a/ Since then, the situation in the Territory has received further consideration by all the bodies concerned. It has been the constant preoccupation of the eleven-member United Nations Council for Namibia, which was established by General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 to take over the administration of the Territory and prepare it for independence. It was considered by the Security Council on three occasions, in March, July and August 1969 and January 1970. It was considered by the Special Committee in March, May, July and September 1969. It was also considered by the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. A summary of the action taken by each of these bodies is set out below.

2. ACTION TAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

2. Although the United Nations Council for Namibia has so far been denied access to the Territory, owing to the negative attitude of the Government of South Africa, it has persevered in its efforts to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it to the extent that circumstances permit. In its fourth report submitted to the General Assembly at the latter's twenty-fourth session, b/ the Council gave an account of its activities during the period 13 November 1968 to 24 October 1969, and, in particular, reported on the progress which it had made towards discharging certain specific tasks entrusted to it by General Assembly resolutions 2248 (S-V), 2288 (XXII), 2372 (XXII) and 2403 (XXIII). These related, among other things, to the issuance of travel documents for Namibians, the establishment of a co-ordinated emergency programme of technical and financial assistance to Namibia, the organization of an educational and training programme for Namibians and a review of laws and practices established in the Territory by the Government of South Africa, contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

3. The Council reported that, in February 1969, it had sent a mission to East Africa, consisting of two members and the Acting Commissioner, for the purpose of holding further consultations with Governments on the question of the issuance of travel documents and also for the purpose of consulting with Namibian representatives on various matters, including the question of participation of the people of Namibia in the work of the Council. With regard to the issuance of travel documents to Namibians abroad, the Council stated that, although most of the issues had been resolved in the course of the mission to East Africa, some

---

a/ A/7623/Add.2, chap. VII, annex, paras. 1-10.

b/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/7624/Rev.1).

issues still remained to be decided.<sup>c/</sup> This, and other matters referred to in paragraph 2 above, remained under active consideration.

4. The Council also drew attention to the fact that, during the period covered by its report, it had addressed four communications to the Security Council d/ apprising that body of developments concerning Namibia which, in its opinion, required consideration or action by the Security Council.

5. In its conclusions, the Council stated that during the elapsed year the South African Government had continued its defiance of the United Nations and world public opinion. In pursuance of its policies and in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly which required it not to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of the Territory, it had enacted the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, which purported to incorporate the Territory into the Republic of South Africa. At the same time, and equally contrary to United Nations decisions, it had further implemented its scheme for the creation of separate "bantustans" and had generally increased its oppressive actions against the people of the Territory. As a result, the Council considered that the basic condition for the fulfilment of the United Nations responsibilities towards Namibia was the application of effective measures to ensure the immediate removal of South Africa's presence from the Territory. The Council therefore recommended that the General Assembly, among other things, should (a) draw the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need for it to meet immediately to take effective measures in order to obtain South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia; (b) call upon all States to pursue all diplomatic, consular and other relations in regard to Namibia exclusively with the Council for Namibia; (c) call upon all States to ensure that their nationals or companies of their nationality conduct all transactions with respect to obtaining concessions or establishing industrial or commercial undertakings with the Council for Namibia as the legitimate authority for the Territory and ensure that companies or individuals operating concessions or having enterprises in Namibia pay royalties to the Council; (d) appeal to all States to take appropriate steps to obtain the suspension of all rights enjoyed by South Africa as a member of the specialized agencies; (e) call upon all States, as well as subsidiary organs of the General Assembly and the specialized agencies, to provide the necessary moral and material assistance to the Namibian people in their legitimate struggle for independence; (f) call upon all States to assist the Council with regard to the issuance of travel documents to Namibians and co-operate fully with the Council in its efforts to discharge its responsibilities in accordance with its terms of reference; (g) call upon the Government of South Africa to respect the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, with regard to Namibian freedom-fighters, and the Convention of the same date relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War;

---

c/ On 26 February 1970, the Council announced in a press release (GA/4175) that it had agreed on the text of an agreement to be concluded with the Government of Zambia concerning the modalities for the issuing of travel and identity documents to Namibians. The Council had authorized the Acting United Nations Commissioner to communicate to the Government of Zambia the text of the agreement which would be released upon receipt of that Government's assent.

d/ S/9032, S/9352, S/9420, S/9471.

and (h) endorse proposals contained in the Council's report concerning the establishment of a co-ordinated programme for rendering technical and financial assistance to Namibia. e/

6. Subsequently, the Permanent Representative of Turkey, in his capacity as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, for the month of January 1970, addressed the Security Council during its consideration of the question of Namibia.

### 3. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL

7. During the period covered by this paper, the Security Council considered and adopted resolutions concerning Namibia on three separate occasions. The first occasion was on 20 March 1969, when the Council met in response to a request by forty six Member States (S/9090 and Add.1-3) for an urgent meeting to consider the situation created by South Africa's continued failure to withdraw from the Territory. The Council also had before it a letter from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia (S/9032) and a letter from the Chairman 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 (S/9097) transmitting the text of a statement concerning the situation in Namibia (see paragraph 17 below).

8. At its 1465th meeting, on 20 March 1969, the Security Council adopted resolution 264 (1969), the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

...

"1. Recognizes that the United Nations General Assembly terminated the mandate of South Africa over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the territory until its independence;

"2. Considers that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal and contrary to the principles of the Charter and the previous decisions of the United Nations and is detrimental to the interests of the population of the territory and those of the international community;

"3. Calls upon the Government of South Africa to immediately withdraw its administration from the territory;

"4. Declares that the actions of the Government of South Africa designed to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia through the establishment of Bantustans are contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter;

"5. Declares that the Government of South Africa has no right to enact the 'South West Africa Affairs Bill', as such an enactment would be a violation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

e/ For action taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session, see paras. 22-28.

"6. Condemns the refusal of South Africa to comply with General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI); 2248 (S-V); 2324 (XXII); 2325 (XXII); 2372 (XXII); and 2403 (XXIII) and Security Council resolutions 245 and 246 of 1968;

"7. Invites all States to exert their influence in order to obtain compliance by the Government of South Africa with the provisions of the present resolution;

"8. Decides that in the event of failure on the part of the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet immediately to determine upon necessary steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible;

"10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

9. With his report on the implementation of the above resolution (S/9204 and Add.1), the Secretary General transmitted the text of a letter dated 30 April 1969 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, together with the substantive portions of replies received from other Governments. The reply from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, with which were enclosed the text of a statement made by him to the South African Senate on 20 March and an extract from a public address by the Prime Minister of South Africa, indicated that the position of South Africa was one of continued unwillingness to withdraw from the Territory.

10. The Security Council resumed consideration of the question at meetings held between 30 July and 12 August 1969 at the request of the eleven member States comprising the United Nations Council for Namibia (S/9359) and fifty-one other Member States (S/9372 and Add.1 3). The Council also had before it the text of a consensus adopted by the Special Committee on 3 July 1969 (S/9313 and Corr.1), a letter from the President of the Council for Namibia dated 23 July 1969 (S/9352) and the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 264 (1969) referred to above.

11. At its 1497th meeting, on 12 August 1969, the Security Council adopted resolution 269 (1969), the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

...

"1. Reaffirms its resolution 264 (1969);

"2. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its refusal to comply with resolution 264 (1969) and for its persistent defiance of the authority of the United Nations;

"3. Decides that the continued occupation of the territory of Namibia by the South African authorities constitutes an aggressive encroachment on the authority of the United Nations, a violation of the territorial integrity and a denial of the political sovereignty of the people of Namibia;

"4. Recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia against the illegal presence of the South African authorities in the territory;

"5. Calls upon the Government of South Africa to withdraw its administration from the territory immediately and in any case before 4 October 1969;

"6. Decides that in the event of failure on the part of the South African Government to comply with the provisions of the preceding paragraph of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet immediately to determine upon effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the relevant chapters of the United Nations Charter;

"7. Calls upon all States to refrain from all dealings with the Government of South Africa purporting to act on behalf of the territory of Namibia;

"8. Requests all States to increase their moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia in their struggle against foreign occupation;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible;

"10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

12. The Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council on the implementation of the above resolution on 3 October 1969 (S/9463). To this report were annexed the reply received from the Government of South Africa and the substantive part of the reply of one other Government. The substantive parts of replies received subsequently from other Governments were later circulated as addenda to the report (S/9463/Add.1-2). The reply of the South African Government (S/9463, annex I) took the form of a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with enclosure, setting forth at length the legal and other reasons on which his Government based its refusal to accept the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning Namibia as valid and its intention not to withdraw from the Territory.

13. Following the receipt of the above report, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, on the Council's behalf, addressed two letters dated 29 August and 10 October 1969 to the President of the Security Council (S/9420 and S/9471), drawing the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in Namibia and expressing concern at the negative response of South Africa to resolution 269 (1969). Similar views were expressed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 2498 (XXIV) and 2517 (XXIV) referred to below.

14. In response to a request by fifty-eight Member States (S/9616 and Add.1-3) for urgent consideration of the failure of South Africa to comply with resolution 269 (1969), the Security Council again considered the question of Namibia at meetings held between 28 and 30 January 1970. At its 1529th meeting, on 30 January 1970, the Security Council adopted resolution 276 (1970), the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

...

"1. Strongly condemns the refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions pertaining to Namibia;

"2. Declares that the continued presence of the South African authorities in Namibia is illegal and that consequently all acts taken by the Government of South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia after the termination of the mandate are illegal and invalid;

"3. Declares further that the defiant attitude of the Government of South Africa towards the Council's decisions undermines the authority of the United Nations;

"4. Considers that the continued occupation of Namibia by the Government of South Africa in defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions and of the United Nations Charter has grave consequences for the rights and interests of the people of Namibia;

"5. Calls upon all States, particularly those which have economic and other interests in Namibia, to refrain from any dealings with the Government of South Africa which are inconsistent with operative paragraph 2 of this resolution;

"6. Decides to establish in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure an ad hoc sub-committee of the Council to study, in consultation with the Secretary-General, ways and means by which the relevant resolutions of the Council, including the present resolution, can be effectively implemented in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter, in the light of the flagrant refusal of South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, and to submit its recommendations by 30 April 1970;

"7. Requests all States as well as the specialized agencies and other relevant United Nations organs to give the sub-committee all the information and other assistance that it may require in pursuance of this resolution;

"8. Further requests the Secretary-General to give every assistance to the sub-committee in the performance of its task;

"9. Decides to resume consideration of the question of Namibia as soon as the recommendations of the sub-committee have been made available."

15. The Ad Hoc Sub-Committee, established pursuant to paragraph 6 of the above resolution, which is composed of representatives of all members of the Security Council, held its first meeting on 4 February 1970.

#### 4. ACTION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

16. During 1969, the question of Namibia was considered by the Special Committee within the context of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at meetings held between 17 March and 25 September.

17. On 19 March, at the request of the Special Committee, its Chairman made a statement expressing the Committee's position with regard to the question. The text of this statement (see A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII, paragraph 28) was transmitted to the Security Council on the same day (S/9097).

18. On 22 May 1969, the Special Committee adopted a consensus (see A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII, paragraph 29) concerning South Africa's continuing defiance of the authority of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 264 (1969), by its failure to withdraw from the Territory. The consensus drew particular attention to South Africa's increasing resort to armed force to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and its persistence in adopting legislative and other measures, such as the so-called Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Act and the South West Africa Affairs Act 1968, aimed at destroying the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and at incorporating it within South Africa. The Special Committee once again affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia to attain their right to freedom and independence; called upon the Government of South Africa to respect the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, with regard to freedom-fighters, and expressed the hope that the Security Council would meet to determine the necessary steps to be taken in accordance with the Charter. The text of the consensus was transmitted to the Security Council on 23 May 1969 (S/9227).

19. The Special Committee again took up the question of Namibia between 1 and 3 July, in the light of the illegal trial by South African authorities of a group of nine Namibians on charges under the South African Terrorism Act, 1967. On 3 July, the Committee adopted a consensus (see A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII, paragraph 30), in which it recalled that the action by the South African authorities was in violation not only of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and of Security Council resolution 264 (1969), but of resolutions 2324 (XXII) of the General Assembly and 246 (1963) of the Security Council, which voiced the universal condemnation of the international community for the action previously taken by South Africa in illegally applying the Terrorism Act to Namibia.

20. The Special Committee expressed the view that the Security Council should urgently consider taking effective steps or measures in order to obtain the compliance of South Africa with the decisions. The text of this consensus was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/9313 and Corr.1) on 3 July.

21. On 25 September, the Special Committee decided to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly the text of a draft resolution on petitions concerning Namibia examined by the Committee in 1969. The General Assembly subsequently adopted this draft resolution as resolution 2518 (XXIV) (see paragraph 27 below).

## 5. ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

22. At its twenty-fourth session, the General Assembly considered the question of Namibia in the light of the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia (A/7624/Rev.1) and of the Special Committee (A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII).

23. On 31 October 1969, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2498 (XXIV), the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle against the foreign occupation of their country;

"2. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw its administration from Namibia and in particular for its defiance of paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 269 (1969);

"3. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the deteriorating situation which has arisen as a result of the refusal of South African authorities to comply with Council resolution 269 (1969)."

24. The text of the resolution was submitted to the President of the Security Council by a letter dated 31 October 1969.

25. On 1 December, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 2517 (XXIV) and 2513 (XXIV) on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee. The operative paragraphs of resolution 2517 (XXIV) read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle against the foreign occupation of their territory;

"2. Expresses solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle against foreign occupation and requests all States to provide increased moral and material assistance to them;

"3. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw its administration from the Territory and for its policies and actions designed to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, thus persistently violating the principles and obligations of the Charter of the United Nations;

"4. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the need of taking appropriate measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter to solve the grave situation that has arisen as a result of South Africa's refusal to withdraw its administration from Namibia;

"5. Commends the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia to all States and to the subsidiary organs of the General Assembly and other competent organs of the United Nations, as well as to the specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned, for appropriate action, acting in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;

"6. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to discharge, by every available means, the functions entrusted to it in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

"7. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide the necessary assistance and facilities to the United Nations Council for Namibia to discharge its duties and functions;

"8. Calls upon all States to co-operate with the United Nations Council for Namibia in carrying out the tasks entrusted to it."

25. The text of the resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 1 December 1969).

27. By resolution 2518 (XXIV), the General Assembly took note of the matters raised in petitions examined by the Special Committee, as well as of the action taken by the Committee thereon, and drew the attention of the petitioners to the relevant reports concerning the Territory.

28. On 11 December, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2548 (XXIV) on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By this resolution, the General Assembly, inter alia, reaffirmed previous resolutions on the subject and requested the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which had not yet attained independence. It further requested the Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories which were likely to threaten international peace and security and also to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. In a further provision, the General Assembly requested all States, as well as the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance to colonial régimes, including South Africa, until they renounced their policies of domination and racial discrimination.

## B. MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

29. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its sixth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 10 September 1969, adopted a manifesto on southern Africa. f/

30. On 20 November 1969, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2505 (XXIV), in which it welcomed the above manifesto and recommended it to the attention of all States and peoples. The full text of the resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having received the Manifesto on Southern Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 10 September 1969,

"Convinced of the need for intensifying international efforts for the elimination of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in order that peace and security in southern Africa may be assured,

"Recalling its resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965 on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

"1. Welcomes the Manifesto on Southern Africa and recommends it to the attention of all States and all peoples;

"2. Expresses once again the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa."

---

f/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/754.

## C. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY

### 1. GENERAL

31. Information on the Territory is contained in the previous reports of the Special Committee <sup>g/</sup> and in the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia. <sup>h/</sup> Supplementary information on recent developments is set out below.

### 2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

#### Implementation of the Odendaal Plan

32. During the period covered by this paper, the Government of South Africa continued, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, to adhere to its policy of implementing the recommendations of the 1964 Odendaal Commission which call, inter alia, for the partitioning of the Territory along racial lines and for consolidation of South African control. Although there have been few major developments since the Special Committee last reported in 1969, forthcoming changes affecting the Rehoboth Basters, the Namas, the Bushmen and the Hereros were announced during the year. Details of these changes are given separately below.

33. As explained previously (A/7023/Add.2, chapter VII, paragraphs 22-43), the period 1968-1969 saw important developments in application of the Odendaal Plan, notably the passage of the Development of Native Nations in South West Africa Act of 1968, followed by the creation of the first "homeland" in Ovamboland and the passage of the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969.

34. The first of these two laws, which was enacted on 3 June 1968, provided for the creation of six "homelands", to be called Damaraland, Hereroland, Haskoland, Okavangoland, eastern Caprivi and Ovamboland, and authorized the establishment in each of legislative and executive councils and other governing bodies. The legislative councils would be empowered to legislate on a number of matters, including education, welfare services, the administration of civil and criminal justice according to tribal and customary law, taxation, farming and agriculture, industry, public works, markets and the administration of revenue funds. In all cases, however, the State President of the Republic of South Africa would retain the right to amend or repeal legislation enacted by a legislative council and to make new laws for a "homeland" by proclamation.

---

<sup>g/</sup> For the most recent, see the Special Committee's reports to the General Assembly at its twenty-second to twenty-fourth sessions (Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (Part I) (A/6700/Rev.1), chapter IV; A/7200/Add.2, chapter VII, annex; A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII, annex).

<sup>h/</sup> Ibid., agenda item 64, documents A/7097 and A/7098; ibid., Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 64, document A/7333 and Corr.1; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/7420/Rev.1).

35. The second act, the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, which came into effect on 1 April 1969, provided for the transfer of the majority of powers exercised by the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa to the Republic of South Africa. Legislative control over these matters i/ was vested in the President of the Republic who would have the power to legislate for the Territory by proclamation until 30 June 1970.

36. The act further provided for the extension of most taxes levied in the Republic to the Territory (apart from personal income taxes and taxes on foreign shareholders) and provided that all revenue accruing from matters newly within the competence of the Republic of South Africa should be collected by South Africa and deposited in the "South West Africa Account" of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Republic (see A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII, annex, paragraph 32). The Land Bank Amendment Act, passed at approximately the same time, provided for the integration of the Land and Agriculture Bank of South West Africa into the Land and Agriculture Bank of South Africa.

37. Following passage of the foregoing legislation, the South African Government, apart from officially establishing the Ovamboland self-governing "homeland", has done less than expected to hasten the anticipated massive resettlement of non-white groups into their separate "homelands" or of publishing constitutions and creating governing bodies therein. j/ African affairs continue to be administered by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, as they have been since 1955, while the administration of the Coloured population and the Namas is handled by the South African Department of Coloured Affairs. A new department, the Department of Rehoboth Affairs, has been established to deal with that group alone.

38. New developments during 1969 are set out in greater detail below:

(a) Odendaal farms

39. The South African Government stated in May 1969 that to date it had spent a total of R25,632,073 k/ on acquiring 419 "white" farms and portions of farms and

---

i/ African affairs; matters specifically affecting Coloureds, Bastards and Namas; justice; prisons; mining; forestry; companies; fishing; control of publications and entertainment; labour; taxes on income, except for personal income tax and taxes on foreign shareholders; riotous assembly and engendering feelings of hostility among various racial groups.

j/ It will be recalled that the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, if fully implemented, would require the transfer of a total of 32,906 "non-whites" to their "homelands"; 20,382 from existing Native reserves or the Rehoboth Gebiet, and 11,025 from "white" urban areas. Some 1,000 "whites" would also be expected to move from the Rehoboth Gebiet, and between 1,000-1,500 "whites" would have to vacate "white" farm areas which would be included in the "homelands". From 4,000-6,000 "non-white" employees on these farms would have to be moved to their "homelands". The plan also called for the transfer of 2,500 or more Coloureds from elsewhere in the Territory to Windhoek, Walvis Bay and Lüderitz, the areas of their greatest concentration. A limited number of Coloureds would be allowed to settle in a proposed rural irrigation settlement on the Orange River.

k/ One rand equals \$US1.40.

70 buildings or plots in towns and villages as recommended by the Odendaal Commission. Of these, 178 had been leased to "white" tenants and 123 had been placed at the disposal of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for inclusion into "homelands". The remaining 58 farms, which were not yet being used, as well as the 178 farms which had been leased, could be placed at the disposal of the departments concerned as soon as they were required for the purpose for which they had been acquired.

(b) Rehoboth Gebiet

40. Presumably because the Rehoboth Baster community already possesses its own representative institution - namely, the Kaptein of the community and the Basterraad, a six-member elected advisory board - no reference to it is contained in the Act of 3 June 1968. Nevertheless, the South African Government has announced its intention of giving the community "self-government". In the meantime, under the terms of the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, responsibility for Baster affairs was transferred from the territorial administration to the Government of South Africa.

41. At a meeting with the Basterraad on 18 April 1969, following the transfer, the South African Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr. M. Viljoen, announced the creation of a Ministry of Rehoboth Affairs, with himself as Minister. He also announced that a territorial representative would be appointed to conduct liaison between his department and the Baster community and to manage all Baster affairs. Initially, the representative would be a "white" official, but eventually he would be replaced by a Baster.

42. The Minister said that no incursions would be made on the authority of the Basterraad, which includes control over the disposal of Baster land, but that the Government intended to promote economic development, starting with agriculture, and would make available loans without mortgages to members of the community for the purpose. Several members of the Basterraad were opposed to the proposed development on the grounds that it would destroy the Raad's authority in land matters and lead to a loss of autonomy for the Baster people.

43. Despite protests from the Baster community, the Minister introduced a Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation Bill in the South African House of Assembly on 30 May. The bill, which was approved later in 1969, would establish a state corporation with capital of R500,000, divided into R1 shares, to promote the development of agriculture, mining, trade, industry and finance in the Rehoboth Gebiet. The Board of directors of the corporation would consist exclusively of "whites", at least during the "transitional" stage, and no Baster capital for development projects would be permitted. The bill, however, allowed for Baster participation by providing for the establishment of "burger" companies in which all shares would be held by members of the Baster community, and preserved the patriarchal law of the Baster community regarding the ownership of land by providing that the corporation might neither sell nor dispose of land situated in the Rehoboth Gebiet to any person other than a Baster or a company in which all the shares were Baster-owned and that no member of the community might come into possession of more than 14,000 hectares of land through anything done by the corporation.

44. It was also announced that the area of the Rehoboth Gebiet would be increased by 73,000 hectares, comprising farms bought from "whites" in terms of the Odendaal Plan; that the Tsamis farm would be used to breed first-class stock which would be open only to purchase by Basters, and that capital would be made available for loans to farmers, businessmen and future industrialists.

45. Disclosure of the proposed legislation was followed by further protests from leaders of the Baster community, who complained that they had not been previously consulted. During the last week of May, telegrams containing protests were sent to the Prime Minister of South Africa, to the ambassadors of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to South Africa, and to the United Nations. The telegrams to the two ambassadors requested them to use their influence to stop South African aggression, while the South African Prime Minister was asked to suspend the development plan and hold a referendum. On 30 May, the date on which the bill was presented to the House of Assembly, a mass meeting, attended by 800 members of the Baster community, was held at Rehoboth, at which hundreds of pamphlets outlining the development plan were burned in a bonfire. Mr. Allan Louw, chairman of the Burger Association, and Councillor Olivier of the Basterraad, exhorted the assembled Basters to reject the development plan and proposed an alternative plan by which the Basterraad itself would undertake to develop the Rehoboth Gebiet, employing all the community's savings, which would be withdrawn from commercial banks.

46. On 25 June 1969, the Basterraad issued a further statement calling on the community to unite against the proposed corporation, which it termed a "white" enterprise in which the Basters would have no interest since the State would be the only shareholder. Further arguments against the Corporation were that: (a) regardless of existing law and custom, the corporation would have the power to acquire, own and dispose of land; (b) the corporation would have the right to hold shares in Baster businesses; (c) the corporation could take immovable property and farms as security for loans; and (d) no Rehoboth burger would be acknowledged as a citizen unless he owned land registered in the community. The Basterraad said that it was in no way opposed to development, but that it could not accept legislation in the preparation of which it had not been consulted and which would reduce the Basters to a subordinate status in their own homeland.

47. The Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation came into being on 1 September 1969. Members of the board of directors are as follows: Mr. J.G.N. Lombard (Chairman), former member of the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa; Professor P.J. Malherbe, senior partner of a local firm of auditors; Mr. Kurt Linning, retired bank manager; Mr. J.W. Loubser, karakul and cattle farmer; Mr. H.J. von Hase, karakul farmer; Mr. J.D. Bosman, Secretary of Rehoboth Affairs; and Mr. A. Chatwind, former Magistrate at Rehoboth (and at present exercising the powers and duties of the former Kaptein and Volksraad of the Baster community).

48. On 15 September, the Basterraad, at its first official meeting in seven months, issued a statement accusing the South African Government of appointing a board of directors who were "experts in the undermining of human rights" and calling on the Baster community to refuse further payment of taxes. The statement said that the Government's profit motive in the so-called development of

the Rehoboth Gebiet was glaringly conspicuous. Under the guise of developing the area and granting it increased self-government, the South African administration was expropriating former Baster land, depriving the Basterraad of its traditional functions, and depriving the Basters of what little autonomy they had. The statement in particular accused the Government of expropriating "white" properties in the Rehoboth Gebiet at higher prices than Basters themselves could pay and then leasing those properties and businesses to Basters; since the 1923 agreement between the Baster community and the South African Government, thirty-three Rehoboth farms had disappeared, farms of Baster women married to "whites" had been alienated, and the Gebiet's borders had shrunk.

49. The statement further accused the Government of not erecting a clinic at Rehoboth as promised; of taking away a doctor the Basters had hired on their own accord; and of "brainwashing" and indoctrinating Baster children in their classrooms.

50. On 3 and 4 December, the Minister of Rehoboth Affairs, went to Rehoboth for further meetings with the Basterraad and the Baster population. In the course of these meetings he was reported to have told the community that he had not been aware that the Basters were displeased with the envisaged development, but that those who chose to could refuse the financial assistance aimed at developing agriculture and business. He also stated that the present borders of the Rehoboth Gebiet were the final ones and that the Government would not consider buying more land for the Baster community.

51. According to the latest available information, the Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation is scheduled to begin operating in March 1970.

(c) Ovamboland

52. There has been little information on developments in Ovamboland since it was officially designated a "self-governing homeland" in October 1968.

53. On 13 June 1969 it was reported that the State President of South Africa had assented to the first budget enacted by the Legislative Council of Ovamboland, providing for an estimated expenditure of R2,425,000 from the Ovamboland Revenue Fund for the year ending 31 March 1970. The appropriation was for expenditure by the seven administrative departments; Authority Affairs and Finance; Community Affairs; Works; Education and Culture; Economic Affairs; Justice; and Agriculture. The budget was said to be the first legislative act of the Council since its establishment.

54. During October 1969 it was reported that Ovamboland, as well as two other northern Native reserves, the Okavango and the Kaokoveld, had been "given a further thrust towards independence" by the sale of the ten businesses owned and managed by the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA), the Territory's semi-official labour recruiting organization, to the Bantu Investment Corporation of South Africa, a state-owned corporation similar to the Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation, managed entirely by Europeans. The transaction, valued at R651,000 excluding stock in shops, was reported to be the first major business transfer of its kind in the Territory. The businesses sold comprised five general retail shops and one garage in Ovamboland,

three general retail shops in the Okavango and one in the Kaokoveld. As described in the Namibian Press, the sale, which had been recommended by the Odendaal Commission, meant in particular that the purchasing power of the African inhabitants of the areas involved now rested with the Corporation, which is supposed to use its profits to build up the "homelands".

55. According to a letter dated 26 September 1969 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa to the Secretary-General (S/9463) in regard to Security Council resolution 269 (1969), the corporation is guided by the principle that the inhabitants of the "homelands" must be closely involved in the development process and, particularly, must be trained to help themselves. In the case of the takeover of the businesses formerly owned by SWANLA, it was the Government's intention to give the African inhabitants the opportunity to receive training to enable them, in due course, to fill the most responsible positions themselves.

(d) Bushmen

56. In accordance with the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, the South African authorities in late 1969 proposed a plan for the settlement of the traditionally nomadic Bushmen inhabiting the north-east of the Territory, at Tsumkwe, north-east of Grootfontein. South African sources claim that there is no accurate information regarding the exact number of nomadic Bushmen involved. A few hundred groups are believed to be distributed over an area ranging from Aperet, just south of the Omuramba Ovambo, to Kara Kuwisa on the Omuramba Omabako, a distance of a few hundred miles. 1/

57. It will be recalled that the Odendaal Plan, published in 1964, called for two "homelands" for Bushmen, totalling 2.4 million hectares. As an initial step towards settlement, the South African authorities had begun to make contact with them through representatives at waterholes and had established a settlement at Tsumkwe where those Bushmen who could be persuaded to lead more stable lives were initiated into the principles of agriculture and animal husbandry under the direction of a Commissioner for Bushmen Affairs.

58. Under the plan proposed in 1969, frontier posts would be established to which Bushmen would be "lured" by the distribution of free food and tobacco. Once their friendship had been won they would be removed to Tsumkwe, well away from the area in which they are living at present and given work in order to ensure their settlement. Eventually, a land reclamation project would be started "to enable the Bushmen to attain a higher level and perhaps establish their own economy".

59. The institution of the plan at the present time was reported to have been the sequel to a meeting earlier during the year between delegates of the Farmers' Associations, the South African Police, and the Department of Bantu Affairs, concerning stock losses attributed to slaughtering and theft by Bushmen. Newspaper reports published in Namibia alleged that roving groups of Bushmen frequently

---

1/ According to the last official census, taken in 1960, the Bushman population numbered 11,762 of whom 9,484 lived in the "white" urban and rural areas or in Native reserves in the southern section and were to a large extent drawn into the economy of the Territory, and 2,278, described as nomadic, lived mainly in the north-eastern part of the Territory.

infiltrated white-owned farms bordering on the northern Native reserves and, despite police efforts, succeeded in disappearing into the "wastes" north of the last game-proof fencing.

60. Disclosure of the South African Government's plan for a Bushmen settlement provoked a number of protests, of which two, from the Primitive Peoples' Fund and the students in the Anthropology Department of the London School of Economics, were contained in letters published in the Namibian Press. The authors were of the opinion that even if the Bushmen of the country survived settlement it would be as a demoralized low class of workers, doubtless largely dependent upon the State for support. An alternative plan was suggested whereby the present area occupied by Bushmen (or an alternative area ample enough to support their present population and ecologically viable) would be designated as a "conservation" territory, with its legal ownership vested in the Bushmen themselves, through a Board of Trustees. Therein, the Bushmen could be provided with medical and educational facilities and the option to take up peasant agriculture or the herding of domestic animals. It would be important, the writers believed, that only real volunteers should be selected for such projects and that only two or three families should be chosen at a time. Any tendency for the Bushmen to become dependent upon their instructors should be checked by an insistence that all cultivation be done by them alone.

61. On 7 January 1970, it was reported that about forty Bushmen in the north-east of the Territory had been recruited as labourers on a road being built from Tsintsabis in the direction of Keering Keeru on the Okavango River. The article stated that government officials had refused to comment on the recruitment.

(e) Namas

62. It will be recalled that the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission with respect to the Nama population of the Territory involved the creation of a "Nama homeland", comprising the Berseba, Tses, Krantzplatz (Gibeon) and Soromas reserves, plus an additional area to be made available by the acquisition of 165 "white" farms; the abolition of the former Nama reserves of Warmbad, Neuhoff and Bondelswarts and their redesignation as "white" areas; and the transfer of a large portion of the Nama population of the Territory to the proposed homeland. At the time the recommendations were made (1964), of the Nama population, only 2,292 lived in the four Native reserves which would be included in "Namaland"; 2,009 lived in other Native reserves; and 30,505 in "white" areas, 8,998 of them in "white" urban areas. According to the Commission's proposals, the Namas to be resettled would comprise those resident in all Native reserves outside "Namaland" and in "white" urban areas. Presumably those Namas employed on "white" farms were to be permitted to continue to live where they were as long as they remained employed.

63. The disposition of the Hoachanas reserve, home of the Rooinasie Namas, was not mentioned in the report. It may be recalled that this area, referred to officially both as a "temporary" Native reserve and as "government" land, was the subject of General Assembly resolution 1357 (XIV) of 17 November 1959, by which the Assembly urged the Government of South Africa to desist from removing the Rooinasie Namas to Itsawisis, one of the European farm areas to be included in "Namaland". At that time the removal had not been carried out, owing, among other things, to the lack of potable water at Itsawisis.

64. In January 1968, it was reported that the consolidation of the entire Nama population of 34,000 into "Namaland" would soon be completed and the former Nama reserves would then be abolished.

65. By late 1969 it was claimed that almost the whole Nama population had begun to settle in the new "homeland" and that the former Neuhoff, Bondelswarts and Warmbad reserves no longer had any Nama residents whatsoever. At the same time, plans for the envisaged "Namaland" legislative council were released by the South African Government. These plans called for a council consisting of the Krantsplatz chief and councillors, three councillors from the former Tses and Berseba reserves, one from Soromas and one each from the Bondelswarts, Neuhoff and Warmbad Namas, together with as many elected members as the chief's council and councillors might determine. The legislative council would gradually take over legislative authority and administrative functions from the Department of Coloured Affairs.

66. At present the 800 Rooinasie Namas living on the Hoachanas reserve are reported to be the only group continuing to resist resettlement. In December 1969, the Namibian Press published a statement by Mr. Mattheus Kooper, leader of the community, to the effect that the authorities had not requested him and his people to move for some time, but that any such requests in the future would go unheeded.

67. The newspaper stated that the original plan to resettle the Rooinasie Namas at Itsawisis had been dropped in the light of the Odendaal Commission's recommendations and that the intention was now to move them to "Namaland".

68. The Hoachanas reserve, consisting of 13,000 hectares located a few miles south-east of Uhlendorst, was described as dry country with little vegetation; employment on neighbouring "white" farms was said to constitute the main source of income of the inhabitants, supplemented occasionally by the sale of a few goats or head of cattle to the farmers.

(f) Coloureds

69. In 1966 the Coloured population of Namibia was estimated to number about 15,400 persons, nearly all of whom were living in various native locations in urban centres throughout the "white area". It will be recalled that the Odendaal Commission recommended that, except for a small number of Coloured farmers for whom a rural irrigation settlement was proposed on the Orange River, the entire Coloured population should be persuaded to move to the areas of their greatest concentration (Windhoek, Walvis Bay and Lüderitz) and that the management of their separate Coloured townships should be entrusted to Coloured local township authorities. It was further suggested that the Coloured Council of South West Africa, which then consisted of members appointed by the Administrator of the Territory, should be expanded to include elected members.

70. In accordance with the Commission's recommendations, the construction of townships for Coloured people was begun at Gobabis, Grootfontein, Mariental, Keetmanshoop, Swakopmund, Windhoek, Lüderitz and Walvis Bay. By 1967, a total of 1,065 houses had been built by local authorities and several hundred more were under construction, at a cost of nearly R3.9 million. An ordinance was also passed in 1966 revising the composition of the Coloured Council of South West

Africa to include elected members and empowering it to act as an intermediary between the Administrator and the Coloured inhabitants of the Territory.

71. With the transfer of legislative and administrative powers to South Africa, however, the policy concerning the Coloured population appears to have undergone modification. It was reported that the Coloured Council of "South West Africa" would be incorporated with the Coloured Council of South Africa and that the Coloured people of the Territory would be given representation on the latter body. The South African Government also announced that it would not proceed with the Orange River irrigation settlement in the immediate future.

72. Elections to the Coloured Persons Representative Council of South Africa were reported to have been held in September 1969, but no mention was made of a representative from the Territory.

### (c) Hereros

73. The resettlement of the Herero population of the Territory from their traditional reserves to "Hereroland" (consisting of the Epukiro, Eastern, Otjituvo and Waterberg East reserves) has continued to be resisted by the Herero population. Although a Herero Affairs Commissioner, stationed at Okarara in "Hereroland", was appointed on 5 June 1968 to consolidate all Herero affairs in preparation for the formation of a "homeland", there have been no reports of progress in this direction since then, or of any further initiatives on the part of the South African Government.

74. It may be recalled that, according to the 1960 census, there are 35,354 Hereros in the Territory, of whom 9,017 live in Native reserves to be included in Hereroland, 6,436 live in other reserves, and 19,901 live in "white" urban and rural areas. In terms of the Odendaal Plan, the move need affect only those Hereros resident in Native reserves outside Hereroland, and not those resident in "white" urban and rural areas.

75. During 1969, Herero Chief Hosea Kutako, the acknowledged Herero leader, was reported to have sent at least two letters to government officials protesting the impending resettlement. In a letter sent in August 1969 to the Chief Native Affairs Commissioner in Windhoek, Mr. Kutako referred to the Rietfontein Block, in which "Hereroland" is located, as a "semi-desert" region, and called upon the Government to stop forthwith the construction of buildings at Okarara, Otjinene, Kopa and Epukiro in the Rietfontein Block. The letter alleged that the Government had threatened to remove water engines from the present Herero Native reserves in order to force people to move and that the inhabitants of the Aminius reserve were being refused access to three boreholes in the Corridor Area on the Botswana border for the same reason.

76. In a letter dated 13 December 1969 to the Administrator of the Territory, Chief Kutako again asked that all operations being carried out in implementation of the Odendaal Plan be stopped and further requested that Mr. Verduciel be removed as Herero Affairs Commissioner. The letter asked the Administrator urgently to convene a meeting in January 1970 in the Aminius reserve, the traditional Herero homeland.

77. On 12 January, the Herero Affairs Commissioner, Mr. Verduel, was reported to have denied strongly that the Hereros of the Aminius reserve would be moved forcibly to the Rietfontein Block. He said that, on the contrary, not a single Herero had been told to move to the Rietfontein Block and that since the area did not have a single facility to accommodate people there was no question of any removals whatsoever at the present. He had, in fact, denied thirty applications for settlement in the area which was not habitable in its present condition.

#### Trial of Namibians under the Terrorism Act

78. On 1 July 1969 a group of eight Namibians were brought to trial in Windhoek Supreme Court on charges under the South African Terrorism Act, 1967 and two alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950. The accused, who were believed to have been imprisoned in Pretoria for periods up to three years before being committed for trial, were charged with having joined a plot to provoke an armed uprising in "South West Africa" and, inter alia, with having received guerrilla training in the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; working with exiled members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO); smuggling arms into the Territory; and setting up secret camps in the Territory to be used as bases for sabotage and guerrilla activities; participating in an armed mission to assassinate a chief in the process of which his bodyguard was shot and killed; and committing robbery, arson and attempted murder. The defendants, who faced a possible death penalty under the Terrorism Act, all pleaded not guilty to the charges.

79. The accused, all Ovambos, were Messack Victory, Jonas Shishilini Shimuefeleni, Alfred Shijana, Alihes Theemamandje, Yustus Festus Haita, Solomon Festus Haita, Joseph Ipangelua and Gaus Shikomba.

80. The trial, which began on 1 July, was conducted by Mr. Justice F.H. Badenhorst and two assessors. Appearing for the State were Advocate Piet Oosthuizen, assistant to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal and two assisting advocates. Two court-appointed pro deo counsels, appearing for the defence, were Advocate H.A. van der Merwe and Advocate L. Selekowitz, both from the Cape bar. Mr. Selekowitz withdrew from the case during the prosecution's calling of witnesses. According to press reports, the prosecution conducted its case between 1 July and 23 July, when an eight-day adjournment was called. The prosecution called thirty-five witnesses to testify against the defendants. Witnesses for the defence, who were called beginning on 30 July, consisted of three of the accused plus two others.

81. On 20 August, six of the eight defendants were found guilty and two were found not guilty and discharged. Those convicted were Messack Victory, Jonas Shishilini Shimuefeleni, Yustus Festus Haita, Solomon Festus Haita, Joseph Ipangelua and Gaus Shikomba. The counsel for the defence admitted the guilt of all the convicted men, except for Jonas Shishilini Shimuefeleni, on the main charge. In the case of Mr. Shimuefeleni, the defence stated that he had been arrested in March 1966, before the passage of the Terrorism Act, and that although he had been misled into receiving "terrorist" training abroad, he had done nothing illegal after returning to the Territory.

82. On 22 August, the judge president, Mr. Badenhorst, passed life sentences on five of the accused and sentenced Mr. Shimuefeleni to eighteen years' imprisonment.

83. On 23 October, Mr. Badenhorst heard the application of the six convicted men for leave to appeal against their sentences. In the case of Mr. Shimuefeleni, who had received an eighteen-year sentence, the counsel for the defence also applied for leave to appeal against the conviction. During the course of the hearing, the defence counsel withdrew his application on behalf of Messak Victory on the grounds that he was guilty of murder.

84. Advocate Piet Oosthuizen, appearing for the State, asked the judge to reject the applications. Mr. Badenhorst said he would reserve his judgement sine die.

85. The counsel for the defence also informed the Court that an undisclosed source was paying for the legal cost of the appeal. No pro deo funds exist for such applications.

86. On 27 February 1970, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) issued a statement in Lusaka to the effect that the South African authorities were planning a secret trial of ten SWAPO leaders on charges under the Terrorism Act. The organization, which said that its information was based on reports smuggled out of the Territory, subsequently stated that seven of the accused were charged with "participation in terrorist activities" in Caprivi and one with similar activities in Okavango. In five of these cases, the activities were alleged to have been carried out between 1964 and 1966, prior to the enactment of the Terrorism Act. Charges against two of the accused were not yet known.

87. The Organization stated that among the accused was Mr. Brendan Kanyongola Simbwaye, the vice-president of SWAPO, who had been under detention since 24 September 1964. The names of the other nine were: Alexander Simon, Jost Mbala Siloka, Manowa Mulibe Mahunga Mzilikazi, Masia Ingenda, Isiah Muhapulo Isitimela, Wilkenson Muluti Lukongo, Alfred Seloiso, Bernard Matmola Malapo and Charlie Simpatic.

#### Other developments

88. It will be recalled (A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII, annex, paragraphs 59-66) that in 1968, the Administration finally completed the forcible removal of African workers living in the old African quarter of Windhoek to the newly built Katutura location outside the town. In January 1970, it was disclosed that a law pertaining to the new location prohibits African wives from residing with their husbands, unless the husband was born in Windhoek or had lived on the location with permanent employment for ten years, or unless the wife is also a Windhoek resident.

89. In another application of South Africa's policy of apartheid, it was announced in the Official Gazette in December 1969 that two beaches in Namibia are reserved for the exclusive use of white bathers. According to the Namibian Press, the Administration intends to impose "beach apartheid" at all holiday resorts in the near future.

### 3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

#### Public finance

90. The South West Africa Affairs Act (No. 25 of 1969), which transferred a major part of the powers and functions of the Administration to South Africa, also effected substantial changes in the Territory's financial structure. Under this Act, the territorial Administration retains powers of taxation only in respect of the following: income tax paid by individuals, business licenses, licensing fees in respect of dogs and game, wheel tax, motor vehicle tax, entertainment tax and certain fines. In respect of company tax, which is levied by the Republic of South Africa, the Administration receives the same percentage as is paid to a provincial administration in the Republic. Other taxes, including such important items as mining and prospecting taxes, diamond export taxes, customs and excise and posts and telegraph receipts, which represented over 64 per cent of the Territory's revenue in 1964/1965, are collected by South Africa and charged to a separate account known as the "South West Africa Account" (in the Consolidated Revenue Fund of South Africa) which is used to defray expenditure in the Territory by both South Africa and the territorial Administration. The amount paid to the latter is calculated according to a flexible formula which is designed to avoid great fluctuations but also to permit a moderate increase if additional expenditure is essential to enable the Administration to carry out its functions.

91. The budget estimates for 1969/1970 presented by the Administrator in May 1969 provided for a total revenue of R53 million, of which R15.6 million would be derived from sources remaining to the territorial Administration, R32.4 million would come from the "South West Africa Account" and R5 million would be made available in loan funds from South Africa for implementation of the Odendaal Plan.

92. Expenditure from the Territorial Revenue Fund during 1969/1970 was estimated at R33.3 million, of which R21.3 million was allocated for expenditure on "ordinary" (recurrent) items, R1 million for transfer to the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund and R11 million (including the R5 million in loans from South Africa) for transfer to the Loan Account to be used for implementation of the Odendaal Plan. Total expenditure from the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund was estimated at R25.6 million and from the Loan Account, R11 million. The principal items of ordinary (recurrent) expenditure were education and health services (in "white" areas), R7.1 million and R3.4 million, respectively; administration, R3.1 million; public works, R2.6 million; and nature conservation and tourism, R1.1 million. Development expenditure included roads, R9.9 million from the Development and Reserve Fund and R10.5 million from the Loan Account; government buildings, R8 million; and loans to municipalities and local authorities, R7 million.

93. The budget estimates for the "South West Africa Account" for the same period, as presented to the South African Parliament, envisaged a total revenue of R76.5 million and total expenditure of R86.5 million, the difference to be made up by the Republic of South Africa.

94. The main sources of estimated revenue were as follows: customs and excise tax, R11 million; taxes on diamond mines, R15.6 million; taxes on other mines, R8.5 million; taxes on companies other than mining, R10.4 million; taxes on prospecting and c. ims, R320,000; diamond export duty, R6.3 million; diamond

profits tax, R6 million; undistributed profits tax, stamp duties, transfer duty, fire-arm licences, R1.2 million; rents, interest and fines, R6.7 million; contribution of South Africa in connexion with Bantu administration, R4 million; amount payable to the Fund from the Consolidated Revenue Fund of South Africa in terms of section 22 (2) (c) of the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, R1.7 million; amount payable to the South-West Finance Corporation Ltd. in terms of section 5 of Ordinance 21 of 1953.

95. The major estimated expenditures included Bantu administration and development, R12.7 million, of which R10.3 million was allocated to the South African Bantu Trust for expenditure in the Territory; water affairs, R12 million; agricultural credit and tenure, R4.2 million; Coloured affairs (including Rehoboth Easters), R3.3 million; public works, R2.8 million; agricultural technical services, R2.5 million; Bantu education, R2.3 million; community development, R2 million; miscellaneous services, R2 million; and R31 million as the statutory amount payable to the "South West Africa" Territorial Revenue Fund (see paragraph 90 above).

96. An analysis of the detailed appropriations shows the following planned expenditures by the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development and the South African Bantu Trust in respect of African affairs: health services, R1.9 million; education, R2.3 million (including R1 million for teachers' salaries, R0.9 million for educational services provided by Native authorities and R180,000 for maintenance of schools and supplies); R.8.8 million for development purposes in African areas, including the establishment of townships; and R1.5 million for recurrent services by Native authorities, excluding education.

97. Planned expenditures by the South African Department of Coloured Affairs included R1.6 million for education (of which R1.2 million was allocated for teachers' salaries, R269,000 for schools and R10,000 as a grant-in-aid to the Rehoboth Easterraad); R1.2 million for health services; and R39,700 for settlement. Appropriations for construction in Coloured and Baster areas by the Department of Public Works amounted to R432,100 in 1969/1970, to be used mainly in connexion with the construction or extension of schools and of a hospital at Keetmanshoop. The building programme calls for an eventual expenditure of R2.6 million.

98. Estimated expenditures by the South African Department of Water Affairs for projects in non-white areas of the Territory, totalling R12 million, included the following: surveys of the Okavango northern Native reserve, R50,000; domestic water supplies for schools, hospitals and government institutions in Native areas, R500,000 (out of an eventual total expenditure of R1.4 million); Omaruru River scheme in Damaraland, R69,000 (out of an eventual expenditure of R1 million); irrigation projects and a road in Cvamboland, R655,000 (out of an eventual total of R3 million).

## Mining

### (a) Diamonds

99. Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd., a subsidiary of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. of South Africa and the most important mining company in the Territory, reported a consolidated net profit for 1968 of R46,457,000, or R7,822,000 less than for 1967. The company's own concession area,

it will be recalled, covers 10,259 square miles in the southern part of the Territory. Until the end of 1970, the company is also operating, under a three-year lease, the concession of the Marine Diamond Corporation, Ltd., also a subsidiary of the De Beers corporation.

100. Production by Consolidated Diamond Mines from its own area was 1,490,073 carats, slightly more than in 1967. In the area leased from Marine Diamonds, foreshore production increased by 29,935 carats to 149,765 carats, but off-shore production fell by 52,093 carats to 82,421 carats, partly because the mining barge Pomona was withdrawn for three months to be refitted. During the course of the year it was established that the known diamond reserves in the sea had become so depleted as to make further immediate mining unfeasible. Sea mining operations were thus suspended until an intensive sampling campaign could be completed. In the meantime, the Pomona was temporarily transferred to Hottentot Bay to mine a limited deposit proved by Tidal Diamonds (SWA) (Pty.) Ltd. in which Consolidated Diamond Mines has a 54 per cent interest. (The remaining shares are owned by the Getty Oil Company of the United States.) If, as is suspected, the undersea prospecting operations in the Marine Diamond Concession area should prove successful, the Pomona would then resume operations on a more secure basis than before.

101. At the end of 1969, a large new diamond mining venture was initiated by the Strathmore Services and Finance Corporation of South Africa, through one of its subsidiaries, Strathmore Diamonds, which already operates a series of small mines in the Territory, and which has been conducting prospecting operations along three miles of coastline bordered by the Hoanib River in the north and the Unjab River in the south. In December 1969, the company announced that it had decided to erect a diamond separation plant in the area at a cost of up to R1 million. This would seem to indicate promising results, although little is known of the success of prospecting operations to date. The three-mile coastal strip was originally worked by De Beers corporation on its own behalf but was given up owing to the low quality of stones found there in twenty years of operations.

(b) Base minerals

102. During 1969, prospecting and mining for base minerals was reported to have attracted an unprecedented amount of attention from both South Africa and foreign interests. According to the Chief Inspector of Mines of "South West Africa", eighty-five prospecting concessions covering a total area of about 4 million hectares had been granted to date, while the whole coastline from the Orange River in the south to the Kunene was also under concession. The Chief Inspector said, however, that the Department of Mines did not expect any extraordinary discoveries to be made. Future mines were expected to be low in yield, and serious water problems would have to be overcome.

103. For the most part, financial reports of the companies operating in the Territory were not yet available for 1968/1969. In 1967, the Tsumeb Corporation, which accounts for over 80 per cent of the total production of base minerals and is jointly owned by American Metal Climax and the Newmont Mining Corporation, reported earnings of R52 million and profits of R19,014,334 from the sale of 97,509 tons of lead, 40,326 tons of copper, 6,232 tons of zinc, 703,038 pounds of cadmium and 1,832,316 ounces of silver extracted from the mines at Tsumeb and

Kombat. The Klein Aub Copper Mine, owned by South African interests, reported earnings of \$ 2 million for 1967/1968, (R2.5 million in 1969, before taxes of R430,000) and the South West Africa Company, also controlled by South African interests, reported earnings of R505,000 from the sale of lead vanadate, zinc lead sulphide, zinc silicate and tin/wolfram, taken from its mines at Berg Aukas and Brandberg West. No information was available regarding the Uis tin mine, which is located in the Damaraland homeland and is owned and operated by the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa.

104. Major works in progress during 1967 and 1968 included the construction of a Waelz kiln at the South West Africa Company's Berg Aukas mine, as part of an agreement with the Zinc Corporation of South Africa (ZINCOR) for the supply of zinc oxide; the development of the Rosh Pinah zinc mine by the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (ISCOR) on its own behalf, and the reopening of the Tsumeb Corporation's Matchless Mine, twenty-eight miles west of Windhoek. Both the Rosh Pinah mine and the zinc oxide plant at Berg Aukas began operating in the spring of 1969, while work on the Matchless mine has not yet been completed.

105. The most important prospecting operations, oriented mainly towards discovering copper, were being carried out by two companies: the FEDSWA Consortium (composed of the Klein Aub Copper Company, Ltd., plus its three parent companies, Federale Mynbou-General Mining Group, Federale Volksbeleggings Bpk. and Marine Products Ltd. of South Africa) and the Africa Triangle Mining, Prospecting and Development Company (Pty.) Ltd. (shareholders in which are Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company, Ltd., and Newmont Mining and de Beers, which jointly hold a 49.5 per cent interest). The United States Steel Corporation, which has a 15 per cent equity in the prospecting company, is supplying loans to finance prospecting in exchange for a further 15 per cent interest in a new Anglovaal subsidiary. Both prospecting ventures were motivated by the discovery that the copper ore deposits at the Klein Aub mine in the Rehoboth district far exceeded original estimates and in all likelihood extended in a north-easterly direction past Witvlei and Gobabis to the Botswana border and beyond. The concession of the FEDSWA Consortium covers an 8,500 square mile block from the Klein Aub mine to the Botswana border, while the concession granted to the Africa Triangle Mining, Prospecting and Development Company comprises a total of 1,500 square miles in several separate areas in the vicinities of Rehoboth and Gobabis. The latter also holds prospecting rights in an extensive area of Botswana adjacent to the border of Namibia. During 1969, the Anglovaal group was taking ore samples at Witvlei, in Namibia, with an eye to opening a mine there in the near future.

106. Other subsequent developments in the mining industry in the Territory involved the discovery of several deposits of minerals not previously produced in the Territory, including uranium and talc, as well as the participation of additional companies in the production of copper. These are described below.

107. In December 1969, it was reported that Rio Tinto South Africa (Pty.) Ltd. was in the final phases of an extensive R1 million prospecting programme on a large low-grade uranium deposit at Rossing, near Swakopmund, and that results so far had been satisfactory enough to warrant the sinking of a 350-foot prospecting shaft at a cost of R730,000 and the installation of a pilot plant. If feasibility studies pointed to an economically viable proposition, the Rio Tinto group would be granted mining rights and an open-cast uranium mine would be

established. A new company, to be formed to own and operate the mine, would be controlled by the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, with Rio Tinto as managers and secretaries.

108. In January 1970, Etosha Petroleum Company (Pty.) Ltd., a wholly owned subsidiary of Brilund Mines of Canada, with prospecting rights in a large area south of the Etosha Pan, announced that it was considering the possibility of opening three new mines, costing at least R45 million, near Grootfontein where prospecting work had proved the presence of "very promising" deposits of lead, zinc, copper, silver and cadmium in an area of about 2,500 feet by 600 feet and 400 feet deep. Laboratory tests of samples taken from an additional 2,500 feet area along the line of strike had also proved promising, while similar prospects had been found at two other points in the concession area.

109. It was also reported in 1969 that there were possibilities of the development of a talc mine outside Windhoek and that the Anglo-American Corporation was considering the investment of R4 million in a wolframite mine near Omaruru.

110. In October 1969, it was announced that Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, a South African company, had applied for a base metal mining concession covering an area of 8 million hectares, including the entire Kaokoveld northern Native reserve, and part of "Damaraland" where the Uis tin mine is already located. If awarded the concession, the company would pay fees of R80,000 monthly, compared to the normal prospecting fee of R4.20 per month for the first 10,000 hectares, and R1.60 for every additional 10,000 hectares. The application was under consideration by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

111. Reports that the South African Bantu Mining Corporation, established by a proclamation of 28 March 1969, had applied for exploratory concessions in the proposed "homelands" remained unconfirmed during 1969. The corporation's geologists were none the less said to be working at various sites in the Territory.

### Petroleum

112. As previously reported (A/7623/Add.2, chapter VII, annex, paragraphs 99-101), during 1968 the Territory's Administration, through the agency of a subsidiary of the Southern Oil Exploration Corporation (Pty.) Ltd. of South Africa (SOEKOR), granted eight oil concession areas, covering almost 90,000 square miles to the following international companies: Shell and British Petroleum (one land and two off-shore blocks); de Beers Consolidated Mines and Société Nationale de Pétrole d'Aquitaine (one land block); Gulf Oil Company (two off-shore blocks); Chevron Oil, a subsidiary of Standard Oil Company of California (one off-shore block); and H.M. Mining and Exploration Company, Syracuse Oils and Woodford Oil and Gas Company (one off-shore block).

113. According to the terms of the concession agreements, all of which were signed by mid-1969, the awards will endure at the option of the companies for seventeen years, with the first well to be dug after three years but before five years have expired. After thirty-six months, all the companies will relinquish one quarter of their concession area to SOEKOR (SWA) Ltd. (SWAKOR), SOEKOR's subsidiary in the Territory; after seven years, they will relinquish a second quarter, and after twelve years a third quarter, provided that no

petroleum has been discovered. If a discovery is made before ten years, however, only 50 per cent of the prospecting area need be surrendered. If petroleum is found at any time during the lease, SWAKOR will be entitled to become a partner of the prospecting company.

114. In August 1969 the chairman of SWAKOR announced that all the prospecting agreements negotiated by SWAKOR had been concluded and all the companies concerned had already commenced prospecting activities. Several of the companies had completed reconnaissance surveys on land and off-shore and were studying the results with a view to determining the next stages of their programmes.

115. In October 1969, it was reported that the Etosha Petroleum Company, whose oil prospecting concession, covering over 100,000 square miles in the northern part of the Territory, predates those named above, was preparing to begin drilling operations at Ainos, in the western part of the Etosha Game Reserve. On 22 October, a 900-ton drill, capable of reaching to a depth of 20,000 feet was offloaded at Walvis Bay. A second drill was off-loaded in November to be erected at a site approximately thirty miles north of the first one - that is, about 120 miles from Kamanjab in the far western area of the Etosha Pan.

### Fishing

116. Since the Second World War inshore fishing has developed into the second largest industry in the Territory. In 1968, the industry reported earnings of R40.2 million from the processing and sale of 1,670,000 tons of fish. According to South African official sources, the industry at present represents an investment of R13 million in buildings, machinery and housing, plus an additional R7.5 million in the fishing fleet itself. It employs 3,300 persons in land-based factories and 720 as crews on fishing ships. Total wages paid during 1968 amounted to R2.5 million. Boat owners and their crews earned an additional R9 million.

117. The pilchard sector of the industry, concentrated at Walvis Bay, continued to account for over 90 per cent of the total earnings (R31.5 million), followed by rock lobsters (R .8 million), whitefish and seal oil and pelts. At present, ten large companies, each with a basic quota of 90,000 tons, are engaged in this sector; two of them obtained their licenses in 1968 on the condition that they use a specified portion of their net earnings from pilchards to assist in the further development of the whitefish industry. The first of these, Sarusas Development Corporation (in which the principal shareholders are Mankor, Volksas, General Mining and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa) also undertook to construct a new fishing harbour at Anria Fria (Möwe Bay) on the Skeleton Coast in the northernmost part of the Territory, g/ as well as a coastal road connecting this region with the rest of the Territory, an airfield and other public works. Upon the completion of this project, a second licence for whitefish, which the Administration is strenuously trying to develop, would also come into effect, the new harbour to be the headquarters for this activity.

g/ Until 1968 this area was part of the Kaskovels northern Native reserve.

The pilchard licence of the second organization, Consortium Visserye (Pty.) Bpk., comprised of seven companies which undertook to construct two new fish processing plants, one at Walvis Bay and the other at Lüderitz, was similarly contingent on fulfilling a 90,000 ton quota for whitefish.

118. It was agreed that, until their own facilities were completed, the catches of both these enterprises would be processed at the eight existing plants, processing in this case consisting of the conversion of raw fish into fishmeal, canned fish, frozen fish and fish oil.

119. As previously reported, in recent years the industry has been threatened by the activities of South African factory ships and trawlers of foreign nationality, which compete with the local industry and, more seriously, interfere with the normal movement of pilchards towards the south and otherwise jeopardize underwater life. In 1968, the two licensed South African factory ships operating off Namibia processed 14,000 tons of fish (equal to 2 per cent of the total catch of companies registered in Namibia). During that year, the local industry reported a lower total haul resulting from ecological factors and suffered additionally from lower world prices for fish oil and fish meal compared with those prevailing in 1967.

120. In late 1969, the South African Ministry of Economic Affairs announced that the factory ships' tonnage quota would be reduced to 250,000 tons for the 1970 season - 125,000 tons to be processed by the land-based factories at a small premium and the other half by the factory ships themselves. The ships will be permitted to catch their quotas inside the twelve-mile limit of Namibia's territorial waters, but after that they must look for fishing grounds either north of the Kunene River or well south of Cape Cross. In compensation, the factory ship owners will each receive a land-based factory licence, with a 90,000 ton quota to be operated from Walvis Bay.

121. Net earnings reported by a number of the major companies for 1968 are as follows:

	<u>Net profit</u> (rands)	<u>Total haul</u> (tons)	<u>Tax</u> (rands)
Angra Pequena Fishing Company	991,000	...	...
Ovenstone South West Africa Investments Ltd. (OSWIL)	12 million	128,000	...
Kaep-Kunene	2,008,313		
Sea Products (SWA) Ltd.	2,266,302	132,000	946,644
South West Africa Fishing Industries, Ltd. (SWAFIL)	2.35 million	...	...
Suid Kunene Bpk.	984,324	135,000	512,903
Marine Products, Ltd.	3,4 million*	...	...

\* Including profits from investments other than fishing.

126. According to South African sources, export of live cattle to the Republic of South Africa forms the basis of the livestock industry in the Territory. Since only a fraction of the meat produced can be absorbed by the local market (7.4 per cent in 1965), between two thirds and three quarters of all cattle marketed are sold to the Republic. During 1967, the value of cattle slaughtered for home consumption and export was slightly over R19 million.

127. Of increasing importance to the cattle industry in the Territory in the past two years has been the resurgence of the local canning industry, producing meat for export. Although in 1967 two of the three meat packing plants in the Territory were forced to close down because of reduced prices for meat extract and rising costs of production, the purchase in 1968 of Damara Meat Packers, Ltd. by Vliessentral, a large concern in the Republic of South Africa, has resulted in a considerable expansion of that sector. Under the purchase agreement, Vliessentral undertook to export frozen prepared meat and offal to South Africa and overseas, as well as to supply fresh meat to local markets and to continue operations during periods of drought and loss, even if the factory should run at a loss. In fulfilment of these agreements, 1,472 tons of frozen beef and thirty-five tons of chilled beef were exported to overseas markets between January and May 1969.

128. During 1969, the sale to Vliessentral of the Windhoek municipal abattoirs, which had been operating at a loss for several years, was also considered by the Windhoek City Council. In January 1970, the Council decided against the sale.

129. Marketing of dairy products, a concomitant industry, has not attained the same importance as beef owing both to the small size of the local market and the fact that, because of high costs, butter, the principal dairy product, cannot be sold in overseas markets except at a loss. During 1966, the output of dairy products was valued at R2.75 million, 70 per cent being sold in the Territory and the remainder largely to the Republic.

130. The karakul industry is the second largest agricultural activity in the Territory. In 1966, there were 3 million karakul sheep on farms in the arid centre and south of the Territory. In 1969, it was reported that the industry was currently earning R27 million per annum. (Total world consumption was reported to be 10 million pelts per annum, of which the Territory contributed 4.5 million.)

CHAPTER VII

(A/8023/Add.3)

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	1 - 16	72
B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	17	75

ANNEXES

I. WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT . . . . .		79
A. GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TERRITORIES . . . . .		79
B. ANGOLA . . . . .		137
C. MOZAMBIQUE . . . . .		181
D. GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA . . . . .		233
E. CAPE VERDE ARCHIPELAGO . . . . .		251
F. SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE . . . . .		273
G. MACAU AND DEPENDENCIES . . . . .		285
H. TIMOR AND DEPENDENCIES . . . . .		291
II. REPORT OF THE DELEGATION OF OBSERVERS FROM THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF PORTUGUESE COLONIES, HELD IN ROME, ITALY, FROM 27 TO 29 JUNE 1970 . .		297

## CHAPTER VII

### TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

#### A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. At its 737th meeting, on 13 April 1970, the Special Committee, by approving the forty-seventh report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.623), decided, inter alia, to hold a general debate covering the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration, together with two other items, namely, the questions of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. In taking that decision, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that individual draft resolutions on matters covered by those items would be considered separately following the conclusion of the general debate.

2. The Special Committee considered the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration at its 743rd to 747th, 750th to 752nd, and 755th to 757th meetings, between 14 May and 18 August 1970.

3. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2548 (XXIV) of 11 December 1969 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By that resolution, the General Assembly, in paragraph 10, requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration 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". In paragraph 12, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese administration...". The Committee also took into account the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2507 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969, concerning the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration, by paragraph 16 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to keep the situation in the Territories under review".

4. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it working papers prepared by the Secretariat (see annex I below) containing information on action previously taken by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly as well as the latest developments concerning the Territories.

5. In addition, the Special Committee had before it the following written petitions concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration:

#### Angola

(a) Letter dated 22 April 1970 from Mr. Lukoki Lunzinga on behalf of the NTO-BAKO Angola Party (A/AC.109/PET.1144).

Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea

(b) Undated letter from the Frente Patriótica de Libertação Nacional (FPLN) (A/AC.109/PET.1153).

The Territories in general

(c) Letter dated 30 December 1969 from Dr. S. Bosgra, Representative of the Angola Committee, Netherlands (A/AC.109/PET.1130).

(d) Letter dated 23 April 1970 from Mr. Tim Smith, Assistant for African Affairs, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ (A/AC.109/PET.1142).

(e) Letter dated 22 April 1970 from Mr. George M. Houser, Executive Director, American Committee on Africa (A/AC.109/PET.1143).

(f) Letter dated 11 May 1970 from Dr. S. Bosgra, Representative of the Angola Committee, Netherlands (A/AC.109/PET.1154).

6. The Special Committee also took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee at its 740th meeting on 21 April 1970 (A/AC.109/L.641). The Group visited Africa during May/June 1970 for the purpose of establishing contact with representatives of national liberation movements from colonial Territories in that continent in connexion with the preparation of the analytical study and the suggested programme of action called for under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2521 (XXIV) of 4 December 1969 relating to the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The report included, inter alia, the views expressed by the following representatives of national liberation movements from the Territories under Portuguese administration: Mr. Joseph Turpin, representative in Algeria of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC); Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO); Mr. Henrique Carreira, member of the Director Committee, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA); Mr. Fanuel Martuza, Secretary for External Affairs, Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO).

7. The Special Committee received two communications (A/AC.109/L.637) dated 1 and 2 June 1970 from Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, President of the Conferências Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP) containing an invitation addressed to the Special Committee to attend an international conference in support of the peoples of Portuguese Colonies, to be held in Rome, Italy, from 27 to 29 June 1970.

8. At its 745th meeting, on 18 June, the Special Committee, by adopting the fifty-first report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.637), decided to accept the invitation and to send a delegation of observers to attend the conference. The delegation that attended the conference was composed of the representatives of the following States: Bulgaria, Iran, the United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

9. The general debate covering the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration, together with the two other items referred to in paragraph 1 above, took place at the 743rd to 747th, and 750th and 751st meetings, between 14 May and 28 July. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of Sierra Leone (A/AC.109/PV.743), Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania

(A/AC.109/PV.744), Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.745 and Corr.1), Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.746), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Afghanistan and Ethiopia (A/AC.109/PV.747 and Corr.1), Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.750), Poland and India (A/AC.109/PV.751 and Corr.1). Statements in exercise of the right of reply were made by the representatives of the United States of America, Ethiopia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/AC.109/PV.747 and Corr.1).

10. At its 752nd meeting, on 30 July, Mr. Assad K. Sadry (Iran), Chairman of the delegation of observers referred to in paragraph 8 above, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.752 and Corr.1), presented the report of that group (see annex II below). Statements were made by the representatives of Bulgaria, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.752 and Corr.1).

11. At the 755th meeting, on 11 August, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania introduced a draft resolution, which was finally sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.652).

12. The Special Committee considered the draft resolution at its 756th and 757th meetings, on 13 and 18 August. At the 756th meeting, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania introduced a revised text of the joint draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.652/Rev.1). Statements on the draft resolution were made by the representatives of Afghanistan (A/AC.109/PV.756 and Corr.1 and 2), Tunisia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland and the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.757 and Corr.1).

13. At the 757th meeting, the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.652/Rev.1) by a roll-call vote of 14 to 2, with 2 abstentions. The result of the voting was as follows:

In Favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Honduras, India, Iraq, Madagascar, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Italy, Norway.

14. The text of the resolution is reproduced in paragraph 17 below.

15. Statements in explanation of vote were made by the representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Italy (A/AC.109/PV.757 and Corr.1). The representatives of Iran and Yugoslavia stated that, had their delegations been present during the voting on the draft resolution, they would have voted in favour of it.

16. On 21 August 1970, the text of the resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/9917). Copies of the resolution were also transmitted to States, including the administering Power, for the attention of their Governments, to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

17. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/359) adopted by the Special Committee at its 757th meeting, on 18 August 1970, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the question of the Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having examined the report of its delegation of observers to the International Conference in support of the peoples of Portuguese colonies, held in Rome in June 1970, 1/ and bearing in mind the views expressed by the representatives of the national liberation movements of the Territories under Portuguese domination,

Recalling General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Gravely concerned over the defiant attitude of the Government of Portugal towards the international community and its continued denial and repression of the right of the peoples in the Territories under its domination to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration,

Deeply disturbed by the increasingly explosive situation created by the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and, in particular, by its intensified military operations in those Territories,

Noting with profound concern the financial, economic, military and other assistance provided to Portugal by certain Member States in disregard of the repeated recommendations of the United Nations, which enables that Government to pursue its policies of colonial domination and oppression of the African population in those Territories,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination, freedom and independence, in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right;

2. Condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and the

---

1/ See annex II to the present chapter.

colonial war being waged by that Government against the African peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau);

3. Condemns the intervention of the South African forces against the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination, designed to perpetuate Portuguese colonialism in Africa;

4. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to apply without further delay to the peoples of the Territories under its domination the principle of self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in particular:

(a) To cease forthwith all repressive activities involving the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms and military operations against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and to withdraw all military and other forces;

(b) To proclaim an unconditional political amnesty, to restore democratic political rights and to transfer powers to freely elected institutions representative of the populations in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

5. Calls upon the Government of Portugal, in view of the armed conflict prevailing in the Territories under its domination, to apply the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949, 2/

6. Calls upon all States, particularly the military allies of Portugal within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to take the following measures:

(a) To desist forthwith from giving the Government of Portugal any military assistance, including the training of Portuguese military personnel within or outside the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which encourages that Government to continue its repression of the African peoples in the Territories under its domination;

(b) To prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material, including aircraft, helicopters and vehicles, to the Government of Portugal;

(c) To stop the sale or shipment to the Government of Portugal of equipment and materials for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition;

7. Deplores the continuation and intensification of those activities of economic, financial and other interests which impede the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the African populations in the Territories under Portuguese domination for self-determination and independence;

---

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

8. Calls upon all States to take all measures to put an end to all practices which exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein, to discourage their nationals and companies from entering into any activities or arrangements which strengthen Portugal's domination over, and impede the implementation of the Declaration with respect to, those Territories;

9. Deplores the policies of those Governments which have failed to prevent nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from agreeing or preparing to participate in the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola, and appeals to all Governments which have not yet done so to withdraw from the activities relating to these projects and to take all the necessary measures to prevent the participation therein of any companies or individuals under their jurisdiction;

10. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation created by the continued defiance by Portugal of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the threat to international peace and security resulting from the growing collaboration between Portugal, the minority racist régime of South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia;

11. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to adopt the necessary measures to make mandatory the provisions of its resolutions concerning the question, particularly resolution 218 (1965) of 23 November 1965, and those of General Assembly resolutions 2107 (XX) of 21 December 1965, 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966, 2270 (XXII) of 17 November 1967 and 2507 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969;

12. Urges all States to render the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination the financial and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights, and to take co-ordinated measures, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to expand the scope of assistance to the national liberation movements, including, inter alia, the active participation within the fields of their respective competence, of the specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned;

13. Reiterates its appeal to all the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, in particular to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance as long as the Government of Portugal fails to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

14. Expresses its appreciation to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations for the help they have given so far, and requests them, in co-operation with the host and other interested Governments, with the Organization of African Unity, and, through it, with the national liberation movements, to increase their assistance to refugees from the Territories under Portuguese domination, especially in the provision of medical, educational and agricultural services and supplies;

15. Decides to keep the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination under review and to examine the extent of compliance by States with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

ANNEX I

WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

A. GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TERRITORIES\*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	1 - 15	82
2. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES . . . . .		87
Constitutional and political . . . . .	18 - 146	87
Military activities and expenditure . . . . .	147 - 170	122
Portugal's economic relations with the overseas Territories . . . . .	171 - 188	128
International relations of Portugal affecting the Territories under its administration . .	189 - 209	135

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.625 and Corr.1.

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

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 study and 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. 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 the twenty third sessions. b/ The decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly are contained in the relevant resolutions. c/

2. In 1969, the Special Committee considered this question at its meetings between 6 and 23 May during its visit to Africa and again between 5 June and 1 July at Headquarters.

3. During the first series of meetings, the Special Committee heard petitioners from the following movements: Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE); Cartel dos Nacionalistas Angolanos (CNA); Parti Démocrate Nto Bako Angola; Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA); Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO); União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO). In addition, the Committee also considered the situation of refugees from Territories under Portuguese administration and measures taken to extend material and other assistance to them,

---

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

b/ Ibid., Seventeenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 25 (A/5238), chapter VIII; ibid., Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/5446/Rev.1), chapter II; ibid., Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chapter V; ibid., Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1), chapter V; ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chapter V; ibid., Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II (A/6700/Rev.1), chapter V; A/7200/Add.3 and Corr.1, chapter VIII; A/7623/Add.3 and Corr.1, chapter VIII.

c/ Security Council resolutions 163 (1961), 180 (1963), 183 (1963), 218 (1965) and 226 (1966); General Assembly resolutions 1603 (XV) of 20 April 1961; 1671 (XVI) of 18 December 1961; 1699 (XVI) of 19 December 1961; 1742 (XVI) of 30 January 1962; 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962; 1809 (XVII) of 14 December 1962; 1913 (XVIII) of 3 December 1963; 2107 (XX) of 21 December 1965; 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966; 2270 (XXII) of 17 November 1967; and 2395 (XXIII) of 29 November 1968.

especially by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the specialized agencies concerned and Member States in response to various resolutions of the Special Committee and the General Assembly.

4. On 24 June 1969, the Special Committee adopted a resolution on the Territories under Portuguese administration by a roll call vote of 16 to 2, with 3 abstentions (A/7623/Add.3 and Corr.1, chapter VIII). Members voting against the resolution were the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

5. By this resolution, the Special Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination, freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve their right. It called upon the Government of Portugal to apply without delay to the peoples of the Territories concerned the principle of self-determination, and in particular: (a) to cease forthwith all repressive activities and military operations against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, and to withdraw all military and other forces; and (b) to proclaim an unconditional political amnesty and to transfer all powers to freely elected institutions representative of the indigenous populations, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It also called upon the Government of Portugal, in view of the armed conflict prevailing in the Territories, to apply the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949. d/

6. The Special Committee called upon all States, particularly the military allies of Portugal in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to take the following measures: (a) to desist from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance, including the training of Portuguese military personnel within or outside the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance; (b) to prevent any sale or supply to the Portuguese Government of weapons, military equipment and material, including aircraft, helicopters and vehicles; and (c) to stop the sale or shipment to the Portuguese Government of equipment and materials for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition. It also urged all States to grant the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination the moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights.

7. In a new move, the Special Committee drew the urgent attention of the Security Council to the further deterioration of the situation in the Territories which constituted a serious threat to international peace and security, and to the serious consequences of the assistance provided by Portugal through those Territories to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. It expressed its appreciation to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to the specialized agencies and other international relief agencies for the help they have provided so far, and requested them to increase this aid. On the other hand, the Special Committee reiterated its appeal to the specialized agencies to withhold all aid to Portugal so long as the Portuguese Government refuses to implement resolution 1514 (XV).

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

8. In another new move, it decided to undertake a study in co-operation with the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies to ascertain the possibility of granting further assistance to the liberation movements. It also decided to keep the situation in the Territories under review and to examine the extent of compliance by States with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

9. On 24 June 1969, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted this resolution to the President of the Security Council.

10. In resolution 2508 (XXIV), adopted on 21 November 1969, the General Assembly reaffirmed its conviction that the sanctions would not put an end to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia unless they are comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa and Portugal.

11. On 21 November 1969, the General Assembly after having considered the report of the Special Committee (A/7623/Add.3 and Corr.1, chapter VIII), adopted resolution 2507 (XXIV). The operative part of this resolution is set out below:

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and of other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle by the peoples of those Territories for their independence and freedom;

"3. Condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and all other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council;

"4. Condemns Portugal's policy of using the Territories under its domination for violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States, as in the recent case in the Republic of Guinea;

"5. Condemns the colonial war which is being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peoples of the Territories under its domination;

"6. Condemns the collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, which is designed to perpetuate colonialism and oppression in southern Africa;

"7. Condemns the intervention of South African forces against the people of the Territories under Portuguese domination;

"8. Deplores the policy of the Government of Portugal, which violates the economic and political rights of the indigenous population by the arbitrary eviction of the African population and the settlement of immigrants in the Territories, and calls upon Portugal to cease those practices immediately;

"9. Deplores the activities of the financial interests which obstruct the struggle of the peoples under Portuguese domination for self-determination, freedom and independence and which strengthen the military efforts of Portugal;

"10. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to adopt immediate measures for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in the Territories under its domination;

"11. Calls upon all States, the specialized agencies and all the international organizations concerned to increase, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, their moral and material assistance to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination who are struggling for their freedom and independence;

"12. Recommends that the Security Council, with a view to the immediate implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in the Territories under Portuguese domination, should take effective steps in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and in view of the determination of the international community to put an end to colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa;

"13. Urges all States, and particularly the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to withhold or desist from giving further military and other assistance to Portugal which enables it to pursue the colonial war in the Territories under its domination;

"14. Invites the Secretary-General, in the light of General Assembly resolution 2431 (XXIII) of 18 December 1968 and in consultation with the specialized agencies and the host Governments, to develop and expand training programmes for the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese domination, taking into account their needs for qualified administrative, technical and professional personnel to assume responsibility for the public administration and the economic and social development of their own countries;

"15. Requests the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session;

"16. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to keep the situation in the Territories under review."

12. Subsequently, from 4 to 9 December 1969 the Security Council considered a complaint by the Government of Senegal about the shelling of the village of Samine in its national territory by Portugal (S/9513 and S/9541). This complaint was supported by twenty-four other African States (S/9524 and Add.1).

13. On 9 December 1969, the Security Council adopted resolution 273 (1969). In this resolution the Council expressed its concern about the serious situation created by the Portuguese acts and at the fact that incidents of this nature jeopardized international peace and security; it strongly condemned the Portuguese authorities for the shelling which resulted in loss of life and property damage and it called on Portugal to desist forthwith from violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal. It also declared that in the event of failure by Portugal to comply with this resolution the Council would meet to consider other measures and decided to remain seized of the question.

14. From 15 to 22 December 1969, the Security Council considered a complaint by the Government of Guinea against acts of aggression committed by Portugal. These included, among others, the seizure by the Portuguese authorities of a Guinean airplane in the Territory of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea (S/9525 and S/9528) and the shelling of several villages in Guinea, as well as the seizure by a Portuguese patrol of a passenger motor barge (S/9554). This complaint was supported by forty African States (S/9549).

15. On 22 December 1969, the Security Council adopted resolution 275 (1969) in which it called upon Portugal to desist forthwith from violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea and to return both the captured plane and the motor barge. It solemnly warned Portugal that if such acts were repeated in the future the Council would have seriously to consider further steps to give effect to this resolution.

## 2. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES

16. The Territories under Portuguese administration comprise the Cape Verde Archipelago; Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea; São Tomé and Príncipe and their dependencies; Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda; Mozambique; Macau and dependencies; and Timor and dependencies. These Territories cover an area of approximately 902,220 square miles (2,077,953 square kilometres) and have over 14 million inhabitants. The area of Portugal itself is 35,500 square miles (91,900 square kilometres), and at the latest estimate the population was 9,505,000.

17. The populations of the Territories at the 1960 census, together with the estimated population in 1965, 1966 and 1967, are given below:

	<u>Census</u>	<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Angola, including Cabinda	4,840,719	5,153,672	5,223,000	5,292,800
Mozambique	6,592,948	6,956,464	7,040,000	7,169,400
Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea	512,336	523,031	527,000	528,200
Cape Verde	199,661	224,199	231,000	237,800
São Tomé and Príncipe	64,149	64,060	62,000	63,000
Macau	169,299	280,356	...	268,300
Timor	517,079	550,694	...	571,700

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, Ultramar, 1967.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL<sup>e/</sup>

#### (a) Central Government

18. The fundamental constitutional provisions relating to all the overseas Territories are the same and are set out in the Constitution of Portugal f/ and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963 (Law 2119, 24 June). According to these

e/ Although a large part of this information has appeared in various previous documents, dating back to 1961, the present section presents an up-dated summary description of the political status of the Territories, with particular reference to the extent to which the inhabitants of the Territories participate in local government and administration and in the direction of national policy.

f/ Portugal, Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, SNI.

instruments, which establish the structure of the Portuguese State, each Territory is an overseas province of Portugal. In article 135 of the Constitution, the "Overseas Provinces" are described as "an integral part of the Portuguese State... united as between themselves and with metropolitan Portugal".

19. Sovereignty in the Portuguese State, according to article 71 of the Constitution, "is vested in the nation" as represented by "the Head of State, the National Assembly, the Government and the Courts of Justice".

20. The Government consists of the President of the Council of Ministers and the Ministers. The President of the Council is appointed and dismissed by the President of the Republic and is responsible to the President of the Republic for the general policy of the Government. The Ministers and Under-Secretaries of State are appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the President of the Council and, under the Constitution, the Government is dependent solely on the confidence of the President of the Republic; its continuance in office does not depend upon the vote of the National Assembly.

21. The jurisdiction of the National Assembly in the overseas Territories includes the approval of general principles relating to defence, currency, weights and measures, the creation of banks and the judicial system (article 93). The Assembly also legislates on the general system of government of the overseas Territories. In addition to these general functions, the National Assembly is concerned with the year-by-year consideration of the accounts of the overseas Territories.

22. According to article 150 of the Constitution, the Government may legislate for the Portuguese overseas Territories when, "under the terms of the Constitution, it has by decree-law to take action affecting the whole national territory, or when an executive measure provides for questions of common concern both to Metropolitan Portugal and one or more of the Overseas Provinces". In accordance with the Constitution (article 153) and the Organic Law, the Government supervises and controls the administration of the overseas Territories as a whole. In particular, the President of the Council of Ministers is responsible to the President of the Republic for the general policy of government in overseas Territories and presents to the National Assembly the proposals of the Minister for Overseas Portugal. The Council of Ministers appoints and dismisses governors-general of the two larger Territories and governors of the other Territories.

23. The Minister for Overseas Portugal is vested with authority which covers "all matters involving the higher or general interests of national policy in the Overseas Provinces or which are common to more than one Overseas Province" (article 150). Some of the matters on which he may legislate, after consultation in most cases with the Overseas Council, include the political and administrative statutes of the overseas Territories, their financial administration, and the establishment and general functioning of corporative, moral, cultural and economic bodies in such Territories. All enactments to be enforced in the overseas Territories are required to contain an instruction from the Minister for Overseas Portugal to the effect that they must be published in the official bulletin of the Territory or Territories concerned. Finally, he may totally or partially annul legislative measures of the Governments of overseas Territories when he considers them to be either illegal or detrimental to the national interest. His administrative functions include the appointment and dismissal of officials in the overseas services, concessions of public land and important public works, the

authorization of town planning or development schemes involving extraordinary expenditures, and the supervision and control of enterprises of public interest.

24. The two most important consultative bodies affecting the overseas Territories are the Corporative Chamber and the Overseas Council. The Corporative Chamber is a general advisory body composed of over 200 representatives of "local autonomous bodies and social interests". It serves as an upper house and it must be consulted by the Government on proposals, draft bills and treaties that are to be submitted to the National Assembly. The Government is at liberty to consult the Corporative Chamber on legislation when it affects the overseas Territories.

25. The Overseas Council is the highest permanent consultative organ for the Overseas Ministry on policy and administration of the overseas Territories. The Overseas Minister must consult the Council on certain matters, including changes in the political and administrative statutes of the Territories. It is also the Constitutional Tribunal, the Supreme Administrative Tribunal and the Tribunal on Conflicts of Jurisdiction and Competence of the overseas Territories. g/ Originally established in 1954, its composition was amended in 1963 to provide for representation of the overseas Territories. Its composition regulations were again revised in 1969 (Decree-Laws 49,146 and 49,147 of 25 July). The Council now comprises a President and thirty-nine regular members, some of whom are proposed and appointed by the Overseas Minister and nineteen members elected by the Legislative Councils of the overseas Territories.

(b) Territorial government and administration

26. The Constitution provides that the "Overseas Provinces" shall, as a rule, be governed by special legislation passed by the legislative bodies of "Metropolitan Portugal", or, according to the circumstances in each province, by the provincial legislative bodies, within the legislative limits established by law (article 149).

27. The legislative functions of the Governments of the overseas Territories are limited and are always exercised "under the supervision of those bodies in which sovereignty resides" (article 152). The jurisdiction of the provincial legislative bodies is defined in article 151 of the Constitution as extending to "all matters of exclusive concern to an Overseas Province and outside the scope" of the National Assembly, the Government or the Minister for Overseas Portugal. However, the enactments of the overseas Governments cannot "revoke, suspend or run contrary to the provisions of the Constitution or of any other enactments passed by the legislative bodies of Metropolitan Portugal" (article 151).

28. According to article 148 of the Constitution, "the Overseas Provinces shall be guaranteed the right of administrative decentralization and financial autonomy in conformity with the Constitution and with their state of development and resources". Each overseas Territory has its own separate budget, drawn up in accordance with a uniform plan, and approved "in the appropriate provincial bodies". Nevertheless, as article 175 provides "the financial autonomy of the

---

g/ In July 1969 (Decree 49,145, 25 July) matters pertaining to labour disputes in Angola and Mozambique which had previously been dealt with by the relevant section of the Council passed to the jurisdiction of the territorial administrative tribunals.

Overseas Provinces shall be subject to such temporary restrictions as may be inevitable should a serious situation arise in connexion with their finances or should there be danger of their affecting the finances of Metropolitan Portugal". In fact, however, this "financial autonomy" is limited since the Territories do not have full control over their financial or natural resources. Some of the major limitations on their financial autonomy are: (a) the Overseas Minister is responsible for regulating the general financial administration of the Territories; (b) the National Assembly must examine and approve their annual accounts; (c) the Territories do not have control over their foreign exchange earnings; (d) they may not contract foreign loans; and (e) the Overseas Minister may grant large land concessions and mineral rights to foreign interests. As a result, what is called "financial autonomy" mainly implies that the Territories have their own budgets and must find their own revenue. There is no general system of financial grants from Portugal to the overseas Territories, and even for the various development plans, assistance provided by Portugal usually consists of interest-bearing loans.

(i) The Governor-General

29. In Angola and Mozambique the organs of government are the Governor-General, the Legislative Council and the Economic and Social Council. In the remaining five Territories these are the Governor, the Legislative Council and the Government Council. The Governor (or Governor-General) h/ is the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory, ranking above all others serving there, both civil and military personnel, and directly responsible to the Overseas Minister in Lisbon. He is appointed to a four-year term by the Council of Ministers upon the proposal of the Overseas Minister. His powers are both legislative and executive. His legislative capacity is exercised in consultation with the appropriate advisory council (namely the Economic and Social Council in Angola and Mozambique, and the Government Council in the smaller Territories) and under the control of "organs of sovereignty". He is precluded from legislating on matters specially reserved to the Legislative Council's competence when it is in session.

30. The Governor-General, who presides over the Legislative Council, has the right to veto its decisions. On legislation initiated by the Governor-General himself, his veto is final; on legislation initiated by the Council members, he may submit the question to the Overseas Minister for his decision or return the bill to the Council for reconsideration and the Council may then approve it by a two-thirds majority.

31. In the exercise of his executive powers, the Governor-General is responsible for the implementation of all laws and orders in force as well as the instructions of the Minister for Overseas Portugal whom he keeps informed of all matters dealing with the administration of the Territory. He is also in charge of, and responsible for, the operation of public services.

---

h/ Except where otherwise stated, the powers of the Governor and the Governor-General are the same.

(ii) Provincial secretariats

32. The 1963 Political and Administrative Statutes for Angola and Mozambique created six provincial secretariats in each Territory as a first step in what is called "administrative decentralization". Each secretariat is in charge of a provincial secretary appointed by the Overseas Minister after consultation with the Governor-General. Each provincial secretary has responsibility under the delegated authority of the Governor-General for a group of services. In practice, however, most of the powers delegated to the provincial secretaries so far have been of an administrative nature, including limited authority to approve departmental expenditures previously authorized in the budget.

33. Since becoming Prime Minister, Dr. Marcello Caetano has increased the number of provincial secretariats from six to nine in both Angola and Mozambique. These changes have been publicized in the Press as further measures in "administrative decentralization". In effect, however, there has been no significant decentralization of authority from Lisbon to the Territories, as the powers of the Governors-General of the two Territories remain the same. At the territorial level the system of Provincial Secretariats enable the Governor-General to delegate some of his responsibilities.

34. In April 1969, when the Overseas Minister announced the creation of the Provincial Secretariat of Planning, Economic Integration, Treasury and Accounts in Angola and Mozambique, he stated that the decision showed the importance the Government (in Lisbon) attached to questions of economic and social planning in the Territories.

35. As a further step in administrative decentralization, the Provincial Secretariat for Health, Labour and Social Security and that for Public Works and Communications have each been divided into two secretariats, making a total of nine secretariats in each Territory. As some articles have recognized, these decentralization measures represent an effort to spread administrative responsibility and to increase the degree of specialization in technical areas. As such, they are more in the nature of streamlining and modernizing the administrative structure of the territorial Governments than of giving the Territories greater control over their own affairs.

36. It is clear, however, from the demands of the representatives of the economic associations in Angola that the economic interests in the Territory are no longer satisfied with these limited measures of administrative autonomy (see section on Angola, annex I.B below).

(iii) Legislative Council

37. As reported previously (A/5800/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 31-40), the Overseas Organic Law of 1963 expanded the elected membership of the Legislative Council in Angola and in Mozambique and established similar councils in the five smaller Territories where none had existed. In each Territory the Legislative Council is composed of a number of members elected for a four-year term and by the Attorney-General and the Treasurer, ex officio. The presidency, the number of members and the system of election vary from Territory to Territory "so as to guarantee an adequate representation of the registered electorate, local authorities and social interests in their fundamental manifestations".

38. The legislative councils have only residual legislative powers, as limited by the legislative capacity assigned to the National Assembly, the Government and the Overseas Minister (see paras. 21-23 above). Specifically, the legislative councils may not initiate any legislation involving an increase in expenditure or a decrease in revenue of the Territory as previously authorized. When the Overseas Organic Law was being revised, it had first been proposed that the territorial legislative councils should have full legislative powers (a plenitude de poder legislativo). The text of the 1963 Overseas Organic Law as finally approved did not include such a provision, but instead reserved to the legislative councils when in session the right: (a) to approve the budget of the Territory; (b) to authorize the contracting of certain loans from other than foreign sources; (c) to evaluate the annual report of the Technical Commission on Planning and Economic Integration; and (d) to elect the territorial representatives to the Overseas Council. The Legislative Council, however, meets only for two ordinary sessions of thirty days' duration each year. These sessions may be extended by the Governor but the total duration of the two sessions may not exceed three months. The Council may also meet in extraordinary session as convened by the Governor to discuss specific matters.

39. The composition of the legislative councils in the different Territories is discussed below (see paragraphs 70-75 below).

#### (iv) Advisory councils

40. In each Territory there is also an advisory council which is presided over by the Governor (or Governor-General) and which he must consult in the exercise of his legislative functions. In Angola and Mozambique there is an Economic and Social Council and in the smaller Territories a Government Council. Both councils are composed of a partly elected and partly nominated membership to give representation to the important interest groups. These councils are responsible for electing the territorial representatives to the Corporative Chamber and for approving the development plans for their respective Territories within the general framework established by the Portuguese Government.

#### (v) Local administration

41. Portuguese policy aims at creating in the overseas Territories the same type of local administration as in Portugal where the family is an important political unit in accordance with the principles of the Corporative State. In the Portuguese system, groups of families form a freguesia (parish), and groups of parishes form a concelho (municipality). i/ Both the freguesia and the concelho

---

i/ According to article 12 of the Constitution, "The State shall ensure the constitution and protection of the family as the source and preservation and development of the races, as the first basis of education, discipline and social harmony, and as the foundation of all political and administrative order through family grouping and representation in parish and in town councils."

constitute "autarquias locais" which are collective entities in public law. j/ It is important, however, to note that the family referred to is the family recognized under Portuguese civil law. Since African marriages according to customary law are not recognized under Portuguese civil law, the Portuguese prototype of local administration cannot be applied to the mainly African areas.

42. In recognition of this fact, the 1963 Overseas Organic Law provides that the administrative division of each of the Territories "shall accompany its economic and social progress" (article 45). Therefore, in the overseas Territories, in regions where the economic and social development deemed necessary has not been reached, concelhos may be replaced by administrative units known as circunscrições. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, in both concelhos and circunscrições, where it is not possible to create parishes, the basic unit is the regedoria organized in accordance with regional custom (uso regional) and grouped into administrative posts under a chefe de posto. Since the administrative division of an area depends on its economic and social progress, there have been a number of such changes in recent years in nearly all the Territories, and more especially in Angola and Mozambique as seen in the relevant sections below.

43. In Portugal both the concelho and the freguesia have elected administrative bodies which constitute local authorities. In the overseas Territories, a modified system of elected administrative bodies has been created (Decree 43,730, 12 June 1961). In concelhos where there are more than 500 registered voters, there is a câmara municipal (municipal council) whose president is appointed by the Governor of the Territory, and who is generally the administrator of the concelho. The câmara, which has responsibility for matters of community interest, especially water and electricity supplies, sanitation, and certain types of public works, is considered a full-fledged local authority. In concelhos and circunscrições where there are more than 300 voters, there is an elected comissão municipal (municipal commission) which may be considered as a less developed form of the câmara municipal. The administrator is always the president, the membership is smaller, its functions are more limited.

44. Where freguesias are established, there are parish boards elected by registered voters instead of the heads of family as in Portugal. In the administrative posts, where there are more than twenty registered voters, there are elected local boards, comparable to the parish boards. In freguesias where it is not possible to create a parish board, if there are more than twenty registered voters, a local board may be established instead. The parish board is the full-fledged local authority. Both the composition and the functions of these local bodies are expected gradually to become more similar to those of their prototypes in Portugal.

---

j/ In the Portuguese concept the autarquia local is an autonomous unit governing certain matters of local interest. For a discussion of the concept of the autarquia local see Marcello Caetano, Manual de Direito Administrativo, 8th Edition, vol. I, pp. 104-136, Lisbon, 1968.

45. In the predominantly African areas, there is a chief (regedor) for each regedoria, and a headman for each grupo de povoações (group of hamlets) or povoação (hamlet). The chiefs are invested by the district governor after consulting the members in accordance with customary usage. The headmen are invested by the administrator of the post. To assist him, each regedor may establish an advisory council of good men respected in the community. According to the law on the organization of regedorias (Decree 45, 295, 6 September 1941), where "agglomerations of population" come into existence which do not constitute regedorias or parishes, regedores may be appointed with police and administrative functions.

46. As will be seen below, since the private law status of the members living in a regedoria may change by a simple act of opting for Portuguese civil law, the regedoria as an administrative unit is not immutable and presumably is intended to disappear in time.

(c) Participation of the Territories in "the direction of national policy"

47. Article 5 of the Constitution provides that "the Portuguese State is a unitary corporative republic founded upon the equality of all its citizens in the eyes of the law, upon the free access for all classes to the benefits of civilization, and upon the participation of all the constituent forces of the nation in its administrative life in the making of laws".

48. As a Corporative State, the family, the corporative organizations and the autarquias locais have a special role as political units. The families, through the head, have the right to elect the local bodies known as parish boards. These boards elect the municipal or town councils (câmaras municipais) which in turn elect the district boards. The autarquias locais are represented in the Corporative Chamber.

49. It will be recalled that following the Angola uprising in 1961, the Native Statute was repealed and new legislation was introduced (see A/AC.10/L.9 and Add.1). Then in 1965, the Overseas Organic Law was revised to provide "greater representation in the local organs; more powers for these organs in the sphere of local administration; greater intervention of the Provinces in the direction of national policy". These changes, Dr. Oliveira Salazar explained, had been made in accordance with the tendencies or aspirations revealed by the provinces and with what seemed to be required at that time. Among other changes, for the first time the Overseas Territories were given representation in the Corporative Chamber and the Overseas Council, the legislative councils of the Territories were made more representative and given certain areas of exclusive legislative authority, an Economic and Social Council was established in the two larger Territories to assist the Governor-General in his legislative functions and provincial secretariats were created to assist the Governor-General in the exercise of his executive functions.

50. Currently, the Territories may be said to "participate in the direction of national policy" through: (a) the election of the Head of State; (b) representation in the National Assembly; (c) representation in the Corporative Chamber, and (d) representation in the Overseas Council.

(i) Elections of the Head of State

52. The Head of State is elected for a seven-year period. Prior to 1961, the Head of State had been elected by direct vote under the same law governing the elections to the National Assembly. The Constitution was amended that year to provide for the indirect election of the Head of State by an electoral college (Decree 45,946, 21 March 1961).

53. As originally laid down, the electoral college comprises: (a) the members of the National Assembly; (b) the active members of the Corporative Chamber; (c) representatives of the municipal councils (câmaras municipais) of each district and of each "overseas province" not divided into districts; (d) representatives of the legislative councils and government councils of the Territories. k/ For each district or "overseas province" the number of municipal representatives is to equal half the number of municipal councils. The overseas Territories were to have 20 representatives elected by their respective legislative councils, as follows: Angola, 24; Mozambique, 24; Goa and dependencies, 10; Cape Verde, 4; Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, 2; São Tomé and Príncipe, 2; Macau, 2; Timor, 2.

54. At the last elections of the Head of State, which were held in 1965, the electoral college comprised 316 members. These were the 130 deputies to the National Assembly, 205 members of the Corporative Chamber, 211 representatives of the municipal councils in Portugal and in the overseas Territories and the representatives of the legislative councils of the overseas Territories.

55. The seven overseas Territories were represented by a total of 135 members in the electoral college as follows: 20 deputies to the National Assembly (see below), 2 representatives in the Corporative Chamber, 46 members representing the municipal councils and 60 members from the territorial legislative councils. The total membership of each of the Territories in the electoral college was: Angola and Mozambique, 51 each, Cape Verde, 3, and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Timor and Macau 5 each.

(ii) Representation in the National Assembly

56. The National Assembly comprises 130 deputies elected for a four-year term. For the purpose of elections, Portugal and the adjacent islands are divided into twenty-two electoral districts returning a total of 107 deputies to the National Assembly. The overseas Territories are each considered to be a single electoral district, with Angola and Mozambique each returning seven deputies, Cape Verde two, and the other Territories (Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Macau and Timor) each, one. Three seats are reserved for Portuguese citizens who have left Goa.

57. As reported below (see paragraph 93) in a petition addressed to the Prime Minister in October 1969, the economic associations of Angola have asked for an urgent revision of the apportionment of electoral districts and has suggested

---

k/ When this law was enacted in 1959, the smaller Territories did not have legislative councils. Since the 1963 Overseas Organic Law was introduced, this group comprises representatives of legislative councils only.

that the Territories should be divided into electoral districts along the same lines as Portugal.

57. At the 1969 elections to the National Assembly (see below), there were some 1.8 million registered voters in Portugal and the adjacent islands, which together returned 107 deputies. Representation in what is generally called "Metropolitan Portugal" was at a ratio of one deputy per 16,800 registered voters. If the same ratio were used to reapportion the electoral districts in the Overseas Territories, Angola, which probably had about 200,000 registered voters at the last elections, would be entitled to twelve representatives in the National Assembly instead of seven. On the other hand, Mozambique, with less than 80,000 registered voters, would be entitled to fewer than the seven representatives it now has. Therefore, even assuming representation of the smaller Territories remained unchanged, the representation of overseas Territories as a whole probably would not significantly exceed the present total of twenty seats.

58. Until the last elections to the National Assembly, which were held in October 1969, electoral rights were governed by the electoral law of 1948 (Law 2015, 28 May). 1/ Persons entitled to vote were:

(a) Male Portuguese citizens who had attained their majority, or had been emancipated and could read and write Portuguese.

(b) Male Portuguese citizens who had attained their majority and had legal capacity, and who, although they could not read or write, had contributed to the State and administrative bodies a sum of not less than 100 escudos m/ in payment of any of the following taxes: property tax, industrial tax, professional tax or tax on the use of capital,

(c) Female Portuguese citizens who had attained their majority or had been emancipated, provided that, as minimum qualifications, they had attended the following courses: general secondary; elementary teaching; art; music at the National Conservatory or Oporto Conservatory of Music; and industrial or commercial courses;

(d) Female Portuguese citizens who had attained their majority or had been emancipated and who, being heads of families, were covered by the general provisions of the electoral laws.

Along those not entitled to vote were "persons who profess opinions which are contrary to social discipline and the existence of Portugal as an independent State".

59. As reported previously (A/7023/Add.3, and Corr.1, chapter VIII, annex I, paras. 29-31) in December 1969 the electoral law was amended to extend the right to vote to women on the same basis as men. This amendment is discussed in paragraph 106 below.

---

1/ Extracts from this law appear in the United Nations Yearbook on Human Rights for 1948 (Sales No.: 50.XIV.4), pp. 379-380.

m/ One escudo equals \$US.035.

(iii) Corporative Chamber

60. The Corporative Chamber is composed of representatives of autarquias locais and administrative, moral, cultural and economic organizations. The balance of different interest groups is in keeping with the theory of the Corporative State. Decree-Law 43,173 of 23 September 1960 sets out the composition of the Corporative Chamber into sections and subsections. The twelve main sections are as follows: (a) religious and moral interests; (b) cultural interests; (c) agriculture; (d) commerce; (e) industry; (f) fishing industry; (g) transport and tourism; (h) press and graphic arts; (i) espectáculos (entertainment); (j) credit and insurance; (k) autarquias locais; and (l) administration.

61. The Overseas Organic Law of 1963 provides that the overseas Territories shall be adequately represented in the Corporative Chamber through the autarquias locais and social interests. Under Decree-Law 45,830 of 25 July 1964, Angola and Mozambique had two representatives and the remaining Territories one each. In Angola and Mozambique, half of the representatives are chosen from the members of the Economic and Social Council, in order to ensure representation of the cultural, social and economic interests of the Territory and the other half are chosen from members of administrative bodies and legally recognized public bodies performing administrative functions. In the smaller Territories the representative is chosen by the Government Council from among its own members.

62. Since November 1969 (Decree-Law 49,384, 18 November) Angola and Mozambique have each had four representatives in the Corporative Chamber.

63. Currently one of Angola's representatives in the Corporative Chamber is Mr. Aguiñaldo Veiga who is at the same time one of the Territory's representatives in the Overseas Council (see para. 65 below). Elections have not yet been held for the two additional representatives in the Corporative Chamber.

(iv) Overseas Council

64. Following the revision of the Overseas Organic Act of 1963, the seven overseas Territories were granted representation in the Overseas Council for the first time. Angola and Mozambique each had two representatives and the other five Territories, one each. Each Territory also elected an alternate representative resident in Lisbon. Since 1969 the overseas Territories have been represented by nineteen members in the Overseas Council as follows: Angola and Mozambique, three each, the remaining Territories, two each. n/ One of the representatives of each Territory must be resident in Lisbon.

65. In 1969 Angola was represented in the Overseas Council by Mr. Neto de Miranda and Mr. Aguiñaldo Veiga as permanent members, and Mr. José Luis Abecassis as alternate. As reported below, Mr. Neto de Miranda was recently re-elected a deputy of Angola to the National Assembly. Mr. Aguiñaldo Veiga is a lawyer of African descent who has on two occasions been a member of the Portuguese delegation

---

n/ The former Territory of Goa has three seats.

to the United Nations General Assembly. Mr. Abecassis was formerly a provincial secretary in Angola. Previously, General Deslandes, a former Governor-General of Angola had been one of the Territory's representatives in the Overseas Council. Mozambique was represented in the Overseas Council by Messrs. Gonçalo Mesquitela and Gomes Rascão, as permanent members. Mr. Mesquitela was one of Mozambique's deputies to the National Assembly until the 1969 elections. He was also President of the Mozambique Commission of the National Union until March 1969.

(d) Participation in the territorial Government

(i) African participation

66. It will be recalled that under the Native Statute, Africans with the status of indigenas were not granted political rights in respect of non-indigenous institutions. Following the uprising in Angola, the Native Statute was repealed in September 1961 as a result of which Africans automatically became Portuguese citizens with equal rights before the law (see also paragraph 47 above).

67. Since the repeal of the Native Statute, African customary law has been recognized as giving a special status in private law, from which certain rights flow (Decree 43,897, 6 September 1961) (see A/AC.108/L.5 and Add.1). Among other things, this includes the right to marriage in accordance with customary law and communal use of land. o/ Property rights (both movable and immovable) are, however, always **regulated** by Portuguese civil law and Portuguese criminal law applies to all persons equally.

68. Discussing the situation arising from the repeal of the Native Statute, Mr. Adriano Moreira, then Minister for Overseas Territories, said in 1961:

"... there is no connexion whatever between status in private law and political status. The former may differ, in keeping with the centuries-old tradition of our policy, as is the case with the private-law systems of many of the European peoples themselves; the political status, on the other hand, recognizes no differences between Portuguese. Going even further, it becomes possible for all Portuguese freely and irrevocably to choose written private law, thus upholding once again the principle of free choice. In keeping with the rule that power must always be exercised by those who are most fit to do so, the law will define, for all, the conditions in which they may intervene actively in political life."

69. In practice, the rights and obligations flowing from personal status under customary law are in no way comparable to those flowing from personal status under Portuguese civil law. Only those who qualify to vote under Portuguese civil law can participate fully in the political and administrative life of the Territory. As a result, as will be seen in the following sections, the majority of the African inhabitants living in regedorias have only a token participation in the various organs.

(ii) Legislative Council

70. As reported above (see paras. 37-39 above), the composition of the Legislative Council varies from Territory to Territory, to guarantee an adequate representation of: "(a) the registered electorate; (b) the local authorities; and (c) social interests in their fundamental manifestations." Table 1 shows the composition of the Legislative Council in the various Territories.

---

o/ For a summary of the legislation regulating land concessions and use in the overseas Territories, see A/6000/Rev.1, chapter V, annex II, paras. 1-18.

Table 1

## COMPOSITION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

(As established under the Political and Administrative Statutes of 1963)

	<u>Angola</u>	<u>Mozam- bique</u>	<u>Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea</u>	<u>Cape Verde</u>	<u>São Tomé and Príncipe</u>	<u>Macau</u>	<u>Timor</u>
<u>Total number of members</u>	36	29	14	21	13	12	14
<u>Ex officio</u> <sup>a/</sup> . . . . .	2	2	3	3	3	3	3
Nominated . . . . .	-	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>b/</sup>	-
Members elected (total)	34	27	11	18	10	8	11
By direct vote . . .	15	9	3	6	3	3	3
By "organic" vote . .	19	18	8	12	7	5	8
(a) Taxpayers paying a certain tax . .	3 <sup>c/</sup>	3 <sup>c/</sup>	2 <sup>d/</sup>	2 <sup>d/</sup>	2 <sup>d/</sup>	1 <sup>e/</sup>	1 <sup>d/</sup>
(b) Economic interests	3	3	-	-	-	1	-
Private enterprise	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Employers' associations . .	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
(c) Workers' interests	3	3	-	2	1	-	-
(d) Cultural and religious groups	3 <sup>f/</sup>	3 <sup>f/</sup>	1	2	1	g/	1
(e) Indigenous authorities <sup>h/</sup> . .	3	3	3	-	-	-	3
(f) Administrative bodies <sup>i/</sup> . . . . .	3	3	2	2	2	3 <sup>g/</sup>	-
Public service .	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Other recognized bodies <sup>j/</sup> . . . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

a/ In Angola and Mozambique these are the Attorney-General and the Treasurer; in all other Territories, the Secretary-General is the third member.

b/ Nominated to represent the Chinese community.

c/ Paying a minimum tax of 15,000 escudos.

d/ Paying a minimum tax of 1,000 escudos.

e/ Paying a minimum tax of 2,000 escudos.

f/ One of whom must be a Catholic missionary.

g/ There are three members elected to represent administrative bodies and cultural and religious groups.

h/ Known as regedores.

i/ These include district boards, municipal councils and parish boards.

j/ Pessoas colectivas de utilidade pública administrativa. These include private welfare or educational organizations.

71. The electoral law of 6 December 1963 (Decree 45,408) governs the election of members to the legislative and advisory councils. The most important provisions are the conditions governing the right to vote in direct elections. The following persons are entitled to vote in such elections:

"(1) Male Portuguese citizens of age (over 21) or emancipados who can read and write Portuguese;

"(2) Female Portuguese citizens of age or emancipadas, who have completed the first cycle of secondary school or equivalent ability;

"(3) Male and female Portuguese citizens of age, or emancipados who, though unable to read and write, are heads of families;

"(4) 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."

72. For the purpose of this law a "head of family" is specially defined as follows: p/

"1. Any Portuguese citizen with a legitimately (legitimamente) constituted family living with him under his authority and sharing his board, who pays taxes amounting to at least the minimum set by the provincial Governments;

"2. Any Portuguese woman, whether widowed, divorced, legally separated or a spinster, of age, or emancipada, who, being a person of good character, is entirely self-supporting and has ascendant or dependants to maintain and pays property taxes amounting to at least the minimum set by the provincial Governments;

"3. Any Portuguese citizen of age, or emancipado, who owns and occupies a house and pays property taxes amounting to at least the minimum set by the provincial Governments."

73. It may be noted that here again, the reference to a "legitimately constituted family" seems to imply a marriage recognized by Portuguese civil law so that it would automatically exclude all Africans married according to customary law.

74. The right to vote in indirect elections as one of the interest groups is subject to territorial regulations. As a general rule, the Government publishes a list of those who qualify for the "organic" or functional vote and persons or organizations may request to be registered within a specified period. The groups are then convened to vote for their representatives. (See section on Angola, annex I.B below, for a table showing the special interest groups registered to vote in the elections to the Legislative Council.) The three regedores, on the other hand, are elected by an electoral college comprising regedores from each district.

p/ This definition differs from that in the Civil Code. See A/5800/Rev.1, chapter V, para. 59.

75. Candidates for the Legislative Council must: (a) be a Portuguese citizen by birth (cidadão português originário; c/ (b) have attained majority; (c) be able to read and write Portuguese; (d) have resided in the Territory for over three years; and (e) not be in active service as a civil servant or employed in the local administration.

(iii) Advisory councils

76. In Angola and Mozambique the composition of the Economic and Social Council also reflects the importance given to group interests. In both Territories, the Council comprises eight elected members (with eight alternates), four members nominated by the Governor-General and the following ex officio members: (a) the highest ranking officer of the three armed forces; (b) the Rector of the Estudos Gerais Universitários; r/ and (c) the directors of the departments of political and civil administration, education and economy. Of the eight elected members, two are to be elected by the administrative bodies from among their members; two

---

c/ According to Portuguese law, cidadão português originário means "Portuguese by birth". See Oliveira Lirio, Legislação Eleitoral, Coimbra, 1965, page 5. Under the Portuguese Nationality Law (Law 2093, 29 July 1959):

"1. The following shall be of Portuguese nationality by birth in Portuguese territory:

"(a) Children born of a Portuguese father;

"(b) Children born of a Portuguese mother, if the father is stateless, of unknown nationality or unknown;

"(c) Children born of parents who are stateless, of unknown nationality or unknown;

"(d) Children born of an alien father, unless the father was in Portuguese territory in the service of the State of which he is a national;

"(e) Children born of an alien mother, if the father is stateless, of unknown nationality or unknown, unless the mother was in Portuguese territory in the service of the State of which she is a national.

"2. New-born children abandoned in Portuguese territory shall be presumed, in the absence of proof to the contrary, to have been born in Portugal.

"Children born of a Portuguese father or mother who was in a foreign territory in the service of the Portuguese State shall also be of Portuguese nationality, although born in foreign territory.

"For the purposes of the provisions of sections I and II, persons who are outside their own territory on an official mission for the State of which they are nationals shall be considered to be in the service of that State."

There is no information as to whether Africans born before the repeal of the Native Statute are now considered to be Portuguese citizens by birth.

r/ The Estudos Gerais Universitários were upgraded to university status in 1968.

by organizations representing cultural and religious interests, one of whom must be a Catholic missionary; two by representatives of bodies representing economic associations or interests; and two by organizations representing workers. The four nominated members are to be chosen from among persons especially experienced in administrative, economic, social or cultural matters and may be officials of senior rank.

77. In the five smaller Territories, the Government Council comprises: the Secretary General, the highest ranking officer of the armed forces, the representative of the Attorney-General in the Territory and the Treasurer of the finance services. In addition, it includes three members elected by the Legislative Council from among its own members. The Economic and Social Council and the Government Council are responsible for electing from among their own members the Territory's representatives to the Corporative Chamber.

(iv) Local administration

78. As indicated above, the system of local administrative bodies in the Overseas Territories is based on the pattern in Portugal with variations according to local circumstances. Participation in parish boards and municipal councils is based on the right to vote under the conditions set out in the electoral law.

79. The district board comprises the district governor as president, representatives of the Attorney-General and of the civil administrative services and the treasury, and six members, elected as follows: three by the municipal councils in the district; two by the economic and professional interests together with the corporative bodies; and one by moral and cultural organizations. There is also a representative of the regedores but there is no indication as to how he is selected.

80. The municipal councils are composed of a president who is generally the administrator of the concelho and four elected members, two by direct suffrage and two by public or private economic, religious or professional groups, or, in the absence of such groups, by individual taxpayers of Portuguese nationality paying 1,000 escudos or more per annum in direct taxes. The municipal councils of Luanda and Lourenço Marques have a special status. As reported previously, (A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex I, paras. 38-39), these councils now comprise ten members elected as follows: two by direct suffrage, two by the local parish boards and two each by employers' associations, labour organizations and religious and cultural groups. These councils have an elected president.

81. Parish boards which in Portugal are elected by heads of family are elected by direct vote in the Territories.

82. There is no representation of African interests as such either at the parish level or at the municipal council level.

(e) General policy statements

83. It will be recalled that when Dr. Caetano succeeded Dr. Salazar as Prime Minister in September 1968, he declared there would be "constancy to the major outlines of Portuguese policy" though "the constitutional norms of the State will not prevent the Government, whenever timely, from carrying out the necessary

desist from their armed struggle and to co operate in the mechanics of a peaceful transfer of power from Portugal to the peoples of the African territories.

"The fact that many Portuguese citizens have immigrated to these African countries does not affect this issue. Future immigration policy will be a matter for the independent Governments when these are established. In the meantime, we would urge the liberation movements to reiterate their statements that all those Portuguese people who have made their homes in Mozambique, Angola or Portuguese Guinea, and who are willing to give their future loyalty to those States, will be accepted as citizens. And an independent Mozambique, Angola or Portuguese Guinea may choose to be as friendly with Portugal as Brazil is. That would be the free choice of a free people."

93. At a news conference held in June, Mr. Franco Nogueira, the Portuguese Foreign Minister at the time, said that Portugal shared and applied the principle announced in the Manifesto that all men should be considered equal irrespective of race or religion. He noted that the Manifesto recognized that Portuguese policy in Africa was free from racism, but charged Portugal with an "inhuman commitment" in Africa. He questioned whether this meant that it was inhuman to consider all the African territories and metropolitan Portugal as part of one nation, and added that, "Since the Manifesto does not refer to any differences in the political status of any of the territories, does not accuse us of racialism, does not attribute to us any ideas about political or legal superiority of one territory over another, it seems to me the accusation is unfounded."

94. After his return from Africa, Dr. Caetano told the nation in a radio and television speech in June 1969 that public demonstrations in the overseas Territories had been an eloquent expression of the desire of the peoples of the Territories to remain Portuguese and not to be abandoned defenceless against those who disturbed the peace. He also said:

"It is curious to note that there is only subversion in our Territories near frontiers with countries which supply and tolerate the terrorists. If these countries were to cease supporting our enemies... subversion would cease. We are therefore forced to maintain a military policing to protect property and lives. The economic and social evolution of the Provinces, the progress of the peoples, the amplification of their autonomy have to be secured, but in an atmosphere of security, which only our troops can guarantee."

95. He made it clear that even if Portugal were to "abandon" the overseas Territories it would not facilitate the situation on the home front, and, moreover, the hundreds of thousands of refugees from the Territories would create enormous problems for Portugal. In the same speech, commenting on the question of self-determination, Dr. Caetano said:

"Each year the Committee of Twenty-Four of the United Nations approves resolutions on the self-determination of the Portuguese Territories, and it is going to vote still another one this year. In these resolutions, always inspired by a lamentable partisan attitude, incompatible with the objectivity which should govern international relations, Portugal is urged to withdraw immediately from its overseas provinces all its military and other forces (even the police forces), to grant an unconditional political amnesty, so as to permit the establishment and free activity of the men of

the various so called "liberation" movements and then to transfer power to institutions freely elected representative of the local population.

"One is given the impression that after the withdrawal of our forces it would be the freely elected indigenous population which would ensure peace instead of the terrorist movements.

"I ask whether any conscientious and responsible head of the Portuguese Government could agree to such demand."

96. In January 1970 the Sixth Summit Conference of the East and Central African States which met in Khartoum from 26 January gave priority to the consideration of the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa and the challenge levelled to Africa and to the international community by the South African and Portuguese Governments through their rejection of the Manifesto. After its consideration, the Conference decided "to intensify by all adequate means the national liberation struggle in Africa by making available all necessary facilities to the liberation movements as would enable them to carry out the struggle". In taking this decision, the Conference recalled the provision in the Manifesto which had stipulated that in case the peaceful approach to decolonization problems were rejected there would be no alternative but to increase assistance granted to the liberation movements. (S/9695)

97. During the thirty-day campaigning period before the elections to the National Assembly, for the first time discussion was permitted in Portugal on its overseas policy (see also paragraphs 105-142 below). In fact, the Prime Minister himself made it one of the principal issues in the elections. In his radio and television speech to the nation in September 1969, he asked for a vote of confidence on the Government's policy. He said that although he knew the people supported him, he wanted them to express their views "democratically" in the elections, so that public opinion both in Portugal and abroad would know, first, whether the Portuguese people wished to abandon the overseas Territories or supported the Government's policy of "progressive development and increasing autonomy" of the overseas Territories, and, second, whether the people preferred a climate of public order and social peace, in which the reforms necessary for social change and the well-being of the Portuguese people could be brought about, or preferred revolutionary turbulence from which only violence, despotism, confusion and finally misery and hunger could be expected.

98. Early in October, in an open letter to the Prime Minister, Dr. José Magalhães Godinho of the co-ordinating commission of one of the opposition parties, the Comissão Eleitoral de Unidade Democrática (CEUD) questioned how Dr. Caetano could believe that the mass demonstrations had any meaning since everyone knew that they were not spontaneous. Charging that the country had been kept in the dark about the overseas Territories which had been a forbidden topic for so long, Dr. Godinho asked for a free debate on the question so that all aspects could be analysed within the context of the principle of self-determination, which had nothing to do with abandoning the Territories, since the results of such an act could lead to integration, or the creation of a common community or a confederation. Even if the choice were independence, it would not result in abandonment. The CEUD also took issue with Dr. Caetano's formulation of the problem. According to the CEUD, the solution to the overseas problem could not be presented in terms of a choice between "abandonment" and the "progressive development and increasing autonomy of the Territories". To "abandon" the Territories would be absurd, but there were many ways in which the Territories could achieve political and economic progress. The essential problem was not one of choosing between the two

alternatives offered, but of knowing what the Government's goal was for the Territories. In the CEUD's view, integration of the Territories with Portugal had so far been a "meaningless myth" which had not led to the access of a growing number of Africans to economic and political and social equality. It charged that the characteristic features of the Government's overseas policy were: (a) an indefinite continuation of the war until unconditional peace is achieved by force; (b) a colonial type of development of the Territories by large foreign capital in transforming industries and in the production for export of primary products; and (c) a political solution through the granting of a greater autonomy to the white community without the social, economic and political integration of the Africans.

99. Prime Minister Caetano has not accepted the principle of self determination for the overseas Territories as defined by the United Nations because he believes that the warm reception he received in the three Territories was a sincere expression of their desire to be Portuguese. In a speech during the election campaign, appealing for the support of the country for his overseas policy, he said that the Government was

"only keeping up the military police operations necessary for the security of the inhabitants who desire to remain Portuguese. It /the nation/ knows that this desire, this self determination, so to speak, is demonstrated unequivocally at every step, much more unequivocally than if the inhabitants of the sanzalas, v/ following evacuation of all the Portuguese security forces, were called upon to cast their ballots according to the "one man, one vote" rule. It knows that this farce would inevitably lead to the destruction of the economy that we have built with our labour and of all that we have achieved and would bring distress to homes sacrificed to the fury of a racism which we are combating by creating the most outstanding examples of multiracial societies."

100. In reaching the conclusion that Portugal's presence in Africa was needed, Dr. Caetano said that he had been influenced by such considerations as the turmoil to which premature independence gave rise; the total lack of preparation of the peoples of Africa for setting up and administering States of the kind that it was sought to impose on them and the incompatibility of the democratic structure and functioning of such States with age old customs of tribal government; the inevitable tragedy that the sowing of revolution ideas and race hatred would bring about in an environment where, in a few more years, the process of balanced and patient evolution would consolidate multiracial societies; and the dangers of enslavement of human beings resulting from the establishment of so called African forms of socialism or the surrender of African countries to irresponsible forms of neo colonialism avid to exploit them. Moreover, in his view, because there are various rival movements supported by foreign powers, "the surrender of the overseas Territories to subversive movements would not bring happiness to the Africans and would assuredly not promote the prosperity of the Portuguese or enhance their nobility and national pride".

101. In the elections to the National Assembly, Dr. Caetano's Government received what the Portuguese press has called nation-wide support for its policies. Since then, as an editorial in the Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças stated, overnight the problem of the overseas Territories had ceased to divide the nation.

v/ Formerly slave quarters; now used to describe African quarters or African villages. From Novo Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa, Oporto, n.d.

102. Reports in the international press on Portugal's overseas policy in general have been more favourable than those when Salazar was Prime Minister. Some reports which find that there has been no change in substance nevertheless admit there has been a change both in tone and in style. Other reports find the promise of increasing autonomy for the Territories reassuring. Some observers even go so far as to suggest that eventually Dr. Caetano may be able to create a commonwealth type of relationship between Portugal and its overseas Territories.

103. This speculation appears to be based partly on the fact that economic and social conditions, especially in Angola and Mozambique, have changed since the Overseas Organic Law of 1963 gave the Territories more administrative autonomy, broadened the powers of the Legislative Councils and gave the Territories direct representation in the Overseas Council and the Corporative Chamber. Also in 1970, the National Assembly will be able to amend the Constitution, and it is known that the economic associations in Angola have unanimously petitioned the Prime Minister urgently to introduce "administrative reforms" which would include, among other things, a reapportionment of the voting districts in Angola to give it a representation in the National Assembly commensurate with the size of its population compared with that of Portugal (see section on Angola, annex I.B below).

104. According to press reports, there is one section of opinion in Portugal which believes that while there is little chance of ending the wars in Africa in the near future, Portugal has the situation sufficiently under control so that it would not lose the Territories on military grounds. Hence the main hope now is that economic development will turn the tide in favour of Portugal. Some observers consider that international business may also increasingly influence the future evolution of the two larger Territories.

(f) Elections to the National Assembly

(i) Change in the electoral law

105. Elections to the National Assembly are held every four years. As already reported (A/7623/Add.3, annex I, paras. 29-33), in anticipation of the elections to be held in 1969, the new Government amended the electoral law in 1968 to extend voting rights to women on the same basis as men. According to the new law (No. 2137, 26 December 1968) Portuguese citizens who have attained majority or who have been emancipated, who can read and write Portuguese and who are not otherwise disqualified under the electoral law of 1946, are entitled to vote in the elections to the National Assembly. Persons who cannot read and write Portuguese are entitled to vote only if they have already been registered as satisfying the conditions required under the 1946 electoral law (Law 2015, 28 May). w/

106. In effect, therefore, while extending equal voting rights to men and women who can read and write Portuguese, the amendment also removes the special conditions under which male citizens who cannot read and write Portuguese could nevertheless qualify for the vote. At the time this change was introduced it was justified on the grounds of the educational progress achieved in Portugal. When promulgated in 1968 this law was not extended to the overseas Territories. Nor does it appear to have been extended to the Territories since, and in January 1970 an Editais issued by the administrator of the third Bairro of Luanda called for the registration of voters under the electoral law 2015 of 1946, listing the requirement in that law.

(ii) Organization of the elections

107. In his first speech on accepting the appointment as Prime Minister, Dr. Caetano had said that he did not wish to see the Portuguese divided among themselves as enemies. Instead he wished to witness the generation of a spirit of living together (convivência) where reciprocal tolerance of ideas would break down hatred and antagonisms. But he stressed that tolerance could not be allowed to destroy freedom and that public order which was an essential condition to the life of the people would be "inexorably maintained".

108. As reported above (paragraph 97), later in the year the Prime Minister made the Government's overseas policy one of the two major issues in the 1969 elections to the National Assembly, on which the country was asked to express its view "democratically". Accordingly, the Government took various steps to liberalize the political climate and to provide an opportunity to the Opposition to express its views during the campaigning period. Nevertheless, almost up to the time of the elections, it was not clear whether the Opposition would go to the polls and if they did, whether they would be subject to reprisals afterwards.

---

w/ Extracts from this law appear in the United Nations Yearbook on Human Rights for 1948 (Sales No.: 50.XIV.4), pp. 379-380.

109. Early in March 1969 a group of liberal intellectuals favouring free elections, known as the Commission for the Promotion of a Free Poll, x/ warned that unless there were political reforms violence might become unavoidable. The Government refused to authorize its operations.

110. One of the first signs of a liberalization of the political atmosphere was the appearance in a liberal Portuguese newspaper, Journal da Fundação, of a petition that 829 businessmen had addressed to Prime Minister Caetano and to President Thomaz. The petition asked for the gradual restoration of civil liberties, a new press law, social justice for all, and elections that would encourage a transformation of Portuguese public life. As regards the overseas Territories, the petition suggested that the problem these posed "should be submitted for the consideration of the responsible elements in all the Portuguese Territories, as it was a question which concerned the whole nation". It added that "after all these centuries, it is time to recognize that people, as adult individuals, like to take care of themselves".

111. In May 1969, liberal opposition groups, including students and liberal Catholics, held a three-day meeting of the Second Republican Congress. It was the first such gathering authorized since 1957. In a message to the Congress Mr. Cunha Leal, a former Prime Minister and a long-standing opponent of Salazar's overseas policy, singled out three points on which the Opposition differed with the Government: individual liberties; the corporative system; and the denial of self-determination. The Congress drew up a fourteen-point programme on which the Opposition intended to contest the elections to the National Assembly. Among other things, the programme asked for freedom of expression, a general amnesty for all political prisoners, the suppression of the state secret police, freedom of association, and a free debate on "the problem of the war in the Portuguese African Territories". The Congress is reported to have deliberately avoided a more definite position on the Territories apparently due to difficulties of attaining a consensus.

112. Registration of voters began in May. In mid-May, a group of Democrats in Oporto charged that the authorities were making it difficult for voters to examine the register as provided for under the electoral law. It was also alleged that a large number of people who had asked to be registered had not been included in the special list. Elsewhere there were other charges of irregularities, and it was alleged that in several concelhos there were, in fact, no proper registers as required by the law, but only pieces of paper (verbetes) on which names had been jotted down. This led to a long communication by the Direcção-Geral de Administração Política e Civil explaining that the registers which did not include all qualified voters had been based on the 1968 annual voters census and there had not been time to add the new names. The final registers would include all the names. The loose papers were used to prepare the registers and their existence should not be taken to imply that the registers were not being properly kept.

---

x/ Since political parties are prohibited in Portugal, the term electoral commission or electoral committee is used to designate a group organized to participate in the elections.

113. At the end of June the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Gonçalves Rapazote, made a nation wide radio and television speech to assure the people that the procedures laid down in the electoral law had been carefully followed. Since this was the first time that women had qualified on the same basis as men, there had been more new names to add to the registers. He estimated that the census of voters had covered about 90 per cent of the citizens and over 1,816,148 voters were registered in Portugal and the adjacent islands, representing an increase of 37.6 per cent over 1965. y/ In all, only 1,720 requests had been rejected and, of these, only 201 had been appealed. Similar information has not been published for the overseas Territories. He announced that the Government, in entrusting the choice to the people, hoped that the elections would be meaningful and serve the interests of the country. All candidates would be assured freedom to meet and prepare for the elections and to see the registers. Voters would be allowed to supervise the counting of the votes.

114. In August, at the request of the Minister of the Interior, the Attorney-General issued an opinion on the status of the various electoral committees which the Opposition had organized in different districts. The Attorney General ruled that, under the law governing associations, such groups were limited to specific activities and had to be recognized by the authorities. He declared illegal all the "democratic district electoral committees" which had not received official recognition.

115. Two days later, an announcement by the Ministry of the Interior again assured "complete equality" to all candidates running for the election both in the casting of ballots and in the official count. This announcement was interpreted in an English-language paper as an attempt by the Prime Minister to placate angry outcries from the Opposition following the publication of the Attorney General's opinion.

116. Early in September, the Minister of the Interior warned that if any of the electoral committees were found to be communist in nature or called for subversive action, they would be subject to "security measures" or unlimited detention. On 12 September, following a long cabinet meeting, the Prime Minister announced that the restrictions on the Opposition democratic electoral committees had been lifted and that they would be allowed to organize election campaigns. The new law (Decree 49,229, 10 September 1969) sets out the rules governing the establishment and functions of electoral committees and the presentation of candidates standing for election. The civil (district) governor z/ is responsible for approving the qualifications of the candidates, and if he finds anyone ineligible he must ask the responsible group to replace him. Appeal against the civil governor's decision lies with the Supreme Administrative Tribunal.

117. In a radio and television speech on 17 September 1969, the Prime Minister stressed the importance of the elections to the National Assembly, since in addition to its ordinary functions the Assembly would have the opportunity to

.....  
y/ Of the 1,816,148 voters registered, 27,998 had requested to be registered, 1,215,933 had been carried over from the previous registers, and 572,217 had been added during the census.

z/ In the overseas Territories the Civil Administrative Services is responsible for the approval of the list of candidates (see section on Mozambique, annex I.C below).

amend the Constitution in 1970 if it were found necessary. He also appealed for a vote of confidence. He said that although he knew the people supported him, he wanted them to give their views "democratically" in the elections to let the world know the will of the Portuguese people on the question of peace and order and on the question of the overseas Territories. He expressed the hope that the campaign would be conducted calmly and civilly, in spite of reports that some persons intended to use the campaign to organize a revolution and disseminate subversive propaganda. While the Government did not intend to deny anyone's rights, it would enforce the regulations governing the elections and maintain law and order which were necessary for the exercise of those rights. He again warned against any imprudent or naive acts which might lead to results contrary to those that were desired.

118. Following the Prime Minister's speech it was announced by the Secretary of State for Information that the Government had set 23 September to 24 October as the campaigning period and that the Office of the Minister of the Interior had sent instructions to the civil governors in Portugal and the adjacent islands to assure the free exercise by all of the right to vote and that the elections were held according to the law. It also announced that in order to enable the electorates freely to choose their representatives in each electoral district "contact" would be permitted between the candidates and the electorate of that district. There is no information that similar instructions were sent to the overseas Territories, each of which constitutes a single electoral district.

119. Just before the beginning of the campaigning period, the Government issued an order laying down rules concerning campaigning activities. All street meetings and demonstrations were prohibited, all electoral propaganda was required to bear the name of the publisher or printer, material appearing without these names being considered subversive. Other restrictions prohibited the use of the national television network and public halls and theatres for campaigning purposes. The rules also required that the authorities should be notified forty-eight hours in advance of any meeting and that such meetings end before midnight. In spite of the Government's assurance that there could be free campaigning in accordance with these rules, the Opposition made several complaints during the early part of the campaign against interference by the police, among others, which prevented their free campaigning. The Government took action to investigate these cases and reassured the Opposition that the rules would be observed.

(iii) Opposition groups

120. Following the meeting of Second Republican Congress in May 1969, the opposition groups were reported to have failed to agree on a united front. By mid-October, eight separate electoral commissions representing various shades of opinion had been organized. Of these, four decided not to contest the elections. The three groups which decided not to contest the elections because they agreed with the major lines of the Government's policy were Liga Popular Monárquica, Causa Monárquica, and a group of the Velha Guarda, called the Third Force, which declared itself anti-communist and anti-socialist. The Social Democratic Action (Acção Socialista Democrática) led by Cunha Leal refused to participate in the elections because it considered them "meaningless".

121. The four opposition groups which contested the elections were: (a) Comissão Democrática Eleitoral (CDE), sometimes known as the Radical Democrats, led by Arlindo Vicente; (b) Comissão Eleitoral de Unidade Democrática (CEUD), also known as the Social Democrats, led by Mário Soares and Francisca de Souza Tavares, comprising a wide range of liberal and social opinion; (c) Comissão Eleitoral Monárquica (CEM), comprising independent monarchists and dissidents from the other two monarchist groups; and (d) Comissão Eleitoral Nacionalista Independente (CENI), a splinter group from the National Union in Braga in the north of Portugal. The CDE contested all the 107 seats in Portugal and the adjacent islands, the CEUD twenty eight seats, the CEM twelve seats and the CENI six seats. aa/

122. In all, twelve opposition candidates were disqualified: five in Portugal and seven in Mozambique. In Mozambique, the opposition candidates were declared ineligible on the ground that they had not submitted the necessary proof required under the electoral law (see section on Mozambique, annex I.C below).

123. Of the five candidates who were found ineligible in Portugal and subsequently replaced, two were from Braga, one from Lisbon, and one each from Leiria and Santarém. All were declared ineligible because their ideas were "contrary to the established order". According to a notice issued by the Ministry of the Interior, the candidates had not been declared ineligible solely because they held different views from the Government but because their views were contrary to the "fundamental principles of the established social order" and because by repeated actions they had shown themselves as agents engaged in social subversion.

124. For the first time opposition views were reported in considerable detail in the newspapers in Portugal. The CEUD platform, for instance, was published in full in the Diário de Notícias of Lisbon. The CDE programme, which among other things called for the nationalization of mines, public transport, electricity and information media as well as the expropriation of large estates, appears to have been reported in the press only in summary form. Opposition statements on "the overseas problem" received a wide coverage, often accompanied by a rebuttal by the National Union.

125. Both the CDE and the CEUD based their overseas policy on the recognition of the right of the Territories to self-determination as defined by the United Nations, but they differed in the practical steps to be taken in the implementation of this right. The CDE called for the immediate opening of negotiations with the leaders of the national liberation movements. The CEUD, on the other hand, considered that once the principle was accepted, a way to peace would have to be found through dialogue.

126. In the CEUD's view, since the policy of integration of the Territories with Portugal had failed (see paragraph 98 above), it was necessary to find a different solution to "the problem of white minorities through self determination [of the black majorities] which would respect the presence and culture of those minorities". It suggested that the approach might have to be different in each Territory according to the particular circumstances. In Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, the CEUD suggested immediate decolonization, while for the other Territories, it said, a solution might be more difficult.

.....  
aa/ See paragraph 55 above on the distribution of the 130 seats of the National Assembly.

127. The CEUD stressed that first it was necessary to establish peace and restore the Africans' confidence in Portugal. It suggested that to be meaningful, the envisaged dialogue had to be preceded by a complete study of the war, and accordingly there should be a preliminary approach to the national liberation movements to sound out their views in order to open the way to peace.

128. The National Union Commission for the Lisbon district for which Mr. Franco Nogueira was a candidate bb/ issued a long statement in reply to the CEUD's criticisms of the Government's overseas policy. It asserted that "a political solution, which had never been excluded within the framework of the Portuguese community, could only be approached when the people who had started the subversion laid down their arms". The Lisbon branch of the National Union also took issue with the CEUD proposals on the role of the white minorities and on the question of negotiations with the leaders of the national liberation movements. It pointed out that the Prime Minister's policy envisaged the building of a multiracial society in which there would be no question of either social or political minorities or majorities; the aim was to build a non-racial society in which there would only be a hierarchy of values, and colour would play no part whatsoever. It declared that negotiations with the "nationalist leaders" was excluded from the Government's policy because it had been clearly proven that these "leaders" did not represent the interests of the populations of the Territories, nor had they legitimately obtained the right to speak for those people.

129. Later, the Lisbon branch of the National Union issued another statement in which it asserted that some of the opposition members appeared to have been in contact with "leaders of parties" in foreign countries and challenged them to state whether they had had political conversations with senior members (figuras) of international organizations and if so what had been the purpose of the conversations.

130. The opposition's proposals were also widely attacked in the press. One editorial in the Diario de Noticias, for instance, suggested that the Opposition had obviously been in touch with the enemy because even before it had published their position statements, their views on the overseas problem had already been known among the anti-Portuguese centres in several African countries. In particular, the opposition in Mozambique was accused of being in touch with the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo) (Mozambique Liberation Front) (see section on Mozambique, annex I.C below). As reported by the international press, the debate on the overseas problem showed for the first time that Portugal's intransigent defence effort in the Territories did not have the unanimous support of the public in Portugal. There was also some speculation as to how far the authorities would allow the colonial debate to go since General Venâncio Deslandes, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, had warned early in the campaign that the armed forces would not tolerate disorders or any weakening of the rearguard during the elections, and the Minister of Defence, General Sá Viana Rebello, had

---

bb/ Mr. Nogueira resigned from his post as Foreign Minister early in October 1969, and the Prime Minister assumed responsibility for Foreign Affairs until the new Cabinet was formed after the elections (see paragraph 146 below).

announced that the armed forces would not abandon the overseas Territories. About a week before the actual elections, the international press reported rumours of the possibility of a coup by the military and right-wing elements, and that Mr. Mário Soares had declared that he would support Premier Caetano if such a coup occurred.

131. During the electoral campaign, the opposition groups repeatedly indicated that they might withdraw from the elections if the Government continued to hamper their activities. Two weeks before the end of the campaigning period, the Ministry of the Interior issued a detailed statement answering the various charges of irregularities and interference, and stressing again the detailed provisions in the laws which had to be observed. In the end, the opposition did not withdraw.

(iv) Results of the elections

132. As was generally expected, however, the National Union won all 130 seats in the National Assembly, including the twenty seats representing the overseas Territories. For the first time in recent years, the newspapers in Portugal published details of the voting in Portugal by district, giving the number of registered voters, the total number of votes cast, the votes received by each of the contesting parties and the number of invalid votes. As the Opposition had been allowed to observe the procedures, there were no charges of any irregularities. However, a group of five members of the Socialist International, which had intended to observe the election, was not allowed to do so and was asked to leave the country on the grounds that its purpose constituted "an intolerable foreign interference in the internal affairs of the country".

133. For the overseas Territories, detailed results are only available for Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Timor, and Macau. For Angola, voting results have been published only for some voting centres in four out of the fifteen districts (see section on Angola, ante 1.3 below), while for Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde result are given only as percentages of the registered voters (see table 2 below).

134. Available information shows that between 1957 and 1964 the proportion of the total population voting in Angola increased from 1.1 per cent to about 3.6 per cent, and in Mozambique, in the twelve-year period from 1957 to 1969, the corresponding increase was from 0.3 per cent to 1.1 per cent. In this period, the number of voters approximately doubled in Timor, but decreased slightly in São Tomé and Príncipe (see table 3 below).

135. Early in November 1969, the Ministry of the Interior issued a notice reminding all political groups formed to contest the elections that their legal existence ended three days after the final election ballots were counted. The note warned that "civilian and public security authorities" had received "precise instructions to enforce the law". In December, however, some former members of the Opposition were reported to be negotiating secretly with the Prime Minister to obtain minimum conditions for the restoration of political parties which are still banned in Portugal. There were also reports that the Opposition had agreed to form a democratic opposition movement in spite of the ban.

Table 2

Number of votes cast in the elections to the National Assembly, 1967

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Estimated population 1967</u>	<u>Registered voters</u>	<u>Votes Cast</u>
Angola	5,292,800	...	...
Mozambique	7,169,400	82,539	79,936
Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea	528,200	...	...
Cape Verde	237,800	...	...
São Tomé and Príncipe	63,000	5,085	4,267
Macau	268,300	1,786	1,226
Timor	571,700	4,716	3,771

Source: Portugal, Direcção Geral da Informação, Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo; Notícias de Portugal, Ano XXIII, No. 1174, 1 November 1969.

Table 3

Number of voters in the elections to the National Assembly, 1957 and 1969

	<u>Number of seats</u>		<u>Estimated population</u>		<u>Number of voters</u>	
	<u>1957</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1969</u>
Angola	3	7	4,412,000	5,292,800	48,965	174,241 <sup>a/</sup>
Mozambique	3	7	6,105,000	7,169,400	19,211	79,936
Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea	1	1	547,000	528,200	1,897	...
Cape Verde	1	2	177,000	237,800	16,435	...
São Tomé and Príncipe	1	1	63,000	63,000	4,434	4,267
Macau	1	1	200,000	268,300	1,424	1,226
Timor	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	478,000	571,700	1,892	3,771
Total	11	20				

Sources: For 1957: A/AC.108/L.7, p. 11.

For 1969: Portugal, Direcção Geral da Informação Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo; Notícias de Portugal, Ano XXIII, No. 1174, 1 November 1969.

a/ 1965 elections.

136. Analysing the outcome of the elections, the Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças said in an editorial in December 1969 that although the elections had agitated the country for a month, everything appeared to have returned to the political climate prevailing before that "brief democratic interlude". However, "national political realities" had clearly undergone a change: on the one hand, the national position on the overseas Territories had been defined, and on the other, the so called democratic opposition had shown itself unable to attract support. As a result of the elections, the overseas question had ceased to constitute "a serious cause of political antagonisms" and it would henceforth be the nation itself, rather than any particular party, which would carry the flag for the defence of the overseas Territories. This led the editorial to conclude that in the future any political differences would relate to "internal matters".

137. In general, both the Portuguese and the international press have interpreted the elections as an overwhelming victory for Dr. Caetano, though no immediate important changes are anticipated. To many observers, the way in which the elections were conducted though still not completely free from restrictions - was a significant and welcome departure from the rigidity of the previous Government. The Opposition, on the other hand, disagrees with the contention that the Government received a mandate from the people because only 20 per cent of the population was registered to vote and, of these, 40 per cent abstained, giving the Government the support of slightly over 10 per cent of the population. Also, the Opposition considers that as long as the Government prohibits political parties and monopolizes power it cannot be said legitimately to represent the people.

138. The Prime Minister himself has also acknowledged the vote as a clear mandate in support of the Government. Admitting that there were a considerable number of abstentions, he pointed out that the number of deliberate abstentions were fewer than had been expected. He has expressed the hope that better registration procedures will help to improve the situation at the next elections.

139. On the question of the overseas Territories, it appears that there are some differences as to what the Government's mandate means, and it is not clear how the Prime Minister's four point policy will be implemented. Most Portuguese opinion appears to interpret the election results solely in terms of national unity and "the intransigent defence of the overseas Territories".

140. Speaking at the opening of the National Assembly, President Thomaz interpreted the elections as an expression of the desire of the people that there should be no change in the Constitution, in the existing political institutions or in the principles on which they were based. He said that Portugal would continue its mission overseas, forging ever closer links between the Portuguese of various races who made up the national community. It was not a desire to dominate which caused Portugal to remain in the overseas "provinces", for the Government wanted the local population (os naturais) to share increasingly in the responsibility for government and administration at both the local and the national levels, and it was guided solely by the interests of the people themselves in the development of those areas. Nor could it be said that Portugal was making an economic profit from its Territories, since the defence of those Territories imposed a heavy burden on it and it was making large contributions to the development of the Territories' resources. In its African Territories Portugal was the only link uniting tribes of different origins and customs, tribes which had originally spoken different languages or dialects and had constantly made war on each other before being

brought together in the Portuguese nation with a common citizenship and a common language which dignified and defended one and all. Yet in spite of the fact that there was peace and progress in the Portuguese Territories, with the exception of areas affected by subversion, Portugal was accused in the United Nations of jeopardizing world peace. All the world propaganda directed against Portugal for refusing to abandon its overseas Territories could not alter the simple fact that there was subversion only in areas bordering on foreign countries which supported it. It was true that the people of the African Territories had not been invited to express their decision to continue to be Portuguese by means of a plebiscite organized in accordance with the recommendations of the United Nations. It was a gross error to think that everywhere, whatever the degree of culture and civilization, a democratic vote was the most authentic expression of the collective will. Nor was there any need to organize plebiscites in different parts of a whole which had been cemented by long centuries of common effort on the part of blacks and whites, all sons of the same country.

141. In his reply to the President's address, on behalf of the National Assembly and the Corporative Chamber, Mr. Nogueira said that the Government had received a clear mandate for the defence of the overseas Territories. He pointed out that in Europe and other parts of the world efforts were being made to build up high economic areas and establish broad political units, which was also what Portugal's policy aimed at. He opposed the closer integration of Portugal in the European community where Portugal would be "dominated by others". He reiterated the view that only through the defence and maintenance of its unity with the overseas Territories could Portugal experience the necessary dynamism to transform its economy and to free itself from dependency.

142. On 15 December 1969, the National Assembly unanimously adopted a motion taking note of the debates in the United Nations and the resolutions adopted on the Territories under Portuguese administration. In this motion, the National Assembly rejected the United Nations resolutions and declared its support for the Government. It also reaffirmed Portugal's policy of maintaining and defending the unity and integrity of all Portuguese Territories, of protecting the local populations and of their economic and social development.

(g) Recent developments

(i) Opposition to the wars in Africa

143. In February 1970, Dr. Francisco Salgado Zenha, a member of the CEUD opposition group during the election campaign, was detained for an investigation in connexion with the incitement of demonstrations against the wars in Africa. A police statement said that subversive elements had circulated propaganda urging support for a demonstration. There was also a report that the wife of Mr. João Varela Gomes, another prominent opposition leader, had been arrested on the same grounds. In March, on the occasion of the swearing in of the new Governor-General of Mozambique, the Overseas Minister, Mr. Silva Cunha, said that the "enemies of the régime", having failed to win power at the elections, were continuing to campaign against the defence of the overseas Territories through most insidious means by seeking to subvert the youth.

(ii) Reorganization of intelligence police

144. Following the new elections, the Government abolished the Portuguese intelligence police formerly known as Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE). In its place, a general office of Security (Direcção Geral de Segurança) has been created under the Ministry of the Interior and all the 3,207 PIDE personnel have been transferred to it. According to newspaper reports, as a result of this change the intelligence police will no longer have the independent authority it had previously. Of the total staff, 1,116 are serving in Angola and 665 in Mozambique.

(iii) Reorganization of the National Union

145. In February 1970, the Congress of the National Union decided to reorganize the party which has now been renamed Acção Nacional Popular (ANP) (Popular National Action). Before the Congress met, a report in the English-language press suggested that changes were planned in the party to formalize the divisions between the left, right and centre within the movement. This does not appear to have happened. The new statutes adopted have deleted the article in the 1926 statutes of the National Union which defined it as "the instrument for the realization of the objectives of the national revolution of May 1926". In its place, the ANP will seek to promote the participation of the citizens in the study of the major problems of the country. With the change in name, it is hoped to bring about a broader participation of the party by people from all sectors and all areas of the country. It has been suggested in the press that the Congress of the Party, by electing Dr. Caetano as the president of its central committee, has aligned itself with the progressive liberalization of the country as the Prime Minister has promised. The ANP has also increased the membership of the central committee from six to nineteen, including for the first time one member each from Angola and Mozambique.

(iv) Cabinet changes

146. In January 1970, the Prime Minister remodelled his cabinet. Explaining the changes, he said the purpose was not simply to replace different persons but to improve and streamline the Cabinet to enable it to act more quickly and efficiently. The principal structural changes involved the merging of the Ministry of the Army with the Ministry of Defence under the Minister for Defence, General Horácio José Sá Viana Rebelo; the merging of the Ministries of Communications and Public Works under the incumbent Minister for Public Works; the elimination of the portfolio of the Minister of State which was virtually the vice-premiership; and the merging of the Ministry of Corporation and Social Welfare with the Ministry of Health and Assistance under the former Governor-General of Mozambique, Dr. Balthazar Rebello de Souza. Other new appointments are: Mr. Rui d'Espiney Patrício as Foreign Minister, Mr. Rui Manuel de Medeiros as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Professor José Veiga Simão, former rector of the University of Lourenço Marques, as Minister of Education. Dr. Gonçalves Rapazote, originally appointed by Dr. Salazar, remains the Minister for the Interior.

## MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURE

### (a) Portugal's war effort

147. During 1969, guerrilla activities continued in the three African Territories under Portuguese administration more or less at the same level as in the previous year. Some intensification of guerrilla activities was reported in the eastern half of Angola, in Tete District in Mozambique, and in attacks on Portuguese military barracks in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea.

148. Portugal's assessment of the war in 1969, however, was generally optimistic. In February, for instance, after his visit to Angola and Mozambique, the Minister of Defence, General Sá Viana Rebelo, described the situation in Mozambique as frankly favourable and that in Angola as stabilized. Then in March, President Thomaz predicted that victory was not far off for the Portuguese troops fighting in Africa. By the end of the year, however, the end of the war in the three Territories was not yet in sight, and some sources have even suggested that, if continued at the same level, the war in Angola, at least, might go on for twenty or thirty years.

149. The exact number of Portuguese troops in the African Territories is unknown. The African population has been increasingly involved in the operations against the guerrillas but there are no accurate figures on the number of African troops fighting with the Portuguese. Published figures for Portuguese troops vary between 130,000 and 180,000. According to one source, of the 130,000 troops, about two-fifths are Africans. Another source reports 60,000 Portuguese troops in Angola, 62,000 in Mozambique and an additional 40,000 African troops commanded by Portuguese officers in each Territory. There are no new figures for Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, where there were an estimated 30,000 to 37,000 Portuguese troops in early 1969.

150. As reported above, since he became Prime Minister, Dr. Caetano has stressed the need for peace in the African Territories as a requisite for their future development. He has also repeatedly declared that Portugal is not fighting a war against anyone, but is only engaged in policing actions by the military to protect the lives and property of the peoples of the Territories who wish to continue to be Portuguese. As the discussions during the electoral campaign showed, the Government no longer claims to be seeking a military solution in Africa. According to some reports, Portugal is now confident that it cannot lose the Territories militarily, though in order to hold the Territories it has to win over the local population. Speaking in December 1969, the Governor of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, emphasized that the war in that Territory would be decided by political and social measures and he therefore urged a rapid move towards administrative decentralization and progressive autonomy. He noted at the same time that the importance of political and social factors in no way diminished the military problem.

151. Portugal now claims that its decision to remain in Africa is based on the desire of the peoples of the Territories to remain Portuguese, and on their need for protection and help towards a better life. One report described Portugal's territorial policy as "hold and develop" and indicated that it is also based on expectations that past investments would soon begin to pay off. Another major factor is the economic potential of Angola's mineral resources and Mozambique's power development.

152. An important part of Portugal's war effort is therefore aimed at winning the peace. In all three African Territories, Portugal has intensified efforts to introduce Portuguese as the common language and to introduce a Portuguese way of life. cc/

153. In April 1969, when Mr. Lazaro Kavandame, a former FRELIMO member, surrendered to the Portuguese authorities, Portugal, for the first time since 1961, made an offer of peace to all who laid down their arms and returned to Portuguese Territory (see section on Mozambique, annex I.C below). Later in the month when he visited Africa, the Prime Minister repeated the peace offer. In the course of his speech to the Legislative Council in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, he stressed that peace was an essential condition for the progress of the Territory, and announced that Portugal would welcome back all those who may have doubted "whether the red and green flag (of Portugal) was the standard of liberty and progress". Even those people, he said, would be "well received if, having recognized their error, they wished to return to the Portuguese community".

154. Since these peace offers were made, Portuguese official sources have reported the surrender of several groups of guerrillas in Mozambique. Official sources also claim that there has been a substantial increase in the number of Africans returning to the Territories. In Angola, thousands of Africans were reported to have returned to Cabinda since the new boom created by petroleum mining, and, recently, a leader of the Comité Revolucionário de Cabinda, one of the minor political groups working for the independence of Cabinda, was reported to have presented himself to the Portuguese authorities. Also in the eastern part of the Territory, of some 140,000 Africans who had been under guerrilla control, all but 30,000 had been "recovered" by mid-August last year. In Mozambique 8,000 persons were "recovered" compared to 3,000 the previous year (see section on Mozambique, annex I.C below).

155. To "hold" the Territories, Portuguese policy now seeks the increasing involvement of the African population both in defence and in development. In all three Territories, in addition to the traditional African militia, new garrisons of locally recruited troops are being established under the measures introduced last year (see below). Development efforts are also being speeded up. The recent visit by the Minister for the Overseas Territories, Mr. Silva Cunha, to Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, is an example of Portugal's new approach. During his visit, Mr. Silva Cunha elevated Bafatá, one of the largest towns in the central part of the Territory, to the status of a city. He also authorized substantial increases under the Third National Development Plan, especially for education, in fulfilment of the Government's policy to spread the use of the Portuguese language, to increase literacy in Portuguese, and to adapt technical education to the needs of the Territory. (For further details see section on Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, annex I.D below.)

---

cc/ In an article published in ABC - Diário de Luanda, Dutra Faria, the Director of the Portuguese news agency ANI, describing 1969 as a year of transition, said that as regards "the wars in Africa" there had been a transition from an aggressive phase to a general phase of disintegration of the movements hostile to Portugal, especially those concerned with Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea."

156. At the ceremony to celebrate the occasion, Mr. Silva Cunha stated that the elevation of Bafatá to city status showed that despite enemy activities, it had been possible for Portugal to continue to work in peace with the interest and gratitude of the people. This was because they knew that Portugal had no other objective than to raise their standard of living and accelerate development. The people of "Guinea" therefore supported the Government and unstintingly participated in the development and defence of their Territory. He promised that the Government would fulfil its obligations and provide all necessary support to the Governor to re-establish peace in the Territory under the Portuguese flag, to enable the people to live again without fear, and "to work so that there would be more bread, better health and more culture".

(b) Military organization

(i) Armed forces

157. In a year-end message to the armed forces, the Minister of Defence said that the people's support of Dr. Caetano's desire to safeguard the Portuguese presence in Africa, as expressed through the National Assembly, had given the armed forces new confidence. In the 1970s they would feel that the people were behind them, and this was bound to lead to changes which would improve their efficiency. Greater attention would be given to the better use of personnel, specialization, the reduction of expenditures in connexion with military operations, the acquisition of the most appropriate armaments and increasing use of the products of "national industries". Special attention would also be given to improving the living conditions and conditions of service of military personnel. At the same time the armed forces would maintain their vigilance throughout the national territory to ensure the exercise of authority for the common good of all citizens and in accordance with the Constitution.

158. In January 1970, following the cabinet changes which resulted in the merger of the Ministry of the Army with that of Defence, the Minister of Defence said that the change was intended to give a strong impetus to the re-establishment of peace in the overseas Territories through a close and united effort of the military and logistic operations.

(ii) Delegation of powers to the Minister of Defence

159. In order to meet the needs arising from the military situation in the overseas Territories, in July 1969, the Council of Ministers delegated to the Minister of Defence full responsibility for the direction and conduct of military and civil defence and for the implementation of the national military policy as defined by the Government (Decree-Law 49,106, 7 July). At the same time, the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces (Estado-Maior-General das Forças Armadas) was placed in command of operational troops which are normally under the command of the chiefs-of-staff of the three armed forces in Portugal and the commanders-in-chief in the adjacent islands and the overseas Territories.

(iii) Changes in overseas military structure

160. In a parallel move, new legislation was introduced to reorganize the military structure in the Territories where there were military operations in order to deal more efficiently with "subversion", and to bring about a closer collaboration

between military commanders and the administrative authorities (Decree Law 49,107, 7 July). In essence, the commander-in-chief of each war theatre has been given complete responsibility for all operations with authority to organize and activate subordinate operational units from any branch of the armed forces. Each Territory also has an army commander, a naval commander and an air force commander with their respective supporting units divided into normal garrison troops and reinforcement troops.

161. The normal garrison troops of each Territory are to have responsibility for the defence of sensitive points, keeping open lines of communication, providing the necessary information on the terrain and population, and collaborating with the administrative authorities and the militarized forces in protecting the local population. The garrison troops are responsible for preventing enemy penetration and for the conduct of psychological warfare. They are to provide support to the combat units (unidades de intervenção) and serve as training centres when necessary. These troops are to be recruited locally, in so far as possible, with the exception of specialists and other complements of the commands. The size of the garrison forces for each Territory is to be jointly fixed by the Overseas and Defence Ministers on the advice of the three armed forces.

162. The reinforcement troops are to provide the commanders-in-chief the means to maintain security in the area of their responsibility when the garrison forces are insufficient for this purpose. The reinforcement troops may comprise:  
(a) operational commands; (b) combat units from any branch of the three armed forces or reinforcements of the normal garrison units; (c) supporting services for the logistic arrangements; (d) reserves and (e) reinforcements for the command of the normal garrison units.

#### (iv) Military service

163. During the past year, several changes were made in the regulations governing military service in Portugal. First, in September 1969, the Supreme National Defence Council ordered that persons called up for military service, but not assigned overseas, should continue their service beyond the normal period of two years so long as others called up at the same time were still serving overseas. The Supreme National Council also authorized the recall to service, individually or by class, of officers in the reserve and of the four most recent classes of demobilized troops (Diário do Governo, First Series, 3 September 1969). Under the 1968 military service law (Law 2135, 11 July) all men between 18 and 45 are subject to call up for military service. This includes a normal period of active service of two years which may vary between two and four years depending on the branch of service and the assignment. Those who have completed their active service remain in reserve status subject to recall under special conditions.

164. In February 1970, new amendments were introduced in the military service law. In addition to incorporating the changes that had been authorized by the Supreme National Defence Council in September 1969, specific provisions are made for the recall in time of war or national emergency, for up to 28 months, of officers of the last four classes, as well as those over 40 with specialized training, including doctors and pharmacists.

165. In September 1969, the air force regulations were amended to meet the "abnormal conditions" in the overseas Territories. Among other changes introduced,

air force reserves may now be recalled for annual training for a period of not more than three months. Provisions are also made for the automatic extension of the contract of service by agreement of non-career personnel (Decree-Law 49,264, 26 September 1969).

(c) Military expenditure

166. In 1970, Portugal's budget will once again give first priority to national defence. As laid down in the Law of Ways and Means, the other priorities are: (a) public investments under the Third National Development Plan; (b) economic and financial assistance to the overseas Territories; and (c) other economic, social and cultural investments. The estimates for the current year show revenue of 28,798.8 million escudos and expenditure of 28,794.3 million escudos. As shown in table 4 below, 17,846.6 million escudos of the total expenditure is for ordinary government expenses and 10,947.7 million escudos for extraordinary expenses. The extraordinary expenditure includes an allocation of 6,350 million escudos for national defence and security, compared with 6,340 million escudos provided in the 1969 estimates. This is the smallest increase in the estimated military budget in recent years.

Table 4  
Budgetary estimates for extraordinary expenditure  
1965-1970  
(million escudos)

	<u>Estimated ordinary expenditure</u>	<u>Estimated extraordinary expenditure</u>			<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage of ordinary expenditure</u>
		<u>Defence and security</u>	<u>Development Plan</u>	<u>Other</u>		
1965	10,712.1	3,527.0	2,389.2	111.0	6,027.2	59.5
1966	11,026.5	4,011.0	2,203.3	169.5	6,383.8	57.8
1967	12,605.4	5,347.0	2,145.4	106.5	7,598.9	60.2
1968	13,663.6	5,613.0	2,920.9	137.4	8,671.3	63.4
1969	15,286.9	6,332.9	3,521.3	177.1	10,038.3	65.6
1970	17,846.6	6,349.9	4,372.3	255.5	10,147.7	61.3

Source: Portugal, Orçamento Geral do Estado para 1970, Diário de Notícias, Lisbon, 1 January 1970.

167. As in 1969, the major estimated expenditures under the heading of defence and security are 4,000 million escudos for extraordinary forces overseas and 1,000 million escudos for re-equipping the air force. This levelling off in defence and security expenditure is also reflected in the revised figures published in the National Accounts (Conta geral do Estado) for 1968 and reproduced below.

Table 5

Defence and security: actual expenditure 1964-1968  
(million escudos)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Military defence</u>		<u>Security</u>	
	<u>Actual expenditure</u>	<u>Per cent annual increase</u>	<u>Actual expenditure</u>	<u>Per cent annual increase</u>
1964	6,548.1	12.1	435.1	1
1965	7,259.2	10.9	446.0	2.5
1966	7,993.3	10.1	448.3	...
1967	9,785.3	22.4	448.1	...
1968	10,696.6	9.3	466.3	4

Source: Ministério das Finanças. Direcção geral de Contabilidade Pública. Conta geral do Estado, 1968, page L.

168. During 1969, an additional special allocation of 1,356 million escudos was made for overseas military expenditure but no final figures are available.

169. The rise in ordinary expenditure from 15,286.9 million escudos in 1969 to 17,846.6 million escudos in 1970 - an increase of 16.7 per cent - is mainly due to the salary improvements awarded the civil service and military personnel. These improvements, together with an increase in personnel, account for 1,345 million escudos. Estimated expenditures in health and education are both higher than in the 1969 budget, with spending on education increasing by 38 per cent. Taxes on the production and consumption of domestic beer and on imported beer have been increased to provide some of the necessary ordinary revenue.

170. There is no information in the 1970 budget as to the sources of extraordinary revenue and the amount expected from each. A note at the end of the budget estimates indicates that the Government will continue to have recourse to internal loans but without creating an inflationary situation. Also in so far as possible, such moneys will be used primarily for revenue-producing expenditures.

## PORTUGAL'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE OVERSEAS TERRITORIES

### (a) Economic integration

171. Since Dr. Caetano became Prime Minister, a number of newspaper articles have suggested that in the coming decade Portugal faces a crucial choice which will affect its long-term future. As some observers see it, the fundamental choice facing Portugal is whether it should aim at closer economic integration with Europe or continue to build closer economic ties with its overseas Territories. So far, Portugal has been able to enjoy benefits both from its participation in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) dd/ and from its special economic relations with its Territories. ee/

172. In the past, many government spokesmen, including Mr. Nogueira, when he was Foreign Minister, took the view that Portugal's future depended on its close economic and political ties with the overseas Territories, for without them, integrated with Europe, Portugal would be nothing. According to recent reports, there are now members in the Government who believe that in the long term, Portugal should make adaptations in its relationship with the overseas Territories in order to secure for itself a place in the stream of European integration.

173. In March 1970, the Portuguese Government appointed a fourteen-man commission to study the country's present and future participation in moves towards European integration. An article on this subject in the Financial Times of 24 March 1970 stated that the appointment of the commission follows "growing unease in Portugal about the country's likely fate in Europe, in view of its African commitment."

174. As reported previously, the original plans for the economic integration of the overseas Territories (Decree-Law 44,016, 8 November 1961) envisaged the establishment by 1972 of an area of free trade between Portugal and its overseas Territories and free movement of capital and persons. Although various tariff barriers between Portugal and the Territories have been gradually removed, there is no free movement of capital; although the Territories are considered part of the escudo zone for the purposes of balance of payments with foreign countries, in fact, each Territory has its own currency, which cannot be freely exchanged into the Portuguese escudo. Nor do the Territories have control over their own foreign exchange earnings.

175. Under the system established within the escudo zone, inter-territorial payment transactions (between Portugal and the Territories as well as between the Territories themselves) are cleared through a central exchange which is the Bank of Portugal in Lisbon where the exchange holdings of each Territory are kept in separate reserve funds (see A/6700/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 47-48).

---

dd/ Under the EFTA Stockholm Agreement, while benefiting from the free market exceptionally, as set out in Annex G, Portugal was permitted to retain protective tariffs on its industrial products for ten years, and gradually to eliminate import duties over twenty years by 1980.

ee/ For a general description of these economic relations see A/6000/Rev.1, chapter V, annex, appendix I, paras. 6-19.

However, all accounts are cleared in escudos and the net gold and foreign exchange earned by the Territories benefit Portugal's account. In order to facilitate the clearing process, an Escudo Zone Monetary Fund was established in 1962 (Decree-Law 44,703, 17 November) to provide funds on a temporary basis to cover transactions when a Territory's own exchange holdings are inadequate.

176. In practice the system has not solved the payments difficulties the exchange controls impose on the Territories. In 1967, for instance, payment transfers from Angola to Portugal were being deferred by six to seven months and changes were introduced in the procedures to speed up transactions (see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, paras. 45-46). In addition, a loan of 500 million escudos was made by Diamang to Angola's escudo zone reserves. ff/

177. In 1969, the balance of payments between Angola and Mozambique and Portugal further deteriorated. The total pending transfers (atrasados) of the two Territories which in 1968 amounted to 2,900 million escudos, rose to 5,100 million escudos by the end of 1969, of which Angola's share was 2,900 million escudos and that of Mozambique 2,200 million escudos.

178. In November 1969, further changes were introduced which created what are in effect local branches of the central exchange control machinery. In order to cover their growing transactions, Angola's share in the escudo zone Monetary Fund was increased from 750 to 850 million escudos and that of Mozambique from 450 to 500 million escudos (Decree-Laws 49,304-49,306, 16 October 1969).

179. There are some indications that the Portuguese Government may further revise the existing legislation which provides the framework of economic integration between Portugal and the overseas Territories. The Minister for Overseas Territories indicated in December 1969 that economic integration should not be interpreted as imposing uniformity, but as economic co-ordination of the different parts constituting the "Nation", each of which had its own problems. He also said that enough experience had been gained to revise the system, in order better to adapt it to realities.

180. In February 1970, the Council of Ministers for Economic Affairs discussed in detail "the exchange problem" in the overseas Territories and approved, in general, the immediate measures proposed by the Minister for the Overseas Territories. The details of the proposed measures are not available but in a recent speech, the Minister gave some indication of his ideas on this question. He said that an economic policy which was concerned only with abstract principles of unity but which did not give the Territories the necessary protection, would condemn the Territories to stagnation. Further, to forget the realities of Portugal's geographical surroundings (vizinhança) would lead the country to a

---

ff/ This transaction typically illustrates the problem created by the Portuguese concept of "economic integration". Diamonds produced from Angolan soil are sold by Diamang to Portugal, which then sells the diamonds on the international market and earns the foreign exchange. Deprived of these foreign exchange earnings and the profits, the Territory in turn has to borrow from Diamang and receives a loan in escudos.

crippling isolation, which would contradict international reality and would be against its own interests, because only with a sound economy would Portugal be able to assure its defence, promote progress and build a better life for all Portuguese.

(b) Escudo zone balance of payments with foreign countries

181. In 1968, the over-all balance of international payments for the escudo zone showed a surplus of 4,115 million escudos (see table 6 below). Although this was almost one-third less than in 1967, it was the second largest surplus since 1950. The small surplus of capital movements in 1968 was mainly due to a rise in the deficit of short-term capital movements which amounted to 2,051 million escudos, compared with 622 million escudos in the previous year. There was also a drop of 3,097 to 2,346 million escudos in the surplus of medium and long-term capital movement.

182. The overseas Territories together contributed 2,241 million escudos or more than half of the escudo zone surplus with foreign countries. Of the total surplus, Angola accounted for 1,268 million escudos, compared with Mozambique's 1,072 million escudos. gg/ Of the remaining Territories, those with a surplus were Cape Verde (30 million escudos), São Tomé and Príncipe (94 million escudos), and Timor (136 million escudos); Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, and Macao had deficits amounting to 121 million escudos and 138 million escudos respectively.

gg/ Balance of payments of Angola and Mozambique with foreign countries  
(million escudos)

	<u>Angola</u>			<u>Mozambique</u>		
	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Merchandise	+898	+1,024	+622	-1,288	-1,618	-1,484
Current invisibles and capital	<u>+206</u>	<u>+334</u>	<u>+646</u>	<u>+2,474</u>	<u>+2,541</u>	<u>+2,556</u>
Total	+1,104	+1,358	+1,268	+1,186	+ 923	+1,072

Table 6

International balance of payments of the escudo zone  
1967-1968  
(million escudos)

	<u>Portugal</u>		<u>Overseas Territories</u>		<u>Escudo zone</u>	
	<u>1967</u> (revised)	<u>1968</u>	<u>1967</u> (revised)	<u>1968</u>	<u>1967</u> (revised)	<u>1968</u>
Trade	-9,564	-8,705	-1,317	-1,750	-10,881	-10,455
Invisibles	+10,435	+10,066	+5,732	+4,155	+14,167	+14,221
Total current transactions	+ 875	+ 1,361	+2,415	+2,405	+ 3,286	+ 3,766
Capital movements	+ 2,797	+ 459	- 322	- 164	+ 2,475	+ 295
Errors, omissions	-	-	-	-	+ 306	+ 54
Total	+ 3,672	+ 1,820	+2,093	+2,241	+ 6,067	+ 4,115

Source: Bank of Portugal, Report of the Board of Directors for the year 1968, Lisbon, 1969. Compiled from pp. 134, 136, and 141.

In 1968 net imports of medium- and long-term private capital dropped from 2,983 million escudos in 1967 to 1,995 million escudos, with capital for direct investment decreasing from 616 million to 565 million escudos (see table 7 below). Imports of long-term capital by the public sector are shown in table 8 below.

Table 7

Medium and long-term private capital

Transactions between Portugal and foreign countries  
(million escudos)

	<u>1966</u>		<u>1967</u>		<u>1968</u>	
	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>
Direct investments	735	44	616	31	565	89
Transactions in securities	259	94	226	79	519	15
Credits concerned with merchandise	2,026	1,198	2,234	1,426	2,073	1,899
Loans for financial purposes	1,387	705	1,948	672	1,846	1,117
Capital movements of a personal nature	29	19	22	11	24	18
Sundries	416	63	211	55	110	69
Total	4,852	2,128	5,257	2,274	5,387	3,392
Balance		2,724		2,983		1,995

Source: Bank of Portugal, Report of the Board of Directors for the year 1967, p. 163; ibid., 1968, p. 139.

Table 3

Portugal: Imports of long-term capital by the public sector  
(million escudos)

<u>Operations</u>	<u>1966</u> (revised)	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Loans from United States banks	345	-	-
Loans for the construction of the bridge over the Tagus	318	85	-
External loan in bonds (United States dollars)	499	-	-
Repayment of the loan to Turkey	2	2	3
Loan from <u>Siemens/Kreditanstalt</u> for Postal and Telegraph Service	66	44	15
Loans under the terms of Decree-Law No. 47,296 a/	-	776	44
Credits for shipbuilding	-	<u>851</u>	<u>1,389</u>
Total	1,230	1,758	1,449

Source: Bank of Portugal, Report of the Board of Directors for the year 1967, p. 164, and ibid, 1968, p. 140.

a/ This decree-law of 31 October 1966 authorizes the Minister of Finance to contract internal and external loans to finance the development plans.

183. In December 1969, Portugal's reserves were reported to amount to \$US1,300 million of which 60 per cent was in gold. This was the same amount reported at the end of 1968.

(c) Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973

184. As reported previously, the total planned investment target in the overseas Territories for the six-year period 1968-1973 has been set at 44,480 million escudos. When originally drawn up, it was expected that national sources would provide 64 per cent of the total, including 15 per cent from the central (Portuguese) Government and almost 20 per cent from the territorial governments (see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex I, paras. 53 ff.).

185. The published programme for the implementation of the Third Development Plan in 1968 already envisaged a lower share of financing from both central and territorial Governments. In the 1969 programme, financing from the central

Government dropped to 6.5 per cent and that of the territorial Governments to less than 10 per cent of the total. Compared with 1963, recourse to external financing, however, was to rise from 2,768.7 to 4,170.0 million escudos (see table 9 below).

186. In November 1969 the Government authorized the Governments of Angola and Mozambique to issue a new series of development bonds for the financing of the Third National Development Plan (Decree-Law 49,414, 24 November). In contrast to the previous series authorized in 1965 (Decree-Laws 46,378 and 46,379, 11 June), the new bonds will be amortized in twelve years instead of twenty and will pay an interest rate of 6 per cent instead of 5 per cent.

187. There are no data available yet for 1969. Discussing the external financing, the Minister for Overseas Territories Mr. Silva Cunha said in December 1969 that the Government had already decided that such credits would be necessary for certain projects which exceeded the country's own capacity. The necessary conditions were therefore to give secure guarantees for the import of these funds while at the same time safeguarding national interests.

188. In order to better mobilize financial resources for long-term development projects in the public sector, the Government created a company known as the Portuguese Finance Corporation (Sociedade Financeira Portuguesa, SARL) (Decree-Law 49,273, 27 September 1969). Its main functions are to study, promote and undertake any kind of financial operations and investments, especially those which involve relations with foreign countries. It will make long-term loans to new industries, encourage mergers, and act in an advisory capacity and as a trustee in industries that need nationalization. The company is also to mobilize the necessary capital in undertakings previously left to foreign sources. Through the company, foreign capital may participate in selected projects either by direct financing or by long-term loans or through holdings of share capital. The Sociedade Financeira Portuguesa has an initial capital of 1,000 million escudos (approximately \$US30 million) subscribed by the Portuguese Government and the overseas Territories and various banking and credit institutions in Portugal.

Table 9

THIRD NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1968-1973

Financing programmes of the overseas Territories  
1968 and 1969  
(million escudos)

Sources	1968	1969
I. National sources	<u>5,731.3</u>	<u>6,305.1</u>
1. Government	<u>3,060.8</u>	<u>3,014.0</u>
Central	1,079.7	679.5
Territorial	1,582.4	1,099.7
Autonomous bodies	16.4	801.8
Beira Railway	97.0	82.5
Other	285.3	350.4
2. Credit institutions	<u>574.2</u>	<u>524.1</u>
3. Private companies	<u>2,096.3</u>	<u>2,767.1</u>
II. External (foreign)	<u>2,768.7</u>	<u>4,170.0</u>
1. Financing or for purchase of equipment	207.7	1,800.0
2. Direct investments	2,561.0	2,370.0
Total.	8,500.0	10,475.013

Source: Portugal, Presidência do Conselho, III Plano de Fomento, Programa de Execução para 1968, pp. 116-117; ibid., Programa de Execução para 1969, pp. 84-85.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF PORTUGAL AFFECTING  
THE TERRITORIES UNDER ITS ADMINISTRATION

(a) Relations with South Africa

189. According to Portugal, its relations in southern Africa are based on the principles of "good neighbourliness" and "common interests". Various South African and Portuguese official statements have stressed their common concern in the defence of southern Africa. Discussing his country's relations with Portugal, the South African Foreign Minister was reported in the Portuguese Press as saying in April 1969: "We are two very friendly countries and we are perfectly identified with each other as defenders of civilization in Africa. We have a common mission to fulfil and we are fulfilling it. We South Africans, Government and people, respect and admire Portugal, and we are fully aware that, in confronting and defeating terrorism, the Portuguese are rendering a noteworthy service to the West and to humanity itself."

190. During the year, there were visits of various high level government officials between the two countries. South African officials who visited Lisbon included the Defence Minister, General Piet Botha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hilgard Muller (both of whom were returning earlier visits made by their Portuguese counterparts to South Africa) and the Minister of Justice, Mr. P.C. Pelser. Later in the year, the Portuguese Minister of State, Mr. Alfredo Vaz Pinto, visited South Africa in connexion with the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Vasco da Gama. In December the Chairman of the Bank of Angola, which has its headquarters in Lisbon, made a business trip to South Africa.

191. There is continued interest in the military relations between the two countries. In May 1969, an article in The Economist reported the existence of a secret military pact between Portugal and South Africa. It also reported that two South African battalions were defending the Cabora Bassa Dam and that South Africa was planning to establish a military base in Angola. At a news conference in June, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. Nogueira, denied the existence of any military pact between the two countries. He said, "There is no military pact with South Africa neither an open one nor a secret one. There is no South African base or para-military base or force in Angola. There is no offer of a base for the South Africans."

192. Replying to a question as to how far his country would go to help fight the "terrorists" in Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Balthazar Vorster, said in November 1969 that his country would fight "terrorism" whenever the Governments concerned asked for help.

193. There have been various newspaper stories of regular meetings between the intelligence services of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In July 1969, the Portuguese newspaper, Diario de Noticias, reported a high level meeting of South African and Southern Rhodesian police officers with the Portuguese Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE). This was one of the periodical meetings within the established programme.

194. Close collaboration between Portugal and South Africa is also being developed in the economic and technical fields. During the year, the South African Foreign Trade Association first sent a trade mission to Angola, and later planned to organize a similar mission to Portugal to discuss with the National Development Bank and other government departments such matters as financing, franchise and distribution agreements. In September 1969, Angola and Mozambique also sent a joint trade delegation to South Africa.

195. Angola and Mozambique participated in the 67th Congress of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in which both the Institute of Angola and the Mozambique Studies Society are members. The Mozambique delegate presented a paper on the mining of beryllium in that Territory. On behalf of Angola, a proposal was made to invite the SAAAS to hold its 1971 meeting in Luanda.

196. Other developments towards an integrated southern Africa include the completion of a road link between Angola and Mozambique through South Africa, and a meeting in Lourenço Marques of the Congresso de Hidrologia da Africa Austral in October 1969. The road link which joins Nova Lisboa in Angola with Vila Pery in Mozambique, through Namibia, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia reduces the overland travel time between the two Territories from eight to four days.

197. Representatives from Portugal, South Africa and Swaziland met in Lourenço Marques to discuss matters concerning the development of the rivers bordering Mozambique, and in particular the Maputo, Incomati and Lumbelúzi Rivers. Portugal has already drawn up a plan for the construction of a power station (at an estimated cost of 1,000 million escudos) on the Maputo River. The plan is awaiting agreement from South Africa and Swaziland pending an over all study of the three river basins.

198. Among other recent developments, in October 1969 the South African fleet visited Angola for three weeks. The fleet, comprising a helicopter carrier, a frigate, a tanker and two mine dredgers, carried a total of 50 officers and 577 men. After calling at Luanda, Lobito and Moçâmedes, the fleet engaged in naval manoeuvres off the coast of Angola before returning to its base at Simonstown in South Africa.

199. In 1969 there was a press report that Portugal was helping South Africa in its development of nuclear weapons by supplying the necessary raw materials. However, so far Angola produces no radioactive materials and Mozambique only small quantities of materials such as beryllium, colombite and tantalite. Following the visit of the Chairman of the South African Atomic Energy Board to Lisbon in February 1969, the two countries agreed upon an exchange of nuclear activities. In March 1970, representatives of the two countries met in Lourenço Marques for further talks on nuclear energy activities.

(b) Relations with Southern Rhodesia

200. During 1969, Portugal's relations with Southern Rhodesia remained unchanged. In spite of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), Portugal continued to maintain consular relations with the Smith régime and the Portuguese airline Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP) continued its service to Salisbury, the main object of which (according to an official statement) is to provide rapid communications with the numerous Portuguese living in Southern Rhodesia.

201. Early in 1969, Foreign Minister Nogueira denied that Portugal was responsible for the subsistence and survival of Southern Rhodesia. He claimed that Portugal's help was minimal as Southern Rhodesian imports and exports through Mozambique were only a small part of the total. He asserted that it was not Portugal "who sells to or buys from Rhodesia". He further stated that none of the ships carrying petroleum for Southern Rhodesia were Portuguese nor were any in the service of Portuguese companies.

202. In June 1969, a high-level trade delegation from Southern Rhodesia visited Portugal for the seventh in a series of routine biannual meetings to keep Rhodesian-Portuguese trade under review. The Southern Rhodesian team was headed by the "Secretary of the Department of Commerce" and the Portuguese team by the Portuguese Consul General in Salisbury. The agenda of the meetings was not disclosed, but press reports suggested that Portugal's trade relations with Southern Rhodesia would remain unchanged even if Portugal decided to withhold recognition of the "Republic".

203. In a letter dated 13 October 1969, addressed to the President of the Security Council, Dr. Caetano, as the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs a.i., again asked the Security Council to consider Portugal's claims for compensation for loss of revenue in Mozambique in connexion with the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The letter claimed that the losses "in the course of 1968 and during the first half of 1969 amounted to £11,438,722" (\$/9476 and Corr.1). The details of this claim are reported in the background paper on Mozambique (see annex I.C below).

(c) Relations with Brazil

204. In July 1969, Prime Minister Caetano paid an official visit to Brazil to strengthen common ties and to further cultural, trade, technical and economic co operation between the two countries. Discussing the overseas Territories, Dr. Caetano said in a speech in Rio de Janeiro that he realized that many people in Brazil compared Angola and Mozambique with the situation of Brazil in 1822. However, the comparison was not accurate as it had been the Portuguese settlers in Brazil who had declared independence and who had continued the cultural work previously undertaken by Portugal. In contrast, the African movements which demanded independence "wanted to expel or banish the whites".

205. During the year there were several reports on proposals for a South Atlantic defence pact between Brazil and Portugal and South Africa. After the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs visited Brazil and Argentina early in 1969, the question of a South Atlantic defence pact was raised in the South African Parliament. In particular the decision of South Africa to purchase three submarines from France gave further weight to the possibility of such a pact. When he visited Brazil, Prime Minister Caetano officially put forward the view that Portugal and Brazil as Atlantic countries shared a responsibility for the security of the southern hemisphere, and that Cape Verde, Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Angola all held key positions to that security.

206. In July 1969 Brazil addressed a communication to the Chairman of the Committee on Apartheid officially denying that it had had discussions with South Africa on the possibility of the conclusion of a South Atlantic defence pact (A/AC.115/L.261).

207. A Brazilian trade mission led by Mr. Machado de Campos, President of the São Paulo Trade Association, visited Angola, Mozambique and Portugal in 1969 with a view to extending Brazil's trade relations with the escudo zone. In an interview at the end of the visit, one of the members of the delegation, Mr. Arrobas Martins, Secretary of State for the Treasury of the State of São Paulo, put forward the view that Brazil and Portugal together with the overseas Territories should cease to compete with each other but should join in establishing a Luso Brazilian economic community which would compete with other economic groups. He suggested that a permanent centre should be established in Luanda in Angola, to study the problems of Luso Brazilian economic integration. He also announced that Brazil was interested in purchasing various products from Angola and Mozambique and that the Bank of the State of São Paulo would open branches in Luanda and Lourenço Marques to provide the necessary facilities for future operations.

(d) Relations with the United States

208. It was reported in January 1970 that the Export-Import Bank of the United States had granted the Portuguese national airline TAP a loan of \$US4,172,850. This loan will be used for the purchase of two Boeing 707 planes and equipment, the total cost of which amounts to \$US18.5 million. This is the second such loan by the Export Import Bank to TAP. The previous loan was for \$US15.2 million which was used towards the purchase of three Super-Constellations, one Boeing 727, and three Boeing 707 planes. TAP has regular flights to Cape Verde, Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.

209. In his recent report entitled "The United States and Africa in the 70's", Secretary of State Mr. Rogers defines his country's policy on the Territories under Portuguese administration as follows:

"As for the Portuguese Territories, we shall continue to believe that their peoples should have the right to self-determination. We shall encourage peaceful progress toward that goal. The declared Portuguese policy of racial toleration is an important factor in this equation. We think this holds genuine hope for the future. Believing that resort to force and violence is in no one's interest, we imposed an embargo in 1961 against the shipment of arms for use in the Portuguese Territories. We have maintained this embargo and will continue to do so."

B. ANGOLA\*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
General . . . . .	1	140
Constitutional and political . . . . .	2 - 58	140
Military activities . . . . .	59 - 91	157
Economic conditions . . . . .	92 - 147	164
Education . . . . .	148 - 161	179
Map . . . . .		182

---

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.625/Add.1

## B. ANGOLA

### GENERAL

1. Angola lies on the southwest Atlantic coast of Africa between 4°22' S and 18°03' S in latitude and between 24°05' E.G. and 11°41' E.G. in longitude. Except for the Cabinda enclave which is administered as part of it, the entire Territory lies south of the Congo River. The total area of the Territory is 1,246,700 square kilometres. At the 1960 census the total resident population of the Territory was 4,830,449 of whom 172,529 were listed as "branco"; 53,392 were listed as "mestiço"; 4,604,362 as "preto"; and 166 as others. In 1967, the total population of Angola was officially estimated at 5,292,800.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL<sup>a/</sup>

2. Under the Portuguese Constitution and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, Angola is considered to be an overseas province of Portugal. The Political and Administrative Statute of Angola is contained in Decree 45,374 of 22 November 1963. As an overseas province, Angola is represented in the following central organs of government: the National Assembly, the Overseas Council and the Corporative Chamber.

#### (a) Territorial Government

3. The territorial Government of Angola comprises the Governor-General and the provincial secretariats, the Legislative Council and the Economic and Social Council. The authority of the territorial Government is limited to matters exclusively concerning Angola other than those reserved to the Government of Portugal. The territorial Government is under the direct authority of the Overseas Minister and the Overseas Council, the highest consultative organ for the Overseas Ministry.

4. According to the Political and Administrative Statute the Governor-General is the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory. From October 1962 to November 1966 the Governor-General was also the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in Angola. Since Lieut.-Col. Rebocho Vaz became Governor-General in November 1966, there has been a separate commander-in-chief of the armed forces in Angola, appointed by the Minister of Defence after consulting the Overseas Minister.

#### (i) Provincial secretariats

5. Each of the provincial secretariats is headed by a provincial secretary appointed by the Overseas Minister on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Each provincial secretary is responsible for a group of services. When the system was introduced in 1963, six provincial secretariats were created in Angola. These

<sup>a/</sup> For a more detailed description of the Constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8, (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chapter V, paras. 17-73 and 112-116, and annex I.A above, paras. 18-82.

were: (a) Civil and Political Administration; (b) Health, Labour, Social Security and Welfare; (c) Education, including responsibility for the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth); (d) Economic Affairs, including statistics, geology, mining and customs; (e) Rural development, including forestry, veterinary services, geography and land surveys, and settlement; and (f) Public Works and Communications. The head of the Provincial Secretariat of Civil and Political Administration is the Secretary-General (his office is also known as the General Secretariat) who, in the absence of the Governor-General, is responsible for the government of the Territory.

6. As part of the Portuguese Government's plan of "administrative decentralization", three of the provincial secretariats have been reorganized since April 1969. First, in addition to the Provincial Secretariat of Economic Affairs, a new Provincial Secretariat of Planning, Economic Integration, Treasury and Accounts has been added which took over responsibility for these matters together with that for statistics, customs, credit and insurance (Decree 48,955 of 7 April 1969). Second, the Secretariat of Health, Labour, Social Security and Welfare has been replaced by two Secretariats, one for health and welfare and one for labour, social security and social action. Third, the Provincial Secretariat of Public Works and Communications has also been replaced by two secretariats, one for public works and one for communications. These last two changes were introduced in January 1970.

7. When the new Provincial Secretariat of Planning, Economic Integration, Treasury and Accounts was created the Overseas Minister said that it reflected the importance the Government attached to the question of economic and social planning in the overseas Territories. However, the President of the Industrial Association of Angola has criticized the inadequacy of the change since in his view too many different services and activities were still concentrated under the two new Secretariats. In his view there is a need for three separate Secretariats to deal with economic matters: one for planning, one for economic integration and another for the Treasury and Accounts.

(ii) Civil service

8. The civil service in Angola comprises two categories of personnel: the quadro comum do Ultramar (general staff of the Overseas Ministry), which corresponds to what is generally known as the Colonial Service, and the quadro privativo (private staff) of the Territory. The general staff is under the authority of the Overseas Minister who may, however, delegate his authority to the Governor-General. Civil servants with the rank of concelho or circunscrição administrator (see below) or higher belong to the general staff. The private staff of the Territory, which comes directly under the authority of the Governor-General, comprises civil servants at lower levels. There is also a supplementary staff (quadro complementar) which comprises physicians, technical and railway personnel as well as persons on short-term appointments.

9. In the past ten years the Angolan Government has had increasing difficulties in filling vacancies, especially in the technical services. In 1966 and again in 1969 the Portuguese Government liberalized conditions of entry into the middle level and senior technical posts (see above). During 1969 several categories of staff were recruited in Angola under the new provisions, including locutores and operadores (speakers and technicians) for the government radio station, agentes de fiscalização (inspectors) for the Fishing Institute, and operários (workers) for the Veterinary Research Institute.

(iii) Legislative Council

10. The Legislative Council of Angola comprises thirty-six members, of whom two are ex officio (the Attorney-General and the Treasurer), and thirty-four are elected by different interest groups as follows:

- 3 by individual taxpayers registered as paying direct taxes amounting to a minimum of 15,000 escudos; b/
- 3 by corporative bodies representative of employers and associations of economic interests;
- 3 by corporative bodies representative of workers' interests;
- 3 by bodies representative of religious and cultural interests, one of whom must always be a Catholic missionary;
- 3 by autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities) from among their own members (see annex I.A above, para. 45);
- 4 by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest;
- 15 by direct franchise (one for each electoral district). c/

11. Members of the Council serve a four-year term. Candidates to the Legislative Council must: (a) be Portuguese citizens by birth; (b) be of age (21 years); (c) read and write Portuguese; (d) have resided in Angola for over three years; and (e) not be a government official or a member of the administrative service of active status.

12. Elections to the Legislative Council are governed by the Electoral Law of 6 December 1963 (Decree 45,408). As already discussed elsewhere the conditions qualifying the right to vote in the direct elections are more restrictive than those for the elections to the National Assembly (see A/5800/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 54-64).

13. The last elections to the Legislative Council were held in December 1967. As reported previously, at the time there was very little news on the electorate voting in the direct elections and the names of those elected. d/ Since then the list of special interest groups who were registered to vote in the indirect elections has become available. Table 1 below shows how important a role the economic interests in Luanda and Benguela play in the elections to the Legislative Council.

---

b/ One escudo equals \$US.035.

c/ For a comparison with the structure in force prior to the 1963 Statute, see A/5800/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 31-40 and 114.

d/ For details, see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, paras. 14-15.

Table 1

Special interest groups registered to vote in the  
1967 elections to the Legislative Council

District	Interest group Individual taxpayers <u>a/</u>	Employers and associations of economic interests	Workers' interests	Religious and cultural interests	Administrative bodies
Cabinda	-	1	2	1	2
Zaire	11	-	-	-	3
Uíge	116	-	2	2	10
Luanda	573	8	6	15	22
Cuanza-North	55	1	2	2	11
Cuanza-South	91	2	2	-	13
Malanje	28	2	2	3	5
Lunda	12	-	-	-	2
Benguela	112	4	2	8	11
Huambo	50	3	2	4	11
Bié	58	2	2	3	9
Moxico	20	1	2	2	6
Cuando Cubango	11	-	-	-	2
Moçâmedes	51	2	2	1	4
Huíla	58	2	2	2	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,246</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>122</b>

Source: Angola, Boletim Oficial, Series II (No. 110), 10 October 1967.

a/ Paying over 15,000 escudos in direct taxes.

14. During 1969, the Council considered new regulations concerning industrial decentralization (see below) and the need for a general tax reform in Angola. It also received a proposal for the establishment of a committee to revise the regimento (rules of procedure) of the Legislative Council with a view to liberalizing its discussions. This proposal was, however, subsequently rejected by the Council.

(iv) Economic and Social Council<sup>e/</sup>

15. Elections to the Economic and Social Council are held once every four years and coincide with the elections to the Legislative Council. The last elections to the Economic and Social Council were held in December 1967 (see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, para. 14).

16. In 1969, among other matters, the Economic and Social Council considered a number of loans to municipal councils totalling over 200 million escudos (some \$US7 million) for urban improvements in the Territory. Following the resignation of one of the members elected by representatives of employers' associations in November, elections to fill the post for the rest of the term were first scheduled for the end of the year and later postponed until 15 January 1970. The published list of voters qualified to take part in these elections comprises twenty-eight associations of economic interests from eleven districts. Of these associations eight are in Luanda District. No economic associations were listed from the districts of Cuando Cubango, Lunda, Uíge and Zaire.

(v) Local administration

17. Angola is divided into fifteen districts (see table 2, A, below) each of which is administered by a district governor who is appointed directly by the Overseas Minister. Under the legislation of 1962 (Decree 44,221, 19 March), at least half of the district governors of the Territory must be appointed from the career civil service from among the administrative level (district intendentes and administrative inspectors with a university degree). In 1969, however, nine out of the fifteen district governors had a military rank. f/

18. Below the district level, the areas which have reached the required level of "economic and social development" are divided into concelhos. Areas predominantly inhabited by the African population and which do not yet meet these requirements are divided into what are called circunscrições. Both concelhos and circunscrições may include within their boundaries, in addition to urban centres, extensive rural areas which instead of being divided into parishes (freguesias) as in Portugal, are divided into postos administrativos (administrative posts), under the authority of a chefe de posto.

---

e/ The composition of the Economic and Social Council is described in annex I.A above, paras. 76-77.

f/ These districts were: Benguela, Bié, Cabinda, Cuando Cubango, Cuanza-South, Lunda, Moçâmedes, Uíge and Zaire.

19. As explained in the general section Portuguese policy aims at establishing in the Territories the same type of local administrative divisions as in Portugal, based on the concelho and the freguesia as the autarquias locais (local autonomous units) with elected local authorities. Accordingly, in time, as the areas now classified as circunscrições and administrative posts evolve, they are reclassified. It is therefore of interest to note that between 1963 and 1967 the number of concelhos in Angola increased by more than one third from sixty-nine to ninety-six. Since each concelho has its elected local authority, the up-grading of an area into a concelho implies the existence of a minimum number of voters and accordingly is of political significance. In most cases, it is probably fair to assume that concelhos have been created following a growth in European population.

20. As explained in the Governor-General's orders, some recent changes in the administrative structure have been for the purpose of better occupation of those areas and for providing more efficient services. This was the reason given in 1968, for instance, when parts of four circunscrições were up-graded into four new concelhos in Malanje District (Angola, Portaria 15,358, 12 January 1968), the two existing concelhos and parts of three circunscrições were reorganized into five concelhos in the Lunda District (Angola, Portaria 15,362, 13 January 1968) and, in the Cuando Cubango District, the only concelho was divided into two (Angola, Portaria 15,361, 13 January 1968). In addition to the creation of new concelhos there have also been other changes in the administrative division in some districts as a result of resettling the African population, either as part of the territorial reordenamento rural (rural regrouping project) g/ or as a result of the creation of aldeamentos (strategic villages).

21. In 1967 there were 421 administrative posts. In seven of the districts affected by guerrilla activity a number of new administrative posts were established in 1968 to extend government control to those areas. The seven districts so affected were Bié, Cabinda, Cuando Cubango, Cuanza-North, Luanda, Lunda and Malanje.

22. The chefe de posto is the lowest level of Portuguese authority in the Territory. He has responsibility for the African population in the administrative post under his authority. In his administrative duties he is assisted by the regedores and the headmen. One of the functions of regedores and the sobas (headmen) is to collect from the Africans living in the area under their authority the annual imposto geral mínimo (general minimum tax) which is levied on all males between 18 and 60 years of age. h/

---

g/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II, (A/6700/Rev.1), chapter V, paras. 161-166.

h/ The following, among others, are exempt from this tax: (a) persons paying a professional tax more than the general minimum tax rate fixed for their area but less than 480 escudos; (b) persons drafted into the armed forces for the duration of their military service; (c) military personnel at war; (d) students up to 21 years of age attending courses which require completion of the third cycle of secondary education (i.e., seven years of secondary education); and (e) persons who have served in the militia for over three months of the year. (Diploma Legislativo 3844, 22 August 1968).



Table 2 (continued)

B. Number of concelhos and circunscrições, 1963 and 1967

<u>District</u>	<u>Concelhos</u>		<u>Circunscrições</u>	
	<u>1963</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1967</u>
Cabinda	2	2	1	2
Zaire	3	3	3	3
Uíge	9	10	2	3
Luanda	6	8	1	-
Cuanza-North	6	11	-	-
Cuanza-South	7	12	-	-
Malanje	3	3	4	4
Lunda	2	2	3	3
Benguela	6	7	-	-
Huambo	5	10	-	-
Bié	5	8	1	1
Moxico	2	6	3	3
Quando Cubango	1	1	3	4
Moçâmedes	3	3	-	1
Huíla	9	10	2	3
	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
Total	69	96	23	27

Source: Angola, <sup>o</sup> Recenseamento Geral da População, Luanda, 1960; Angola, Direcção dos Serviços de Economia e Estatística Geral, 1964.

For 1963: Political and Administrative Statute of Angola of 1963 (Decree 45,374 of 22 November 1963).

For 1967: Angola, Anuário Estatístico, Luanda, 1967; Angola, Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística, 1968.

a/ 1960 census.

b/ In 1967, the total population of Angola was estimated at 5,292,800. In 1968, the population of the city of Luanda was estimated at 320,000.

23. To encourage the collection of this tax, the Government gives the regedores and the headmen a financial reward. In 1967 (Diploma Legislativo 3,788, 30 December), regedores and headmen who collected at least 70 per cent of the estimated taxes due collectively received 5 per cent of the total amount of taxes actually collected. In 1968 the method of payment was changed. Regedores and headmen are now paid a monthly salary proportionate to the general minimum tax collected (Diploma Legislativo 3,844, 22 August 1968). The rates fixed are as follows:

	<u>Monthly salary</u> (escudos)
<u>Regedores</u>	
More than 1,000 taxpayers	1,000
From 500 to 1,000 taxpayers	750
Less than 500 taxpayers	500
<u>Headmen of groups of hamlets</u>	
More than 1,000 taxpayers	500
From 500 to 1,000 taxpayers	300
Less than 500 taxpayers	200

Headmen of single hamlets are not paid a monthly salary. Instead, those who collect more than 50 per cent of the estimated taxes due receive 2 per cent of the total amount collected.

24. From 1964 to 1966 the total revenue from this source fluctuated around 250 million escudos. In 1968 revenue from the general minimum tax rose for the first time to 317.8 million escudos. In 1969, the amount to be distributed among 1,135 regedores and 3,275 headmen was estimated at 17.8 million escudos.

25. In most of the districts in Angola there are two levels of local bodies: the district board at the district level and the câmaras municipais (municipal councils) in the concelhos. In a few districts, including Luanda, there are also parish boards (juntas de freguesias) the basic unit of local authority in Portugal. In the circunscrições, there are comissões municipais (municipal committees) and in the administrative posts there are local boards (juntas locais). (See general section, annex I.A above.)

26. The district board which is partly elected i/ and includes one representative of the regedorias in the district, has only "deliberative and consultative" functions. It is not an administrative body and does not have a budget of its own. It advises the district governor on the district budget and on matters relating to the supervision of the local administrative bodies.

27. As the highest authority in the district, it is the responsibility of the district governor to supervise the implementation of public works, particularly in rural areas, to which funds are specifically allocated in the Territory budget. In 1968, for example, the Malanje District's expenditure amounted to 20 million escudos of which 7.4 million escudos was for construction of new schools, 5.7 million escudos for government buildings and housing for administrative staff,

i/ The last elections to the district boards in Angola were held in 1968.

2.7 million escudos for electrification, 2.0 million escudos for health facilities, 1.5 million escudos for water supplies to forty-five groups of povoações (hamlets), and the remainder for dams and water supply for livestock.

28. Although road construction is the responsibility of a separate statutory body, the Roads Board, the district governors also have an important role in the planning, co-ordination and supervision of the actual construction. In 1968, expenditure on road construction alone in Malanje District amounted to another 20 million escudos.

29. The district governor is also responsible for the implementation of the rural regrouping plans of the African population for which a separate budget exists. In 1969, the Governor of Cuanza-North District dedicated a number of projects under the rural regrouping plans for the Dembos concelho. These included water supplies, health posts and schools.

30. In 1968, when the last elections to municipal councils were held in Angola, there were over 100 municipal councils and municipal committees in the Territory. Elections to the Luanda Municipal Council were held in February 1969 after the membership had been increased from six to ten (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, para. 12). At that time a Luanda periodical (Revista de Angola, 28 February 1969) criticized the way the Luanda elections were being conducted and the lack of information available to the public on the background of the candidates, as well as the lack of information on the results of the elections.

31. Under the Political and Administrative Statute of Angola, the câmara municipal (municipal council) is the "autonomous" administrative body of the concelho. However, it appears from press reports that these local bodies are concerned mainly with urban problems within the town boundaries as shown by their budgetary responsibilities. For example, in 1969, the programme of work of the Municipal Council of Carmona, j/ the capital of Uíge District, consisted of projects such as the extension of the electricity supply and water supply networks, paving of highways, extension of the sewerage system, and construction of a market in a new section of the town. Of these projects, the maintenance of roads is the only one which affects the entire concelho and, in any case, the main responsibility lies with the Roads Board.

32. As an autonomous local authority, each municipal council has its own budget which is partly subsidized from the territorial budget. These municipal councils may also contract loans with the approval of the Economic and Social Council to finance public works within their own concelhos. The rural markets where Africans sell their agricultural products are also an important source of revenue for some of the councils. Other sources of revenue are water rates and sale of urban land that has been delineated to the council.

33. Some of the municipal councils have budgets comparable to the average district budget. In 1969, the Carmona Municipal Council's total expenditure, for instance, was 17 million escudos, of which 50 per cent went to subsidize public works and repay loans contracted by the council, 30 per cent for staff salaries, and 20 per cent for new public work projects.

j/ At the 1960 census, the town of Carmona had a population of 40,048 of which 2,207 were listed as brancos, 651 as mestiços and 37,190 as pretos. The total population of the concelho was 50,956.

34. During the past year, the local press has frequently reported on the activities of the larger municipal councils, including those of Luanda (320,000 inhabitants), Lobito (89,000), Nova Lisboa (49,000), Benguela (33,000), Malanje (33,000), Sá da Bandeira (18,000) and Moçâmedes (11,000). k/ These councils appear to be gaining more voice in the management of their local affairs. Many of them have contracted new loans to finance the expansion of electricity and water supplies, and other facilities, including in some cases urban housing projects. The growing political importance of the municipal councils is also reflected in the last elections to the National Assembly as a result of which three out of Angola's seven deputies are members of various local bodies (see below).

(b) General developments

35. During his visit to Angola in April 1969, Prime Minister Caetano gave the opening speech of the 1969 session of the Angola Legislative Council. In the course of his speech, he reaffirmed Portugal's commitment to defend the Territory. Discussing the economic growth of Angola, he said that the course of progress would accelerate irreversibly, provided there was confidence in the future. He pointed out, however, that such confidence depended on peace in the Territory. In order to speed up development in Angola, foreign capital, new enterprises and new techniques would be welcome provided they would benefit the people and the Territory. "We abhor an economy of exploitation," he said, "we are only interested in wealth when it really serves man."

36. During the year, with a view to establishing direct contacts with the people and to improving co-operation between the Government and private interests, the Governor-General toured ten of the fifteen districts of the Territory. He visited Zaire in March; Benguela in May and June; Bié, Huambo, Moxico and Uíge in June; Malanje in June and July; Lunda in June and again in September; Huíla in August; and Cuando Cubango in December. In each district he held meetings with representatives of economic interests, l/ regedores and sobas (traditional authorities), and Catholic and Protestant missionaries. He also visited military camps and aldeamentos.

37. In the course of his tour he explained government policy, answered criticisms, and stressed Portugal's desire to live in peace with the African countries having common borders with Angola. At Malanje, the administrative centre of one of the main cotton-producing districts, the Governor-General said that the war would not be won by "the Agostinho Netos, the Holden Robertos, and their partisans" because it actually had served to strengthen the links of the overseas Territories with Portugal. He warned, however, that the war could not be resolved in months as some optimists had suggested. In Lunda District, which has a long common border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo, he expressed regret that the "hostile political policy" of the Democratic Republic of the Congo towards Portugal had resulted in losses for both countries. He recalled the traditional friendship enjoyed by Angolans and Congolese in the past and appealed for renewed co-operation.

---

k/ Unofficial estimates for 1968.

l/ In Benguela, for instance, he met with industrialists, businessmen and sisal growers at the Benguela Commercial Association.

He said, "We need peace, good relations along our borders, economic and cultural co-operation; we need to unite all efforts to prevent communist doctrines from setting fire or continuing to set fire in this beautiful and powerful Africa." In Cuando Cubango District which has a common border with Zambia, the Governor-General said that the Government of Zambia should consider that the practice of allowing or stimulating subversion in neighbouring territories could turn against Zambia itself.

38. His visit to Cuando Cubango District was particularly important, because until the opening of the eastern front by the liberation movements this district had been relatively neglected. The military commander of the district noted in his welcoming speech that it had been five years since the Governor-General had visited the district, but despite financial, technical and human problems, a network of roads was being built. Accompanied by the military commander, the Governor-General visited various points on the border of Cuando Cubango adjoining Zambia, including Nerequinha, Mavinga and Liana, where troops are permanently stationed. He also visited some of the more important population centres, as well as the newly established naval base at Vila Nova da Armada.

39. Commenting on the problems of the district, the Governor-General said at Serpa Pinto that the Government unfortunately did not have the means to finance the roads, airports, schools and hospital which were needed, although taxes had been raised three times since he took office. The "atmosphere of insecurity" in the Territory made it necessary that all should be willing to make new sacrifices.

40. On several occasions he appealed for more co-operation by private business with the Government. He suggested that basic decisions and over-all policy planning could gradually become the joint responsibility of the Government and private interests. He appealed to European settlers in Huíla District to help the Africans whom the Portuguese had generously integrated in their world but without forgetting that the Africans too constituted a civilization. He told settlers that if they wished to prevent the extinction of the Portuguese culture in Africa they should never behave in a way that could be detrimental to those who lived side by side with the Portuguese but who had less opportunity and who were weaker.

41. In February 1970, the Governor-General toured Moxico District where he visited the principal towns and military posts along the border.

(c) Elections to the National Assembly<sup>m/</sup>

42. The entire Territory of Angola, with a population of more than five million inhabitants, constitutes a single electoral district, represented by seven deputies in the National Assembly. At the 1969 elections in Angola there was only one slate of candidates, representing the National Union, who were duly elected. There were no candidates from the opposition groups.

43. Of the seven deputies for Angola four were born in Angola and three in Portugal; only one is of African descent. All but one of them are also members of other elected bodies in Angola or Portugal. Five of the deputies

---

<sup>m/</sup> For an over-all description of the elections, see annex I.A, above.

in the National Assembly are also members of the Angola Legislative Council; of these five, three are also members of local government bodies, and one represents Angola in the Overseas Council. The Portuguese system apparently permits the same person to hold office simultaneously at the local, territorial and national levels. Of the other two, one is also a member of the Luanda Municipal Council, and the other, who is a lawyer and journalist, appears to be the only representative who holds no other elective office.

44. According to an unofficial source, at the 1964 elections to the National Assembly 174,281 persons were registered as voters; this represented 3.5 per cent of the total population of Angola. Detailed results of the 1969 elections for Angola are not yet available. The provisional figures which have been published for only some voting centres in four districts show that an average of less than 4 per cent of the population qualified as voters. As seen from the published figures which are reproduced in table 3 below, in most areas over 90 per cent of those registered went to the polls. However, at Ambaca and Bula Atuamba, in Cuanza-North, where there has been considerable guerrilla activity, the percentage of voters attending the polls was much lower.

45. During the election campaign, the National Union candidates made no reference to the Prime Minister's four-point overseas policy. In most of their speeches the candidates stressed their categorical support for the intransigent defence of Portugal's national unity and supported the view that any discussion of the overseas question was in fact treason. They appealed to the electorate to vote because to be present at the elections was a means of making the enemy understand "the strength of our union and determination".

46. In a speech setting forth the programme of action of the National Union for Angola, Mr. Neto de Miranda noted that since 1961 Angola had been fighting on two fronts, a war front and a peace front. These two were intimately connected as the future of Angola depended on the solution of both its political and economic problems. Any political programme for the Territory, however, had to be guided by the three fundamental principles of Portugal's overseas policy: multiracial integration, awareness of a common nationality and the inalienability of the national territory. In the plural society of Angola in which two distinct cultures give rise to economic differences the Government's social policy has to give priority to social improvement of the rural populations, and thereby achieve greater social justice. There should also be more open and courageous co-operation with the Africans in Angola. It should not be forgotten that the great majority of Africans were favourably disposed towards the Europeans, and that they were all Portuguese entitled to the same legal rights. This was the most prominent problem in the overseas Territories. The integration problem was even more significant in the urban areas as the warm relationship between Africans and Europeans in the rural areas tended to disappear with urban growth. Among the economic questions requiring urgent attention were a realistic solution of the problems of economic integration, especially inter-territorial payments; the revision of land concession legislation to provide for a rational utilization; a change in the government settlement policy so as to improve the living conditions of those already settled and to attract newcomers; and a more liberal policy on credit and capital investment.

47. There was considerably more coverage of the electoral campaign in the Angolan press than in 1965, but much less information than in the press in Portugal. As far as is known, none of the local newspapers published the

Table 3

Angola: partial results of elections to the National Assembly, 1969

Registered voters

<u>Voting centre</u>	<u>Number of voters</u>	<u>As percentage of population a/</u>	<u>Votes cast</u>
<u>Moçâmedes District</u>			
Porto Alexandre	414	6.5	411
Baía dos Tigres	66	4.9	56
Virei	26	4.6	25
Vila Arriaga	84	1.0	81
Capangombe	58	3.5	57
Caitou	26	1.8	26
São Nicolau	40	8.1	40
Lucira	94	6.6	85
Lola	37	0.7	37
<u>Cuanza-North District</u>			
Banga	491	3.8	484
Ambaca	718	2.9	618
Quiculungo	471	6.3	471
Bula Atumba	510	3.9	440
<u>Zaire District</u>			
Tamboco	201	4.4	198
Ambrizete	213	2.0	211
<u>Malanje District</u>			
Duque de Bragança	791	1.5	791
Nova Gaia	187	1.0	187
Luquembo	1,359	...	1,326
Forte República	126	0.6	126
Marimba	43	...	43
Montalegre	129	...	124
Quirima	98	0.5	85

Source: Angola, Diário de Luanda, 27 October 1969.

a/ Percentage calculated on population figures of 1960 census.

opposition views on the overseas problem, though several editorials denounced those views as "treason" because they conflicted with the "superior national interests". The Diário de Luanda, for instance, denounced the CEUD as "inept and dangerous" and said that only traitors asked such questions as whether "there is or there is not a growing percentage of Africans enrolled in the various school levels, whether it is possible for Africans to have access to higher standards of living, and whether Africans have or have not been chosen for positions which carry economic and social power." (see also annex I.A above).

48. Editorials in both the Diário de Luanda and the usually more liberal ABC-Diário de Angola took the position that Portugal could not survive without its overseas Territories. The Diário de Luanda said in one editorial: "A future without the overseas would strip Portugal of the greatness we all wish for it, depriving it of sources of wealth and, most of all, reducing to a limited European horizon the ambition of a people who, throughout the centuries, expanded all over the world as a raison d'être."

49. In a series of editorials, the ABC stressed the importance of the overseas Territories to Portugal and asked how Portugal could find a replacement for Angola as a reserved market for its exports. It criticized the ignorance in Portugal about Angola and complained that the various political groups failed to give adequate attention to the real problems such as roads, foreign exchange, industry, monoculture, settlement, mining, rural regrouping and education. Only one paper, A Província de Angola, commented on the Opposition's proposal that Portugal should begin negotiations with the leaders of the liberation movements and expressed the view that, because of the rivalries among Angolan nationalists, there was no one with whom negotiations could be held.

50. On the other hand, the main economic weekly, Actualidade Económica, emphasized that the political future of the overseas Territories was more important to the economic interests in Angola than to any other group. It stated:

"The abandonment of the overseas Territories is a policy dictated by the United Nations ... which is the main theme of the most important opposition groups, is actually a question of life or death for the farmers, businessmen and industrialists in the Overseas, and no one should doubt that Portugal, without its markets and sources of supplies in the Overseas, would be reduced in no time to a small country without any international significance."

51. On the eve of the elections, all the economic associations of Angola sent a delegation to Lisbon to present a petition to the Prime Minister explaining their position on the elections. The following associations signed the petition, dated 24 October 1969, and each sent a representative to Lisbon: the Commercial Associations of Benguela, Bié, Cabinda, Huíla and Luanda; the Angola Industrial Association; the Angola Agricultural Association; the Commercial and Industrial Associations of Amboim, Cuanza-South, Malanje Plateau, Moçâmedes and Moxico; the Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Associations of Cuanza-North, Huambo and Lobito-Catumbela; the Luanda Landlords Association; and the Luanda Shopkeepers Association.

52. The petition explained that the economic associations of Angola had decided not to express their views on the choice of representatives to the National Assembly because they considered that any disagreements that might exist should not be

discussed publicly at a time when the basic principles of Portugal's multiracialism, national unity and integrity were being challenged. Also, their silence implied their confidence in the overseas policy the Prime Minister had announced and in the eloquent and broad mandate the people of Angola had clearly entrusted to Portugal in the plebiscite on the occasion of the Prime Minister's visit to the Territory. Without going to the polls the people of Angola had already much earlier expressed their irreversible determination in support of the integrity of the nation and their confidence in the Prime Minister and armed forces.

53. The petition went on to state that the economic associations considered there should be an "immediate reorganization" of the administrative structure of the overseas Territories. Such a reform was necessary because the free enterprise system, which had been the main factor in the economic development and occupation of Angola, was being stifled by interference from a constantly growing number of government bodies with a trend towards socialization. As a result, the Government was alienating the economic interests which constituted the actual and indispensable basis for "a portugalidade em Africa" (Portuguese culture in Africa).

54. The petition also complained of the lack of government measures to stimulate economic development and urged the Government to put an end to outmoded ideas and interests which were being reintroduced under various formulas of economic integration and which were paralysing national economic development.

55. The petition recalled that the Prime Minister had told the nation that instead of abandoning the overseas Territories as some had suggested Portugal should do, the Government had chosen a policy of progressive development and increasing autonomy of the Overseas Territories; the statement went on to say that had the Government's decision been otherwise, the economic associations would have taken their own position. There should be no doubt that Angola could not be surrendered no matter what terms might be offered.

56. Having been encouraged by the hope inspired by the Prime Minister's position, which they interpreted exclusively limited to an administrative decentralization, the economic associations therefore "dared" put forward the following suggestions:

(1) The Government should urgently take measures towards administrative decentralization in accordance with the state of development and the resources of each Territory as provided in the Constitution.

(2) In the case of Angola, decentralization (especially changes in the political and administrative structure) should first be studied by a committee composed of the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and representatives of the different interests, particularly the economic interests on which depended the economic development and settlement of the Territory.

(3) The objectives of such a study should be, among other things: (a) to take advantage of the constitutional powers of the forthcoming National Assembly (see annex I.A above) to increase the number of representatives of Angola in the National Assembly and to divide Angola into electoral districts comparable to those in Portugal; n/ (b) to revise the membership and organization of the Overseas Council to make it more representative of the interests of the overseas Territories; (c) to increase the authority of the Governor-General

---

2/ At present, the entire Territory of Angola constitutes a single electoral district.

by giving him a seat in the Council of Ministers; <sup>o/</sup> (d) to create a post of Vice-Governor or Deputy-Governor; (e) to increase the authority of provincial secretariats who, at present, have only those powers which are delegated to them; (f) to make the appointment of provincial secretaries subject to prior consultation with the Economic and Social Council; and (g) to revise the membership and organization of the Legislative Council and the Economic and Social Council.

57. In a press interview in December 1969 the Overseas Minister was asked to what extent the aspirations of the economic associations for increasing administrative decentralization could be satisfied. In reply, the Overseas Minister reaffirmed the Government's policy of "development and increasing autonomy for the overseas Territories", and stated that administrative structures of the Territories had to follow their social and economic development. He recalled that in 1969, as part of the administrative decentralization, a new Provincial Secretariat of Planning, Economic Integration, Treasury and Accounts (see para. 6 above) had been created. The purposes of this measure had been: (a) to provide the two larger Territories with the necessary administrative structure in keeping with their growing rate of social and economic development; (b) to give practical expression to the importance the Government attaches to economic and social planning through the new course of action; (c) to better co-ordinate the services concerned with the study of financial and economic planning; and (d) to provide suitable structures for financial and economic administration in the overseas Territories in accordance with the principles of institutional decentralization.

58. It may be noted that, as reported above (see para. 6), early in 1970 the Provincial Secretariat of Health, Labour and Social Security and that for Public Works and Communications were reorganized as a further step in administrative decentralization.

---

<sup>o/</sup> A recommendation to this effect was made by the Overseas Council for inclusion in the revised Overseas Organic Law of 1963 but it was not included in the final text. See Álvaro R. da Silva Tavares, Política Ultramarina Portuguesa, Agência Geral do Ultramar Lisbon, 1964, p. 37.

## MILITARY ACTIVITIES

### (a) War in Angola

59. In the nine years since the first uprising in Angola, guerrilla warfare has continued with varying intensity and since 1966 has gradually extended deep inside the eastern borders. Although it is impossible to assess the true military situation from the Portuguese military bulletins and press reports, it is certain that the end is not yet in sight. Having decided to remain in Africa, Portugal no longer expects to achieve a military solution in the Territory (see also annex I.A above). As a result, it has tacitly accepted that there will be a continued need for an indefinite period for "military police action" in Angola.

60. Although neither side would describe the current situation as a stalemate, the Portuguese reportedly feel they have the situation under control. In Angola, where the war and its effects have become an accepted way of life, there is a consensus that, whatever the burdens imposed, the war has nevertheless stimulated economic growth and social reforms. Because the war has generated boom conditions in some sectors of the economy, there have been even some suggestions that, if the war were to end tomorrow, Angola would necessarily suffer a recession.

61. From press reports it appears that the military, para-military and security organization of the Territory has now achieved a desired level of preparedness. A network of military commands covers the Territory, usually supplementing the civil administration. In the rural areas, however, especially in the eastern part of the Territory, the aldeamentos appear to be almost entirely under military administration.

62. Since 1961, the number of Portuguese troops in the Territory has steadily increased, rising from an estimated 20,000 to 45,000 in 1963, to 55,000 by 1964 and 60,000 in 1968. In addition, as a matter of government policy, more and more Africans have been recruited into the army and in 1969 some 40,000 African troops and militia were reported to be serving in Angola.

63. Side by side with the military occupation, intelligence police personnel in the Territory have been expanded and several para-military groups have been established on a permanent basis. The new groups created or reorganized since 1961 are the Organizaçao Provincial de Voluntários e Defesa Civil (Provincial Organization of Volunteers and Civil Defence) (OPVDC), the militia, the Public Security Police (PSP) and the railway brigades which were made part of the military organization in 1968 (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex I, para. 39). All these groups are considered under Portuguese legislation as forças militarizadas.

64. The Portuguese intelligence service in Angola has grown from a small group of 108 in 1960 into a territory-wide network, increasing to 354 in 1961, and subsequently to 1,116 in 1969. The service has a network of communications throughout the Territory, and is reported to co-operate closely with the armed forces and the para-military organizations (see also annex I.A, para. 144).

65. The assignment of intelligence service personnel to serve in the overseas Territories has to be confirmed by the Overseas Minister (Decree-Law 48,794, 26 December 1968). PIDE staff in Angola who have recently been reclassified as part of the forças militarizadas are entitled to privileges enjoyed by armed services personnel. In 1968, for example, PIDE agents assigned to Moxico District in eastern Angola were specifically exempted from the payment of the general minimum tax (Angola, Despacho 21 December 1968).

66. The OPVDC was originally created in 1961 and comprised only Portuguese citizens resident in the Territory. Since then it has been placed on a permanent basis with organized units throughout the Territory which is divided into defence zones corresponding to the administrative districts. The nature of its composition does not seem to have changed. The OPVDC comes directly under the Governor-General and is commanded by a senior military officer, the provincial commander, who is appointed by the Defence and Overseas Ministers after consultation with the Governor-General (Decree-Law 44,217, 3 March 1962).

67. The PSP, which is a militarized body under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General, is responsible for securing public order, prevention and suppression of crime, protection and defence of public property and customs supervision. The rural guard, which was created in the early 1960s to patrol roads and especially to protect plantations, has been incorporated into the PSP since 1966. The PSP is made up of army and air force officers, police and rural guards, physicians and other technical and skilled personnel. In 1966, it had a statutory strength of 10,360 posts (Decree 47,360, 2 December 1966). In 1969, two new companies totalling 137 new security personnel were added to PSP (Portaria 23,287, 3 January 1969). It is commanded by a military officer and has special responsibility in the rural areas to assist and defend the local population.

68. The activity of the PSP and the OPVDC are co-ordinated through a Provincial Security Department, created in 1966, and responsible to the Governor-General, but in permanent relationship to the Security Department of the Overseas Ministry and, through it, with the National Security Authority.

69. The traditional militia, a military corps composed of the vizinhos das regedorias (Africans living in traditional societies) is under the direct command of the local administrator and is responsible to the Governor-General. These militia play an important part in all the newly created aldeamentos. Under the original legislation, in case of war or emergency, the militia may be placed

under the authority of the OPVDC as necessary. Current reports suggest that the militia in the aldeamentos in the eastern region work closely with, if not under the command of, the military authorities in the otherwise sparsely populated area.

70. As the above account of the para-military and security organization shows, both the European settlers, who are all entitled to carry arms, and the African population are now directly involved in what Prime Minister Caetano has referred to as "military police action". To some extent, this organization has been made necessary by the changing nature of the guerrilla activities which have become much more mobile and elusive.

71. A brief review may be useful for an understanding of the changing priorities of the war. In the period immediately after the uprising, Portuguese troops in Angola were engaged mainly in trying to recover areas occupied by the guerrillas in the north, which affected the districts of Luanda, Malanje, Cuanza-North, Uíge, Zaire and Cabinda. In 1964, three years after the uprising, with some 55,000 troops in the Territory, there was still open fighting in much of these same areas.

72. The latter part of 1965 and the early part of 1966 appears to have marked a period of peak fighting in the north. During this period the Portuguese army, air force, and even navy were engaged. The Portuguese military forces were able to gain control in Cabinda where Cabinda Gulf Oil began operations, and in the northern districts, although guerrilla activity continued in the Dembos forest and in the mountains in Uíge District. The coffee route to the port of Luanda was finally opened again, and Portuguese sources reported the return of an increasing number of Portuguese farmers to their plantations. However, in the Nambuanguo area, of some 300 coffee and date palm plantations abandoned following the uprising, only twenty-three had been reoccupied by the end of 1966.

73. In the second half of 1966, following a lull of military activities in the north, nationalist guerrillas began activities in the eastern border adjoining the Republic of Zambia. There was a surprise attack at Vila Teixeira de Souza in Moxico District following which Portuguese military units were moved to the borders of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zambia, all settlements were cleared from a strip several miles in depth along the frontier, new airfields were completed in this region and defence measures were strengthened.

74. Guerrilla activities, some attributed to the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) but mostly to the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), soon affected Lunda, Moxico and Cuando-Cubango in the east, and the central district of Bié. Though much reduced, sporadic guerrilla attacks, ambushes and mining of roads continued in the north.

75. By 1967, the eastern and south-eastern regions had become Angola's main "front" with fighting occurring over a widespread area from Henrique de Carvalho in the north-east in Lunda District to the Caprivi Strip in the south, and as far inland as Munhango-Cuamba in Bié District which is about 700 kilometres from Zambia by road. According to newspaper reports, because of the frequent surprise attacks, nobody travelled in this area unarmed or without an escort. From December 1966 to December 1967, there were four derailments and traffic halts on the Benguela Railway which serves both the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zambia.

76. Since 1968, guerrilla activities have again increased in various districts in the northern part of Angola. There have been frequent guerrilla activities in areas close to Luanda, around Ambriz, one of the largest ports on the northern coast, and in Zaire, Uíge and Cabinda Districts. There were four derailments on the Benguela Railway and heavy fighting on the eastern border.

(b) Recent developments

77. The war situation remained substantially the same in 1969, although guerrilla attacks by the MPLA in Cabinda became more intensified. There were also more frequent attacks on plantations in the coffee-growing districts of Uíge, Luanda and Cuanza-North. In October, for example, guerrillas destroyed many thousands of coffee trees in the Canacassala area close to Nambuanguo in Luanda District. As part of the plan to extend government control, Portuguese troops are engaged in opening up trails into the Dembos forest area in Cuanza-North District.

78. During 1969, official military bulletins claimed the destruction of several nationalist camps in the northern districts, including some at Canacassala, Nambuanguo and Zala in Luanda District, Quipedro in Uíge District, and Piri and Quiage in Cuanza-North District.

79. In eastern Angola, Portuguese military bulletins reported fighting in large areas of four districts, including the south-eastern part of Lunda, most of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango Districts, and some areas of the central part of Bié District. In April, MPLA guerrillas were reported to have attacked the Benguela Railway between Chicala and Saleno, some fifty kilometres west of Luso. Sixteen cars were derailed and six railway employees were killed in this incident. When the line was cleared and traffic was moving again, there was a second attack on the railway, this time, according to the Portuguese bulletins, by elements of the Front National pour la Libération de l'Angola (FNLA). Following these two derailments, the nationalists blew up stretches of the track. In May, the military bulletins reported another derailment resulting from a nationalist attack between Luculo and Camitonga, some twenty-five kilometres east of Luso. Another target of nationalist action in the eastern region was the protected villages where the Portuguese have been regrouping the African population. In November, for example, the nationalists destroyed fifty-four huts in a rural regrouping project at Luangarico which is north of Luso, and, in December, they burned over 100 huts at Muene Choco in the Nova Chaves area of Lunda District and thirty huts at Sacaluíla in the Léua region of Moxico District.

80. During 1969, the Portuguese military bulletins reported the surrender of several guerrillas who voluntarily presented themselves to the Portuguese authorities. In July, a public transportation vehicle from the Popular Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) was hijacked to Angola by some armed Angolans. According to a special communiqué of the Portuguese armed forces, one of the hijackers was a former MPLA member. Towards the end of the year, the Portuguese claimed that hundreds of Africans who had fled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo were returning to Angola. In January 1970, the official military bulletins reported the return to northern Angola of some 300 Africans who had sought refuge in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1961.

81. On the other hand, it was reported in January 1970 by a former director of the British United Nations Association that, according to missionaries and other witnesses, the Portuguese forces had resumed land and air attacks on Angolan refugees in the lower part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Among the villages attacked was Kpinda, close to the Angolan border. So far there are no other reports confirming these attacks. Towards the end of 1969, the Baptist Missionary Society reported that it had decided to close down its reception centre at Kibentele in the Democratic Republic of the Congo because the influx of refugees had all but stopped. During the first seven months of 1969, fewer than 100 refugees were registered in the centre, and it was considered unlikely that there would be any large new influx of refugees into this area as the bulk of the Kikongo-speaking population of northern Angola had already fled the Territory.

82. As reported previously, special security measures are now in effect for the control of movement of persons and goods in all but the three south-western districts of Benguela, Moçâmedes and Huíla (A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, paras. 35-36). In the north, particularly, guerrilla activities continue to affect the daily life of the population. Early in 1969 São Salvador in Zaire District was still surrounded by barbed wire, and sand for construction in the city had to be brought from Ambrizete under military escort.

83. Towards the end of 1969, some sixty persons were arrested in Angola under the accusation of having given material support to the guerrillas. Most of the accused were African intellectuals, students, civil servants and servicemen; but there were also several small shopkeepers. It was reported that the accused were being held in gaol without trial, and that the Government had kept the fact secret because it has claimed that the nationalist movements are solely foreign-inspired and lack local support.

84. During 1969, Portuguese military bulletins reported a decrease in FNLA guerrilla activity but acknowledged increasing activity by MPLA forces which were infiltrating north and westwards. Nationalist forces were estimated by Portuguese sources at 7,000 men in the east and the same number in the north. Early in the year, FNLA claimed that its forces were fighting in the north, north-east and east of Angola. FNLA has kept up attacks on Portuguese barracks, plantations, vehicles and even some helicopters in areas of Uíge, Cuanza-North and Cuanza-South. The FNLA has also reported continued fighting in Lunda District on both the northern and eastern borders. From Lunda its guerrillas have sometimes penetrated to the west in Malanje District and in the northern part of Moxico District. In a military bulletin for the period October-November 1969, the FNLA claimed that it had shot down two Portuguese planes and killed eighty-seven Portuguese soldiers in the Cassai area of Lunda District near the eastern border.

85. It may be recalled that speaking before the Special Committee in May 1969, Mr. Holden Roberto, the FNLA President, said that, although fighting was in progress only in those three areas of Angola, a certain degree of unrest prevailed in other areas, and the population was aware of what was happening in the rest of the country.

86. Early in 1970, the northern border between Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which had been closed since 1966 (see A/6700/Rev.1, chapter V, para. 114), was reported open again.

87. According to the MPLA it has extended its activities into five regions covering ten districts. In the first region which comprises the districts of Luanda, Cuanza-North, Uíge and Zaire, the MPLA claims to have a "controlled zone" in which more than 50,000 people have sought refuge. But progress has been slow because of logistic difficulties created by the fact that MPLA has not been able to use the long border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In Cabinda District, which constitutes the second region, guerrilla activities have increased since the latter part of 1968, despite the presence of some 10,000 Portuguese troops. In the third region, where in 1968 MPLA held its first regional assembly in a liberated area, and which includes the districts of Moxico and Cuando Cubango, guerrilla attacks resulted in some 3,000 Portuguese soldiers being killed during 1968 (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, para. 23). According to the MPLA, its civilian institutions were most developed in this region where some 5,000 families have been freed from Portuguese aldeamentos, and a large number of refugees have returned from Zambia. In the fourth region, which includes the districts of Lunda and Malanje, the main target has been the diamond-producing areas of Diamang in the north. The central district of Bié, designated the fifth region, is to be a bridgehead to the central and south-western parts of the Territory. In an interview published in 1969, Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of MPLA, said that MPLA's main objective at present was to extend its operations to all parts of the Territory. He did not expect the war to end shortly, and he understood that he could not expect much help from abroad. He asserted that Portugal was receiving technical co-operation from other countries and, as examples, cited the presence of United States officers in Cabinda and South African officers and troops fighting MPLA forces in the south-east. He also asserted that Portugal had set up a mercenary training camp at Monte Esperança in central Angola and that South Africa was building a military base in Angolan territory near the border with Namibia. Mr. Neto also said that, despite many bombing raids, the MPLA was building primary schools and hospitals and developing agricultural production in the liberated areas of the operational regions. Mr. Neto said that in areas under its control the MPLA was not maintaining the traditional structure of tribal chiefs with groups of families isolated one from another. Although tribal differences were still an important factor, these differences were being eliminated through political education, and the MPLA was trying to organize a new social structure which would better serve the future of Angola.

88. There has been no mention of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) in the Portuguese military bulletins since 1968. UNITA, which in 1968 claimed to have some 3,000 trained men and to have established its presence in six districts, was reported in 1969 to be confined to an area south-west of Luso in Moxico District. In a letter addressed to The Times of Zambia in December 1969, UNITA called for a united front of the three Angolan fighting nationalist groups and suggested that the liberation committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) act as a mediator to unite the nationalist movements.

(c) Military expenditure

89. Angola's military expenditure for 1970 rose by some 28 per cent over the previous year to 1,647.4 million escudos. Of this total, 1,301.0 million escudos are for the army, 240.4 million escudos for the air force, and 106.0 million escudos for the navy.

90. In 1969, apart from an estimated military expenditure of 1,289.6 million escudos for the armed forces (see A/7623 (Part II), chapter III, annex, appendix II, table 2, p. 29), the territorial budget estimates also included 31 million escudos for the territorial naval services and 409 million escudos for security and para-military organizations as follows: 305.3 million escudos for the PSP, 43.2 million escudos for the intelligence police (the former PIDE), 14.4 million escudos for the Judicial Police, p/ and 46.1 million escudos for the OPVDC. In May, Angola's share in the national defence budget was increased by 100 million escudos (Angola, Portaria 16,210, 31 May 1969). As a result the estimated total and related expenditures in 1969 amounted to 1,829.6 million escudos, which represented over 30 per cent of the Territory's total ordinary expenditure.

91. In order to meet increasing military expenditures, in 1969, legislation was extended to the Territory requiring autonomous services, economic co-ordination bodies and government special funds to contribute part of their revenues for military expenditures. Under this legislation, which had been extended to Mozambique in 1964, 13 per cent of the estimated receipts of government autonomous services and 6 per cent in the case of the other bodies are to be allocated as their contribution to the defence of the Territory (Decree 48,850, 24 January 1969, extending Decree 46,605, 9 March 1964, to Angola).

---

p/ A branch of the territorial police reported to work closely with the intelligence police.

## ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (a) General

92. The economy of Angola is based mainly on agriculture. There is a highly organized export sector based on coffee and sisal, which is mainly in the hands of European settlers, while the great majority of the African population still depend on subsistence farming for a living. During the period 1960-1968, agricultural commodities accounted on an average for about 60 per cent of the total value of visible exports. However, new investments in the mining sector made since the early 1960's have already begun to yield results and in 1968 exports of diamonds, iron ore and petroleum accounted for about 28 per cent of the total value of exports compared with a previous annual average of 20 to 23 per cent. Available provisional figures show that in 1969 the total value of mineral exports surpassed agricultural commodities for the first time.

93. Fish meal and fish products, which at one time ranked third in the Territory's exports, have declined in importance in recent years owing to difficulties in the fishing industry. In spite of some growth, the range of transforming industries remains limited, with emphasis on the processing of agricultural products, including coffee, sugar refineries, cotton ginneries and milling. The textile industry, which is expanding, is still far from producing enough for local needs. Apart from industries based on agriculture, the Territory also has one petroleum refinery, two cement plants and some light industries. Since the majority of the African population still live in a subsistence economy, the domestic market for industrial products is limited.

94. Provisional figures from Portuguese sources show that the Territory's gross national product increased by 17 per cent between 1965 and 1967, rising from 25,600 million escudos to 29,500 million escudos (at 1960 constant prices). However, one of the Territory's major problems is its unbalanced economic development, since much of the subsistence sector has barely been affected by the key projects which have accounted for the economic growth.

95. Although it is generally claimed by Portuguese spokesmen that economic development of the Territory has accelerated since the 1961 uprising, the essentially colonial relationship of the Territory to Portugal, the rising military expenditures and the effects of the war have combined to increase tensions, especially between the economic interests and the Government.

96. In July 1969, an article in the Financial Times (London) on the economic progress of Angola summed up the situation as follows:

"The future depends almost entirely on the Territory's political development. From an economic point of view, the last eight or nine years have seen considerable progress - important developments in infrastructure, transport, power and the exploitation of resources hitherto dormant: all provide the bases for growth which, properly planned, could have a far reaching effect on all sections of the Angolan population.

"For the time being, and probably for the next five years, Angola's boom will prove of major benefit to a primarily European elite in Angola and in Portugal itself. The political and economic test will be whether the Territory's economic potential can be organized on behalf of all its citizens." q/

(b) External trade

97. Over the decade 1959-1968, the Territory's total trade more than doubled, with imports rising from 3,768 million to 8,845 million escudos and exports from 3,587 million to 7,796 million escudos. Up to 1966, except for the two first years of this period, the Territory regularly had a surplus balance of trade. In 1967 and again in 1968, the Territory developed a trade deficit of over 1,000 million escudos. This change was due in part to heavy imports of metal goods, machinery and transport equipment which accounted for 51.6 per cent of the total value of imports in 1967 and 47.6 per cent in 1968.

98. Recently available data show that in 1969 the Territory's exports amounted to 9,390.4 million escudos and imports 9,261.2 million escudos with a resulting small surplus balance of 129.2 million escudos. This change was mainly due to increases in exports of diamonds which rose by 482.7 million escudos, compared with 1968; iron ore, by 455.2 million escudos; petroleum, by 483.0 million escudos; fish meal, by 212.6 million escudos; and cotton, by 138.4 million escudos.

99. Portugal is the Territory's principal trade partner but Angola regularly has a trade deficit with Portugal. In the period 1967/1968, in terms of value, Portugal supplied almost 36 per cent of the Territory's imports and took about 34 per cent of its exports. The Territory's trade balance with Portugal, foreign countries, and the other Territories is shown in table 4 below.

100. After Portugal, the United States of America is the Territory's next most important client which took 27.2 per cent of its exports (by value) in 1967 and 23.8 per cent in 1968. In both years the Netherlands took about 10 per cent; exports to the Federal Republic of Germany rose from 3.3 to 5.5 per cent and to Japan from 3.1 to 4.9 per cent, in both cases mainly due to iron ore exports from Cassinga.

(c) Agriculture and livestock<sup>r/</sup>

(i) General

101. Currently the Territory's leading agricultural exports are coffee, sisal, maize and cotton. Most of the export crops, including sugar, are controlled by European capital but are almost entirely produced with African labour. Only

---

q/ Financial Times, 23 July 1969. It may be of interest to note that the series of which the article quoted formed a part was headed by an introduction by the Governor-General of Angola, in which he said that it gave him great satisfaction to know that the series would "enable many readers to establish closer contacts with Angolan realities."

r/ For a more detailed description of agricultural activities in the Territory, see Official Records of the Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1), chapter V, appendix I.

Table 4

Angola: trade balance by principal areas, 1961-1968  
(million escudos)

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Foreign countries	1,212.1	1,148.1	1,269.3	1,627.3	708.1	636.6	-735.1	-625.3
Portugal	-686.5	-759.3	-767.0	-552.8	-538.3	-278.1	-518.1	-500.2
Other Portuguese Territories	30.4	-77.3	-106.9	-12.9	-28.9	-49.5	36.5	-112.2
Others <sup>a/</sup>	50.2	54.8	76.9	91.7	105.3	102.8	145.8	189.2
Net trade balance	606.2	366.3	472.3	1,153.3	146.2	411.8	-1,070.9	-1,048.5

Source: Banco de Angola, Relatório e Contas, 1965 and 1968.

a/ Includes mainly supplies to navigation.

maize is mainly produced by the subsistence sector, while cotton, grown by Africans on concessions prior to 1961, has recently started to become an important European mechanized crop. Other agricultural exports from the subsistence sector include crueira (manioc), palm oil, coconuts, beans, rice and peanuts. In the last few years the Government has encouraged tobacco as a new cash crop both by European and African farmers.

102. Over the past decade there have been some important changes in the pattern of agricultural exports, with an increasing trend towards concentration on coffee. This has resulted partly from the decline in the world market for sisal and the rising sugar consumption in the Territory. As seen from table 6 below, in terms of percentages of the total value of the Territory's exports, sisal and sugar, which accounted for 10.7 per cent in 1961, amounted to only 3.2 per cent in 1963, while the share of coffee increased from 36 to 45 per cent.

103. There is very little information on the performance of the subsistence sector, and as reported previously, the successive development plans have included only token schemes to bring the African producer within the market economy. From various accounts it appears that some progress has been made in this direction in the coffee growing areas in the north where Africans have been granted limited areas of land for growing coffee and the Government has established rural markets for handling African grown crops. Elsewhere, government assistance to African subsistence agriculture has been mainly limited to the distribution of better seed, which has to be paid for at harvest time. The general stagnation of the subsistence sector is reflected in the decline in exports of surpluses of traditional African grown crops. s/

104. Final figures for 1968 and preliminary figures of exports for 1969 show a decline in coffee and sugar in both years, but with some gains in maize and cotton lint exports.

(ii) Coffee

105. According to preliminary information, in 1969 coffee production declined slightly below the 1968 level owing to the lack of rain. Exports for the year were also a little lower, dropping by about 3 per cent from 188,642 tons to 182,660 tons. Because of the deterioration in world prices, there was an 8.5 per cent decline in the value of coffee exports from 3,548.2 million to 3,243.8 million escudos.

106. In 1967 and 1968, African-grown coffee sold in the rural markets amounted to 74,000 and 68,000 tons respectively, averaging about 33 per cent of the Territory's total production. The lack of rainfall in 1969 was expected to seriously affect some African producers, and coffee sales in the rural markets in the Uíge District, for instance, showed a 70 per cent drop over the previous year.

---

s/ Some government sources claim that the decline in these exports is due to increased African consumption, but, since there are no accurate statistics, it would appear that even if there is no decline, production is no longer keeping pace with increased needs.

107. As Portugal is a signatory to the International Coffee Agreement, Angola's Robusta exports to the traditional markets for coffee are fixed by quota. For the 1969/1970 season, Angola's share in the world total was 4.93 per cent. But since the Territory's production exceeds its export quota the Government has introduced measures to encourage diversification. <sup>t/</sup> In recent years Angola has also increased its sales to new markets which are not party to the International Coffee Agreement. Some of the Territory's surplus coffee is being processed locally into soluble coffee for export, and in 1969 two new factories were authorized for this purpose. In a new move, the Portuguese Government appointed an agronomist from the Federal Republic of Germany to study the possibilities of extending Arabica coffee cultivation in the central plateau area in Bié District. Plans have already been made to train farmers in the region and in 1970 four coffee reception stations are to be built in the region for processing and storing the new crops. So far, Angola produces almost no Arabica and Portugal has to import about 1,000 tons a year from other sources.

108. Coffee is not only the Territory's principal export but also its most important source of foreign exchange. This is because in an average year between 45 to 50 per cent of the Territory's coffee exports go to the United States. In 1968, coffee exports to the United States amounted to 1,802 million escudos (about \$US 60 million). The other major clients were the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and Portugal. South Africa is one of the most important "new markets".

109. As a result of reduced duties on coffee exports to South Africa under a special agreement, coffee exports to that country increased from 35.7 tons valued at 1.9 million escudos in 1965 to 7,919 tons valued at 110.1 million escudos in 1968. During 1969, General Mining and Finance of South Africa acquired control of Angola's largest coffee export firm which is known as Inexcafé, S.A.R.L.

### (iii) Cotton

110. Following the repeal of compulsory cultivation of cotton and the consequent drop in cotton production, the Angola Cotton Institute, established by the Government, has encouraged and assisted mechanized cotton growing (see A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V, annex, appendix II, paras. 114-137). Apart from the traditional cotton-growing areas in the Malanje, Cuanza-North and Luanda, cotton is now also being grown in Cuanza-South, Benguela, Huíla and Moçâmedes. In Malanje District alone, for instance, the number of European cotton growers increased from 74 in 1967 to 148 in 1968 and 256 in 1969. There are still a large number of Africans engaged in cotton growing under the supervision of the Cotton Institute. In the period 1967-1969 there were almost 27,000 African cotton growers in Malanje District alone. In 1969 there were a total of 37,164 European and African cotton growers registered with the Cotton Institute.

<sup>t/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, documents A/6368 and Add.1, appendix III, paras. 81 and 82.

111. In the last three years cotton production has steadily increased, reaching a new high of 61,000 tons in 1969. Most of the increase has come from Cuanza-South where seed cotton production rose from 6,977 tons in 1967 to 17,052 tons in 1968 and from Huíla and Benguela where the combined production rose from 576 to 3,510 tons in the same period. In these new areas production averages one ton per hectare, while in the older areas average production varies between one ton per 3.5 hectares and one ton per 2.5 hectares. (See table 5 below.)

Table 5

Angola: Seed cotton production by district, 1967-1968

District	Production (tons)		Area (hectares)
	1967	1968	1968
Luanda	2,600	2,570	6,060
Cuanza-North	266	158	567
Malanje	16,944	17,884	24,500
Cuanza-South	6,977	17,052	15,930
Huíla, Benguela and Moçâmedes	<u>576</u>	<u>3,510</u>	<u>3,300</u>
Total	27,363	41,174	50,357

Source: Banco de Angola, Relatório e Contas, 1968, p. 46.

112. With a view to increasing African cotton production, the Cotton Institute has established new cotton-blocs in the northern districts where Africans have been resettled under the rural regrouping plan (see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, paras. 81-84). In 1969 there were fourteen such cotton-blocs in Luanda and Cuanza-North Districts with a total area of 1,820 hectares. In Malanje and Lunda Districts there were four cotton-growing blocs with a total of 480 hectares. The Institute has also begun mechanized preparation of another 3,000 hectares for cotton cultivation which will include nine more blocs for African growers. Regional technical brigades from the Institute provide assistance to both African and European growers.

113. As reported previously, all of Angola's cotton lint exports have traditionally gone to Portugal. In 1968, Angola's cotton lint exports amounted to 10,899 tons, compared with 5,922 tons in the previous year. The value of cotton lint exports over the period 1961-1968 appears in table 6 below.

(iv) Other

114. There is not yet any information available on the performance of the other export crops during 1969. Timber exports, which have been gradually increasing, rose from 93,760 tons in 1967 to 135,394 tons in 1968. Most of the timber production is from Cabinda.

Table 6

## Angola: agricultural exports 1961-1968

## A. By volume (metric tons)

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
<u>Market crops</u>								
Coffee	118,122	156,887	136,437	138,700	159,168	156,412	196,506	188,642
Sisal	59,150	69,428	62,982	57,775	50,769	61,046	47,491	52,641
Cotton lint	4,120	5,712	4,286	3,194	4,751	6,092	5,922	10,899
Timber	74,096	51,169	82,811	89,359	87,051	102,036	93,760	135,394
Tobacco	964	947	1,468	1,831	2,488	3,027	2,753	3,386
Sugar	36,609	36,475	23,849	24,069	33,545	27,370	26,270	13,742
<u>Crops purchased from Africans</u>								
Maize	161,585	116,681	86,189	104,475	168,199	64,721	100,753	153,291
Manioc ( <u>crueira</u> )	57,365	58,041	24,378	47,435	37,454	41,371	49,822	67,634
Palm oil	14,641	15,087	16,732	17,809	14,612	14,493	15,486	11,715
Coconuts	10,214	11,610	18,001	16,693	14,317	14,105	16,790	12,349
Beans	9,492	10,162	11,009	4,026	15,998	14,990	10,611	14,161
Rice	3,257	2,524	1,444	2,077	1,876	3,549	2,946	1,937
Peanuts	2,414	1,449	2,162	3,369	3,320	2,120	1,584	467

## B. By value (million escudos)

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
<u>Market crops</u>								
Coffee	1,398.4	1,864.1	1,894.7	2,859.1	2,687.1	3,058.4	3,546.7	3,531.3
Sisal	316.6	410.3	579.8	480.7	275.9	301.1	194.5	201.7
Cotton lint	69.0	99.0	79.6	53.9	83.4	105.8	102.5	191.4
Timber	74.0	55.4	93.0	95.5	99.0	122.0	120.7	189.4
Tobacco	15.8	16.3	37.8	32.0	47.9	57.3	49.5	73.4
Sugar	98.3	99.9	60.0	72.3	113.3	89.7	87.4	48.7
<u>Crops purchased from Africans</u>								
Maize	224.8	151.7	124.4	172.2	282.9	115.7	174.2	245.2
Manioc ( <u>crueira</u> )	89.8	110.2	42.6	77.5	63.8	72.0	75.4	100.0
Palm oil	80.4	71.8	84.9	81.4	70.7	80.4	80.9	58.6
Coconuts	32.8	35.6	63.0	62.5	62.3	54.8	61.5	56.9
Beans	28.6	29.5	33.2	12.5	42.9	39.2	30.2	36.8
Rice	9.2	6.3	3.9	6.6	6.0	11.9	10.5	7.1
Peanuts	12.9	7.0	9.5	13.6	17.1	9.8	7.4	1.8

Source: Banco de Angola, Relatório e Contas, 1965, pp. 129-130, ibid., 1968, pp. 163-164.

(v) African agriculture

115. As noted above, in the period since 1961, with the exception of maize and manioc, exports of most of the African grown crops have decreased in importance. The seven crops - maize, manioc, palm oil, coconuts, beans, rice and peanuts - for instance, which accounted for over 12 per cent of the Territory's exports at the beginning of the period, made up only 6.5 per cent of the exports in 1968.

116. Among the traditional crops grown by Africans, maize remains the most important and until 1968 ranked third among the Territory's exports. Although maize is grown in many parts of the Territory as a subsistence crop, and some is sold in the rural markets in the north, the export statistics are generally based on purchases made by the maize grémio <sup>u/</sup> in the Luanda-Malanje, Benguela-Lobito, Huambo-Bié and Huíla-Moçâmedes regions. In 1968 the grémio's purchases rose by almost 20 per cent over the previous year to 142,596 tons, and exports during the first eleven months of 1969, at 2,574 million escudos, already exceeded the value of total exports in 1968.

117. Almost all the maize exports and a substantial proportion of the other African crops are exported to Portugal and other Territories under its administration. In 1967, for instance, Portugal alone took 93 per cent of the maize exports, 22 per cent of the manioc, 80 per cent of the palm oil, 47 per cent of the coconuts and 57 per cent of the beans. The Federal Republic of Germany took over 40 per cent of the manioc and just under 40 per cent of the coconuts.

(vi) Livestock

118. According to revised estimates for 1967 there are over 2 million head of cattle in the Territory. Fresh meat exports rose slightly, from 2,406 tons valued at 41.5 million escudos in 1967 to 2,576 tons valued at 43.1 million escudos in 1968. About 75 per cent of the meat exports go to Portugal and the remainder to other overseas Territories in the escudo zone.

(c) Fishing industry

119. Traditionally the fishing industry has been one of the Territory's most important economic activities and a substantial source of foreign exchange. In the 1950's fish products (fresh and dried fish, fish meal and fish oil) ranked third among the Territory's exports, after coffee and diamonds. Since the drop in world fish-meal prices in 1959, the industry has been depressed and various government measures have been taken to help reorganize and modernize the industry. To provide the necessary technical and financial assistance, the Government has set up a Fisheries Industries Institute and a Fishing Industry Assistance Fund which acts both as a marketing fund and as a credit institution.

---

<sup>u/</sup> For details on this organization, see A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 164-172. The grémio which was under the direction of a government-appointed committee reverted to an elected board of directors in 1968.

120. In 1968 the Government introduced several new measures to help the industry. The Fishing Industry Assistance Fund was authorized to liquidate the debts of the fishing and fish products grémio which represents the smaller fishing interests. The Government also suspended both the 25 per cent levy on sales of fish products to finance the Fishing Industries Assistance Fund as well as taxes on sales of fish meal and fish oil up to 2.5 million escudos. Towards the end of the year the Fund was authorized to guarantee a loan to the newly formed Companhia Industrial e Comercial de Pesca de Angola, S.A.R.L. (CIPESCA), formed by the merger of many smaller fishing interests in Moçâmedes District. CIPESCA has recently been authorized to establish a freezing and processing plant.

121. In 1968 exports of fish products amounted to over 263 million escudos representing 3.3 per cent of the total value of the Territory's exports. The fish catch that year was 293,409 tons, compared with 292,102 tons in 1967 and 327,476 tons in 1966. Provisional figures indicate that in 1969 fish-meal exports exceeded 300 million escudos.

(d) Transforming industries<sup>v/</sup>

122. The industrial sector in Angola is still limited and plays a relatively small role in the economy of the Territory. Except for a few larger units producing sugar, beer, cement, petroleum and textiles, most of the industries are small in size.

123. In the last decade there has been considerable growth in the industrial sector, especially in industries producing foodstuffs, beer and soft drinks and other import substitutes. Following the uprising in 1961, annual capital investments in the sector, which had previously averaged about 250 million escudos, dropped to 120 million escudos. Since 1966 there has been an upsurge in new capital invested, rising from 225 million escudos that year to 642 million escudos in 1967, when a paper pulp plant and a rubber tyre factory accounted for more than half of the total. Although new investments in 1968 amounted to only 491 million escudos and were 23 per cent lower than in 1967, this was because no large units were involved. Of the new investments, 38.5 per cent went to the food industry; 15.5 per cent to machinery and transport materials; 11.9 per cent to chemical products; and 10.9 per cent to textiles.

124. Gross output of all industries in 1968 amounted to 4,918 million escudos, which was 20 per cent higher than in 1967. Foodstuffs accounted for 32.7 of the total value; beverages, 12.4 per cent; petroleum derivatives, 10.5 per cent; textiles, 10 per cent; chemicals, 7.9 per cent; metal products, 6.4 per cent; tobacco, 6 per cent; and paper products, 3.4 per cent. For the first six months of 1969 the output of transforming industries totalled 2,552 million escudos.

---

<sup>v/</sup> Details concerning new investments will be included in the report on economic activities with special reference to foreign interests in Angola.

125. As already reported, conditions regulating the establishment of new industries in the overseas Territories were substantially eased in 1965 (Decree-Law 46,666 of 24 November; see A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 65-68). To encourage further industrial development, in September 1968, the Portuguese Government introduced various tax exemptions to new industries or expansion of industries established in the overseas Territories. These include exemptions for up to six years from realty taxes, the industrial tax, the development tax and taxes on profits or dividends (Decree-Law 48,581, 16 September 1968).

126. Under those general provisions in October 1969 (Diploma Legislativo 3945, 21 October), the Angolan Government introduced regulations providing for graded tax exemptions according to location. The new regulations are designed to encourage a better distribution of industries in the Territory which are now concentrated in three main regions comprising Luanda-Dondo-Malanje, Lobito-Benguela-Silva Porto, and Moçâmedes-Sá da Bandeira, with the greatest density in the first region. For the purpose of industrial development, the Territory is now divided into five zones as follows: Zone A, comprising the town of Luanda and including a radius of 50 kilometres; Zone B, comprising the towns of Lobito and Benguela, including a radius of 10 kilometres; Zone C, comprising other coastal towns and a radius of 10 kilometres from each; Zone D, the rest of the Territory; and Zone E, special areas to be detached from Zone D.

127. All new industries established in these zones will be exempt from taxes for a period of time depending on the particular zone and the amount of capital invested. In Zone A, for example, a new industry with a capital of 50 million escudos will be exempt from all taxes for a ten-year period. The period of exemption is increased by two years for Zone B; four years for Zone C; six years for Zone D; and eight years for Zone E. The exemptions are for all taxes except the extraordinary defence tax (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, para. 31). For the purpose of this legislation, "new industries" include those manufacturing goods not yet produced in the Territory and any so classified by the Government because of their size, volume of investment and technological processes employed. Other industries which are to be established in the Territory, not classified as "new", are entitled to two-thirds of the exemption period. In addition to these measures, the new legislation provides that the Government shall urgently revise railway tariffs and electric power fees; establish adequate road links and postal, telephone and telegraph facilities; build sewerage networks and provide the necessary urban facilities including water supplies.

128. In another move, the Angolan Government introduced a proposal in the Legislative Council to make fuel prices uniform throughout the Territory. Currently fuel prices are higher inland, a factor which had discouraged the establishment of heavy industries in the interior of the Territory.

(e) Mining<sup>w/</sup>

129. In 1969, for the first time, minerals accounted for the largest part of the Territory's total exports by value. Provisional figures for 1969 show

---

<sup>w/</sup> The present section contains only a brief summary of recent information. Details concerning the activities of the various companies will be included in the report on economic activities with special reference to foreign interests in Angola. For background information on mining activities see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1), chapter V, appendix, annex I.

that exports of diamonds, petroleum and iron ore totalled almost 4,200 million escudos and was higher than agricultural exports.

(i) Diamonds

130. Between 1967 and 1969 the output of the Angola Diamond Company (DIAMANG) rose by 55 per cent from 1,300,000 carats in 1967 to 1,667,000 carats in 1968 to 2,021,000 carats in 1969 which was an all-time production record. Diamond exports, however, rose more slowly from 1,300,000 carats in 1967 to 1,500,000 carats in 1968, but the export value rose from 1,204 million to 1,361 million escudos.

131. During 1969 the Portuguese Government granted four new diamond concessions in Angola. These were: (1) the Oestiediam - Companhia de Diamantes Oeste de Angola, S.A.R.L. with a capital of 15 million escudos and which has the financial and technical backing of the Diamond Distributors, Inc., of New York; (2) Diversa - Internacional de Explorações de Diamantes, S.A.R.L. which is backed by Diversa, Inc., a United States company; (3) Companhia Ultramarina de Diamantes, S.A.R.L. (DIAMUL) which also has United States support; and (4) Companhia Nacional de Diamantes, S.A.R.L. (DINACO), which is owned by the Anchor Diamond Corporation, Ltd., a South African company.

(ii) Petroleum

132. In 1969, petroleum concessions in Angola were held by the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of the United States Gulf Oil Corporation, and the Petrangol-Angol group which is largely owned by Belgian and Portuguese interests. Operating in association with Petrangol-Angol was the Compagnie Française des Pétroles of France and Texaco.

133. Contrary to expectations, total crude petroleum production in 1968, at 749,514 tons, was lower than preliminary estimates. Out of the total production, 558,979 tons were from Petrangol-Angol and 190,535 tons from Cabinda Gulf Oil Company. During 1968, the Luanda refinery processed 663,702 tons of crude petroleum of which 168,702 tons were imported. Exports of fuel oil amounted to 48,100 tons valued at 15.8 million escudos, compared with 85,298 tons valued at 29.8 million escudos in 1967. Exports of crude petroleum in 1969 amounted to more than 400 million escudos.

134. In 1969, in addition to a request by Petrangol-Angol for a new concession area, there were seventeen applications for concessions from other companies pending a decision by the Portuguese Government. The interested companies are: (1) Place Gas Oil Company; (2) Ultramar Company Limited; (3) Standard Oil Company; (4) Gibraltar Angola Minerals Company; (5) Companhia de Investimentos no Sul de Angola; (6) Union Carbide Petroleum Company; (7) Etosha Petroleum Company; (8) Diversa - Internacional de Exploração de Hidrocarbonetos, Ltda.; (9) Ferjoma Importação e Exportação Ltda.; (10) Sociedade Planet Angola Oil Corporation; (11) Shell Portuguesa, S.A.R.L.; (12) Mr. Victor Manuel R. Vilhena Rebelo; (13) B.P. Petroleum Development Company; (14) Tenneco Angola, Inc.; (15) Imperial Oil and Gas, Ltd.; (16) Oceanic Exploration Company; and (17) Mobil Oil Portuguesa, S.A.R.L.

(iii) Iron

135. In 1968, iron ore output amounted to about three million tons, all from the Cassinga mines. Exports amounted to 2.9 million tons with a reported value of 645 million escudos. Sixty per cent of the volume exported went to Japan and 33 per cent to the Federal Republic of Germany. The remainder went to Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Portugal and the United Kingdom. According to provisional figures, iron ore exports rose to about five million tons in 1969. As in the previous year, most of iron ore exports went to Japan. Output in 1970 is expected to amount to six million tons.

(f) Public finance

136. In 1968, total actual public revenue at 8,071.1 million escudos was 22 per cent higher than the original budgetary estimates. Ordinary revenue exceeded estimates by 1,181.0 million escudos and extraordinary revenue by 264.3 million escudos. Higher receipts from indirect taxes, which contributed 1,542.7 million escudos, and direct taxes, which contributed 907.3 million escudos, accounted for most of the increase. Among the direct taxes, the most important was the general minimum tax which contributed 317.8 million escudos in revenue (see paras. 22-24 above).

137. Total expenditure in 1968 at 7,648.8 million escudos was 16 per cent higher than the original budgetary estimates. Ordinary expenditure exceeded estimates by 591.1 million escudos and extraordinary expenditure by 546.9 million escudos. Of the total extraordinary expenditure, 1,351.5 million escudos were spent in the implementation of the Third National Development Plan (see below).

138. At 31 December 1968 the Territory's public debt amounted to 5,954 million escudos, or almost one year's ordinary revenue. This total included an increase of nearly 1,000 million escudos during the year: 496 million escudos in new issues of development bonds and a 500-million escudo loan from the Angola Diamond Company. Expenditure on the servicing of the public debt in 1968 was 300.1 million escudos.

139. As reported previously (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, para.114), the Territory's budget estimates for 1969 amount to 7,839 million escudos, with ordinary revenue and expenditure balanced at 5,994 million escudos and extraordinary revenue and expenditure at 1,845 million escudos. Estimated total revenue showed an increase of 1,213 million escudos over the previous year, with 829 million escudos from ordinary revenue and 384 million escudos from extraordinary revenue.

140. The main sources of additional ordinary revenues in 1969 were expected from the tax on petroleum industries, with an increase of 380 million escudos, and import duties with an increase of 110 million escudos. As regards ordinary expenditure, the most important increases were for ports, railways and transport, which rose by 195 million escudos, and servicing of public debt, which rose by 146 million escudos.

141. Of the extraordinary expenditure, 1,327.9 million escudos were allocated for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan. This was 18 million escudos less than the initial allocation in 1968.

142. Detailed information on the 1970 budget is not yet available. According to an official source, ordinary revenue for the year is expected to be around 7,000 million escudos.

143. As the Governor-General has highlighted in several of his speeches in 1969, the Territory is faced with the problem of raising the revenue it needs to expand the basic infrastructure and to provide essential services. In his view, if one compared the Territory's size and population with Portugal, it should have a revenue of some 250,000 million escudos instead of about 7,000 million escudos.

144. Official statements also show that the Government is faced on the one hand with the problem of meeting demands for more schools, health facilities, roads and water supplies, etc., and on the other, with opposition to more taxes to provide the necessary revenue. Many of the more important economic interests have always opposed additional direct taxes on the ground that such measures would endanger economic development "by killing the goose that lays the golden egg". In 1968, for instance, owing to opposition from this group, regulations on the tax on the use of capital were not included in the new tax code approved that year (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, paras. 6-8). At present, almost one quarter of the Territory's revenue is derived from indirect taxes which, as the Governor-General has recognized, adversely affect consumption.

(g) Development financing

145. The Third National Development Plan covering the period 1968-1973 envisages an investment target of 25,045 million escudos in Angola over the six-year period, at an average annual rate of investment of 4,174 million escudos. (For details, see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, paras. 147-150.) Nevertheless, actual investment during the first year of implementation of the Third National Development Plan amounted to only 1,351.5 million escudos. As shown in table 7 below, about 55 per cent of the total went to transport and communications.

146. The initial allocation for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan in 1969 amounted to only 1,327.9 million escudos. Priority was again given to transport and communications which received an allocation of 608.3 million escudos, or approximately 45 per cent of the total. The funds for authorized expenditure in 1969 were to be financed as follows:

<u>Source of financing</u>	<u>Million escudos</u>	<u>As percentage of total</u>
Loans	1,005.0	75.68
Portuguese Government	155.0	11.67
Bank of Angola	500.0	37.65
Angola development bonds	350.0	26.36
Budgetary surpluses	150.0	11.30
<u>Sobrevalorização</u> export tax	120.0	9.03
Development fund	52.9	3.99
Total	<u>1,327.9</u>	<u>100.00</u>

147. During 1969, the Angolan Government was authorized to issue development bonds amounting to 200 million escudos (Decree 49,297, 10 October 1969) which is 150 million escudos short of the amount envisaged from this source during the year for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan.

Table 7

Angola: implementation of the Third National Development Plan  
(million escudos)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Programmed expenditure for 1968</u>	<u>Actual expenditure in 1968</u>		<u>Programmed expenditure for 1969</u>	
		<u>Amount</u>	<u>Per cent of programmed expenditure</u>		
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	200.8	131.1	65.29	262.3	
Fisheries	140.7	33.1	23.52	244.6	
Electric power	185.5	45.2	24.37	253.1	
Industry {	( Mining	2,727.0	34.9	1.28	3,892.0
	( Processing industries	792.2	105.0	13.25	757.6
Transport and communications	823.0	736.9	89.54	622.9	
Tourism	28.4	4.3	15.14	36.2	
Housing and local improvement	239.8	42.0	17.51	241.7	
Social improvement {	( Education and research	179.7	152.5	84.86	243.3
	( Health	130.6	68.5	52.45	111.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,447.7</b>	<b>1,351.5</b>	<b>24.81</b>	<b>6,665.4</b>	

Sources: Portugal, Presidência do Conselho, III Plano de Fomento, Programa de Execução para 1968, Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon, 1968.

Ibid., Programa de Execução para 1969, Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon, 1969.

Angola, Banco de Angola, Relatório e Contas, Lisbon, n.d.

## EDUCATION

148. The educational system in Angola is patterned on that in Portugal. There are six years of primary education and seven years of secondary education. Primary education comprises two cycles, a first cycle of four years and a complementary cycle comprising the fifth and sixth years. x/ In Angola, there is also a pre-primary class for children who need to learn to speak Portuguese. Secondary education comprises three cycles, a preparatory cycle of two years, a second cycle of three years, and a third cycle of two years. After the preparatory cycle the student may choose between academic studies leading to university or vocational and technical studies.

149. Since 1964, in line with the then existing regulations in Portugal, school attendance in all the overseas Territories has been compulsory for all children between six and twelve years of age who live within five kilometres of a school. In 1967, the fifth and sixth years of primary school were made compulsory in Portugal for all children who had completed the fourth primary class and who do not intend to go on to secondary school. This provision has been extended to the overseas Territories, but pending the establishment of adequate facilities, compulsory attendance of the complementary cycle of primary education will only become effective in the school year 1972/1973.

150. To extend schooling to the rural areas as rapidly as possible, the 1964 legislation introducing compulsory primary education in the overseas Territories created rural school posts which now provide the pre-primary class and the first three years of primary education. Only full primary schools provide the fourth year of primary education. Teachers for the full primary schools are required to have completed five years of secondary education and a two-year teacher-training course. Teachers for rural school posts, on the other hand, are required to have only four years of primary education and four years of teacher-training education. Most of the rural school posts are, however, taught by monitores who have completed four years of primary school and a special two-and-a-half month training class. Although the rural school posts do not provide complete primary education, government statistics group them as primary schools.

151. The principal aim of primary education in Angola is to teach the Portuguese language, to inculcate Portuguese values and to develop in the pupils a conscious identification with Portugal in order to strengthen national unity (see A/6700/Rev.1, chapter V, para. 81). The increased concern in Angola with the

---

x/ In the Portuguese system reference is generally made to classes rather than years, since qualifications are generally specified in terms of satisfactory completion of a certain number of classes of primary or secondary education. Each class represents a normal year's work and students who fail to pass are required to repeat. The completion of the fourth year of primary education, for instance, is the minimum educational qualification for clerical posts in the civil service.

need to teach Africans to speak Portuguese was reflected in several newspaper articles in 1969. Although it has generally been accepted that more Africans in Angola speak Portuguese than in Mozambique, one editorial stated that illusions as to how many Africans understood Portuguese in Angola could be dangerous. It reported that even in slum areas of large urban centres "línguas nativas e atrasadas (backward native languages) are frequently spoken".

152. As reported previously, one of the main problems in Angola is the high percentage of pupils who fail to pass the pre-primary and first year of primary school. Children starting school at six years of age would therefore not even be able to complete four years of primary school by the time they are twelve. There is no new information on this question.

153. More recently the economic interests in the Territory have questioned the validity of the Government's education policy. In October 1969 it was suggested at a meeting of the economic associations of the Territory that education should aim at preparing the necessary manpower for rural and industrial activities. In the view of the representatives at that meeting, the present education system would result in serious consequences to the Territory as it led people to leave the rural areas for the larger urban centres where "the government bureaucracy" could not find employment for all of them.

154. Following the changes introduced in 1964, a total investment of 540 million escudos (about 7.5 per cent of the total) was envisaged for education in Angola under the Transitional Development Plan, 1965-1967. Investments under the development plan were mainly for construction of new schools. Actual expenditure over the three-year period, however, amounted to only 108 million escudos which is 20 per cent of the original target. Under the Third National Development Plan, for the six-year period beginning in 1968 a total expenditure of 705 million escudos (2.8 per cent of the total) was envisaged for education of which 386.7 million escudos was for primary education, with an average annual expenditure of 117.5 million escudos. During the first year of implementation of the Third National Development Plan, a total of 66.2 million escudos was actually spent in education. The initial authorized expenditure for 1969 was set at 119.9 million escudos.

155. Since 1964, allocations for education in the Territory's ordinary budget have increased substantially, rising from 79.3 million escudos to 498.9 million escudos in 1969, but an increasing percentage of the total amount has been absorbed by higher education. In 1969, about 20 per cent of the total allocation for education was reserved for the University of Luanda, which had an enrolment of just over 1,000 students.

156. There is a shortage of teachers at all levels. This is partly due to the lack of training facilities. There are only four escolas de magistério oficial (primary teacher-training schools) in the Territory, at Benguela, Luanda, Sá da Bandeira and Silva Porto. The programme of studies in these schools is the same as in Portugal except for two courses which are taught only in the overseas Territories, namely formação portuguesa (Portuguese development) and social activities. Between 1964 and 1969 only 500 teachers were graduated from these schools and in 1969/1970 there were only 200 teachers in training. Progress in training school post teachers has also been slow. Between 1964 and 1969 only some 1,000 such teachers were trained. In the school year 1969/1970 there were only

fourteen training schools for school post teachers with 1,000 students enrolled. There is no recent information on the training courses for monitores. In 1969 there were 3,500 monitores teaching in the Territory.

157. Official statistics for the 1967/1968 school year are not yet available. According to a press report, in that period 366,658 pupils were enrolled in all schools, compared with 305,759 in 1966/1967. The total number of teachers rose from 8,004 to 9,447. (For the latest school statistics available, see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex II, table 3.)

158. In the expansion of school facilities, the Government has given priority to the construction of school posts. During 1969, in Cuanza-North District, for example, thirty-two new school posts were built. By the end of the year, this district, which had a population of 263,000 at the 1960 census, had a total of 210 primary schools and school posts.

159. In the school year 1968/1969, there were 38 secondary schools offering the two-year preparatory cycle, 11 liceus (full academic secondary schools) and 17 technical high schools providing industrial and commercial courses. There were also four commercial and industrial institutes and one escola de regentes agrícolas (agricultural school) offering professional training courses at secondary school level. In the school year 1969/1970, three new liceus were established, one each at Luso, in Moxico District, and at Novo Redondo and Gabela both in Cuanza-South District.

160. When first introduced in 1964 the Estudos Gerais Universitários (general university studies course) only provided studies at the first-year and second-year levels, and students had to complete their courses in Portugal in order to receive a university degree. Following gradual expansion facilities, in 1968 the Estudos Gerais Universitários was incorporated into the University of Luanda, the degrees of which are recognized as equivalent to those conferred by Portuguese universities.

161. In 1968/1969 the university had a total enrolment of 1,011 students, compared with 804 in 1967/1968. The university offers courses in agronomy, biology, chemistry and industrial chemistry, education, civil, electrical and mining engineering, geology, mathematics, mechanics, medical science, physics and veterinary science. During 1968/1969, new staff included three full professors, two professores extraordinários (professors on special contract), four primeiros assistentes (first instructors), sixty-four segundos-assistentes (second instructors), and seventeen visiting professors from Portugal. During the school year the teaching staff numbered 197. Enrolment at the university in 1969/1970 has increased by almost 50 per cent above the previous year. New departments authorized include economics, geography, history and Romance philology. In January 1970 a visiting professor from the Stanford University (United States) was in Angola organizing a department of petroleum engineering.



C. MOZAMBIQUE\*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
General . . . . .	1 - 2	184
Constitutional and political . . . . .	3 - 50	184
Military activities . . . . .	51 - 77	199
Economic conditions . . . . .	78 - 143	206
Education . . . . .	144 - 149	231
Map . . . . .		234

---

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.625/Add.2 (Parts I and II).

## C. MOZAMBIQUE

### GENERAL

1. The Territory of Mozambique, comprising an area of 771,125 square kilometres, lies south of the Equator between latitude 10° 30' and 27°. Its frontiers are: on the north the United Republic of Tanzania, on the west Lake Nyassa, Malawi, Zambia and Southern Rhodesia, on the south Swaziland and South Africa and on the east the Indian Ocean. At the 1960 census the total resident population was 6,578,604, of whom 6,430,530 were Africans. The non-African population comprised 97,268 Europeans, 31,465 mistos and 19,341 Asians.

2. Government statistics published in 1969 show that in 1967 the population of Mozambique was officially estimated at 7,169,400. a/ The European population was unofficially estimated at 145,000 in 1969.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL<sup>b/</sup>

3. Under the Portuguese Constitution and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, Mozambique is considered to be an overseas province of Portugal. The Political and Administrative Statute of Mozambique is contained in Decree 45,375 of 22 November 1963. As an overseas province, Mozambique is represented in the following central organs of government: the National Assembly, the Overseas Council and the Corporative Chamber.

#### (a) Territorial Government

4. The territorial Government of Mozambique comprises the Governor-General and the provincial secretariats, the Legislative Council and the Economic and Social Council. The authority of the territorial Government is limited to matters exclusively concerning Mozambique other than those reserved to the Government of Portugal. The territorial Government is under the direct authority of the Overseas Minister and the Overseas Council, the highest consultative organ for the Overseas Ministry.

5. According to the Political and Administrative Statute, the Governor-General is the highest representative of the Portuguese Government in the Territory. From June 1964 to July 1968 the Governor-General was also the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in Mozambique. Doctor Balthazar Rebello de Souza, who was appointed in 1968, was the Territory's first civilian governor in thirty years. Since then there has been a separate Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in Mozambique, appointed by the Minister of Defence, after consulting with the Overseas Minister. In January 1970, another civilian, Engineer Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira, was appointed Governor-General of Mozambique, replacing Dr. Rebello de Souza who became

---

a/ Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral, (Nos. 77-78), 1969.

b/ For a more detailed description of the constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1), chapter V, paras. 17-73 and 112-116.

the Minister of Corporation and Health in the new Cabinet. In March 1970, General Kaulza de Arriaga was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Mozambique armed forces, replacing General Augusto dos Santos, who had finished his tour of duty. General Arriaga was until then Commander of the Mozambique Military Region, a post to which he was appointed in 1968 (see A/7623 (Part II), appendix II, para. 1).

(i) Provincial secretariats

6. Each of the provincial secretariats is headed by a provincial secretary appointed by the Overseas Minister on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Each provincial secretary is responsible for a group of government departments and services. When the system was introduced in 1963, six provincial secretariats were created in Mozambique. As in Angola, these were: (a) Civil and Political Administration; (b) Health, Labour, Social Security and Welfare; (c) Education (including responsibility for the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth)); (d) Economic Affairs, including statistics, geology and mining and customs; (e) Rural Development, including forestry, veterinary services, geography and land surveys and settlement; and (f) Public Works and Communications. The head of the Provincial Secretariat of Civil and Political Administration is the Secretary-General (his office is also known as the General Secretariat) who, in the absence of the Governor-General, is responsible for the government of the Territory.

7. As part of the Portuguese Government's plan of "administrative decentralization" three of the provincial secretariats had been reorganized since April 1969. First, in addition to the Provincial Secretariat of Economic Affairs, a new Provincial Secretariat of Planning, Economic Integration, Treasury and Accounts has been added which has assumed responsibility for these matters as well as for statistics, customs, credit and insurance (Decree 48,955 of 7 April 1969). Second, the Secretariat of Health, Labour, Social Security and Welfare has been replaced by two secretariats, one for health and welfare and one for labour, social security and social action. Third, the Provincial Secretariat of Public Works and Communications has also been replaced by two secretariats, one for public works and one for communications. These last two changes were introduced in January 1970. c/

(ii) Legislative Council<sup>d/</sup>

8. The Legislative Council of Mozambique comprises twenty-nine members, of whom two are ex officio (the Attorney-General and the Treasurer), nine are elected by direct vote and eighteen members are elected by the following groups:

- Three by individual taxpayers registered as paying direct taxes amounting to 15,000 escudos (about \$US500);
- Three by corporative bodies representative of employers and associations of economic interests;

---

c/ Diario de Notícias, Lisbon, 4 January 1970.

d/ For a comparison with the composition of the Legislative Council prior to 1963, see A/5800/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 31-40 and 151.

- Three by corporative bodies representative of workers' interests;
- Three by bodies representative of religious and cultural interests, one of whom must always be a Catholic missionary;
- Three by autoridades das regedorias (indigenous authorities) from among their own members;
- Three by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest.

9. Members of the Council serve a four-year term. Candidates to the Legislative Council must: (a) be Portuguese citizens by birth; (b) be of age (21 years); (c) be able to read and write Portuguese; (d) have resided in Mozambique for over three years; and (e) not be a government official or a member of the administrative service of active status.

10. Elections to the Legislative Council are governed by the Electoral Law of 6 December 1963 (Decree 45, 408). The conditions qualifying the right to vote in the direct elections to the Legislative Council are more restrictive than those for the National Assembly (see A/5800/Rev.1, chapter V, paragraphs 54-64).

11. The last elections to the Legislative Council and the Economic and Social Council were held in March 1968 and the results were reported in A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex III, para. 5. For a description of the functions and composition of the Economic and Social Council, see annex I.A above, paragraphs 40 and 76.

12. During his visit to Mozambique in April 1969, Prime Minister Caetano addressed a joint session of the Economic and Social Council and the Legislative Council. He recalled that it was the concelho municipal of Vila Cabral that had first invited him to visit Mozambique, an offer which had been enthusiastically supported by the whole Territory. Important as the invitation was, it had nevertheless merely confirmed a decision he had made soon after becoming Prime Minister. He assured the meeting that it was his constant concern to serve the interests of the overseas "provinces" and explained the constitutional basis for the Government's policy to grant the Territories an increasing measure of autonomy and to grant the inhabitants a greater degree of participation in local government (see general section, annex I.A above).

13. He cited the Cabora Bassa dam project as an example of Portugal's willingness to collaborate with other countries to develop the Territory's resources. He added, however, "We shall be glad to welcome those who come from other nations to work with us on the great tasks before us but we shall not renounce our concept of humanity."

14. After the Prime Minister's visit, the Legislative Council unanimously adopted a motion expressing its confidence and unconditional support for the continuing unity and integrity of the nation of which the overseas Territories were an indestructible part.

15. In his report to the spring session of the Legislative Council on the general situation in the Territory, the Governor-General noted that Mozambique's good relations with neighbouring countries had in several cases led to "practical collaboration". The situation in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete, he said, was being

"normalized" with the help of the army, the militia, the local administration and the population. He also recalled the return of thousands of people, especially the Makonde, to Portuguese Territory, which he said, had made the world understand Portugal's true strength.

16. As in Angola, during 1969 the discussions in the Legislative Council were given much more coverage in the local newspapers than in previous years. Most of the discussions in the Council concerned the regional and local economic problems in the Territory, such as the need for more and better roads, and for government measures to stimulate agricultural production. In contrast to Angola, where the general feeling was against government interference, in Mozambique, the government was criticized for not doing enough. The Legislative Council also discussed and approved new regulations governing the agriculture, forestry services and financial assistance to the public health and welfare services and the Lourenço Marques University Hospital for subsidiary services.

(iii) Local administration

17. Until the end of 1969, Mozambique was divided into nine districts, each of which was administered by a District Governor appointed by the Overseas Minister (see table 1). Below the district level, the areas which have reached the required level of "economic and social development" are divided into concelhos. Areas predominantly inhabited by the African population and which do not yet meet the necessary requirements are divided into circunscrições.

18. Although often translated as municipality,<sup>e/</sup> the concelho in Mozambique is not a municipality in the usual sense because it is not a truly self-governing unit. Both concelhos and circunscrições, which are primarily administrative divisions, may include within their boundaries a number of urban population centres and extensive rural areas which are divided into postos administrativos (administrative posts) which are directly administered by a chefe de posto.

Table 1

Mozambique: administrative divisions at December 1969

<u>District</u>	<u>Population of district</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Population of capital</u>
Lourenço Marques	436,916	Lourenço Marques	178,565
Gaza	681,753	João Belo	100,379
Inhambane	583,059	Inhambane	67,381
Manica e Sofala	779,767	Beira	58,970
Tete	471,352	Tete	67,553
Zambezia	1,368,731	Quelimane	152,321
Moçambique	1,452,395	Nampula	103,985
Cabo Delgado	548,597	Porto Amélia	55,166
Niassa	281,083	Vila Cabral	83,744

Source: Mozambique, Anuário Estatístico, 1966.

<sup>e/</sup> In some official English texts of Portuguese legislation, the concelho is translated as a borough. However, the concelho is not a unit for representation in the Legislative Council.

(iv) Local bodies

19. As in Angola, there are generally two levels of local bodies in Mozambique: the district board at the district level and the municipal council in the concelhos. In January 1969, the concelho of Lourenço Marques was subdivided into three freguesias, two of which are to have their own juntas de freguesias (parish boards), and one a junta local, supletiva de freguesia (local board). The first elections to these boards were held in June 1969.

20. Within the circunscrições, there are comissões municipais (municipal committees) and within the postos administrativos there are juntas locais. These bodies, however, are not recognized as collective entities in public law as are the câmaras municipais (municipal councils) and the juntas de freguesias.

21. The district board which is partly elected and includes one representative of the regedorias in the district, has only "deliberative and consultative" functions. It is not an administrative body and does not have a budget of its own. It advises the district governor on the district budget and on matters relating to the supervision of the local administrative bodies.

22. In Mozambique it appears that the role of the various local bodies is not yet as important as that of their counterparts in Angola. There is very little information on the activities of the câmaras municipais. In most cases the district budgets have not increased, or only slightly, in the period 1963-1969. For Lourenço Marques District the budget rose in this period from 5.08 million to 5.5 million escudos, f/ Tete District from 9.03 million to 9.87 million escudos and Zambézia District from 8.64 million to 10.16 million escudos, but decreased in the districts of Mozambique, Inhambane, Cabo Delgado and Niassa. In most cases over 40 per cent of the district budget has been used to subsidize the local bodies and the largest single allocations are for "police and social policy" (see table 2 below).

---

f/ One escudo equals \$US.035.

Table 2

Mozambique: district budgets for 1969

Selected items of expenditure

<u>District</u>	<u>Total district budget</u>	<u>Subsidies to local authorities</u>		<u>Police and social policy</u>		<u>Other Subsidies</u>	
	<u>Escudos</u>	<u>Escudos</u>	<u>Per cent of district budget</u>	<u>Escudos</u>	<u>Per cent of district budget</u>	<u>Escudos</u>	<u>Per cent of district budget</u>
Lourenço Marques	5,500,000	2,605,000	47.3	160,000	3.0	295,000	5.0
Gaza	3,805,000	1,400,000	36.8	116,800	3.0	293,000	7.7
Inhambane	4,902,000	1,980,000	40.3	75,000	1.5	407,000	8.3
Manica e Sofala	9,530,000	3,695,000	38.8	319,000	3.3	250,000	2.6
Tete	9,871,000	4,510,000	45.7	480,710	4.8	388,000	3.9
Zambezia	10,160,000	2,749,800	27.0	1,088,600	10.7	1,105,000	10.8
Moçambique	9,416,000	3,020,000	32.0	20,000	0.2	1,542,000	16.3
Cabo Delgado	9,442,713	4,382,536	46.4	392,000 <sup>a/</sup>	4.2	316,000	3.3
Niassa	6,119,567	3,769,985	61.6	365,960 <sup>a/</sup>	5.9	70,000	1.2

Source: Mozambique, Boletim Oficial (No. 6) Series I, Despacho, 10 February 1969.

a/ Of which 150,000 escudos for aldeamentos (strategic villages).

23. Under the Political and Administrative Statute of 1963, Mozambique was originally divided into 32 concelhos and 61 circunscrições. Since then there have been considerable changes. By 1967, the number of concelhos had almost doubled but the number of circunscrições had dropped to 36. Most of the concelhos are over 5,000 square kilometres in area, and several, including Manica and Buzi, are over 10,000 square kilometres in size. The Limpopo concelho in Gaza District covers some 47,000 square kilometres.

Table 3

Mozambique: concelhos and circunscrições

<u>District</u>	<u>Concelhos</u>		<u>Circunscrições</u>	
	<u>1963</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1967</u>
Lourenço Marques	3	7	4	-
Gaza	5	8	3	-
Inhambane	1	6	8	4
Manica e Sofala	6	9	7	4
Tete	2	5	6	3
Zambezia	4	8	10	7
Moçambique	5	10	12	8
Cabo Delgado	4	6	5	4
Niassa	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	32	61	61	36

Source: Political and Administrative Statutes of Mozambique, Decree 45,375 of 22 November 1963; and Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1967.

24. At the lowest level of Portuguese authority in the Territory, the chefe de posto has direct responsibility for the African population in his area. In 1963 there were 165 administrative posts and 168 in 1966. Since then eleven new posts have been added in the northern part of the Territory: 3 in Tete District, 4 in Cabo Delgado, 3 in Niassa and 1 in Moçambique. According to the Government (as explained in the legislation) the new administrative posts in the districts affected by the war have been established "to provide assistance to the local population". This appears to confirm that until recent years, most of the northern part of the Territory was administratively neglected, except for areas with European interests.

25. One of the functions of the regedores and headmen (sobas) is to collect the individual tax (imposto domiciliário) from the Africans living in the area under their authority (see also annex I.A above). From 1960 onwards the salaries of the regedores were based on the amount of taxes they collected. In 1969 new salary rates were approved for the regedores as from 1 January 1970. This increase is equivalent to the recent increase in benefits for civil servants "although at a different qualitative level". The new salary rates are shown in table 4 below. In addition, whenever at least 70 per cent of the estimated tax for the area concerned is collected, a bonus amounting to 2 per cent of the amount collected is to be distributed among the indigenous authorities with 0.5 per cent going to the regedor; 0.5 per cent to the chiefs of groups of povoações; and 1 per cent to the headman.

Table 4

Mozambique: Salaries of regedores 1960 and 1970

<u>Number of taxpayers</u>	<u>1960</u> (escudos)	<u>1970</u> (escudos)	<u>Increase</u> (per cent)
Up to 100	2,400	4,200	75
From 101 to 250	3,800	4,800	26
From 251 to 500	4,200	6,000	30
More than 500	6,600	8,400	27

Sources: For 1960: Mozambique, Boletim Oficial, Series I, Portaria 13,834 of 5 March 1960; for 1970: Ibid., Portaria 22,358 of 23 August 1969.

(b) General developments

26. During 1969, the Governor-General toured various parts of the Territory, visited Angola twice (once for a joint meeting with Governor-General Rebocho Vaz and the Overseas Minister, Mr. Silva Cunha) and paid a state visit to Malawi. He also was in Lisbon for discussions.

27. In his speech to the opening session of the Legislative Council in April 1969, the Governor-General said that the situation in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete was gradually returning to normal. Thousands of Africans had been "reclaimed" and resettled, and there were still more Makonde people who were being prevented from returning. Nevertheless, he did not see an end to the war and instead of relaxing its efforts, the Territory had to step up its defence measures and the people would have to continue to make sacrifices for some time to come. In an interview with the Director of the Portuguese News Agency (ANI), the Governor-General was asked to comment on the impression among many people in Portugal that the Portuguese in Mozambique, as opposed to those in Angola, were "somewhat racist" (um tanto ou quanto racista) in their dealings with the African population. He suggested that it was the different ways in which the two Territories had been settled that accounted for such an impression, but that one look at the schools and the streets clearly showed that all races lived and worked together.

28. When swearing in the new Governor-General of Mozambique, Eng. Arantes e Oliveira (see paragraph 5 above), the Minister for Overseas Territories, stated that his primary responsibility was to ensure the continued progress of the Territory towards a better and more Portuguese way of life. He instructed the Governor-General to be implacable in suppressing abuses against those who were most disadvantaged in terms of material goods or cultural development; to ensure strict compliance with the law which guaranteed the enjoyment of fundamental human rights; to continue to defend the peaceful populations, who wished to remain Portuguese, against subversion, treason and violence; to develop the resources and infrastructure of the Territory, promote the well-being of the people, and stimulate private enterprise; to extend educational action so that Portuguese would effectively

become the common language of all Portuguese and so that all could prepare themselves through education to make a useful contribution to the life of the community; and to ensure the efficiency of the local, political and administrative institutions so that the population could participate more meaningful in public life and in furthering national interests.

29. During 1969, there were again rumours that a group of Portuguese settlers in Mozambique had organized a movement for a Rhodesian type of UDI. In an article published in Le Monde in November 1969 it was reported that the independence movement was headed by Mr. Jorge Jardim who is closely linked to Banco Nacional Ultramarino and the Portuguese financier, Champalimaud, and who is editor of the Notícias da Beira which is owned by Champalimaud. It suggested that this movement favoured the secession of parts of northern Mozambique to Malawi as a barrier against FRELIMO. About a week later The Johannesburg Star, reported that while "informed circles" in Blantyre discounted the rumour about the secession of the north as "highly improbable", there were factors which made the reports appear "less fantastic" than they had at first appeared. According to this article, before his death, Mr. Eduardo Mondlane had disclosed that an organization called the African Nationalist Union of Rombezia (UNAR) had been set up in Blantyre in 1968 and that this organization, a splinter group from the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO - Mozambique's Revolutionary Committee) was working for the unification of Rombezia, the area between the Rovuma and Zambezi Rivers, with Malawi. However, after referring to the report by Le Monde, the article in the Star cited the Portuguese expenditures on the development of the north, and especially of the port of Nacala (see below) as one of the convincing reasons for rejecting the rumours.

(c) Elections to the National Assembly

30. Mozambique, with a population of over seven million persons constitutes a single electoral district, represented by seven deputies in the National Assembly.

31. At the beginning of the 30-day campaigning period which preceded the elections, an "opposition" group put forward a list of seven candidates but these were subsequently disqualified so that by the time of the elections, only the National Union candidates remained and they were duly elected.

32. Several weeks before the electoral campaign started it was reported that forty members of the Opposition had petitioned the Governor-General requesting that, in order that they could participate in the electoral campaign, they be given the same access to the same means of electoral propaganda, both oral and written, which were granted to the National Union candidates. It was also reported that Moslem Portuguese from Inhambane and Beira had requested Mozambique's branch of the National Union to include a Moslem in the list of candidates of the National Union, since the Moslem population in the Territory was over one million persons (some 20 per cent of the total population). Late in the campaign, it was reported that a group of civilians and military in Lourenço Marques had constituted a commission in support of the Comissão Eleitoral Monárquica (CEM) of Lisbon.

33. Of the seven deputies for Mozambique, three were born in the Territory, and two were born in Portugal. The birth-place of the other two is not known. Mme. Custódia Lopes, who is serving a second term, was a member of the Portuguese delegation to the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session, and served in the Third Committee. Mr. Pedro Baessa, of African descent, is a member of the Mozambique Legislative Council and former President of the Nampula Municipal Council. The other five deputies are Mr. António Júlio dos Santos Almeida, a representative in the Mozambique Economic and Social Council; Mr. Manuel Monteiro Ribeiro Veloso (an engineer), President of the Mozambique's branch of the National Union; Dr. Artur Manuel Giesteira Rodrigues, Professor of Medicine at the University of Lourenço Marques; Mr. Carlos Eugénio Magro Ivo, an architect and President of the Association of Landowners of Beira; and Mr. João Lopes da Cruz, a lawyer and secondary school teacher in Quelimane, Zambézia District.

34. The published results of the 1969 elections in Mozambique show that only about 1.15 per cent of the total population was registered to vote and 1.2 per cent of the population actually voted.

Table 5

Mozambique: voting results for 1965 and 1969 elections  
to the National Assembly

<u>District</u>	Number of registered voters <u>a/</u> 1969	Number of votes cast			
		1969		1965	
		Number of votes	Per cent of total <u>b/</u> population	Number of votes	Per cent of total <u>b/</u> population
Cabo Delgado	5,513	5,463	1.0	2,979	0.5
Gaza	5,063	4,963	0.7	5,652	0.8
Inhambane	5,364	5,286	0.9	3,982	0.7
Lourenço Marques	27,852	26,153	6.0	17,892	4.0
Manica e Sofala	15,156	14,489	1.9	14,801	1.9
Moçambique	11,604	11,285	0.8	9,016	0.6
Niassa	1,577	1,537	0.6	1,512	0.6
Tete	2,645	2,534	0.6	2,663	0.6
Zambezia	<u>7,765</u>	<u>7,626</u>	0.6	<u>5,546</u>	0.4
Total	82,539	79,336	1.2	64,043	0.9

Sources: Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1) chapter V, para. 147; Diario de Notícias, Lisbon, 27 and 29 October 1969.

a/ There is no information on the number of registered voters for 1965. See A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V, para. 147.

b/ Population figures for districts are of 1960 census. Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1967; total population officially estimated at 7,169,400 persons. Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral, (Nos. 77/78), first and second quarters, 1969.

(i) Position of the National Union

35. During the electoral campaign, the Mozambique National Union, unlike its counterpart in Angola, first issued a manifesto on 27 September 1969 and then released a series of position statements which were published in the local press. In its manifesto of 27 September, the Mozambique National Union said that, as a general principle, it supported an effective and forward-looking policy which would overcome immobilism, study solutions to current and future problems rather than those of the past, and at the same time stimulate the pursuit of progress in the economy, education, administration and general political and social policy. It considered that the unity of the country, with its geographic, cultural, administrative, economic and political diversity, was a policy that affected the nation as a whole including the overseas territories. It therefore accepted the solution dictated by the higher interests of all Portuguese as the only solution conducive to progress and stability in Mozambique.

36. For the overseas Territories, it advocated politico-administrative and financial development towards greater autonomy, in keeping with the economic and social progress of the respective Territories, with a more important role to be consequently played by local government bodies. According to the union this autonomy should not lead to secession. It was also in favour of the increasing participation of all inhabitants in the local government and administration. As full enjoyment of this right of participation depended on the attainment of de facto "economic citizenship", educational and social progress and economic justice were goals to be pursued.

37. The manifesto further urged greater representation for Mozambique in the National Assembly and Corporative Chamber. As regards foreign relations, the manifesto advocated continuing the good neighbour policy, even with these countries which were hostile, and a willingness to participate in discussions and to assist in areas of common interest. It also suggested that government action in the economic sector should be guided by a conscious effort towards further development and the attainment of commutative and distributive justice. It was necessary to encourage investments and create a climate of confidence for industrial development. As regards health and education, the manifesto supported a liberal, forward-looking policy aimed at greater social justice in order to develop human resources and improve the conditions of the rural population.

38. In its subsequent statements, the National Union of Mozambique reaffirmed its support for the continuity of Portugal in Africa, on which there could be no discussion. It repudiated the demands of the Opposition in Portugal for the self-determination of the Territories which it considered to be a call for their abandonment.

(ii) Opposition in Mozambique

39. The list presented by the opposition group was composed of the following candidates: Mr. António de Almeida Santos, lawyer, 43 years old; Mr. Francisco Saraiva Barreto, businessman, 50 years old; Mr. Heliodoro Frescata, a secondary school teacher, 59 years old; Mr. Luis Alberto Mayor Gonzalez, university

student, 23 years old; Mr. Parcídio Campos Rodrigues da Costa, economist, a management executive of SONAREP, g/ and director of the periodical Indústria de Moçambique, 50 years old; Mr. Rafael Nunes de Carvalho, office executive (chefe de escritório), 52 years old; and Mr. Rui Baltazar dos Santos Alves, lawyer, 36 years old.

40. Although subsequently reported in Le Monde (Paris), the Mozambique opposition group's platform was published neither in the local press nor in Portugal. On many issues it took the same lines as the CEUD in Portugal, as for instance, in demanding "freedom of expression, the abolition of censorship and an opportunity to form political parties." It criticized both the imposto domiciliário, which is a tax levied on all males between 18 and 60 years of age in Mozambique, and the administrative procedure of detaining Africans for long periods without court action. It also charged that Portugal's policy of good neighbourliness with countries bordering its Territories in Africa could lead to the formation of an axis of "white" States in southern Africa.

41. The opposition members, however, never had a chance to campaign as the Civil Administrative Services rejected their candidacy on the grounds that they lacked proof of their Portuguese origin (ser português de origem) and proof of having resided in "national" territory for more than five consecutive years. The Opposition then appealed to the Administrative Tribunal which rejected the case.

42. According to the Tribunal's decision, which was published in the local newspapers, the main points of contention were as follows. The Civil Administrative Services claimed that it had rejected the entire Opposition list on the ground that the candidates had not submitted the proof required under the electoral law that (a) they were not naturalized citizens; and (b) that they had lived continuously in the country for five years except for reasons of government service abroad. h/ The written brief submitted by Mr. António de Almeida Santos on behalf of all the candidates contended that the alleged lack of such documents should not have disqualified the whole list but only those candidates in respect of which the Civil Administrative Services required further proof. Instead of the entire list being rejected, the Opposition should have been allowed to replace the disqualified candidates as had been done in Portugal (see general section, annex 1.A above, para. 123). It was also pointed out that in Portugal candidates had never been required to prove their eligibility on grounds of citizenship or residence and no one had been disqualified for not having presented the documents the Civil Service Administration in Mozambique had required. It was further contended that

---

g/ Sociedade Nacional do Refinação de Petróleos.

h/ The following are not eligible for election to the Electoral Assembly:

1. Naturalized Portuguese;
2. Persons who were not effectively and continuously resident in Portuguese territory during the last five years, except those who left on national service;
3. Persons professing ideas opposed to the existence of Portugal as an independent State or to the fundamental principles of the established social order. (Decree-Law 37,570, 3 October 1949, article 8)

if there had been any doubt as to the candidates' qualifications it was the responsibility of the Service to prove their lack of eligibility. i/

43. Under Decree-Law 48,229, 10 September 1969, the procedures for replacing candidates are as follows: two days after receiving the list of candidates, the competent authority must verify the qualifications of the candidates and if it finds any candidates ineligible, request that they be replaced. This must be done within five days. Once the list of candidates has been published, any registered voter may within three days appeal the list to the Supreme Administrative Tribunal which shall judge the case on the basis of written submissions. The Tribunal must give a decision within three days, and any candidate found to be ineligible may be replaced within five days.

44. Without ruling on the points presented to it, the Tribunal decided to reject the appeal on a technical point. The Tribunal, which is prohibited from hearing oral testimony, found on the basis of the written arguments before it that the appeal presented by Mr. Santos on behalf of the opposition candidates did not meet the conditions laid down in the Overseas Administrative Reform which specify that in cases brought directly by the appellants the signatures must be notarized, otherwise cases have to be presented by a practising lawyer or a public prosecutor. Although Mr. Santos was a lawyer by profession he had submitted the appeal as the spokesman for the appellant group and not in his professional capacity as a lawyer. As a result the Tribunal decided that it could not receive the case.

45. There appear to be some indications that the opposition list was first rejected by the Civil Service Administration on the grounds that the candidates had submitted identity cards as proof of citizenship instead of their birth certificates or certificates of nationality. In any case, whatever may have been the reason, a separate appeal was submitted which in effect called for clarification on the validity of the identity card for the purpose of satisfying the requirements under the electoral law. This appeal was submitted by a voter, Mr. Oliver Branco Bártolo, who contended that the Civil Administrative Services should have equally rejected the list of candidates of the National Union since they had also offered their identity cards as proof of their Portuguese origin. The Administrative Tribunal again rejected the appeal on technical grounds. It took the position that Mr. Bártolo did not have "a direct, immediate interest" in the case, and therefore he had no right to appeal.

46. There has been no comment in the Press on these two cases in which the Civil Administrative Services appear to have taken contradictory positions in determining the eligibility of the National Union candidates and that of the

---

i/ According to Mr. Oliveira Lirio, Administrative Assessor of Oporto, in his comments on Portuguese electoral legislation, "... since eligibility is an absolute right deriving from registration in the census,... the burden of proof of any ineligibility lies ipso facto on the person who invokes it in order to oppose approval of the list, including the approving authority." (Legislação Eleitoral, atualizada, coordenada e anotada para o continente, ilhas e ultramar. Biblioteca Jurídica, Atlântida Editôra, Coimbra, 1965, page 89.)

Opposition. According to the statements made by the Services, in the first case, it accepted the identity card as an "authentic document... from which Portuguese nationality can be 'unequivocally' inferred", while in the second case it rejected the identity card as "inadequate proof" of the candidates "non-ineligibility".

47. The Press in Mozambique also played an important role in trying to discredit the Opposition. Early in October, following the Tribunal's decision, the leader of the Mozambique Opposition, Mr. Adriaõ Rodrigues received two letters, one signed by Mr. Samuel Cumbre, on FRELIMO stationery, pledging that party's support for the opposition candidates. Similar letters from FRELIMO were purportedly also received by other members of the Opposition, among them Mr. António de Almeida Santos. At the same time Mr. Rodrigues also received threatening letters signed by "Black Hand" (Mão Negra). He submitted both sets of letters to the Tribunal. The nature of the threats was never disclosed in the Press.

48. Various press reports in Mozambique and Lisbon subsequently charged that the Opposition was in touch with FRELIMO. The Notícias of Lourenço Marques reported on 7 October 1969 that in connexion with the radical proposals made by the CDE (see general section, annex I.A above), FRELIMO would be willing to negotiate with Lisbon. In the meantime, on 6 October, Messrs. Rodrigues and Almeida Santos each had addressed a letter to the Notícias in which they denied any relations with FRELIMO and challenged the newspaper reports on the FRELIMO letters suggesting that they had been forged. However, the Notícias first refused to publish their letters of complaint and only did so a week later in compliance with a court order dated 11 October.

49. In contrast to Angola, the two newspapers in Lourenço Marques j/ gave considerably more coverage to the campaigning in Portugal, and even published various position statements of both the CEUD and the CDE. The support of these two groups for the right of self-determination of the Territories was also widely attacked as "treason" and a "denial of the principle of national unity" in the local Press in newspaper editorials, letters and telegrams. In general, however, more space was given to the arguments against the Opposition rather than to their proposals.

---

j/ Mozambique has four daily papers: Notícias and Diário, of Lourenço Marques, and Notícias da Beira and Tribuna, of Beira. Notícias, with a daily circulation of 20,000 copies, is considered the most important. It is reportedly controlled by the Banco Nacional do Ultramar (BNU), and is said to represent the views of the hard line of the União Nacional.

Diário, with a circulation of over 10,000 copies, is reported to belong to the Catholic Church but is subsidized by the Government. It is said to have "progressive tendencies". Notícias da Beira is reported to be owned by the BNU group together with the Portuguese millionaire Mr. Champalimaud. Its director, Mr. Jorge Jardim, has been described as the leader of a movement which favours independence for Mozambique along the lines of Southern Rhodesia's UDI.

Tribuna which was originally a weekly, has recently been authorized to become a daily; it is also reported to be owned by the BNU group.

50. As an example, when Mr. José de Magalhães Godinho of the CEUD addressed an open letter to the Prime Minister asking for a national debate on the overseas problem (see general section, annex I.A above), the Lourenço Marques newspaper published a long rebuttal by a local lawyer Mme. Maria Tereza Cárcomo Lobo, without giving the text of the open letter itself. Mme. Lobo questioned Mr. Godinho's integrity in declaring that the public manifestations of support for the Government had been organized, since obviously he had not seen the spontaneous crowds himself. The proposed debate on the overseas Territories was based on a presumption of the existence of comunidades orgânicamente distintas (organically distinct communities) which was a formula for the abandonment of the overseas Territories. Moreover, under present conditions, self-determination had become an anachronism which led only to a mythical independence in a world which had become increasingly interdependent. Another open letter published in the Diário and signed by a former deputy to the National Assembly, Col. Ricardo Durão, considered the request for a discussion on the overseas problem as an insult not only to the people, but directly to the Portuguese army by supposing that it would be capable of accepting proposals for the abandonment of the overseas Territories regardless of where they originated and how they were disguised.

## MILITARY ACTIVITIES

### (a) War in Mozambique

51. The war in Mozambique which began in September 1964 when small bands of guerrillas directed by FRELIMO entered the Territory from the north is now in its sixth year. Since then Portuguese troops in the Territory have steadily increased from an estimated 25,000, in 1964, to 35,000 to 40,000 by the end of 1965 and about 60,000 troops in 1969. Some sources suggest that an additional 40,000 African troops and militia have been trained and armed.

52. As in Angola, the war has gone through several phases. After the initial losses of territory and population to the guerrillas in both the Cabo Delgado and Niassa districts, Portuguese forces reacted first by shifting the local population to protected villages and by the creation of a chain of air and land bases in the north. By 1966, FRELIMO forces had also become stronger and better equipped. Fighting in Cabo Delgado District spread southwards beyond the Montepuez River into the area of the Lurio River. In Niassa, fighting gradually was extended along the eastern shore of Lake Niassa from the frontier with Tanzania to below Vila Cabral, the capital of the district, and eastwards to an indeterminate distance inland. With guerrillas operating at points up to 250 to 300 kilometres of the border and at widespread points between the sea coast and Lake Niassa, FRELIMO claimed that two-thirds of the two districts were under its control.

53. During the period 1967-1968, the main areas of fighting in Mozambique appear to have moved more to the north. In Cabo Delgado District there was little fighting south of the Messalo River by the end of 1968, although the Mueda plateau remained a guerrilla stronghold. In Niassa District, following the introduction of Portuguese patrol boats on Lake Niassa, fighting along the shore areas decreased, but guerrilla activities continued in the interior, and FRELIMO held its second party congress "somewhere" in Niassa in September 1968. Also in Tete District, guerrillas renewed operations in the north and northeast. Although there has been

no report of guerrilla activities further south in any of the districts, in July 1969, when the 31st battalion of parachutists was decorated, it received mention for having defended the port and airport of Beira which had been threatened by external aggression (Decree 49, 109, 9 July 1969). On one occasion guerrilla infiltration was also reported in southern Niassa, although the precise location was not given.

54. Since early 1969 conflicting reports and expectations have made it difficult to assess the real situation. Following the death of FRELIMO's president, Mr. Eduardo Mondlane, Portuguese sources have expected an early end to the war. As already reported, in February last year when the Minister of Defence toured the northern districts for five days, some press reports suggested that the Portuguese intended shortly to make a concerted drive against the guerrillas.

55. In April 1969, following the official announcement of the surrender of a former FRELIMO guerrilla leader, Mr. Lazaro Kavandame, Portuguese sources expected that under his leadership a large-scale surrender of the Makonde people would follow and bring an end to the war. The Portuguese expectations appear to have been based on the fact that before he joined FRELIMO in 1962 Mr. Kavandame had worked for the authorities in community development programmes in the Makonde area and was therefore well known. Portuguese sources reported at the time that, before surrendering, Mr. Kavandame had worked out an agreement with the Portuguese authorities under which the Government would: (a) grant the Makonde guerrillas a "peace of the brave", treating them as soldiers, and freeing them once they had surrendered their weapons; (b) cease military operations in the Makonde area; (c) recognize the Makonde tribal organization and entrust it with the maintenance of peace and order; and (d) grant the Makonde assistance for health, education and agriculture.

56. In May, a further group of seventy-six guerrillas led by Mr. Eduardo Albino Chacha was reported to have surrendered to the Portuguese authorities at Muembe in Niassa District. In November 1969, another FRELIMO leader, Mr. Alexandre Magno, a former member of the FRELIMO Central Committee, also surrendered to the Portuguese authorities. FRELIMO activities continued throughout the year with mine-laying, ambushes and attacks on various aldeamentos. Among some of the more important aldeamentos mentioned in the Portuguese military bulletins were those located at Quissenge, Rucia, Quinhero, Olumbi and Marere, in Cabo Delgado, and Cobué and Nova Coimbra in Niassa.

57. Since November 1969, when a split developed in the three-man presidential council of FRELIMO and Mr. Uria Simango was first suspended and then expelled both from the party and from Zambia, there has been renewed speculation that the end of the war was in sight. From the outset, however, FRELIMO sources have denied that Mr. Kavandame's surrender would have any effect on the war of liberation. It also denied that Mr. Kavandame had been a Makonde leader and claimed that his only influence had been due to his post as Provincial Secretary of the party in Cabo Delgado. FRELIMO also charged that Mr. Kavandame had used the post for personal gain and had ordered the killing of a party commander in December 1968. Although throughout 1969 Portuguese sources reported fewer guerrilla attacks in the two northern districts, there was a good deal of FRELIMO activity in 1969 on the northern border of Tete which adjoins Zambia. According to Portuguese military bulletins, guerrilla activities in this area increased after August with frequent fighting along the Capoche River. To protect the Cabora Bassa site where land clearing operations have already begun, the African

population is being regrouped and the site has been closed off to all except persons with special passes. A new police unit has also been posted at the district administrative centre. In February 1970 FRELIMO reaffirmed its determination to do all in its power to prevent the construction of the dam which would help further to entrench white domination of southern Africa. In this connexion, FRELIMO reported that its guerrillas had killed over 350 Portuguese troops in Tete during the previous four months. It also claimed responsibility for sabotage against Portuguese lines of communications in the area.

58. In an article published in July 1969, FRELIMO claimed it held one-fifth of the Territory, in which it has established medical clinics, agricultural production units, and primary schools for some 20,000 children. k/ According to other FRELIMO reports, during 1969 its guerrillas destroyed some Portuguese aircraft (denied by the Portuguese), lorries and vehicles, and killed some 1,000 Portuguese troops, 462 in Cabo Delgado alone. FRELIMO also claims that in July 1969 its members attacked an army post at Maniamba, about 10 kilometres from Lake Niassa, where it released ten prisoners and killed thirty Portuguese soldiers.

59. The official Portuguese figures for troop casualties differ substantially from those given by FRELIMO. Nevertheless, the Portuguese figure for casualties in 1969, (134 killed), was twice as high as in 1968, when the corresponding figure was sixty-eight. Guerrilla casualties, on the other hand, dropped from 657 in 1968 to 524 in 1969. The number of persons surrendered or "reclaimed" rose to 8,000 from 3,000 in the previous year. As in 1968, no figures were given during the year of the number of guerrillas captured, though 119 guerrilla camps were reported destroyed.

60. In July 1969, Mr. Paul Gumane, President of the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO), said that his party was continuing its fight against the Portuguese with the support of the local population. In the December 1969 issue of O Combatente, the official organ of COREMO, the party claimed that its guerrillas had been active from September to November 1969 in the districts of Manica e Sofala, Zambézia and Tete, where seventy-eight Portuguese troops and five high-ranking Portuguese officials had been killed. It also claimed that in Tete hundreds of prisoners had been liberated and twenty-two camps destroyed in the areas of Vila Gamito, in the extreme northern part, Zumbo and Zambuè in the west and Carinde, in the Magoè circunscrição, in the area of the Cabora Bassa dam project.

61. The Portuguese military communiqués, which have reported frequent guerrilla activity in Tete, have never identified the guerrilla groups active there as belonging either to FRELIMO or COREMO.

62. In January 1970, the arrival of two ships in the same month in Mozambique with a total of 3,000 Portuguese troops again touched off reports that the Government had decided on a massive effort to end the guerrilla war. The appointment of General Kaulza de Arriaga, reported to be Portugal's top expert in guerrilla warfare, as Commander in Chief of the armed Forces in Mozambique was considered especially significant.

---

k/ In August 1969 a report in the Financial Times (London) suggested that FRELIMO probably held about 5 per cent of the Territory, most of it uninhabited.

(b) Defence and security measures

63. As part of Portugal's policy for the long-term defence of northern Mozambique, there has been a large-scale resettlement of the local population in Cabo Delgado and Niassa Districts into three types of strategic villages (aldeamentos) some with a population of 1,500-2,000 persons (see also A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex III, para. 14; A/7752/Add.1, annex III, paras. 146-154).

64. The first type, located close to the border of Tanzania, is regarded as the front line of defence. These villages are surrounded by barbed wire and the inhabitants are organized to defend themselves. The second type, considered to be of economic and strategic value, is located away from the border in carefully selected areas, but is not intended for permanent settlement. The third type, presumably outside the areas of current guerrilla activities, is built as a permanent settlement under the rural reordenamento schemes.

65. The former Governor-General is reported to have been mainly responsible for the speedy completion of the network of new aldeamentos, both as part of the Territory's defence strategy and as a means of improving the living conditions of the African population.

66. According to a statement made by the former Governor-General in October 1969, as of July of that year, 386,606 persons had been resettled (reordenadas) in 354 aldeamentos: 216 in Cabo Delgado, 113 in Niassa, and 25 in Tete. An article in the Summary of World Broadcasts, published in June 1969, reported, however, that there were 540 such aldeamentos. It stated that in 1968 alone, the Government had spent 72.1 million escudos (about \$US2.5 million) on the aldeamentos and that an estimated additional 75 million escudos would be spent in 1969. It appears that Cabo Delgado accounts for about 35 million escudos each year, or about half of the total.

67. During October 1969, the Notícias of Lourenço Marques published a series of articles on the new aldeamentos. One aldeamento, Marere in Cabo Delgado, was described as being under 24-hour vigil from all sides, with sentinels posted openly or in trenches. The newspaper series described this aldeamento as being defended by the army, the militia, the Public Security Police (PSP) and the Fiscal Guard.

68. In May 1969, some 4,000 square kilometres were released from the 15,000 square kilometre game reserve in the administrative post of Chamba, close to the Tanzanian border, "for the purpose of providing better protection to the local population". It is not yet known whether the newly released area will be used for the establishment of strategic aldeamentos.

(c) Prisons and prisoners

69. Mozambique's budget estimates for 1970 includes an allocation of 18.3 million escudos for prisons (an increase of about 24 per cent over 1969) allocated as follows: 4.5 million escudos for the Lourenço Marques Industrial Penitentiary; 5.8 million escudos for the Lourenço Marques Central Prison in Machava; 5.5 million escudos for the Mabalane Prison Work Camp (Campo de Trabalho Prisional) in Gaza District; and 2.5 million escudos for the newly created Beira Central Prison in Manica e Sofala District. The extraordinary budget

includes 6 million escudos for supervisory personnel for prison and prison work camps and 3 million escudos for building maintenance.

70. Official Portuguese figures for 1968 show that of a total of 14,154 arrests made by the PSP during the year, 13,549 were Africans, and 392 were whites. Of those arrested for "crimes against public peace and order" 5,715 were Africans and 162 were whites. A total of 182 persons were turned over to the Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE); of these 94 had committed crimes against public peace and order.

71. According to a report in Le Monde in November 1969, some 3,000 Africans were being detained without court action in the prisons of Machava and Mabalane for having refused to denounce members of FRELIMO.

72. There appears to be a deliberate effort by the Government to publicize its efforts to rehabilitate guerrilla prisoners. In November 1967, the Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças published a translation of an article describing a prison camp in Mozambique that had appeared in La Vie Française in June. The French reporter, who had personally visited the camp outside of Lourenço Marques, described it as a concentration camp where some 2,000 "terrorists" were held, though the Portuguese authorities called it a recuperation camp. He reported, that the Portuguese authorities were proud of the camp and assured him that the prisoners guarded themselves and no one tried to escape. They were first taught to speak Portuguese (speak Portuguese and show who you are - "fala português; mostra o que és"). Then they were given a primary school education and taught a manual trade. All the prisoners had been tried by a military tribunal and sentenced from one to ten years' imprisonment. They lived in cement cells which were clean and airy; they cooked for themselves in the open air and played football for recreation. Many prisoners, when asked, did not know for how long they had been sentenced.

73. In December 1969 a long article in the Notícias of Lourenço Marques was devoted to describing a ceremony at Machava at which inmates who had three years of elementary schooling were awarded diplomas. The article did not give details on how many prisoners had received diplomas, nor whether schooling was provided beyond the third year. (Under the Portuguese system, completion of the fourth year is the minimum qualification for clerical posts in the civil services).

74. The photographs accompanying the article showed that most of the inmates were Africans, although the valedictorian was a non-African.

75. In January 1970 one of the Mozambique papers carried an interview with Mr. José Craveirinha, poet and newspaperman, in connexion with a public opinion poll. It will be recalled that Mr. Craveirinha was among the group of prisoners arrested in 1965 and retried before a military tribunal in 1967 (see A/6700/Rev.3., chapter V, para. 253). The interview gave the impression that Mr. Craveirinha has since been freed.

Table 6

Mozambique: arrests made by the Public  
Security Police (PSP) in 1968

	<u>Number of arrests</u>			<u>For crimes against public peace and order</u>				<u>Turned over to PIDE</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Whites</u>		<u>Africans</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>For crimes against public peace and order</u>
				<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>		
January	1,121	41	1,072	39	2	1,050	22	21	17
February	1,088	47	1,030	45	2	976	54	23	10
March	1,302	41	1,251	4	-	419	7	5	4
April	1,040	24	1,003	3	-	256	24	18	11
May	970	31	935	9	-	228	16	11	-
June	826	23	800	4	-	175	72	15	2
July	1,233	21	1,200	6	-	463	96	8	3
August	1,384	33	1,242	5	1	493	155	19	12
September	1,048	35	1,006	13	-	221	13	12	10
October	1,549	41	1,501	7	-	530	14	15	8
November	1,246	28	1,206	13	1	370	13	16	6
December	<u>1,347</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>1,303</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>445</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>
Totals	14,154	392	13,549	154	8	5,137	578	182	94

Source: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, January to December 1968.

(d) Military expenditure

76. As previously reported (see A/7623 (part II), appendix II, table 2), Mozambique's estimated military budget for 1969 was 945 million escudos, of which 674 million escudos was for the army, 202 million escudos for the air force and 69 million escudos for the navy, financed from Mozambique's own territorial revenue.

77. The estimates for 1970 are not yet available, but the 1970 ordinary budget for the Territory included 932.1 million escudos for military expenditure and 124.4 million escudos for the navy, 81.4 million escudos for the PSP and 52.3 million escudos for the Direcção Geral de Segurança, formerly PIDE; the extraordinary budget included 9 million escudos for the Volunteer Corps (OPVDC) and 97.8 million escudos for public security.

## ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (a) General

78. Even more than in Angola, agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of the Territory. It contributes about 25 per cent of the gross national product, employs about 88 per cent of the labour force and is the principal source of foreign exchange. Traditionally, the six most important export crops have been cotton, cashew (unshelled and processed), sugar, sisal, copra and tea. Except for cotton, cashew and some copra, production for export is mainly on plantations and farms owned by non-African interests. According to recent information, Africans produce most of the cotton and the cashew, and about half of the copra. They also produce annually several hundred thousand tons of maize and sorghum and some 2 million tons of fresh manioc. (See table 8 below.)

79. The next most important sector is transport and communications, which earns foreign exchange on transit trade through Beira and Lourenço Marques to inland destinations in Malawi, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Zambia. Although sanctions against Southern Rhodesia have affected trade through Beira, total traffic through Lourenço Marques continues to expand. Over the past decade, however, the influx of invisibles, including transport charges on transit traffic, no longer suffices to offset the Territory's chronically adverse trade balance.

80. Since the mid-1960s, there has been a considerable inflow of new capital into the Territory both from public sources under the successive development plans, especially for the development of transport and communications, and from private sources, especially in connexion with the cotton, sugar and cashew industries, petroleum prospecting and the Cabora Bassa dam. <sup>1/</sup> These investments and the future economic potential of the Territory have been the subject of many reports in the international press during the past year. In August 1969, for instance, the Financial Times (London) published a special economic survey of Mozambique dealing with the trends of growth in the key sectors and the need for foreign capital. The lead article in the series reported that although ~~agricultural diversification programmes, including the processing of cotton and cashew, in particular, have had some success, the main hope seems to be placed in mineral exploitation.~~ It suggested also that the Cabora Bassa project, when completed, would help to stimulate mineral and agricultural development in the whole of central Mozambique.

81. Nevertheless, as pointed out previously, progress in African agriculture has been slow and government measures to help African farmers have been limited. Commenting on the recent trends in development in Mozambique, the lead article in the Financial Times stated:

---

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 68, document A/7320/Add.1, appendix III, part two.

"How much this sort of development would, under present policies, filter down to the majority of Mozambicans remains uncertain. For the time being, although reliable statistics are very hard to come by in Mozambique, there is no doubt that wealth is held by an élite almost entirely European. The much publicized policy of multiracialism is even less in evidence than in Angola." m/

(b) External trade

82. There has been a steady growth in the Territory's total trade over the past decade during which imports rose from 3,451.9 million escudos in 1959 to 6,740 million escudos in 1968 and exports from 1,904 million escudos to 4,420 million escudos in the same period.

83. Although each year has seen the establishment of some new industries, their output has not yet brought any significant change in the Territory's pattern of imports. In 1968, the five leading categories of imports and their share in the total value, compared with the average share over the period 1961-1965 (in parentheses), were as follows: machines equipment and electrical appliances, 15.7 (13.4) per cent; transport materials, 11.7 (12.0) per cent; metals and metal goods, 10 (10.2) per cent; mineral products, 9.6 (7.2) per cent.

84. There has been some change in the pattern of exports. The share of agricultural products in the Territory's total exports has dropped from over 83.6 per cent in 1961 to 73.6 per cent in 1968, probably due to increased exports of refined petroleum products. Cashew also has replaced cotton lint as the Territory's principal export crop.

85. Portugal is the Territory's principal trade partner, supplying an average of over 30 per cent of the Territory's imports and taking over 35 per cent of its exports. (The actual figures for 1968 were 33 per cent for imports and 36 per cent for exports.) A characteristic of this trade relationship is that Mozambique exports almost all of its cotton lint to Portugal from which its annual purchases of manufactured textiles amount to about one-sixth of the total value of its imports. It also exports a quota of its sugar to Portugal. South Africa, which in recent years has accounted for an average of slightly more than 10 per cent of the Territory's total trade, supplied 11.8 per cent of its imports and took 10.3 per cent of its exports in 1968. The other important trade partners are the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America.

(c) Agriculture n/

(i) General

86. According to the Production Yearbook, 1968, of the Food and Agriculture Organization, Mozambique's agricultural population in 1965 was estimated at

---

m/ Financial Times, 18 August 1969. This series carries an introduction by Dr. Balthazar Rebello de Sousa, the Governor-General of Mozambique in 1969.

n/ For a more detailed description of agricultural activities in Mozambique, see A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V, annex, appendix III.

4.8 million. Its economically active population was estimated at 2.6 million, of which 1.8 million, or 69 per cent, were engaged in agriculture. o/

87. The most important export crops grown in Mozambique are cotton, cashew, sugar and tea. In terms of production, however, Mozambique ranks sixth as an African producer of cotton lint, accounting for only 6 per cent of the total African production, and twenty-seventh in the world, producing 0.4 per cent of the global total. In sugar, Mozambique ranks fifth in Africa, accounting for 4.4 per cent, and thirtieth in the world, with 0.03 per cent of the global total. In 1968, Mozambique was sixth among the tea exporting countries. In the past decade, cashew has surpassed cotton as the Territory's major export, while sisal has become less important due to the fall in world prices for hard fibres. In 1968, sisal contributed only 2.1 per cent of the Territory's export earnings and ranked seventh among agricultural exports, below maize, which has recently become an export crop. Agricultural exports over the period 1961-1968 are shown in table 7 below.

88. Unlike Angola, where European farmers produce the major share of the agricultural exports, in Mozambique, according to a recent survey by the Missão de Inquérito Agrícola, Africans produce about 90 per cent of the cotton, 80 per cent of the cashew and 50 per cent of the copra. New cash crops produced on European plantations include tobacco, maize for export, and some citrus fruits and bananas.

89. Information on the estimated average annual production by the "traditional" sector and by the sector evoluído ("developed" sector) published by the Industrial Association of Mozambique in 1969 is shown below in table 8.

90. Although the Government has fixed minimum prices to be paid to traders for cotton and cashew purchased from the traditional sector, most of the trading is in the hands of non-Africans and African incomes from each crop remain extremely low. This is borne out by the Industrial Association's Survey referred to above which reported that the 450,000 "traditional" cotton growers received 350 million escudos, or an average of 780 escudos (approximately \$US25) per grower per year. For those 800,000 persons who collected 120,000 tons of cashew, the average income was 375 escudos (approximately \$US13.20) per year.

---

o/ Agricultural population is defined as all persons depending for their livelihood on agriculture, comprising all persons actively engaged in agriculture and their non-working dependants.

Table 7

Mozambique: agricultural exports, 1961-1968

## A. By volume (metric tons)

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Cotton lint	40,777	34,933	31,564	32,445	31,339	28,164	38,227	38,887
Cashew (unshelled)	84,583	80,478	119,210	124,293	98,668	77,235	56,192	132,146
Sugar	113,843	129,931	124,896	83,347	94,936	147,069	109,451	131,812
Sisal	28,427	29,643	29,680	31,581	31,381	26,694	23,172	25,142
Tea	9,905	8,989	8,438	9,017	10,091	12,950	14,410	14,070
Copra	60,070	52,794	46,433	43,812	28,574	33,919	42,948	46,776
Maize	...	...	...	...	90	6,958	25,412	121,852
Cashew nuts	1,058	1,900	2,685	3,503	4,005	5,729	8,080	10,372
Oilseed residues	9,587	7,918	14,963	17,893	20,189	13,571	21,361	26,213
Rice	850	3,331	7,285	102	1,058	4,036	5,306	4,381
Tobacco	1,147	1,210	1,017	696	939	933	1,506	1,721

Table 7 (continued)

B. By value (million escudos)

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Cotton lint	690.3	607.0	523.2	564.8	553.7	491.9	638.5	635.6
Cashew (unshelled)	315.0	230.9	404.1	516.9	492.4	436.5	308.6	695.2
Sugar	324.9	345.1	327.5	245.7	291.8	466.1	329.1	411.3
Sisal	162.1	166.8	261.6	274.4	174.9	128.9	100.0	91.4
Tea	235.7	179.6	155.4	163.9	205.5	254.0	259.4	295.9
Copra	266.9	204.5	204.0	208.3	168.0	168.6	191.4	277.1
Maize	-	-	-	-	0.2	13.7	40.5	180.4
Cashew nuts	24.8	43.4	61.3	91.5	110.8	161.1	222.8	329.7
Oilseed residues	72.0	58.6	114.8	149.6	190.4	133.0	190.3	237.1
Rice	4.8	18.6	17.6	0.6	6.8	23.1	30.7	25.9
Tobacco	28.0	32.3	35.0	29.0	35.9	38.1	58.9	65.6

Source: 1961-1965: Mozambique, Comércio Externo, 1961-1965; 1966: Mozambique, Anuário Estatístico, 1966; 1967-1968: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, April 1968 and 1969.

Table 8

## Mozambique: average agricultural production

Principal crops	Traditional sector				Developed sector			Total	
	Production (tons)	Cultivated areas (hectares)	Number of farmers	Own consumption (tons)	Production (tons)	Cultivated areas (hectares)	Number of enterprises	Production (tons)	Cultivated areas (hectares)
Manioc (dry)	700,000	500,000	700,000	650,000	...	...	...	700,000	500,000
Maize	350,000	275,000	430,000	310,000	30,000	25,000	1,500	380,000	300,000
Sorghum	200,000	220,000	360,000	200,000	...	...	...	200,000	220,000
Cashew nuts	90,000	115,000	520,000	75,000	...	...	...	90,000	115,000
Rice	40,000	40,000	200,000	30,000	50,000	25,000		90,000	65,000
Banana	27,000 <sup>a/</sup>	...	600,000	...	20,000	5,000	300	...	...
Citrus fruits	1,700	...	230,000	...	15,000	4,000	400	...	...
Sugar cane	15,000	190	1,231	15,000	1,600,000	35,000	3	1,615,000	35,190
Cotton	100,00	300,000	450,000	...	20,000	15,000	500	120,000	315,000
Cashew (unshelled)	120,000	...	800,000	20,000	20,000	50,000	470	140,000	...
Tea (green leaf)	...	...	...	...	65,000	15,000	35	65,000	15,000
Copra	20,000	...	230,000	...	35,000	70,000	500	55,000	...
Sisal	...	...	...	...	30,000	50,000	12	30,000	50,000

Source: EM: Economia de Moçambique, June 1969.

a/ Thousand trees.

(ii) Agricultural credit

91. In July 1969 the Caixa de Crédito Agrícola (Agricultural Credit Bank of Mozambique) was authorized to contract a further loan of 40 million escudos from the Banco de Fomento Nacional (National Development Bank in Portugal). The new funds are to be used in a broadened programme of loans to farmers in the Territory.

92. In the twelve-month period preceding the loan, the Caixa de Crédito Agrícola had already made 130 loans totalling 25,493,000 escudos. Of these, 85 loans, amounting to 8,452,000 escudos, were for short-term loans and 45 loans, amounting to 17,041,000 escudos, were for medium-term loans. By sector, 101 loans amounting to over 12 million escudos were for agriculture and 29 loans amounting to 13.5 million escudos were for livestock farming. In 1969, for the first time since the credit bank was established forty years ago, it granted loans to farmers in the districts of Tete, Cabo Delgado and Niassa.

(iii) Cotton<sup>p/</sup>

93. In contrast to the situation in Angola, the revision of the cotton régime between 1961 and 1963 does not appear to have greatly affected the pattern of production by African growers in Mozambique. According to information published last year, in 1968, 450,000 African growers cultivating 310,000 hectares, produced 100,000 tons of seed cotton. This compared with 520,000 growers cultivating 297,000 hectares in 1960, with a production of 139,740 tons (see table 9 below).

Table 9

Mozambique: Cotton production, 1960 and 1968

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
<u>African growers</u>	520,000	450,000 <sup>a/</sup>
Area (hectares)	297,000	310,000 <sup>b/</sup>
Production (tons)	139,740	100,000
Average production (kilogrammes and hectares)	...	339
<u>European enterprises</u>		500
Area (hectares)	...	150,000
Production (tonš)	...	20,000-25,000
Average production (kilogrammes and hectares)	...	2,000

Sources: 1960: A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V.

1968: Diário, Lourenço Marques, 25 October 1969; 8 and 23 February 1970.

a/ Alternatively reported as 150,000 families. Another source reported 500,000 growers.

b/ Alternatively reported as involving 3 million hectares, not all of which under cotton.

<sup>p/</sup> For a detailed background report on the cotton régime in Mozambique, see A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V, annex, appendix III.

94. There has been, however, a steady increase in mechanized cotton growing by the sector evoluído. In 1968, there were 500 concerns cultivating an area of 150,000 hectares, which produced 20,000-25,000 tons of seed cotton. Although most growers in this sector are non-Africans, newspaper articles stress that the term "sector evoluído" includes both Europeans and Africans who have technical knowledge and some capital.

95. Most African growers are still small producers. In 1969, for instance, reporting an increase of 20,000 African growers, the Mozambique Cotton Institute said that the effective increase in the area under cotton was of little importance because it was difficult to know whether these were men or women, and since most often it was the women who grew small patches of cotton to obtain some extra cash. In October 1969, the total area under cotton cultivation in Mozambique was estimated to be 11,000 hectares below the previous year, but production was expected to total some 133,000 tons, due to improved yields averaging as high as 2,000 kilogrammes per hectare on commercial farms and 339 kilogrammes per hectare by African growers. According to a recent report, Mozambique's 1969 cotton harvest was only 127.3 tons, or almost 10 per cent below the estimates.

96. As reported previously, the Mozambique Cotton Institute is the principal government agency regulating the processing of, and trade in, cotton; it is also responsible for encouraging the expansion of cotton growing. It has an independent budget financed mainly from taxes on cotton proceeds. In the first eight months of 1969, the Institute's ordinary revenue amounted to 123 million escudos. As in most years, some of the Institute's funds were used to assist cotton growers settled in colonatos and ordenamentos, and some of its funds were used for direct purchase of cotton. <sup>q/</sup> During 1969, the Mozambique Cotton Institute paid over 22 million escudos to eighty-three cotton growers for 1,450,378 kilogrammes of cotton. Although the minimum price fixed by the Institute was 3.8 escudos per kilogramme for first-grade cotton and 2.2 escudos for second-grade cotton purchased from Africans by licensed traders, the Institute paid the growers 5.13 escudos per kilogramme, compared with 4.49 escudos they would have received directly from the ginneries. In addition, the cost of the transaction to the Institute amounted to 6.4 million escudos.

97. With the increase in the number of more "developed" growers, there is a reported move towards co-operative ginning and selling of cotton lint directly to textile mills in Portugal. In 1969, a shipment of 800 tons was made by two such bodies, one the Co-operative of Cotton Growers in Moçambique District, and the other, the Industrial Co-operative Union of the Zambezi valley which comprises various agricultural co-operatives. As these co-operatives are capable of exporting up to 3,000 tons of cotton lint, an article in a local paper considers that they may soon create a challenge to the present system of government controls over cotton exports.

#### (iv) Cashew

98. As reported previously, cashew growing and processing in Mozambique has undergone important changes since the early 1960s. Previously produced mainly by Africans who collected the nuts from cultivated trees, cashew has also begun to be a plantation crop. Owing to bad weather, production over the period 1966-1968 has averaged just over 100,000 tons a year. As a result of the progress made in planting new cashew areas, however, production is expected to reach 160,000 tons in 1969.

---

<sup>q/</sup> See A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex III, paras. 53-57.

99. In recent years cashew has become an increasingly important source of foreign exchange for the Territory by exporting cashew kernels (shelled cashew) directly to the principal customer, namely the United States. Already in 1966 the four major cashew-processing concerns, two of which are financed by foreign capital, had been authorized to increase their total capacity to 140,000 tons in anticipation of the planned increase in production (see A/7320/Add.1, appendix III). While it is not known how many cashew-shelling plants were actually in operation in 1969 and what their total capacity was, available information suggests that in some parts of the Territory, at least, production last year was not yet sufficient to keep all the plants in full-time operation. In October, the Government re-enacted most of the protective measures introduced in 1968 which, among other things, prohibited the export of any cashew grown south of the Save River and which provided for the compulsory sale to the Government of all cashew unsold at the end of the season. To encourage better quality of nuts, the Government also introduced a system of penalties for broken nuts and bonuses for above-average quality. r/

100. During 1969, it was reported that the Government had ordered all manual shelling plants to convert to mechanization. It was also reported that the Government planned to set up some form of permanent agency, similar to the Cotton Institute, to encourage further production of cashew and to regulate processing and trade. Currently, the Direccão Provincial dos Serviços de Economia is responsible for regulating cashew trading within the Territory.

101. In the past, most of the unshelled cashew went to India. As far as is known, this is still the case, although the Boletim Mensal de Estatística of Mozambique (April 1969) no longer identifies India as the main customer. In 1968, the principal destinations of the Territory's shelled cashew were: the United States, 276.0 million escudos, or 83.7 per cent of the total value of visible exports; South Africa, 15.2 million escudos (15.2 per cent); the Netherlands, 7.0 million escudos (2.1 per cent); and the Federal Republic of Germany and Australia, 6.7 million escudos each, or 2 per cent (see table 10 below).

102. Cashew shell liquor (CSL) which is an essential element in brake linings is also becoming an important industry in Mozambique. In 1969 it was reported as employing 18,000 persons. Exports of the liquor were valued at 14.9 million escudos in 1968. Nearly all of the production went to the United States.

#### (v) Sugar

103. Although the growing and processing of sugar cane constitutes one of the largest agro-industrial activities in Mozambique and considerable new investments have been made in this sector in recent years, s/ output of sugar has increased only slowly. As seen from table 11 below, by the end of 1968 sugar output was only 219,000 tons, or just about 15 per cent above the 1963 level. Also, because of increased consumption in the Territory, sugar exports to Portugal have not yet been able to fulfil the established quotas. In 1968, Mozambique exported 131,800 tons and Angola 26,270 tons, compared with their combined quota of 261,456 tons.

---

r/ For details of the 1968 measures see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, appendix III, para. 50.

s/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, documents A/6868 and Add.1, annex, appendix III, paras. 131-140.

Table 10

Mozambique: value of cashew exports, 1964-1968

(million escudos)

	<u>Unshelled</u>	<u>Shelled</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Value of exports (per cent)</u>
1964 (revised)	516.9	91.5	608.4	20
1965	492.4	110.8	603.2	19
1966	436.5	161.1	597.6	18.5
1967	308.6	222.8	631.4	15.2
1968	695.2	329	1,024.9	23.2

Sources: For 1964-1965: Mozambique, Comércio Externo;  
For 1965-1966: Mozambique, Anuário Estatístico, 1966;  
For 1967-1968: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, April 1968 and April 1969.

Table 11

Mozambique: sugar production and exports, 1961-1968

(thousand metric tons)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Production</u>	<u>Export</u>	<u>Local consumption</u>
1961	165.0	113.8	51.2
1962	165.1	129.9	36.2
1963	186.3	124.9	61.4
1964	181.8	83.3	98.2
1965	165.0	95.0	70.0
1966	178.6	147.1	31.5
1967	199.6	109.5	90.1
1968	219.0	131.8	87.2

Sources: Production, 1961-1964: Decree-Law 45,691, 28 April 1964; 1965-1967: Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (No. 73), 1968; 1968: ibid., (Nos. 77/78).

Exports, 1961-1966: Mozambique, Comércio Externo, 1961-1966; Mozambique, Anuário Estatística, 1966; 1966-1967: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, April 1968 and April 1969.

104. There is no further information on the expansion programmes of the various sugar companies beyond that provided in earlier reports. t/

(vi) Tea

105. As seen from table 7 above, although tea exports rose by some 40 per cent, from 9,905 tons to 14,070 tons between 1961 and 1968, the value of the exports only rose from 235.7 million escudos to 295.9 million escudos. These figures reflect the gradual decline in world prices for tea as world production has begun to reach saturation. In 1968, although there were sixty-three tea plantations, compared with thirty-six in 1961-1962, the area planted was only 14,718 hectares, compared with 15,227 hectares in 1962/1963. Tea production and exports are shown in table 12 below.

Table 12

Mozambique: tea production and exports, 1961-1968

	<u>Area</u> (hectares)	<u>Production</u> (tons)	<u>Exports</u> (tons)
1961/1962	15,227	...	...
1962/1963	...	...	...
1964	...	10,066	9,017
1965	...	10,970	10,091
1966	...	13,983	12,950
1967	14,378	14,419	14,410
1968	14,718	14,251	14,070

Sources: Notícias, Lourenço Marques, 22 June 1969.  
 Production: Banco Nacional Ultramarino,  
Boletim Trimestral (Nos. 69, 73 and 77/88).  
 1961-1965: Mozambique, Comércio Externo,  
 1961-1965; 1966: Mozambique, Anuário  
Estatístico, 1966; 1967-1968: Mozambique,  
Boletim Mensal de Estatística, April 1968  
 and April 1969.

106. On the average, the United Kingdom takes about 75 per cent of the Territory's tea exports, followed by the Netherlands, with about 9 per cent and the United States about 5 per cent. Portugal's share averages around 220,000 kilogrammes a year and amounted to just under 1.6 per cent in 1967.

107. In 1969, the drop in tea prices seriously affected the tea growers in Zambezi District where thousands of workers faced unemployment. Some proposals for diversification were reported to be under discussion with greater emphasis on products which the Territory has to import, such as peanuts for the vegetable oil factories, rice and coffee.

t/ A/7752/Add.1, annex II, paras. 122-129.

108. Representatives from Mozambique attended two meetings of tea exporting countries held in 1969. Later in the same year, Mozambique also participated in the first session of the Consultative Committee on Tea of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) at which agreement was reached to remove from the export market some 90 million pounds of black tea that would otherwise have been available for export, with a view to keeping world market prices for tea as close as possible to the 1968 level. Of the world export limit of 1,324.6 million pounds, Mozambique has been allocated 36.2 million pounds, and ranks sixth in the list of exporting countries after Ceylon and India, (which have a joint quota), Indonesia, Kenya, Uganda and Malawi.

(vii) Maize

109. Data on the average production of maize, rice and other food crops over recent years are shown in table 8 above. Since its establishment, the Mozambique Cereals Institute has made a special effort to make Mozambique self-sufficient in maize. As a result, the Territory achieved a maize surplus of 102,000 tons in 1966, and by 1967 it was exporting over 25,000 tons of maize (see table 13 below). In 1966 alone, the reported savings in foreign exchange amounted to some 70 million escudos. In 1967 and 1968, the Territory's maize surplus was so large that the institute had to make special arrangements to arrange for exports (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex, paragraph 62).

110. Under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, it was estimated that taking the 1966 figure of 102,000 tons as a basis, by 1973 the surplus could be increased to over 200,000 tons with 56,000 tons from unirrigated land from districts north of the Save River, and another 35,000 tons from irrigated land, mainly at the Maputo, Incomati and Limpopo settlements. As seen from the data below, some progress has already been made towards this target.

Table 13

Mozambique: maize imports and exports, 1962-1968

	<u>Production<sup>a/</sup></u> (tons)	<u>Imports</u>		<u>Exports</u>	
		(tons)	(million escudos)	(tons)	(million escudos)
1962	...	41,987 <sup>a/</sup>	57.9	...	...
1963	...	34,952 <sup>b/</sup>	51.6	...	...
1964	330,000	31,672	56.4	...	...
1965	385,000	42,512	82.9	100	0.2
1966	440,000	6,958	13.7	7,000	13.7
1967	500,000	169	0.7	25,400	40.5
1968	500,000	...	...	121,852	130.4 <sup>c/</sup>

Sources: 1962-1965: Mozambique, Comércio Externo, 1965; Mozambique, Anuário Estatístico, 1966; Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, April 1968 and 1969.

a/ Of which 8,758 tons imported from South Africa.

b/ Ibid., 19,766 tons.

c/ In addition, corn oil exports were valued at 29.5 million escudos.

111. By the end of October 1969 the Mozambique Cereals Institute had already been allocated over 2.5 million escudos. u/ Of this amount, 750,000 escudos was to be spent on distribution of seed. Under the Third National Development Plan, an additional 8.65 million escudos had been allocated for the distribution of seed. A further allocation of 8.6 million escudos was envisaged under the Plan mainly for transportation and equipment.

112. According to a recent report, during 1969, the work of the Cereals Institute to increase maize production was mainly concerned with consolidating the progress already achieved in Zambezi District especially by promoting improved yields and better quality of yellow maize, the surpluses of which are exported to Portugal. In this district, maize is not an important part of the diet of the population and it was hoped that a sufficient quantity of this crop could be obtained for export. In Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Manica e Sofala, where the consumption of maize is widespread, the aim was to meet local needs, with some surplus if possible. South of the Save River, where rainfall is irregular, there is usually a shortage of maize. In this region, the institute's work was limited to distributing seed to European farmers and to Africans when they had exhausted their own supply.

113. The Cereals Institute reported that in 1969 it had distributed 60,000 kilogrammes of seed in Niassa for cultivation on some 4,000 hectares with the understanding that the Africans (o nativo) would sell 20 per cent or more of their harvest to the institute after retaining the quantity needed for their own use.

114. Most of the Territory's maize exports go to Portugal. According to a press report at the beginning of 1968, of 89,000 tons exported, 66,000 tons went to Portugal, 12,000 tons to the United Arab Republic and 11,000 tons to the Netherlands. In April 1970, however, it was estimated that some 23,180 sacks of maize of 90 kilogrammes each would be needed by March 1971 and the Government has therefore already authorized the import of 2,000 tons duty free to provide for the Territory's own needs.

#### (viii) Sisal

115. In spite of the drop in world prices and demand for sisal, production in Mozambique rose from 30,902 tons in 1965 to 32,252 tons in 1968 (see table 14 below). As the Territory's sisal exports have also been limited by the Rome Agreement y/ new ways are being found to make use of sisal. (In 1968 the

---

u/ The functions of the Cereals Institute are similar to those of the Cotton Institute which are described in A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 99-109. There are no such bodies for sugar, sisal and tea.

y/ Agreement reached by the fourth session of the Consultative Sub-Committee of the FAO Study Group on Hard Fibres which met in Rome in September 1967. Under this agreement, the total world sisal exports were limited to 581,000 tons for both the 1969 and 1970 seasons. As the participating member, Portugal has a total basic quota of 91.6 tons, with 60.7 tons for Angola and 30.9 tons for Mozambique. For 1968, Portugal's total quota was 87.2 tons, with 57.8 tons for Angola.

Territory's export quota was 29.4 tons.) Although no final figures are available for 1969, it is reported that Mozambique has an export quota of 28,000 tons and a surplus of 7,000 tons. The possibility of finding new uses for sisal is still under study and negotiations were reported under way for supplying 2,000 tons to local factories manufacturing ginning sacks. However, the long-term prospects in Mozambique for sisal remain in doubt especially as some firms from Portugal are reported to be planning to manufacture ginning sacks from synthetic fibres.

Table 14

Mozambique: sisal production and exports, 1965-1968

<u>Year</u>	<u>Production</u> (tons)	<u>Exports</u> (tons)	<u>Value of exports a/</u> (per cent)
1965	30,972	31,381	5.6
1966	30,902	26,694	4.0
1967	31,379	23,172	2.9
1968	32,252	25,111	2.1

Sources: Production: Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (Nos. 69, 73 and 77/78);  
Exports: 1965-1966: Mozambique, Anuário Estatístico, 1965-1966;  
1967-1968: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, April 1968 and April 1969.

a/ Calculated.

(ix) Other crops

116. Except for maize, there has been little progress in the production of other food crops in recent years. Output of unshelled peanuts for instance, dropped from 120,000 tons in 1965 to 11,400 tons in 1966 and remained at 118,000 tons in 1967 and 1968. Rice dropped from 93,000 tons in 1965 to 88,000 tons in 1967 and to 81,000 tons in 1968. Although wheat production reached 10,000 tons in 1968, this was insufficient to meet the needs of the Territory which had to import over 53,000 tons of wheat at a cost of almost 100 million escudos. It also had to import over 4,000 tons of wheat flour.

117. The rice situation is regarded as particularly unsatisfactory because the Government fixed minimum price has been so low that many European farmers have ceased to grow rice. In August 1969, Moçambique District, once a major rice producer, was reported to be suffering a rice shortage. Newspaper articles in Mozambique have criticized both the Government's price fixing policy and the lack of interest of the Cereals Institute. In January 1970, the Cereals Institute issued an order requiring all farmers with more than 10 hectares planted in rice to register with the institute in accordance with 1961 regulations (Diploma

Legislativo 2119, 2 September). Under those regulations, rice growers have to report each year the variety of rice grown, the area cultivated, the area harvested and final production.

(c) Transforming industries w/

118. The most important transforming industries in the Territory are characterized by their dual role in production and processing of agricultural crops, notably sugar, cotton, sisal, tea, grain milling, vegetable oils, cashew and tobacco. Nearly all of these activities are export oriented. Between 1963 and 1968, the aggregate capital invested in transforming industries rose by an average of about 360 million escudos a year, from 5,652 million to 8,450 million escudos, while annual industrial output rose from 4,600 million to about 6,300 million escudos. However, in this period the net total number of persons employed in industry increased by only 4,000 persons, from 64,500 to 68,600. The small net gain in employment in the industrial sector is partly due to the fact that most of the industries established are small, while the larger units are capital intensive. Furthermore, although each year several hundred new industries are established, quite a large number are unsuccessful.

119. In 1968, 401 new industries were established. These included 173 manufacturing industries, three extractive industries, forty banks, twenty-three transport and storage establishments and 162 service industries. The total capital investment amounted to 329 million escudos which was slightly below the five-year average figure. Of the total new capital, 68.7 per cent went to manufacturing industries and 15.9 per cent to transport and storage establishments. There were 4,862 new jobs created with an annual wage bill of 5.6 million escudos.

120. As seen from table 15 below, industrial output in 1968 was just over 50 per cent higher than in 1967. The most important gains were registered by textiles which almost tripled, while the value of food products increased by some 50 per cent. The fact that food, beverages, textiles and petroleum products accounted for more than two-thirds of the total industrial output shows the limited range of activities involved.

---

w/ Details concerning new investments will be reported in the study on economic activities with special reference to foreign interests in Mozambique. For a brief description of this sector, see A/7200/Ad1.3, chapter VIII, annex III, paras. 58 ff.

Table 15

Mozambique: value of industrial production  
(million escudos)

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Food	1,154.1	1,474.7	1,411.5	2,129.5
Petroleum derivatives	336.9	486.7	579.7	617.2
Chemical products	542.4	455.7	511.8	432.9
Textiles	230.1	222.6	484.0	1,251.3
Beverages	193.6	255.7	281.1	317.5
Tobacco	185.5	201.5	253.6	267.8
Non-metallic minerals	215.8	223.7	239.1	304.8
Foot-wear and made up textiles excluding clothing	95.5	96.8	106.8	161.4
Transport equipment	62.6	96.3	104.6	137.2
Metal products except machinery	30.6	27.3	64.2	101.0
Rubber	34.3	36.5	43.5	54.2
Timber	25.9	32.7	33.0	172.5
Machinery utensils and electrical material	13.6	19.3	26.6	39.1
Metal furniture	15.6	18.2	25.1	17.5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	3,136.5	3,647.7	4,164.6	6,294.1

Sources: For 1965-1967: Standard Bank Group. Annual Economic Review, Mozambique, December 1968, p. 4; for 1968: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, January 1969.

(d) Mining x/

121. Mining does not yet play a major role in the economy of Mozambique. Although the Territory is reported to have substantial deposits of iron ore and various other minerals, including some uranium, output is limited to some coal and small quantities of beryl, columbo-tantalite, microlite and bismutite. In recent years many new prospecting concessions have been granted and some finds have been reported, but no new mines have yet come into production. Production and export figures for 1968 are given in table 16 below.

Table 16

Mozambique: production and exports of principal minerals  
in 1968

<u>Minerals</u>	<u>Production</u> (tons)	<u>Exports</u> (tons)	<u>Value of</u> <u>exports</u> (million escudos)	<u>Principal</u> <u>countries of</u> <u>destination</u>
Bauxite	3,274.6	5,685.0	0.3	Southern Rhodesia
Beryl	95.3	103.3	1.4	United States
Bismutite	2.1	2.0	0.2	United Kingdom
Coal	314,408.0	68,213.0	16.7	Malawi-Kenya, Angola
Columbo-tantalite	62.0	72.3	19.7	United States, United Kingdom
Microlite	90.4	84.0	23.5	United Kingdom, United States
Montmorillonite (bentonite)	2,655.7	2,354.4	<u>1.9</u> <u>63.5</u>	Various countries

Source: Mozambique, Boletim Oficial, Series III, (No. 41), Supplement, 13 October 1969.

122. The 1968 report of the Mozambique Serviços de Geologia e Minas (Geology and Mines Services) shows that at 1 December 1968 there were fifteen exclusive mining concessions in the Territory, seven held by the Government of Mozambique, five held by groups of international companies, y/ two by the Portuguese

x/ For a detailed background on the mining sector, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1), chapter V, appendix, annex II.

y/ For details on the foreign companies involved, see A/7752/Add ., appendix II, paras. 94-112. Further information available on the activities of the various companies will be included in the report on economic activities with special reference to foreign interests in Mozambique.

company Companhia do Urânio de Moçambique, and one by an independent prospector, Raul de Farias Gonçalves. In 1968, requests for exclusive prospecting concessions were made by the following ten concerns: (i) Tenneco-Angola, Inc. for all minerals, except diamonds and hydrocarbons, (ii) Geotécnica e Minas, for petroleum prospecting and other minerals; (iii) Companhia de Cimentos de Moçambique, S.A.R.L. to prospect for non-titanium and vanadium; (iv) Ferjoma Importação e Exportação, Ltda., represented by Manuel de Mascarenhas Novais e Ataíde, to prospect for hydrocarbons and allied substances, (v) Alexander Hutchings, for coal and hydrocarbons, particularly crude petroleum; (vi) Leslie Christina Visser and Josias Johannes Esterhuizen, for precious metals and stones and basic metals; (vii) Diogo da Fonseca, for all minerals, excepting diamonds, hydrocarbons, coal and other solid combustibles; (viii) the Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Limited, for base metals and any other minerals, excepting diamonds, hydrocarbons, and radio-active minerals; (ix) Edward Fuller Fitzhugh, Jr., for all minerals, except hydrocarbons and radio-active minerals; and (x) Companhia do Urânio de Moçambique, for iron ore prospecting.

123. During 1969, most of the mining activity was concentrated in the search for petroleum by the ten companies with exclusive concessions. In December 1969, the Diário of Lourenço Marques reported that the Société Nationale des Pétroles d'Aquitaine had discovered oil about seventy kilometres off the coast from Beira. However, there has been no official confirmation of this report.

124. New concessions granted during 1969 in Tete District include: (i) Companhia Carbonífera de Moçambique, for coal prospecting; (ii) Companhia do Urânio de Moçambique, for iron ore; (iii) Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, Ltd. and Lionel Gomes dos Santos, for all minerals except petroleum, natural gas, diamonds and iron ore; and (iv) Urangesellschaft, of the Federal Republic of Germany, for uranium exploration. New applications for other mining concessions, include: (i) Imperial Oil and Gas Limited, for hydrocarbons and natural gas; (ii) the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, for mineral prospecting; (iii) Companhia de Diamantes de Moçambique (DIAMOC), for diamond prospecting, and (iv) Sociedade Utex, S.A., for all minerals, except hydrocarbons and diamonds.

(e) Cabora Bassa project z/

125. In September 1969, the Portuguese Government awarded the contract for the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam to Zamco-Zambezi Consortium Hidroeletrico, the consortium headed by South African interests. Since Zamco was first organized, one of the original companies, Allmänna Svenska Elektriska Aktiebolaget (ASEA) has withdrawn and eight new companies have been included, of which six are French, one is Italian and one is Portuguese.

126. The new Zamco consortium is composed of the following companies: aa/

1. , Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft AEG-Telefunken - Germany\*
2. Brown Boveri and Cie - Germany\*

z/ Further details will be reported in the special study on economic activities with special reference to foreign interests in Mozambique.

aa/ The companies marked with an asterisk were represented in the original consortium. In May 1970, it was unofficially reported that the Società Anonima Elettrificazione, S.P.A. of Italy had withdrawn.

3. Compagnie Générale d'Entreprises Electriques (CGEE - Cogelex) - France\*
4. Entreprise Fougerolle-Limousin - France
5. Hochtief Aktiengesellschaft - Germany\*
6. J.M. Voith Gmbh - Germany\*
7. L.T.A. Ltd. - Johannesburg - South Africa\*
8. Siemens Aktiengesellschaft - Germany\*
9. Shaft Sinkers (Proprietary) Ltd. - South Africa\*
10. Sociedades Reunidas de Fabricações Metálicas - Sorefame, S.A.R.L. - Portugal
11. Società Anonima Elettificazione, S.p.A. - Italy
12. Société Générale de Constructions Electriques et Mécaniques Alshtom - France\*
13. Compagnie de Constructions Internationales - France\*
14. Société des Grands Travaux de Marseille - France
15. Société Générale d'Entreprises - France
16. Société Française d'Entreprises de Dragages et de Travaux Publics - France
17. Compagnie Industrielle de Travaux - France
18. Entreprises Campenon-Bernard - France

127. The project is to be developed in four stages: (i) erection of the main dam wall and the installation of three 400-megawatt generators in the southern power station at Cabora Bassa by 1974, and the erection of two transmission lines from Mozambique to the Apollo sub-station in South Africa; (ii) an additional converting plant and a fourth 400-megawatt generator, scheduled for completion in 1977; (iii) a further converting plant and a fifth generator in 1979, which will complete the southern power station, and (iv) construction of the northern power station. The contract that has been awarded is for the first three stages of the project, the cost of which is estimated at 8,787.4 million escudos (about \$US500 million). The first phase, which is due for completion in 1974, will provide a generating capacity of 1,200 megawatts. The terms of the contract stipulate that Zamco must complete the first stage in time for commercial exploitation before the end of March 1975.

128. Quite apart from its economic implications, the Cabora Bassa dam has become a major political issue. To the Portuguese Government, the international financial support for the construction of the dam is interpreted as evidence that the financial world has confidence in Portugal's 'colonial policy and its determination to remain in Africa. In order to provide better co-ordination of the whole project, in February 1970 the Portuguese Government established a special office for the supervision of the Cabora Bassa project and the general planning of the Zambezi valley development scheme (Decree-Law 69.170, of 27 February).

129. On the other hand, FRELIMO and other anti-colonial movements bb/ see the dam as a further step towards the consolidation of white minority power in southern Africa accompanied by the extension northward of South Africa's influence and apartheid policy. Because Southern Rhodesia is reported to be planning to negotiate for a share in the power supply, complications are expected to arise in connexion with the question of the sanctions against that Territory.

---

bb/ See for instance A/AC.115/L.273.

130. It is reported that in March 1970 the Ministerial Council of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted a resolution condemning the Cabora Bassa dam project and that the Political Committee of the OAU had adopted a recommendation calling on African countries to re-examine their relations with countries and private firms involved in the project.

(f) Transport and communications

(i) Ports

131. Transit traffic through the port of Lourenço Marques, which has been growing steadily in the past six years reached a record figure of 12.2 million metric tons in 1968 (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex III, table 9). South African transit traffic accounted for 5 million tons, of which exports accounted for 43.5 per cent (ore, coal, maize, copper and fruits), and imports 56.5 per cent (petrol, oil and lubricants, timber and fertilizers). According to the Boletim Trimestral of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, there was also an increase in traffic through the port of Beira, although much less than the port of Lourenço Marques. For 1968, the total Beira traffic was 3.6 million metric tons, which represented an increase of 58,300 metric tons over 1967. The traffic was almost evenly divided between imports and exports (see table 17 below).

132. In October 1969, Portugal again addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council asking for compensation for losses suffered by Mozambique as a result of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia (S/9476). According to this note, total losses amounted to £11,438,722 for the period 1 January 1968 to 30 June 1969, as follows: Lourenço Marques port, £1,166,612; Beira, £1,853,850; Limpopo Line, £2,861,960, and Beira Line £5,556,300.

Table 17

Comparison of statistics on cargo traffic through  
Beira and Lourenço Marques, 1965-1968  
(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>
1965 a/	1,692.8	1,498.6	3,191.4	2,111.8	4,670.6	6,782.4
1966 a/	1,491.4	1,636.4	3,127.8	3,318.8	6,064.7	9,383.5
1967	1,687.7	1,831.7	3,519.4	3,543.8	6,647.9	11,191.7
1968	1,901.9	1,659.2	3,561.1	3,710.5	8,345.6	12,056.1

Sources: 1965: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, (No. 1), 1967,  
1966-1968: Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (No. 73), 1968;  
ibid., (No. 77/78), 1969.

a/ The discrepancy in these two years is probably due to the different sources used.

153. According to a recent report, a survey of the port of Beira in February 1970 showed that nine out of ten quays were idle and only one cargo ship was in harbour, compared with the average of some twenty ships visiting the port each day before sanctions went into effect. This source also estimated that between 1965 and the end of 1969 traffic through the port of Beira decreased by 50 per cent. Although data are not yet available for 1969, the statistics published so far do not appear to substantiate this loss. It is apparent, however, that some of the traffic which would have normally passed through Beira has been diverted to ports further south, including Lourenço Marques.

(ii) Railways cc/

154. Three rail links have been under construction during the past few years. Two of the links are to the Nacala line in the north and one is an extension to the Lourenço Marques line in the south. The extension to the Nacala line to link Catur with Vila Cabral has been completed and through traffic between Vila Cabral and Nova Freixo began operation in March 1970. The other extension to the Nacala line, which links Nova Freixo with Mzimba in Malawi to provide Malawi's transit trade with an alternate outlet at Nacala, is expected to be completed during the year. dd/ The new extension of 61.5 kilometres to the Lourenço Marques line will link Umpala and Salamanga. The cost, which is estimated at 55.8 million escudos, is being financed by a loan of 55.7 million escudos from the Banco Pinto and Sottomayor.

(iii) Air transport

155. The first of the Boeing 737 jet planes purchased last year by the Mozambique commercial airline DEMA began operation in February 1970 (see A/7025/Add. 5, chapter VIII, annex II, para. 90). These planes are being used for flights between Lourenço Marques, Beira and Nampula (the only airports in the Territory equipped to accommodate them) and Durban, Salisbury and Blantyre. There are further plans to link Salisbury with other points in Mozambique. "Air Rhodesia" has already requested authorization from the Mozambique Government to start a service between Salisbury and Tete, which may be extended later to Cabora Bassa. Flights are expected to begin as soon as an airport is available.

156. Currently, work is under way to extend two runways at the Mocimboa da Praia airfield, at an estimated cost of 18 million escudos. When completed, the airport will be able to receive Friendship and Boeing aircrafts. At Porto Amélia in Cabo Delgado, the terminal buildings are being expanded and the runway is being extended. This work is expected to be completed by mid-1970. Two new airstrips have recently been opened: one in Derre, Zambezia District, and the other in Mungari, Manica e Sofala District.

---

cc/ For a general description of the Territory's railway system see A/6500/Rev.1, chapter V, appendix IV, paras. 62 ff.

dd/ The agreement between Portugal and Malawi was signed in March 1967. See A/7200/Add. 3, chapter VIII, annex III, paras. 85-86.

#### (iv) Roads

137. It will be recalled that under the Third National Development Plan approximately one third of the total envisaged investment is for transport and communications, and of this, 1,545.5 million escudos are for roads and bridges. Although annual expenditure under the plan has not fulfilled the anticipated targets in most sectors, the roads programme has been given priority. In 1968, actual expenditure under the plan amounted to 192.6 million escudos.

138. Provisional data show that in 1969, 255.1 million escudos were allocated for road construction under the Third National Development Plan and, in addition, the Mozambique Roads Board was allocated 449.4 million escudos for its normal work.

139. The main roads under construction include part of the Beira-Umtali road, to be completed in 1972 at an estimated cost of 30 million escudos, the Lourenço Marques-Beira highway, to be completed in 1970 at an estimated cost of 220 million escudos and the Porto Amélia-Mutorro road in Cabo Delgado District, to be completed by the end of 1971 at an estimated cost of 69 million escudos. Also under construction are several important bridges linking some of the main highways.

#### (g) Public finance

140. In 1968, total actual public revenue, at 8,234.9 million escudos, was 25 per cent higher than the original budget estimates. Ordinary revenue exceeded estimates by 2,320.4 million escudos and extraordinary revenue by 600 million escudos. The large difference in the estimates and actual revenue is partly due to a deliberately cautious budgetary policy and partly to the new sources of revenue which resulted from the reform of the tax system. As seen from table 18 below, the actual increase in direct taxes in 1968 over the previous year exceeded 153 million escudos. Comparing the actual expenditure for 1967 and 1968, it is seen that the largest increases were for military services, with a rise of 240 million escudos, and development, with a rise of 454 million escudos.

141. For 1970, the total budget estimates, at 6,659.2 million escudos, are well below the actual revenue received in 1968, but revenue from both direct and indirect taxes is expected to be more than 10 per cent higher than the estimates for the previous year. The main categories of revenue and expenditure are shown below.

#### (ii) Implementation of the Third National Development Plan

142. As previously reported (A/7005/Add.5, chapter VIII, annex III, para. 97), planned investments under the Third National Development Plan for 1968-1975 for Mozambique amount to 15,555.7 million escudos. The programmed expenditure for 1968 was 2,447 million escudos, but only 565.6 million escudos (23 per cent) were actually spent (see table 19 below).

143. For 1969, the programmed expenditure is 3,258.2 million escudos, but only 927.5 million escudos (28.6 per cent) had been authorized by the end of the year (see table 20 below). Government sources will finance 54.4 per cent of it, credit institutes 43.4 per cent, and a loan from the Banco Nacional Ultramarino 2.2 per cent.

Table 18

## Mozambique: Public finance

A. Revenue: 1967-1970  
(million escudos)

	Actual		Estimates			
	1967	1968	1967	1968	1969	1970
Total revenue	6,616.8	7,534.8	5,252.9	5,214.4	5,967.7	6,639.2
Ordinary revenue	5,978.0	6,834.7	4,522.5	5,114.4	5,842.6	6,452.8
Direct taxes	910.6	1,063.9	759.4	914.5	1,044.9	1,142.2
Indirect taxes	834.8	917.3	805.1	773.3	811.8	929.2
Revenue from services	258.4	377.1	138.1	298.9	332.0	397.4
Industries under special régime	397.8	471.3	269.5	354.3	574.2	661.5
Income from state and private industries	35.8	37.2	28.7	31.8	35.3	36.0
Earnings on capital	9.7	13.9	8.6	7.6	7.9	9.4
Refunds	252.2	292.7	246.0	267.9	267.2	303.6
Consigned receipts	3,278.6	3,661.7	2,267.1	2,446.1	2,769.4	2,973.7
Extraordinary revenue	638.8	700.1	730.4	100.0	125.1	186.4

## B. Expenditure: 1967-1970

Total expenditure	6,341.0	7,534.8	5,252.9	5,214.4	5,967.7	6,639.2
Ordinary expenditure	5,701.2	6,519.5	4,522.5	5,114.4	5,842.6	6,452.8
Public debt	294.1	314.3	287.3	318.0	325.1	383.7
Territorial government	10.5	13.4	11.6	13.7	25.5	29.0
Retirement and pensions	48.5	62.3	60.8	70.0	80.0	80.0
General administration	885.9	997.1	773.9	939.5	984.8	1,125.2
Treasury	115.7	119.8	128.2	135.8	142.1	154.4
Justice	73.1	79.2	75.5	83.1	87.0	99.1
Development services	2,625.4	3,079.1	1,817.0	2,021.8	2,349.1	2,494.4
Military services	783.4	1,023.4	678.4	836.5	900.0	932.1
Navy services	102.6	116.0	93.5	95.0	112.3	124.4
General expenditure	758.9	711.3	592.9	597.6	833.5	1,027.0
Other	3.1	4.0	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4
Extraordinary expenditure	639.8	701.3	730.4	100.0	125.1	186.4

Sources: Actual, 1967-1968: Mozambique. Contas de Gerência e de Exercício, 1967 and 1968, Boletim Oficial, Series II, No. 28, 2nd Supplement, 18 July 1968; ibid., No. 35, 2nd Supplement, 4 September 1969.  
Estimates: Budgets for the respective years.

Table 19

Mozambique: implementation of the Third  
National Development Plan, 1968-1973  
(million escudos)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Programmed expenditure for 1968</u>	<u>Actual expenditure in 1968</u>	
		<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percentage of programmed expenditure</u>
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	290.4	168.7	58.0
Extractive and manufacturing industries	829.0	6.0	7.2
Construction, public works and rural development <u>a</u>	24.7	11.7	47.3
Power	14.8	3.6	24.3
Commerce	8.4	-	-
Transport and communications	1,057.6	260.0	24.6
Education and research	178.6	85.0	47.5
Tourism	6.0	-	-
Health and welfare	<u>37.5</u>	<u>29.3</u>	78.1
Total	2,447.0	563.6	23.0

Sources: A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex III, para. 98, Mozambique, Boletim Oficial, Series II, Contas de Gerência e de Exercício para 1968, (No. 35), 2nd Supplement, 4 September 1969.

a/ Actual expenditure for rural development only.

Table 20

Mozambique: Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973  
Programme of investments for 1969  
 (million escudos)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Programmed expenditure</u>	<u>Authorized</u>	<u>Percentage of programmed expenditure</u>
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	229.7	239.1	104.1
Fisheries	-	-	-
Manufacturing and transforming industries	997.9	12.5	1.3
Construction and public works	-		
Rural development	22.8	20.3	89.0
Power	261.1	10.0	3.8
Marketing	24.7	4.2	17.0
Transport and communications and meteorology	1,411.0	357.1	25.3
Tourism	1.8	5.7	316.7
Education	144.9	220.0	151.8
Housing and urbanization	73.6	1.2	2.4
Health	<u>70.5</u>	<u>56.8</u>	80.6
Total	3,238.2	927.5	28.6

---

Sources: Mozambique. Boletim Oficial, Series I, Portarias: 22,074 of 5 April 1969, 22,583 of 8 November 1969, Portugal Diário do Governo, Series I; Portarias: 24,390 of 28 October 1969 and 24,487 of 27 December 1969.

## EDUCATION

144. The education system in Mozambique is patterned on that in Portugal. There are six years of primary education and seven years of secondary education. Primary education comprises two cycles, a first cycle of four years and a complementary cycle comprising the fifth and sixth years. ee/ As in Angola, there is also a pre-primary class for children who need to learn to speak Portuguese. Secondary education comprises three cycles, a preparatory cycle of two years and a second cycle of three years, and a third cycle of two years. After the preparatory cycle the student may choose between academic studies leading to university or vocational and technical studies. Since 1964, in line with the then existing regulations in Portugal, school attendance in all the overseas Territories has been compulsory for all children between six and twelve years of age who live within five kilometres of a school. In 1967, the fifth and sixth years of primary school were made compulsory in Portugal for all children who had completed the fourth primary class and who did not intend to go on to secondary school. This provision has been extended to the overseas Territories, but pending the establishment of adequate facilities, compulsory attendance of the complementary cycle of primary education will only become effective in the school year 1972/1973.

145. To extend schooling to the rural areas as rapidly as possible, the 1964 legislation introducing compulsory primary education in the overseas Territories created rural school posts which now provide the pre-primary class and the first three years of primary education. Only full primary schools provide the fourth year of primary education. Teachers for the full primary schools are required to have completed five years of secondary education and a two-year teacher-training course. Teachers for rural school posts, on the other hand, are required to have only four years of primary education and four years of teacher-training education. Most of the rural school posts are, however, taught by monitores who have completed four years of primary school and a special two and a half month training class. Although the rural school posts do not provide complete primary education, government statistics generally report them as primary schools.

146. School statistics for 1968 are not yet available. The latest statistics for 1966/1967 are set out in table 21 below:

---

ee/ In the Portuguese system reference is generally made to classes rather than year, since qualifications are generally specified in terms of satisfactory completion of a certain number of classes of primary or secondary education. Each class represents a normal year's work and students who fail to pass are required to repeat. The completion of the fourth year of primary education, for instance, is the minimum educational qualification for clerical posts in the civil service.

Table 21

Mozambique: school statistics, 1966/1967

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Pupils</u>
Total	4,590	8,546	471,887
<u>Independent</u> <sup>a/</sup>			
Primary	12	23	1,012
Secondary	-	-	-
Higher education	-	-	-
<u>Private</u>			
Infant schools	16	33	1,051
Primary	84	301	11,847
Secondary	63	506	5,449
Middle level	-	-	-
Higher education	-	-	-
Other	50	177	4,056
<u>Official</u>			
Infant schools	-	-	-
Primary	4,312	6,444	427,811
Secondary and intermediate	29	747	18,620
Higher education	2	100	662
Other	22	215	1,379

Source: Boletim Geral do Ultramar, September/October 1968.

a/ Schools outside the government system.

147. In contrast to Angola, the expansion of primary education has been slow, and between 1964 and 1968 budgetary allocations for education rose by less than 5 per cent a year, from 144.2 million escudos to 190.6 million escudos. With a school enrolment well over 500,000, the allocation for education in the 1970 estimates is only 234.7 million escudos, with an additional 72.7 million escudos going to Catholic missions for education. On the other hand, 119.4 million escudos have been allocated for the University of Lourenço Marques which has an enrolment of just over 1,000 students (see table 22 below).

Table 22

Mozambique: Budget estimates for education, 1964-1970

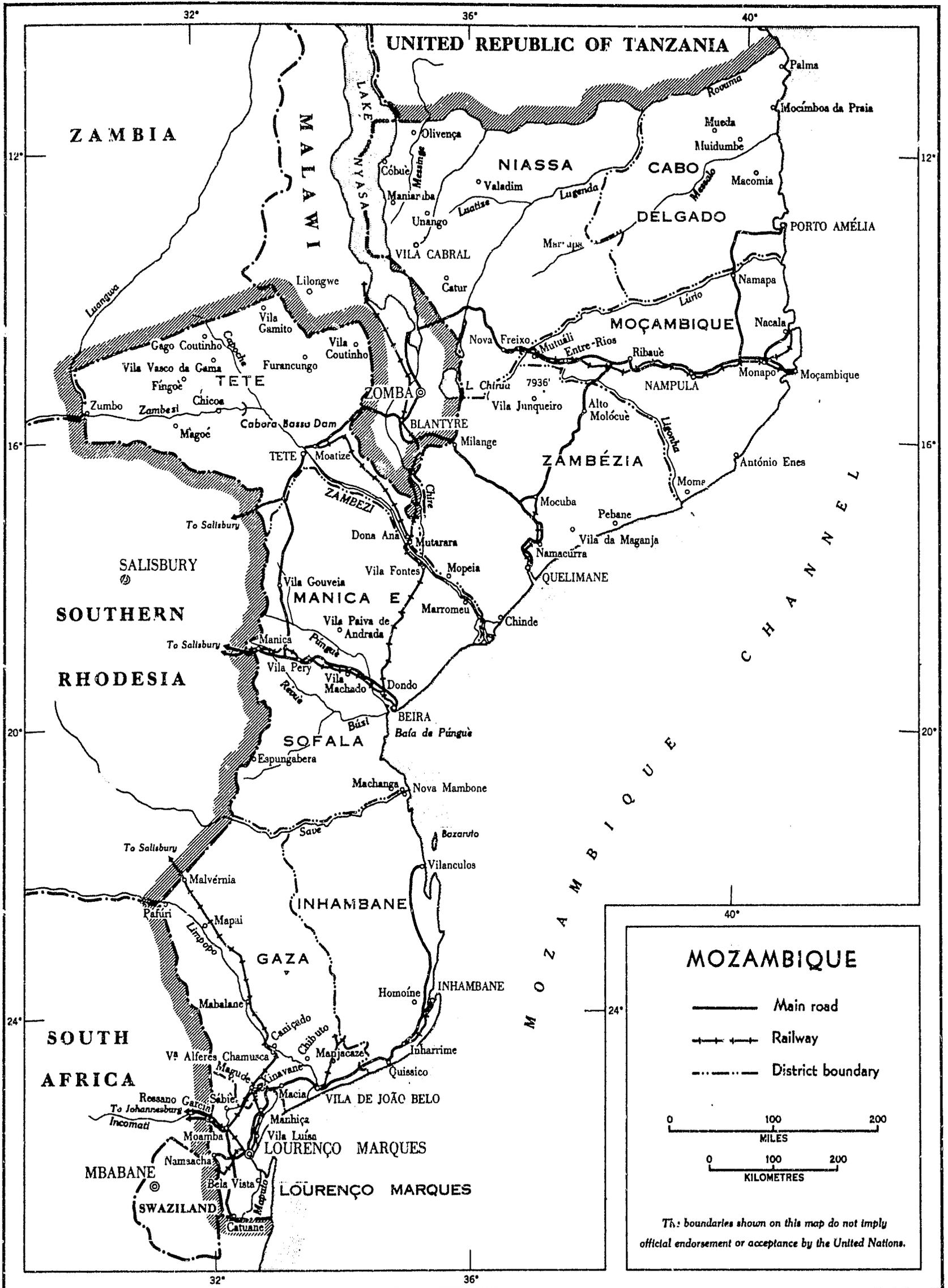
(million escudos)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Percentage of total budget</u>	<u>University of Lourenço Marques</u>	<u>Catholic missions</u>
1964	144.2	3.8	15.0	66.1
1965	143.7	3.6	15.0	68.2
1966	163.1	3.8	19.0	71.5
1967	169.6	3.2	19.0	73.0
1968	190.6	3.7	59.0	73.5
1969	215.3	3.6	89.0	72.7
1970	234.7	3.5	119.4	72.7

Source: Budgets for respective years.

148. Under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, an investment of 1,009.4 million escudos is envisaged for education, providing an average annual investment of over 160 million escudos. Actual expenditure under the plan in 1968 however, amounted to about 85 million escudos, or only half of the target. For 1969, some 220 million escudos have already been authorized, 75 million escudos more than the original target for the year.

149. During 1969, there was little new information available on the school situation in the Territory. The Boletim Oficial (Government Gazette) shows that during the first seven months of the year five new primary schools were established in Niassa District, one in Gaza District, and a secondary school with the preparatory cycle was established in Vila Pery, in Manica e Sofala District. At the University of Lourenço Marques, three departments were added, one for history, one for geography and one for Romance philology.



D. GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA\*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
General . . . . .	1	236
Constitutional and political . . . . .	2 - 17	236
Military situation . . . . .	18 - 37	240
Economic conditions . . . . .	38 - 50	244
Education . . . . .	51 - 54	250
Map . . . . .		251

---

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.625/Add.3.

## D. GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA

### GENERAL

1. Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, lies on the west coast of Africa between 12°40' N and 10°52' N in latitude and between 13°38' W and 16°43' W in longitude. 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 revised provisional results of the 1960 census showed a total resident population of 521,336, compared with 510,777 at the previous census in 1950 when there were reported to be 2,263 Europeans, 4,568 mestiços, 11 Indians, 1,478 assimilated Africans and 502,457 non-assimilated Africans. According to the United Nations Demographic Yearbook for 1968, the estimated population at mid-1968 was 529,000.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL<sup>a/</sup>

2. Under the Portuguese Constitution and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, is considered to be an overseas province of Portugal. The Political and Administrative Statute of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, is contained in Decree 45,372 of 22 November 1963. As an overseas province, the Territory is represented in the following central organs of government: the National Assembly, the Overseas Council and the Corporative Chamber.

#### (a) Territorial Government

3. The Territory is divided into ten concelhos and three circunscrições, b/ and for the purposes of direct elections is considered to form one electoral district. As in other Territories with a Governor, namely Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Macau and Timor, a Legislative Council was established for the first time in 1963. It is presided over by the Governor and comprises fourteen members, of whom three are ex officio, eight are elected by various interest groups and only three are elected by direct vote. There are no workers' or employers' interests represented in the Legislative Council. c/ There is also a

---

a/ For a more detailed description of the constitutional provisions and Overseas Organic Law, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I), document A/5800/Rev.1, chapter V, paras. 17-73 and 171-176; and annex I.A above, paras. 18-82.

b/ Bafatá, Bissau, Bissorã, Bolama, Bula, Cacheu, Catió, Farim, Gabu and Mansoa are concelhos; and Bijagós, Fulacunda and São Domingos are circunscrições. The Bula concelho was created in 1970, see paragraph 14 below.

c/ For details on the composition of the Legislative Council, see annex I.A above, table 1.

Government Council which is presided over by the Governor, who must consult it in the exercise of his legislative powers. The Council is composed of the Secretary-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, if there is one, or a representative of the armed forces, the representative of the Attorney General in the Territory, and the Treasurer, all of whom are ex officio members. In addition, three members are elected by the Legislative Council from among its members, one of whom must always be a representative of the indigenous authorities (regedorias). d/

4. The last elections to the Legislative Council were held in 1967. e/ Since those elections, little information has been available on the activities of the Legislative Council. f/ In April 1969, the Prime Minister of Portugal, Dr. Caetano, addressed the Council during his visit to the Territory, and in July the Governor called an extraordinary meeting of the Council to discuss a new loan from the Overseas National Bank (Banco Nacional Ultramarino) for extension of telecommunication services in the Territory.

5. In Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, the Governor, General António Spínola, is also the Commander-in-Chief. He was appointed in May 1968 to replace General Arnaldo Schulz. Since General Spínola's appointment, there has been a considerable change in the military situation in the Territory.

6. As the only daily newspaper in the Territory appears to have ceased publication some time ago, there is little information on local conditions in the Territory. Elections to the municipal council of Bissau, the municipal commissions of other concelhos and circunscrições, and to local boards were scheduled for December 1968. The list of special interest groups entitled to vote in these elections included the Catholic Mission, the Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Association of Guinea, the National Syndicate of Industry and Commerce Employees of Guinea, and 451 taxpayers paying a minimum of 1,000 escudos in direct taxes as there was no association representing economic or professional interests in the Territory.

7. As reported previously (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, paras. 19-20), since 1967, special councils known as cadmils have been established in certain areas with responsibility for local administration. These councils are composed of the local military commander, the local administrative authority and the African chief of greater prestige in the area. Because of difficulties in communication, the cadmils have authority to take decisions without consultation with the territorial Government in Bissau.

(b) Recent developments

8. In April 1969, during his visit to the Territories under Portuguese administration in Africa, Prime Minister Caetano spent one day in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. The official reports of the visit stress that he was welcomed in Bissau by "all the ethnic groups of the Territory". The reports specially mention the Fulas, the Fulas-Forros, the Futa-Fulas, the Mandingas and

---

d/ For details on the system of local administration, see annex I.A. above, paras. 41-46.

e/ See A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, para. 16.

f/ See A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, para. 4.

the Saracolés, representing the Moslem population; and the Felupes, from the north, the Bijagós, the Beafadas, Manjacos, Nalus, Balantas and Pajadincas. g/

9. In his address, Prime Minister Caetano emphasized the need for peace. He said: "Peace is an essential condition for the progress of the Territory. We must conquer peace because in peace lies our hopes that, hand in hand with the hard-working population of this fertile land, we may give a decisive impulse to the work of enhancing and improving Guinea." He added that it was for this reason that the battle was being fought on two fronts - the war front and the development front. As reported previously, Dr. Caetano took this occasion to offer amnesty to those who had fought against Portugal, but who were willing to lay down their arms (see annex I.A above, paras. 155-157).

10. In March 1970, the Minister for Overseas Portugal, Mr. Silva Cunha, visited the Territory for a nine-day working session, accompanied by senior officials from his Ministry, including the Director-General of the Justice Department. In his various public statements, Mr. Silva Cunha repeated the theme that development in the Territory was being hampered by the war and that Portugal would do anything in its power to restore peace. He reiterated that, while it was Portugal's solemn desire to maintain good relations with all peoples and all nations, particularly with its neighbours, it was also firmly determined to maintain its presence in the Territory. In one of his speeches he said that those who were attacking the Territory really had Cape Verde as their ultimate objective because of its strategic position. The two Territories together were therefore one of the most important regions in Africa, and in defending Guinea Portugal was not just defending part of its national territory but also rendering the western world a service, and this was becoming increasingly clear to those who benefited by Portugal's action.

11. According to an official source, the Overseas Minister visited the whole Territory either by personally going to various places where he contacted the authorities and the local population or "by flying over villages and cities to get a complete and perfect knowledge of the situation". The official map of his travels shows that except for two points on the border with Senegal and a few localities between Bambadinca and Nova Lamego, most of his travels north of Bissau were within a radius of 60 to 70 kilometres from the capital. Places he went to personally included Bafatá, Nova Lamego, Belí and Madina do Boé in the east; the Mansoa-Nhacra region near Bissau; the Teixeira Pinto-Bula region in the west; and various places in the south, including Aldeia Formosa, Cabedo, Cacine, Catió, the Como Island, Gadamael, the Melo Island and Guileje. The Portuguese press claimed that he visited many places where Portuguese troops were stationed or where there were rural regrouping projects.

---

g/ At the 1950 census, the main ethnic groups were as follows:

Balantas, including Balantas Mané and Cunantes or Mansoancas	160,296
Fulas (all groups)	108,402
Manjacos	71,712
Mandingas	63,750
Papéis	36,341
Brames or Mancanhas	16,300
Beafadas	11,581
Bijagós	10,332
Others	22,743

12. During his tour of the Territory, the Overseas Minister met with civil and military administrators and with the African régulos (chiefs) and Moslem authorities in the main towns. As Moslems constitute one third of the total population of the Territory, the Portuguese authorities have made a special effort to enlist their support, and more especially that of the Fula peoples.

13. Portuguese reports on the Overseas Minister's visit carried many descriptions of ceremonies at which representatives of various ethnic groups pledged their loyalty to Portugal. Several ceremonies involved the Fulas. At Mansoa, the Overseas Minister was received by an honour guard of Balantas who are the largest ethnic group in the Territory, accounting for about 30 per cent of the total population. The Portuguese Press has made a special point of emphasizing the loyalty of the Balantas as they have been reported by other sources to be the principal supporters of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC).

14. Exercising his legislative powers in the Territory, the Overseas Minister used the occasion of his visit to change the administrative division of the Territory by upgrading the administrative post of Bula to a concelho, bringing the number of concelhos to ten. Bula, which is located in the north-eastern region, used to be part of the Cacheu concelho. Its new status entitles it to an elected municipal council with its own budget. The Overseas Minister also upgraded the town of Bafatá to the status of a city and created the post of Deputy Chief of the Civil Administration Department with responsibility for the civil identification services in the Territory.

15. On his return to Lisbon, the Overseas Minister said that his visit had given him the certainty "that the peoples of the Territory are profoundly Portuguese and that they wish to continue that way". He reported that he had visited practically all regions of the Territory, even the more remote and difficult to reach. He claimed that his visit had shown that the Portuguese authorities were "in command of Portuguese Guinea" and that it had destroyed "the myth that a considerable part of Guinea was under the control of terrorist groups".

#### (c) Elections to the National Assembly

16. There have been no reports on political campaigning in the Territory for the elections to the National Assembly held in October 1969. The Territory has only one deputy in the National Assembly. Mr. James Pinto Bull, the previous deputy, was re-elected.

17. There is no information on the number of registered voters in the Territory. The Portuguese newspapers only published the percentage of registered voters who attended the polls in twenty towns, as follows: Bafatá, 99.6 per cent; Bissau, 92.9 per cent; Bolama, 99.2 per cent; Nova Lamego, 98.7 per cent; Teixeira Pinto, 99.5 per cent; 100 per cent of the voters were reported to have attended the polls in the following towns: Bigene, Bissorã, Bubaque, Bula, Cacheu, Catió, Contubo, Farim, Ingorei, Mansabá, Mansoa, São Domingos, Sonaco, Susana and Tite. Important towns for which no electoral information was given include Sedengal and Binar in the north-west; Colina do Norte, Pirada, Camamundo and Contuboel in the north-east; Quinhamel, Nhacra and Prabis in the Bissau region; Empada, Fulacunda and Cacine in the south-west; and Belí in the south-east.

## MILITARY SITUATION

### (a) General

18. Since fighting in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, began in 1963, liberation forces are reported to have gradually penetrated the entire Territory. Considered to be the most successful of the national liberation movements, PAIGC, led by Mr. Amílcar Cabral, is generally reported to control at least two thirds of the Territory, with only the main towns still firmly under Portuguese authority. <sup>h/</sup> According to Mr. Cabral, by 1967 PAIGC had already attained the final stage of preparation with the organization of all liberation forces into a regular army, and the elimination of bases for guerrilla warfare once support from the people was secured. During 1968, PAIGC began attacks on Portuguese military outposts and by 1969 was striking urban centres in the Territory with a view to forcing Portuguese withdrawal.

19. Although Portuguese sources reporting the war are carefully censored, it will be recalled that in 1968 the situation in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, was considered to be so serious that some groups in Portugal were said to be favouring withdrawal from the Territory. However, since his first decision to continue to "defend Guinea", Dr. Caetano has gradually introduced a new policy to win back the peoples of the Territory. As formulated in his speech to the Legislative Council in April 1969, this policy consists in carrying on the battle on two fronts, on the war front to win peace, and on the development front to build a "better Guinea" with the co-operation of the local population.

20. It now appears that the first step in the new drive was launched by Governor Spínola in a radio broadcast in March 1969 when he appealed for support to build a "better Guinea" with paved roads, river posts and more schools so that more people would "naturally have access to the highest posts in the administration".

21. Also as part of the new policy, prior to the visit of the Prime Minister to the Territory in April 1969, Governor Spínola granted amnesty to 100 political prisoners detained at the Galinhas Island prison. He explained that the men were being released because of their willingness to co-operate in the social and economic development of the Territory. Later in the year, the Portuguese authorities also released Mr. Rafael Barbosa, the former president of the Central Committee of the PAIGC, who had been in prison for seven years, and ninety-one former nationalists.

---

<sup>h/</sup> In his book The Liberation of Guiné - Aspects of an African Revolution, London, 1969, Basil Davidson includes a map showing the whole central belt comprising most of the Territory under PAIGC control, and only two regions, one extending from Bafatá through Gabu and Pitche, and one around Bissau as still controlled by the Portuguese. The two main areas contested are from Susana to Cacheu southwards to Canchungo, Bula and Mansoa; and in the centre, the region below Bafatá, extending from Bambadinca to the eastern border.

22. Governor Spínola, who appears to have been the main instrument of the new policy, considers that the war "is essentially a psychological" one, which he has described as "a war to conquer souls and which obviously cannot be won by coercion but rather by persuasion". During a visit to Lisbon in December 1969 to report on the Territory, he said that the war would be decided by political and social measures, and urged a rapid move towards administrative decentralization and progressive autonomy. He warned, however, that this did not diminish the importance of the military problem, since while the war could not be won on the battlefield it could be lost there.

(b) Recent developments

23. The actual war situation in the Territory is not clear and there are no reliable figures of the number of troops involved. Although the Portuguese armed forces were last reported to be around 30,000 to 35,000, a recent article in Le Monde (22 April 1970) estimated that there are now about 50,000 troops in the Territory, half of which are African troops. Portuguese reports emphasize that most of the African troops are under the authority of indigenous leaders who support Portuguese policy in the Territory, as it is the Government's policy to transfer to Africans "a large part of the burden of their own defence". During 1969, at least three companies of African troops were organized. Early in 1970, the first company of African commando troops completed their training.

24. According to the Portuguese military communiqués, during the first half of 1969 intense activity by liberation forces continued along the same pattern as in the previous year (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, paras. 5-16). There were frequent attacks on towns, villages and military barracks, and ambushes of Portuguese troops moving on roads and waterways. The wording of the communiqués indicates that in most cases the nationalists held the offensive. Among the areas most frequently attacked by the liberation forces, were Bissorã, São Domingos and Susana in the northern region; Mansoa in the central region; Aldeia Formosa, Bolama, Buba and Empada in the southern region; and Nova Lamego and Piche in the eastern region. i/ In one instance, the Portuguese communiqué acknowledged a nationalist attack on the town of Bissorã, one of the largest urban centres in the Territory.

25. In the second half of 1969, however, there was a change in the reporting of the Portuguese military activities. The military bulletins began to emphasize tightened Portuguese patrols on waterways and along the borders with Senegal and the Republic of Guinea to stop infiltration by the nationalists and to prevent them from bringing supplies into the Territory. There were also more frequent references to "re-grouping" into "protected" villages of the African population who had been "recovered" or who had "presented" themselves to the Portuguese authorities and to activities by the Portuguese armed forces to dislodge the nationalists from certain areas in the central region of the Territory. More fighting was reported in areas along the borders and, towards the end of the year, border incidents led to complaints by Senegal and the Republic of Guinea to the Security Council (see annex I.A above, paras. 12-15). In the interior of the

---

i/ Many of these places were reported by Basil Davidson as "contested areas".

Territory, intense activity continued in the form of attacks on the protected African villages and on larger towns like Bolama in the coastal region, and Mansabá in the central region. Clashes between nationalist and Portuguese forces also increased. A Portuguese round-up of military activities during 1969 reported that casualties among liberation forces included 614 dead, 259 wounded and 165 captured. It also reported the seizure of some fifty tons of war material.

26. According to a PAIGC report, by June 1969 the Portuguese had withdrawn to the main urban centres, to road sections linking the main urban centres (Bissau-Mansoa, Bafatá-Gabu, Bissau-Bula-Canchungo and Bambadinca-Bafatá), and to some waterways essential for supplying inland military camps. It said that the Portuguese forces were no longer trying to regain control over the population in the liberated regions but were only striving to maintain their influence on the population in zones which they still occupied. Portuguese activity was described by PAIGC as comprising: (a) aerial bombardments with napalm, white phosphorous and fragmentation bombs; (b) assaults against the population of liberated areas; (c) regrouping of Africans in strategic hamlets (in the Gabu region and around the main urban centres); (d) efforts hastily to build tar-covered roads; and (e) aggressive acts against areas in neighbouring countries in order to intimidate authorities of these countries and turn them against the PAIGC.

27. During 1969, the PAIGC claims to have carried out 611 attacks on Portuguese fortified positions, 46 attacks with explosives and 164 clashes with Portuguese troops. It also claims the destruction of 104 military vehicles, 18 ships, 9 aircraft and 7 helicopters. During the year, Portuguese casualties are reported to have totalled 1,408.

28. Mrs. Barbara Cornwall Lyssarides, a reporter who visited liberated parts of the Territory from 20 May to 18 June 1969, presented a statement to the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts established under resolution 2 (XXIII) of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (see E/CN.4/1020/Add.1), in which she said that, although there were still isolated Portuguese forts in the areas visited, these had to be supplied by air or river craft with a gunboat escort. There was almost daily bombardment by Portuguese aircraft, whose targets seemed to be primarily the villages inhabited by the civilian African population under PAIGC administration. To avoid casualties, the population had to move into the surrounding forests during the daylight hours, returning to the villages only after dark. Sowing and harvesting rice by night was normal practice to escape bombardments and raids by Portuguese helicopters.

29. Information from a Portuguese source shows that, early in 1969, government efforts to regroup the population in the Territory were given a new orientation with the establishment of a Comando do Agrupamento Operacional (CAOP) (Operational Grouping Command), with the special responsibility of restoring peace and security to the area occupied by the Manjacos who number over 70,000 and constitute about 14 per cent of the total population. The area they occupy, o chão manjaco, covers the coastal region of Cacheu between Bissau and the border with Senegal.

30. Although primarily an "operational" force, CAOP also plays an important role in improving the economic conditions in the area, "since it is often difficult to distinguish operational and non-operational activities". CAOP includes, among its officers, agronomists, economists, engineers, doctors, teachers and veterinaries, to supplement military action "for the pacification

of the Territory with the activities required to promote the social and economic development of the population". In December 1969, CAOP, which is responsible for some 3,000 square kilometres of the chão manjaco, was reported to be giving priority to the development of agricultural activities in that region. In addition to other schemes to improve production of such local crops as rice, ground-nuts, maize, sweet potatoes and beans, CAOP plans to introduce tomatoes as a new cash crop in the area which is the main supplier of the Bissau markets.

31. Since the beginning of 1970, Portuguese military communiqués have continued to report frequent clashes with nationalists attacking regrouped villages in various parts of the Territory, including Bigene near the northern border with Senegal, Pelundo and Binar in the north-western region, Gadamael near the southern border with the Republic of Guinea, Olossato in the central region and Piche in the eastern region. During this period, Portuguese forces are reported to have destroyed scores of PAIGC bases inside the Territory, including one each at Bunefe, Cubesseco, and Dimbissile in the southern region; one each at Belel, Nafó and Sara, which are all located in the central region within a triangle formed by the towns of Bissau, Bissorã and Bafatá; and two in the Fulacunda area south of the Geba River.

32. Although official sources regularly repeat the claim that Portuguese authorities are in full control of the Territory, military communiqués have admitted PAIGC occupation. One communiqué, for instance, reported in March 1970 that the armed forces had been engaged in dislodging "the enemy" from areas where they were installed.

33. Also in 1970, for the first time, military communiqués have begun to report frequent shelling of towns and villages by PAIGC forces from across the borders. In March 1970, a Portuguese report claimed that seven citizens of the Republic of Guinea had been killed during a PAIGC attack on Buruntuma, which is located in the eastern border area on the main road to Nova Lamego.

34. Early in 1970, Mr. Cabral reaffirmed that PAIGC had liberated two thirds of the Territory which was under its control and that more than one half of the remaining area was contested by the two sides. He claimed that Portuguese forces were increasingly withdrawing. According to a PAIGC report, the main areas of intense activity by liberation forces were the central-eastern part of Gabu, the central-western part of Canchungo, and the Nhacra region which is some 30 kilometres from Bissau. In April 1970, PAIGC reported that Portuguese forces were stepping up the bombardment of areas held by PAIGC, killing civilians and destroying PAIGC schools. In a special communiqué, it warned that if the Portuguese "continue bombing the populations of liberated areas, killing and wounding innocent beings... we will be forced to review our policy and our behaviour towards not only Portuguese civilians but also soldiers captured by our armed forces".

35. In February 1970, describing the course of the war on television in Portugal, General Spínola said that out of a population of some 550,000 people, only 80,000 had abandoned the Territory or fled into the forests. He estimated the liberation force at 5,000 men, but emphasized that a "counter-subversion" movement in the Territory could not be based on armed force. The two main concerns of the Government were to improve communications in the Territory, particularly roads, and expand education facilities. The Government was regrouping the population into protected villages, organizing their self-defence,

and transferring to the native population a large part of the burden of its own defence. As there was a growing disgust with the nationalist cause, he said, the new settlement areas were becoming centres of attraction and progress for the Africans. Summing up the situation, he said that, "each day that goes by accentuates the integration of the population in the Government's policies" and, in his opinion, the situation in the Territory could be considered "encouraging", but only so long as Portugal continued its work of development of the Territory. In May 1970, the Government announced that it intended to give African chiefs maximum authority and responsibility in the effort to bring about greater social justice.

36. In April 1970, Mr. Amílcar Cabral warned the people of the Territory in a radio address against the deceitful propaganda of the Portuguese who were talking of building "a new and better Guinea". He urged the party to work harder to help the people. He said that the Portuguese colonialists were trying to deceive the people with certain concessions, as for instance, by building a school here and there, by providing scholarships and building mosques and even by sending people to Mecca who are afterwards received by ministers in Lisbon. He said the party was ready to increase its activities and it was certain that the people would give it ever-growing support.

(c) Military expenditure

37. As reported in A/7623 (part II), chapter III, annex, appendix II, table 2, according to budget estimates for 1969, military expenditure amounted to 106.1 million escudos, which was 14 per cent higher than in the previous year. No information is available on the 1970 budget.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(a) External trade and payments

38. There is no recent information on economic conditions in the Territory. The latest available data show that in 1963, the Territory balance of trade continued its downward trend and, as a result, the trade deficit rose to 494.9 million escudos, the largest since 1961 (see table 1 below):

Table 1

External trade  
(million escudos)

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Imports	297.2	327.3	407.2	421.4	417.2	507.3	471.1	580.3
Exports	<u>211.1</u>	<u>188.9</u>	<u>166.5</u>	<u>156.2</u>	<u>105.8</u>	<u>85.1</u>	<u>91.1</u>	<u>85.4</u>
Balance	-86.1	-138.4	-240.7	-265.2	-311.4	-422.2	-380.0	-494.9

Sources: For 1961-1967: A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, table 1; for 1968: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (No. 77/78), Lisbon, first and second quarters of 1969, p. 61.

39. In 1968, with the exception of a slight increase in the value of ground-nut exports, there was a further drop in all other main exports, as shown in table 2 below.

Table 2

Principal exports 1965-1968  
(million escudos)

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Ground-nuts	59.6	48.2	49.0	51.3
Coconuts	30.2	25.0	26.2	25.4
Ground-nut <u>bagasse</u>	1.9	1.9	2.3	1.8
Lumber	1.2	1.7	1.4	1.6
Hides and skins	2.0	1.8	0.7	0.6
Ground-nut oil	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.5
Beeswax	1.6	1.1	1.1	0.5

Sources: For 1965-1967: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (No. 73), Lisbon, first quarter of 1968, p. 56; for 1968: ibid. (No. 77/78), Lisbon, first and second quarters of 1969, p. 61.

(b) Agriculture

40. There is no information on the agricultural situation. In March 1970, during the visit of the Overseas Minister to the Territory, the Government announced a series of new measures to develop the Territory's agricultural sector. These measures included the distribution of rice and ground-nut seeds to increase the

yield of these crops; the mechanization of rice shelling; the improvement of palm tree plantations in the Bubaque, Prabís, and Teixeira Pinto regions; the installation of new machinery to extract palm oil; the introduction of high-quality tomato cultivation in the Bafatá, Bissau, Nova Lamego and Teixeira Pinto regions and the introduction of some new crops, including beans, both for local consumption and export. Plans are also under way to reclaim land for cultivation at Bala, Catió, São Domingos, Teixeira Pinto and Tite. All these measures are to be financed from the territorial budget and from special funds under the Third National Development Plan. No target dates have been set for the completion of any of the new schemes.

(c) Transport and communications

41. As noted above, the Government considers transport and communications a priority sector in its war efforts. New works include a programme for road construction and the improvement of maritime and air transport. In 1969, the Territory received from Portugal some highway construction machinery, which was immediately put to work in the Mansabá, Bula-Có and Nova Lamego regions.

42. With a view to improving maritime communications between Portugal and the Territory, the Chairman of the National Board of the Merchant Marine went to Bissau to meet with local private interests and government authorities. As a result of the discussions, it was expected that the Portuguese shipping company Sociedade Geral, which handles the transport of goods to and from the Territory, would increase its services.

43. Two new airports were opened in March 1970, one at Nova Lamego, which has an airstrip 2,100 metres long and 30 metres wide, and one at Quebo in the Aldeia Formosa region, near the southern border with the Republic of Guinea. The programme for other air communications improvements during 1970 includes the extension of the airstrip at the Bafatá airport, construction of an airfield at Cufar, and purchase of a twelve-passenger, twin-engined airplane for domestic flights. The two Boeing 727 airplanes which the Portuguese airline Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP) has ordered in the United States for delivery early in 1971 will be used on regular flights between Portugal and the Territory (see annex I.A above, para. 202).

44. In 1969, the Government radio station Emissora Nacional was authorized to install a regional radio transmitter in the Territory to replace the local radio station which was re-equipped in 1967 to broadcast to the entire Territory (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, para. 7). The new 100 kw radio transmitter which is under construction at Nhacra in the Bissau region, will be able to broadcast to neighbouring countries. Following consideration by the Legislative Council, in October 1969, the Overseas National Bank granted a loan of 15 million escudos to the Territory for improvement of the telecommunications network (Decree 49,301, 10 October 1969). In January 1970, the Government announced the reorganization of the local branch of the National Printing Office

and plans to publish a daily newspaper, since O Arauto, which had been the only daily newspaper in the Territory, appears to have ceased publication (see paragraph 6 above).

(d) Public finance

45. In 1968, actual ordinary revenue was 250.8 million escudos, which is 12.4 per cent higher than ordinary revenue in 1967. Table 3 A below shows actual revenue in 1967 and 1968 and estimated revenue for 1969. Extraordinary revenue in 1968 at 82.3 million escudos included 59.2 million escudos as loans from Portugal, 13.7 million escudos in revenue from the petroleum concession j/ and the remainder from budgetary surpluses.

46. In 1968, actual expenditure at 311.5 million escudos was almost the same as in 1967, and there were no significant changes in the main items of expenditure (see table 3 B below).

47. The ordinary estimated expenditure for 1969 was practically at the same level as for 1968. It will be recalled that since 1967, the Portuguese Government has suspended the collection of interest and the amortization of loans granted to the Territory for the implementation of the Transitional Development Plan (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, para. 34). In 1969, the same measure was extended in connexion with loans granted by the Portuguese Government to the Territory for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan (Decree-Law 49,144, 24 July 1969). In the 1969 estimated budget, no funds were allocated for the servicing of the public debt.

48. Details on the budget estimates for 1970 are not yet available except for the announced allocation of 15 million escudos for education (see below) and 29 million escudos for public health services (compared with 26 million escudos in 1969). Health projects to be started in 1970 include a maternity and psychiatric wards in the Bissau Hospital, thirty-four health posts in the interior of the Territory, new equipment for sub-regional and rural hospitals and expansion of the campaign to eradicate sleeping sickness.

---

j/ An exclusive concession to prospect for and exploit petroleum deposits is held by Esso Exploration Guiné, Inc., a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. For details, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II (A/6700/Rev.1), chapter V, paras. 342-352.

Table 3

Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea: public finance  
(million escudos)

A. Revenue

	<u>1967</u> (actual)	<u>1968</u> (actual)	<u>1969</u> (estimates)
<u>Ordinary revenue of which:</u>	223.1	250.7	190.0
Direct taxes	36.9	38.9	36.2
Indirect taxes	63.1	67.5	51.5
Special régime industries	24.7	28.8	24.7
Income from services	19.5	25.3	21.0
Income from State and private industries	1.8	2.3	2.0
Income from shares	-	0.8	0.8
Refunds	5.7	6.1	5.3
Consigned receipts	71.4	81.0	48.5
<u>Extraordinary revenue</u>	<u>88.9</u>	<u>82.3</u>	<u>10.8</u>
Total	312.0	333.0	200.8

B. Expenditure

<u>Ordinary expenditure of which:</u>	211.8	229.3	190.0
Public debt	15.9	15.3	-
Government	1.6	1.5	2.0
Pensions	5.8	7.3	7.0
General administration	53.0	56.8	63.9
Treasury	10.2	10.3	9.0
Justice	1.5	1.6	1.9
Development services	72.4	77.9	57.1
Military services	12.1	12.1	2.1
Naval services	5.1	6.9	6.4
General expenditures	33.9	35.2	40.3
Other	0.3	0.4	0.3
<u>Extraordinary expenditure</u>	<u>88.9</u>	<u>82.3</u>	<u>10.8</u>
Total	300.7	311.6	200.8

Sources: For 1967: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (No. 73), Lisbon, first quarter of 1968, p. 57; for 1968: Guinea, Boletim Oficial (No. 13), 5 April 1969; for 1969: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, op. cit. (No. 77/78), Lisbon, first and second quarters of 1969, p. 64.

(e) Development financing

49. There is no information available on the implementation of the Transitional Development Plan, 1965-1967, or on the investments made in 1968 and 1969 under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973 (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, paras. 37-38). Table 4 shows the original programme of investments envisaged for 1968/1969.

Table 4

Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea

Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973: programme  
of investments for 1968/1969  
(million escudos)

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	6.3	6.8
Fisheries	5.1	-
Industry )	30.0	72.0
Processing industries	5.0	4.0
Rural improvement	0.2	7.5
Electric power	16.0	10.9
Marketing	3.0	0.1
Transport and communications	64.7	77.9
Tourism	0.5	0.7
Education and research	9.6	12.7
Housing and urbanization	11.2	10.8
Health	<u>3.0</u>	<u>6.6</u>
Total	204.6	210.0

Sources: Portugal, Presidência de Conselho, III Plano de Fomento - Programa de Execução para 1968, Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon, 1968, pp. 122-123; op. cit., Programa de Execução para 1969, Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon, 1969, pp. 90-91.

50. For 1970, by May a total of 154 million escudos had been authorized for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan. This sum includes 88.5 million escudos for public works, 13.6 million escudos for urban improvements in Bissau, 10.5 million escudos for maritime services, 6.5 million escudos for civil air transport and 6.0 million escudos for education. Of the total, 135 million escudos will be provided by a loan from Portugal and 15 million escudos from the petroleum concession in the Territory. The remainder is probably to be financed by the Territory.

## EDUCATION

51. The latest education statistics available are for school year 1967/1968, which have already been reported last year (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, paras. 39-49).

52. In 1969, the budgetary estimates provided 10.6 million escudos for education. During the visit of the Overseas Minister to the Territory, in March 1970, the Government announced that the 1970 budget estimates will provide 15 million escudos for education. Specific projects to be financed from allocation include a new primary school in Bissau and two school posts in the suburbs of Bissau, new primary schools (one each in Baratá, Cacheu, Nova Lamego, and Teixeira Pinto); six school posts in the Bijagós Archipelago and seventy-one in the interior of the Territory; expansion of the academic and technical secondary schools in Bissau; the organization of three training courses for school post teachers; and provision of vocational courses suited to the needs of the Territory. There are also plans to build a Koranic school adjacent to the mosque to be erected in Bissau. A literacy campaign is planned, and a special effort will also be made to extend the use of Portuguese among the Africans.

53. Available information shows that during 1969, at least seven new school posts were established in the Territory: two at Antotinha in the São Domingos circunscrição and one each at Sara-Gana in the Bafatá concelho, Jete in the Crcheu concelho, Jabadá in the Tite circunscrição, Caravela in the Bijagós circunscrição, and Bissum in the Bissorã concelho.

54. Early in 1969, the Government revived the territorial Public Education Council. This Council was originally created in 1957 to study and report on the co-ordination of public education with social interests. The Government established three working groups under the Council to study problems relating to: (a) primary education; (b) secondary education; and (c) worship, cultural institutions and extra-curricular activities. Each of these working groups will meet for three ordinary sessions a year (Guinea, Portaria 2050, 14 January 1969).



E. CAPE VERDE ARCHIPELAGO\*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
General . . . . .	1 - 2	254
Constitutional and political . . . . .	3 - 21	254
Economic conditions . . . . .	22 - 59	259
Education . . . . .	60 - 63	273

---

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.625/Add.4.

## E. CAPE VERDE ARCHIPELAGO

### GENERAL

1. 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 14°48' N and 17°12' N latitude and between 22°41' WG and 25°22' WG longitude. There are ten islands and five islets divided into two groups: the Barlavento (windward) and Sotavento (leeward) islands. The Barlavento group, which lies to the north-west, comprises six islands, the largest of which are Santo Antão and São Nicolau. The Sotavento group, which lies to the south, includes the largest island, Santiago, where Praia, the capital, is located. Details of the area and population of each island are shown in table 1 below. The total land area of the islands is 4,033.3 square kilometres.
2. At the 1960 census, the population of the archipelago was 201,549. In 1967 the population was officially estimated at 237,800. There is no recent information on the ethnic composition of the population, but at the 1950 census, 69.0 per cent of the population was mestiço, 28.84 per cent was African, and 2.06 per cent was European.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

3. Under the Portuguese Constitution and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, Cape Verde is considered to be an overseas province of Portugal. Its Political and Administrative Statute is contained in Decree 45,371 of 22 November 1963. a/
4. Although Cape Verde lies off the coast of Africa, Portugal has always regarded it as having a non-African culture and accordingly, it has had a different administrative status from the other Territories in Africa under Portuguese administration. Thus, for instance, in contrast to the situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, the Native Statute in its various forms was never applied to the Territory, and all the inhabitants, whether mestiço or African, were classified as civilizado in the 1950 census as well as the previous ones.
5. As the system of local administration has always been based on that in Portugal, there was no separate political and administrative statute for Cape Verde until the Overseas Organic Law was revised in 1963 and a similar administrative structure was established for all the overseas Territories. Currently, Cape Verde is represented in the National Assembly; the Overseas Council and the Corporative Chamber. b/

---

a/ For a summary description of the constitutional and administrative arrangements, see annex I.A above.

b/ For details of the territorial participation in these bodies, see annex I.A above, paras. 47-65.

(a) Territorial Government

6. In Cape Verde, Portuguese authority is represented by the Governor. From 1962 to 1968 the Governor of Cape Verde was Commander Leão Maria do Sacramento Monteiro. In January 1970 he was replaced by Brigadier António Lopes dos Santos, who, until then, had been the Second Commander of the Territorial Command of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea.

7. The two representative bodies in the Territory are the Legislative Council and the Government Council. The Legislative Council of Cape Verde, which was created in 1963, comprises twenty-one members, of whom three are ex officio (the Secretary-General, the representative of the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer); six are elected by direct franchise, three from each of the two districts; and twelve are elected by interest groups representing individual taxpayers paying direct taxes of 1,000 escudos, and over; administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest; employers; workers' interests; private institutions or associations; and religious, social and cultural interests. c/ The last elections for the Legislative Council of Cape Verde were held in 1968. d/

8. The Government Council is presided over by the Governor who must consult it in the exercise of his legislative powers. The Council is composed of the Secretary-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, if there is one, or a representative of the armed forces, the representative of the Attorney General in the Territory, and the Treasurer, all of whom are ex officio members. In addition, three members are elected by the Legislative Council from among its members, one of whom must always be a representative of the administrative bodies.

9. Cape Verde is divided into two districts, the Barlavento and Sotavento groups of islands each constituting a district. In Cape Verde, the administrative districts (see table 1 below) coincide with the electoral districts both for the elections to the National Assembly and for the elections to the Legislative Council. Below the district level the Territory is divided into concelhos and freguesias on the Portuguese pattern, each with their own elected bodies. e/

---

c/ For a comparison of the legislative councils in different territories, see annex I.A above, table 1.

d/ For the results, see A/7200/Add.3, chap. VIII, annex V, paras. 4 and 5.

e/ For a description of the system of local government and the composition of the elected bodies, see annex I.A above, paras. 41-46 and 78-82.

Table 1

Cape Verde: administrative divisions

<u>District</u>	<u>Island and concelhos<sup>a/</sup></u>	<u>Land area</u> (square kilometres)	<u>Population at</u> <u>1960 census</u>
Barlavento	Santo Antão		
	Ribeira Grande	166.8	17,573
	Paúl	612.2	17,025
	Porto Novo	..	-
	Boa Vista	620.0	3,309
	Sal	216.0	2,626
	São Nicolau	388.0	13,894
	São Vicente	227.0	21,361
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		2,230.0	75,788
Sotavento	Santiago		
	Praia	469.4	45,079
	Santa Catarina	318.5	24,731
	Tarrafal	203.0	19,130
	Brava	67.4	8,646
	Fogo	476.0	25,457
	Maio	269.0	2,718
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		1,803.3	125,761
Total		4,033.3	201,549

Sources: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1969; Cape Verde, Boletim Trimestral de Estatística, 2nd Quarter, 1968.

<sup>a/</sup> With the exception of Santo Antão and Santiago, each island constitutes a concelho.

(b) Elections to the National Assembly

10. Cape Verde is represented by two deputies in the National Assembly, one for each of the two electoral districts. At the 1969 elections the only candidates were those of the National Union, who were duly elected.

11. Compared with previous occasions, electoral campaigning received considerable attention in the local press, which published the manifesto and statements by the National Union candidates and various editorial comments. The fact that there were no opposition candidates was considered by some as a sign of unity. However, the National Union's manifesto stressed that it was the duty of all to show their unconditional and collective support of the Government so as to indicate clearly how grateful the Territory was to Portugal for achievements in Cape Verde in the past ten years, during which economic and social development had exceeded all expectations. Among other things, the manifesto recalled the new schools, roads, ports, water supplies and health services that had been provided, together with the improvements to other facilities. Voters were warned that their failure to vote might give the impression that the people were divided or that elections were not necessary. They were urged to vote to show their support of the Government's policy of maintaining peace and order, and of Portugal's "intransigent defence of the integrity of the national Territory". Although the candidates made some references to local problems, no specific issues were discussed.

12. The weekly newspaper O Arquipélago gave very little coverage to the election campaign in Portugal, and the positions of the Comissão Democrática Eleitoral (CDE) and the Comissão Eleitoral de Unidade Democrática (CEUD) on self-determination were mentioned only indirectly in two editorials (dated 13 and 20 October 1969) by Mr. Dutra Faria, Director of the Agência Nacional de Informações (ANI), the Portuguese government information agency. In these two editorials, which discussed the electoral campaign as if the elections had already taken place, Mr. Dutra Faria said that the opposition groups clearly would not easily be able to take over the Government because of their past history. Nevertheless, instead of taking advantage of the newly opened door to gain some seats in the National Assembly, those groups had made the mistake of introducing a discussion on the overseas Territories and of advocating the acceptance of all "anti-Portuguese resolutions" adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the acceptance for the Portuguese overseas Territories of the principle of self-determination as understood by the United Nations. According to Mr. Dutra Faria, they should have known that this would alarm the great majority of the Portuguese people, irritate the armed forces and force the Government to postpone its proposals for greater freedom.

13. In accordance with Decree-Law 37,570 (3 October 1949) the list of established voting centres was published early in September 1969 in the local press, together with the names of the chairman and alternate for each centre. The local radio station also gave some publicity to the elections, urging people to vote.

14. Details of the voting results in Cape Verde have not been published. The only information available is the percentage of registered voters who actually voted. For the Territory as a whole, 87.99 per cent of the registered voters took part in the elections. The highest turn-out was registered at Porto Novo (Santo Antão) with 94.9 per cent, followed by São Nicolau, 93.4 per cent;

Tarrafal (Santiago), 91.95 per cent; and Praia (Santiago), 90.12 per cent. Only 58.32 per cent of the voters voted in Sal, 72.43 per cent in Maio and 78.47 per cent in Brava. At the remaining voting centres, the results were 90.7 per cent at São Vicente; 81.83 per cent at Paúl (Santo Antão); 84.12 per cent at Santa Catarina (Santiago) and 85.97 per cent at Boa Vista. It will be recalled that at the elections in 1965, 36.5 per cent of the registered voters took part in the elections, and at the municipal elections in 1968, only 18,029 persons voted, or less than 8 per cent of the 1967 estimated population of 237,800.

15. Of the two elected deputies, one is Mr. Augusto Salazar Leite from São Nicolau, a professor at the Superior Institute of Tropical Medicine, who is serving a second term. The other deputy, Mr. Bento Benoliel Levy from Praia, Santiago, is the Director of the Tourist Information Centre of Cape Verde, and founder and director of the Cape Verde weekly newspaper O Arquipélago, which is published in Praia. Both have a long history of public service.

(c) Recent developments

16. Since Dr. Caetano became Prime Minister, official statements have repeatedly stressed the strategic importance of Cape Verde. The Portuguese position is that, because of its strategic importance for air and maritime communications between the North Atlantic, Europe and the South Atlantic, Cape Verde is the real target of the attacks in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. In March 1970, Mr. Silva Cunha, the Portuguese Minister for Overseas Territories, repeated this theme at the swearing in of Brigadier Lopes Santos as Governor of the Territory. Mr. Silva Cunha emphasized that Cape Verde and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, together constituted one of the principal regions against which certain "imperialist ambitions" were being directed, and that in defending these Territories, Portugal was also defending the free world and the traditions of western civilization. He said that some of those who stood to benefit from its policy were only now beginning to understand Portugal's efforts, although the significance had always been clear to those attacking it. Although "os adversários" (the enemy) had not yet succeeded in establishing bases in Cape Verde, because of the patriotism of the people and because Cape Verde had no common borders with other countries, it was necessary, according to Mr. Silva Cunha, to remain alert to defend the normal life of the Territory and to continue the economic, social and cultural development of the people.

17. There are indications that the military capacity of Cape Verde is being strengthened. In July 1969, the Portuguese Government authorized the expansion of the Cape Verde naval installations at Ribeira Julião, at an estimated cost of 2.8 million escudos, f/ to provide housing for troops. Since then, the Government has appointed a working group to study and make recommendations on the establishment of naval shipyards at Porto Grande, São Vicente, and the 1970 budget shows a significant increase for naval expenditures. Also, in May 1970, the Portuguese and Brazilian fleets were expected to conduct their annual joint manoeuvres off Cape Verde with exercises in anti-submarine techniques.

18. Since 1969, there appears to have been an increasing number of enlistments in the Public Security Police (PSP). An article published in October 1969

---

f/ One escudo equals \$US.035.

reported that the Territory was no longer able to provide adequate training for the four to six units recruited each year. As a result, the new PSP recruits would receive training at the Escola de Alistados (School for Enlisted Men) in Lisbon. Although service in the PSP counts as military service, those who have completed the required period of enlistment will nevertheless be required to undergo further special training at the Escola de Alistados. The special training is for four months and includes both theoretical studies and practical training in police work. A first group of eighteen began training in Lisbon in October 1969.

19. As the following table shows, the Territory's security and defence allocations have been increased in the 1970 ordinary budget estimates, with the PSP allocation rising by 30 per cent. In addition, under the extraordinary budget, 2.3 million escudos was allocated in 1968 and 2.0 million escudos in 1969 for PSP personnel from Portugal serving in the Territory.

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u> (million escudos)	<u>1970</u>
National Defence	4.5	5.3	5.1
PSP	3.2	3.2	4.3
Political police (formerly PIDE)	<u>1.1</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>1.4</u>
	8.8	9.9	10.8

20. In October 1969, it was reported that four persons born in Cape Verde had been tried by the military tribunal at Praia and sentenced to imprisonment on charges of subversive propaganda and of having a connexion with the Partido para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC). The principal defendant, Carlos Miranda, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and loss of civil rights for fifteen years; the other three, Dantas Tavares, Matos da Fonseca and Saifer Scofield, were sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment and loss of civil rights for the same period.

21. In May 1970, a group of military attachés from various embassies in Lisbon made an official visit to Cape Verde and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. These included the naval and air attachés of the United States of America, the naval and defence attachés of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the assistant military attaché of Spain, the naval and military attaché of South Africa and the military attachés of France and Brazil.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

22. The general economic conditions of Cape Verde have been described previously. <sup>g/</sup> In summary, it may be said that the Territory has few natural resources and suffers from general aridity and frequent droughts. As a result,

<sup>g/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II, (A/6700/Rev.1), chapter V.

the Territory can neither provide full employment nor produce enough food for all its inhabitants. Because of the limited economic opportunities, traditionally there has been a high rate of emigration to Portugal, to other European countries and to the United States. The annual report by the Banco Nacional Ultramarino on Cape Verde for 1968 <sup>h/</sup> suggested that an equilibrium between the surplus labour and the lack of economic opportunities could be obtained only through the introduction of new techniques and capital or an enlargement of the tertiary sector, for instance in the development of tourism.

23. In a speech at the swearing-in of the new Governor in March 1969, the Minister for Overseas Territories, Mr. Silva Cunha, reviewed the Government's policy and achievements in the islands. He said that so far as natural conditions permitted, the Government had always sought to "correct the harshness of the environment by defending the population against the contingencies of the irregular rainfall pattern, improving its living standards and enabling to encourage the growth and spread of education". <sup>i/</sup> He noted in particular the progress made in health conditions, especially in the eradication of malaria, the provision of education, the development of ports and harbours, measures to improve the legal tenure of land, and promotion of fishing and tourism. Among problems calling for the Government's attention, he mentioned the need to improve the structure of the public services and the working conditions of the civil service, as well as the development of communications and transport between the islands and the outside world, on which some preliminary steps had already been taken.

24. Other government officials have also emphasized the progress of the islands in recent years. A senior inspector, Mr. Julio Monteiro, of the Ministry for the Overseas Territories, who made a brief visit to the islands in September 1969, told the press in an interview that he had been impressed by the progress and considerable economic growth in Cape Verde over the past decade. He noted especially the increase in new buildings and houses in Mindelo and Praia. He said that in both these cities the material conditions of the population had improved visibly: although still poor, the population was usually "vestida, calçada e limpa" (dressed, wearing shoes and clean). Also, their purchasing power had improved even though it was still far from what could be considered good. Elsewhere, many changes had also taken place. In Santiago, for instance, new roads continued to be built under the 1962 roads plan; malaria had been eradicated from some main areas; irrigation and drainage schemes and new banana plantations had been established with government assistance; and several rural settlement pilot projects had been started which would provide the basis for other community development schemes. For the islands as a whole, the land reform measures and the creation of new agricultural co-operatives were first steps towards improving the conditions of all those who lived off the land. In Mr. Monteiro's view, the fact that the 1969 drought in both Santiago and São Vicente had not created a serious crisis was a clear indication that the population had been able to build up some food reserves and that government assistance had been prompt and effective. He attributed the progress achieved in Cape Verde to the investments made under the successive development plans

---

<sup>h/</sup> Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral, (No. 77/78), 1969.

<sup>i/</sup> J.M. da Silva Cunha, The Progress of Cape Verde, Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1969, p. 8.

which showed Portugal's "generosity", and to remittances from Cape Verde emigrants living abroad. He noted that remittances from overseas had contributed to the Territory's balance of payments surpluses which amounted to 6.1 million escudos in 1966 and 30.3 million escudos in 1967.

25. Although there is some information indicating increased economic activity in the Territory, statistical data are not yet available for 1969. From newspaper reports, it appears that in recent years the return of emigrants to retire in the islands has helped to draw the Government's attention to the lack of basic services on some of the islands. In 1969, the local newspaper reported, for instance, that on Brava island there was still no electricity, no running water, no automatic telephones and there was a serious need for modernized health and welfare services, as well as community centres.

26. During 1969, in what appears to be a new policy, the Governor and the Secretary-General toured the islands and met with local representatives. New measures taken by the Government included the extension to Cape Verde of the land concession legislation in force in Angola and Mozambique to implement the Government's new land policy; the extension of credit facilities to include loans for housing and other buildings, and the award of two new concessions to international groups for the development of tourist projects on the islands of Boa Vista and Sal.

27. The following paragraphs summarize the latest information available on economic conditions in the Territory.

(a) External trade

28. Although exports rose by about 50 per cent between 1961 and 1968, imports increased at almost the same rate. In 1968, the value of exports covered 14.5 per cent of imports, and the trade deficit reached a new high of 241.2 million escudos (see table 2 below). The Territory's balance of payments, however, showed a surplus of 32.0 million escudos, compared with 30.3 million escudos in 1967 and 6.1 million escudos in 1966. The recent surpluses derive mainly from the substantial invisible transfers which offset the normal trade deficit with Portugal and the adjacent islands (3.6 million escudos in 1968) and with the other overseas Territories (24.0 million escudos in 1968).

29. Currently, Cape Verde's principal exports are bananas, fish and fish products, the supply of fresh water to ships, peanuts, salt and pozzolanas. Except for bananas and to a much lesser extent, fish and fish products, the Territory's exports have remained stationary since 1961.

30. As reported previously, Cape Verde's imports consist mostly of food-stuffs, including maize, wheat flour, rice, sugar and wine (see table 3 below). These imports continue to increase, as there is little local industry. Imports of cotton textiles, wines and automobiles have also increased in recent years. Portugal is the Territory's main trading partner. In 1968, it supplied 62.9 per cent of the Territory's imports, and purchased 63 per cent of its exports. Angola is the Territory's second most important trade partner, followed by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (see table 4 below).

Table 2

Cape Verde: balance of trade  
(million escudos)

	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Balance</u>	<u>Percent of exports to imports</u>
1961	185.5	27.3	- 157.7	15
1962	197.2	22.2	- 175.0	11.4
1963	170.2	24.1	- 146.1	13.5
1964	200.7	27.5	- 173.2	13.3
1965	223.2	27.9	- 200.3	12.2
1966	244.2	32.9	- 211.3	13.5
1967	258.8	30.9	- 227.9	11.9
1968	281.9	40.8	- 241.2	14.5

Sources: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1962, 1964 and 1966;  
Cape Verde, Boletim Trimestral de Estatística, No. 1, 1963;  
Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício de 1968.

Table 3

Cape Verde: imports and exports, 1967 and 1968

A. Main imports

	<u>Volume</u> (tons)		<u>Value</u> (million escudos)	
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Sugar	3.6	4.0	16.7	18.2
Cotton textiles	0.2	0.2	14.2	14.6
Wheat flour	2.3	2.6	10.4	11.4
Rice	1.6	1.7	9.5	10.7
Cement	12.0	14.6	7.9	9.6
Wines	1.0	1.3	6.3	8.2
Maize	2.9	3.2	6.3	7.7
Automobiles (number)	155	258	8.4	13.7
Petroleum	3.3	3.0	5.9	5.3

B. Main exports

Bananas	4.0	5.2	7.9	10.4
Fish and fish products	0.6	0.7	2.6	5.3
Water	77.9	73.9	3.2	3.3
Tuna fish preserve	0.3	0.4	1.4	3.0
Peanuts	0.5	0.5	2.4	2.2
Salt	22.9	30.2	2.2	2.9
Pozzolanas	7.2	7.8	2.0	1.9

Source: Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício de 1968.

Table 4

Cape Verde: principal trading partners, 1968

A. Imports

	<u>Volume</u> (thousand tons)	<u>Value</u> (million escudos)	<u>Percentage of</u> <u>total value</u> <u>of imports</u>
Portugal	31.4	177.3	62.9
Angola	8.9	25.0	8.9
United States	1.5	10.8	3.8
United Kingdom	0.3	9.4	3.3
Netherlands	0.8	6.5	2.3
		Total	81.2

B. Exports

Portugal	17.4	25.7	63.0
Supply to navigation Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea	79.0	4.6	11.3
United States	1.9	3.4	5.3
Congo (Democratic Republic of)	0.3	3.2	7.8
	18.5	1.8	4.4
		Total	94.8

Source: Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício de 1968.

(b) Agriculture

31. Although most of the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, production is limited by the availability of suitable soils, the lack of water and the uncertainty of the rainfall. In spite of some government measures to improve living conditions in the islands, data published in the Third National Development Plan 1968-1973 show that exports of four of the Territory's five principal agricultural products decreased over the period 1959-1965. Taking 1958 as 100, it is reported that in the six-year period exports of coffee dropped from 130.3 to 61.6, peanuts from 143.7 to 39.3; purgueira (an oil seed) from 83.6 to 20.1 and ricino from 100.3 to 55.1. Only the export of bananas, which has been encouraged and assisted by the Government, rose from 103.9 to 130.

32. The decrease in agricultural products over this period was accompanied by rising imports of various basic food-stuffs: between 1959 and 1965, imports of rice and wheat flour doubled, imports of potatoes increased by 300 per cent and imports of beans by more than sixty-fold.

33. Under the Third National Development Plan, three types of projects are envisaged to help develop the agriculture sector. One type of project would be measures to encourage new crops such as coffee and bananas and to increase production of food crops by the use of improved techniques. Although the cultivation of coffee has been compulsory in certain areas since 1959, export figures for 1968 were only half those for 1965 and only one tenth of the target envisaged in the Third National Development Plan.

34. Another type of project has as its aim to improve and increase the land area available for agriculture, mainly through drainage and irrigation. Government plans include the establishment of settlements in the newly irrigated areas, and several such settlements are already in operation. The third type of project consists of measures to improve land tenure and expand credit facilities.

35. In 1968, agricultural production in Cape Verde was again seriously affected by drought which caused extensive damage, especially to perennial crops such as coffee. In 1969, the Portuguese Government provided an additional sum of 11 million escudos to the Territory under the Development Plan, earmarked for drought relief. j/

36. According to the Cape Verde agricultural census 1961-1963, only 1.65 per cent of the land area of the islands was under cultivation. Of the 52,688 hectares cultivated, about half was actually under temporary or permanent crops, one fifth was occupied by associações de culturas and just under one third was fallow or unused. The survey also showed that of the total of 29,249 farming units (número total de empresas) 10,937 were directly administered, 8,385 were rented and 16,987 were cultivated by sharecroppers. k/

37. As previously reported, apart from the adverse natural conditions, low productivity in the Territory has been attributed in part to the system of land tenure, whereby most of the land is owned by hereditary landlords and is farmed by leasehold tenants or sharecroppers under contracts which were often of short duration and subject to frequent revision. A first step to improve this situation was taken in 1966 when farming contracts and deeds, as well as sharecropping agreements, were brought under government supervision.

---

j/ Portugal, Diário do Governo, Series I, (No. 217), Decree-Law 49,241 of 16 September 1969.

k/ Portugal, Ministério do Ultramar, Missão de Inquérito Agrícola de Cabo Verde, Guiné, São Tomé e Príncipe, Recenseamento Agrícola de Cabo Verde, 1961-1963, Lisbon, 1965, pp. 11-12, and table IV.

38. In 1969, the legislation governing land tenure in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea (Decree 43,894, 6 September 1961) was extended for the first time to Cape Verde, in an effort to regulate land ownership and land use in the Territory. As the previous study has shown, 1/ the main objective of the 1961 legislation was to speed up the process involved in the granting of land concessions by the State and to ensure development of the land so held. The legislation also gives the territorial Government more authority in the regulation of land use, not only by individual owners but also by communities which become entitled to designate special areas for housing projects for low income groups. According to official statements, the application of the new legislation would strengthen the legal position of both tenant farmers and land owners and benefit some 89 per cent of those engaged in agriculture.

39. During 1969, new legislation was also approved to encourage the formation of co-operatives to help the farmers. Two co-operatives have since been established, one on Santo Antão, and one on Fogo. The Santo Antão co-operative is mainly concerned with exporting bananas and the production, processing and export of sugar-cane brandy. Membership is open to all emancipated persons, male or female, minors, if authorized by their parents or guardians, and married women authorized by their husbands, who are directly engaged in agricultural or livestock exploration in the area covered by the co-operative, either as owners, tenant farmers, or partners, and who have subscribed to at least one share of 100 escudos each. The minimum conditions for one share are as follows: (a) cultivation of 1,000 square metres or a fraction thereof of sugar-cane; (b) cultivation of 200 banana trees or a fraction thereof; and (c) cultivation of unirrigated land.

40. The Fogo co-operative is mainly concerned with buying, preparing, processing and exporting coffee. Membership is open to all emancipated persons engaged in the cultivation of coffee in the area either as owners, tenant farmers or partners. Members are required to sell all their coffee crop to the co-operative except the amount needed for their own use. A member must subscribe to at least one share of 100 escudos, which represents an estimated production of 100 kilogrammes of coffee.

41. Since 1962, the principal source of agricultural credit has been the Caixa de Crédito Agro-Pecuário (Cape Verde Agricultural Credit Bank), whose operations have gradually been expanded to cover other areas. They were first extended in 1967 to provide loans to fishing and fish processing industries and other transforming industries; in 1969, the Caixa was authorized to grant credit for housing, private schools and buildings serving public interests. Municipal bodies will also be able to obtain loans for the implementation of urbanization plans and other works. The name of the Caixa was changed to the Caixa de Crédito de Cabo Verde on 1 October 1969.

---

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1), chapter V, annex II, paras. 10-57.

42. When it was originally established in 1962, the Caixa had an initial capital of 10 million escudos, with recourse to various measures to raise money, e.g., through bond issues. In addition, it was provided with an annual allocation from the territorial budget. Details on its operations during the early years are not available.

43. In 1968, with the expansion of its activities, the Caixa was allocated a special fund of 30 million escudos and later a loan of 3.5 million escudos. During the year, loans granted by the Caixa in the agriculture and fisheries sectors amounted to 16.4 million escudos, of which 9 million escudos were for agriculture and 7.4 million were for fisheries and connected industries. In the agricultural field, the largest loan was granted to Sociedade Agrícola e Comercial de Santa Filomena, Lda., (5.5 million escudos), and in the fisheries sector to the Empresas de Conservas Ultra, Lda. (7.2 million escudos).

44. The Caixa has also made a number of loans in connexion with irrigation and drainage schemes. In addition, two large loans were made to enable the farmers to acquire the land they worked under contract. One loan of 900,000 escudos was granted to forty-four tenant farmers at Santo Domingos and another loan of 680,000 escudos was granted to nineteen tenant farmers at Órgão near Praia on Santiago island. Following its established policy, the Caixa provides technical assistance to all farmers receiving loans to help them to develop their property.

Table 5

Loans granted by the Caixa de Crédito, Agro-Pecuário, 1968  
(by islands)

	<u>Number of loans</u>	<u>Amount</u> (thousand escudos)
Santiago	82	17,700.0
Santo Antão	18	1,694.0
Boa Vista	5	85.0
Fogo	3	95.0
São Nicolau	1	15.0
Maió	2	185.0
São Vicente	1	25.0
	<hr/> 112	<hr/> 19,862.0

Source: Cape Verde, O Arquipélago, 11 September 1969.

45. It may be noted that under its regulations, the Caixa may only grant loans against the following: mortgages, harvested crop or goods to be produced, consignment of receipts, government bonds or government guaranteed bonds, pledges or financial guarantees. According to government reports, the Caixa makes loans available to the small farmer, but the type of guarantees required to secure such loans appear to be beyond the means of the most needy. The record of its activities in 1968 would appear to suggest that a few big concerns benefit most from the low interest loans provided by the Caixa.

46. Details of the operations of the Caixa in 1969 are not yet available. However, the Caixa was expected to grant a loan of 500,000 escudos to banana growers to enable them to expand production.

(c) Fisheries

47. As reported previously plans to expand the Territory's tuna fishing industry were first included in the Transitional Development Plan, 1965-1967, and in April 1966, the Portuguese Government granted Fried Krupp, Essen, of the Federal Republic of Germany the rights to establish a local fishing canning concern. This company, Companhia de Pesca e Congelação de Cabo Verde (CONGEL) is now the largest fishing and canning concern in the Territory, and although mainly financed by foreign capital, the Cape Verde Government owns 30,000 shares in it, valued at 30 million escudos.

48. CONGEL is expected to obtain ten new fishing boats at an investment of 250 million escudos. With the guarantee of the Portuguese Government, CONGEL has received a loan from the Commerz Bank, A.G. of the Federal Republic of Germany for the purchase of several of the new boats. Three boats were delivered in October 1969 and were admitted duty free by a special order of the Portuguese Government (Decree-Law 49,284, 4 October 1969).

49. There is no new information on the activities of the lobster fishing concern in Cape Verde, the Sociedade dos Armadores de Pesca de Lagosta, SARL (SAPLA) (see A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex V, para. 31).

(d) Tourism

50. As already noted above, the Government is now encouraging tourism as a stimulus to the economic development of the Territory. In 1969, the Portuguese Government approved three tourism projects, m/ one to be financed by German capital, one by Belgian capital and the third by Portuguese capital. These tourist centres are to be located on Boa Vista, Sal and Maio.

51. The tourist centre on Boa Vista, which is to be financed by German capital, is being undertaken by Atlântico-Interplano-Empreendimentos e Investimentos Ultramarinos, SARL. The plans envisage a \$US100 million tourist complex on the island, which has a population of only some 3,300 inhabitants. When completed the centre will comprise eight hotels, restaurants, bungalows and an airport capable of receiving Boeing 747 passenger planes. The first phase

---

m/ Under the land concession legislation of 1961, only the Overseas Minister may approve exclusive concessions of land in the overseas Territories (see A/6000/Rev.1, chapter V, annex II, paras. 47-57).

of the project will cost around \$US4 million, and it is expected that the island will be able to receive tourists within two years. According to the terms of the contract, the company is required to build within the next two years at least three hotels with a total capacity of 600 beds and to develop the surrounding area as necessary. The company will have exclusive rights to exploit the area of concession for a period of twenty-five years for tourism and related activities, and will benefit from customs exemption for equipment, products and materials to be used at the tourist complex. Portuguese products are to be given priority, and the company agrees to use Portuguese manual labour to the maximum possible extent.

52. The second concession has been granted to the Sociedade para o Desenvolvimento e Turismo da Ilha do Sal (DETOSAL), financed by Belgian capital, for the building of an international residential and medical centre for tourists on the island of Sal. <sup>n/</sup> This island, with a population of 2,626 inhabitants, is the site of the Territory's major international airport, at Esparjas.

53. The third group is reported to be the Sociedade de Turismo da Ilha do Maio, SARL (TURMAIO), financed by Portuguese capital. No details are available on this project.

(e) Transport and communications

54. As reported previously (A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex V, para. 26), under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, approximately 335 million escudos, or about one third of the total investment, are for transport and communications. Most of the investments are to be for roads and ports.

55. Work on the Vale dos Cavaleiros Harbour, on Fogo Island, was completed by the end of 1969. This project was financed under the Third National Development Plan, and its total cost was reported to be 32 million escudos. The new port and harbour complex provides Fogo with landing facilities for passengers and cargo. The Vale dos Cavaleiros Port is now the third largest in the Territory; the other two are Porto Grande on São Vicente, the principal port in the Territory, and Porto Novo on Santo Antão.

56. Other projects now under construction include a liquid fuel bunkering system to the piers at Porto Grande, at an estimated cost of 20 million escudos, and a network of roads at an estimated over-all cost of 145 million escudos. As already noted above, this road plan, which was first drawn up in 1962, is gradually being completed. New roads completed include some links to communities in the interior of the larger islands where, as the 1961-1963 agricultural census showed, many farms are several kilometres from the nearest road.

57. Although complete statistics are not yet available for 1968, the movement of ships stopping at Cape Verde again showed some increase. In the first three quarters of the year 1,019 ships stopped at the Territory, compared with 1,525 ships during 1967 (see A/7623/Add.1,

---

<sup>n/</sup> The text of the contract is not yet available.

(f) Public finance

58. The latest available information on the Territory's actual revenue and expenditure in 1967 and 1968, together with the budget estimates for 1968, 1969 and 1970 is summarized below (see table 6 below). It will be noted that while the budget estimates for 1970 show a 20 per cent increase in revenue over 1968, the extraordinary revenue shows a drop, from 81.9 million to 2.6 million escudos. However, as the extraordinary budget usually covers development, the budget figures may be only provisional pending further allocations during the year. As regards estimated expenditure, the largest single increase is for the navy, the 1970 estimates for which represent an increase of more than 60 per cent.

Table 6

Cape Verde: public finance  
(million escudos)

A. Revenue: 1967-1970

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Ordinary revenue	126.7	147.1	118.9	128.4	144.0
Direct taxes	22.0	25.0	19.9	21.9	24.3
Indirect taxes	46.2	48.5	38.5	45.8	43.2
Industries under special régime	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.9	2.2
Revenue from services	20.8	21.1	14.6	14.7	18.5
Income from state and private enterprises	4.5	4.1	5.2	4.7	5.0
Earnings on capital, bonds from banks and companies	-	-	1.2	1.2	1.2
Reimbursements	2.5	3.9	3.7	3.7	3.7
Consigned receipts	28.7	42.2	34.0	34.5	40.4
Extraordinary revenue	91.4	111.5	81.9 <sup>a/</sup>	2.9	2.6

a/ Includes 77,800 million escudos for the financing of the Third National Development Plan in 1968 (Cape Verde, Boletim Oficial, Portaria 8121 of 12 February 1968).

Table 6 (continued)

Cape Verde: public finance  
(million escudos)

B. Expenditure: 1967-1970

	Actual		Estimates		
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Ordinary expenditure	107.3	121.4	118.9	128.4	144.0
Public debt servicing	3.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8
Government	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.3
Pensions	4.9	5.2	5.3	6.4	6.4
General administration	29.1	32.3	34.9	41.1	45.9
Treasury	10.3	10.5	10.7	11.9	12.2
Justice	2.4	2.7	3.0	3.2	3.6
Development services	18.6	22.8	19.7	19.8	23.9
National defence	3.3	1.6	4.5	5.3	5.1
Navy	8.7	11.6	7.4	7.6	12.5
General expenditure	25.1	29.7	29.5	28.9	30.1
Other	0.3	1.3	0.2	0.4	0.2
Extraordinary expenditure	85.7	111.5	81.9 <sup>a/</sup>	2.9	2.6

Sources: Actual, 1967-1968: Cape Verde, Contas de Gerência e do Exercício de 1968.

Estimates, 1968-1970: Banco de Portugal, Boletim Trimestral, (No. 73), 1968; budgets for respective years.

a/ Includes 77,800 million escudos for the financing of the Third National Development Plan in 1968 (Cape Verde, Boletim Oficial, Portaria 8121 of 12 February 1968).

Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973

59. As seen from table 7 below, during 1968 actual expenditure under the Third National Development Plan amounted to 77.8 million escudos and represented about 60 per cent of the amount that had been originally programmed. The largest single allocation of 39.3 million escudos was for transport and communications. Expenditures on agriculture, forestry and livestock amounted to 9.8 million escudos. The programmed expenditure for 1969 has been set at 128.3 million escudos, of which over 50 per cent is for transport and communications. However, by the end of the year, only 107.4 million escudos had been authorized (see table 8 below). Of this total, 106.0 million escudos is to be financed by the Portuguese Government through a loan and 1.4 million escudos is to be provided by the Territory.

Table 7

Cape Verde: programmed and actual expenditure in 1968  
under the Third National Development Plan  
 (million escudos)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Programmed expenditure</u>	<u>Actual expenditure</u>	
		<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percentage of programmed expenditure</u>
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	28.8	9.8	34.0
Fisheries	26.8	2.4	8.9
Extractive and transforming industries	1.0	1.0	100.0
Rural development	4.8	4.8	100.0
Power	2.4	2.4	100.0
Transport, communications and meteorology	46.3	39.3	84.9
Tourism	2.0	1.5	75.0
Education and research	5.5	4.5	82.0
Housing and urbanization	7.1	7.1	100.0
Health	6.0	5.0	83.0
Total	130.7	77.8	59.5

Sources: Portugal, III Plano de Fomento, Programa de Execução para 1968-1969; Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício de 1968.

Table 8

Cape Verde: programmed and authorized expenditure  
for 1969 under the Third National Development Plan  
(million escudos)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Programmed expenditure for 1969</u>	<u>Authorized expenditure</u>	<u>Percentage of programmed expenditure</u>
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	11.2	11.2	100.0
Fisheries	11.8	2.9	24.6
Extractive and transforming industries	1.0	1.0	100.0
Rural development	4.2	4.2	100.0
Power	4.5	4.5	100.0
Transport and communications	69.8	57.8	82.7
Tourism	0.7	0.7	100.0
Education and research	7.3	7.3	100.0
Housing and urbanization	11.8	11.8	100.0
Health	6.0	6.0	100.0
Total	128.3	107.4	83.7

Sources: Portugal, III Plano de Fomento, Programa de Execução para 1969:  
Cape Verde, Boletim Oficial (No. 9), Portaria 8461 of 1 March 1969.

## EDUCATION

60. The school system in Cape Verde is patterned on that in Portugal and adapted to local conditions (see annex I.B above, para. 143). In order to systematize the changes in the regulations in recent years, the regulations governing primary education in the overseas Territories (Decree 45,908 of 10 September 1964) were extended to Cape Verde in 1968 (Diploma Legislativo 1,663, 19 July). These regulations, it will be recalled, provide for the creation of school posts in the rural areas providing three years of primary education and a preparatory class. Only the full primary schools which, as a rule are to be established in urban population centres, are to provide all four years of primary education and act as a centre for the network of the school posts in the surrounding rural areas.

61. According to official statements, the main problem in education in the islands is to meet the needs of the growing population. In 1969, 142 school posts were established throughout the Territory (see table 9 below), and three primary schools were set up on São Vicente Island. Courses for school monitors were also offered, as well as summer courses (cursos de férias) for primary school teachers (see annex I.B above, para. 150). The number of primary school teachers was increased to 413.

62. There are no recent statistics on school enrolment in the Territory. The last statistics for 1967 showed an enrolment of 20,342 in the primary schools and 1,612 students enrolled in secondary schools. In addition, there were 493 students enrolled in technical and professional schools and 76 students taking religious courses. In January 1969, there were reported to be 47,000 children of school age in the Territory, representing about 19 per cent of the population.

63. Estimated budgetary allocations for 1969 and 1970 are respectively 17.2 million escudos and 20.3 million escudos. In 1968, total expenditure on education was 12.1 million escudos, plus nearly 1 million escudos for Catholic mission schools.

Table 9

Cape Verde: school statistics, 1968-1969

<u>Islands and concelhos</u>	<u>Population at 1960 census (thousands)</u>	<u>Number of schools</u>				<u>Number of teachers</u>	
		<u>Primary schools</u>		<u>School posts</u>		<u>Primary schools</u>	<u>Public schools</u>
		<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1968</u>
<u>Santiago</u>							
Praia	45.1	1	1	20	52	14	34
Santa Catarina	24.7	1	1	5	19	1	7
Tarrafal	<u>19.1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>20</u>	-	<u>8</u>
	88.9	3	3	33	91	15	49
<u>Santo Antão</u>							
Ribeira Grande	17.6	2	2	12	29	3	15
Paúl	17.1	1	1	5	8	1	5
Porto Novo	-	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>
	34.7	4	4	24	57	5	26
Fogo	25.5	1	1	13	24	3	18
São Nicolau	13.9	1	1	10	27	3	11
Brava	8.5	1	1	3	5	2	7
Boa Vista	3.3	1	1	4	8	-	6
Sal	2.6	2	2	3	6	2	4
Maio	2.7	1	1	2	6	-	2
São Vicente	21.4	1	4	6	16	28	17
Territorial total	201.5	15	18	98	240	58	140

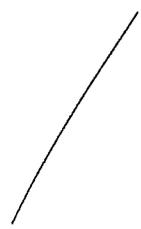
Sources: For 1968: Cape Verde, Boletim Oficial, Aviso, 16 October 1968; Portaria 8306 of 7 October 1969.

For 1969: Ibid., Diplomas Legislativos 1694 and 1695 of 4 October 1969 and 1697 of 25 October 1969.

F. SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE\*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
General . . . . .	1 - 3	276
Constitutional and political . . . . .	4 - 11	276
Economic conditions . . . . .	12 - 33	278
Education . . . . .	34 - 37	285



---

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.625/Add.5 .

## F. SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE

### 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 1950 census, the total population of the islands was 60,159, of which that of São Tomé was 55,827 and that of Príncipe 4,332. At the 1960 census, the islands had a total population of 64,406, of which about 60 per cent were considered to be "autoctone"; the remainder were from Portugal and other "national" territories, mainly Angola, Cape Verde, and Mozambique, including 2,655 Europeans.
3. The latest available information gives the total population of the islands at mid-year in 1967 as 63,000 compared with 62,000 at mid-year in 1966.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

4. Under the Portuguese Constitution and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, the islands are considered to be an overseas province of Portugal. The Political and Administrative Statute of the Territory is contained in Decree 45,373 of 22 November 1963. a/

#### (a) Territorial Government

5. The governmental and administrative framework of the Territory is similar to that of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. Portuguese authority is represented by the Governor, who is currently Lieutenant Colonel Silva Sabastião.
6. The Territory has a Legislative Council and a Government Council. The Legislative Council, which is presided over by the Governor, consists of thirteen members, of whom three are ex officio, three are elected by direct vote and seven are elected by various interest groups representing individual taxpayers paying direct taxes of 1,000 escudos, and over; administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest; employers; workers' interests; and religious, social and cultural interests.

---

a/ For a summary description of the constitutional and administrative arrangements, see annex I.A above.

As in Cape Verde, since the population is considered to be fully integrated, there is no special representation of the indigenous inhabitants. b/ The last elections to the Legislative Council were held in December 1967. c/

7. The Government Council is presided over by the Governor, who must consult it in the exercise of his legislative powers. The Council is composed of the Secretary-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, if there is one, or a representative of the armed forces, the representative of the Attorney General in the Territory, and the Treasurer, all of whom are ex officio members. In addition, three members are elected by the Legislative Council from among its members, one of whom must always be a representative of the freguesias.

8. The Territory is divided into two concelhos (São Tomé and Príncipe), which are subdivided into freguesias. The Territory forms one electoral district for elections to the National Assembly.

(b) Elections to the National Assembly

9. São Tomé and Príncipe is represented by one deputy in the National Assembly. As the Territory has no daily newspaper there is little information on the pre-election campaigning. The results of the voting which were published in the Diário de Notícias, Lisbon, showed that out of the total population of over 60,000, only 5,085 persons were registered to vote and 4,267 persons actually voted compared with 4,434 in 1957. The 1969 voting by island is shown below.

	<u>Registered voters</u>	<u>Votes cast</u>
São Tomé	4,556	3,789
Príncipe	<u>529</u>	<u>478</u>
	5,085	4,267

(c) Recent developments

10. In July 1970 the President of Portugal, Admiral Américo Thomaz, made an official visit to the Territory at the invitation of the São Tomé Municipal Council in connexion with the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Portuguese navigators on the islands. He was accompanied by the Minister for Overseas Territories. In the course of his speech at the opening of the celebrations, President Thomaz praised the Territory for its continued loyalty to Portugal and Portuguese civilization. He took the opportunity also to praise the armed forces for defending the integrity of the Nation both at the front and at home "where the Nation could also be betrayed". He said that although the equator separated the two hemispheres, it could not separate Portugal because it existed and would always exist in both hemispheres by the firm determination of legions of Portuguese who in the past had sacrificed their lives for the

---

b/ For a comparison of the membership of the Legislative Councils in different Territories, see annex I.A above, table 1.

c/ For the results, see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex VI, para. 3.

d/ For a description of the system of local government, see annex I.A above, paras. 41-46 and 78-82.

integrity of the Fatherland. Portugal could continue to face with confidence all attacks by its enemies, who were also enemies of Western civilization which all the West should defend and not only Portugal.

11. As part of the celebrations, the President awarded decorations to various local business and civic leaders and the Minister for Overseas Territories granted an amnesty to certain civil and military offenders. Among those who received the Order of Merit for Agriculture and Industry were the administrator of the Companhia Agrícola das Neves, the administrator general of Sociedade Agrícola Terras de Monte Café, S.A.R.L., one large plantation owner and a small farmer.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

12. During 1969, the air lift relief operations to Biafra, created a new boom. At the height of the operations, as many as 40 flights a day were landing and taking off at São Tomé's extended air strip. The influx of relief and other personnel and goods and machinery all helped to stimulate the local economy. Off-shore port facilities were improved and a new wing to the hospital was started.

13. Following the restoration of peace in Nigeria, in February 1970, Governor Silva Sebastião returned to Lisbon for consultations with the Portuguese Government concerning the future economic development of the Territory. The main problem is how to take advantage of the new wealth of the Territory and to maintain the momentum of economic growth. According to the Governor, the various projects in the development plan for the Territory will be reviewed in the light of the new situation.

#### (a) External trade

14. In 1968 and 1969 the Territory's exports again rose to almost 250 million escudos, a peak last reached in 1953 and 1954. Although imports have also risen since that time, the Territory still has a sizeable trade surplus. According to a statement made by the Governor in July 1970, with imports at 182,527 million escudos and exports at 248,939 million escudos, the trade surplus in 1969 amounted to 67,412 million escudos. Published data from other sources are shown below in table 1.

Table 1

São Tomé and Príncipe: balance of trade

	<u>1967</u>		<u>1968</u>		<u>1969</u>	
	(tons)	(million escudos)	(tons)	(million escudos)	(tons)	(million escudos)
Import	26,519	156,360	29,635	182,527	36,729	224,356
Exports	23,165	<u>226,728</u>	20,572	<u>248,939</u>	18,312	<u>248,279</u>
Balance		70,368		66,412		23,923

Sources: 1967 and 1968: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (Nos. 77/78), Lisbon, 1969.

1969: O Século, Lisbon, 16 May 1970.

15. The comparative data for the last three years show that, notwithstanding what the Governor has referred to as an excellent crop situation in 1969, the quantity of exports were in fact 25 per cent lower than in 1967 (table 1).

16. In spite of the introduction of some new crops such as quina, bananas and cola, cocoa, copra and coconuts remain the Territory's principal exports and accounting for approximately 94 per cent of the total value in both 1967 and 1968.

Table 2

São Tomé and Príncipe: principal exports by value, 1966-1968  
(million escudos)

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Cocoa	125.1	175.4	196.6
Copra	26.5	26.9	27.4
Coconuts	13.1	11.2	12.3
Coffee	4.2	4.7	4.9

Source: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (Nos. 77/78), Lisbon, 1969.

17. Although the Territory's trade is mostly within the escudo zone, since 1967, more of its exports have gone to foreign countries. In 1968, Portugal supplied about 40 per cent of the Territory's imports by value and took about 30 per cent of its exports, compared with 48 per cent and 55 per cent respectively in 1965. Since 1966 there has been a substantial increase in the value of exports

to the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark and South Africa. In 1968 these four countries accounted for 60 per cent of the Territory's total exports.

Table 3

São Tomé and Príncipe: growth of export trade  
with selected countries, 1966-1968  
(million escudos)

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Denmark	1.3	6.1	11.1
Federal Republic of Germany	7.1	10.8	20.2
Netherlands	58.3	135.7	105.0
Republic of South Africa	0.9	1.1	12.7

Source: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (Nos. 77/78), Lisbon, 1969.

(b) Agriculture

18. Agricultural activity in São Tomé and Príncipe is concentrated in some 150 large companies which own 90 per cent of the cultivated land. Most of the export crops are grown on large plantations with paid labour, much of it coming from adjacent countries. Part of the local population is engaged in small-scale farming. In 1963, it was estimated that only about 2,000 of the local population were employed on the plantations and some 20,000 were engaged in farming on their own account.

19. Agricultural output appears to have reached a peak in 1965, as since then production has either remained at more or less the same level or declined (table 4).

Table 4

São Tomé and Príncipe: output of principal crops  
(metric tons)

<u>Crops</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Cocoa	10,577	9,529	10,406	10,232
Copra	6,314	5,510	5,415	4,736
Bananas	2,880	2,238	2,873	2,707
Coconut	1,989	1,822	1,635	1,384
Palm oil	1,733	1,364	1,169	997
Coffee	213	157	174	133
Quina	12	39	17	-

Source: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (No. 73), Lisbon, 1968; ibid, (Nos. 77/78), 1969.

20. As reported previously e/ under the Transitional Development Plan for 1965-1967, the Government introduced a new scheme to help small farmers acquire land from large property holders. In 1969, the Land Concession Legislation of 1961 (Decree 43,894) was made applicable to the Territory for the first time. f/ As in Cape Verde, the application of the provisions in the land concession regulations is expected to strengthen the position of land owners and improve land use.

(c) Transforming industries

21. Industrial activity in São Tomé and Príncipe is mainly limited to the processing of agricultural products. Apart from the extraction of palm oil and the processing of cocoa there are a few small factories, including manufactures of soft drinks, soap tiles and sawmills.

22. In February 1970 the Portuguese official news agency (ANI) announced that several new industries had been authorized. These include a butane gas factory and a wine bottling concern, both of which would be concerned with supplying the local market; a cocoa processing plant to produce cocoa butter, cocoa powder and other products and parquet wood tile products. Both the cocoa products and the wood tiles would be destined for exports.

(d) Mining

23. In May 1970 the Portuguese Government authorized the Minister for Overseas Territories, on behalf of the State and the Territory, to sign a contract awarding an exclusive concession to the United Kingdom firm of Ball and Collins (Oil and Gas), Ltd., for prospecting, development and production of petroleum and related substances. The contract was signed in July 1970. The company is reported to have won the contract in spite of strong international competition.

24. According to press reports, the prospecting company which is to be established is required to have a minimum registered capital of 30 million escudos. The initial term of the contract is for eighteen months, during which time the company must spend at least 7,500,000 escudos in prospecting. The contract may be renewed for a further period of three and a half years, during which period it must spend 30 million escudos. The company is granted mining rights for thirty years from the date of the signing of the contract. The surface rent per square kilometre is 320 escudos during the first five years; 580 escudos during the next three years, and 800 escudos for the subsequent two years. Once production begins, the surface rent per square kilometre is to start at 2,500 escudos, and rising by 500 escudos for each period of five years.

---

e/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II (A/6700/Rev.1), chapter V, para. 428.

f/ For a summary of Decree 43,894 regulating the occupation and concession of land, ibid., Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1), chapter V, annex II, paras. 10-57.

25. On signing the contract, the company is to pay the Territory a bonus of 500,000 escudos. It is also required to pay a production bonus whenever, during a ninety-day period, the output reaches certain amount, as follows: 50,000 barrels, 10 million escudos; 100,000 barrels, 20 million escudos; and for each additional 100,000 barrels, 10 million escudos.

26. The company and any other enterprises associated with it must employ Portuguese nationals wherever possible, using other nationals only when there are no qualified Portuguese nationals available. However, the company must gradually train Portuguese nationals to replace any foreign staff employed.

27. The concession is reported to include on-shore and off-shore rights to a depth of 300 metres, and to be geologically akin to the oil-rich Niger basin to the north of the islands.

28. In 1967 the Portuguese Government authorized a contract for petroleum prospecting in São Tomé and Príncipe but the concessionaire was not named and there has been no information about that concession since (A/7200/Add.3, annex VI, para. 11, and A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex VI, para. 15).

(e) Transport and communications

29. The Territory's greatest need is for better transport and communications facilities. As reported previously (A/7200/Add.3, annex VI, para. 17), under the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, out of the total of 637.6 million escudos, almost 180 million escudos was allocated for this purpose, including a new port to be built at Morro do Carregado, 15 kilometres from the town of São Tomé. At present the Territory has two principal harbours, Ana Chaves on São Tomé and Santo António on Príncipe. In the past few years the facilities at Ana Chaves have been improved to accommodate larger ships.

30. The first phase of construction of the new port is estimated to cost some 70 million escudos and will include a loading pier of two hundred and twenty metres. The Governor is reported to hope that with the construction of the new port, São Tomé will be able to capitalize on its newly acquired international reputation and continue as a peace-time tourist and shipping centre.

31. The Territory's airport on São Tomé, which was completed in 1964, is a strategic stopover between Portugal and Angola and Mozambique. There is a weekly service from Luanda and a newly inaugurated weekly service to Cabinda. The São Tomé airport is jointly maintained and operated by funds from the Territory and from Angola and Mozambique. The maintenance cost of the airport in 1970 is estimated at 4.7 million escudos, of which Angola and Mozambique are each to pay 1.85 million escudos and São Tomé and Príncipe one million escudos.

32. The telephone and telegraph services of the Territory are on a part-time schedule. The telegraph link with Lisbon is reported to operate for an hour in the morning and an hour in the afternoon. At the end of 1969, a new radio station was inaugurated as part of the 500th anniversary celebrations. In April 1970 the radio service was reported to be operating intermittently.

(f) Public finance

33. The Territory's ordinary estimated expenditure for 1969 was 89,175 million escudos which represents an increase of more than 10 per cent over the estimates for 1968. The actual revenue and expenditure for 1967 and 1968 together with estimates for 1969 are shown below. The increased revenue from services in 1968 probably reflects the income from the relief operations which used the Territory as a supply base.

Table 5

São Tomé and Príncipe: public finance  
(million escudos)

A. Revenue: 1967-1969

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimated</u>
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
<u>Total revenue</u>	115,088	139,123	89,525
<u>Ordinary revenue</u>	83,450	107,665	89,175
Direct taxes	19,747	21,109	20,072
Indirect taxes	28,906	31,603	28,598
Industries under special régime	7,848	9,840	8,981
Revenue from services	9,987	24,518	9,445
Income from State and private industries	4,680	5,173	4,647
Earnings on capital	813	1,590	1,560
Refunds	5,716	6,286	6,017
Consigned receipts	5,753	7,546	9,855
<u>Extraordinary revenue</u>	31,638 <sup>a/</sup>	31,458 <sup>b/</sup>	350

a/ Adjusted.

b/ Not including the complementary period of January to March 1969.

Table 5 (continued)

São Tomé and Príncipe: Public finance  
(million escudos)

B. Expenditure: 1967-1969

	Actual		Estimated
	<u>1967<sup>b/</sup></u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
<u>Total expenditure</u>	125,310	90,378	89,524
<u>Ordinary expenditure</u>	78,186	58,931	89,174
Public debt	12,466	842 <sup>c/</sup>	10,408
Territorial government	1,249	1,249	1,488
Retirement and pensions	2,355	2,229	3,100
General administration	23,233	23,665	30,923
Treasury	5,741	5,937	6,564
Justice department	1,606	1,736	2,089
Development services	11,142	11,147	14,718
Military services	5,244	3,556	5,228
Naval services	1,006	1,048	1,181
General expenditure	14,051	7,457	13,383
Other	93	65	92
<u>Extraordinary expenditure</u>	47,124	31,447	350

Source: Portugal, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (Nos. 77/78), Lisbon, 1969.

<sup>b/</sup> Not including the complementary period of January to March 1969.

<sup>c/</sup> In 1967 the Portuguese Government suspended the payment of interest on loans granted to the Territory to finance development plans and extended repayment from twenty to thirty years. The suspension appears to have been made effective in 1968 instead.

## EDUCATION

34. The school system in São Tomé and Príncipe is patterned on that in Portugal and adapted to local conditions (see annex I.B above, paras. 141 and 142). There is no pre-primary preparatory class as the population as a whole understands and speaks Portuguese.

35. In March 1970, it was officially reported that all the children between 7 and 12 were enrolled in school, and that São Tomé had the highest school enrolment among the Portuguese-administered Territories in Africa.

36. The latest available school statistics for 1966/1967 show that in the period since 1964/1965 government schools assumed greater responsibility for primary education; the number of schools rising from 14 to 21, number of teachers from 103 to 186 and the enrolment from 4,370 to 5,605 (table 6).

37. In 1966/1967, there were 650 pupils enrolled in secondary schools, with 571 at the government academic secondary school and 87 pupils enrolled in the private vocational school. In 1969, the Government established a new technical secondary school in São Tomé. In July 1970, during the President's visit to the Territory, the Minister for the Overseas Territories, using his legislative powers, (Diploma Legislativo 3,1970) authorized the introduction in São Tomé of a television course at the secondary preparatory level. This experimental course is to be used as a pilot project for the extension of television school courses to the other overseas Territories.

Table 6

São Tomé and Príncipe: Primary education

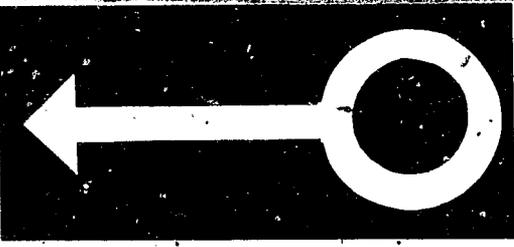
	<u>1964/1965</u>	<u>1965/1966</u>	<u>1966/1967</u>
Total enrolment	<u>5,738</u>	<u>6,703</u>	<u>6,634</u>
Official	4,370	5,247	5,605
Private	1,368	1,456	1,029
Schools	<u>30</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>33</u>
Official	14	18	21
Private	16	19	12
Teachers	<u>133</u>	<u>176</u>	<u>219</u>
Official	103	142	186
Private	30	34	33

Source: Portugal, Agência Geral do Ultramar, Boletim Geral do Ultramar (No. 491), May 1966; ibid. (No. 508), October 1967; ibid. September-October 1969.

### G. MACAU AND DEPENDENCIES

#### CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
General . . . . .	1 - 2	288
Constitutional and political . . . . .	3 - 14	288
Economic conditions . . . . .	15 - 22	290



G. MACAU AND DEPENDENCIES

GENERAL

1. Macau is located on the south coast of China, on the west of the Canton River. It is almost directly opposite Hong Kong, which is 64 kilometres away. The total area of the Territory is about 15.5 square kilometres, comprising a peninsular area and two small islands, Taipa and Coloane.
2. Most of the population of Macau and dependencies is Chinese but the exact number is not known. At the 1960 census, the resident population was 169,299, of whom about 8,000 were Portuguese. According to official estimates, the population at mid-year was 280,200 in 1965, 227,500 in 1966, and 268,300 in 1967. An unofficial source estimated the 1969 population at 280,000.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

3. Under the Portuguese Constitution and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, Macau is considered to be an overseas province of Portugal. Its Political and Administrative Statute is contained in Decree 45,377 of 22 November 1963. a/

(a) Territorial Government

4. The governmental and administrative framework is similar to that of the other Territories in which Portuguese authority is represented by a governor. The present Governor of Macau is Brigadier José Manuel Nobre de Carvalho, who was appointed in October 1966.
5. The two representative bodies in the Territory are the Legislative Council and the Government Council. The Legislative Council, which is presided over by the Governor, comprises twelve members, three of whom are ex officio (the Secretary-General, the representative of the Attorney General and the Treasurer); one is nominated by the Governor to represent the Chinese community and eight are elected. Of these members, three are elected by direct suffrage; one by individual taxpayers paying direct taxes of 2,000 escudos and over; one by private economic interests; and three are elected by administrative bodies and legally recognized collective bodies performing administrative functions of public interest, and moral and cultural interests.
6. The last elections for the Legislative Council of Macau were held in December 1967. b/

---

a/ For a summary description of the constitutional and administrative arrangements, see annex I.A above.

b/ The results of the elections appear in A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex VI, para. 26.

7. As reported previously, c/ Macau is the only Territory in which the Governor nominates a member to the Legislative Council to represent the local population. This is probably in recognition of the fact that 99 per cent of the population is Chinese, the majority of whom are excluded from standing for elections to the Council, since candidates must be a cidadão português originário (original Portuguese citizen). It may also be noted that, unlike the other Territories, "religious and social" interests are not specially represented. There are also no corporative bodies of either workers or employers' associations, nor are workers' interests represented in any way.

8. The Government Council is presided over by the Governor who must consult it in the exercise of his legislative powers. It is composed of the Secretary-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, if there is one, or a representative of the armed forces, the representative of the Attorney General in the Territory, the Treasurer, and the president of the municipal council of Macau, known as the Leal Senado, all of whom are ex officio members. In addition, three members are elected by the Legislative Council from among its members.

9. The Territory is divided into two concelhos, one comprising Macau and the mainland, and the other comprising Taipa and Coloane. Each concelho is subdivided into freguesias (parishes). For the purpose of direct elections to the National Assembly and for the elections to the Legislative Council, the Territory is considered as one electoral district.

10. In addition to the Municipal Council of Macau, there is also a Municipal Council of the Island Dependencies. The members of these councils are elected according to law with due representation of Chinese interests. The Governor may also nominate two members of the Chinese community to each council.

Table 1

Macau: administrative divisions

<u>Concelhos and freguesias</u>	<u>Land area</u> (square kilometres)	<u>Population at</u> <u>1960 census</u>
Macau		
Sé	...	34,701
São Lourenço	...	37,186
Santo António	5,422	60,367
São Lázaro	...	21,376
		<u>153,630</u>
Islands		
Taipa	3,478	5,280
Coloane	6,615	2,767
		<u>8,047</u>
Total	<u>15,515</u>	<u>169,299</u> a/

Source: Macau, Anuário Estatístico, 1968.

a/ Includes 7,622 persons living in the "maritime zone".

c/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session. Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, part II (A/6700/Rev.1), annex IV, para. 456.

(b) Elections to the National Assembly

11. Macau is represented by one deputy in the National Assembly. At the 1969 elections, the only candidate, presented by the local branch of the National Union, Dr. Delfino Ribeiro, Inspector of the Polícia Judiciária (Judicial Police) was duly elected. There is no information available on pre-election campaigning in the Territory.

12. According to information published in the Portuguese press, 2,069 persons registered as voters in Macau but 284 were eliminated. Of the remaining 1,784 registered voters only 1,251 actually voted. Twenty-five votes were found to be invalid and the remaining 1,226 votes were cast for the sole candidate. The number of voters who actually voted represented 0.4 per cent of the estimated total population of 280,000 in 1969.

(c) General developments

13. Since the "crisis" in 1966, the general situation in Macau is reported to have greatly improved. In October 1969, the Governor told the Legislative Council that "confidence in the Territory" had been restored, and that having overcome the effects of the crisis, the Territory was once more on the road to progress. In April 1970, on his arrival in Lisbon for a routine visit, the Governor said that after two years of "geopolitical and other special conflicts" Macau was looking forward to the future with confidence. He noted that, in Macau, Portugal and China provided an excellent example of coexistence and mutual respect, united by the same goals and guided by an intelligent understanding of their common interests.

14. In January 1970, the Governor appointed two Chinese members to the Municipal Council of Macau. This was interpreted in the Hong Kong press as a further indication of improved Sino-Portuguese relations.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(a) General

15. Since the beginning of 1970, various press reports have emphasized the Territory's continuing economic progress. In 1969, 200 new industries were established in the Territory and both exports and the number of tourists visiting the Territory reached a new high. Work on the new causeway to link the islands of Taipa and Coloane, which was started in June 1970, is expected to be completed by 1975. This new link is expected to give further impetus to the economic development of the Territory by substantially increasing the land area available for new housing and tourist facilities. The Government has also announced plans to build a new port which will be able to receive transatlantic liners.

16. In June 1970, Portugal was reported to have offered foreign banks an opportunity to establish branches in Macau. This new move is viewed as part of an effort to attract new investments and to encourage industrial expansion.

(b) External trade

17. In 1969, the Territory's exports rose to an all time high of 215.4 million patacas, d/ and imports to 343.5 million patacas. Compared with the previous year, this represented a 32.3 per cent increase in exports and an 18.4 per cent increase in imports.

18. The Territory's most important exports are textiles, which made up about 58.1 per cent of the total value of exports in 1969, followed by fish and fish products. After Hong Kong, which is the Territory's most important trading partner, the Federal Republic of Germany was the second most important client, and accounted for about one quarter of the total visible exports by value.

(c) Tourist industry

19. During 1969, 1,192,617 persons arrived in the Territory. These included about one million persons from Hong Kong about 75,000 from Japan, between 20,000 and 25,000 from the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and about 89,000 from other countries.

20. A number of new hotels and tourist facilities have been added in recent years. In 1969, there were 73 establishments providing over 2,000 rooms for tourists, and comprising 18 hotels, 27 pousadas and 18 inns.

21. The new Hotel Lisboa complex which is reported to be the best of its kind in the espaço português is to have 300 rooms, a four-lane bowling alley, restaurants, a casino and a shopping arcade. In February 1970, the first wing was opened with 104 rooms. It is reported that the owners expect to be able to amortize the entire investment of 45 million patacas two years after completion of the complex ✓

(d) Other

22. There is no new information on revenue and expenditure, implementation of the development plan and education. The latest information available was summarized in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. e/

---

d/ One escudo equals \$USO.035; one pataca equals 5 escudos or \$USO.175.

e/ A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex VII.

## H. TIMOR AND DEPENDENCIES

### CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
General . . . . .	1 - 2	294
Constitutional and political . . . . .	3 - 9	294
Economic conditions . . . . .	10 - 17	295

## H. TIMOR AND DEPENDENCIES

### GENERAL

1. The island of Timor is located at the tip of the chain of islands forming the Republic of Indonesia. It lies between 8°17' S and 10°22' S latitude and between 123°25' EG and 127°19' EG longitude. The western part of the island is part of the Republic of Indonesia. The total area under Portuguese administration is 18,899 square kilometres which include the eastern part of the island with 17,900 square kilometres, the enclave of Oé-Cussi Ambeno with 850 square kilometres, the island of Ataúro off the north coast with 144 square kilometres and the uninhabited island of Jacó off the extreme eastern tip with 5 square kilometres.

2. According to the 1950 census, the population of Timor was 442,378, including 568 persons of European origin, 2,022 mestiços and 3,128 Chinese. There were 436,448 indigenous inhabitants, almost 98 per cent of whom (434,907) were listed as não civilizado. According to the 1960 preliminary census figures, the population was 517,079. The latest available information gives the total population of Timor as 571,700 at mid-year 1967 compared with 560,700 at mid-year 1966.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

3. Under the Portuguese Constitution and the Overseas Organic Law of 1963, Timor is considered to be an overseas province of Portugal. The Political and Administrative Statute of the Territory is contained in Decree 45,378 of 22 November 1963. a/

4. In May 1970, the Under-Secretary for Administration of the Overseas Ministry, Commander Leão do Sacramento Monteiro, visited Timor for a working session with the Government of the Territory.

#### (a) Territorial Government

5. The governmental and administrative framework of the Territory is similar to that of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. Portuguese authority is represented by the Governor, currently Brigadier Valente Pires, who was appointed in December 1967.

6. The Territory has a Legislative Council and a Government Council. As in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, the Legislative Council, which is presided over by the Governor, consists of fourteen members, of whom three are ex officio,

---

a/ For a summary description of the constitutional and administrative arrangements, see annex I.A above.

eight are elected by various interest groups and only three are elected by direct vote. There are no workers' or employers' interests represented in the Legislative Council. b/ The last elections to the Legislative Council were held in December 1967. c/

7. The Government Council is presided over by the Governor who must consult it in the exercise of his legislative powers. The Council is composed of the Secretary-General, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, if there is one, or a representative of the armed forces; the representative of the Attorney General in the Territory; the Treasurer; and three members elected by the Legislative Council, one of whom must always be a representative of the indigenous authorities (regedorias). d/

8. In 1967, the Territory was divided into eleven concelhos and one circunscrição, Oé-Cussi. The concelhos are: Ainaro, Baucau, Bobonaro, Cova Lima, Díli, Ermera, Lautém, Luiquiça, Manatuto, Suro and Viqueque. Election of members to local administrative bodies were to be held in 1969, but there is no information available.

(b) Elections to the National Assembly

9. For the purpose of elections to the National Assembly, the Territory constitutes one electoral district represented by one deputy. As in all other Territories, elections were held in October 1969. The only candidate was Mr. Themudo Barata, a Portuguese engineer, who was presented by União Nacional. Mr. Barata was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Timor from 1961 to 1963 and since 1964 has represented the Territory in the Overseas Council. According to the published election results, out of a total population of 571,700 only 4,716 persons were registered to vote and 3,781 persons actually voted. It appears from the press reports that Mr. Barata, who resides in Lisbon and who did not go to Timor for the pre-election campaign, received all the votes cast.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

10. The Territory's resources are considered to include many unexploited fertile areas, valuable forests and minerals with some chrome, copper, gold, manganese and petroleum. Nevertheless, Timor has so far held little attraction for investment, and its economy remains purely agricultural.

11. There is little information on recent developments in the Territory. According to an article published in 1970 by the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, S.A.R.L. (BNU), e/ despite government attempts to improve agriculture in the

---

b/ For details on the composition of the Legislative Council, see annex I.A above, table 1.

c/ See A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex VI, para. 34.

d/ For details on the system of local administration, see annex I.A above, paras. 41-46

e/ Boletim Trimestral (No. 81) Lisbon, 1970, pp. 47-50.

Territory, there has been very little progress. Government efforts have included the selection of seeds, the introduction of agricultural tools among the local population, and irrigation and land reclamation. There are no details as to the extent and way in which this assistance has been provided. The Bank, in its report, considered that the main obstacle to the effectiveness of these efforts is the low productivity of the local manpower. The Bank suggested that it would first be necessary to improve the diet of the population, which is limited to maize and rice, before new farming techniques could be effectively introduced. It also suggested that expansion and improvement of ranching activities could improve the diet of the local population. In 1967, Timor's livestock population was 700,594. In 1968, the Portuguese Government set up a Livestock Development Fund (Decree 48,767, 16 December) to develop ranching activities. There is no further information on this project.

12. Agricultural production for export has been limited in recent years to coffee, which accounts for about 80 per cent of the total, copra and rubber. Although the value of imports almost doubled during the period 1964-1968, exports remained at about the same level (except for 1967 when coffee exports reached a new high). However, recent information indicates that the number of productive plants is steadily declining because old coffee plants are not being replaced.

13. In 1969, the Portuguese Government set up a Timor Diversification and Development Fund with a view to bringing coffee production to a level "compatible" with exports and local consumption; f/ replacing coffee plants in certain areas by other crops; and introducing other economic activities of "national" interest. The Fund is to be used to assist private, government, or government supervised projects and is to be partially financed by a special tax levied on coffee exports to foreign destinations and by receipts from other taxes on coffee exports which the Government may allocate to the Fund (Decree 49,179, 7 August 1969). It is reported that the Government also plans to introduce pepper and vanilla as new crops, and to expand the cultivation of rice and tobacco.

14. In 1969, the Government reorganized the Caixa de Crédito Agro-Pecuária de Timor, a special loan fund created in 1964 to provide loans for agricultural and livestock schemes. The fund is now known as Caixa de Crédito de Timor and may also provide loans to industrial and real estate projects (Decree 49,346, 31 October 1969).

15. In 1970, the coffee growers were reported to be planning to establish a co-operative to provide processing facilities and handle exports.

16. The only known mining concession is that of the Companhia de Petróleos de Timor, S.A.R.L. This concession covers a major part of the area of the island

---

f/ Under the International Coffee Agreement to which Portugal is a party, coffee exports from Timor are also subject to the quota limitations. In 1968-69, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe and Timor had a joint total quota of 3,000 tons (50,000 sacks).

and part of the continental shelf. g/ So far, no exploitable deposits have been discovered. In 1969, drilling to reach the lower miocene strata was started as it is believed that reservoirs of oil at that level account for the oil seepages that have been found inland.

17. There is as yet no information on the economic situation in the Territory in 1969. The latest data available appeared in the Special Committee's Report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. h/

---

g/ For details, see A/7200/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex IV, para. 38.

h/ A/7623/Add.3, chapter VIII, annex VII, paras. 15-30.

ANNEX II\*

REPORT OF THE DELEGATION OF OBSERVERS FROM THE  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF PORTUGUESE COLONIES,  
HELD IN ROME, ITALY, FROM 27 to 29 JUNE 1970

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1 - 3	300
A. ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE. . . . .	4 - 5	300
B. ACTIVITIES OF THE DELEGATION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .	6 - 7	300
C. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE . . . . .	8 - 11	301
D. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . .	12 - 14	304
APPENDICES:		
I. STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION OF OBSERVERS FROM THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE . . . . .		305
II. REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONS ESTABLISHED BY THE CONFERENCE . . . . .		308
III. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS . . . . .		322
IV. CABLE DATED 15 JULY 1970 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDENCIA DA GUINE E CABO VERDE (PAIGC) ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE. . . . .		327

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.645 and Add.1.

## INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee received two communications a/ dated 1 and 2 June 1970 from Mr. Marcelino Dos Santos, President of the Conference des Organisations Nationalistes des Colonies Portugaises (CONCP), containing an invitation to the Special Committee to attend an international conference in support of the peoples of Portuguese colonies to be held in Rome, Italy, from 27 to 29 June 1970.
2. By adopting the fifty-first report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.636), the Special Committee, at its 745th meeting, on 18 June 1970, decided to accept the invitation and dispatch to the conference a delegation of observers composed of not more than five members to be nominated by the Chairman of the Special Committee.
3. Accordingly, on the nomination of the Chairman, the Special Committee appointed Bulgaria, Iran, the United Arab Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela and Yugoslavia as members of the delegation. The composition of the delegation was as follows: Mr. Assad K. Sadry (Iran), (Chairman), Mr. B. Grinberg (Bulgaria), Mr. I.A. Steiner (United Republic of Tanzania), Miss F. Baroni Gerodetti (Venezuela) and Mr. A. Psoncak (Yugoslavia).

### A. ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

4. The International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Portuguese Colonies was held in the Palazzo Dei Congressi, Rome, from 27 to 29 June 1970. Represented at the Conference were three liberation movements from the Portuguese colonies: Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), Frente de Libertação de Mocambique (FRELIMO), and Partido Africano de Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), and representatives of 177 national and international organizations coming from sixty-four different countries. A full list of the participants appears in appendix III of the present report.
5. The Conference held a general meeting and decided to establish a political commission, a commission for juridical matters and a commission on material support. Specific questions were referred to all three commissions. The texts of the reports of the three commissions are contained in appendix II below.

### B. ACTIVITIES OF THE DELEGATION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

6. The delegation of the Special Committee attended the plenary meetings of the Conference as well as the meetings of the three commissions referred to above. At the plenary meeting held on 27 June, the chairman of the delegation addressed the

---

a/ The texts of the communications are annexed to the report of the Working Group, A/AC.109/L.637.

Conference and stressed, inter alia, the efforts of the United Nations in general and of the Special Committee in particular, in the field of decolonization. He recalled the different recommendations made by the Special Committee on the problems of the Territories under Portuguese domination arrived at after carefully considering the views expressed by the liberation movements. He informed the Conference (which was being held at a time when the United Nations was commemorating its twenty-fifth anniversary in San Francisco) that, as part of the activities which were being prepared in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Special Committee was actively engaged in the preparation of an analytical study and a special programme of action in order to strengthen the means of accelerating the process of decolonization in the remaining dependent Territories. The text of that address is reproduced in appendix I below.

7. The members of the delegation of the Special Committee also took advantage of the opportunity to establish contact and exchange views on an informal basis with the leaders of the liberation movements as well as other participants in the Conference.

### C. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE

8. The Political Commission discussed the political aspects of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The report of that Commission recommended, among other things, a threefold policy of isolation for Portugal: military, political and economic. To achieve this objective, it recommended that the support committees and organizations undertake, among other activities, information campaigns in different countries as well as on the international level.

9. The Commission for Juridical Matters studied the status of peoples who are politically organized and are struggling for liberation from colonial domination and considered them as qualifying as subjects of international law. It considered that the liberation fighters should be accorded the benefit of the Geneva Conventions relating to the treatment of prisoners of war.

10. The Commission on Material Support recommended that all countries and regional and international organizations such as the specialized agencies should increase their moral assistance and material aid to the liberation movements. It recommended that the support committees in the different countries, mainly in western Europe, should multiply their activities and mobilize public opinion in favour of the struggle in the Territories under colonial domination.

11. At the conclusion of its meetings, the Conference adopted the reports of the three commissions. The Conference also adopted a "General Declaration of the Rome Conference" which reads as follows:

"1. One of the essential characteristics of the history of our times is the vigorous development of national liberation struggles which have been transformed for many countries into independence and the regaining of dignity for hundreds of millions of men and women in Africa and elsewhere. Portuguese colonialism, which refuses decolonization and conducts genocidal wars against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, is manifestly a crime against humanity. To dominate and exploit the peoples and riches of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé, it has resorted above all to repressive actions. It has instituted forced labour, the compulsory export of workers, and a system of obligatory cultivation of certain crops solely for its own profit and that of the companies.

"2. Every time these peoples attempted to express, even by peaceful means, their rejection of the brutal exploitation which was enslaving them, the Portuguese colonialists resorted to massacres in cold blood.

"3. That is why, in fully assuming their national and historic responsibilities, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC led their peoples along the only road which could bring them freedom and independence; armed national liberation struggle. In developing the popular fight towards victory, in identifying themselves with the interests of their peoples, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC are confirmed as the true representatives of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde. Their activities can be seen in the destruction of the structures of domination, new and traditional, and in the establishment of a new and popular social order.

"4. In order to oppose this situation, the colonialists of Lisbon are facilitating penetration of powerful economic interests of imperialist Powers to ensure that these interests should consider their fate as linked to that of Portuguese domination. They become defenders of the cause of Portugal's colonialism, expressing themselves through the policies of their Governments, and thus create conditions for an increasing internationalization of the confrontation.

"5. The direct and massive aid from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) - not to speak of the military and economic support Lisbon receives from the Governments of the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and France - is a decisive factor in Portugal's ability to continue her colonial wars. The Governments of member States of NATO must dissociate themselves from this crime, isolating Portugal at both political and military levels and firmly condemning this colonial war. It must also be underlined that Portugal's grand design is strengthened by the racist and colonial alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

"6. In spite of the assistance and collaboration which she enjoys, Portugal cannot control the situation, so that her allies have been led to consider direct military intervention which has already materialized in the use of South African troops and material in Angola and Mozambique. The struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies becomes in this context a vital contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa, and to the cause that applies to all humanity - national independence and human dignity.

"7. At the same time, the action taken by democratic and progressive forces to achieve these objectives, and, in particular, the development of the anti-colonialist movement in Portugal and the other liberation struggles in Africa and throughout the world, are an important and necessary factor for the cause of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. On this we must state that the successes already won by the peoples of Angola, Guinea, Cape Verde and Mozambique, while being the result of the efforts and sacrifices of these peoples in their fierce struggle, are also owed to the active solidarity of the independent countries of Africa, of the socialist countries, of the non-aligned countries, and of democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

"8. For the first time delegates from sixty-four countries, representing 177 national and international organizations, have met in Europe to study and decide upon ways of developing political, moral and material solidarity with the struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

"9. This solidarity must be translated into urgent and immediate actions, the nature of which will be decided by the evolution of the situation in each country and taking into consideration their specific conditions. They must first be concerned with forcing Portugal to grant immediate and total independence to these peoples, who already have sovereignty over large areas of territory administered in Angola by the MPLA, in Guinea by the PAIGC and in Mozambique by FRELIMO.

"10. To achieve this, we must increase the isolation of the Portuguese colonialists by exposing the massive support they receive from the NATO alliance in general, and in particular from the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and France. This must also be undertaken with regard to all the national and international economic and financial institutions that provide Portuguese colonialists with the necessary means for continuing their aggression.

"11. We must also, especially through mass popular action, prevent the countries linked with colonialist Portugal from committing themselves to a new phase of armed intervention to replace the failure of their political and military strategies.

"12. Finally, our activities must concretely support the efforts towards liberation and national reconstruction made by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, which the Conference considers as holding effective power in their countries, on the basis of the law of their peoples. This new legal situation must be recognized internationally.

"13. In this tenth anniversary year of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and on the threshold of the tenth anniversary of the launching of the armed national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, the Rome Conference reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe and calls on all countries, Governments, national and international organizations, and to all men of good will, to

accomplish the inspiring task of providing political and material support to these peoples in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

"THE PEOPLE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES WILL WIN!"

"PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM WILL DISAPPEAR!"

#### D. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

12. The group considers that its participation in this Conference, the first of its kind, and the exchange of views which has taken place, as well as resolutions and other material emanating from this Conference, will contribute to a better understanding of the present situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration and of the needs of the liberation movements. This will undoubtedly provide the Special Committee with new and valuable elements for its further deliberations on these matters and for the formulation of its conclusions and recommendations, especially in the preparation of the analytical study and programme of action to be elaborated on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

13. The group also feels that by participating in such conferences, the Special Committee would further demonstrate its continued concern and support for the liberation movements and thus enhance public awareness of the need for active assistance in the achievement of speedy and complete decolonization.

14. After the return of the group to New York, the Chairman of the Special Committee received a cable from Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of PAIGC, in which he expressed the thanks of his people and organization for the interest shown by the Special Committee and for the effective contribution of its delegation of observers to the work of the Rome Conference. A copy of this cable is contained in appendix IV below.

## APPENDIX I

### STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION OF OBSERVERS FROM THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Allow me at the outset, on behalf of the Special Committee of the United Nations, to thank you most warmly for the kind invitation which you have extended to us to attend this important Conference which is held in support of the peoples of the Portuguese Territories in their legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence.

For us it is significant that you should be holding this Conference at a time when the United Nations is commemorating its twenty-fifth anniversary in San Francisco and that this should coincide with the tenth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

As you are all aware, the Declaration marked the beginning of a new and more urgent approach to the problem of decolonization. Although some thirty Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories had already attained self-government or independence since 1945, it was evident to many members that progress towards complete emancipation was too slow and should be accelerated. Accordingly, the General Assembly proclaimed in the Declaration the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. It declared that the subjection of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights and was contrary to the Charter and an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. Immediate steps, therefore, should be taken in all Territories which had not yet attained independence to "transfer all powers to the peoples of these Territories, without any conditions or reservations in accordance with their freely expressed will and desires, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy full independence and freedom".

The Special Committee has become, aside from the General Assembly itself, the principal United Nations body dealing with the broad question of decolonization, meeting almost continuously. It follows closely developments in all the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and undertakes detailed studies of factors which affect the progress of decolonization. In carrying out its task, the Special Committee has laid particular emphasis on receiving first-hand information from the Territories, either by sending out visiting groups or by accepting invitations of this kind. In this connexion, I am happy to say that the Special Committee has enjoyed the full co-operation of the leaders of the national liberation movements in the Territories under Portuguese domination who have testified many times before the Committee, particularly during its periodic meetings in Africa. In fact, only two weeks ago, an ad hoc group of the Committee was in Africa to exchange views with the leaders of national liberation movements, including participating movements represented at this Conference. Thus, decisions and recommendations of the Committee are arrived at after carefully considering the

views expressed by the liberation movements. Through these means, the Committee has maintained amicable and fraternal links with the freedom-fighters in the Territories under Portuguese domination.

As has been the case, I wish to assure you Mr. President, that the Special Committee, in its future work, will take into account any relevant decisions or recommendations which this Conference might wish to make.

As regards United Nations action on the question of Territories under Portuguese domination, it is worth noting that the General Assembly of the United Nations, among other decisions and recommendations, has reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea and of other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the legitimacy of the struggle by the peoples of those Territories for their independence and freedom. It has also condemned the colonial war which is being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peoples of the Territories under its domination; and called upon all States, the specialized agencies and all the international organizations concerned to increase, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), their moral and material assistance to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination who are struggling for their freedom and independence.

In another noteworthy development, the General Assembly in 1969 invited the Secretary-General, in the light of General Assembly resolution 2431 (XXIII) of 18 December 1968 and in consultation with the specialized agencies and the host Governments, to develop and expand training programmes for the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese domination, taking into account their needs for qualified administrative, technical and professional personnel to assume responsibility for the public administration and the economic and social development of their own countries.

As regards the international ramifications of the problem, the General Assembly has condemned the collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal, racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, which is designed to perpetuate colonialism and oppression in southern Africa, and the intervention of South African forces against the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination. Concerning Portugal's military activities in the Territories under its domination, the General Assembly has also urged all States to withhold or desist from giving further military and other assistance to Portugal which enables it to pursue to the colonial war in the Territories under its domination. In this connexion, the General Assembly has condemned the activities of the financial interests which obstruct the struggle of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination for self-determination, freedom and independence and which strengthen the military efforts of Portugal. Further, the General Assembly on several occasions, has made recommendations to the Security Council to take effective steps for the implementation of the Declaration in the Territories under Portuguese domination.

Despite the heavy odds faced by freedom-fighters in the Territories under Portuguese domination, the Special Committee is happy to note the appreciable progress made in the struggle for national liberation, particularly in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. The tenacity of purpose and

determination which, in the face of all these odds, have sustained the struggle for independence and self-determination, is indeed remarkable. In commending your efforts and achievements, the Special Committee is fully aware that the international community could and should do more to help in the struggle for self-determination and independence.

As the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples approaches, it is well to pause and reflect on what has been accomplished and remains to be done.

Today, the majority of Member States are more than ever convinced that the perpetuation of colonial rule is not only contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, but is an anachronism in the modern world and an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

As part of its tenth anniversary activities, the Special Committee is at the moment actively engaged in the preparation of an analytical study of the past ten years and is recommending a special programme of action in order to strengthen the means of accelerating the process of decolonization in the remaining dependent Territories. We hope that, with the co-operation of the international community as a whole and the continued support of the liberation movements, the United Nations should be able to achieve more in the field of decolonization.

Finally, may I express the best wishes of the Special Committee and its Chairman for the success of this Conference. May I also venture to hope that this Conference will further serve to consolidate the gains of the past and open up new avenues for the future.

## APPENDIX II

### REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONS ESTABLISHED BY THE CONFERENCE

#### A. REPORT OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION

Presented by Maurice Gastaud

I shall not try at this moment to draw conclusions from the comprehensive debate which took place in this Commission. I shall merely try to list the specific proposals for political solidarity which were made and are likely to be supported by the Commission. Various speakers agreed that progress had been made in mobilizing progressive forces with a view to achieving active solidarity among the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies - the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO.

This progress has found concrete expression in the holding of this first Conference, which all consider to be a great success because it is broadly representative of different trends of thought, of various organizations and political parties and of a number of countries, because of the wide-ranging and free discussion which took place on the proposals and suggestions submitted, and because of the commitments undertaken. Since the Khartoum Conference, the rich and multifarious aid and support given to the liberation movements by the socialist countries has been continued and further developed. This aid is considered by all to be decisive in the fight against imperialism and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, and above all in Western Europe, a growing number of movements, political parties, and trade union, youth and women's organizations have placed the problem of active support for the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies on their agenda. New solidarity committees of a unified nature have been set up.

All of this is doubtless a result of the successful progress made in different fields by the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO in the armed struggle and in the organization of the liberated areas, where the foundations of a new society have been laid. All of this is most encouraging and confirms our absolute faith in the final victory.

But while the efforts to achieve solidarity must be acknowledged, it must also be stressed that this solidarity is still far from commensurate with the level of the liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, that it is still far from responding effectively to the needs imposed by this struggle.

That is why this Conference, by evaluating what has been done so far and offering the opportunity for an exchange of experiences, represents a very important step, provided that it has practical consequences in each country. This is our collective responsibility.

Many speakers stressed the fact that the colonial wars waged by Portugal were not isolated instances. They are part of a chain of imperialist actions against the forces of progress and freedom all over the world. In supporting Portugal, international imperialism intends to maintain its system of oppression and exploitation, and even to strengthen it, if it can. To do so, in the face of the success of the liberation movements, it has internationalized these wars. This does not mean that this general imperialist strategy is not beset by many contradictions which reflect the various capitalist interests and from which we must profit in each country. But these interests do have a common front against the freedom of peoples, whether they be the peoples of the colonies or of their own countries.

Thus, there is, objectively speaking, a community of interest between the peoples, workers and intellectuals of the capitalist countries and the peoples fighting against colonialism in all its forms.

In view of the internationalization of the war in the Portuguese colonies, the socialist countries, the liberation movements, and the democrats and progressive forces of the capitalist countries must present a united front, for it is indisputable that on the success of this struggle depends, not only the future of the Portuguese colonies, but also the future of other oppressed peoples, because the anti-colonialist struggle is only one aspect of the general struggle against oppression and exploitation. It therefore concerns all mankind.

It is in the struggle within the capitalist countries that the Conference calls upon us to expand our action first of all - within the imperialist apparatus itself. In order to do this, the prime need is to mobilize the masses, which means, initially, to make them aware of the facts. In this sector we find many shortcomings, but the lack of awareness of these problems is not entirely our fault.

It is for this reason that the problem of information was one to which much of the attention of the participants was devoted. The Commission asks that everything possible be done in the various countries to breakdown, once and for all, the barrier of silence maintained by the major information media of the monopolies. Yet this will be possible only if enough pressure is brought to bear on those responsible for information. The work of the various parties and movements, and the information they provide for their members and those whom they influence will facilitate the new awareness which, in turn, will stimulate a demand for objective information proportionate to the size of the problem.

Such information, by enlightening the public about the facts of these abominable wars and the monopolistic interests hidden behind them, will increase the number of sympathizers among the masses and facilitate their mobilization for active political and material solidarity.

On what basis should our propaganda and our action be carried out? The statements made provide us with a number of proposals. The means will have to be adapted to the particular conditions prevailing in each country, without in any way abandoning the aim of staunch political struggle against colonialism, the fruit of imperialism.

The Commission found that, of all forms of international action against these colonial wars, a policy of isolating Portugal would bring rapid and effective results, because Portugal, under-developed itself, is by no means in a position to maintain its policy of colonial domination alone. In order to achieve this objective, progressive organizations, parties and support committees must prosecute a ceaseless campaign of information and political struggle. This isolation must be planned in three fields: the military, the economic and the political.

### Military isolation

The Commission is unanimous in hoping that united action can be developed to achieve:

- The final cessation of the direct supply of military equipment to Portugal by certain countries, in particular France and the Federal Republic of Germany;
- The final cessation of the training outside Portugal of military cadres for the colonial war;
- The final cessation of collaboration between the ground, air and naval forces of the United States of America and various countries of Western Europe and their Portuguese counterparts.

As regards NATO, the proposals varied, but speakers were unanimous in demanding that the NATO Governments should suspend the delivery of arms to Portugal as long as the colonial wars continue. This is in conformity with United Nations resolutions on decolonization.

The fact that NATO-supplied weapons are regularly used in the Portuguese colonies completely destroys the avowed defensive character this organization assumed on its foundation, inasmuch as it involves NATO in offensive wars which make all the member countries of NATO full accomplices in the aggression committed against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

Lastly it is urgent and essential that action should be undertaken in each country to ensure that soldiers of the national liberation movements who are imprisoned by the Portuguese army are treated entirely in accordance with the Geneva Convention and that all forms of torture and arbitrary execution are stopped.

### Political isolation

The condemnation, at international assemblies, of Portugal's colonial policies and of all forms of aid given by imperialist countries and above all, by the United States of America, was considered imperative. This action should culminate in the political isolation of Portugal and its moral condemnation.

Pressure brought by parties and organizations on the public authorities must bring about this attitude and must force them to forbid participation by the financial companies of their countries in investments in the Portuguese colonies.

This result can only be secured by an intensive information campaign concerning the colonial war, the liberation movements, the role played by Governments in this conflict, the implications of their complicity for the future political and social policies of various countries and the aggressive force of imperialist investments which are contrary to the interests of peoples who are still under colonial rule.

To this end, it is essential that the trade unions, in particular, expand their activities still further and strive to unite and mobilize the workers in order to emphasize their moral and material solidarity. The Political Commission approves the plan of the All African Trade Union Confederation and the World Federation of Trade Unions to organize in 1971 an international conference in support of the workers and peoples of Africa, particularly those of the Portuguese colonies and southern Africa.

The Commission hopes that all countries will develop a broad, co-ordinated trade union approach to this problem of solidarity with the national liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, so that precise practical commitments may be given for various forms of action, including, in particular, material aid and pressure on Governments.

There should also be joint unified action to press for the exclusion of the Portuguese Government from all meetings of international organizations such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies, so long as its policies of colonial domination and racial discrimination continue. The Commission is gratified that UNESCO, among others, has decided not to invite Portugal to any future international meetings organized by it.

#### Economic isolation

Economic sanctions must be taken by Governments against the Portuguese Government. They might take the form of:

- Reconsideration of the advantages derived by Portugal from membership of the European Free Trade Association;
- Refusal to allow Portugal to enter the Common Market or to discuss its entry until the colonies become independent;
- Halting the granting of long-term credits by the United States and European Governments to the Portuguese Government;
- Halting industrial or agricultural investments in the Portuguese colonies, whose recent economic growth is due to the "open door" policy forced on the Portuguese Government by the armed struggle.

In this connexion, the Commission is gratified by the victory of the progressive and trade union forces of Sweden, Italy and the United Kingdom and by the direct intervention of East African countries whose mass action has led to the withdrawal by financial groups of these three European countries of their participation in the Cabora Bassa project. This project, which cannot be carried out without the presence of South African troops, would illustrate the involvement of European capitalist Governments in the racist policies of Portugal, South Africa

and Southern Rhodesia, and be a further step towards the domination of southern Africa by the white minority and international trusts. The success achieved in this direction is encouraging and should serve as a pattern for the withdrawal of Federal Republic of Germany and French trusts, which would be a tremendous victory in the struggle for independence and against the exploitation of all peoples by financial monopolies.

It was stressed in many statements that the struggle for independence in the Portuguese colonies is indissolubly linked with the struggle of African peoples in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. The close interweaving of the interests and actions of the Governments of those countries and the Government of Portugal in the military, political and economic fields is strikingly obvious. This struggle can no longer be dissociated from the other anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles going on in other parts of the world.

The obstacles which the cadres of fighting movements encounter when trying to enter certain countries, such as France, are due to an unjustifiable policy of discrimination and every effort must be made to stop these attacks on the elementary right of freedom of movement, which is recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In discussing the realization of these aims, various speakers dealt with questions concerning the organization of the struggle. In this context, the setting up of broad national committees of support and the role they are to play was discussed by the Commission, which proves that it attaches a great deal of importance to this problem.

The Commission is, of course, careful to avoid advising the creation of a rigid stereotyped framework at either the national or the international level. The experiences described here prove, on the contrary, that each party, organization and movement must take the action which accords with its objectives and capacity; it is the unfolding of all these actions which, in the specific conditions of each country, will allow each one of them to find original forms of co-ordination and impetus.

By leading its members and those it can influence to act in solidarity with the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, each organization will create favourable conditions for broad unified action in order to attain in each country the aims which our Conference will adopt.

By supporting the struggle carried on by the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO without in any way interfering in the internal affairs of these movements, these national solidarity committees must bear in mind, above all, the true national situation, if they are to mobilize all existing potential forces. In this way they will be able, on the basis of a programme common to all these forces, to act effectively and independently, and to play the co-ordinating role which all are agreed in assigning to them. These committees should be set up or expanded not only in the developed capitalist countries - although this is of primary importance - but also in Asia, in Latin America and in African countries, where they ought to be able to receive the support of the Government concerned in accordance with the decisions of the OAU.

Help given to the liberation movements must be in various forms and be adapted to the requirements. Political support and material aid must be combined and should never be separated either ideologically or in practice.

In the present phase, which is the phase of setting up and expanding national committees of support, the question of whether an international body should be set up arises.

On the basis of the experience of national activities mentioned above, which showed us the need for various forms of actions, beginning at grass-roots level, many speakers were of the opinion that an international body is premature, to say the least, and that, were it to be set up now, it would be ineffective in a great many countries.

One can only build on something that exists already and then only if all participants at the national level are consulted and express their agreement. This, however, is not the case and we know that in some countries such a step might even destroy the broad unified committees already existing, which is obviously not what we are seeking to do.

This does not mean that there should be no exchange of information between committees and that the Conference should not endeavour to facilitate this process.

If our friends of the Italian committee, which is a broad and united movement, are agreeable, an information centre might be set up in Rome to facilitate exchanges and contacts, but this centre would have no structural characteristics.

We hope that this proposal will be unanimously accepted by the participants and that it will help in the development of information and of relations among the committees and with the national liberation movements, thus avoiding the creation of an unduly cumbersome and costly central body which might deprive the individual solidarity committees of their specific aspects and so limit their effectiveness.

We should, as some speakers have asked, establish a time-scale for different phases of our work.

A number of speakers spoke in favour of marking the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations resolution on decolonization, which will be in December 1970, by increased activities by organizations, parties and committees in each country, to encourage implementation of this resolution by all Governments.

Through meetings, articles in the press, film shows, exhibitions and other suitable information media, through deputations to public authorities and parliaments, with the help of deputies and other elected representatives of the people who advocate the cause of anti-colonialism, through demonstrations of all kinds, whose aims might be drawn from the resolutions of our Conference, we could, at the moment when this anniversary is being commemorated, ensure that it does not remain a mere formal ceremony but an event marking new and real achievements which will contribute to the decisive victories of the fighting peoples of the Portuguese colonies under the vigilant leadership of the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO.

## B. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION FOR JURIDICAL MATTERS

Presented by Francesco Fabbri,  
of the International  
Association of Democratic  
Lawyers

Forty delegates and observers participated in the work of the Commission for Juridical Matters. They came from the following countries:

Angola (MPLA)  
Belgium  
Bulgaria  
Czechoslovakia  
Finland  
France  
German Democratic Republic  
Guinea (Conakry)  
Guinea (Bissau) (PAIGC)  
India  
Iraq  
Italy  
Japan  
Mozambique (FRELIMO)  
Namibia  
Nigeria  
Portugal  
Sierra Leone  
Sudan  
Syria  
United Arab Republic  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
Yugoslavia  
Zimbabwe (ZAPU)

Representatives of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Christian Peace Conference, the Ecumenical Council of Churches and of the Italian League for Human Rights participated as delegates, and a member of the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples participated as an observer. More than twenty-five speeches were made during the two working days of the Conference.

### Juridical aspects

The discussion in the Commission led to the unanimous opinion that peoples fighting for liberation from colonial domination or quasi-colonial domination, and who have a political organization, are subjects of international law.

The recognition of that status is based on the principle of self-determination of peoples, which, according to the present state of positive international law, means that the colonial peoples have the right to establish themselves as independent States.

From this it follows that:

1. Portuguese colonial domination over the African Territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Cape Verde and Mozambique, which constitutes an obstacle to the complete liberation of these Territories and to the full implementation of the right to self-determination, is illegal. It should be borne in mind that the liberation movements (MPLA, PAIGC, and FRELIMO) have succeeded in liberating a large part of these Territories, over which they exercise exclusive control and which they administer. This is the de facto situation, which the States must take into consideration. The Commission unanimously agreed that in face of the absolute refusal of the colonial Power to permit the peaceful implementation of the right to self-determination, recourse to armed struggle represents the only effective guarantee of this right. In this connexion, members of the Commission recalled the favourable attitude of the international community with regard to the liberation of the Portuguese colonies in India (Goa, Damman and Diu).

2. One of the most important consequences of attributing the status of subjects of international law to the fighting peoples is the internationalization of the conflict.

3. Recognition of the legality of the struggle is tantamount to recognizing the legality of political and material support given to the peoples engaged in that struggle. This support may take the form of the supply of weapons and military equipment and means of transport and even the participation of volunteers in the armed struggle.

4. On the other hand, support of the colonial Power by third States in any form, and particularly in the form of military assistance supplied by the NATO member States and by the racist régime of South Africa, constitutes illegal interference.

5. Another important consequence of the international nature of this conflict is the obligation to apply to it the laws and customs of warfare and in particular, the rules of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 concerning the treatment of the wounded or sick in armed forces, the treatment of prisoners of war and the protection of the civilian population. The Commission was able to establish that the liberation movements were careful to observe the provisions of those Conventions to which they were able to adhere. In contrast, overwhelming evidence has been collected of the crimes committed by Portugal in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and in Mozambique (murders, tortures, looting, taking of hostages, napalm bombings, etc.).

6. The recognition that a people fighting for liberation is a subject of international law debunks the fiction propagated by the Portuguese Government to the effect that the Portuguese colonies are overseas provinces and eliminates the possibility of invoking Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. It is obvious, on the other hand, that Portugal's attitude has serious consequences for international peace and security. A number of United Nations resolutions have stated that the colonial war waged by Portugal violates the rights of the peoples of these Territories and jeopardizes the territorial integrity of the neighbouring African States.

8. Portugal's attitude also constitutes a persistent defiance of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council which have urged it to put an end to its war of aggression and to recognize the independence won through armed struggle of a very extensive part of these Territories. Many resolutions are addressed on the one hand to the colonial Power, which opposes the exercise of the right to independence of its subject peoples, and on the other hand, to the people, whose legitimate right to fight for the exercise of this right has been repeatedly upheld by the United Nations on the basis of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. The Commission unanimously agreed that the resolutions of the United Nations, supported by practically all Member States, represent one of the juridical bases which ought to facilitate the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

9. A number of speakers also emphasized the right of the peoples fighting for independence to aid and assistance from the specialized agencies, which is a right recognized by many resolutions of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

10. Other speakers stressed the close links between the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies and the anti-imperialist struggles in the world, in particular the liberation struggle carried on by the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa as well as the Arab and Palestine peoples, and the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, who are also resorting to armed struggle as the only guarantee of the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

11. The participants recognized the importance of the support provided by the socialist States, the independent African States and the OAU to the peoples fighting for liberation and called upon those States and organizations and on all progressive forces in the world to maintain and increase their material support.

\*

\* \* \*

1. The Commission decided unanimously, on this basis, to make a vigorous protest to the Portuguese Government which, by opposing the exercise of the right to independence by waging a colonial war, becomes guilty of serious violations of positive international law and, in particular, of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations as well as of the Geneva Conventions referred to in paragraph 5 above.

2. The Commission appealed in particular to progressive peoples and Governments to provide maximum material support for the armed struggle of these peoples. In particular it requested the neighbouring African States to allow their territory to be used (right of way, etc.) to facilitate the armed struggle against the colonialist forces and to consider jointly the possibility of setting up an organ which would channel the assistance provided and ensure adequate legal protection for members of the liberation movements.

3. It stressed the need for an immediate cessation of all forms of military, economic and financial aid and assistance to Portugal.

4. The Commission requested the organs of the United Nations as well as the specialized agencies to strengthen their official relations with the executive bodies of the national liberation movements in order to make available to them without delay the material assistance which they urgently need for the administration of the liberated zones (medical assistance, teaching equipment, food).

5. The Commission appealed in particular to States to exert pressure on the Portuguese Government to apply to the freedom-fighters of the liberation movements the principles of the Geneva Convention concerning the treatment of prisoners of war.

6. The Commission drew the attention of the progressive forces of the world particularly to the countless violations of human rights committed by Portugal in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique as well as to the crime against humanity it was committing by waging a colonial war. The Commission stressed the need for a denunciation of and general protest against these crimes.

7. The members of the Commission noted with regret the negative attitude adopted by the religious hierarchy, and particularly by the Roman Catholic Church towards the struggle of these peoples for self-determination, and deplored the support which the hierarchy has continued to give to the Portuguese colonialist régime.

The Commission invited all religious and humanitarian organizations, in particular, their legal organs, to participate in a study of these questions and to give all possible support to the implementation of the right to independence of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

8. The members of the Commission intend to remain at the disposal of the CONCP for all help, in the form of studies, analyses or material support that they can muster in their respective countries.

9. Finally, a number of speakers stressed the need for a continuing study of the legal problems arising from struggles for national liberation and for an invitation to national and international jurists' organizations to continue the analysis of the questions raised in the course of the work of the Commission.

10. The above report was adopted unanimously by the Commission.

## C. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON MATERIAL SUPPORT

### 1. General proposals

Rapporteur: Dr. Joao B. BURZA (Brazil)

There was general agreement in the Commission on the following proposals, as the basis of the deliberations:

First, it is impossible to isolate the question of material support from the question of political action. No support committee or solidarity organization should limit itself to the collection of material aid. It is equally necessary to attack and take action against the crimes of the Portuguese Government and the complicity in those crimes of the Governments and business circles of the United States of America and the majority of West European countries. Without the collaboration of the Governments of the NATO countries, Portugal would not be able to continue its colonial war.

Secondly, the liberation movements have the right to receive assistance and aid from Western Europe, in addition to that received from the socialist and African nations. The progressive forces and Governments of Western Europe have the duty to provide that assistance and aid on the largest possible scale.

Thirdly, while there is a rising tide of support in Western Europe for the liberation movements, the contribution made so far is much too insignificant.

Fourthly, as an essential preliminary to political action and the raising of material support, a massive mobilization of public opinion is required.

Fifthly, the struggle must be seen as the joint struggle of FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC, and of the liberation movements in the countries of southern Africa against the racist alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

### 2. Objectives of the Commission

The Commission considered that its task was not to reiterate general declarations of solidarity and support, but to put forward and discuss concrete proposals for the provision of material aid.

However, the Commission realized that such proposals could only prove fruitful provided there was continued and determined action by all delegates to the Conference after their return to their own countries.

### 3. Sources of material support (other than Western Europe)

- (i) African States The Commission recognized the considerable contribution made by the African Governments bilaterally and through the OAU Liberation Committee, appreciated the limits imposed by economic considerations, but recommended that an appeal be made to the African Governments to increase their efforts and their contribution.
- (ii) Socialist States The Commission further recognized the invaluable support provided to the liberation movements by the Governments, solidarity organizations and peoples of the socialist countries.

- (iii) Non-aligned Nations In addition to the contribution of the African States, the Commission recognized the contribution made by other non-aligned States and resolved that all such States should be requested to place the question of support of the liberation movements on the agenda of the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations to be held in Lusaka in September 1970.

#### 4. Western Europe

The Commission agreed to give primary attention to ways and means of increasing dramatically the material support from Western European countries. Delegates from twelve Western European countries and a delegate from the progressive forces of the United States of America participated in the discussion.

The Commission is aware of the fact that varying political and social conditions necessitating varying forms of action prevail in a number of countries. In most, if not in all countries, it is advisable to concentrate on humanitarian rather than on military aid. However, the following proposals were made, as being suitable for action in all Western European countries:

- (i) To urge all Governments to halt aid to Portugal - following the lead taken by Sweden - and to provide assistance to the liberation movements, and where a reactionary Government is in power, to urge all progressive opposition parties to incorporate these policies in their programmes.
- (ii) To mobilize the trade union movement with a view to initiating political action campaigns and obtaining material support, to support the conference which, and, in particular, as the WFTU delegate who participated in the Commission said, will be convened by the WFTU at the beginning of 1971 to support the liberation movements.
- (iii) To take action, where appropriate, through specific groups, such as women's organizations which can help women activists of the liberation movements or through teachers, who can provide teaching materials.
- (iv) To organize mass solidarity campaigns on an international basis on the liberation day of each of the three movements.
- (v) To work in collaboration with the liberation movements on large-scale projects such as the printing of school books or the supply of long-range wireless transmitters.
- (vi) To bring to the attention of Governments and disseminate as widely as possible among political parties, social and humanitarian organizations, etc., the United Nations resolution calling for support of the liberation movements.
- (vii) To urge UNESCO to reconsider its rejection of a proposal for educational assistance.
- (viii) To appeal to all religious organizations, in particular Roman Catholic organizations, to provide humanitarian assistance.

- (ix) To organize assistance for deserters from the Portuguese armed forces.
- (x) To launch a campaign of counter-propaganda designed to expose as false the arguments of those who claim that by helping the liberation movements we are helping communism.
- (xi) To provide trained personnel to work in Africa for the liberation movements, provided that the support committee wishing to sponsor any volunteers considers most carefully their political orientation and suitability for the work.

The Commission wishes to stress that these proposals are by no means exhaustive. Every possible means, aimed at all possible groups and sectors of the population, must be used.

## 5. Types of aid

The Commission recommended that support should be provided:

- (i) In the form of money sent directly to the liberation movements, earmarked if desired, to a particular project. In that case few problems would arise. The Commission noted that the International Defence and Aid Fund was ready to help by transmitting funds from Europe to Africa.
- (ii) In the form of material aid. The Commission agreed that the liberation movements must retain the absolute right to decide what types of material aid they require. The following forms of aid were stressed in particular: uniforms, boots, tinned foods, transport facilities, teaching materials, blood plasma and medical equipment.

The Commission requested the three liberation movements to prepare lists of materials required for the support committees.

## 6. Organizational questions

The need for improved co-operation was stressed by many delegates for the following reasons:

- (i) Many delegates had experienced difficulties in obtaining information from the liberation movements about the development of the struggle and the needs of the movements.
- (ii) Some delegates foresaw difficulties in the dispatch of assistance from Europe to Africa.
- (iii) Many delegates wished to be able to exchange experiences and proposals in future.

Proposals were put forward for the establishment of a kind of information clearing-house in Western Europe.

After discussion on all these questions the Commission recommended:

- (i) That national support committees should be set up in every Western European country as the principal means of co-ordinating information and action within each country;
- (ii) That there should be direct and close communication between national committees and the liberation movements;
- (iii) That there should be close collaboration and mutual assistance between the different national committees; and that to facilitate such collaboration, every delegate to the Conference should be provided with the names and addresses of all other delegates;
- (iv) That the national committees should arrange annual conferences of national committees to exchange ideas and improve co-operation.

Note: The Commission deferred further discussion of the proposals to establish a central organization in order to ascertain the views of the leadership of the movements.

## 7. Conclusions

The Commission accordingly submits the following recommendations:

- (i) All delegates to this Conference should undertake as a duty and as a positive demonstration of their solidarity to mobilize massive material support for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.
- (ii) All delegates from Western Europe, mindful of the role played by many of their Governments in assisting the Portuguese fascists, should work to ensure that vastly increased support is forthcoming from their countries.
- (iii) Such support should be obtained by mobilizing public opinion, by political action, by all available means, including the means proposed in this report, and through every kind of organization.
- (iv) To co-ordinate the campaign of mobilization in every country, national support committees should be set up where they do not already exist, to disseminate information and to stimulate the activities of all progressive forces in that country.
- (v) The national committees should work in close collaboration both with the liberation movements and with each other, by exchanging ideas and discussing common problems and by meeting annually in conference.
- (vi) The establishment, if agreed, of a central office or secretariat.

## Addendum

The Commission warmly welcomed Mr. Manuel Rohas of Peru, who presented to the CONCP a cheque for 3,000 Dutch guilders. This money had been collected after a hunger strike of 300 students attending the FAO International Conference at the Hague.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Algeria	F.L.N.
Angola	<u>Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola</u> (MPLA)
Austria	International Office VDS
Belgium	<u>Comité de Soutien à la Lutte des Colonies</u> <u>Portugaises et contre l'apartheid</u> <u>Commission Nationale Justice et Paix</u> Communist Party <u>Centre de Recherches socio-religieuses,</u> University of Louvain
Brazil	Peace Committee <u>Fronte Brasileiro d'Informazioni</u>
Bulgaria	National Peace Committee Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa National Students Union
Cambodia	<u>Front Uni National du Cambodge</u>
Canada	Project Mozambique
Canary Islands	Movement for Self-Determination and Independence (MPAIAC)
Ceylon	Ceylon Peace Council Afro-Asian Solidarity Association
Cuba	Movement for Peace and the Sovereignty of Peoples
Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Korean Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity
Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam	<u>Comité Vietnamien de la Paix</u> <u>Comité de Solidarité Afro-Asiatique</u>

Denmark	Communist Party Frit Forum - Social Democratic Party (PSU) The Left Socialists Young Communists League of Denmark
Dominican Republic	Popular Socialist Party
Federal Republic of Germany	Anti-Imperialist Committee (AAK) Africa Project Group Peace Movement <u>Verband deutscher Studentenschaften (VDS)</u>
Finland	Peace Committee Communist Party Finnish National Students Union
France	<u>Comité National de Soutien de la Lutte de Libération dans les Colonies Portugaises</u> <u>Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)</u> Young Communist Movement Communist Party <u>Union Nationale des Etudiants de France</u> <u>Parti Socialist Unifié (PSU)</u> <u>Mouvement de la Paix - Comité Anti-apartheid</u> <u>Mouvement contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et pour la Paix</u>
German Democratic Republic	Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Peace Committee
Greece	Greek Patriotic Front United Democratic Left
Guinea	<u>Parti démocratique de Guinée</u> JRDA National Committee
Guinea (Bissau)	<u>Partido Africano de Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC)</u>
Hungary	Hungarian Peace Council Hungarian Solidarity Association
India	All-India Movement for Peace All-India Trade Union Congress Communist Party of India Congress Party Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Party Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity Indian Lawyers' Committee for Peace
Iraq	National Council for Peace and Solidarity
Ireland	Irish Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement

Italy	<p>A.C.P.O.L.  A.C.L.I.  A.N.P.I.  C.G.I.L.  F.G.C.I.  C.I.S.L.  U.I.L.  Italian Socialist Party  P.S.I.U.P.  Italian Communist Party  Independent Left  F.G.S. del P.S.I.  F.G.S. del P.S.I.U.P.  <u>Gioventu' delle A.C.L.I.</u>  <u>Gioventu' del P.R.I.</u>  M.A.S.  Committee on Palestine  A.G.A.P.E.  Asian Centre  Peace Committee  Political Information Centre  Einaudi Publishing House  Gallo Publishing  Democratic Lawyers' Association  Italian League for the Rights of Man  <u>Lotta Continua</u>  <u>Movimento Cristiani</u>  S.I.D.I.</p>
Japan	Afro-Asian Committee
Laos	<u>Front Patriotique Lao</u>
Madagascar	<u>Comité de Solidarité Fihanampiana Malagasy</u> <u>Parti du Congrès de l'Indépendance de</u> <u>Madagascar (AKFM)</u>
Mozambique	FRELIMO
Namibia	South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)
Netherlands	Angola Committee Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Foundation
Nigeria	Action Group Nigerian Solidarity Youth Council Social Democratic Youth
Norway	Norwegian Council for South Africa Social Democratic Youth
Pakistan	Pakistan Organization for Afro-Asian Solidarity
Palestine	Al Fatah, Palestine Liberation Organization
People's Republic of the Congo	PCT

Peru	National Appeal Committee
Poland	Polish Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity Polish Peace Committee
Portugal	Peace Committee Patriotic Liberation Front (PNLF) Portuguese Movement Communist Party Portuguese Student Committee <u>Accáo Socialista Portuguesa</u>
Romania	<u>Ligue de Solidarité avec les Peuples d'Afrique</u> <u>Ligue Roumanie d'Amitié avec les Peuples d'Afrique et d'Asie</u>
São Tomé e Príncipe	<u>Delegacion Patriotes, São Tomé</u>
Senegal	Peace Movement
South Africa	African National Congress (ANC)
Spain	Communist Party Spanish Peace Movement
Sudan	Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Peace Committee Khartoum Africa Society International Students Union
Sweden	Social Democrats Young Social Democrats Peace Committee Uppsala Committee on South Africa Communist Party
Switzerland	<u>Fédération Universelle des Associations Chrétiennes d'Etudiants</u> Geneva Anti-Apartheid Movement Movement in Support of the Peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)
Syria	Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee
Tunisia	<u>Parti Socialiste Destourien</u>
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Peace Committee Youth Mobilization Committee (CYO)

United Arab Republic

Socialist Arab Union

United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Northern Ireland

Committee for Freedom in Mozambique,  
Angola and Guinea (Bissau)  
British Committee for Freedom in Mozambique,  
Angola and Guinea  
International Defence and Aid Fund  
Africa Bureau  
Anti-Apartheid Movement  
Movement for Colonial Freedom  
National Union of Students of England,  
Wales and Northern Ireland  
Labour Peace Fellowship  
Communist Party of Great Britain  
Third World Freedom Fighters

United States of America

Communist Party (Commission on Black  
Liberation)  
Africa Research Group  
Afro-American House (Malcolm X University)  
American Committee on Africa  
Black Panther Party

Yugoslavia

Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence  
and the Equality of Peoples  
Socialist Alliance

Zambia

General Council of Zambia

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)

International organizations

United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation  
of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples  
Organization of African Unity (OAU)  
International Association of Democratic Lawyers  
Conference of African Women  
World Council of Peace  
World Federation of Democratic Youth  
World Federation of Trade Unions  
Pan African Youth Movement  
Christian Peace Conference  
Organization for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa  
International Union of Students

APPENDIX IV

CABLE DATED 15 JULY 1970 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDENCIA DA GUINE E CABO VERDE (PAIGC) ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

15 JULY 1970

CONAKRY

On behalf our fighting people national office our party expresses warm thanks for effective contribution Rome Conference. We are deeply heartened by conviction that Committee on Decolonization will continue by all means at its disposal to intensify specific assistance to our people until complete liberation of our country from hateful domination Portuguese colonialists.

Amilcar CABRAL,  
Secretary-General, PAIGC

---

**HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS**

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

**COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES**

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre librairie ou adressez-vous à: Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

**КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ**

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в нашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

**COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS**

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

---

