

**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-SIXTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No.23 (A/8423/Rev.1)



UNITED NATIONS

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UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1975

NOTE

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

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

For documents A/7623 and addenda and A/8023 and addenda mentioned in the present report, see: *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23* (A/7623/Rev.1), and *ibid.*, *Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23* (A/8023/Rev.1).

* The present version of chapters VI to VIII is a consolidation of the following documents as they appeared in provisional form: A/8423/Add.2 (Part I) of 27 September 1971; A/8423/Add.2 (Part II) of 8 October 1971; A/8423/Add.3 (Part I) of 27 September 1971; A/8423/Add.3 (Part II) of 25 October 1971; and A/8423/Add.4 of 28 September 1971.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

(Chapters I to V)

Paragraphs

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Chapter

I. ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE (A/8423 (Part I))

A.	Establishment of the Special Committee	1 - 14
B.	Opening of the Special Committee's meetings in 1971	15 - 35
C.	Organization of work	36 - 46
D.	Meetings of the Special Committee and its Working Group and Sub-Committees	47 - 70
E.	Consideration of Territories	71 - 75
F.	Question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable	76 - 82
G.	Matters relating to the small Territories	83 - 85
H.	Publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization	86 - 101
I.	International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination: petitions from the peoples of colonial countries	102 - 108
J.	Consideration of other matters	109 - 142
K.	Relations with other United Nations bodies and international institutions associated with the United Nations	143 - 162
L.	Relations with the Organization of African Unity	163 - 165
M.	Relations with non-governmental organizations	166 - 181
N.	Review of work	182 - 194
O.	Future work	195 - 204
P.	Approval of the report	205 - 206

ANNEXES

I.	REVIEW OF WORK (1971):	
A.	REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II	
B.	REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III	
II.	PUBLICITY FOR THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DECOLONIZATION:	
A.	REPORT OF THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION ON ITS PUBLIC INFORMATION ACTIVITY ON DECOLONIZATION AND RELATED QUESTIONS	
B.	LETTER DATED 12 APRIL 1971 FROM THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS DIVISION OF THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	
III.	REPORT OF THE DELEGATION OF OBSERVERS TO THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (AAPSO) - DAMASCUS, 23-24 June 1971	
IV.	LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	
II.	MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY COLONIAL POWERS IN TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION WHICH MIGHT BE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/8423 (Part II))	
A.	Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 5
B.	Decision of the Special Committee	6
	ANNEX: REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I	
III.	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/8423 (Part III))	
A.	Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 11
B.	Decision of the Special Committee	12
	ANNEX: REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN	

CONTENTS (continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
IV. QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING MISSIONS TO TERRITORIES (A/8423 (Part IV) and Add.1)		
A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 17	
B. Decisions of the Special Committee	18 - 21	
ANNEXES		
I. REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN		
II. LETTER DATED 15 JULY 1971 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE		
V. MEETINGS IN AFRICA OF THE <u>AD HOC</u> GROUP OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE (A/8423/Add.1)		
A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 17	
B. Decisions of the Special Committee	18 - 19	
ANNEX: REPORT OF THE <u>AD HOC</u> GROUP ESTABLISHED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AT ITS 789th MEETING ON 7 APRIL 1971		
VOLUME II		
VI. SOUTHERN RHODESIA (A/8423/Add.2 (Parts I and II))		
A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 30	2
B. Decisions of the Special Committee	31 - 34	9
C. Further consideration by the Special Committee . .	35 - 40	14
D. Further decisions of the Special Committee	41	15
ANNEXES		
I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT		17
II. LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND		42
III. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL		43
VII. NAMIBIA (A/8423/Add.3 (Parts I and II))		
A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 18	45

CONTENTS (continued)

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
	B. Decision of the Special Committee	19	49
	C. Examination of petitions	20 - 23	51
	D. Decision of the Special Committee relating to petitions	24	51
	ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT		52
VIII.	TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION (A/8423/Add.4)		
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 29	90
	B. Decisions of the Special Committee	30 - 32	97
	ANNEXES		
	I. WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT		103
	II. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL		266
III.	LETTER DATED 3 SEPTEMBER 1971 FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR TRUSTEESHIP AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES		269
	VOLUME III		
	(Chapters IX to XXI)		
IX.	SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA (A/8423/Add.5 (Part I))		
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 9	
	B. Decision of the Special Committee	10	
	ANNEXES		
	I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT		
	II. NOTE BY THE CHAIRMAN		
	III. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I		
X.	SPANISH SAHARA (A/8423/Add.5 (Part II))		
	A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 4	
	B. Decisions of the Special Committee	5 - 6	

CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter

Paragraphs

ANNEXES

- I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT
- II. EXCHANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF SPAIN

XI. GIBRALTAR (A/8423/Add.5 (Part II))

- A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 4
- B. Decision of the Special Committee 5

ANNEXES

- I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT
- II. LETTER DATED 17 SEPTEMBER 1971 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF SPAIN TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

XII. FRENCH SOMALILAND (A/8423/Add.5 (Part II))

- A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 5
- B. Decision of the Special Committee 6

ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

XIII. OMAN (A/8423/Add.5 (Part III))

- A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 6
- B. Decision of the Special Committee 7

ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

XIV. NEW HEBRIDES (A/8423/Add.6 (Part I))

- 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 II

XV. NIUE AND THE TOKELAU ISLANDS (A/8423/Add.6 (Part I))

- A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 8
- B. Decisions of the Special Committee 9

CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter

Paragraphs

ANNEXES

- I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT
- II. REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF NIUE
- III. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II
- XVI. GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS, PITCAIRN AND THE SOLOMON ISLANDS (A/8423/Add.6 (Part I))
 - A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 7
 - B. Decisions of the Special Committee 8

ANNEXES

- I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT
- II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II
- XVII. AMERICAN SAMOA AND GUAM (A/8423/Add.6 (Part II))
 - 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 II
- XVIII. TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (A/8423/Add.6 (Part II))
 - A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 15
 - B. Decision of the Special Committee 16

ANNEXES

- I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT
- II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II
- XIX. COCOS (KEELING) ISLANDS, PAPUA AND THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA (A/8423/Add.6 (Part III))
 - A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 10
 - B. Decision of the Special Committee 11

CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter

Paragraphs

ANNEXES

I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II

XX. BRUNEI (A/8423/Add.6 (Part III))

A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 5

B. Decision of the Special Committee 6

ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

XXI. HONG KONG (A/8423/Add.6 (Part III))

A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 4

B. Decision of the Special Committee 5

ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

VOLUME IV

(Chapters XXII to XXVII)

XXII. ANTIGUA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA,
ST. LUCIA AND ST. VINCENT (A/8423/Add.7 (Part I))

A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 5

B. Decision of the Special Committee 6

ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

XXIII. UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS (A/8423/Add.7 (Part II))

A. Consideration by the Special Committee 1 - 9

B. Decision of the Special Committee 10

ANNEXES

I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

II. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III

CONTENTS (continued)

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Paragraphs</u>
XXIV.	BAHAMAS, BERMUDA, BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS, CAYMAN ISLANDS, MONTSERAT AND TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS (A/8423/Add.7 (Part III))	
A.	Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 9
B.	Decisions of the Special Committee	10
ANNEXES		
I.	WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	
II.	NOTE BY THE CHAIRMAN	
III.	REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III	
XXV.	FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS) (A/8423/Add.7 (Part IV))	
A.	Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 7
B.	Decision of the Special Committee	8
ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT		
XXVI.	BRITISH HONDURAS (A/8423/Add.7 (Part IV))	
A.	Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 4
B.	Decision of the Special Committee	5
ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT		
XXVII.	INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 <u>e</u> OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/8423/Add.8/Rev.1)	
A.	Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 6
B.	Decision of the Special Committee	7
ANNEX: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL		

CHAPTER VI
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
(A/8423/Add.2 (Parts I and II))

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. Consideration by the Special Committee.	1 - 30	2
B. Decisions of the Special Committee.	31 - 34	9
C. Further consideration by the Special Committee. . .	35 - 40	14
D. Further decisions of the Special Committee.	41	15

ANNEXES

I. WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	17
II. LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND.	42
III. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL	43

CHAPTER VI

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its 782nd, 784th to 791st, 793rd, 795th, 802nd, 803rd, 806th, 807th, 817th, 819th, 820th, 824th and 825th meetings, between 4 March and 9 September 1971.

2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970. The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 on the implementation of the Declaration, by paragraph 11 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of 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, taking fully into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action ...". By paragraph 13 of the same resolution, 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 ...". In addition, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2652 (XXV) of 3 December 1970 concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, by paragraph 14 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to keep the situation in the Territory under review".

3. During its consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia, the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex I to the present chapter) containing information on action previously taken by the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the latest developments concerning the Territory. The Committee also had before it the text of communications exchanged between the Chairman and the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations (see annex II to the present chapter).

4. In addition, the Special Committee had before it a written petition dated 31 December 1970 concerning Southern Rhodesia from Mr. Ian D. Aiken, Amnesty International, Victorian Section (Australia) (A/AC.109/PET.1172).

5. The Special Committee also had before it the following written petitions relating, inter alia, to Territories in southern Africa in general:

(a) Letter dated 16 March 1971 from Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom (A/AC.109/PET.1158).

(b) Letter dated 19 March 1971 from Mr. Ray Kakrabah-Quarshie, Secretary-General, Ghana United Nations Association (A/AC.109/PET.1166).

(c) Cable dated 21 December 1970 from the Soviet Peace Committee (A/AC.109/PET.1168).

(d) Cable dated 24 August 1971 from the World Peace Council (A/AC.109/PET.1191).

5. At its 785th and 821st meetings, on 29 March and 27 August, the Special Committee, by adopting the 155th and 161st reports of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.691 and L.743), decided to grant the requests for hearing contained in the petitions referred to in paragraph 5 (a) and (d) above.

7. Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, made a statement at the 785th meeting, on 29 March, and replied to questions put to him by the representatives of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.785 and Corr.1).

8. Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General of the World Peace Council, Mr. Alberto Baltra, Mrs. Isabelle Blume, Mr. Carlton Goodlett and Mr. Krishna Menon, members of the delegation of the World Peace Council, made statements at the 824th meeting on 8 September (A/AC.109/PV.824). Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Iraq, India, the United Republic of Tanzania, Ethiopia and Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.824).

9. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee also took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee at its 789th meeting on 7 April 1971 (A/8423/Add.1, Annex). The Group visited Africa during May 1971 for the purpose of maintaining contact with representatives of national liberation movements from the colonial Territories on that continent, obtaining first-hand information on the situation in those Territories and holding consultations with officials of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on matters of common interest. The report included, inter alia, the views expressed by the following representatives of national liberation movements of Southern Rhodesia:

(a) Mr. N.M. Shamuyarira, Secretary of External Affairs, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU);

(b) Mr. A.B. Nyandoro, National Secretary, Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU).

The report of the meetings in Africa of the Ad Hoc Group together with its consideration by the Special Committee is contained in chapter V of the present report (A/8423/Add.1).

10. The Special Committee also took into account the reports of its delegations of observers to the Assembly of the World Peace Council held in Budapest, Hungary, from 13 to 16 May 1971 (A/8423 (Part I)) and to the special meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (A/AC.109/PV.807). An account of the Special Committee's discussion is contained in chapter I of the present report (A/8423 (Part I)).

11. At its 782nd meeting, on 4 March, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided to give consideration as a matter of urgency to the announcement made by the Government of the United Kingdom that it had decided to proceed with the sale of several helicopters and spare parts for military equipment to the Government of South Africa.

12. At the same meeting, the Chairman, in a statement to the Special Committee, submitted for consideration a draft text of a consensus on the matter (A/AC.109/PV.782 and Corr.1). Statements in that connexion were made by the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at the United Nations and by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Syria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Ecuador, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Trinidad and Tobago, Poland, Mali, India, Fiji and Iran (A/AC.109/PV.782 and Corr.1).

13. At the same meeting, the Rapporteur informed the Special Committee of the following drafting changes in the text of the above-mentioned draft consensus:

The second paragraph, which read:

"These resolutions, which call upon all States to observe an unconditional embargo on the supply of arms, military equipment and related material to South Africa, were adopted because of the growing concern of Member States about South Africa's use of such military equipment against the peoples of southern Africa to strengthen its régime of apartheid and perpetuate minority rule in the region."

was replaced by the following:

"These resolutions, which call upon all States to observe an unconditional embargo on the supply of arms, military equipment and related material to South Africa, were adopted because of the growing concern of Member States that South Africa would employ such military equipment against the peoples of southern Africa in order to strengthen its régime of apartheid and perpetuate minority rule in the region."

14. At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted the draft consensus, as revised, without objection (see paragraph 31 below). Following statements by the representatives of Madagascar, the Ivory Coast and Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.782 and Corr.1), the Special Committee decided without objection to transmit the text of the consensus, together with the record of the meeting, to the President of the Security Council. The Special Committee also decided to transmit the text of the consensus to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom for the attention of his Government. Accordingly, the Chairman transmitted the text of the consensus, together with the record of the meeting, to the President of the Security Council (S/10147) and to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom.

15. The general debate covering the question of Southern Rhodesia took place at the 786th to 791st meetings between 30 March and 13 April. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.786), Syria, Iran, India, Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.787 and Corr.1), Afghanistan, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela (A/AC.109/PV.788),

Poland (A/AC.109/PV.789 and Corr.1), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.790), Iraq, Ecuador and Sierra Leone (A/AC.109/PV.791).

16. At the 793rd meeting, on 23 April, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania drew attention to the report that the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games had extended an invitation to the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia to take part in the Olympic Games to be held at Munich in 1972.

17. At its 795th meeting, on 30 April, the Special Committee had before it a draft resolution on the matter referred to above, submitted by the following delegations: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Iran, Iraq, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.703). At the same meeting, the representative of Poland, on behalf of the sponsors, submitted orally the following revisions to the draft resolution:

(a) The first preambular paragraph, which read:

"Gravely concerned by the report that the Organizing Committee of the International Olympic Committee has extended an invitation to the so-called 'National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia' to take part in the forthcoming Olympic Games, to be held at Munich in 1972,"

was replaced by the following:

"Gravely concerned by the report that the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games has extended an invitation to the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia to take part in the Olympic Games to be held at Munich in 1972, .

(b) Operative paragraph 2, which read:

"2. Urges the International Olympic Committee to take urgent steps to suspend the so-called 'National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia' from its membership and to withdraw forthwith its invitation for the Olympic Games at Munich;

was replaced by the following:

"2. Urges the International Olympic Committee to take urgent steps to suspend the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia from its membership and to ask the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games to annul forthwith its invitation for the Olympic Games at Munich;"

(c) Operative paragraph 4, which read:

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the text of this resolution to the President of the International Olympic Committee and to report to the Special Committee on any developments in this matter;"

was replaced by the following:

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the text of the present resolution to the President of the International Olympic Committee and the Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games, and to report to the Special Committee on any developments in this matter;"

18. At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted unanimously the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.703), as orally revised (see paragraph 32 below).

19. On 3 May, the text of the resolution (A/AC.109/369) was transmitted to the President of the International Olympic Committee and to the Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games with a request for information on action taken or envisaged by the respective committees in the implementation of paragraph 2 of the resolution. Copies of the resolution were also transmitted, on 7 May, to States, including the administering Power, for the attention of their Governments.

20. On 30 June, the Secretary-General submitted to the Special Committee the report requested of him in paragraph 4 of the above-mentioned resolution (see annex III to the present chapter). Copies of the report were transmitted to the officers of the two Committees referred to in paragraph 19 above with a further call for the information previously requested of them.

21. At its 802nd meeting, on 21 June, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the representative of Ethiopia and following statements by the representatives of Iraq, the United Republic of Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Poland, Bulgaria, Syria and Iran (A/AC.109/PV.802 and Corr.1 and 2), decided to request its Chairman to prepare and submit for its consideration at a subsequent meeting a draft text of decisions which the Special Committee might take in connexion with the dispatch by the Government of the United Kingdom of a special envoy to continue consultations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

22. In accordance with the above decision, the Chairman at the 803rd meeting, on 22 June, submitted an informal working paper containing the draft text of decisions for the Special Committee's consideration. Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of Trinidad and Tobago, the United Republic of Tanzania, Sweden, Afghanistan, India, Yugoslavia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as by the Executive Secretary of OAU at the United Nations (A/AC.109/PV.803 and Corr.1).

23. At the 806th meeting on 1 July, the representative of Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.719) on the matter, which was finally sponsored by Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia. Consequently, the draft text of decisions submitted by the Chairman, to which reference is made in paragraph 22 above, was considered withdrawn. The representative of Fiji made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.806).

24. Following statements by the representatives of Iraq, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Iran and Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.807), the Special Committee at its 807th meeting on 2 July, adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.719) by a roll-call vote of 18 to none, with 2 abstentions (see paragraph 33 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Fiji, Sweden.

The representative of the Ivory Coast made a statement in explanation of vote (A/AC.109/PV.807). The representative of Mali stated that, had his delegation been present during the voting, it would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

25. On 2 July, the text of the resolution (A/AC.109/374) was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10249) and to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations for the attention of his Government.

26. At the 817th meeting, on 18 August, the representatives of Iraq and Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia on behalf of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.733).

27. At the 819th meeting, on 23 August, statements on the draft resolution were made by the representatives of Bulgaria, Venezuela and Fiji (A/AC.109/PV.819). In his statement to the Special Committee, the representative of Venezuela suggested that operative paragraph 1, which read:

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

should be replaced by the following:

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

28. At the 820th meeting, on 24 August, the representative of Ethiopia informed the Special Committee that the sponsors had accepted the Venezuelan suggestion referred to in paragraph 27 above. Following statements by the representatives of Fiji, the Ivory Coast and Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.820), the Special Committee, at the same meeting, adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.733), as orally revised, by a roll-call vote of 18 to none, with 2 abstentions (see paragraph 34 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Fiji, Sweden.

29. On 23 August, the text of the resolution (A/AC.109/380) was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10298). 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 OAU.

30. In addition to adopting the above-mentioned resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia, the Special Committee, at its 824th and 825th meetings, on 8 and 9 September, considered and adopted a 10-Power draft resolution relating to the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese administration. The text of the draft resolution and an account of its consideration by the Special Committee is contained in chapter V of the present report (A/8423/Add.1).

B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

31. The text of the consensus adopted by the Special Committee at its 782nd meeting, on 4 March, to which reference is made in paragraph 14 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 deplores the decision of the United Kingdom Government to proceed with the sale to South Africa of a number of helicopters and spare parts for military equipment despite the provisions of Security Council resolutions 181 (1963) of 7 August 1963, 182 (1963) of 4 December 1963, 191 (1964) of 18 June 1964 and 282 (1970) of 23 July 1970.

(2) These resolutions, which call upon all States to observe an unconditional embargo on the supply of arms, military equipment and related material to South Africa, were adopted because of the growing concern of Member States that South Africa would employ such military equipment against the peoples of southern Africa in order to strengthen its régime of apartheid and perpetuate minority rule in the region.

(3) Developments in southern Africa, especially South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the authority of the United Nations, the presence of South African police in Southern Rhodesia despite United Nations resolutions calling for their removal, and the growing co-operation between military authorities in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Territories under Portuguese administration, have unfortunately served to increase this concern.

(4) The Special Committee, mindful of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration and to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and other resolutions on the question of decolonization, and mindful also of the provisions of paragraph 3 of the programme of action contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, views with grave concern this decision of the United Kingdom Government, which will have serious repercussions throughout the whole of southern Africa.

(5) Because of the close co-operation which exists between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, aimed at denying the colonial countries and peoples in southern Africa their right to self-determination and independence, the decision of the United Kingdom Government will inevitably increase the capacity and the efforts of those authorities to suppress the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for freedom and independence.

(6) The Special Committee, deploring the sale or supply of arms, ammunition, military equipment and related material to South Africa by any

State whatsoever, urges all States, without exception, to desist forthwith from such sale or supply, in accordance with the aforementioned resolutions.

32. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/369) adopted by the Special Committee at its 795th meeting, on 30 April, to which reference is made in paragraph 18 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,

Gravely concerned by the report that the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games has extended an invitation to the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia to take part in the Olympic Games to be held at Munich in 1972,

Considering that such an invitation seriously obstructs the efforts of the international community to end the rebellion by the minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and, in particular, contravenes the sanctions policy adopted by the Security Council with the intention of isolating the illegal régime from the world community,

1. Deplores the International Olympic Committee's continued recognition of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia and the invitation to participate in the Olympic Games at Munich;

2. Urges the International Olympic Committee to take urgent steps to suspend the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia from its membership and to ask the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games to annul forthwith its invitation for the Olympic Games at Munich;

3. Calls upon all States to comply fully with the relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970 and other pertinent resolutions of the United Nations and to work for the full implementation of the present resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the text of the present resolution to the President of the International Olympic Committee and the Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games, and to report to the Special Committee on any developments in this matter;

5. Decides to keep this and other aspects of the question of Southern Rhodesia under continuous review.

33. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/374) adopted by the Special Committee at its 807th meeting, on 2 July, to which reference is made in paragraph 24 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,

Recalling General Assembly resolution 2383 (XXIII) of 7 November 1968, by which the General Assembly, considering that any independence without

majority rule in Southern Rhodesia was contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, called upon the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enter immediately into consultations with the representatives of political parties in Zimbabwe favouring majority rule,

Noting with deep regret that the Government of the United Kingdom has given no indication of its intention to undertake the consultations called for under the above-mentioned resolution, and deploring the recent dispatch by that Government of a special envoy to continue consultations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia without taking into account the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,

1. Condemns the continued failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to take effective measures to put an end to the illegal régime and calls upon that Government to take such measures without further delay in fulfilment of its responsibility as the administering Power;

2. Reaffirms that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal racist minority régime on the basis of independence without majority rule would be contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960;

3. Calls once again upon the United Kingdom to enter into consultations without further delay with the representatives of political parties of Zimbabwe favouring majority rule, in order to transfer power to the peoples of Zimbabwe on the basis of free elections by universal adult suffrage and of majority rule, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

4. Recommends that the Security Council urgently consider the possibility of taking further measures under the Charter of the United Nations, as envisaged in the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during its twenty-fifth session.

34. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/380) adopted by the Special Committee at its 820th meeting, on 24 August, to which reference is made in paragraph 28 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 report of the Ad Hoc Group established 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 at its 789th meeting on 7 April 1971, 1/

1/ See A/8423/Add.1, annex.

Recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, as well as other relevant resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee,

Recalling further the relevant 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,

Gravely concerned at the continued oppression of the people of Zimbabwe and the denial of their legitimate right to freedom and independence by the illegal racist minority régime, in close collaboration with the régimes in South Africa and Portugal,

Noting with deep regret that, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee, certain States, in particular South Africa and Portugal, continue to assist the illegal racist minority régime, thus rendering ineffective the sanctions adopted by the Security Council,

Deploing the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, to take effective measures to put an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule,

Recalling its resolution of 2 July 1971,^{2/} in which the Special Committee reaffirmed that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal racist minority régime on the basis of independence without majority rule would be contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

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

2. Condemns the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom 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 universal adult suffrage and majority rule, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and calls upon that Government to take such measures, including the use of force, without further delay in fulfilment of its responsibility as the administering Power;

3. Deplores the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom to co-operate with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

^{2/} See paragraph 26 of the present chapter.

Countries and Peoples by rejecting the invitation extended to that Government by the Special Committee to participate in the latter's consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia, and calls upon that Government to extend co-operation and assistance to the Special Committee in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly;

4. Condemns the policies of the Governments, particularly the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which continue to have political, economic, military or other relations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, in defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions and contrary to their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and calls upon those Governments to cease forthwith all such relations and, in particular, to interrupt any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia;

5. Condemns the continued presence and intervention of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia in violation of Security Council resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, and calls upon the administering Power to ensure the immediate expulsion of all such forces and the release of freedom-fighters detained by the illegal régime;

6. 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 3/ and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 4/ both dated 12 August 1949;

7. Calls upon all States, the specialized agencies and other international organizations within the United Nations system, to extend, with the co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, all moral and material assistance to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to attain freedom and independence;

8. Strongly urges all States to comply with the sanctions adopted by the Security Council in order to bring about the isolation of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in all aspects;

9. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime by declaring mandatory all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the need to consider imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal in view of their refusal to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions;

10. Decides to keep the situation in South Rhodesia under continuous review.

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

4/ Ibid., No. 973.

C. FURTHER CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

35. The Special Committee further considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its 828th meeting, on 6 October.

36. At the same meeting, the Rapporteur submitted to the Special Committee for its consideration the following two draft consensi:

(a) Consensus concerning the participation in the XXth Olympic Games of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia

"The Special Committee, recalling its resolution of 30 April 1971, 5/ notes with deep regret the recent decision of the International Olympic Committee to permit the participation in the XXth Olympic Games of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia. Considering that the decision of the International Olympic Committee contravenes the aims and purposes of the relevant Security Council decisions, the Special Committee requests all States, bearing in mind the relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, to take steps to ensure the exclusion of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia from participation in the XXth Olympic Games and to refrain from any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia."

(b) Consensus concerning the decision of the United States Senate relating to the importation of chrome into the United States of America from Southern Rhodesia

"The Special Committee, noting with concern the recent decision of the United States Senate which, if confirmed, would have the effect of permitting the importation of chrome into the United States of America from Southern Rhodesia, urges the United States Government to take the necessary measures, in compliance with the relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, to prevent the enactment of such legislation."

37. Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of India, the Ivory Coast, Venezuela, Iraq, Mali, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Ecuador, Fiji, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Trinidad and Tobago and the United Republic of Tanzania, and by the Rapporteur (A/AC.109/PV.828).

38. Following a further statement by the representative of Venezuela, in which he put forward certain suggestions, and taking into account the drafting changes suggested by the representative of Fiji (A/AC.109/PV.828), the Rapporteur submitted the following revised text of the draft consensus, to which reference is made in paragraph 36 (b) above:

5/ See A/8423/Add.2 (Part I), para. 32.

"The Special Committee, noting with concern the recent decision of the United States Senate which, if confirmed, would permit the importation of chrome into the United States of America from Southern Rhodesia and thus would violate the sanctions being applied by the Security Council, urges the United States Government to take the necessary measures, in compliance with the relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, to prevent the enactment of such legislation."

39. At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted, without objection, the draft consensus referred to in paragraph 36 (a) above. The Special Committee also adopted, without objection, the draft consensus as revised, to which reference is made in paragraph 38 above. The text of these consensi is reproduced in paragraph 41 (a) and (b) below. In taking these decisions, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that the reservations expressed by certain members would be reflected in the record of the meeting (A/AC.109/PV.828). The Special Committee further decided to transmit the text of the consensi to the President of the Security Council for the attention of that body.

40. On 6 October, the texts of the consensi were transmitted to the President of the Security Council for the attention of that body (S/10355), as well as to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations for the attention of his Government. The text of the consensus relating to the decision of the United States Senate was also transmitted to the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations for the attention of his Government. In addition, the text of the consensus relating to the decision of the International Olympic Committee was transmitted to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid for the information of that Committee.

D. FURTHER DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

41. The text of the two consensi, to which reference is made in paragraph 39 above, is reproduced below:

(a) Consensus concerning the participation in the XXth Olympic Games of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia

"The Special Committee, recalling its resolution of 30 April 1971, 6/ notes with deep regret the recent decision of the International Olympic Committee to permit the participation in the XXth Olympic Games of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia. Considering that the decision of the International Olympic Committee contravenes the aims and purposes of the relevant Security Council decisions, the Special Committee requests all States, bearing in mind the relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, to take steps to ensure the exclusion of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia from participation in the XXth Olympic Games and to refrain from any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia."

6/ Ibid.

(b) Consensus concerning the decision of the United States Senate relating to the importation of chrome into the United States of America from Southern Rhodesia

"The Special Committee, noting with concern the recent decision of the United States Senate which, if confirmed, would permit the importation of chrome into the United States of America from Southern Rhodesia, and thus would violate the sanctions being applied by the Security Council, urges the United States Government to take the necessary measures, in compliance with the relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, to prevent the enactment of such legislation."

ANNEX I*

WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
A. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1970	1 - 5
B. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN 1970	6 - 8
C. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY	
1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	9 - 53
2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS	54 - 86

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.685.

A. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AND BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1970

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. The Special Committee took action twice during 1970 on the question of Southern Rhodesia. It adopted a consensus at its 726th meeting, on 9 March, and a resolution at its 759th meeting, on 25 August. b/

3. In its consensus, adopted on 9 March, the Special Committee strongly condemned the purported assumption of republican status and other illegal acts by the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Special Committee called 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 the illegal régime and called upon 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. Finally, the Special Committee expressed its feeling 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.

4. In its resolution, adopted on 25 August, the Special Committee, inter alia, reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and condemned the purported assumption of republican status by the illegal racist minority régime and all other illegal measures adopted by that régime for the purpose of depriving the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights. Deeply concerned that the sanctions adopted had not so far brought about the end of the illegal racist minority régime, the Committee condemned 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 racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer all powers to the people of Zimbabwe on the

a/ For information on action prior to 1970, see the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session and the documents referred to therein: Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. V, para. 7.

b/ Ibid., chap. V, para. 17.

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 urged all States to work towards the isolation of the illegal régime in all aspects, including the severance of political, economic and other relations, as well as of contacts in the fields of culture and sports. The resolution also drew the attention of the Security Council to the increasingly dangerous situation in the Territory and stressed the necessity of extending sanctions to South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments, by refusing to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council, were primarily responsible for the continuation of the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

5. On 3 December 1970, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 2652 (XXV) 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 in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right by all the means at their disposal;

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

"3. Affirms that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal racist minority régime would be contrary to the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV);

"4. Condemns the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 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 the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and calls upon that Government to take such measures without further delay in fulfilment of its responsibility as the administering Power;

"5. Condemns the intervention of South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia in violation of Security Council resolution 277 (1970);

"6. Condemns the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and other Governments that continue to maintain political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia in contravention of the relevant United Nations resolutions, thus violating their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and calls upon those Governments to discontinue all such relations;

"7. Deplores the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as requested in paragraph 16 of General Assembly resolution 2508 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969, on action taken in the implementation of that resolution, and calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to submit the said report to the Special Committee during its next session;

"8. Calls upon the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African forces from Southern Rhodesia;

"9. Calls upon all States to ensure, under the terms of Security Council resolution 277 (1970), the immediate interruption of any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia;

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

"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 c/ and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, d/ both 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 the armed attacks perpetrated against neighbouring States in violation of international peace and security;

"13. 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) Widening the scope of the sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime to include all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter;

"(b) Imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments have blatantly refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council;

"14. Requests the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territory under review."

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

d/ Ibid., No. 973.

B. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN 1970

6. The Security Council considered the question of Southern Rhodesia twice during 1970. On 18 March, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, adopted a further resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia (resolution 277 (1970)), the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

.....

"1. Condemns the illegal proclamation of republican status of the Territory by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia;

"2. Decides that Member States shall refrain from recognizing this illegal régime or from rendering any assistance to it;

"3. Calls upon Member States to take appropriate measures, at the national level, to ensure that any act performed by officials and institutions of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia shall not be accorded any recognition, official or otherwise, including judicial notice, by the competent organs of their State;

"4. Reaffirms the primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom for enabling the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and urges that Government to discharge fully its responsibility;

"5. Condemns all measures of political repression, including arrests, detentions, trials and executions, which violate fundamental freedoms and rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia;

"6. Condemns the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which continue to have political, economic, military, and other relations with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions;

"7. Demands the immediate withdrawal of South African police and armed personnel from the Territory of Southern Rhodesia;

"8. Calls upon Member States to take more stringent measures in order to prevent any circumvention by their nationals, organizations, companies and other institutions of their nationality, of the decisions taken by the Security Council in resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968), all provisions of which shall fully remain in force;

"9. Decides, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter and in furthering the objective of ending the rebellion, that Member States shall:

"(a) Immediately sever all diplomatic, consular, trade, military and other relations that they may have with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and terminate any representation that they may maintain in the Territory;

"(b) Immediately interrupt any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia;

"10. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom as the administering Power, to rescind or withdraw any existing agreements on the basis of which foreign consular, trade and other representation may at present be maintained in or with Southern Rhodesia;

"11. Requests Member States to take all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter to deal with the situation in Southern Rhodesia, not excluding any of the measures provided in that Article;

"12. Calls upon Member States to take appropriate action to suspend any membership or associate membership that the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia has in specialized agencies of the United Nations;

"13. Urges Member States of any international or regional organizations to suspend the membership of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia from their respective organizations and to refuse any request for membership from that régime;

"14. Urges Member States to increase moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their legitimate struggle to achieve freedom and independence;

"15. Requests specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to give aid and assistance to refugees from Southern Rhodesia and those who are suffering from oppression by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia;

"16. Requests Member States, the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations in the United Nations system to make an urgent effort to increase their assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority with a view to helping her solve such special economic problems as she may be confronted with arising from the carrying out of the decisions of the Security Council in this question;

"17. Calls upon Member States, and in particular those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for by the present resolution;

"18. Urges, having regard to the principle stated in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

"19. Calls upon Member States to report to the Secretary-General by 1 June 1970 on the measures taken to implement the present resolution;

"20. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of this resolution, the first report not to be made later than 1 July 1970;

"21. Decides that the Committee of the Security Council established by resolution 253 (1968), in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, shall be entrusted with the responsibility of:

"(a) Examining such reports on the implementation of the present resolution as will be submitted by the Secretary-General;

"(b) To seek from Member States such further information regarding the effective implementation of the provisions laid down in the present resolution as it may consider necessary for the proper discharge of its duty to report to the Security Council;

"(c) To study ways and means by which Member States could carry out more effectively the decisions of the Security Council regarding sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and to make recommendations to the Security Council;

"22. Requests the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to continue to give maximum assistance to the Committee and to provide the Committee with any information which it may receive in order that the measures envisaged in this resolution as well as resolutions 232 (1966), and 253 (1968) may be rendered fully effective;

"23. Calls upon Member States as well as the specialized agencies to supply such information as may be sought by the Committee in pursuance of this resolution;

"24. Decides to maintain this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments."

7. On 15 June the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) submitted its third report to the Security Council e/. In its report, the Committee analysed all the information available to it and examined specific cases brought to its attention, as well as the foreign trade of Southern Rhodesia for 1969. The Committee made the following observations and recommendations:

"99. The Committee regrets to note that the measures taken by the Security Council in regard to Southern Rhodesia, including the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia, have not been fully effective and have not led to the desired results. Although there has been some effect on agricultural exports from Southern Rhodesia, mineral exports have increased and are likely to increase in 1970.

e/ S/9844 and Add.1 and Corr.1, Add.2 and Corrs. 1 and 2 and Corr.3, and Add.3.

"100. As a result of the adoption of Security Council resolution 277 (1970), the Committee has been entrusted with additional responsibilities 'to study ways and means by which Member States could carry out more effectively the decisions of the Security Council regarding sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and to make recommendations to the Security Council'. The number of cases of suspected sanctions-breaking notified to the Committee has increased considerably since the last report.

"101. The Committee considers it highly desirable, however, that more Members of the United Nations should report to the Committee cases of suspected sanctions-breaking where they have reliable evidence. The Committee needs from Member States full details and, where appropriate, the relevant documentation. The Committee notes that many of the replies received from certain Governments to its requests for information about their investigations of suspected evasions have been incomplete and that lengthy periods have elapsed in some cases before replies have been received. The Committee intends to study further cases of action taken by national Governments or courts against companies and individuals continuing to trade illegally with Southern Rhodesia.

"102. The Committee regrets the lack of co-operation on the part of certain countries.

"103. It should be stated that the Committee has strong grounds for affirming that the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, in spite of repeated appeals by the Security Council and in defiance of its resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970), are continuing to trade with Southern Rhodesia, and this is considerably reducing the effectiveness of the sanctions called for by the Security Council in its resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970).

"104. The Committee considers that the Security Council should again draw the attention of Member States, in particular South Africa and Portugal, to the obligations of Member States under Articles 25, 48 and 49 of the Charter.

"105. Southern Rhodesia's products find their market in many countries other than Portugal and South Africa. The Committee wishes to stress the need for more co-operation by the main maritime Powers with the work of the Committee. The Committee intends to consider whether the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization can play a useful role in this regard. The Committee thinks it desirable that those Members of the United Nations which have not taken measures (legislative, administrative or juridical) to control their shipping in accordance with paragraph 3 (e) of resolution 253 (1968) should do so urgently. The Committee wishes to point out the desirability of national authorities at trans-shipment ports and at free ports investigating carefully the origin of any goods in transit through their territories which have been reported to them as being suspect in origin.

"106. The Committee noted with concern that, in spite of paragraph 8 of resolution 253 (1968), European immigration into Southern Rhodesia remains substantial, and has this matter under active consideration.

"107. The above observations and recommendations were agreed upon by the Committee after consideration of proposals submitted to it by certain delegations. Other suggestions for observations and recommendations were made but were not agreed upon. The full texts of the proposals made by Nepal and the USSR are included as appendices I and II. f/ Discussion of these texts is summarized in the records of the Committee's thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth meetings which are included as appendix III." g/

8. The Security Council again considered the question of Southern Rhodesia in November. On 17 November, the Council, acting in accordance with its previous decisions on Southern Rhodesia taken under Chapter VII of the Charter, adopted a further resolution (resolution 288 (1970)), the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

...

"1. Reaffirms its condemnation of the illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia;

"2. Calls upon the United Kingdom as the administering Power in discharge of its responsibility to take urgent and effective measures to bring to an end the illegal rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"3. Decides that the present sanctions against Southern Rhodesia shall remain in force;

"4. Urges all States to fully implement all Security Council resolutions pertaining to Southern Rhodesia in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, and deplores the attitude of those States which have persisted in giving moral, political and economic assistance to the illegal régime;

"5. Further urges all States in furtherance of the objectives of the Security Council not to grant any form of recognition to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia;

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

f/ See S/9844/Add.1.

g/ See S/9844/Add.2.

C. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY

1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Entry into force of the new republican "Constitution"

9. It will be recalled that, at the end of 1969, the illegal régime approved a new "Constitution" which, among other things would provide for the creation of a republic with a president as head of State, an executive council consisting of a prime minister and other ministers to advise the president, and a legislature consisting of the head of State and a bicameral parliament. There would be a senate of twenty-three members whose powers would be strictly limited to delaying legislation and a house of assembly consisting initially of sixty-six members. Of these, fifty would be Europeans elected by single member European constituencies and sixteen would be Africans, of whom eight would be elected by as many African constituencies and eight by tribal electoral colleges of chiefs. It was also provided that the existing "A" and "B" rolls of voters would be replaced by separate European and African rolls. The "Constitution" would also contain a number of entrenched provisions including, inter alia, provisions relating to a "declaration of rights", the franchise and land tenure arrangements. h/

10. On 2 March 1970, the illegal régime dissolved the Legislative Assembly and proclaimed Southern Rhodesia a republic. The proclamation, giving effect to the assumption of republican status, named Mr. Clifford Dupont, "Officer Administering the Government" as "Acting President".

11. Elections to the "House of Assembly" under the new "Constitution" were held on 10 April. According to information published by the illegal régime, 87,000 Europeans and 8,326 Africans were registered to vote in the elections.

12. The Rhodesian Front, led by Mr. Ian Smith, won all the fifty European roll constituency seats, accounting for 77 per cent of the votes cast in the thirty-seven constituencies that were contested. Mr. Smith's party was returned unopposed in the other thirteen constituencies. The multiracial Centre Party, led by Mr. Pat Bashford, won seven of the eight African-roll constituency seats; the remaining African seat was won by the National People's Union. i/ The additional eight African members elected by tribal electoral colleges have formed a new political party, the Rhodesian Electoral Union, with Mr. R.C. Makaya as its leader.

13. On 13 April, the "Acting President" swore in the first republican cabinet with Mr. Smith as "Prime Minister". The new cabinet, which includes only one new minister (Mr. Roger Hawkins, replacing Brigadier Andrew Dunlop), is as follows:

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

i/ Information concerning the Centre Party and the National People's Union is contained in previous working papers (see ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. V, annex I, para. 40; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, para. 41.

"Prime Minister" - Ian Douglas Smith

"Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance and Posts" - John Wrathall

"Minister of Mines" - Ian Dillon

"Minister of Roads and Road Traffic, of Transport and Power" - Roger Hawkins

"Minister of Foreign Affairs, of Defence and of Public Service" -
John (Jack) Howman

"Minister of Justice, Law and Order" - Desmond Lardner-Burke

"Minister of Health, Labour and Social Welfare" - Ian McLean

"Minister of Commerce and Industry" - Bernard Mussett

"Minister of Local Government and Housing" - Mark Partridge

"Minister of Education" - Philip Smith

"Minister of Agriculture" - David Smith

"Minister of Internal Affairs" - Lance Smith

"Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism" - P.K. Van der Byl

"Minister of Lands and of Water Development" - Philip van Heerden

14. On 28 April, the "Senate" constituted under the new "Constitution", elected Mr. Jack William Pithey, former government Chief Whip in the old Legislative Assembly, as its "President". The "Senate" is composed of ten European Senators elected by the European members of the "House of Assembly", ten African members elected by the Council of Chiefs, and three members appointed by the "President."

15. Mr. Dupont, the "Acting President", was sworn in as the first "President" of the "Republic of Rhodesia" on 16 April 1970 and officially opened the first "Parliament" under the "Republic" on 28 May 1970.

16. On 2 March, Mr. Michael Stewart, then Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in the United Kingdom Government, declared in the House of Commons that "the purported assumption of a republican status by the régime in Southern Rhodesia is, like the 1965 declaration of independence itself, illegal". He stated that the event in no way affected the United Kingdom Government's determination to maintain economic sanctions and to increase their efficiency wherever possible. This further act of illegality and disloyalty had certain legal consequences for those who had perpetrated it or were associated with it. It could no longer be disputed that the members and supporters of the régime were seeking to deprive the Queen of her authority in a part of her dominions. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary added that those who continued to serve a régime which asserted illegally that Southern Rhodesia was a republic - like those appointed by the régime since 1965 - could not be regarded as serving the Crown in Southern Rhodesia. In the view of the United Kingdom Government,

this change in the status of those public servants must have consequences for the functions they performed and for the validity of acts done in the performance of those functions.

17. The action taken by the United Nations following the purported assumption of republican status by the illegal régime is set out in paragraph 5 above.

Consular and other official representation in Southern Rhodesia

18. Prior to the illegal declaration of independence, twenty countries had maintained some form of consular relations with Southern Rhodesia. Up to the time of the purported assumption of republican status by the illegal régime on 2 March, seven of these countries had already closed their consulates in protest against the illegal declaration of independence. Following the action taken on 2 March, the remaining thirteen countries, with the exception of South Africa and Portugal, severed their last links with the illegal régime. The countries concerned were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland and the United States of America.

19. On 30 April, the Government of Portugal announced that its Consul-General in Salisbury would be withdrawn. He left on 9 May, but the office has remained open. On 10 March, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Mr. Hilgard Muller, announced that South Africa's representation would not be withdrawn and added that relations with Southern Rhodesia were to remain unchanged. The South African representative is accredited to the "Foreign Minister of Rhodesia", not to the "head of State".

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

20. On 3 March 1970, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), meeting in Addis Ababa, adopted a resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia. In its resolution, the Council of Ministers:

(1) Vigorously denounced the announcement of the so-called Republic in Zimbabwe by the racist minority régime in Salisbury, and unequivocally considered as null and void any form of government not based on the principle of majority rule.

(2) Condemned the Government of the United Kingdom and other imperialist Powers which supported its consistent refusal to use force as the only means of establishing legality in Zimbabwe, as well as their complicity in sabotaging the comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions decided upon by the United Nations Security Council.

(3) Called upon all States which continued to maintain political, consular, economic, military or any other relations, including all means of communication and transportation with the Salisbury régime, to break off those relations immediately.

(4) Declared that any recognition of the illegal régime and all its institutions constituted a defiant and hostile act towards Africa.

(5) Reaffirmed its conviction that the use of force was the only way to restore the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe, decided to give immediately substantial additional assistance to the freedom-fighters of Zimbabwe to help them intensify the armed struggle, and called upon member States of the OAU to take financial, material, military and other appropriate measures to meet the new situation.

(6) Paid tribute to those patriots of Zimbabwe engaged in the armed struggle against the illegal racist régime, and called upon all the people of Zimbabwe to intensify the struggle for the liberation of their territory.

(7) Requested the Foreign Ministers of Algeria, Senegal and Zambia, in conjunction with the African group at the United Nations, to take up the matter with the Security Council to apply Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and to request the United Kingdom to resort to the use of force with a view to establishing legality in Zimbabwe.

21. On 31 August, the Council of Ministers of OAU meeting again in Addis Ababa, adopted a general resolution on decolonization in which it declared its firm opposition to any form of government in Zimbabwe that was not based on the principle of African majority rule; condemned the South African and Portuguese authorities for failing to comply with decisions of the United Nations Security Council regarding economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; and invited the Security Council to ensure strict implementation of economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

Relations with South Africa

22. On 27 February 1970, South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr. Muller, issued a statement reaffirming that relations with Southern Rhodesia would remain unchanged and that Southern Rhodesia's having become a republic would make no difference in the relations between the two countries.

23. On 13 March, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. John Vorster, reportedly stated that the South African police stationed in Southern Rhodesia would remain there to help in the fight against subversion from beyond South Africa's borders.

24. Mr. Vorster, accompanied by Mr. Muller and other officials, arrived in Salisbury on 21 May for a two-day visit as the guests of Mr. Smith. The "Foreign Minister" of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Howman, stated that the visit was entirely informal and that no official programme had been arranged. He added that the visit was the result of a long-standing invitation.

25. Before returning to South Africa on 23 May, Mr. Vorster held a news conference in Salisbury during which he stated, in reply to questions, that Southern Rhodesia was not an embarrassment to his Government. As regards South Africa's foreign policy, he stated that his main concern was to work with other southern African countries to make southern Africa one of the most peaceful and prosperous places in the world. He stated that the main purpose of his trip had been to visit South Africa's friends.

26. On 10 July, Mr. Smith arrived in Pretoria, South Africa for what was described as a private visit, as the guest of Mr. Vorster. It was reported that Mr. Smith held talks with the Prime Minister during his stay in Pretoria. On 12 November, Mr. Smith paid another visit to South Africa, at the personal invitation of Mr. Vorster. On 27 September, Mr. Smith again visited South Africa, reportedly on a holiday, and held discussions with Mr. Vorster on what were described as matters of mutual interest. Mr. Smith returned to Southern Rhodesia on 17 October 1970.

27. On 31 October, the illegal régime announced in Salisbury that Mr. Muller, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, was in Southern Rhodesia on a private visit and that while there he was using the opportunity to discuss matters of common interest with the "Foreign Minister" of Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Muller returned to South Africa on 2 November.

Policy of new Government of the United Kingdom regarding the
question of Southern Rhodesia

28. It was stated in the Queen's speech at the ceremonial opening of Parliament on 2 July 1970, that the new Government would make a further effort to find a sensible and just solution of the Rhodesian problem in accordance with the five principles. j/ Speaking in the debate which followed, the new Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, said that the Government would "also honour our undertaking to make a further effort to see whether a settlement of the Rhodesian problem on the basis of the five principles is possible. We do not propose to take hasty steps. We shall move only with proper preparation and in full recognition of the strong feelings which... exist. But we believe that it is our duty to determine for ourselves the prospects of finding an acceptable settlement, and we are sure that a further attempt must be made."

29. On 9 November, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, made a statement in the House of Commons on the question of Southern Rhodesia. He said that the United Kingdom Government faced a situation in Southern Rhodesia which was even less amenable to solution than it had been in 1969 or when the last attempts were made at a solution aboard HMS Tiger and HMS Fearless. k/ Sir Alec declared that, apart from the republican status assumed by Mr. Smith for Rhodesia, Mr. Smith's new constitution presented a much greater obstacle to agreement than the constitution on which the United Kingdom Government had to work before, but, however long the odds against a settlement, no new Government could simply let the matter lie where it was without a new attempt to see if a settlement was possible. The consequences of final rupture - because that was what it would be - were so serious for Rhodesia, for the Europeans and the Africans in that country, and for the future of southern Africa as a whole, that one more try should be made even though the evidence was that the chances of success were remote.

j/ Up until 1966, successive British Governments had subscribed to five principles on which they would need to be satisfied before the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia. On 25 January 1966 the then United Kingdom Government added a sixth principle. The six principles are set out in an earlier report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly: ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. V, annex I, foot-note g/.

k/ See ibid., Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (part I), document A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III, paras. 88-101; and ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. V, annex I, paras. 72-77.

30. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary added that, to this end, he had sent the previous week, on behalf of the Government, a communication of a preliminary nature to Mr. Smith, through the channel of the United Kingdom Ambassador in Pretoria and Mr. Smith's representative there. This was simply a first exploratory step in a process of trying to establish whether there was a realistic basis for a negotiated settlement at all within the ambit of the five principles subscribed to through the years by a majority on both sides of the House of Commons. This exploratory stage might take some time, because it was necessary that the United Kingdom Government and Mr. Smith should agree on the basis and purpose of talks before a detailed negotiation could begin. The United Kingdom Government must be sure that Mr. Smith and the United Kingdom Government were talking about the same thing. He also said that the substance of the exchanges had to be kept confidential until there were sure signs of success on the one hand or failure on the other.

31. On the same day, the House of Commons approved the Southern Rhodesian Act, 1965 (Continuation) Order, 1970. 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. It authorized, inter alia, the continuation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia for another year.

Land tenure legislation

32. The "Land Tenure Act of 1969", the provisions of which are entrenched in the new "Constitution", divided the land of Southern Rhodesia into three categories - African, European and national. Under this act, coloured persons (mixed race) and Asians are recognized as Europeans. The act also made provision for the elimination of pockets at present allocated to one group in large areas allocated to another group, and for the enactment of legislation on the ownership and occupation of land in European areas which makes provision for different classes of Europeans. The following developments concerning land tenure legislation were reported in 1970:

"Property Owners (Residential Protection) Bill"

33. On 26 November, the régime published its draft "Property Owners (Residential Protection) Bill" which was to be presented to the legislature in 1971. Mr. Partridge, the "Minister of Local Government and Housing", said that the bill was aimed at preventing racial friction and the depreciation of property in mainly European areas infiltrated by coloured (mixed race) persons or Asians.

34. The bill defines Asians as people of Indian, Pakistani or Ceylonese parentage; Chinese persons are considered to be Europeans. The ownership and occupation of land by Africans is not affected as this is regulated by the "Land Tenure Act". The Asian and coloured communities, which number some 25,000, have declared their opposition to the bill.

35. Under the terms of the bill, the "President" may declare any area occupied predominantly by one race as an "exclusive area", in which other races may not live, on the application of fifteen property owners of the predominant race. The basis for the application must be that racial harmony is being endangered or that property values are depreciating through the infiltration of another race. All applications for an area to be designated an "exclusive area" would be studied

by an investigator, who must be a retired judge, magistrate, advocate or attorney with at least ten years' experience. The "President", after considering the investigator's report, may refuse the application. If the investigator finds that the Asian or coloured person concerned has lived in the area for a "reasonable" time and that racial harmony and property values are not being affected, he must recommend that occupation or ownership should continue. Excluded people would be given three months to leave their houses. Full compensation would be paid by the authorities, and alternative residential land provided. No family could be evicted if there were no accommodation for them to live together. Any person with diplomatic immunity, some mixed-marriage couples, and people of an "excluded race" who have lived in the area for two years after the bill has become law and before an application has been made for an area to be declared "exclusive" would be exempt from the effects of the bill.

Eviction of Tangwena people

36. It will be recalled that, on 3 September 1969, Southern Rhodesia troops and police forcibly evicted a number of Tangwena people from their traditional home, which had been designated European land under the Land Apportionment Act (now replaced by the "Land Tenure Act"), and that the Tangwenas involved were removed to adjoining tribal trust land. They later returned to their home, in defiance of the orders of the illegal régime.

37. The régime made further attempts to evict the Tangwenas in the latter half of 1970. In November of that year, it was reported that many of those evicted had gone into hiding in the nearby mountains rather than obey official orders to quit the area. Their leader, Chief Rekayi Tangwena, was reported to have stated that more than 1,000 men, women and children were living in the mountains, in order to evade the police. On 24 November, the Southern Rhodesian authorities destroyed twenty huts belonging to those Tangwenas who had refused to move. Chief Rekayi reportedly stated, on 25 November, that policemen with guns and dogs were hunting for his people in the mountains.

38. On 14 January 1971, a spokesman for the "Ministry of Internal Affairs" stated that the ministry's task of removing the Tangwena people had been completed and that they had been resettled on new land allocated to them in the adjoining African area.

Relations with Christian churches

39. On the initiative of the Roman Catholic Church, a meeting of church leaders representing Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians was held on 28 April 1970 to express opposition to the "Land Tenure Act". In a joint statement issued after the meeting, the leaders declared that the churches intended to carry out their multiracial work without regard to the allocation of land to African or European people. They also said that the churches would refuse to register under the act. Under the act, the churches were required to register as voluntary organizations by 1 September 1970, in order to own or occupy land in either of the racial areas, and to apply for permission to continue their traditionally multiracial work at churches, schools and hospitals.

40. On 1 June, the régime issued a pamphlet in which it reaffirmed the applicability of the "Land Tenure Act" to the churches in the following terms:

"The Land Apportionment Act gave rights of occupation to African tenants on mission land in the European area. The Land Tenure Act calls for the registration of these rights and gives the responsible minister the power to terminate them. The reason for the granting to Government of such wide powers is to enable it to clear up islands of African occupation which lie within European areas, but which are quite unrelated to the actual work of the mission.

"Mission institutions which are to be established for the benefit of Africans who are not working in the European area will be encouraged to develop in the African areas rather than on missionary land in the European area. This is in conformity with government policy of bolstering the development of the African area."

41. Following meetings between Mr. Smith and the church leaders, the "House of Assembly", in October 1970, passed the "Land Tenure (Amendment) Bill" to allow continued occupation of mission lands by schools, clinics and hospitals. The bill provides that it shall be deemed that a permit has been issued in respect of any mission land to allow occupation by any African undergoing education at a school which was established before 2 March 1970. A similar provision will apply to a preacher or a teacher employed by a religious body owning the land, as well as to a doctor, employee or patient at a clinic or hospital. The bill further provides that if a bona fide religious body notifies the "Minister of Lands" before 2 March 1971 of the details of land owned or leased on 2 March 1970, the religious body will be deemed to have made application to own or lease that land and the application will be deemed granted.

Developments concerning internal security matters

Clashes between security forces and African freedom-fighters

42. Referring to the clashes in January 1970 between the security forces of Southern Rhodesia, supported by South African police stationed in that Territory and the African freedom-fighters, Mr. Smith stated in the Legislative Assembly on 29 January, that the evidence of captured "terrorists" proved conclusively that the Zambian authorities were not only well aware of the activities and intentions of the "terrorists" but had actively assisted their incursions into Rhodesia. A Rhodesian police patrol boat had been subjected to an unprovoked attack by machine-gun and small arms fire from the Zambian bank of the Zambezi River, and this had been followed by "terrorist" incursions from Zambia. The Zambian Government had full knowledge of these activities and could not escape responsibility for incidents directly resulting from its co-operation with the "terrorists". The policy of his régime was to live in amity and peace with all its neighbours but it could not ignore the continuance of assistance to "terrorist" incursions into Rhodesia.

43. The Minister for Home Affairs of Zambia, Mr. Lewis Changufu, in a statement issued on the same day, said that his Government had refused to accept responsibility for the incidents in the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia involving freedom-fighters and rebel forces. Mr. Changufu said the incidents were a direct result of the oppression of the majority of the people. In the past the Zambians along the borders of countries under minority régimes had suffered constant premeditated and unprovoked attacks; Southern Rhodesian aircraft had in the past violated Zambian air space and intimidated innocent villagers along

the Zambezi. Nevertheless, the Zambian Government had avoided taking measures which could only serve to increase tension in the areas.

44. Mr. Lardner-Burke, the "Minister of Law and Order", in a statement in the "House of Assembly" on 11 June 1970, said that earlier in the year, a number of small bands of heavily armed "terrorists" had entered Rhodesia at widely separated points along the northern border with the object of making hit and run attacks at selected targets or fomenting subversion in local communities. In nearly all instances these "terrorists" had been accounted for and many had already stood trial for their misdeeds and been sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment.

45. In his presidential address to the "Parliament" on 28 May 1970, Mr. Dupont stated that his "Government" intended to strengthen the effectiveness of the armed forces so that they would continue to be in a position to meet any threat that might be posed against Rhodesia's territorial integrity. His "Government" also planned to amend the Defence Act of 1955 and to base the military law on Roman Dutch law instead of an English law as was the case at present. His "Government" would continue to do everything to assist the security forces to maintain their successful protection of Rhodesia against the communist threat from the north. On behalf of all the people of Rhodesia, he reaffirmed the debt of gratitude which the country owed to the security forces which were defending the country so successfully against terrorism.

46. By an amendment to the Rhodesia Defence Act, effective from 1 January 1971, every non-African male resident in Southern Rhodesia between the ages of eighteen and thirty, is liable for national service, irrespective of his nationality.

Security legislation

47. In February 1970, the régime passed through the Legislative Assembly an amendment to the Official Secrets Act, increasing the maximum sentences for offences under the Act from five to twenty-five years imprisonment. Mr. Lardner-Burke, "Minister of Justice, Law and Order", said that the maximum penalty would apply only in a "really bad case" of espionage, such as giving plans to the enemy in case of war.

48. On 2 June, the régime extended for a further twelve months the state of emergency, which was declared in Southern Rhodesia on 5 November 1965. Under the transitional provisions of the new "Constitution", the state of emergency, which had been due for renewal by 21 April 1970, had been deemed to continue until 2 June 1970.

49. On 20 August, the "House of Assembly" extended for a further two years, until 31 August 1972, the relevant sections of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, to empower the "Minister of Justice, Law and Order" to restrict persons if it was considered desirable for maintaining law and order. Mr. Lardner-Burke stated that the powers were needed to deal with anyone who was likely to give assistance to "terrorists".

Other developments

50. On 16 June 1970, the régime announced that Mr. Leopold Takawira, a detainee, had died from natural causes - diabetes - in Harari hospital on 15 June. The announcement stated that Mr. Takawira had been under medical treatment for the past year. Mr. Takawira, a Vice-President of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), had been in detention since 1964. ZANU issued a statement on the same day, declaring that Mr. Takawira had died in hospital after being tortured in Salisbury's maximum security prison. The ZANU statement charged that ZANU leaders detained in Southern Rhodesia had been subject to the most brutal and inhuman treatment.

51. On 13 November, the régime announced that twenty prisoners condemned to death - almost all of them under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act - had been reprieved and that their death sentences had been commuted to life imprisonment. It is estimated that there are still about twenty Africans under sentence of death in Rhodesian prisons. On the same day, Mr. Lardner-Burke announced that there were 143 Rhodesians in detention and only two in restriction. Four years ago there were between 300 and 400 restrictees.

University College of Rhodesia

52. Following the declaration of Southern Rhodesia as a republic by the illegal régime, links between British universities and the multiracial University College in Southern Rhodesia were also affected. Students of the University College (which cannot grant its own degrees) sit for external degrees of London University in general subjects and of Birmingham University in medicine. London University announced on 11 March that it would not issue degrees to students at the University College after November 1972. On 18 March, the Senate of Birmingham University decided to withdraw sponsorship of the University College's medical school; however, special efforts would be made to safeguard the future of students already enrolled at the Salisbury Medical School. Sponsorship was withdrawn because of a decision by the Southern Rhodesian authorities which would have the effect of introducing racial discrimination in the teaching hospitals at Salisbury.

53. In a counter-move, the illegal régime decided to grant the University College of Rhodesia full university status on 1 January 1971, and, to this end, reconstituted the Council of the University College (the governing body). In June 1970, about 250 students, mostly Africans, organized demonstrations on the campus to demand African representation on future college councils. On 20 June 1970, the Council of the University College of Rhodesia, in an open letter to all students, assured them that non-racialism would be preserved in the Charter of the University when it attained full independence in 1971.

2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

General

54. In April 1970, the illegal régime published an Economic Survey of Rhodesia for 1969, in which it provided selected statistics on the state of the national economy. ^{1/} According to the survey, the gross domestic product of Southern

^{1/} For the United Kingdom Government's views on the illegal régime's economic survey for 1969, see S/9844/Add.1, annex II.

Rhodesia increased from \$R782.6 million in 1968 to \$R892.4 million m/ in 1969, achieving a rate of growth in real terms of about 11 per cent, as against 3 per cent for 1968. The exceptional increase was attributed mainly to a swing from a very poor agricultural season in 1968 to a good season in 1969. Over the past three years, the average real rate of growth of the domestic product has been 6.5 per cent per annum. Apart from agriculture, which has been adversely affected by weather conditions and fluctuations in export markets, other sectors of the economy were reported to have grown by over 30 per cent between 1966 and 1969. The increase in economic activity was reflected in all the major sectors of the economy: agricultural production, mineral production, construction output and manufacturing output all attained new record levels in 1969.

55. The biggest single contribution to the gross domestic product was made by manufacturing which accounted for 19 per cent, against 18.2 per cent for agriculture. Prior to the unilateral declaration of independence and until 1968, agriculture was the major contributor, followed by manufacturing. The contribution of agriculture increased from \$R125.6 million in 1968 to \$R163.8 million in 1969; the contribution of mining and quarrying increased by \$R14.2 million to \$R62 million for the same period; and manufacturing increased by \$R20.5 million to \$R169.7 million. Increases in contributions to the gross domestic product were recorded by all other sectors of the economy. Fixed capital formation also increased substantially, from \$R138 million in 1968 to about \$R150 million in 1969, which represents more than 16 per cent of the gross domestic product. Net additions to stocks in 1969 were less than those in 1968.

56. Total export earnings (including gold sales and re-exports) amounted to \$R240 million in 1969, compared with \$R195.1 million in 1968. Total imports decreased from \$R207 million in 1968 to \$R198.6 million in 1969. The visible trade balance for 1969 showed a surplus of \$R36 million, compared with a deficit of \$R18.7 million for 1968. The net deficit for invisible transactions remained at \$R36 million, reducing the current account surplus to \$R0.3 million. Net inflow of capital amounted to \$R12.5 million, compared with \$R60 million for 1968. The combined surplus on current and capital account was \$R12.8 million, compared with \$R5.5 million in 1968.

57. Preliminary estimates of economic performance in 1970 point to an over-all growth rate in real terms of between 7 and 8 per cent, compared with 11 per cent for 1969. The decrease in economic growth was officially attributed to drought conditions which have affected agricultural output. According to a statement by Mr. Smith, Southern Rhodesia's external trading position in 1970 showed even better results than in 1969, with exports running at levels higher than were forecast earlier in the year. In 1969, Southern Rhodesia's exports increased by 20 per cent.

m/ With effect from 17 February 1970, the illegal régime converted its currency to the decimal system. The new currency, known as the Rhodesia dollar (\$R1.00) is worth 10 Rhodesian shillings. The exchange rate is quoted as \$R1.00 equals \$US1.40.

Southern Rhodesia and sanctions

58. Sanctions reduced Southern Rhodesia's exports from £R164 million in 1965 to £R104 in 1966; £R101 million in 1967 and £R97 million in 1968. In 1969, however, Rhodesian exports rose to £R120 million. Despite this recovery, Southern Rhodesia's exports in that year were still only about 70 per cent of the 1965 level. Almost half the increase in Southern Rhodesia's exports in 1969 was accounted for by the sale of maize to South Africa, which in that year suffered a crop failure. Sales of cotton and gold also rose and the start of large-scale nickel production contributed further to increased export earnings.

59. In an assessment of the effect of sanctions on the Southern Rhodesian economy up to the end of 1969, n/ the United Kingdom Government stated the following:

"After deducting estimated totals of Rhodesian exports to countries which have made it clear that they either will not, or, like certain African countries which border on Rhodesia, cannot afford to apply sanctions (or at least to apply them fully) it appears that, as in 1968, some £R45 million went to countries outside Africa whose Governments are applying sanctions as called for in Security Council resolution No. 253 (1968). Only a very small proportion 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."

60. The over-all impression of the United Kingdom up to the end of 1969 was as follows:

"In real terms, there has been no growth in the Rhodesian economy since the illegal declaration of independence. When price and population increases since 1965 are taken into account, per capita income in real terms is shown to be virtually the same as it was in 1965. Sanctions have created severe long-term problems for the Rhodesian economy, exacerbating the problem of African unemployment, discouraging European immigration, and diverting economic resources into less profitable and less efficient channels. The Rhodesian economy has been able to keep going only by 'borrowing from Peter to pay Paul', subsidizing agriculture through stockpiling and selling at less than the real cost of production - promoting uneconomic import substitution industries.

Budget for 1970/71

61. On 16 July 1970, Mr. Wrathall, the "Minister of Finance", introduced in the "House of Assembly" the budget for the fiscal year 1970/71. The budget provides for a current account expenditure of \$R215.72 million, and revenue receipts of \$R206.68 million, leaving a current account deficit of \$R9.04 million. An accumulated surplus of \$R7.15 million brought forward from 1969/70 would leave an estimated over-all deficit of \$R1.89 million for 1970/71. The increase in the over-all estimated expenditure, compared with the previous year, amounted to \$R8 million. Loan accounts expenditure was estimated at \$R54 million, an increase of \$R11 million over the previous year.

n/ S/9844/Add.1, annex II.

62. The biggest increase in estimated expenditure was for agriculture (general) which was more than \$R23 million, an increase of \$R12 million over the previous year. This increase was to provide subsidies, bonuses, indemnification for losses and other assistance to farmers. Estimated expenditure on education was also increased: expenditure on education for non-Africans increased by \$R900,000 to \$R16.2 million, while that on African education increased by \$R600,000 to \$R18.1 million. Estimated expenditure on the Armed Forces was increased by \$R668,000 to \$R17.8 million, and on the Police by \$R400,000 to \$R15.5 million. The revenue estimate provided for minor tax changes which Mr. Wrathall said were aimed mainly at attracting and retaining in Southern Rhodesia executive, professional and technical skills and at lowering the price of motor vehicles.

Finance

63. In 1970, the illegal régime successfully floated three loans amounting to \$R70 million to finance development expenditure and repay maturing debts. By the end of 1970, the total amount of money raised by the régime during the past five years amounted to about \$R190 million.

64. According to supplementary estimates tabled in the "House of Assembly" on 25 August 1970, Southern Rhodesia was to lend \$R1 million over a period of five years to a foreign Government. The estimates classified the loan under the "Ministry of Foreign Affairs" vote as "foreign and technical assistance" but did not divulge the country to which the loan was being made. On 9 September 1970, the "House of Assembly" approved a vote of \$R200,000 as the first of five annual instalments of the loan to the Government concerned.

Foreign exchange controls

65. On 25 September 1970, Mr. Smith stated that the rate of growth of the Southern Rhodesian economy in 1969, in real terms, had been 11 per cent and that something had to be done to reduce this as the foreign exchange available could not keep pace with the present rate of development. Mr. Smith also said that a number of projects on which large amounts of foreign exchange had been expended were long-term projects which would not show returns for two or three years.

66. In a statement made on 2 October 1970, Mr. Wrathall reiterated that the rapid increase in the tempo of economic activity in recent years had resulted in considerable pressure for foreign exchange. The rapid rate of economic development had naturally advanced the need for major expansion of the country's infrastructure, such as the transport and communications system, and any deferment of the use of foreign exchange for this purpose would have serious implications for the economy as a whole.

67. Mr. Wrathall further stated that the demand for foreign exchange was in excess of foreign exchange resources, which were mainly derived from export earnings. It was essential that foreign exchange allocations be kept in balance with foreign exchange earnings, and the Government was therefore obliged to introduce more stringent criteria in allocating exchange. This tightening would affect allocations both for new projects and for normal imports. Allocations for new projects would be made only if these would lead to substantial advantages for the country and, especially, to an improvement in the balance of payments within a short period.

68. In his statement, Mr. Wrathall also urged all importers to make the best use of their existing allocations rather than apply for more to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia (ACCOR), the Association of Rhodesian Industries (ARNI) or the Government. It would be possible to make additional allocations only to meet vital and inescapable commitments. Following Mr. Wrathall's statement, it was reported in December 1970 that the illegal régime had clamped down severely on import allocations for the first half of 1971.

Agriculture

69. In 1969, the value of agricultural production increased to \$R230 million, or nearly \$R30 million higher than the previous record level achieved in 1967. In 1969, apart from tobacco, all crops and livestock production achieved record levels. Although cotton production increased substantially, prices were generally lower on the export market. Wheat production continued to expand but a proportion of the crop was adversely affected by late rains.

70. Tobacco production declined to 132 million pounds in 1969/70 from almost 300 million pounds in 1965. The crop target for 1970/71 was originally reduced to 100 million pounds but was later restored to 132 million pounds. The support price paid by the illegal régime to producers decreased to 25 pence per pound for the 1969/70 tobacco crop from an average price of 33 pence per pound in 1965.

71. In 1970, the continued absence of effective rains brought about drought conditions of varying intensity in several parts of the country. As a result of the drought, Southern Rhodesia was reported to have suffered from another poor agricultural season. To support agricultural production as a whole, which the régime admits has been adversely affected by sanctions as well as by the drought, the régime set aside \$R16 million in the budget for 1970/71 to meet the trading losses of the tobacco industry, bringing total budgetary spending on tobacco losses in the past three years to \$R49 million. In addition to the \$R16 million provided to cover the losses of the tobacco industry, the budget for 1970/71 provided an additional \$R12 million for the payment of subsidies, bonuses, indemnifications for losses and other assistance to agriculture. These payments were designed principally to help in the diversification of agriculture, in particular to promote the development of crops other than tobacco. In addition to tobacco, the illegal régime has also been subsidizing the price of beef cattle and agricultural products, such as cotton, maize, winter wheat, sorghum, ground-nuts and soya beans.

72. In his budget statement for 1970/71, the "Minister of Finance" stated that the agricultural sector was too large to expect substantial and permanent support from the remaining elements in the economy. The provision of financial aid must be regarded as a holding operation, the whole purpose of which would be defeated if agriculture expanded in response to artificial profits.

Manufacture and related enterprises

73. The value of manufacturing output amounted to nearly \$R500 million in 1969, which was 14 per cent higher than in 1968. The high growth rate was attributed to the large proportion of the 1,100 new projects approved since 1965 which came on stream during the year. All sectors of manufacturing experienced increased

levels of production during 1969. The improvement in production was most marked in the textile industry where the volume of output increased by 47 per cent. The transport, equipment and metal industries registered gains in output of over 15 per cent. The chemical, wood, furniture, paper, printing and food industries also performed well in 1969, with increases in excess of 7 per cent.

74. Construction output also increased by 12 per cent in 1969, above the 1968 figure of \$R93.6 million. The industry had registered an increase of 30 per cent in growth in 1968 above the previous year's figures. Other sectors of the economy - distribution, transport services, etc. - also showed increases in production.

75. Preliminary estimates of economic performance in 1970 showed that the volume of output of manufacturing increased by 17 per cent, compared with the corresponding period of 1969. The volume of mining production and electric power consumption also increased by more than 15 per cent; building output increased by more than \$R14 million.

76. According to statements issued by officials of the illegal régime, the Association of Rhodesian Industries (ARNI) and the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia (ACCOR) in 1970, the rapid pace of industrialization has created an imbalance in the economy resulting in a shortage of foreign currency and skilled manpower which, if not checked, could seriously affect further expansion of the economy.

Mining

77. The value of mineral production in 1969 amounted to \$R88 million, representing an increase of 30 per cent over that of 1968. The upsurge in production, which attained a new record level in 1969, has been attributed to substantial investments in the industry since 1965, o/ which led, in particular, to the exploitation of new nickel and copper mines.

78. According to statements issued by the "Ministry of Mines" in 1970, sixty-nine exclusive prospecting orders were granted in 1969, covering an area of 5,000 square miles. Intensive prospecting activity has disclosed untapped resources of copper and nickel on which new mines are being developed. Most of the new mines are large-scale operations promoted by prominent mining houses, in contrast to the traditional small-scale activities of the past.

79. Commenting on the expansion of the mining industry, Mr. Dillon, the "Minister of Mines", stated on 30 June 1970, that the expansion could be stultified by a shortage of trained manpower. He also said that one of the means being adopted to supplement the output from technical colleges was to encourage immigration from western European countries.

80. By the "Mines and Minerals Amendment (No. 2) Act", which came into operation on 1 January 1970, the basis for payment of royalties was changed from a percentage of value to a rate per unit of weight, to enable a rebate of up to 100 per cent to

o/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. V, annex I, paras. 123-127; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. V, annex, paras. 67-73.

be given when minerals are treated at an approved beneficiation plant (i.e., a smelter or a refinery) in Southern Rhodesia. The changes introduced by the act have been welcomed by the mining industry as a great improvement on the past system. The main effect of the act will be to enable more foreign exchange to be earned and to increase the employment opportunities both in mining and in the treatment and manufacture of minerals. There are currently about eight or nine beneficiation plants in Southern Rhodesia, such as smelters and refineries for copper, nickel and tin, and it is understood that several more are to be built in the near future.

81. On 8 September 1970, the Messina (Rhodesia) Development Company opened its \$R3 million Gwaai-River copper mine; export production from the mine was expected to reach an annual production figure of \$R3 million. At the opening ceremony, Mr. Smith said that copper had made the greatest contribution to Rhodesian mining production in 1969 and that, in the first half of 1970, copper production was 20 per cent greater than that for the same period of 1969.

82. The contribution of nickel to the mineral production of Southern Rhodesia is indicated by the Rhodesian Nickel Corporation's latest annual report for the year ending 31 March 1970. The company, a subsidiary of the Anglo-American Corporation, reported a consolidated taxed profit of \$R3.1 million for its first full year's production from the Bindura Refinery.

83. On 7 December 1970, it was reported that the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company had made an important discovery of nickel deposits in the south, 15 miles from the village of Shangane and 60 miles from Bulawayo. According to the report, the discovery could be of considerable extent and value.

84. On 17 September 1970, the United States Government confirmed that permission had been granted to a United States firm to ship 150,000 tons of Southern Rhodesian chromium ore to the United States, but emphasized that this did not involve any change in policy towards sanctions. The chromium ore had been legally paid for before economic sanctions were imposed by the United Nations and the licence had been issued under the Treasury Department's "hardship provisions". These allow a company which had already paid for a shipment of goods before the imposition of sanctions, to complete the transaction.

85. The consignment of chromium ore, worth \$R1.85 million, was imported from Southern Rhodesia by the Union Carbide Corporation which owns the largest chrome mine in Southern Rhodesia. In granting permission for the importation of the chromium ore from Southern Rhodesia, the United States Government also stated that it had decided to allow United States companies in Southern Rhodesia to sell their assets. Apart from the Union Carbide Corporation, another United States firm, the Foote Mineral Company of Pennsylvania, is also a chrome producer in Southern Rhodesia. Both companies have denied reports that they intend to sell their assets.

86. On 1 October 1970, the People's Republic of China issued a statement in which it denied that it had any economic or trade relations, direct or indirect, with South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. The statement was issued to deny press reports that the People's Republic of China was importing chrome ore from Southern Rhodesia.

ANNEX II*

LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND NORTHERN IRELAND TO THE UNITED NATIONS

- A. Letter dated 17 March 1971 from the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed to the representative of the United Kingdom

I have the honour to inform you 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, at its 783rd meeting, on 15 March 1971, decided to begin consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia at its next meeting.

In accordance with the established practice, I wish on behalf of the Special Committee to invite your delegation, as the administering Power concerned, to participate in the Special Committee's consideration of this question. I wish to recall in this connexion that, in paragraph 7 of its resolution 2652 (XXV) of 3 December 1970, the General Assembly called upon the Government of the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee on action taken in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2508 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969.

- B. Letter dated 18 March 1971 from the representative of the United Kingdom addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee

I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks receipt of the invitation contained in your letter of 17 March. As a member of my staff informed Your Excellency on 4 March, the United Kingdom delegation does not feel able to take part in meetings of the Special Committee.

* Previously issued under symbol A/AC.109/367.

ANNEX III*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. At its 795th meeting on 30 April 1971, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a resolution relating to the question of Southern Rhodesia (A/AC.109/369). The operative paragraphs of the resolution read as follows: a/

...

2. In accordance with paragraph 4 of the resolution, copies of the resolution were transmitted to the President of the International Olympic Committee and to the Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the XXth Olympic Games with a request for information on any action taken or envisaged by the respective Committees in the implementation of paragraph 2 of the resolution.

3. In a letter dated 29 May 1971, the Chairman of the International Olympic Committee, in response to the above-mentioned request, stated as follows:

"Your letter... will be referred to our Committee at its next session.

"For your information, the International Olympic Committee deals only with National Olympic Committees, and not with Governments. The National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia has been recognized for many years - and, so far as we know, conforms to Olympic regulations."

4. Further reports by the Secretary-General on the question will as necessary be issued as addenda to the present document.

a/ See paragraph 32 of the present chapter for the text of the resolution.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/375.

CHAPTER VII

(A/8423/Add.3 (Part I and II))

NAMIBIA

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 18	45
B. Decision of the Special Committee	19	49
C. Examination of petitions	20 - 23	51
D. Decision of the Special Committee relating to petitions	24	51
ANNEX: WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT		52

CHAPTER VII

NAMIBIA

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee considered the question of Namibia at its 782nd, 785th, 793rd to 795th, 803rd to 805th, 807th, 809th, 810th and 821st to 825th meetings, between 4 March and 9 September 1971.

2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of the Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1971. The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 on the implementation of the Declaration. By paragraph 11 of that resolution, the General Assembly 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, taking fully into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action...". By paragraph 13 of the same resolution, 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 ...". In addition, the Special Committee took into account other pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly, 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) and 2325 (XXII) of 16 December 1967, 2372 (XXII) of 12 June 1968, 2403 (XXIII) of 16 December 1968, 2517 (XXIV) of 1 December 1969, and 2678 (XXV), 2679 (XXV) and 2680 (XXV) of 9 December 1970. 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.

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

4. In addition, the Special Committee had before it a written petition, dated 15 November 1970, from Chief Clemens Kapuuo (A/AC.109/PET.1171).

5. The Special Committee also had before it the following written petitions relating inter alia to Territories in southern Africa in general:

(a) Letter dated 16 March 1971 from Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom (A/AC.109/PET.1158).

(b) Letter dated 19 March 1971 from Mr. Ray Kakrabah-Quarshie, Secretary-General, Ghana United Nations Association (A/AC.109/PET.1166).

(c) Cable dated 21 December 1970 from the Soviet Peace Committee (A/AC.109/PET.1168).

(d) Cable dated 24 August 1971 from the World Peace Council (A/AC.109/PET.1191).

6. At its 785th and 821st meetings, on 29 March and 27 August, the Special Committee, by adopting the 155th and 161st reports of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.691 and L.743) decided to grant the requests for hearing contained in the petitions referred to in paragraph 5(a) and (d) above.

7. An account of the hearing given Mr. Abdul S. Minty, at the 785th meeting on 29 March, and, of hearing given members of the delegation of the World Peace Council at the 824th meeting on 8 September, to which reference is made in paragraph 5(a) and (c) above, is contained in chapter VI of the present report (see A/8423/add.2).

8. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee also took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee at its 789th meeting on 7 April 1971 (see A/8423/Add.1). The Group visited Africa during May 1971 for the purpose of maintaining contact with representatives of national liberation movements from the colonial Territories on that continent, obtaining first-hand information on the situation in those Territories and holding consultations with officials of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on matters of common interest. The report included, inter alia, the views expressed by the following representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO): Mr. Moses M. Garoëb, Administrative Secretary; Mr. Andreas Chipanga, Acting Secretary for Information and Publicity; and Mr. Jesaya Nyamu, Information Officer. Also included in the report were the views expressed by representatives of the following movements:

(a) Mrs. Ray E. Simons, member of the Executive Committee, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU);

(b) Mr. A. Fataar, Joint Secretary, and Miss Jane Gool, representative in Lusaka, Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA);

(c) Mr. Duma Nokwe, Director of Political Affairs, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC);

(d) Mr. Ahmed G. Ebrahim, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

The report of the meetings in Africa of the Ad Hoc Group and of its consideration by the Special Committee are contained in chapter V of the present report (see A/8423/Add.1).

9. The Special Committee also took into account the reports of its delegations of observers to the Assembly of the World Peace Council held in Budapest, Hungary, from 13 to 16 May 1971 (see A/8423 (Part I)) and to the special meeting of the

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (see A/AC.109/PV.207). An account of the Special Committee's discussion is contained in chapter I of the present report (see A/8423 (Part I)).

10. At the invitation of the Chairman of the Special Committee, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and his representatives participated in the work of the Special Committee during its consideration of the item.

11. At its 782nd meeting, on 4 March, the Special Committee adopted a consensus concerning the decision of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to proceed with the sale of several helicopters and spare parts for military equipment to the Government of South Africa. An account of the Committee's consideration of the matter is contained in chapter VI of the present report (see A/8423/Add.2).

12. The general debate covering the question of Namibia took place at the 794th, 795th, 807th, 809th and 810th meetings, between 27 April and 20 July. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of Trinidad and Tobago and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.794), Iraq (A/AC.109/PV.795), Ethiopia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.807), Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.809 and Corr.1) and Afghanistan (A/AC.109/PV.810).

13. At the 803rd meeting, on 22 June, the Chairman made a statement relating to the advisory opinion concerning Namibia, delivered by the International Court of Justice on 21 June in response to the request of the Security Council. Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania at the same meeting (A/AC.109/PV.803 and Corr.1) and by the representatives of Syria, Iraq, Sweden and Trinidad and Tobago at the 805th meeting, on 28 June (A/AC.109/PV.805).

14. At the 821st meeting, on 27 August, the Rapporteur, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.821), submitted a draft text of a consensus on the question of Namibia. A statement was also made by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia (A/AC.109/PV.821).

15. At the 822nd meeting, on 1 September, the Rapporteur, on the basis of consultations with members and in the light of the statement made by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia at the 821st meeting, submitted orally the following revisions to the draft consensus:

(a) In paragraph 4, the last sentence, which read:

"The Special Committee calls upon the Governments concerned to withdraw forthwith such support."

was replaced by the following:

"The Special Committee calls upon the Governments concerned to withdraw forthwith such support which they accord to South Africa."

(b) In paragraph 7, the last sentence, as given below, was deleted:

"Further, the Special Committee urges all States to take appropriate steps, through action in the specialized agencies and other organizations

within the United Nations system of which they are members, to
discontinue any collaboration with the Government of South Africa."

At the same meeting, statements were made by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Sweden and Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.822).

16. At its 823rd meeting, on 2 September, following statements by the Chairman and by the representative of Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.823), the Special Committee unanimously approved the draft consensus, as orally revised (see paragraph 19 below).

17. On the same date, the text of the consensus was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10303). On 3 September, copies of the consensus were also transmitted to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, for the attention of the respective bodies, as well as to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). On the same date, the text of the consensus was transmitted to the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, with a request for information on action taken or envisaged by that organization in response to the invitation addressed to it in paragraph 9 of the consensus.

18. In addition to adopting the above-mentioned consensus on the question of Namibia, the Special Committee, at its 824th and 825th meetings, on 8 and 9 September, considered and adopted a 10-Power draft resolution relating to the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese administration. The text of the draft resolution and an account of its consideration by the Special Committee is contained in chapter V of the present report (see A/8423/Add.1).

B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

19. The text of the consensus adopted by the Special Committee at its 823rd meeting, on 2 September, to which reference is made in paragraph 16 above, is reproduced below:

Consensus adopted 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
at its 823rd meeting, on 2 September 1971

- (1) Having considered, within the context of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the conditions prevailing in Namibia and having examined the views expressed before the Ad Hoc Group by representatives of the national liberation movement from that Territory, 1/ the Special Committee expresses once again its grave concern at the extremely dangerous situation existing in Namibia as a result of the continued defiance by the Government of South Africa of the authority of the United Nations.
- (2) Despite the repeated demands of the General Assembly and the Security Council to withdraw immediately from the Territory, the Government of South Africa has not only continued its illegal occupation but has also persisted in the application of the criminal policies of apartheid and other repressive measures designed to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and to consolidate South Africa's illegal presence in the Territory.
- (3) From the testimony given to the Ad Hoc Group by representatives of the national liberation movement, it is patent that the Government of South Africa has further intensified its repression of the Namibian people and its suppression of the legitimate struggle of the liberation movement. In so doing, South Africa has intensified its collaboration with Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia by extending further military assistance to these régimes; the three have, in collusion with one another, stepped up their military operations against the peoples under their domination who are struggling to assert their legitimate right to freedom and independence, and the resultant situation continues to threaten the peace and security of neighbouring independent African States.
- (4) The Special Committee condemns the persistent non-compliance of the Government of South Africa with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and the extension of the criminal policies of apartheid to Namibia. The Special Committee condemns all measures of political and military repression carried out against the people of Namibia by the racist régime in South Africa and its allies. The Special Committee further condemns the support which South Africa receives in the pursuit of its policies of economic exploitation of the Namibians from its allies, and, in particular, from its major trading partners and those financial, economic and other interests which operate in the Territory. The Special Committee calls upon the Governments concerned to withdraw forthwith such support which they accord to South Africa.

1/ See A/8423/Add.1, annex.

(5) The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the advisory opinion delivered on 21 June 1971 by the International Court of Justice in response to the request of the Security Council, which confirmed the previous decisions of the United Nations concerning the illegality of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia.

(6) Mindful of the obligations of Member States under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and bearing in mind the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Special Committee expresses the hope that the Security Council will, in the light of the opinion of the International Court of Justice, consider without further delay taking all effective measures envisaged under the Charter so as to ensure attainment of the goals set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to Namibia. The Special Committee fully endorses the call for a special meeting of the Security Council in this connexion contained in a resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighth ordinary session on 23 June 1971. 2/

(7) Pending such action by the Security Council and mindful of the direct responsibility towards the people of Namibia which the United Nations assumed under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), the Special Committee once again calls upon all States, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to extend their full co-operation to the United Nations with a view to bringing an early solution to the situation, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

(8) The Special Committee reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle to attain their inalienable right to freedom and independence and calls upon all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to provide increased moral and material assistance to those people in their struggle against foreign occupation and oppression.

(9) In view of the armed conflict in the Territory and the inhuman treatment of prisoners, the Special Committee invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to exercise its good offices with a view to securing application to that situation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, both dated 12 August 1949. 3/ The Special Committee requests its Chairman to hold consultations, as appropriate, with the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia in this regard.

2/ AHG/Res.65(VIII).

3/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75 (1950), No. 972 and Ibid., No. 973.

C. EXAMINATION OF PETITIONS

20. By paragraph 3 of its resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, 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.

21. 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 and twenty-third to twenty-fifth sessions, recommendations for action by the General Assembly, on the petitions examined by it.

22. During 1971, the Special Committee received and examined two petitions (A/AC.109/PET.1171 and 1194) relating to Namibia 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 the relevant General Assembly resolutions. These petitions were also brought to the attention of the relevant United Nations bodies.

23. 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.757), decided at its 830th meeting, on 22 October, to recommend to the General Assembly that it approve the action taken by the Special Committee which is set out in paragraph 24 below.

D. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE RELATING TO PETITIONS

24. At its 830th meeting, on 21 October, the Special Committee decided to draw the attention of the petitioners (A/AC.109/PET.1171 and 1194) to the reports of the Special Committee (A/8423/Add.3 (Parts I and II)), the United Nations Council for Namibia (A/8424) and the Security Council Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia (S/10330 and Corr.1 and Add.1) and to any resolutions on the question of Namibia which might be adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

ANNEX*

WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
A. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY UNITED NATIONS BODIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH NAMIBIA	
1. GENERAL	1
2. ACTION TAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA .	2
3. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL	3 - 8
4. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	9 - 12
5. ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY	13 - 16
B. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY	
1. GENERAL	17
2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	18 - 114
3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS	115 - 152
4. SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS	153 - 156

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.686.

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

1. GENERAL

1. Information on the action taken prior to 1970 by the various bodies directly concerned with the Territory is contained in the previous report of the Special Committee. a/ During the year, the question of Namibia continued to be the constant preoccupation of the 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. The question was also considered by the Security Council in January and July 1970, by the Special Committee at meetings held between May and September, and by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. A summary of the action taken by each of these bodies follows.

2. ACTION TAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

2. In its fifth report to the General Assembly covering the period from 25 October 1969 to 12 October 1970, b/ the United Nations Council for Namibia recommended that the Assembly:

"(a) Draw the attention of the Security Council to the need for it to take further and more effective measures, including those provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in view of the continued refusal by the Government of South Africa to comply with Security Council resolutions 264 (1969) of 20 March 1969 and 269 (1969) of 12 August 1969 by withdrawing from the Territory of Namibia and in view of the increasingly critical situation in the Territory resulting from the repressive and discriminatory policies pursued by that Government;

"(b) Call upon all States, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to lend their full support to the latter in the implementation of its resolution 276 (1970) of 30 January 1970 and 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970 and in the application of any further measures which the Security Council may subsequently decide upon as a means of obtaining the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory;

"(c) Take into consideration the fact that South Africa has persistently violated the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and, mindful of the obligations of Member States under Article 25 thereof, take such appropriate action as it deems necessary in accordance with the Charter;

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI, annex, paras. 1-28.

b/ Ibid., Supplement No. 24 (A/8024).

"(d) Appeal to all States to take appropriate steps at meetings of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international institutions associated with the United Nations of which they are members, to obtain the suspension of all rights enjoyed by South Africa as a member of those agencies until its withdrawal from the Territory of Namibia;

"(e) Reaffirm solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle against foreign occupation and call upon all States, as well as the subsidiary organs of the General Assembly, other competent organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, to provide the necessary moral and material assistance to the Namibian people in their struggle,

"(f) Call again upon the Government of South Africa to respect the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949, c/ with regard to the Namibian freedom fighters, and the Convention of the same date relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War; d/

"(g) Endorse the action taken by the United Nations Council for Namibia with a view to the issuance of travel and identity documents to Namibians and appeal to all States, which have not already done so, to communicate to the Secretary-General their willingness to recognize and accept such documents for purposes of travel to their territories;

"(h) Decide to appropriate an initial sum of \$200,000 from the regular budget of the United Nations to finance a comprehensive educational and training programme for Namibians with particular reference to their future administrative responsibility for the Territory;

"(i) Decide to establish a United Nations Fund for Namibia to provide assistance to Namibians who have suffered from persecution;

"(j) Endorse the proposal of the United Nations Council for Namibia that it should, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, organize a conference on Namibia to be held early in 1971 at a place, preferably in Europe, to be determined by the Council, inter alia, as part of the Council's programme for the celebration of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination;

"(k) Call upon all States to co-operate fully with the Council for Namibia in its efforts to discharge its responsibilities in accordance with its terms of reference;

"(l) Endorse the Council's activities with regard to the establishment of a co-ordinated programme for rendering technical and financial assistance to Namibia in implementation of section III of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and of paragraph 4 (a) of resolution 2372 (XXII) of 12 June 1968;

c/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75 (1950), No. 972, p. 135.

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

"(m) Make adequate budgetary provision for the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to discharge its responsibilities and, in particular, to:

- "(i) Establish a separate and comprehensive educational and training programme for Namibians as proposed by the Council;
- "(ii) Establish an emergency assistance programme in co-operation with the specialized agencies;
- "(iii) Issue travel and identity documents as outlined in the Council's report;
- "(iv) Convene a conference on Namibia;
- "(v) Meet with the representatives of the Namibian people and with the Organization of African Unity in the discharge of its functions."

3. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL

3. The Security Council considered the question of Namibia on two occasions in 1970 and adopted resolutions thereon. The first occasion was on 28 and 30 January, when the Council met in response to a request by fifty-eight Member States (S/9616 and Add.1-3) for urgent consideration of the situation created by South Africa's continued failure to withdraw from the Territory. At its 1529th meeting, on 30 January, the 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."

4. The Ad Hoc Sub-Committee, which was established pursuant to paragraph 6 of the above resolution, and is composed of representatives of all members of the Security Council, held its first meeting on 4 February 1970. It presented its report to the Security Council on 7 July. e/

5. In its report, the Ad Hoc Committee set out recommendations which would have the Security Council consider the possibility of adopting certain measures, including some of a political, economic, legal and military character. It also recommended that the Security Council might wish to consider the possibility of extending the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee.

6. The Security Council discussed the report of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee at its 1550th meeting on 29 July, and adopted two resolutions on Namibia. The operative paragraphs of the first of these, namely, resolution 283 (1970), read as follows:

"The Security Council,

".....

"1. Requests all States to refrain from any relations - diplomatic, consular or otherwise - with South Africa implying recognition of the authority of the South African Government over the territory of Namibia;

"2. Calls upon all States maintaining diplomatic or consular relations with South Africa to issue a formal declaration to the Government of South Africa to the effect that they do not recognize any authority of South Africa

e/ S/9863 and Add.1/Rev.1.

with regard to Namibia and that they consider South Africa's continued presence in Namibia illegal;

"3. Calls upon all States maintaining such relations to terminate existing diplomatic and consular representation as far as they extend to Namibia and to withdraw any diplomatic or consular mission or representative residing in the territory;

"4. Calls upon all States to ensure that companies and other commercial and industrial enterprises owned by, or under direct control of the State, cease all dealings with respect to commercial or industrial enterprises or concessions in Namibia;

"5. Calls upon all States to withhold from their nationals or companies of their nationality not under direct government control, government loans, credit guarantees and other forms of financial support that would be used to facilitate trade or commerce with Namibia;

"6. Calls upon all States to ensure that companies and other commercial enterprises owned by the State or under direct control of the State cease all further investment activities including concessions in Namibia;

"7. Calls upon all States to discourage their nationals or companies of their nationality not under direct governmental control from investing or obtaining concessions in Namibia, and to this end withhold protection of such investment against claims of a future lawful government of Namibia;

"8. Requests all States to undertake without delay a detailed study and review of all bilateral treaties between themselves and South Africa in so far as these treaties contain provisions by which they apply to the territory of Namibia;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake without delay a detailed study and review of all multilateral treaties to which South Africa is a party, and which either by direct reference or on the basis of relevant provisions of international law might be considered to apply to the territory of Namibia;

"10. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to make available to the Security Council the results of its study and proposals with regard to the issuance of passports and visas for Namibians and to undertake a study and make proposals with regard to special passport and visa regulations to be adopted by States concerning travel of their citizens to Namibia;

"11. Calls upon all States to discourage the promotion of tourism and emigration to Namibia;

"12. Requests the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session to set up a United Nations Fund for Namibia to provide assistance to Namibians who have suffered from persecution and to finance a comprehensive educational and training programme for Namibians with particular regard to their future administrative responsibilities of the territory;

"13. Requests all States to report to the Secretary-General on measures they have taken in order to give effect to the provisions set forth in the present resolution;

"14. Decides to re-establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure, the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia and request the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee to study further effective recommendations on ways and means by which the relevant resolutions of the Council 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;

"15. Requests the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee to study the replies submitted by Governments to the Secretary-General in pursuance of operative paragraph 13 of the present resolution and to report to the Council as appropriate;

"16. Requests the Secretary-General to give every assistance to the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee in the performance of its tasks;

"17. Decides to remain actively seized of this matter."

7. The second resolution adopted by the Security Council on the same date, namely, resolution 284 (1970), reads in part as follows:

"The Security Council,

".....

"Considering that an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice would be useful for the Security Council in its further consideration of the question of Namibia and in furtherance of the objectives the Council is seeking;

"1. Decides to submit in accordance with Article 96 (1) of the Charter, the following question to the International Court of Justice with the request for an advisory opinion which shall be transmitted to the Security Council at an early date:

"What are the legal consequences for States of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970)?"

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the present resolution to the International Court of Justice, in accordance with article 65 of the Statute of the Court, accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question."

8. The Ad Hoc Sub-Committee was re-established pursuant to paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 283 (1970), and held its first meeting on 21 August.

4. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

9. During 1970, 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 14 May and 18 September 1970.

10. On 11 August, at the request of the Special Committee, its Chairman made a statement expressing the Committee's position with regard to the question. f/

11. In the statement, the Special Committee noted that, in open defiance of the provisions of the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Government of South Africa had not only refused to withdraw from the Territory, but had 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 Namibia. In particular, the Committee drew attention to the increasing use of armed force by South Africa to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia, the persistent application to the Territory of 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"; the further intensification of racial segregation by forcibly relocating Africans; and the continuing series of trials of freedom fighters. The Special Committee once again called on all States to co-operate fully with the United Nations in its efforts to bring the situation in Namibia to an early solution; reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia to attain freedom and independence; and expressed the hope that the Security Council would 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 people of their fundamental rights.

12. On 18 September, the Special Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution on petitions relating to Namibia examined by the Committee in 1970. The Assembly subsequently adopted a resolution on this subject (see paragraph 16 below).

5. ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

13. At its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly considered the question of Namibia in the light of the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of the Special Committee. g/

14. On 9 December 1970, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 2678 (XXV), 2679 (XXV) and 2680 (XXV) on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee. The operative paragraphs of resolution 2678 (XXV) read as follows:

f/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI, para. 16.

g/ Ibid., Supplement No. 24 (A/8024); ibid., Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI.

"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 the Territory;

"2. Recommends 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;

"3. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and to withdraw from the Territory;

"4. Further condemns the Government of South Africa for the extension of the internationally condemned policies of apartheid to the Territory, and for its policies aimed at destroying the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of Namibia through the creation of the so-called separate 'homelands';

"5. 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, by its major trading partners and financial, economic and other interests operating in the Territory;

"6. Calls upon the Governments concerned to cease immediately any assistance to, and co-operation with, South Africa;

"7. Invites the Security Council to consider taking effective measures, including those provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in view of the continued refusal by the Government of South Africa to comply with Council resolutions 264 (1969) and 269 (1969);

"8. Calls upon all States, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to lend their full support to the Council in the application and implementation of all measures which the Council has decided or may decide upon to obtain the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory;

"9. Appeals to all States to take appropriate steps, through action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, with a view to discontinuing any collaboration with the Government of South Africa;

"10. Reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle against foreign occupation and calls upon all States, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to provide increased moral and material assistance to the Namibian people in their struggle;

"11. Calls again upon the Government of South Africa to treat the Namibian people captured during their struggle for freedom as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949, h/ and to comply with the Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949; i/

"12. Endorses the measures taken by the United Nations Council for Namibia with a view to the issuance of identity certificates and travel documents to Namibians, and appeals to all States which have not already done so to communicate to the Secretary-General their willingness to recognize and accept such documents for purposes of travel to their countries;

"13. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to perform the functions entrusted to it in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, including consultations, in Africa or at United Nations Headquarters, with the representatives of the Namibian people and of the Organization of African Unity;

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

"15. Calls upon all States to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in its efforts to discharge its responsibilities."

15. General Assembly resolution 2679 (XXV) reads in part as follows:

"The General Assembly,

".....

"Considering that, in order to discharge its responsibilities under resolution 2145 (XXI), the United Nations should provide comprehensive assistance to the people of the Territory,

"Having considered the request made by the Security Council, in its resolution 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970, that a United Nations fund be established to provide assistance to Namibians who have suffered from persecution and to finance a comprehensive educational and training programme for Namibians, with particular regard to their future administrative responsibilities in the Territory,

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

i/ Ibid., No. 973.

"1. Decides that a comprehensive United Nations Fund for Namibia shall be established;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to make a detailed study and report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on the development, planning, execution and administration of a comprehensive programme of assistance to Namibians in various fields;

"3. Further requests the Secretary-General to take into account the observations made during the present session of the General Assembly in regard to the establishment of such a programme;

"4. Invites the specialized agencies, the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 276 (1970) of 30 January 1970, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Organization of African Unity to provide advice and assistance, as may be required by the Secretary-General, in the preparation of the study and report referred to in paragraph 2 above;

"5. Decides that, in anticipation of the report of the Secretary-General on the matter, a decision on the extent of the financial implications of the programme should be deferred to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly;

"6. Authorizes the Secretary-General, in the meantime, in consultation with the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to make interim grants from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1971, not exceeding a total amount of \$50,000 over and above the assistance provided at present, in order to enable the existing United Nations programmes to provide greater assistance, as necessary, to Namibians."

16. By resolution 2680 (XXV), 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.

B. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY

1. GENERAL

17. Information on the Territory is contained in the previous reports of the Special Committee j/ and in the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia.k/ Supplementary information on recent developments is set out below.

2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

General

18. The Government of South Africa has continued to defy the authority of the United Nations by refusing to withdraw its administration from the Territory and by obstructing the United Nations Council for Namibia from proceeding to the Territory in order to carry out the functions entrusted to it. South Africa's defiance has been condemned by most Member States, by various organs of the United Nations as well as by other inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. At the same time, there have been developments in response to the Security Council resolutions. Some consulates in Namibia have been closed and the proceedings before the International Court of Justice have begun.

19. Within the Territory, South Africa has continued to pursue its policy of implementing the recommendations of the 1964 Odendaal Commission in defiance of United Nations decisions, and has adopted additional measures restricting the social and political rights of Namibians. For their part, many Namibians have continued to resist attempts to relocate them in their new "homelands" while others have continued the armed struggle.

Implementation of United Nations Decisions

20. Following the adoption of Security Council resolution 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970 which, inter alia, called upon all States having diplomatic or consular relations with Namibia to break off such relations, two States, Denmark and Norway, were reported to have closed their honorary vice-consulates

j/ For the most recent, see the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session and the documents referred to therein: Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI, annex.

k/ For the most recent, see the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session and the documents referred to therein: ibid., Supplement No. 24 (A/8024).

at Windhoek in September and October respectively. Prior to the adoption of this resolution, other States had already taken similar action. Sweden closed its honorary consulate in November 1966 following the General Assembly's decision on the status of Namibia in its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966; the Netherlands and Belgium closed their consulates in January and July 1970 respectively.

21. Many States have informed the Ad Hoc Committee of the Security Council that they have either negligible or no economic and other interests in Namibia. Among those having such interests is the United States of America, which, on 20 May 1970, made the following announcement:

"(a) The United States will officially discourage investment by United States nationals in Namibia;

"(b) United States nationals who, nevertheless, invest in Namibia on the basis of rights acquired through the Government of South Africa since adoption of United Nations General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), 27 October 1966, shall not receive the assistance of the Government of the United States in protection of such investments against claims of a future lawful government of Namibia; and

"(c) Export-Import Bank credit guarantees and other facilities shall not be made available for trade with Namibia."

Action taken by the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

22. The Council of Ministers of the OAU, meeting at their fifteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa from 24 to 31 August 1970, adopted two resolutions concerning Namibia. In the first of these (CM/RES.231 (XV)), the Council of Ministers, while declaring that the United Nations was fully responsible for the accession of Namibia to independence, recognized that the OAU had a special concern for, and great responsibility in the defence of the Namibian people's cause. The Council invited the Security Council to assume its responsibilities for implementing the United Nations decisions concerning Namibia without delay, and, to this end, to have recourse to Article 6 and Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The Council also instructed the African members of the Security Council, in conjunction with the African members of the International Law Commission, to prepare a joint memorandum and to forward it within the prescribed time-limit to the International Court of Justice.

23. In a second resolution (CM/RES.234 (XV)), which concerned decolonization in general, the Council of Ministers, inter alia, after expressing its grave concern over the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racist régime and the intensified oppression of the African people in that Territory, requested the United Nations organs and specialized agencies to give the utmost attention to all effective measures to secure compliance by the South African régime with their decisions on Namibia.

Request to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion¹

24. Following the request by the Security Council for an advisory opinion, the International Court of Justice received written statements from the Secretary-General of the United Nations and from the following States: Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Hungary, India, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, South Africa, the United States and Yugoslavia.

25. By an order of 26 January 1971, the Court decided not to accede to the objections raised by South Africa in its written statement concerning the participation of the President, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, and of Judges Padillo Nervo and Morozov in the proceedings.

26. After having heard the representatives of South Africa at a closed meeting on 27 January 1971, the Court decided, by an order of 29 January, to reject the request of that State for the appointment of a judge ad hoc. The Court took this decision by ten votes to five. The Court also decided that the OAU was likely to be able to furnish information on the question put to the Court and might, for that purpose, make an oral statement.

27. On 5 February, the Court announced that the following organizations and States had announced their intention to submit oral statements: the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the OAU, Finland, India, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Republic of Viet-Nam, South Africa and the United States.

28. On 8 February, at the first public hearing on the proceedings, the President of the Court made the following statement:

"The Court has decided to examine first of all the observations which the Government of the Republic of South Africa has made in its written statement and in its letter of 14 January 1971 concerning the supposed disability of the Court to give the advisory opinion requested by the Security Council, because of political pressure to which the Court, according to the Government of the Republic of South Africa, had been or might be subjected.

"The Court, after having deliberated, has unanimously decided that it was not proper for it to entertain these observations, bearing as they do on the very nature of the Court as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, an organ which, in that capacity, acts only on the basis of the law, independently of all outside influence or interventions whatsoever, in the exercise of the judicial function entrusted to it alone by the Charter and its Statute. A court functioning as a court of law can act in no other way."

29. The President of the Court also invited the representatives of South Africa to reserve for their oral statement the observations they had wished to present concerning a proposal by their Government that a plebiscite be organized. 1/

1/ In a letter to the Court dated 27 January, and made public by the Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, South Africa made a proposal concerning the holding of a plebiscite in the Territory. The United Nations Council for Namibia commented on this proposal in a statement issued on 29 January (A/AC.131/22 and Corr.1).

Implementation of the Odendaal Plan

30. As reported previously m/ the period 1968-1969 saw important developments in the implementation of the Odendaal Plan, notably the passage of the Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Act, 1968, and the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969.

31. The first of these two Acts, which was enacted on 3 June 1968, provided for the creation of six "homelands", 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 President 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.

32. 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 n/ was vested in the Republic.

33. Following passage of the foregoing legislation African affairs continued 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 became the responsibility of the South African Department of Coloured Affairs. A new South African department, the Department of Rehoboth Affairs, was established to deal with the Rehoboth Basters.

34. Information concerning further developments in the implementation of the Odendaal Plan is set out below.

Transfer of powers to the Government of South Africa

35. During 1970, further steps were taken to effect the transfer to South Africa, in accordance with the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, of a wide range of powers and functions previously entrusted to the territorial administration. In April, it was reported that the transfer to the Government of South Africa of twenty-two departments formerly the responsibility of the territorial administration had been completed. Referring to these changes, Mr. Dirk Mudge, a member of the Executive Committee of "South West Africa", was reported to have said: "We have declared it before the world... we are a part of the Republic of South Africa for all practical purposes. We are looking forward to the day of total incorporation."

m/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VII, paras. 22-43.

n/ African affairs; matters specifically affecting "coloureds", Basters 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.

36. Throughout 1970, the Government of South Africa continued to revise its legislation to give effect to the policy laid down in the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969. The following acts were among those revised during the year.

37. On 28 July, the Senate of South Africa approved a bill which would delete from the South African Supreme Court Act a passage requiring that the appointment of a judge of the "South West Africa Division" be referred to the "Administrator" of the Territory. Under this Act, matters which had previously been referred to the "Administrator" of the Territory will henceforth be referred to the Minister of Justice of South Africa. The Act also repealed two other provisions, one authorizing the payment from the Territory's revenue of all expenditure in connexion with the "South West Africa Division", and the other relating to a separate oath that a judge will exercise his office in accordance with the laws and customs of the Territory. On 31 July, a bill was introduced in the South African Parliament to make the terms of the South African Agricultural Credit Act of 1966 applicable to Namibia. It was also expected that the South African Soil Conservation Act would be applied to the Territory during the year.

Partition of Namibia and the development of "homelands"

38. It will be recalled that the plan recommended by the Odendaal Commission in 1964 called for the partition of the Territory into at least eleven separate administrative units: a "white" area and the following ten non-European "homelands": Ovamboland, Okavangoland, the Kaokoveld, Eastern Caprivi, Damaraland, Hereroland, Namaland, Rehoboth Gebiet, Bushmanland and Tswanaland. The plan also provided o/ for separate administration for "coloureds".

39. The first legislative action to effect the partition of the Territory was taken in 1968, with the enactment of the Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South West Africa Act (see paragraph 32 above). This Act made provisions for the creation, initially, of six "homelands", namely, Damaraland, Hereroland, Kaodoland, Kovangoland, Eastern Caprivi and Ovamboland. In October of that year, Ovamboland was proclaimed the first "homeland" to be established under that Act. Further steps in this direction were taken with the enactment of the South West Africa Affairs Act in 1969 (see paragraph 33 above). Among the powers transferred by that Act from the Legislative Assembly of "South West Africa" to the Republic of South Africa were those over matters affecting "coloureds", Rehoboth Basters and Namas, who were to be administered as separate ethnic groups with a view to their becoming separate self-governing communities.

o/ The recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, if fully implemented, would require the transfer of a total of 32,906 "non-whites" to their "homelands"; 20,882 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 and 1,500 "whites" would have to vacate "white" farm areas which would be included in the "homelands". From 4,000 to 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.

40. During 1970, South African political leaders made important statements in regard to the general question of the establishment and development of "homelands", and further steps were taken to implement the policy, including the establishment of another "homeland", Kovangoland. Details of these developments are set out below.

(a) "Homelands" policy

41. The establishment of "homelands", which is taking place in South Africa as well as in Namibia, became a matter of public discussion in the Republic during 1970.

42. In a pre-election speech made on 5 March, the leader of the South African United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaf, said that his party was opposed to the development of "homelands". It was his party's policy that "South West Africa" should be divided into two autonomous regions, a northern and a southern, and that its ties with South Africa should be on a federal basis. Liaison between the "whites" of the southern region and the "non-whites" of the northern region should be by means of statutory committees. He saw a danger in creating six or seven independent Bantu States and stressed that his party, if it took over the Government, would maintain "white" control. He also attacked the economic basis of the policy of separate development, saying that the attempts being made to implement it were a continual drag on the economic development of the country. The Bantu areas would be developed faster and more cheaply under United Party rule as "whites" would be allowed to establish industries in the Bantu areas. "Homelands", he said, would never be able to support their citizens.

43. On 5 August, the South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.C. Botha, was reported to have stated that "all black peoples in the Republic and the native nations in South West Africa" had an unobstructed road to self-rule before them; in particular, administrative machinery was being created so that blacks could, as soon as possible, reach the highest rung in the administration of their own "homeland". Mr. Botha enlarged on this statement in the South African House of Assembly, on 7 September, when he replied to assertions that the "homelands" would have to be strong enough economically to support their own people before independence was granted. Assistance had already been given to the "homelands", he said, and much more help would be needed once they became independent. In return, the Minister said the "homelands" provided the rest of the Republic with labour, certain food-stuffs and raw materials for processing in factories in "white areas". He foresaw a kind of "interdependent independence". Later in the debate, the Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster, said that any black State was free to come to Parliament and say that the time had arrived when it wished to follow its own course. Discussions over "very long" periods would then have to be held. The Government would prefer such discussions to be deferred until the States had become more viable economically, but viability would not be a condition for commencing negotiations.

44. Spokesmen for the United Party were reported to be opposed to "independence" for the "homelands", stating that it was their policy to develop the "homelands" politically and economically to a status "something akin to the present status of South West Africa".

45. In a statement made on 6 August, Mr. Botha described the administrative machinery that was being set up to implement the "homelands" policy. He stated

that a political authority, a public service and a separate citizenship had already been set up for each "homeland". Social welfare for blacks, which had been the responsibility of his department for a number of years, would be transferred to the community affairs department of each "homeland". Furthermore, in order to improve co-ordination, social services for the "homelands", at present provided by the health departments of the four provinces of the Republic and the "South West Africa Administration", would be brought under the jurisdiction of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. He recalled that, since April 1970, the South African Bantu Trust Fund had accepted financial responsibility for mission hospitals in the "homelands". For the education and training of blacks, the Minister continued, educational departments were being set up in each "homeland". In order to promote economic development, the Government had established the Bantu Mining Corporation in addition to the Bantu Investment Corporation.

46. The Bantu Investment Corporation is the principal instrumentality for the control of economic development of the "homelands" both in the Republic and in Namibia. It is a state-owned corporation, financed by the State and managed entirely by "whites". Since it deals only with Bantu groups, its functions do not extend to the Rehoboth Basters, the Namas or the "coloureds". It will be recalled that a separate corporation for the Rehoboth Gebiet, the Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation, was established in 1969 in the face of strong opposition from the Basters. Economic development of the "coloured" population is controlled through the (South African) Coloured Development Corporation.

(b) Acquisition of land for the "homelands"

47. The South African Government has continued to acquire land from "white" owners for the purpose of creating "homelands" as recommended by the Odendaal Commission. The Commission had recommended the addition of 12,478,802 hectares to "non-white" land which was to be made up of 503,515 hectares of surveyed government land, 8,509,106 hectares of unsurveyed government land and 3,406,181 hectares of "white-owned" land.

48. On 11 September, the Prime Minister announced that, to date, the Government had bought from "white" owners 426 farms and 72 plots in towns or villages for a total sum of R26,374,785. p/ The total area acquired was 3,227,390 hectares. Of the farms purchased, 184 had been leased temporarily to "white" tenants, while the rest had been allocated for inclusion in the "homelands".

49. It was reported in April 1970, that 157 of the remaining farms and plots, totalling 1,103,581 hectares, had been proclaimed as land reserved for "non-white" settlement. Proclaimed land is land for which settlement plans are complete.

50. More land became available for transfer to the "homelands" in May 1970, when the Legislative Assembly of "South West Africa" passed an ordinance to reduce the Etosha Game Reserve from 22,000 to 12,000 square miles. The ordinance, which came into force on 30 December, will give effect to a proposal of the Odendaal Commission that a large section of the Game Reserve should go to the

p/ One rand equals \$US 1.40.

Ovambo, Damara and Kaokoveld "homelands". The South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development has announced that he will negotiate with the Africans concerned about establishing game reserves in their "homelands".

(c) Ovamboland

51. Ovamboland, which was proclaimed a "homeland" in October 1968, has the largest area ^{g/} and population of all the projected "homelands". In 1960, there were 239,363 Ovambos living in the "homeland" area, of whom 27,771 were temporarily employed in "white" rural areas. The remaining 8,804 lived in "white" urban areas.

52. The third session of the Ovamboland Legislative Council was opened in March 1970 at Oshakati, the capital. In his address to the Council, South Africa's Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. H. Vosloo, said that his Government would continue to assist the "Ovambo nation" in their task of self-government. Ovamboland's largest economic asset was its cattle population. Thus, agriculture was the primary industry and should be developed first, after which commerce and home industries would attract attention. More educational facilities would also have to be provided.

53. At the same session, the Chief Minister, Mr. Ushona Shiimi, presented a budget of R3.4 million for the current year, representing an increase of about R1 million over the figure for the previous year. The major items of expenditure were public works, education and agriculture. The sources of revenue were not stated. However, they include the proceeds of taxation, as well as grants from the South African Bantu Trust Fund and the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education. In addition, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development will spend R101,000 on the salaries of thirty seconded personnel and the Bantu Investment Corporation will finance some development projects.

54. The Chief Minister stated that Ovamboland's expenditure would gradually be increased through more active development of its revenue sources. He thanked the South African Government for providing financial assistance to Ovamboland.

55. Other matters dealt with by the Council included Ovamboland citizenship, justice, labour regulations, a personal identification system, roads and water conservation. The Council was also informed that Ovamboland's Health Department was to start an extended campaign against polio, smallpox and tuberculosis.

56. In October, the Chief Minister declared in a radio broadcast that Ovamboland had the right to plan its own destiny and future and to choose its own allies. Therefore, it had approached the South African Government and did not want help from the United Nations or the International Court of Justice. He added that Ovambos opposed interference in their affairs on the part of foreign countries and would combat any form of "terrorism".

^{g/} According to the Odendaal Plan, 1,406,200 hectares were to be added to the Ovambo reserves to bring the total area of Ovamboland up to 5,607,000 hectares.

57. It was reported in April that an attempt was being made in Ovamboland to create a new, multiracial political party. The effort was being directed by Mr. Johannes Jefta Nangutuuala, who had applied to the Ovamboland authorities for registration of his Democratic Development Party as a political party and had invited people of all races to join.

58. At the end of 1970, the economic situation in Ovamboland was reported to be serious, owing to the drought. The food situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the Bantu Investment Corporation had made food available for distribution. The maize industry in the northern areas had been badly affected by the lack of rain; total production during the year had declined to 20,000 bags, compared with 200,000 bags in a normal year.

59. It was also reported that Ovamboland had 219 schools with 57,000 pupils and 1,000 teachers. A college had been established at Ongwediva, at a cost of several million rand, and could accommodate 445 students (229 in the high school, 116 in the training school and 100 in the technical school).

(d) Kavangoland

60. Kavangoland, which comprises approximately the same territory formerly known as Okavangoland, covers an area of 4,170,000 hectares and is inhabited by some 50,000 people who form five tribal groups (Geiriju, Kwangari, Mbukushu, Mbunza and Shambyu) most of whom live in the area.

61. Kavangoland is the second "homeland" to be established, having been proclaimed on 14 August 1970. Its Constitution provides for a Legislative Council of thirty members made up of six members designated by each of the five tribal authorities. There is an Executive Committee of five, one nominated by each tribal authority with a Chief Councillor, elected by the Council as a whole from the committee members. The Legislative Council will gradually assume the legislative and administrative functions now handled by the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development, excluding defence, foreign affairs, internal security, posts, power generation, transport and water affairs. The Executive Committee will be presided over by the Chief Councillor, who will control administration and finance. Its four other members will have jurisdiction over agriculture, community affairs, cultural affairs, justice, labour and public works.

62. The first session of the Legislative Council was opened on 22 October at Rundu, the capital of Kavangoland. In his address to the Council, the South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that the people of Kavangoland had the right to live their own lives, true to their own nature and character, and that he had complete faith that the "Kavango nation" would not fall victim to the propaganda from people purporting to be fighters for human rights but operating under the cloak of Communism. The Chief Councillor, Chief Shashipapo, said that the people of Kavangoland had rejected the propaganda referred to by the Minister; they had no desire to be governed by foreigners and wished further to strengthen their ties with South Africa, their best friend, as well as to take their place among the nations of the world.

63. The economy of Kavangoland is based on agricultural and pastoral products. The Bantu Investment Corporation of South Africa is planning to develop the area

by spending R2 million in the period 1971-1975. In December 1970, the Corporation established a purchasing centre in Grootfontein to serve as a check on the commercial activities of licenced African traders in Kavangoland and other northern areas. It also decided to introduce a road motor service between Grootfontein and Rundu.

(e) Damaraland

64. Damaraland, as proposed by the Odendaal Commission, covers an area of 4,799,021 hectares. In 1960, there were 44,353 Damaras, of whom only 2,400 lived in the areas to be included in Damaraland. Of the remainder, 1,224 lived in other reserves and 38,329 lived in "white" urban and rural areas.

65. The transfer of the Damaras from their homes to Damaraland continued during 1970. In May, it was reported that about 2,000 Damaras had been transferred from their homes in Usakos to a new township and that about 500 other Damaras had left for Okombahe in "Damaraland".

66. On 6 February 1970, senior officials of the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development concluded an investigation preparatory to the establishment of Damaraland. Under the Department's proposals for Damaraland, there will be a Legislative Council consisting of the appointed chief or his deputy, the headmen of Okombahe, Sesfontein and Fransfontein, the seven councillors of Okombahe and as many elected members as the members of the existing governing bodies might determine. The Council would gradually assume the legislative authority and administrative functions which were at present exercised by the Department. The executive powers of the Council would be vested in a committee consisting of the appointed chief or his representative, a headman nominated by him and three members elected by the Council. The franchise for the first election for the Council would be granted to all Damaras, both male and female, over the age of eighteen years.

67. At a meeting with his chiefs and boardmen, held on 6 November at Wilwitschia, the Paramount Chief of the Damaras, Mr. David Goreseb, said that the Damara "nation" accepted Damaraland as its "homeland" and the guidance of the South African Government. He asked the United Nations and African leaders not to interfere with Damara affairs.

(f) Hereroland

68. In 1960, there were 35,354 Hereros in the Territory, of whom 9,017 lived in Native reserves to be included in Hereroland, 6,436 lived in other reserves, and 19,901 lived in "white" urban and rural areas. Under the terms of the Odendaal Plan, only those Hereros resident in Native reserves outside Hereroland, and not those resident in "white" urban and rural areas would be required to resettle in the "homeland".

69. The Hereros are continuing to resist resettlement from their traditional reserves to Hereroland (consisting of the Epukiro, Eastern, Otjituvo and Waterberg East reserves). It may be recalled that in June 1968, a Herero Affairs Commissioner was appointed and stationed at Okarara in Hereroland to consolidate all Herero affairs in preparation for the formation of a "homeland". Since then, there have been very few reported developments towards that end. However, it was reported in June 1970 that all Hereros living in the Namaland area, numbering

over 200, had been transferred to Hereroland by the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

70. Chief Hosea Kutako, the acknowledged leader of the Herero people, and an opponent of the "homeland" policy, died in Windhoek on 18 July 1970. Following his death, Mr. Clemens Kapuuo claimed to have succeeded to the chieftaincy. However, his claim was disputed by other Hereros. On 19 October, a letter signed by fifteen of more than forty headmen and boardmen and two other Hereros was sent to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Windhoek, informing him that Mr. Kapuuo had succeeded to the late Chief Kutako. The letter stated that Mr. Kapuuo had been elected Chief-designate of the Herero "nation" on 25 April 1960 and that, on 26 July 1970, immediately after the funeral of Chief Kutako, this appointment had been confirmed "by the headmen of the Herero nation and the Herero people, including the 12,000 Ovahimbas and the Hereros from Botswana". A spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development stated that Mr. Kapuuo was not recognized by the Government, and that the question of Chief Kutako's successor remained to be decided.

71. In a statement made at the end of the year, the Commissioner of Herero Affairs, Mr. J. Vercuiel, said that the foundations for the new development of the Herero "nation" had been created in 1970. After denouncing those Herero leaders who were hesitant about the new course, he called upon the Hereros to continue with their efforts towards self-determination.

(g) Kaokoland and Eastern Caprivi

72. No action appears to have been taken to prepare for the establishment of Kaokoland and Eastern Caprivi for which provision was made in the Development of Self-Government for Native Nations Act, 1968. The creation of "homelands" for these two groups, which in 1960 numbered 9,234 and 15,840 respectively, would not involve resettlement.

(h) Bushmanland

73. 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. r/

74. The Odendaal Plan had envisaged 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 taught agriculture and animal husbandry.

r/ 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.

75. In accordance with the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, the South African authorities in late 1969 proposed a plan for the settlement of the Bushmen inhabiting the north-east of the Territory, at Tsumkwe, north-east of Grootfontein. Details of the plan and of the opposition it aroused are contained in the previous report of the Special Committee (see foot-note j/ above).

76. Further steps in the development of a Bushmen "homeland" were taken in 1970. By a Government Notice of 31 July, Bushmanland was created as a district and Tsumkwe was named as its administrative centre. On 11 August, the Prime Minister of South Africa announced the appointment of a commissioner for the Bushmen. He also said that the development of Bushmanland was being promoted under the guidance of experts in various fields.

(i) Tswanaland

77. The Odendaal Plan had recommended the creation of a "homeland" for the Tswana people, who in 1960 numbered only 2,632. Of these, 437 lived in a reserve which was to be abolished, while the balance lived in "white" rural and urban areas. A new area was to be set aside for the establishment of a Tswana "homeland". The South African Government does not appear to have taken any action to create the Tswana "homeland". However, in a statement made on 23 July, the Minister for Bantu Administration and Development was reported to have said that the Tswana people "had reached the necessary stage of maturity" for their own system of self-government.

(j) Rehoboth Gebiet

78. The Rehoboth Gebiet is inhabited by a community of Rehoboth Basters (Rehobothers) who, since the German administration, have had their own form of local self-government. In 1960, there were 11,257 Basters, of whom 8,893 lived in the Rehoboth Gebiet, 2,026 lived in "white" urban areas and the balance lived in Native reserves and "white" rural areas. The Rehobothers at present number about 14,000.

79. The Odendaal Plan envisaged the relocation of Rehobothers living in "white" urban areas to the Gebiet, but not those in "white" rural areas. The plan also provided for the removal of non-Baster groups from the Gebiet.

80. The area of the Gebiet is about 131,209 hectares. On 9 June 1969, the Minister for Rehoboth Affairs announced that 73,808 hectares of land within the area were to be added to the Gebiet. Some 63,000 hectares of this land had already been purchased and would be divided into economic units and made available to Rehobothers.

81. The first steps to implement the recommendations of the Odendaal Plan were taken in 1969, when the administration of Rehoboth affairs was transferred from the "South West Africa Administration" to the Republic, and the Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation was established. As noted previously (see foot-note j/ above), the Corporation is State-owned and managed by "whites", and its introduction was strongly opposed by the community.

82. Apart from objections to the nature of the Corporation and its proposed functions, the Rehobothers were also reported to have demanded that their constitutional future be settled first. In this connexion, discussions took place

between the South African authorities and the Basterraad concerning the constitutional future of the Gebiet early in 1969. The Rehobothers were reported to have demanded that the Government should move swiftly towards granting them full independence with greater powers than the Transkei Government possessed. The discussions, however, were inconclusive. Later, the Rehobothers were reported to have decided to brief counsel to advise them on the question of their status and relationship with the South African Government.

83. The Rehoboth Corporation began operations in March 1970. Since then, the Rehobothers have continued to express opposition to the Corporation and to South Africa's policies. In a statement made to the press on 16 June, the Chairman of the Baster Burgersvereniging, Mr. Allan Louw, was reported to have said other issues facing the community were minor compared with that of the Corporation. He pointed out that the Corporation was empowered to acquire land and felt that eventually it would have a controlling share of Rehoboth land. He also said that since the inception of the Corporation, the Basterraad (Advisory Council) had been ignored and that it was the Corporation that now governed Rehoboth, not the Basterraad.

84. It has also been reported that the Rehobothers wish to sever their ties with South Africa and establish their own independent state. In this connexion, a meeting of the Baster Burgersvereniging, held on 18 June and attended by some 200 persons, decided to hold a referendum to find out whether the community wished to establish its own house of assembly as provided for in the Vaderlike Wette (Patriarchal Laws). No further information about the proposed referendum is available.

85. Hostility to South Africa was again evident at the end of November when the South African Minister for Rehoboth Affairs, Mr. J.J. Loots, visited Rehoboth to open the regional offices of his department. The Minister was met by a crowd of about 200 demonstrators carrying placards expressing opposition to both South Africa and the Corporation. It was reported that fewer than forty people attended the opening ceremony that followed.

86. In January 1971, it was reported that the Rehobother community was suffering from one of the worst droughts in years with the resultant loss of at least 50 per cent of its cattle. The manager of the Rehoboth Corporation stated that he was making advances to drought-stricken farmers to develop water resources and fencing and that, since April 1970, financial aid amounting to R231,711 had been made available to forty persons. Councillor Olivier of the Basterraad said that the economic situation in the Gebiet was so bad that he had no time to think of the political problems confronting the community.

(k) Namaland

87. 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". In 1960, 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 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.

88. According to press reports in 1969, it was claimed that almost the whole of the Nama population had begun to settle in the "homeland"; the only Namas that were said to be resisting relocation were about 800 living in the Hoachanas reserve. While it seems clear that the movement of the Namas from reserves outside the "homeland" (2,000 in 1960) is almost complete, it is not clear how many of the much larger group of Namas living in "white" urban areas have been affected. Some reports indicate that at present only about one fifth of the total Nama population is living in the proposed "homeland" area.

89. It was reported in August that the Hoachanas people were still firm in their decision not to move. The leader of the community, Mr. Mattheus Kooper, stated that the authorities had not requested his people to move for some time, but that any such request in the future would go unheeded.

90. The South African authorities are proceeding with the acquisition of "white" farms within the "homeland" area, and it is expected that the purchase of the 165 "white" farms in the area will be completed by the end of the year.

91. The condition of those who have been transferred to the "homeland" appears to be poor. Many people are reported to be living in tin shanties around abandoned "white" farms and waterholes. Goats and donkeys roam freely and the land is described as over-grazed and denuded.

92. Plans for a legislative council, which were announced in 1969, have not been implemented. There is an advisory board of Namas which meets quarterly under a "white" chairman. There are also three "white" superintendents responsible for administration at Gibeon, Tses and Berseba.

93. The Namaland area has also been affected by the drought. During 1970, the Department of Coloured Affairs made available loans totalling R124,000 to Nama farmers. In addition, a further R18,000 was made available for development.

(1) "Coloureds"

94. In 1966, the "coloured" population of Namibia was estimated to number about 15,400 persons, nearly all of whom were living in various "coloured" locations in urban centres throughout the "white" area. It will be recalled that the Odendaal Commission had recommended that, except for a small number of "coloured" farmers, for whom a rural irrigation settlement had been 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 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.

95. 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. It appears, however, that no action has been taken to implement this legislation and that the Council continues to function under its 1961 Constitution as an entirely nominated advisory body.

96. Following the enactment of the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, responsibility for "coloured" matters was transferred from the territorial administration to South Africa and exercised through the South African Department of Coloured Affairs. The Government maintained the Coloured Council of South West Africa, although it proposed that it should have closer links with the Coloured Persons' Representative Council of South Africa. Apparently, provision was made for the Namibian "coloured" population to be represented on the South African Council by one seat, probably nominated.

97. In an address to the Coloured Council of South West Africa, on 31 March 1970, the South African Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr. M. Viljoen, recalled that it was envisaged that eventually the Council's membership would be partly elected, but that a registration of "coloured" voters in the Territory was a prerequisite step. He added that consultations would be held with regard to the incorporation of the Coloured Council of South West Africa with the Coloured Persons' Representative Council of South Africa, and that serious attention would be given to the creation of a rural area for "coloured" livestock farmers. In this connexion, the South African Government had announced in 1969 that it would not proceed with the Orange River settlement in the immediate future.

98. A special congress of the main "coloured" party in Namibia, the Suidwes-Afrikaanse Kleurling Organisasie (SWAKO), was held in Windhoek between 11 and 13 July 1970 to discuss the political problems confronting the "coloured" community of the Territory. Most participants agreed with Mr. A.J.F. Kloppers, president of SWAKO, that it should work within the framework of the South African Government's policy of separate development. However, they felt that the Coloured Council of South West Africa had done little or nothing for the "coloureds". The congress called for the establishment of a new elected Council not later than September 1971. The congress also expressed the view that the "coloured" people of Namibia were under-represented in the Coloured Persons' Representative Council of South Africa and decided to request that the number of seats allocated to them should be increased from one to three.

99. In August, SWAKO was challenged by a dissident group of its members, and, at a meeting in Mariental on 5 September, founded the new Suidwes-Afrikaanse Volksorganisasie (SWAVO) headed by a Windhoek high school principal, Mr. W.J. Fielies, and Mr. Albert Krohne. In his first public statement, Mr. Krohne said that SWAVO supported apartheid, on condition that effect was given to separate development and that "the Government sees to the Coloured".

100. At a meeting of the Coloured Council of South West Africa, on 8 October, its Chairman, Mr. D. Bezindenhout, stated that there was a need for a "coloured" area or "homeland" in the Territory and that the South African Government, among other things, should establish more "coloured" townships and control points on

the border between South Africa and the Territory to stop the influx of "coloureds" from the Republic.

101. On 9 February 1971, Mr. Kloppers, president of SWAKO, issued a statement announcing that on 27 March, the party would be dissolved and would merge with the Federal Coloured People's Party of South Africa, the ruling party in the Coloured Persons' Representative Council of South Africa. This announcement was the result of negotiations recently conducted in Cape Town between representatives of the two parties.

(m) "White" area

102. The Odendaal Commission had recommended the creation of a "white" area to consist of the balance of the Territory after the excision of the "homelands", less all unsurveyed government lands and the two large diamond areas on the south-west coast. Control over unsurveyed lands and mining was to be transferred to the Republic of South Africa. According to 1960 figures, the population would include 73,464 "whites", almost all of whom lived in the "white" area. "Whites", however, would be outnumbered by 116,383 "non-whites" living in the area and 28,621 "non-white" migrant-labourers.

103. The main steps to implement the Odendaal recommendations with respect to the "white" area were taken when the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969 was adopted. This Act stripped the existing territorial legislature of its most important powers and, to all intents and purposes, limited the scope of its activities to the "white" area. Even within the "white" area, many of its responsibilities were taken over by the South African legislature to be administered by South African departments.

104. Elections were held on 22 April for the eighteen seats in the Legislative Assembly of "South West Africa" and for the six seats allocated to the Territory in the South African House of Assembly. The elections for the Legislative Assembly were contested by the National Party (NP) and the United National South West Party (UNSWP), with the result that the former won all eighteen seats in the legislature. Of the 43,783 persons eligible to vote, 32,795 (74.9 per cent) went to the polls. The National Party obtained 21,900 votes (66.77 per cent) of the votes cast and the UNSWP received 10,895 votes (33.22 per cent). The National Party candidates won all six seats for the House of Assembly.

105. In an election manifesto released on 23 March, UNSWP said that it stood for the undisputed leadership of the "white" population in a spirit of Christian trusteeship, the prevention of miscegenation and the maintenance of separate social and residential amenities. It added that the reins of government would not be handed over to the "non-whites" and that they would be represented by four nominated "white" representatives in the Legislative Assembly. It believed that the Territory's best chance to abolish the Mandate or its international status lay in the direction of developing towards independence, and that close association and co-operation with South Africa should at all times be maintained. Finally, it expressed opposition to the incorporation of the Territory within South Africa.

106. Nationalist party candidates were reported to have emphasized the need for separate development and to have defended the creation of "homelands". Such groups as Ovambos and Hereros were nations within their own right and should be considered as such.

107. On 16 November, the Territory's four representatives in South Africa's Senate were named. They were chosen by the Territory's electoral college, which consists of the eighteen members of the Legislative Assembly of "South West Africa" and the six members from the Territory in the South African House of Assembly. All twenty-four members belong to the National Party, led by Mr. A.H. du Plessis, a former member of the Executive Committee of "South West Africa" and member of the South African parliament for Windhoek since 1969. Mr. du Plessis is at present South Africa's Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance.

108. On the same date, Mr. J.P. Niehaus, leader of UNSWP, was elected to the South African Senate by the Natal Electoral College on the recommendation of the United Party (UP) of South Africa. He said that his election as a senator was the culmination of years of increasingly close co-operation between the two parties, and that a final merger of the parties would be merely a matter of time.

(n) "Non-whites" in "white" urban areas

109. In accordance with the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, separate townships for "non-whites", both for "coloureds" and Africans, have been established in most of the main urban centres. The largest "non-white" township is Katutura, in Windhoek. The forcible removal of Africans from the old African quarter of Windhoek to Katutura was completed in 1968. African townships have been constructed in other urban centres including Gobabis. The construction of townships for "coloured" persons has been noted above (see paragraph 95). During 1970, it was reported that plans had been completed to "clear up" the African location at Okahandja and to construct a new "non-white" township. It was also reported that some 2,000 "non-whites", mostly Damaras, had been moved from the Native location in Usakos to a new township. At the same time, about 500 Damaras, mostly aged people dependent on state pensions, requested that they be resettled in their "homeland". A spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development stated that they would be resettled at Okombahe. This was reported to be the first time that residents of a location had made a request to be moved to their homeland. During 1970, further measures were adopted which restrict the rights of "non-whites" within the urban areas and within their own townships.

110. In past years, the Windhoek municipality had not enforced the Native (Urban Areas) Proclamation which provides, inter alia, that all Africans within the limits of an urban area are required to reside in a location, village, or hostel, unless officially exempted. However, it is reported that since 1 January 1971, African servants who sleep in must receive exemption from the Council or move to Katutura. Moreover, those exempted must be in their rooms by nine p.m. The Council also decided that in all future "white" residential areas, no African servants should be allowed to sleep in. The number of African servants who sleep in at Windhoek is estimated at 2,000.

111. In April 1970, regulations governing public meetings in African townships were issued by the South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. According to the new regulations, a township superintendent has the power to prohibit public meetings if there are reasonable grounds for believing that there may be a breach of peace. He must first, however, obtain special approval from the local magistrate, who must consult the chief of police and the responsible official of the local council. Persons who wish to convene or address a public meeting are required to notify the township superintendent 72 hours before the proposed meeting. The superintendent may disallow the continuation of any public meeting after midnight and the collection of money for any purpose except use by churches.

112. On 25 October, a new party was formed at a meeting attended by some 200 Africans at Katutura. At the meeting, Mr. J.W. Jagger, a Nama teacher at a Katutura state school, a member of the Katutura Advisory Board and a former member of the South West African National Union (SWANU), announced the formation of a pan-Africanist party called the People's Voice (PV). He said that his party would promote the economic, social and educational advancement of "non-whites" and seek to achieve complete freedom for all inhabitants of the Territory. He added that Katutura was becoming "a hell-hole of despotic white municipal rule" and that its inhabitants, who lived in fear, were "terrorized" by the municipal police. On 2 November, he was reported to have been dismissed from his position on the Katutura Advisory Board after having been convicted on a charge of disturbing the peace. On 2 December, Mr. Jagger said that he had applied for permission to hold an official wreath-laying ceremony on 12 December at the graves of the 11 Africans who had been killed at the Old Location in Windhoek during December 1959, following the territorial Administration's first attempts to remove forcibly the people living there. Mr. Jagger added that the representatives of SWANU and SWAPO and Mr. Clemens Kapuuo, the Herero leader, had been invited to participate in the ceremony. Subsequently, the Windhoek municipality rejected his application without giving any reason.

Namibian liberation movement

113. The liberation movement continued its armed struggle during 1970. Available details of its activities, carried out mainly in the Caprivi Strip and Ovamboland, have been set out in the most recent report of the Council for Namibia. s/

114. It will be recalled that in February 1970, SWAPO issued a statement to the effect that the South African authorities were planning a secret trial of 10 SWAPO leaders on charges under the Terrorism Act. t/ It has since been reported that the trial was held in secret in April, but no details are known about the sentences.

s/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/8024), paras. 112-118.

t/ Ibid., Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI, annex, paras. 86 and 87.

3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

General

115. The economy of the Territory has been described in previous working papers u/ prepared for the Special Committee and in the most recent report of the United Nations Council for Namibia. v/ Supplementary information on the main developments during 1970 is set out below. w/

116. During 1970, the Territory experienced a prolonged drought which had serious effects on all agricultural activities. Most severely affected were the Namibians who make their livelihood by subsistence farming. The drought also caused significant decreases in the production of meat, karakul pelts and dairy products by "white" farmers. Mining activities, however, continued to expand during 1970. Production of diamonds, copper and zinc increased while the tempo of interest in the search for base metals was maintained and new fields were discovered. The fishing industry showed the effects of over-fishing in the waters off the Namibian coast and production declined sharply.

Public finance

117. Public finance in the Territory is regulated by the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, which transferred a major part of the powers and functions formerly exercised by the territorial authorities to the Government of South Africa. Under the terms of the Act, the territorial administration retains powers of taxation over the following items only: personal income tax, business licences, dog and game licences, wheel tax, motor vehicle tax and certain fines. Taxes collected by the Government of South Africa include taxes on mines, companies (other than mining), prospecting and claims, diamond export duty, diamond profits tax, undistributed profits tax, stamp duties, transfer duties and rents.

118. The revenue collected in the Territory by the Government of South Africa is paid into a special account of the South African Consolidated Revenue Fund called the "South West Africa Account". Additional money paid into this account includes money appropriated for it by the South African Parliament and a share of the Republic's total customs and excise receipts. This account is used to

u/ For the most recent, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 68, document A/7320/Add.1, appendix II; ibid., addendum to agenda item 23, document A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 65-93; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex, paras. 82-114; ibid., Supplement No. 23 A (A/7623/Rev.1/Add.1), appendix I; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI, annex, paras. 90-130; ibid., Supplement No. 23 A (A/8023/Rev.1/Add.1), appendix I.

v/ Ibid., Supplement No. 24 (A/8024).

w/ A more detailed account of recent economic developments in the Territory will be included in the working paper to be prepared by the Secretariat in connexion with the Special Committee's study of foreign economic and other interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (item 73 of the provisional agenda of the present session).

defray expenditure by South Africa in the Territory as well as to make statutory payments to the Territorial Revenue Fund.

119. The Territorial Revenue Fund is made up of the revenues collected by the territorial authorities and is augmented by amounts paid into it from the "South West Africa Account". These include a relatively large sum calculated according to a formula set out in the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969, and a smaller amount representing a percentage of taxes on companies (other than mining) equivalent to that paid to the provinces of the Republic.

120. The budget estimates for the "South West Africa Account" for 1970/71, presented to the South African Parliament in 1970, did not show the sources of revenue for the account, as was done in the previous year. It is therefore not possible to determine how much was derived directly from the Territory and how much was contributed by South Africa.

121. Estimated expenditure from the account for 1970/71 amounted to a total of R97,533,900, an increase of R12,451,260 over the previous year's estimates. This included payments to the Territorial Revenue Fund of R33 million (in accordance with the formula set out in the South West Africa Affairs Act, 1969) and R1.8 million (percentage share of taxes on non-mining companies). In addition, R3.3 million was made available to the South-West Finance Corporation, Ltd. (in accordance with Ordinance 25 of 1953). The remainder, amounting to R59.4 million, was for expenditure by South Africa in connexion with the functions for which it is responsible in the Territory.

122. Major items of expenditure included: Bantu administration and development, R13.1 million; water affairs, R13 million; "coloured" relations and Rehoboth affairs, R5.2 million; agricultural credit and land tenure, R4.1 million; agricultural technical services, R3 million; Bantu education, R2.6 million; industries, R2.4 million; public works, R2.4 million; and community development, R1.8 million. Under these various headings, a total of approximately R23.3 million was to be spent on "non-whites", the remaining R36.1 million being spent on "whites".

123. An analysis of the estimates for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in respect of African affairs, shows planned expenditures by the Department on its own account totalling only R2.4 million; R1.9 million on health services and R527,000 as a contribution to Native administration. The balance of the appropriation, R10.7 million, is designated as a grant-in-aid to the South African Bantu Trust Fund. Expenditures by the South African Bantu Trust Fund which are to be supplemented by R2,550,000 from its own account, include R2 million for services by Native authorities in the Native areas (to be increased by R290,000 from their own sources); R1.7 million for the establishment of Native townships; R1.3 million for hospital buildings; R3.8 million for other buildings; R400,000 for roads and bridges; and R1.4 million for irrigation and water supply.

124. Estimated expenditure of R2.6 million for the Department of Bantu Education includes R1 million for salaries and wages; R265,000 for supplies and services; R19,000 for loans and subsidies for the erection of school buildings and the purchase of equipment; and R1 million for a grant-in-aid to the South Africa Bantu Trust Fund for educational services by Native authorities.

125. The allocation to the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, totalling R5.2 million, provides R2.4 million for health services; R1.3 million for salaries and wages (including those for teachers); R325,000 for education (excluding school construction); R409,000 for pensions and welfare services; R203,000 for assistance to farmers; R175,000 for settlement areas; R200,000 to the Rehoboth Development Corporation; and R100 for the Coloured Development Corporation. Of the total, R1.5 million is designated for "coloureds", R2.1 million for Namas and R1.5 million for Rehoboth Easters. Construction of school buildings for these groups, financed by the Department of Public Works, will cost an additional R476,000.

126. Estimated expenditure by the Department of Water Affairs in "non-white" areas includes: domestic water supply for schools, hospitals and government institutions in Native areas, R500,000; Omaram River scheme in Damaraland (where the Uis Tin Mine, owned by the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa is located), R75,000; Ovamboland canals, R905,000; the road from Munda to the Ruacana Waterfall in Ovamboland (site of a planned hydro-electric station), R20,000; domestic water supply in "coloured areas", R100,000.

127. The territorial budget for 1970/71, which was introduced in May 1970, provided for a total expenditure of R53,738,000. Recurrent expenditure was estimated at R35,078,000. Almost all of the remaining R18,660,000 was to be paid into the Territorial Development Reserve Fund. Expenditure from the Fund for 1970/71 was estimated at R29.8 million. The balance in the Fund at the end of the financial year was expected to be R22.2 million. Details of the sources of revenue and of recurrent expenditures under the 1970/71 budget are not available.

128. Additional estimates, amounting to R23 million, were tabled in the Legislative Assembly in February 1971, bringing the total estimates for the year to R76.3 million. Of this sum, R3,065,462 was for recurrent expenditures and R20 million was to be transferred to the Development and Reserve Fund.

129. In summary, it may be estimated that public expenditure directly related to "non-whites" envisaged for 1970/71 amounted to approximately R23.3 million. On the other hand, public expenditure directly related to "whites" would include R36.1 million by South Africa from the "South West Africa Account"; R38.1 million for recurrent expenditure from the Territorial Revenue Fund; and R29.8 million for development projects from the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund, making a total of approximately R104 million.

Mining

Diamonds

130. Diamond mining continues to be the major source of the Territory's revenue, accounting for approximately 60 per cent of the total value of mineral exports. The industry is dominated by the Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM) of South West Africa, a subsidiary of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. of South Africa, and the largest producer of gem diamonds in the world.

131. Consolidated Diamond Mines produces over 95 per cent of the total diamonds mined in the Territory. In 1969, production from its own concession area, covering 10,259 square miles in the southern part of the Territory, amounted to

1,697,000 carats, an increase of 207,000 carats, compared with 1,490,000 carats in 1968. The foreshore of the concession area leased from 1967 until the end of 1970 from its subsidiary, Marine Diamond Corporation (MDC), yielded an additional 125,000 carats (a decrease of 25,000 carats from 1968, owing to a fall in grade). The Hottentots Bay concession of Tidal Diamonds (SWA) (Pty) Ltd. in which CDM has a 54 per cent interest, yielded 203,000 carats. Subject to further prospecting results, it was expected that the Hottentots Bay operation would continue to the second half of 1970, the deposit being very limited in size. There were no plans to resume undersea mining in the MDC concession area, which had been discontinued in 1968, owing to the depletion of known reserves. An evaluation of the area, conducted in 1969, had failed to establish any appreciable increase in reserves. According to the De Beers Annual Report for 1969 the over-all increase in production (6 to 9 per cent over 1968), was achieved despite a slightly lower grade over-all. The decrease in the average size of diamonds mined, first noticed in 1968, was again evident.

Base metals

132. In recent years, the greatest growth in the mining sector has occurred in base metals, primarily copper. Although base metals still account for only about 40 per cent of the total value of mineral production, copper has increased in value and output to a position second only to diamonds. It is believed likely that, eventually, the Territory will reach the forefront of world copper production. Prospecting continued to reveal further extensive deposits of minerals some of which (e.g., uranium) have not previously been mined in the Territory.

133. There is no current information as to the total value of mineral production in the Territory, the reports of the Ministry of Mines being kept secret on instructions from the South African Government. According to the Inspector of Mines, however, mineral sales reached record levels in 1969, and were attributable largely to increased production of minerals other than diamonds.

134. Production of base minerals in the Territory is dominated, as in the past, by the Tsumeb Corporation, which accounts for over 80 per cent of total production. The company, jointly owned by American Metal Climax and the Newmont Mining Corporation, both of the United States, reported metal sales amounting to R41,753,792 for the year ending 30 June 1969 and to R53,578,729 for the year ending 30 June 1970. Net profits for these two years amounted to R10,921,440 and R20,704,133 respectively.

135. Production of metals was as follows:

	<u>Short tons</u>				<u>Pounds</u>	<u>Ounces</u>
	<u>Lead</u>	<u>Copper</u>	<u>Zinc</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cadmium</u>	<u>Silver</u>
1969	66,634	30,450	4,205	101,289	509,933	1,273,429
1970	72,060	29,406	8,700	110,166	693,845	1,229,160

136. The Tsumeb Corporation's mining operations are conducted at the Tsumeb and Kombat Mines, the former being substantially larger and yielding zinc, as well as lead and copper. In June 1970, at a cost of R3.7 million, the company also brought into production the Matchless Mine which, when operating at full strength is expected to produce 750 tons of copper concentrate per month along with 2,500 tons of pyrites concentrates, which are necessary for refining lead and copper. In mid-1970, probable ore reserves at the Matchless Mine were estimated at 2,629,000 tons at 1.88 per cent copper and 12.27 per cent sulphur, somewhat lower than the grade at Tsumeb and Kombat.

137. The South West Africa Co., Ltd. (SWACO), another long-established company, in which the major shareholder is Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa and in which the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa has some participation, reported sales amounting to £1,642,594 in 1969, and consolidated net profits of £274,128. The company also received £215,000 in dividends from its holdings in the Tsumeb Corporation. The company produced 5,730 short tons of lead/vanadate, 20,300 short tons of zinc/lead sulphide, 28,018 tons of zinc silicate and 624 short tons of tin/wolfram from its mines at Berg Aukas and Brandberg West.

138. It was also reported that SWACO and Tsumeb had entered into a joint venture agreement for explorations in the Otavi area. Drilling had located an ore body of 594,000 tons containing copper and lead at Asis Ost.

139. The opening in June 1969 of the Rosh Pinah Mine, in the south-west corner of the Territory, at a cost of R5 million, is considered to be among the most important mining developments in recent years. Owned by the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (ISCOR), through its local subsidiary the Industrial Mining Corporation (IMCOR), the mine's main product is zinc, with lead and copper as by-products. Zinc concentrates, produced at the rate of 900 tons a day, are sent directly to South Africa for processing by the Zinc Corporation of South Africa (ZINCOR) and have already resulted in a decrease of zinc imports by South Africa from R8 million to R1 million annually. This achievement was described by Mr. S.L. Muller, South African Minister of Mines, as "a milestone in the rapid progress of our country's iron and steel industry and of ISCOR"; it was also of particular importance, because of zinc's strategic value, in the event that imports were cut off because of political developments. The copper and lead concentrates, about 25 tons daily, are reportedly exported to the United Kingdom.

140. As noted above, prospecting for copper is the major focus of new activity in the Territory. The discovery that copper ore deposits at the Klein Aub copper mine in Rehoboth Gebiet far exceed original estimates and probably extend in a north-easterly direction to beyond the Botswana border, has attracted a number of prominent foreign mining companies in the last few years and has already resulted in the discovery of one new reef of copper and the opening of at least one major mine. This mine, the Oamites, owned by Falconbridge of South West Africa, a subsidiary of Falconbridge Nickel Mines of Canada, is scheduled to open in July 1971 at a cost of R5 million and is expected to produce 50,000 tons of ore a month, yielding an estimated 1,300 tons of copper concentrates, as well as a small amount of silver (13 parts per million). Located sixty-four miles due south of Windhoek, the mine is reported to have proven ore reserves of 4 million tons, with a copper content of 1.7 per cent, and an estimated life expectancy of eight to thirty years. More exploration is still to be carried out to determine the exact extent of the ore body.

141. Like the Klein Aub mine, the Oamites mine is situated in the Rehoboth Baster Gebiet. Although Rehoboters will be employed in various capacities they will not be employed as "miners" owing to the policy of job reservation. According to the chairman of Falconbridge of South West Africa, negotiations to make the South African Industrial Development Corporation a partner in the mine are under way.

142. There is no new information about the Klein Aub mine. It will be recalled that the mine is owned by the Federale Mynbou-General Mining Group, Federale Volksbeleggings Bpk. and Marine Products, Ltd. all of South Africa. Ore reserves are estimated at 4 million tons, with an average copper content of 3 per cent. In 1969, the company reported net profits of R2.1 million.

143. Other successes in the search for copper during 1970 include the discovery of a promising field near Witvlei by the General Mining and Finance Corporation, and discoveries in Outjo District and in the vicinity of Walvis Bay.

144. In November 1970, Rio Tinto South Africa (Pty) Ltd. announced that it would start exploiting uranium at its Rössing mine, near Swakopmund, in 1976. It is believed that the mine will prove to be one of the most important in the world. Earlier, in July, the United Kingdom House of Commons was informed that the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Agency had signed an agreement with a subsidiary of Rio Tinto Zinc for the supply of uranium ore from the Territory. The agreement was subject to conditions which were fulfilled recently.

Petroleum

145. The oil companies which have concessions in the Territory (see foot-note j/ above) continued their search for oil during 1970. All were still carrying out preliminary surveys, with the exception of the Etosha Petroleum Company (Pty) Ltd., which, in December, announced that it had discovered potential oil structures. It planned to drill these structures when it began the next phase of its programme.

Fishing

146. Details of the fishing industry, second in importance after mining, have been reported previously (see foot-note j/ above). During 1970, there was a sharp decline in the production of both pilchards and rock lobsters. Production of pilchards fell from 1.33 million to 565,000 tons, while only 104,000 cartons of rock lobsters were produced out of the annual quota of 260,000 cartons.

147. As indicated previously, the reason for the decline in production is that the fishing grounds are being over-fished. In this respect, the activities of South African factory ships and trawlers of foreign origin have been important.

148. Following a report on the fishing industry by a commission of enquiry, the South African Minister of Economic Affairs announced, in November, that the pilchard quota for each of the eight land-based factories in the Territory would be reduced from 90,000 to 45,000 tons and that the catching season would be restricted to between February and September. The possibility of further restrictions was envisaged by the Minister in a statement made to the House of Assembly on 23 February 1971. Meanwhile, the activities of a South African-owned

factory ship off the Namibian coast were causing concern in the Territory. In February 1971, local fishing interests expressed their concern over the fact that the ship was operating in an area containing mostly young fish, and they called for the application to factory ships of the same quotas applied to land-based factories.

Agriculture

149. Commercial agriculture in the Territory, which is limited to the production of beef, karakul pelts and dairy products, was severely affected by the drought.

150. During 1970, about 315,000 head of cattle were exported to South Africa. This was the highest figure of record and was 15,000 more than in the previous year. The increase was entirely due to the drought conditions prevailing in the Territory. Because of the poor quality of the animals, the prices received were lower than in previous years.

151. The karakul sector was also badly affected by the drought. Although no figures are available, it was reported in January 1971 that a state of "near despair" existed among karakul producers in the south-western area of the Territory.

152. Dairy production was also severely affected. In December 1970, it was necessary to import 115,000 kilogrammes of butter to supplement local production, which had fallen to 13,000 kilogrammes.

4. SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Labour

153. On 1 December 1969, the task of recruiting Ovambo contract labourers for other areas of Namibia was transferred from the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA) to community councils in Ovamboland which are part of the newly created administration of the Ovambo "homeland". SWANLA, which had operated for the previous forty-one years, continued to function in the reduced role of an agency distributing recruits across the Territory on behalf of the Ovamboland administration. Following implementation of this policy in 1970, dissatisfaction was voiced by "white" farmers who complained that, instead of six to eight weeks, it now took five to six months to recruit an Ovambo labourer.

154. A slight relaxation of the policy of job reservation for "whites" was announced on 27 May 1970. Mr. K. Pretorius, a member of the Executive Committee, informed the Legislative Assembly that in order to meet a serious shortage of operators of road construction machinery, "non-whites" would replace "white" operators in the "homelands". He stressed that this would not happen at the expense of "white" operators. Where possible, only "non-whites" from a particular "homeland" where the work had to be done would be employed as operators. He said that the decision was significant in that it was a change in the practice which had been followed so far by the Roads Department and was also an indication that progress was being made with the policy of separate development.

Public health

155. Within the "white" areas, public health is the responsibility of the "South West Africa Administration". During 1970, new arrangements affecting the provision of health services within the "homelands" came into force. Under the new system, health matters would become the responsibility of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. In lieu of creating a new division within that department, it was stated that the Department of Health would act in an advisory capacity and would also be the executive authority for providing health services in the "homelands". The situation in areas not yet proclaimed as "homelands" is not clear.

Education

156. In July, a bill was introduced in the South African Parliament to make the terms of the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Special Education Act of South Africa applicable to Namibia. According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, the bill was mainly aimed at activating the educational authorities in the new "self-governing homelands" and at placing African education in the Territory under the same legislation as that applicable to African education in South Africa. It was intended that the legislative councils, the relevant executive councils and the educational departments in the "homelands" would eventually be responsible for promulgating their own "regulations" regarding the establishment and registration of schools.

CHAPTER VIII

(A/8423/Add.4)

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. Consideration by the Special Committee	1 - 29	90
B. Decisions of the Special Committee	30 - 32	97

ANNEXES

I. WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT	103
II. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL	266
III. LETTER DATED 3 SEPTEMBER 1971 FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY- GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO THE UNDER- SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR TRUSTEESHIP AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES	269

CHAPTER VIII

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee considered the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration at its 782nd, 785th, 787th, 789th to 792nd, 795th to 797th, 799th, 802nd, 806th, 811th to 813th and 824th to 826th meetings, between 4 March and 14 September 1971.

2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970. The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 on the implementation of the Declaration, by paragraph 11 of which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of 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, taking fully into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action...". By paragraph 13 of the same resolution, 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 domination...". In addition, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2707 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 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".

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

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

Angola

(a) Cable dated 18 March 1971 from Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (A/AC.109/PET.1159).

(b) Letter dated 14 December 1970 from Nto-Bako Angola (A/AC.109/PET.1167).

(c) Letter dated 4 March 1971 from Messrs. Gracia Faustin Malheiros and André Monteiro Kiangala of Ngwizani a Kongo (A/AC.109/PET.1173).

(d) Letter dated 4 May 1971 from Mr. Boubaker Adjali (A/AC.109/PET.1177).

(e) Undated letter from Mr. Isaiah Swana (A/AC.109/PET.1187).

(f) Letter dated 11 May 1971 from Mr. Chiponge Joseph Siliveli, United National Angolan Party (UNA) (A/AC.109/PET.1188).

(g) Letter dated 4 June 1971 from Mr. Börje J. Mattsson (A/AC.109/PET.1189).

Mozambique

(h) Letter dated 25 June 1971 from Mr. Jack Seaton, Project Mozambique, Toronto (A/AC.109/PET.1179).

Cape Verde Archipelago

(i) Letter dated 21 May 1971 from Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) (A/AC.109/PET.1190).

Territories in general

(j) Undated communication on behalf of Dr. Domingos Arouca (A/AC.109/PET.1170).

(k) Letter dated 9 April 1971 from Dr. François Houtart, Université Catholique de Louvain (A/AC.109/PET.1174).

(l) Two cables dated 24 May and 8 June 1971 from Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General, PAIGC (A/AC.109/PET.1178 and Add.1).

(m) Letter dated 19 May 1971 from Mr. Donald J. Wilson, Secretary for Race Relations, the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (A/AC.109/PET.1186).

5. The Special Committee also had before it the following written petitions relating, inter alia, to Territories in southern Africa in general:

(a) Letter dated 16 March 1971 from Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom (A/AC.109/PET.1158).

(b) Cable dated 21 December 1970 from the Soviet Peace Committee (A/AC.109/PET.1163).

(c) Cable dated 24 August 1971 from the World Peace Council (A/AC.109/PET.1191).

6. At its 785th, 796th, 806th and 821st meetings, on 29 March, 5 May, 1 July and 27 August, the Special Committee, by adopting the 155th, 158th, 160th and 161st reports, respectively, of the Sub-Committee on Petitions, 1/ decided to grant the requests for hearing contained in the petitions referred to in paragraphs 4 (d) and (h) and 5 (a) and (c) above.

1/ A/AC.109/L.691, L.707, L.720 and L.743.

7. At the 796th meeting, on 5 May, Mr. Boubaker Adjali made a statement and showed photographic slides (A/AC.109/PV.796). Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.796).

8. Mr. Jack Seaton of Project Mozambique, and his associate, Mr. Richard Williams, made statements at the 806th meeting on 1 July and replied to questions put to them by the representatives of Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.806).

9. An account of the hearing given Mr. Abdul S. Minty at the 785th meeting on 29 March, and of that given members of the delegation of the World Peace Council at the 824th meeting on 8 September, to which reference is made in paragraph 5 (a) and (c) above, is contained in chapter VI of the present report (see A/8423/Add.2).

10. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee also took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee at its 789th meeting on 7 April 1971 (see A/8423/Add.1). The Group visited Africa during May 1971 for the purpose of maintaining contact with representatives of national liberation movements from the colonial Territories on that continent, obtaining first-hand information on the situation in those Territories and holding consultations with officials of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on matters of common interest. The report included, inter alia, the views expressed by the following representatives of national liberation movements of the Territories under Portuguese administration:

(a) Mr. Agostinho Neto, President, and Mr. Pascal Luvualu, member of the Central Committee, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA),

(b) Mr. Grielme Chippia, Captain, Uniao Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA),

(c) Mr. Paulo J. Gumane, President, and Mr. Miniban J. Ntundumula, member of the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO), and

(d) Mr. Joaquim Chissano, Chief Representative in the United Republic of Tanzania, and Mr. Sérgio Vieira, representative in the United Arab Republic, of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELMO).

The account of the meetings in Africa of the Ad Hoc Group and of its consideration by the Special Committee is contained in chapter V of the present report (see A/8423/Add.1).

11. The Special Committee also took into account the reports of its delegations of observers to the Assembly of the World Peace Council held in Budapest, Hungary, from 13 to 16 May 1971 (A/8423 (Part I)) and to the special meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (A/AC.109/PV.807). An account of the Special Committee's discussion is contained in chapter I of the present report (A/8423 (Part I)).

12. At its 782nd meeting, on 4 March, the Special Committee adopted a consensus concerning the decision of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to proceed with the sale of several helicopters and spare

parts for military equipment to the Government of South Africa (S/10147). The text of the consensus and an account of its consideration by the Special Committee is contained in chapter VI of the present report (A/8423/Add.2).

13. At its 789th meeting, on 7 April, the Special Committee, by adopting the 156th report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.693 and Corr.1), decided to give consideration, as a matter of urgency, to matters raised in the petition referred to in paragraph 4 (a) above. Statements in that connexion were made at the same meeting by the representatives of Syria, Ethiopia, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.789 and Corr.1) and at the 790th meeting, on 13 April, by the representatives of Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.790).

14. At its 791st meeting, on 13 April, the representative of Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution which was finally sponsored by Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ehtiopia, India, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.704).

15. Following statements by the representatives of India, Bulgaria, Sweden and Tunisia (A/AC.109/PV.791), the Special Committee, at the same meeting, adopted the draft resolution by 19 votes to none, with one abstention (see paragraph 30 below). Statements in explanation of vote were made by the representatives of Venezuela and Ecuador at the same meeting (A/AC.109/PV.791) and by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago at the 792nd meeting, on 20 April (A/AC.109/PV.792).

16. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/368) was transmitted, on 13 April, to the President of the Security Council (S/10176) and, on 14 April, to the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations for the attention of his Government. On 14 April, copies of the resolution were transmitted to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Joint United Nations-FAO World Food Programme (WFP) with a request for information on action taken or envisaged by them in implementation of paragraph 5 of the resolution. The report of the Secretary-General, submitted to the Special Committee in pursuance of paragraph 6 of the resolution and containing the information he had received from these organizations, is reproduced in annex II to the present chapter.

17. In accordance with the request addressed to him in paragraph 4 of the resolution, the Chairman, by a letter dated 14 April 1971, transmitted the text of the resolution to the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU with an appeal that, having regard to paragraph 5 of the resolution, urgent action be taken on the request for assistance in accordance with paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV). On the same date, the Chairman informed Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA of the action taken by the Special Committee in connexion with his petition and invited him to contact OAU concerning his request for assistance. In a letter dated 3 September 1971, the Executive Secretary-General of OAU to the United Nations informed the Special Committee of the action initiated by OAU in implementation of the resolution (see annex III to the present chapter).

18. The general debate covering the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration took place at the 795th, 802nd, and 811th to 813th meetings, between 30 April and 9 August. Statements in the general debate were made by the representatives of Sweden and Iran (A/AC.109/PV.795), Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.802 and Corr.1 and 2), Bulgaria and Tunisia (A/AC.109/PV.811), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, India and the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.812) and Afghanistan (A/AC.109/PV.813).

19. At its 797th meeting, on 2 June, the Special Committee, by adopting the 159th report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.710), decided to give consideration as a matter of urgency to matters raised in the petition (A/AC.109/PET.1178) referred to in paragraph 4 (1) above. Following a statement by the representative of Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.797 and Corr.1), the Chairman introduced a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.709). Statements on the draft resolution were made by the representatives of the Ivory Coast, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Poland, Mali, Syria, Fiji, Trinidad and Tobago, Yugoslavia, Iraq and Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.797 and Corr.1).

20. At the same meeting, the Special Committee voted on the draft resolution as follows:

(a) The second preambular paragraph was adopted by 18 votes to none;

(b) The resolution, as a whole (A/AC.109/L.709), was adopted by a roll-call vote of 16 to none, with 3 abstentions (see paragraph 31 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, India, Iran, Iraq, Mali, Poland, Sweden, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Fiji, Ivory Coast, Madagascar.

A statement in explanation of vote was made by the representative of Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.797 and Corr.1).

21. On 3 June 1971, the text of the resolution (A/AC.109/370) was transmitted to States Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for the attention of their Governments, and to OAU.

22. At the 824th meeting, on 8 September, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania introduced a draft resolution on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration (A/AC.109/L.740) on behalf of the following delegations: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

23. The Special Committee considered the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.740) at its 824th to 826th meetings, between 8 and 14 September. Statements on the draft

resolution were made by the representative of Sweden at the 824th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.824) and by the representatives of Bulgaria, Venezuela, Sweden and Ethiopia at the 825th meeting (A/AC.109/PV.825).

24. At the 826th meeting, on 14 September, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, on behalf of the sponsors, submitted oral revisions to the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.740), by which, in operative paragraph 6, the words "particularly South Africa and the military allies of Portugal within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization" were replaced by the words "particularly the military allies of Portugal within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization".

25. At the same meeting, the representative of Venezuela proposed that the fourth, seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs and operative paragraphs 4 and 9 of the draft resolution, as revised orally, should be voted on separately. Following a statement on behalf of the sponsors by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.826), the Special Committee rejected the Venezuelan motion by a vote of 11 to 2, with 4 abstentions.

26. Following a statement in explanation of vote by the representative of the Ivory Coast (A/AC.109/PV.826), the Special Committee at the same meeting adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.740), as orally revised, by a roll-call vote of 17 to none (see paragraph 32 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Sweden, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

Against: None

Abstaining: None

The representative of Venezuela stated that his delegation had not participated in the voting on the draft resolution in view of the decision of the Special Committee referred to in paragraph 25 above.

27. On 14 September 1971, the text of the resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10320). Copies of the resolution were also transmitted to States, including the administering Power, for the attention of their Governments and to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system.

28. Having regard to the request addressed to him in paragraph 13 of the resolution, the Chairman, by a letter dated 16 September 1971, transmitted the text of the resolution to the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU. In his letter of transmittal, the Chairman stated, inter alia:

"In accordance with the request addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee in operative paragraph 13, I stand ready to consult with you and through you with the liberation movements concerned and would hope that such consultations could be held during your forthcoming visit to the United Nations."

29. In addition to adopting the above-mentioned resolution on the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration, the Special Committee, at its 824th and 825th meetings, on 8 and 9 September, considered and adopted a 10-Power draft resolution relating to the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese administration. The text of the draft resolution and an account of its consideration by the Special Committee is contained in chapter V of the present report (A/8423/Add.1).

B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

30. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/368) adopted by the Special Committee at its 791st meeting on 13 April, to which reference is made in paragraph 15 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,

Recalling General Assembly resolution 2707 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, which called upon the Government of Portugal not to use chemical and biological methods of warfare against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau),

Recalling further General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 and, in particular paragraph 5, whereby the Assembly reiterated its urgent appeal to the specialized agencies and the other organizations within the United Nations system to render all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples struggling for liberation from colonial rule, including the populations in the liberated areas of the colonial Territories,

Having considered the communication dated 18 March 1971 from Mr. Agostinho Neto, 2/ President of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, which confirms that Portugal has been continuing to use chemical substances such as herbicides and defoliants, in the liberated areas of Angola, destroying crops and killing a great number of people by poisoning, and which contains an appeal for assistance from specialized agencies for urgent dispatch of seeds, foodstuffs, drugs and other provisions,

1. Condemns any use of chemical substances, such as herbicides and defoliants, by the Government of Portugal, either in Angola or in other Territories under its domination in violation of General Assembly resolution 2707 (XXV);

2. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith the use of chemical and biological methods of warfare against the peoples of Angola and the other Territories under its domination, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the above-mentioned General Assembly resolution and with the generally recognized rules of international law embodied in the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925; 3/

2/ See A/AC.109/PET.1159.

3/ League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.

3. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to take the necessary measures to ensure the immediate cessation by Portugal of its colonial wars in Africa and its use of herbicides and defoliants to the detriment of the peoples of the Territories;

4. Endorses the request for assistance contained in the communication referred to above, and requests the Chairman to bring it to the attention of the Organization of African Unity, with an appeal that urgent action be taken thereon, in accordance with paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV);

5. Appeals to the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization, as well as other organizations concerned within the United Nations system, in accordance with the above-mentioned General Assembly resolution, to give urgent and favourable consideration to the request for assistance in consultation with the Organization of African Unity;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the text of the present resolution to the above-mentioned organizations and to report to the Special Committee on the action taken or envisaged by those organizations in its implementation;

7. Decides to keep under constant review these and other aspects of the question of Territories under Portuguese administration.

31. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/370) adopted by the Special Committee at its 797th meeting, on 2 June, to which reference is made in paragraph 20 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 recent communication addressed to its Chairman by Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), requesting the Special Committee to "take any steps deemed useful in order to denounce and condemn forthcoming NATO session at Lisbon as a further manifestation of political support and irrefutable evidence of the complicity of certain States members of NATO in the colonial wars and genocide being carried out by the Portuguese Government against Africa",

Recalling that the General Assembly, in paragraph 7 of resolution 2707 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, reiterated its appeal "to all States, particularly to members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to withhold from Portugal any assistance which enables it to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)",

1. Considers that the holding of meetings of the Council of Ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Lisbon cannot but afford political and moral encouragement to Portugal in the pursuit of its colonialist policies

and views this decision of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with serious concern, as it will imply a further manifestation of the collaboration by certain States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with the Government of Portugal, without which that Government would be unable to continue to wage its inhuman war against the peoples in the Territories under its domination;

2. Deplores this manifestation of collaboration with Portugal by States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and urges those States to desist forthwith from all acts which might encourage Portugal to continue its oppression of the peoples of the Territories under its domination.

32. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/384) adopted by the Special Committee at its 826th meeting, on 14 September, to which reference is made in paragraph 26 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 Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having examined the report of the Ad Hoc Group established 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 at its 789th meeting on 7 April 1971, 4/

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General^{5/} submitted in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 13 April 1971, 6/

Having noted the reports of its delegations of observers to the Assembly of the World Peace Council 7/ and to the special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, 8/

4/ A/8423/Add.1, Annex.

5/ Annex II to the present Chapter.

6/ See paragraph 3C above.

7/ A/8423 (Part I).

8/ A/AC.109/PV.807

Recalling General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as well as other relevant resolutions on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration adopted by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee,

Deploping the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to recognize the inalienable right of the peoples in the Territories under its domination to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and gravely concerned at the further intensification of its military operations against the peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) who are struggling to attain their freedom and independence,

Deeply disturbed by the repeated occurrence of aggressive acts committed by Portugal against independent African States which border the Territories under its domination,

Noting with concern that the constitutional changes introduced by the Portuguese Government in 1971 do not open the way to the self-determination of the African population and to the independence of the Territories, but merely serve further to entrench Portuguese domination,

Noting with serious concern that, despite the repeated appeals addressed to them by the United Nations, certain States continue to provide Portugal with financial, economic, military and other assistance, thus enabling that Government to persist in its policies of colonial domination and oppression of the African population of those Territories,

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in those Territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes,

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 resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and the colonial war being waged by that Government against the African peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) which also threatens the security and violates the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring independent African States;

3. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith all repressive activities and military operations against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), to withdraw all military and other forces, and to effect the full and speedy implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council with respect to the Territories under its domination;

4. Condemns the violations by Portugal of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States, in particular those States bordering the Territories;

5. Calls upon the Government of Portugal, in view of the armed conflict in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) 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^{9/} and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, ^{10/} both dated 12 August 1949;

6. Appeals once again to all States, particularly the military allies of Portugal within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to discontinue extension of military assistance of any kind to the Government of Portugal and to prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material to Portugal, as well as any equipment and material to Portugal, as well as any equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition which it uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa;

7. Deplores those activities of economic and other interests operating in the Territories under Portuguese domination which impede the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the African populations in these Territories for self-determination, freedom and independence and which strengthen the military efforts of Portugal;

8. Calls upon all States to take effective measures to put an end to all practices which exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein and 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. Condemns the policies of those Governments which have failed to prevent their 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 calls upon all Governments which have not yet done so to withdraw immediately from all activities relating to these projects and to take all 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 need for taking, as a matter of urgency, all effective measures, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to secure the implementation by Portugal of resolution 1514 (XV) and of the decisions of the Security Council concerning the Territories under Portuguese domination, in particular, resolutions 180 (1963) of 31 July 1963, 183 (1963) of 11 December 1963, and 218 (1965) of 23 July 1965;

^{9/} United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75 (1950), No. 972.

^{10/} Ibid., No. 973.

11. Urges all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to render to 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;

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

13. Requests its Chairman, bearing in mind the acceptance 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 of the invitations extended to it by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique to visit the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique, to work out the necessary modalities in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and those liberation movements;

14. Decides to keep the situation in the Territories under continuous review.

ANNEX I

WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

A. GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TERRITORIES*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
I. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL	1 - 15
II. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES	
1. Area and population	16 - 20
2. Constitutional and political	21 - 70
3. Military activities and expenditure	71 - 99
4. International relations of Portugal affecting the Territories under its administration	100 - 130
5. Portugal's economic relations with the Territories under its administration	131 - 149

APPENDIX

AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF PORTUGAL RELATING TO THE TERRITORIES UNDER ITS ADMINISTRATION

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A. GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES

II. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL a/

1. In 1970, the Special Committee considered the question of Territories under Portuguese administration at its meetings held from 14 May to 24 June, 24 to 30 July and 11 to 18 August 1970.

2. In its consideration of this question, the Special Committee took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Group it had appointed to visit Africa for the purpose of establishing contact with representatives of national liberation movements. b/ It also took into account the report of the delegation of observers to the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Portuguese Colonies which was held in Rome from 27 to 29 June 1970. c/

3. On 18 August 1970, the Special Committee adopted a resolution on the Territories under Portuguese administration by a roll-call vote of 14 to 2, with 2 abstentions. d/ Members voting against the resolution were the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

4. 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, in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right. It condemned 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 colonial war waged by Portugal against the African peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau); it also condemned the intervention of the South African forces, designed to perpetuate Portuguese colonialism in Africa. It called on the Government of Portugal to apply without delay to the Territories under its domination the principle of self-determination and independence, and in particular: (a) to cease all repressive activities involving the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms and military operations against the peoples of the Territories 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). It also called upon the Government of Portugal, in view of

a/ For information on action prior to 1970, see the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session and the documents referred to therein: Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII.

b/ See ibid., Supplement No. 23 B (A/8023/Rev.1/Add.2).

c/ Ibid., Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex II.

d/ Ibid., chap. VII, para. 17.

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. e/

5. The Special Committee called upon all States, particularly the military allies of Portugal within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to take the following measures: (a) to desist from giving the Portuguese Government any military assistance, including the training of military personnel within or outside the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance; (b) to prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material, including aircraft, helicopters and vehicles to the Portuguese Government; and (c) to stop the sale or shipment to that Government of equipment and materials for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition.

6. Deploing the intensified activity of economic and financial and other interests which impede the self-determination and independence of the African populations in the Portuguese Territories, the Special Committee called upon all States to put an end to practices which exploit the peoples and the Territories under Portuguese domination, and to discourage their nationals from entering into any activities or arrangements which strengthen Portugal's domination. The Special Committee also appealed to all Governments which had not yet done so, to withdraw from activities relating to the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola.

7. The Special Committee drew the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation created by the continued defiance by Portugal of its obligations under the Charter and the threat to international peace and security resulting from the growing collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. It also drew the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to adopt the necessary measures to make mandatory the provisions of its resolutions concerning this question.

8. The Special Committee again urged all States to render the peoples of the Territories the financial and material assistance necessary for the continuance of their struggle for the restoration of their rights, and to take co-ordinated measures, in co-operation with the Organization for African Unity (OAU), to increase assistance to the national liberation movements, including the active participation of the specialized agencies and the international organizations concerned. It expressed appreciation to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies and other international organizations for the help they have given and requested them, in co-operation with the host and other interested Governments, with the OAU, 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.

9. The Special Committee 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.

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

10. On 3 December 1970, the General Assembly, at its twenty-fifth session, adopted resolution 2652 (XXV) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, whereby it reaffirmed its conviction that sanctions would not put an end to the illegal racist minority régime in that Territory unless they were comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa and Portugal. It further drew the attention of the Security Council to the urgent necessity of applying measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter for widening the scope of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal.

11. On 14 December 1970, the General Assembly, after having considered the report of the Special Committee, adopted resolution 2707 (XXV). The operative part of this resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

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

"2. Strongly condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and all other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and the colonial war being waged by that Government against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) which also threatens the security and violates the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the independent African States, in particular those States bordering the Territories;

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

"4. Condemns the intervention of South African forces against the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination;

"5. 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 resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in particular:

"(a) To cease forthwith all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and to withdraw all military and other forces employed for this purpose;

(b) To cease immediately all practices which violate the inalienable rights of the indigenous population, including arbitrary eviction of the African population and the settlement of immigrants in the Territories;

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

"(d) To refrain from all attacks on, and violations of, the security and territorial integrity of neighbouring sovereign countries;

"(e) To release the men and property of those sovereign States now being held by Portugal following the violations and attacks committed against them;

"6. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to treat the freedom-fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949 f/ and to comply with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949; g/

"7. Reiterates its appeal to all States, particularly to members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to withhold from Portugal any assistance which enables it to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and in particular:

"(a) To desist forthwith from the training of Portuguese military personnel 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, as well as all supplies enabling it to manufacture or maintain weapons and ammunition which it uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa;

"(c) To desist from any collaboration with the ground, air and naval forces of Portugal which might thwart the achievement of the objectives contained in resolution 1514 (XV);

"8. Calls upon all States to take all effective measures to put an end to all practices which exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein and 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. Calls upon the Government of Portugal not to use chemical and biological methods of warfare against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique

f/ Ibid.

g/ Ibid., No. 973.

and Guinea (Bissau), contrary to the generally recognized rules of international law embodied in the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, h/ and to General Assembly resolution 2603 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969;

"10. Welcomes the action taken by the financial groups in certain States to withdraw their participation in the Cabora Bassa project, but requests the Governments which have not yet done so to withdraw from the activities relating to the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola and to take all the necessary measures to prevent the participation therein of any companies or individuals under their jurisdiction;

"11. Invites all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in co operation with the Organization of African Unity, to render to 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;

"12. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) created by the continued violation by Portugal of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the growing collaboration between Portugal, the racist Government of South Africa and the illegal racist-minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, which constitute a threat to international peace and security;

"13. Recommends that the Security Council should continue to give special attention to the problems of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and of the collaboration between Portugal and the racist minority régimes of southern Africa, and to take effective measures, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, to ensure the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and its own resolutions relating thereto;

"14. Invites the Secretary-General, in the light of General Assembly resolution 2557 (XXIV) of 12 December 1969 and in consultation with the specialized agencies and the Governments of the host countries, 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, and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on the progress of these programmes;

h/ League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.

"15. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the present resolution to all States and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on steps taken or envisaged by States in the implementation of the various provisions contained therein;

"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. On 22 November 1970, the Security Council at an emergency meeting, considered a communication from the Permanent Representative of Guinea reporting that his country had been attacked by Portuguese forces. At the same meeting, the Security Council adopted resolution 289 (1970) by which it demanded the immediate cessation of the armed attack against Guinea and the withdrawal of all external forces. It also decided to send a special mission to Guinea to report on the situation.

13. In its report to the Security Council (S/10009 and Add.1), the special mission concluded that, in its best judgement, the invading force had been assembled in Guinea (Bissau) and that the invasion had been carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with dissident elements from outside the Republic of Guinea.

14. Portugal did not ask to participate in the debate in the Security Council. In a letter dated 22 November 1970 to the President of the Security Council (S/9989), the Portuguese Government categorically denied the accusations by Guinea. In a second letter, dated 4 December 1970 (S/10014), the Government of Portugal declared that it had not ordered, authorized or consented to any military operations against the Republic of Guinea, and reiterated that it was not in any manner responsible for the occurrences in that country. In a communiqué dated 7 December 1970, which was circulated as a Security Council document (S/10024), the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Portugal criticized the inadequate investigation and insufficient evidence on which the mission had based its report. Among other things, the communiqué charged that statements made by witnesses had been prepared and presented under physical and psychological control of the authorities of the Republic of Guinea. As a result the Portuguese Government found the conclusions "not acceptable in the light of the most elementary procedural principle".

15. On 8 December 1970, the Security Council adopted resolution 290 (1970) by which it condemned the Government of Portugal for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea and demanded full compensation by Portugal for the extensive damage to life and property caused by the armed attack. It also warned the Government of Portugal that in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council would immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

II. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES

1. AREA AND POPULATION

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 populations in 1966, 1967 and 1969 are given below:

	<u>Census</u>		<u>Estimates</u>	
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1969</u>
Angola, including Cabinda	4,840,719	5,223,000	5,292,800	5,430,000
Mozambique	6,592,948	7,040,000	7,169,400	7,376,000
Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea	512,336	527,000	528,200	530,000
Cape Verde	199,661	231,000	237,800	250,000
São Tomé and Príncipe	64,149	62,000	63,000	66,000
Macau	169,299	...	268,300	260,000
Timor	517,079	...	571,700	590,000

Sources: For 1966 and 1967 estimates: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico (vol. II, Ultramar), 1967;

For 1969 estimates: United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1969.

18. Portugal has a general population census every ten years. In 1970, a housing census was also taken for the first time in Angola and Mozambique in centres with over 2,000 inhabitants. Although in Portugal and Angola the census was to be taken on 15 December 1970, in Mozambique the effective date of the census in the urban areas was 15 September.

19. According to the census procedures published in Mozambique (Diploma Legislativo 2,972 and Portaria 23,173 of 20 May 1970), the population of the Territory was to be recorded under five classifications: yellow, white, Indian, mixed and black. i/

i/ This follows the Portuguese alphabetical order.

Persons whose four grandparents belonged to the same ethnic group were to be classified in that category. Persons with one grandmother or grandfather of a different race were to be classified as "mixed".

20. There is almost no information on the way the census was carried out in Angola and the census in Portugal itself appears to have been delayed. Almost four weeks after the date the census was to have been completed, new centres were being established to help in filling out the census form. The census in Portugal finally closed on 31 January 1971.

2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

General policy statements

21. Since November 1969, the Prime Minister, Mr. Caetano, has made it clear that his Government is determined to defend the overseas Territories in keeping with the mandate it received at the elections to the National Assembly. In fact, in most of his public speeches he has dwelt at some length on this question.

22. In April, for instance, in a nationwide radio and television broadcast, he again emphasized that Portugal was not at war with anyone, but was forced to engage in police action in the overseas Territories against subversion financed and supported from outside. He denied that the Government had imposed the defence of the overseas Territories on the Portuguese people, as a majority had voted in support of that policy. He said that although he was aware that some international sources regretted that more people had not been qualified to vote in the overseas Territories, in his view, the vote as was generally exercised had no validity or significance among the African populations because they had not yet entirely assimilated European customs. Among the simple people in the bush, self-determination was not expressed by pieces of paper, but by peaceful coexistence under the Portuguese flag, in an alliance of efforts in which races collaborated and built together a better world. The important fact was that the people in the Territories were fully integrated in the Portuguese nation living peacefully together; the Head of State and high government officials who visited the Territories had been received everywhere not only with loyalty but also with genuine and enthusiastic affection. The excitement of hatred by the United Nations and other international bodies could only prejudice progress. In southern Africa, the future had to be built by blacks and whites working together, and it was the efforts to pitch one group against the other that constituted a crime against humanity.

23. In September, in another radio and television speech, Mr. Caetano reverted to this theme and dwelt at some length on the reasons why Portugal could not abandon its overseas Territories. He said that the real reason was not the defence of Western interests in Africa, nor was it the defence of economic interests, which took care of themselves; nor was it because without the overseas Territories Portugal would lose its independence as a nation. Portugal had to defend the overseas Territories because millions of Portuguese, black and white, who had confidence in Portugal, wished to continue to live under the Portuguese flag and enjoy peace.

24. He said that he had objectively and carefully examined proposals for negotiations with the "guerrilla" leaders and had concluded that as they possessed

no permanent or effective bases and were divided among themselves, there was nothing to negotiate about and no one to negotiate with.

25. He emphasized that the Government sought an increased participation of personalidades nativas in the autonomous institutions of the overseas Territories, namely the municipal councils, the legislative councils and the territorial governments, and their increased representation in the National Assembly and the Corporative Chamber. Such increases, Mr. Caetano asserted, would be contingent solely on the existence of persons with the necessary moral and technical qualities to exercise political functions. This was the line of action the Government would continue to pursue without fail.

26. In June 1970, the Overseas Minister said in a speech that Portugal's opponents had not given up the fight and, having lost hope of defeating Portugal in Africa by the use of force, had changed to more devious means of trying to weaken the nation's moral resistance. The Government had to be alert to these moves and it would not be deflected from its policy of defence and development of the overseas Territories. There could be no doubts about this, and sterile discussions which weakened the national will were a disservice. The defence of the overseas Territories would not be relaxed. Force would be met with force where necessary. Portugal, he said, was determined to win the war it was fighting which was a war for peace, a war for education, a war for economic development, and a war for better health.

Constitutional reforms affecting the overseas Territories

27. Early in December 1970, the Prime Minister placed before the National Assembly a series of amendments to the Constitution. The most important proposals concerned civil rights, religious freedom and the status of the overseas Territories.

28. In his speech introducing the proposals, Mr. Caetano outlined the changing situation in Europe and the threat of subversion in the overseas Territories, and noted the need for a policy of both continuity and renewal. He emphasized that, in drawing up the constitutional amendments, the Government had decided at the outset that the political structure established by the 1933 Constitution had to be maintained. Thus, the fundamental powers of the State remained unchanged and the amendments were concerned primarily with strengthening the rights, freedoms and guarantees of Portuguese citizens.

29. Discussing the reasons for the proposed constitutional amendments affecting the overseas Territories, Mr. Caetano said that the present text of the Constitution, faithful to the structure created since 1933, recognized the autonomy of the "overseas provinces" and provided that their "politico-administrative organization shall be on lines best suited to their geographical situation and their social standards." j/ (article 134). It was also envisaged

j/ Official English text. The Portuguese text reads: "organização político-administrativa adequada à situação geográfica e às condições do meio social".

that, through spiritual assimilation, metropolitan Portugal and the overseas Territories would increasingly become a more homogeneous unit. But even on the cultural level, this policy had to respect regional differences, as was the case in Portugal itself; in each Territory there were populations with their own customs and habits, religions and practices which were respected and preserved by the Government so long as they did not offend the moral principles of civilization. It would, however, be an enormous error to try to treat the overseas Territories as simple territorial divisions in which the Administrative Code applied uniformly. It would also be a mistake to try to govern these Territories through centrally appointed civil governors and to deal with their economic problems as if they were those of metropolitan Portugal.

30. He therefore proposed that the overseas Territories should have the type of political and administrative organization guaranteed by the Constitution; each Territory should have laws voted by its own legislative organs, its own government to take care of everyday problems and its own finances to meet local expenditure from local sources of revenue, in accordance with a budget drawn up and approved by its own elected assembly.

31. The sovereignty and indivisible unity of the Portuguese State would be confirmed in the Constitution and in the legislative powers of the central organs of government (in which the "provinces" would have increased representation), and would be maintained through the appointment of governors-delegates of the Central Government with rights of inspection and supervision. The Central Government would be responsible for the defence of the overseas Territories and for protection of the individual rights of all groups of the population without discrimination. Awareness of social obligations must always go hand in hand with the legal equality of all Portuguese. Portugal would continue to pursue its policy of racial fraternity and the building of a multiracial society. Any tendency in the Territories towards segregation would be vigorously uprooted by the Central Government.

32. The introduction to the government bill (Proposta de lei No. 14/X of 3 December 1970) explains that the proposed amendments modernize and revitalize the existing text, but make no fundamental changes in the Constitution. It recalls that when the Constitution was revised in 1951, the Colonial Act was incorporated as chapter VII, although many of the provisions therein were of a transitory nature and did not belong in the Constitution. As a result of legislative changes that had since taken place, some of the provisions relating to the overseas Territories had become anachronistic. In particular this was the case as regards the section entitled "On special guarantees for Natives" (chapter VII, section III), since the repeal of the Native Statute. Accordingly, the Government proposed the elimination from the Constitution of those provisions which were not relevant and the transfer of other provisions to more appropriate sections. In the revised text of chapter VII, only the provisions concerning the constitutional status of the overseas Territories were retained.

33. It is stated in the introduction that a special effort has been made in the amendments to clearly define the position of the "overseas provinces" within the Portuguese State. The proposed amendment designates these as "autonomous regions", each of which would have its own political and administrative organization, and would have the right to be called a "State" when justified by its social progress and the complexity of its administration. It is pointed out that the terms "autonomous region" or "political region", or "regional state" are not new. They were first used in the Constitution of the Spanish Republic of 1931, and have become

more widely known since the Italian Constitution provided for such regions. These are regions which enjoy a degree of political and administrative autonomy according to the powers delegated to them from the Central Government. It is emphasized that the autonomous regions would not only have administrative organs of their own, but would govern themselves and legislate for themselves. However, these regions would not have power of their own - the State would delegate its power to them - nor would they have the right to amend the Constitution. Therefore, the State, in which these regions would be integrated, would not lose its unitary character.

34. The introduction explains that this is not an innovation, since Portugal is already a State comprised of regions; moreover, the "overseas provinces" already constitute genuine autonomous regions and not merely separate administrative divisions. Under the existing Constitution, they already enjoy the right to legislate and have a political and administrative organization in keeping with their own geographical and social situation; each is a political unit, with its own capital and government.

35. Apart from the specific amendments concerning the status of the overseas Territories, the Government proposed other amendments, some of which have a direct bearing on the overseas Territories. The most important of these are the provisions to increase the membership of the National Assembly and to broaden its functions.

36. Following are details on the proposed amendments, in so far as they relate to the overseas Territories:

Status of the Territories and general principles

37. The proposed amendments make no change in article 1 of the Constitution which reads as follows:

"The Territory of Portugal is that which at present belongs to it and comprises:

- (I) In Europe: the mainland and the archipelagoes of Madeira and the Azores;
- (II) In West Africa: the Cape Verde Archipelago, Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe and their dependencies, S. Joao Baptista de Ajudá, Cabinda and Angola;
- (III) In East Africa: Mozambique;
- (IV) In Asia: the State of India and Macau and their respective dependencies;
- (V) In Oceania: Timor and its dependencies."

To emphasize the unity of the nation, the amended article 4 would describe Portuguese sovereignty as "one and indivisible".

38. Chapter VII of the present text of the Constitution, which incorporates the Colonial Act of 1933, is entitled "Overseas Portugal" and contains six sections as follows: I. On the Fundamental Principles; II. General Guarantees; III. On Special Guarantees for Natives; IV. On the Political and Administrative System; V. On the Economic Order; and VI. On the Financial System. The Government's

proposed amendment would change the title to read "Overseas Provinces" and replace all six sections, comprising forty-three articles, by two articles which simply define the constitutional status of the overseas Territories. The texts to be omitted include references to Portugal's historic mission of colonization; the provision for the establishment, by special statutes, of systems in keeping with Native usage (article 138); and the special guarantees for Natives (articles 141-143). k/ Some of the basic concepts from these sections, as noted above, have been incorporated in amendments to other parts of the Constitution.

39. For example, the amended text of article 5 would read as follows:

"Art. 5. The Portuguese State is a single entity, but may include autonomous regions whose political and administrative organization is consistent with their geographical situation and the conditions of their social sector.

(1) The régime shall be a corporative Republic based on the equality of the citizens before the law, on the free access of all Portuguese citizens to the benefits of civilization, and on the participation of the structural components of the nation in policy and in general and local administration.

(2) Equality before the law shall imply the right to be employed in public office according to ability or services rendered, and the denial of any privilege of birth, race, sex or social position, except, with regard to sex, for such differences in treatment as may be warranted by its nature, and, with regard to the obligations and benefits of citizens, for such differences as may arise from diversity of circumstances or from natural conditions.

(3) The structural components of the Nation shall be the citizens, families, autarquias locais and corporate bodies." l/

In the above text the insertion of the word "race" is new in sub-paragraph 2.

40. The present Constitution provides that the overseas Territories are "guaranteed the right to administrative decentralization and financial autonomy" in accordance with their state of development and resources. Under the new proposals, the autonomy of the Territories would include: the right to have elective governing bodies; the right to legislate through appropriate bodies, with due regard to constitutional norms and those emanating from central government bodies, on all matters of exclusive interest to the respective Territory. Each Territory would have the right to ensure the implementation of laws through its own governing bodies and the right to internal administration; the right to dispose of its own revenue and to incur public expenditure in accordance with the authority voted by its representative bodies; the right to possess and dispose of its patrimony and to execute acts and contracts concerning its own affairs; the right to have an economic régime conforming to the needs of its development and the welfare of its people; and the right to refuse nationals or foreigners entry into its Territory for reasons of public interest and to order their expulsion in accordance with the laws, when grave internal or international inconvenience would result from their presence, except when an appeal is made to the Central Government.

k/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 16 (A/4978) paras. 184-186.

l/ These are collective entities in public law and include the freguesia and concelho. See ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 41 ff.

Authority of the Central Government

41. The proposed amendments specifically provide that "the exercise of autonomy by the overseas provinces shall not affect the unity of the Portuguese nation or the integrity of the sovereignty of the State". As at present, the sovereign authorities of the Republic would represent the whole nation internally and externally and retain responsibility for defence. The Territories would not have the right to maintain diplomatic or consular relations with foreign countries, or conclude agreements for, or contract, foreign loans. The Central Government would be represented in each Territory by an appointed governor as head of the local executive organs.

42. The amendments envisage the retention of a minister having special responsibility for the overseas Territories who would also have legislative authority, although some of the functions of the present Overseas Minister would be exercised by the Central Government and by the individual ministers responsible for specific activities. The exercise of ministerial legislative responsibility for the overseas Territories would be subject, as a rule, to prior consultation with an appropriate advisory body. Also, continuing the present practice, any legislation to be applied to the Territories would have to specifically so state, and would have to be published in the official gazette of the Territory in which it was to be applied.

43. A comparison with the existing Constitution shows that most of these provisions already exist, although they are formulated differently. m/ Possibly the most important change is the provision that the Territories shall have the right to elective governing bodies. Heretofore, the Territories have had "administrative autonomy", but not what Mr. Caetano referred to as political autonomy. Another important change is a provision which would apparently give the Territories more budgetary and financial freedom than they possess at present.

44. The proposals are somewhat ambiguous as concerns the powers of the territorial governors. The amendments merely provide that the "sovereign authorities of the Republic" would appoint the governor of each Territory, as a representative of the central government executive authorities. There are no indications as to the changes in his functions or powers except that he would no longer have the legislative powers which he possesses at present. According to some newspaper reports, the intention is that these governors-delegate, as they have been called, would, in fact, have the status of resident ministers in the Territories, with full responsibility for the day-to-day local affairs, leaving only the major decisions to be taken by the Central Government. There are also suggestions that the governors would participate in the cabinet meetings of the Central Government.

45. It may be noted also that the constitutional amendments do not touch on the status of Africans living under customary law. As previous studies have shown n/ 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. Under the present law, and no changes have been made in this respect, Africans can participate

m/ See ibid., Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 16, (A/4978), paras. 168-179; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 18-46.

n/ See, for instance, ibid., paras. 61 ff.

fully in the political and administrative life of Angola and Mozambique if they opt to be governed by Portuguese civil law and qualify to vote.

46. These and many other areas are ambiguous because the proposed constitutional amendments are intended to serve only as broad guidelines. Detailed provisions, for instance, the apportionment of the twenty additional seats in the National Assembly, which is to have 150 members, and the functions and composition of the various advisory and elective bodies, will be presented only after the constitutional amendments are approved. In particular, the Overseas Organic Law and the political and administrative statutes of the Territories will all have to be revised. Until then, it will not be possible to assess the degree of political, economic and administrative autonomy which the overseas Territories are to receive.

47. The text of the chapter on the overseas Territories proposed by the Government is reproduced in annex I to this paper.

Consideration by the National Assembly

48. Article 176 of the present Constitution provides that once a proposal or draft bill amending the Constitution has been presented, other amendments may be submitted only within twenty days from the date of presentation of the original bill. Up to the end of 1970, when the time-limit for additional constitutional amendments had expired, only two other proposals had been submitted. Although it has been reported that there was considerable disagreement on these proposals during the committee stage, it appears that none of these amendments relate to the constitutional status of the Territories.

49. As at the end of January 1971, the National Assembly had not yet formally discussed the government bill amending the Constitution. Under the established procedures, the bill must be considered first by the Corporative Chamber, then by a committee of the National Assembly before it reaches the floor for debate, which was expected to occur towards the end of March. The few brief references to the proposed changes by members speaking in the general debate in the National Assembly have generally supported the Government's position on the overseas Territories.

Press and public opinion

50. By April 1970, it had already been announced formally in the National Assembly that the agenda for the next session would include items on the revision of the Constitution, religious freedom, a new press law and proposals for a new industrial policy. During the following months there was little information on these proposed changes. However, after the death of former Prime Minister António de Oliveira Salazar in July 1970, there was some speculation in the international press on the possibility of a faster rate of liberalization of government policy, in keeping with Mr. Caetano's declared policy of "renewal in continuity". For instance, Mr. Mário Soares, the opposition leader in exile, was reported as saying at the time that Mr. Caetano had no longer "an alibi" for withholding press freedom. Other observers, noting that there had been perceptible changes, however slowly, for instance, in the easing of press censorship, reported that the moderates in Portugal feared that too swift a change would only serve to invite a setback. It was generally considered most likely that although there would be no basic change in the relationship of the Territories to Portugal, Mr. Caetano's Government would

introduce some administrative changes in line with their actual conditions and their growing development. It was also thought that possibly the electoral college system of presidential elections would be abolished in favour of election by popular vote. The government bill does not change the presidential election procedures.

51. In the Portuguese press, some sources have found it significant that the Prime Minister introduced the amendments himself in the National Assembly, and have drawn the conclusion that he was the principal author and personally wanted them to be accepted. So far, most of the press references and editorials supporting the government text have invariably emphasized that the bill makes no fundamental changes in policy. The Diario de Noticias of Lisbon, for instance, welcomed the proposed constitutional reform as a big step forward. It said that administrative autonomy for the overseas Territories was the irreversible result of long and admirable efforts made, in the defence, development and progress of the Territories in recent years. Basically, no alteration in policy was involved. The changes in the Territories and the growing complexity of their problems had created new needs which excessive centralization could not satisfy. The functions delegated by the Government were purely administrative; they were only political in so far as the territorial autonomous bodies would be able to deal more effectively with local problems.

52. The influential Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças remarked in an editorial in December 1970, that most of the proposed changes were of a technical or organizational nature designed to make the Constitution reflect the prevailing conditions. The article pointed out that the amendments did not affect the basic premises of Portugal's policy concerning the overseas Territories, namely: territorial integrity; indivisible sovereignty; ethnic and sociological integration; political integration; regional, cultural and religious diversity; economic solidarity; inter-dependence of interests; the special nature of the laws; administrative decentralization; financial autonomy; and separate political and administrative organization. The proposed increases in the powers of the territorial Governments were not new, as these were already provided for under the present Constitution. Moreover, the new text of article 136 specifically provided that the "autonomy" of the Territories should in no way affect national unity. Therefore, according to the editorial, any other interpretation of the amendments would attribute to them an ideological context and a political objective which they did not possess.

53. Late in January, it was reported in the foreign press that strong opposition was smoldering against the proposed amendments among some government supporters. It was said that the conservatives were trying to exert pressure on the Government through rumour, insinuation and verbal threats in the corridors of Parliament. According to these reports, several of the old guards in the government party had even suggested that Mr. Caetano should resign. One conservative weekly paper in Lisbon warned that "concessions and modernism" could lead to "separatism".

54. Although nothing has appeared in the leading daily Portuguese newspaper, Diario de Noticias, about these differences, Mr. Caetano commented on the attempts to discredit the government bill when he made a nationwide address in the middle of February 1971. On that occasion, he said that in certain quarters the proposed autonomy for the Territories was being represented, if not as an intention to abandon them, then at least as an intention to destroy the unity and integrity of

the nation. He emphasized that this was not the opinion of the people of the Territories who knew much better what this autonomy was and what it meant.

55. Reaction in Angola and Mozambique to the proposed changes has been reserved so far, although, according to a Luanda radio report, Mr. Caetano's proposal to give greater autonomy to the overseas Territories caused widespread jubilation throughout Angola and Mozambique. It is reported also that many people were pleased with the Prime Minister's emphasis on multiracialism. In Angola, however, one of the leading papers criticized the bill as not being sufficiently concrete and questioned whether it would provide the "desired liberalization". The newspaper said that more was needed than the administrative autonomy which Angola would gradually attain as a just reward for its progress and patriotism, even if the Overseas Minister became, as he should, only a supervisor and co-ordinator. In addition to decentralization of power from Lisbon, the editorial said, decentralization from the territorial Government to the district and municipal council levels was equally necessary for the progress of the Territory. Another editorial in the same newspaper noted that if the Territory was to have an economic régime conforming to the needs of its development, as was envisaged in the government bill, there would have to be a changed contractual relationship between the Territory and some enterprises which were like "states within a state". It will be recalled that in 1969, the economic associations of Angola addressed a petition to the Prime Minister asking for an immediate decentralization of the administrative structure in the interest of the free enterprise system. o/

56. In Mozambique, government officials, in particular, were reported to have welcomed the proposed constitutional changes. Administrative bureaucracy and red tape have been among the most frequent complaints and were one of the targets of much criticism in the Legislative Council in 1970 (see annex I.B to the present chapter). While some of those who held power in Mozambique were reported to consider the proposed change in status as a key stage in a natural evolution, others were reported to be skeptical of any real concessions in the area of political autonomy.

57. Speaking in the National Assembly early in January 1971, one of the deputies from Mozambique, Mr. Carlos Ivo, also criticized the system of local government in the overseas Territories, which dates back over thirty-five years, and which had long since become out of date. As a result, local government bodies suffered from excessive administrative control from the centre, paralysing bureaucracy and a perpetual shortage of funds, which gave rise to various problems. He recalled that Mr. Caetano himself had said in June 1970 that the municipal councils could no longer remain merely institutions for collaborating with the Government. They existed to meet the needs of the local population and had powers which they should exercise autonomously. Mr. Ivo said that these principles had to be implemented if the municipal councils were to become the living institutions they were meant to be.

58. Most of the English language press has welcomed the proposed constitutional changes. An article in The Times (London), for example, reported that the general intent was to place the overseas Territories on equal footing with the regional divisions of European Portugal, giving them their own political and administrative

o/ See ibid., annex I.B, paras. 51-57.

organization. It said: "Dr. Caetano has not mentioned self-determination, but he must be aware of the possibilities. He is probably justified at the moment in limiting his horizon to a gradual emancipation of the Territories...." The writer of the article stated that the proposed changes appeared to be leading to what might become a sort of commonwealth federation of the Portuguese overseas Territories with the mother country in Europe, and added that "from then on it would depend upon the reaction of the individual provinces whether self-determination would be ultimately achieved - and how".

59. In this connexion, some observers have noted that the government bill also provides for granting Portuguese citizenship with the right to vote to Brazilians resident in Portugal, which has been interpreted as indicative of Mr. Caetano's long-term vision of the creation of a Portuguese-speaking commonwealth of autonomous, self-governing States. Since the government bill does not fully define the extent of the political and administrative autonomy the Territories are to enjoy, opinion is also divided on the possible effect of the proposed changes. On the one hand, some observers fear that increased autonomy and self-government for the Territories could lead to more "Rhodesias". On the other hand, some believe that limited local authority could lead to conflict between the territorial governments and Portugal.

Participation of the Territories in the National Assembly and the Central Government

60. What is referred to as the Tenth Legislative Session of the National Assembly, which has power to revise the Constitution, began work in November 1970. By the end of the year when it adjourned for the holidays, it had held twelve meetings of an average of three hours each. Of the fifty-four interventions in the general debate, twenty-four dealt with problems in the overseas Territories. Much of the special interest in the overseas Territories at this session has been attributed to the fact that a group of twelve deputies visited Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe during 1970, and also to the current proposals before the Assembly to revise the constitutional provisions governing these Territories. Nevertheless, few, if any, of the general interventions touched upon controversial topics. There is no information available on the attendance of the representatives of the overseas Territories and the way in which they voted on the issues before the National Assembly. p/

61. Several of the deputies from the overseas Territories were elected in 1970 to serve on the committees of the National Assembly. According to press reports, Mozambique has two deputies serving on the seventeen-member Overseas Committee, two on the Committee on National Education, Popular Culture and Moral and Spiritual Interests, and one on the Committee on Public Works and Communications. Angola, on the other hand, has only two deputies on the Overseas Committee and none on the Education Committee. A deputy from Angola, Mr. David Laima, complained last year in the National Assembly of the way in which members were elected to these committees. He also complained that some members on the Overseas Committee had

p/ Although there is an official journal of the National Assembly which records attendance and reports speeches and the voting, foreign subscribers usually receive copies rather late. As at 31 January 1971, the latest issue available in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library was No. 199 for March 1969.

neither the knowledge nor the necessary experience to deal with the special problems to be dealt with by the Committee.

62. In the past year, after several complaints in the National Assembly, the deputies finally won the right to have their speeches reported in full in the press. Since then, the press has increased its coverage of discussions in the National Assembly, both in Portugal and in the Territories, although voting records are seldom reported. In Angola, the ABC-Diário de Angola, commenting on the freeing of the press said that for forty years the press in Angola had been permitted to print only those speeches in the National Assembly which identified with the Government's position.

63. Except for a few references to the proposed constitutional changes and administrative decentralization referred to above, most of the speakers in the debate who referred to the overseas Territories, dealt with economic problems, such as trade relations with Portugal, Portuguese exports of wine and textiles and the development of the livestock industry in Angola and Mozambique.

64. Two of the deputies from Angola, Mr. Barreto Lara and Mme. Sinclética Torres, criticized what they described as ostentatious and extravagant expenditures by some government departments and officials at a time when the people were being asked to make sacrifices. Mr. Barreto Lara suggested that a survey should be made to determine the superfluous expenditures. Among other things, he complained of the lack of information on the overseas Territories. He also suggested that civil service salaries in Angola should be adjusted to compensate for the rising cost of living, especially as adjustments had already been made in metropolitan Portugal.

65. Commenting on a suggestion that the overseas Territories should contribute more to their own military expenditures in order to alleviate the burden borne by Portugal, Mr. Laima of Angola said that under present conditions Angola could not be expected to contribute more. He denounced the concept of an espaço nacional (Portuguese realm) as a mere publicity slogan. Portuguese businessmen, he said, were only interested in selling to the overseas Territories but not in buying from them. Moreover, Angola had, in fact, been compelled to pay higher prices for goods imported from Portugal than it would have paid for similar goods purchased from other countries.

66. Most of the deputies from Mozambique also spoke mainly about the economic problems of that Territory. For instance, Mr. Ribeiro Veloso, who is also the President of the Mozambique Roads Board, drew attention to the urgent need for adequate funds to complete the planned network of roads. Another deputy stressed the importance of creating the necessary conditions for the "economic occupation" of the Territory, as this was an indispensable measure to counter "terrorism". There was also criticism of the situation regarding investments in Mozambique. It was suggested that since the territorial Government held shares in some of the large companies in Mozambique, including Companhia da Zambézia and Companhia de Moçambique, it should encourage more actively the restructuring and modernization of these industries, in order that they might attract new investments.

67. The only African representative from Mozambique, Mr. Pedro Baessa, suggested that the Territory's capital should be transferred from Lourenço Marques to Nampula in Moçambique District. This, he said, would help to develop the northern part of the Territory and to prevent the spread of subversion by the Frente de

Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) Mme. Custódia Lopes, who was a member of the Portuguese delegation to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, spoke twice in the National Assembly on the need to disseminate information abroad on the Portuguese Territories to counteract "tendentious and ignorant foreign propaganda", and to provide a better understanding of Portugal's **accomplishments** overseas. Early in 1970, she asked for a survey of the various Portuguese information centres in Lisbon and overseas, and suggested that a central organ be established through which all information could be channelled. She suggested that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could undertake the role of providing an effective and co-ordinated policy on public information abroad on the Portuguese Territories, and that such information should be distributed to Portuguese diplomatic missions abroad and to interested cultural, academic, financial and economic sectors, in as many languages as possible.

68. Subsequently, in December 1970, Mr. Bonifácio de Miranda, a former member of the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations, was appointed as the new Director of Press and Information Services of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also, under a new law, the Minister for Foreign Affairs is required to consult the Secretary of State for Information and Tourism in the appointment of press officers, who must be individuals possessing recognized ability in such work (Decree-Law 672/70).

69. In January 1971, Mme. Lopes, reporting to the National Assembly on the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and on the work of the Special Committee, again stressed the need for a greater Portuguese effort on the "diplomatic front" in the defence of the overseas Territories, not only at the United Nations, but also in countries with which Portugal had bilateral relations and everywhere it had interests. She said that it was necessary for Portugal to use better channels and methods to counteract the increasingly insidious foreign propaganda against Portugal.

70. The New York Times "Economic Survey of Africa", which appeared in January 1971, carried two long Portuguese publicity articles, one on Angola and one entitled "Portugal, Report on Overseas Progress".

3. MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURE

Portugal's war effort

71. In 1970, Portugal intensified its war efforts on the military front, the psycho-social front, the domestic front and the international front. On the military front, in addition to measures aimed at streamlining the military commands in the Territories, new tactics were being developed to deal with the guerrilla wars in Africa, which, the Government appears to have conceded, can no longer be won by military force alone, and which, in some form or another, may continue for a long time to come.

72. As regards tactics, first, the local populations in the three Territories in Africa are being increasingly involved in the war. In Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, for instance, new all-African troop units have been organized with African commanding officers. In Mozambique also, various groups of Africans have been armed and some African authorities, for example, those at Mecanheles in Niassa, have been invested with military authority as officers. Second, the regrouping of the African populations is being accelerated and extended to prevent guerrilla infiltration. Third, new concentrated military operations were launched during the year to reduce the areas occupied by guerrillas, especially in the north of Cabo Delgado District in Mozambique and in the Dembos region of Angola. In Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, it was reported in August 1970 that two guerrilla-free "grand zones of peace" had been established, one around Bissau, the capital, and one beyond Teixeira Pinto, in the homelands of the Manjaco people.

73. As previously reported, steps to streamline the military apparatus were begun in 1969 when the Council of Ministers delegated full responsibility for the direction and conduct of military defence to the Minister of Defence and of the Army. Soon afterwards, the operational troops of the three armed forces were placed under the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces. ^{g/} In keeping with these changes, the various branches of the armed forces in Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, have been integrated under unified commands in order to make them more efficient strategic and tactical forces. According to Portuguese sources, the success of the concerted operations in Mozambique, which are described in the relevant section below, has been largely the result of this reorganization. In Angola, however, the process of integration had not yet been completed by the end of 1970.

74. In January 1971, the Defence Minister, General Sá Viana Rebelo, visited Angola and Mozambique in connexion with the restructuring of the military commands. After his visit, he said that, in addition to the rapid completion of the military restructuring, a reorganization of all the counter-subversion activities would make it possible to develop a global policy to bring the day of final success closer. He said that he was confident of Portugal's final success which he defined as the "return to 'paz portuguesa'".

^{g/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 157-162.

75. On the psycho-social front, according to an article by Mr. Dutra Faria, the Director of the Portuguese National Information Services (ANI), "five principles" have been laid down as the guidelines in the "battle for peace" in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. These are: (a) social justice; (b) respect for traditional institutions of different ethnic groups; (c) accelerated economic and social development; (d) increased African participation in public administration; and (e) internal security. These principles, Mr. Dutra Faria said, applied to "all Portuguese Africa". Available information on programmes of this type is summarized in the sections on the individual Territories.

76. In January 1971, the Defence Minister said in a press interview that he considered the military situation in Mozambique most favourable. Guerrilla groups had been systematically reduced in Cabo Delgado and Niassa districts, and infiltration in Tete was being actively dealt with. In Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, there had been little change in the military situation, but the Government there, as in the other Territories, had launched a large-scale programme for the social development of the people and for their protection from imported ideas. Asked whether, in comparison, the situation in Angola was becoming quieter, the Defence Minister said that, while there had been little change in the Angolan military situation in 1970, compared with the previous year, it could not be claimed that the guerrillas were less violent. He said that without doubt, however, the guerrillas were under control to the point that he had been able to make a peaceful trip by train in the area considered to be controlled by them.

77. On the home front, the Government has had to face growing opposition to the war among university students and disaffection in the army. At the same time, it has steadily continued to improve conditions of service in the armed forces through better pay and social services, family bonuses and more attractive opportunities for training and advancement. r/

78. During the past year, security measures were tightened in Portugal. In February, the authorities refused to allow the students' association of the Faculty of Law of Lisbon University to hold a seminar on colonial policy at which Mr. Francisco Salgado Zenha, an attorney, was to have been the principal speaker. Mr. Salgado Zenha was subsequently charged with exciting public opinion in favour of the separation of the overseas Territories from Portugal (see below).

79. In April, Mr. Caetano declared in a radio and television speech that there could be "no liberty against the law". He said that constructive comments and discussions on government activities were desirable when made by those who were competent, but that the Government could not permit propaganda against the integrity of the nation, or in support of its enemies and **betrayal of the soldier's** defending territories where Portuguese lived had to be protected. The Government also had to prevent any attempts to demoralize youth or to undermine the morale of the armed forces.

80. In June, speaking at the Santa Margarida military camp, Mr. Caetano stressed the importance of the armed forces both in the defence of the overseas Territories and on the domestic front. He further declared that the armed forces

r/ Information on these measures will be reported at a later date.

had to guard vigilantly against subversive activities in Portugal which aimed at weakening Portugal's defence capacity and at compromising the security of the overseas Territories. In January 1971, the new commander of the First Military Region, Brigadier Soares Martins, also warned that the real enemy which Portugal faced in the overseas Territories had already come to the conclusion that Portugal could not be defeated there. Determined not to give up easily, the enemy's next objective would be to destroy the home front. Therefore, the army always had to be alert to prevent the dissemination of subversive ideas and to guard against any action that would spread disorder, disrupt the economy, challenge the authorities and destroy the nation. He said that everyone had to stand united in support of the law and against the insidious and traitorous enemy who was trying to infiltrate factories, schools, universities, the military and the Church itself.

81. In September, the Ministry of the Interior warned, in a notice in connexion with public celebrations, that no subversive propaganda would be allowed against the so-called colonial war. It noted that civil governors had been instructed to refuse permission for any meetings at which there would be open demonstrations for abandonment of the overseas Territories.

82. In his end of year address, the Portuguese Minister of Defence warned against attempts at subversion of the armed forces by new officer recruits from universities and other centres of higher education, which, he said, were "veritable centres of subversion" for spreading opposition to Portugal's defence of the overseas Territories. He referred to the six Portuguese officers who had sought asylum in Sweden (see A/AC.109/PV.766) and warned that if such activities continued, draft deferment for students would be abolished.

83. In spite of the government security measures, there appears to be growing militant opposition in Portugal to the colonial wars. In October, an organization calling itself Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA) claimed responsibility for the bombing of a freighter, the Cunene, destined for Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. The ARA not only opposes the colonial wars, but has called for armed insurrection. A report in The Observer (London) quoted an underground spokesman of the movement as saying "We have it within our power to strike at the régime with modern guerrilla tactics. We are not violent for the sake of violence. But Portugal has been ruled by violence for more than fifty years and so a certain amount of force seems the only effective rejoinder." In November 1970, there were several other bomb explosions in Lisbon, and the Directorate General of Security was reported as saying that these were related to the bombing of the freighter Cunene.

84. The tightening of security measures in Portugal during 1970 was accompanied by a growing number of proceedings against persons who have openly opposed or protested against the wars in Africa.

85. Soon after Mr. Caetano's radio and television speech in April, the Directorate General of Security (DGS) issued a statement accusing the Portuguese Socialist Opposition and the outlawed Communist Party of supporting the "terrorist movements". In what was reported as a "major crack-down on anti-war protestors", the Portuguese Government announced that it would try ten persons, including six university students who were members of the anti-colonial committees (CLAC) at Lisbon and Coimbra. One of these students, Mr. Jaime Gama,

had been an opposition candidate in the October 1969 elections to the National Assembly. Among the six other persons expected to stand trial was the Reverend Joaquim de Rocha Pinto de Andrade, brother of Mário Pinto de Andrade, leader of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA).

86. In May 1970, the DGS announced that it had begun criminal proceedings against Mr. Mário Soares, the Socialist opposition leader and, during the National Assembly elections, the head of the Comissão Eleitoral de Unidade Democrática (CEUD). s/ Mr. Soares, who has expressed himself in favour of negotiations with the African liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, has been charged under articles 141 and 149 of the Portuguese Penal Code. The first of these two articles provides for a maximum penalty of eight to twelve years of prisão maior for persons who attempt, either with the use of violence or with foreign assistance, to deliver all or part of the national territory to a foreign country or who endanger the country's independence. Under the provisions of article 149, persons making false declarations affecting the prestige of the State are subject to prison terms of two to eight years. According to a statement issued by the Portuguese National Information Services (ANI), Mr. Soares would be subject to a maximum sentence of eight years in prison because article 141 provides for reduced sentences in cases not involving violence. Mr. Soares, who is outside the country, has announced his intention to return to Portugal to stand trial.

87. In June 1970 the DGS announced that it was instituting proceedings against an organization known as the Grupo de estudos, intercâmbio de documentos, informações e experiências (GEDOC) (Roman Catholic Group for the Study and Exchange of Documents and Information) for subversive activities against the security of the State. The DGS charged that, among other things, the group had actively distributed materials in Portugal inciting opposition to the defence of the overseas Territories, defaming the armed forces and supporting the separation of the overseas Territories from Portugal. Among those charged were Father José da Felicidade Alves, Mr. Nuno Teotónio Pereira, an architect, Mr. Manuel Maria Azevedo Mendes Mourão, and Father Abílio Tavares Cardoso. Pending trial, all four were freed on bail. In July, Father Mário Pais de Oliveira, a former army chaplain in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, was arrested and held in the Caxias prison outside Lisbon for allegedly campaigning in his parish in Oporto against the wars in Africa.

88. It appears that since the former political police (PIDE) were reorganized in 1970 into the DGS, new procedures have been established for handling security cases. For instance, the DGS now makes public its proceedings whereas, previously, persons were arrested secretly and imprisoned for indeterminate periods. For the first time, security cases have been brought before the courts and the proceedings reported in the newspapers.

89. Among the persons tried for subversive activities between 1 May 1970 and 31 January 1971 were three persons from Mozambique, two of whom were students, and a girl student from Angola. The students from Mozambique were Miss Maria de Graça Pinto from the former Manica e Sofala District, who was

s/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VI, annex I.A, paras. 120 ff.

sentenced for spreading propaganda against the State, and Mr. Rui Manuel Pires de Carvalho Despinay from Beira who was sentenced for activities in the Frente de Acção popular (FAP). The third Mozambican was also sentenced for activities in FAP, which the Portuguese authorities claim has foreign connexions.

90. Father Mário Pais de Oliveira, who was arrested in July, was brought to trial in December 1970. During the trial, he told the court that he was against war and in favour of self-determination of peoples, but that he had not preached against the wars, as he respected other peoples' opinions. He admitted only that he had characterized the wars as unjust in a letter written to a soldier from his parish. The Bishop of Oporto, who waived his right to be heard in his residence, made four appearances in court in defence of Father Oliveira. The press was allowed to attend the trial but accounts in the Portuguese press were generally brief. On 11 February 1971, Father Oliveira was acquitted by the court, but the prosecutor appealed the decision and requested that he should be freed on a bon of 20,000 escudos. ^t The court, however, reduced the bond to 2,000 escudos and freed Father Oliveira immediately.

91. The trial of the Reverend Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, who was rearrested in April 1970 and had been held in prison since, opened early in February 1971. Reverend Andrade has been charged with having connexions with the MPLA. Nine other persons are also being tried under the same charge. According to a report in The New York Times, of the nine, seven were born in Angola, one in Cape Verde and one in Portugal; they include one doctor, several students and two young women. In addition to the press, four foreign lawyers have been authorized to attend the trial. The lawyers represent the International Association of Democratic Jurists, the Belgian League of Human Rights and Amnesty International. The outcome of the trial is not yet known.

Military expenditure

92. According to the Law of Ways and Means approved by the National Assembly, Portugal's budgetary expenditure in 1971 will give first priority to national defence and public investments envisaged under the Third National Development Plan. This is the first time since the outbreak of war in Angola ten years ago that defence alone has not been given the first priority. The other priorities remain, as in 1970, financial assistance to the overseas Territories, and other economic and social investments.

93. Portugal's 1971 budget shows total estimated revenue amounting to 32,052.5 million escudos, of which 19,617.9 million escudos are ordinary revenue. Total expenditure is estimated at 32,049.6 million escudos, of which 19,617.9 million escudos are for ordinary and 12,431.7 million escudos for extraordinary expenditure. The ordinary and extraordinary expenditures for previous years are show in table 1.

94. The 1971 extraordinary budget provides 7,030.6 million escudos for expenditure on defence and security. This represents an increase of 10.5 per cent over the previous year.

^t One escudo equals \$US.035; 28.5 escudos equals \$US1.00.

Table 1

Budgetary estimates for extraordinary expenditure
1965-1971
(million escudos)

	<u>Estimated ordinary expenditure</u>	<u>Per cent annual increase</u>	<u>Defence and security</u>	<u>Per cent annual increase</u>	<u>Estimated extraordinary expenditure</u>		
					<u>Investments under Development Plan</u>	<u>Other investments</u>	<u>Total</u>
1965	10,712.1		3,527.0		2,389.2	111.0	6,027.2
1966	11,026.5	3.0	4,011.0	13.5	2,203.3	169.5	6,383.8
1967	12,605.4	14.5	5,347.0	34.0	2,145.4	106.5	7,598.9
1968	13,663.6	8.4	5,613.0	5.0	2,920.9	137.4	8,671.3
1969	15,286.9	12.0	6,339.9	13.0	3,521.3	177.1	10,038.3
1970	17,846.6	16.8	6,349.9	1.6	4,372.3	255.5	10,147.7
1971	19,617.9	10.5	7,030.6	10.6	4,947.2	453.9	12,431.7

Source: Budgetary estimates for the relevant years. Percentages calculated.

95. It will be seen from table 1 that over the period 1965-1968 the expenditures on defence and security rose by more than 50 per cent, or about twice the rate of the budgetary increase in ordinary government expenditures. Since then, this trend appears to have been reversed, with the ordinary budget rising by 39 per cent between 1968 and 1971, and the expenditure on defence and security by less than 25 per cent. It must be noted, however, that in recent years, there has been a sharp rise in military expenditures by the Territories. u/ From 1967 to 1970, for instance, military allocation in the Angolan budget more than doubled, rising from 782 million escudos to 1,647 million escudos. In the same period, the ratio of the total military expenditures of the overseas Territories to that of Portugal rose from 29 per cent in 1967 to 47 per cent in 1970 (see table 2, below).

Table 2

Military budgets of Portugal and the
overseas Territories
(million escudos)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Military budgets</u>		
	<u>Portugal</u>	<u>Overseas Territories</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1967	5,347.0	1,800.4	28.5
1968	5,613.0	2,053.3	36.5
1969	6,339.9	2,447.8	39.0
1970	6,349.9	2,999.0 ^{a/}	47.0

Source: Portugal, Orçamento geral do Estado para 1970; Diario de Noticias, Lisbon, 1 January 1971; Overseas Territories, see footnote u/ of the present annex.

a/ Incomplete total.

96. The most important items of military expenditures in the 1971 Portuguese budget are as follows: extraordinary overseas military forces, 4,000 million escudos; extraordinary re-equipment of the army and air force, 1,617.3 million escudos; and the purchase of naval escort ships and corvettes, 640 million escudos. According to the Minister of Defence, Portugal has doubled its helicopter fleet over the past year.

97. There is no information available on actual defence expenditures in 1969 and 1970. In the latter year, in addition to the original budgetary allocation of 6,349.9 million escudos, several supplementary allocations were later approved. These included appropriations of 1,500 million escudos in March 1970 for the re-equipment of the army and air force; 1,800 million escudos in June; 129.2 million

u/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix IV, table 2.

escudos in August; 47.4 million escudos in September; and 105.4 million escudos in October, all for the extraordinary overseas military forces.

98. Although the Law of Ways and Means assigned investments for 1971 under the Third National Development Plan the same priority as defence, only 350 million escudos out of the total of 4,947.2 million escudos allocated for investment (see table 1 above) will be for the overseas Territories. This is the same amount allocated for this purpose in 1970. In contrast, almost 2,400 million escudos are to be invested in public works programmes in Portugal. As regards "other investments", for which the budget envisages an expenditure of 453.9 million escudos, only 7 million escudos will be for the overseas Territories.

99. There is no information in the budget on the sources of extraordinary revenue, apart from the ordinary budgetary surplus which amounts to 4,906.9 million escudos. The implication of the cost of the war in terms of economic and social progress is made quite clear, however, in the introduction to the 1971 budget. This text ends with the statement that, because of the inevitable priority of defence costs, social development and progress of the country depend not only on the public sector but also on all Portuguese, who should conscientiously shoulder their share of responsibility.

4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF PORTUGAL AFFECTING THE TERRITORIES UNDER ITS ADMINISTRATION

General

100. In his first press conference as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rui Patrício said in July 1970 that for Portugal, perhaps more than any other country, public information was an important component of its foreign policy, because most of the hostility against it was due to distorted reports or lack of information. He declared that Portugal was interested in making more factual information freely available.

101. Since what Mr. Rui Patrício referred to as "hostility" has been directed mainly against Portuguese overseas policy, Portugal's activities on the international front have to be seen against this background. During the past year, Portugal's international activities affecting the overseas Territories have had three apparent goals: (a) securing international recognition of the strategic importance of its overseas Territories in Africa; (b) retaining international financial support and investments in Angola and Mozambique, particularly for the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam; and (c) stimulating more information on economic and social progress in the overseas Territories and their future potential, based on Portugal's policy of racial toleration.

102. It is well known that Portuguese military authorities have expressed interest in the extension of some kind of defence organization to the south Atlantic v/. In October 1970, during the meeting in Lisbon of the Military Commission of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Portuguese Minister of Defence and of the Army, General Sá Viana Rebelo, gave further support to this idea when he declared that the Tropic of Cancer, which delimited the southern boundary

v/ See ibid., appendix IV.

of NATO activities, had become an increasingly imaginary limit which impeded the alliance. He suggested that Portugal's naval and air bases, which stretched from Cape Verde to Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, and Angola, could provide facilities for control of the vast area of the southern Atlantic. He announced that Portugal placed these bases, which were outside the zone of NATO, "in the service of the objectives of the Alliance".

103. However, in an interview published in O Estado de S. Paulo in February 1971, Mr. Caetano was reported to have said that "Portugal had taken no initiative, nor intended to take any initiative to propose any new agreement for the defence of the south Atlantic".

104. As far as the Cabora Bassa project is concerned, several French companies have an important share in the Zamco-Zambeze Consórcio Hidroelétrico, Lda., which has been awarded the contract to build the dam. w/ It may therefore be of interest to note that during the past year, the foreign ministers of Portugal and France exchanged official visits, and the two countries have signed an agreement on cultural, scientific and technological co-operation. According to an official statement made by a French Government spokesman in connexion with Foreign Minister Schumann's visit to Portugal in June 1970, France did not consider its participation in the Cabora Bassa project as a political problem. At the time, this statement was interpreted by the Portuguese press as meaning that French companies would continue to participate in the project.

105. Portuguese government officials, including Mr. Caetano, the Foreign Minister, and the Minister for the Overseas Territories have repeatedly asserted that the Cabora Bassa project is intended first and foremost to benefit the inhabitants of the region and that there was never any intention to displace the local inhabitants by settlers from Portugal. Mr. Rui Parício, for instance, devoted a major part of his first press conference in July 1970 to describing the purpose of the dam and replying to various criticisms. He denied as totally without foundation the charges that through the Cabora Bassa project, Portugal intended to settle one million Europeans in the region. He said that Portugal neither had the physical means to transport one million people by sea or air to Africa, nor the economic and financial and social means. He emphasized that there was nothing in the Cabora Bassa plan that would change the ethnic balance of any group. All that was envisaged was a natural and desirable increase in the population density as part of the development of the Territory. Since then, parts of his statement on the Cabora Bassa dam have been reprinted in pamphlet form and distributed as information material.

106. Further details on the Cabora Bassa project and on international financial activities in Angola and Mozambique will be included in subsequent reports.

107. In the field of information, during 1970, the Portuguese press reported various international visitors to Angola and Mozambique. Visitors to both Territories included the Belgian Ambassador in Lisbon, Mr. René Fanis; a group of officers from the United States War College; Mr. George Kennan, former United States Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; the United States

w/ For a list of the companies, see ibid., Supplement No. 23A (A/8023/Rev.1/Add.1), appendix III, para. 164.

Ambassador to Portugal, Mr. Ridgway B. Knight; and General Paul Vanuxem, a former French guerrilla warfare expert. In May, a group of military and naval attachés from the embassies of Brazil, France, Spain, South Africa, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States, visited Cape Verde and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. The Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany visited Angola in April and the Swiss Ambassador visited Angola and Sao Tomé and Príncipe in October.

108. During the year, a number of foreign journalists from various European countries and Brazil were either invited or officially authorized to visit and report on developments in the overseas Territories, particularly Angola and Mozambique. Among those specially invited were a group of reporters representing the five main daily newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany, which visited the Territories in May; a group comprising a French writer and nineteen Brazilian journalists, which visited Angola and Mozambique in September; and a group from Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany, which visited the two Territories in October.

Relations with South Africa

109. During a private visit to Portugal in June 1970, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. B.J. Vorster, said at a state banquet in his honour that the pressure and hazards of our times had "inevitably served to draw South Africa and Portugal together". He said that South Africa shared Portugal's distress at the hardships caused by subversion in Angola and Mozambique and called for continued co-operation between the two countries in defence of southern Africa. Furthermore, developments in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic had made such continued co-operation necessary. Mr. Vorster mentioned the Cunene River development scheme and the Cabora Bassa dam as examples of co-operation between Portugal and South Africa in the interests of all the peoples of southern Africa.

110. In his reply, Mr. Caetano said that Portugal and South Africa were united in their preoccupation to guarantee peace in Africa, security of the ocean routes for ships of all nations and prosperity for the Territories for which the two countries were responsible, and the future of which would depend on those who lived and worked there. He said that the political concepts of South Africa and Portugal did not always coincide, but this had not prevented their co-operation in every field of common interest, because these were the "interests of Africa, civilization itself and world peace". He added that the long established co-operation between Portugal and South Africa was the same as that Portugal wished to establish with neighbouring countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Oceania.

111. In July 1970, it was reported in the press that there was concern in some circles in South Africa that Portugal might withdraw from Angola and Mozambique, leaving the Territories to the freedom-fighters, and thus exposing South Africa to the possibility of a pincer attack. Those who shared this concern held that investment by South Africa in the neighbouring countries, and direct and indirect support for Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration "would contribute towards peace in southern Africa". In December, it became known that the South African Government had offered Portugal concrete military aid on at least two occasions. It was reported that South Africa had offered to

take an active military role with ground and air units to assist the Portuguese troops in Angola and Mozambique. The same source reported that the South African offers had been rejected by the Portuguese authorities.

112. As previously reported x/ Portugal has repeatedly denied that it has any military pact with South Africa. During 1970, the Portuguese Foreign Minister also denied that there were any South African troops helping to defend the Cabora Bassa dam. He said that Portuguese armed forces were adequate to deal with any guerrilla attacks. During his visit to the Cabora Bassa site in November 1970, the Portuguese Overseas Minister referred to reports that South African troops were helping to defend the project. He challenged the reporters who had been there to truthfully confirm that they had seen South African troops in the region.

113. Early in 1971, the security chiefs of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were reported to have held one of their periodic meetings to discuss the guerrilla situation in southern Africa.

114. It will be recalled that in March 1970, Portugal and South Africa began an exchange of information on nuclear energy activities. y/ In October 1970, the two countries signed a treaty of co-operation in regard to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. According to reports in the Portuguese press, the treaty provides for the training of Portuguese scientists in South Africa, and for South African assistance in prospecting for uranium in Angola and Mozambique. There is no provision, however, for an exchange of information between the two countries on the processing of enriched uranium. The treaty is reported to be similar in general terms to that signed between Portugal and the Federal Republic of Germany.

115. In November 1970, private aid from South African sources to Portuguese troops in Mozambique was reported to be increasing as a reaction to the decision of the World Council of Churches to provide aid to liberation movements in Africa. Now known as the Southern Cross Fund, the movement started originally in 1967 with Christmas gifts for Portuguese soldiers. According to the president of the Fund, over the past two years there has been a growing concern among the people of South Africa over the war in Mozambique, especially as South Africans had begun to identify themselves as citizens of southern Africa. With money raised in South Africa, in 1970, the Southern Cross Fund donated the equipment for the new pavilion of the military hospital in Lourenco Marques. In addition to its money raising activities, the Southern Cross Fund is also engaged in information work to make South Africans more informed about its war in Mozambique.

Relations with Southern Rhodesia

116. At the end of April, following the adoption of resolution 277 (1970) by the Security Council, Portugal decided to recall its Consul-General in Salisbury. It was reported, however, that the Consulate General, which has a staff of seven, would not be closed, as there were "vital Portuguese interests in Southern Rhodesia which had to be protected".

x/ See ibid., Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A. para. 191.

y/ Ibid., para. 199.

117. Except for this new development, Portugal's relations with Southern Rhodesia remained unchanged during 1970.

Relations with the United States

118. Portugal's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rui Patrício, visited Washington, D.C. and New York in the United States from 9 to 18 November 1970. According to a joint statement, this visit was one in a continuing series of meetings which have taken place periodically between senior foreign policy officials of Portugal and the United States, "designed to enhance the political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries". It will be recalled that the United States Secretary of State, Mr. W. Rogers, visited Lisbon at the end of May 1970. According to one report, on that occasion, Mr. Caetano and the Foreign Minister had clarified Portugal's position on its African Territories to Mr. Rogers, and Portuguese government sources said at the time that it was believed that their discussions would be a major contribution to removing misunderstanding.

119. According to the joint statement, the latest exchanges were concerned with development programmes in metropolitan Portugal and there was no reference to the overseas Territories. The Portuguese press reported that during his visit to the United States, Mr. Rui Patrício met with the president and senior officials of the Gulf Oil Company, the parent company of Cabinda Gulf Oil Company in Angola.

120. Since taking up his post, the United States Ambassador to Portugal, Mr. Knight, has twice visited Angola and Mozambique. On his recent trip to these Territories in 1971, which has been described as a "fact-finding tour", Mr. Knight, accompanied by a United States military attaché, Major Kenneth Barrett, visited various regions in Angola and the areas in northern Mozambique where Portuguese troops have been engaged in fighting with FRELIMO forces. According to the Portuguese press, Mr. Knight said that he had been impressed both by the economic development of the Territories and by the educational progress achieved. On his return to Lisbon Mr. Knight visited the Minister for Overseas Territories.

121. In his report to the United States Congress, President Nixon dealt with the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration in the context of southern Africa as a whole. He said that racism was abhorrent to the American people, and that the United States could not ignore "the tensions created in Africa by the denial of political self-determination", and would do everything it could to foster equal opportunity and free political expression instead. It would do so both on moral and practical grounds, because in its view there was no other solution. As one of the measures the United States had taken in this connexion, he referred to its continued embargo on the sale of arms for use in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

122. The Portuguese press cited a reference in the report to the effect that the United States had reaffirmed and continued to support the embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa but did not mention that part of the report which referred to the United States position on self-determination and the United States embargo on the sale of arms to Portugal for use in the overseas Territories. However, it quoted the passages in which the President said that the United States

intended to encourage the white régimes [in southern Africa] to adopt more generous and more realistic policies towards the needs and aspirations of the blacks, just as the United States did not condone the violence to human dignity implicit in apartheid, nor did it associate itself with those who called for a violent solution to these problems. It captioned the article on the President's report with the quotation "Nixon's message: the use of violence will not bring a solution to problems of southern Africa".

Luso-Brazilian relations

123. Since Mr. Caetano became Prime Minister, both Portugal and Brazil have shown a more active interest in bringing into effect the Luso-Brazilian Community. It will be recalled that, in July 1969, Mr. 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. His visit was followed in 1970 by visits of several high Brazilian government officials to Portugal. These included the Minister for Health, the Minister for the Navy and the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

124. During the visit to Lisbon of the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, the two countries held extensive consultations on the implementation of the series of agreements signed in September 1966 on trade, technical and cultural co-operation. ^{z/} Within the framework of those provisions, several new agreements are to be signed, including one providing for exemption from double taxation, and a supplementary agreement on technical co-operation. An agreement providing for **reciprocity** of social security benefits has already been signed and has been extended to the overseas Territories.

125. In addition to the official exchange of views, there were also parallel talks between Portuguese and Brazilian businessmen which concluded with the establishment of the Centro Empresarial Luso Brasileiro (CELB) (Luso-Brazilian Centre for economic co-operation). This centre, comprising business representatives from both countries, will co-operate with the official Luso-Brazilian Economic Commission established under the 1966 trade agreement.

126. Various sectors in Brazil have expressed interest in increased trade with Portugal and the overseas Territories, and the Brazilian Government is reported to have asked for duty-free investment areas in both Portugal and the African Territories. A Brazilian trade mission, led by Mr. Lélío Toledo Piza, President of the Banco do Estado de São Paulo, the second largest bank in Brazil, visited Angola and Mozambique in September 1970, as a follow-up to a similar mission in July 1969. Mr. Toledo Piza expressed the hope that increased trade between Brazil and the Territories could be based on products such as automobile parts, chemical and petro-chemical products and livestock from Brazil, in exchange for diamonds, sisal, maize, iron ore, and other products from Angola, and cement, barbed wire and non-ferrous minerals from Mozambique.

^{z/} Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I, para. 101.

127. In another move to give effect to the Luso-Brazilian Community, the Portuguese Government has included in its proposed amendments to the Constitution a provision to extend equal rights enjoyed by Portuguese citizens to Brazilians, with the exception of the right to serve in certain public offices. According to the amendment, only Brazilian citizens having their principal and permanent place of residence in Portuguese territory would be permitted to exercise political rights.

128. As Portuguese citizens in Brazil already enjoy equal rights under the Brazilian Constitution, the amendment has long been awaited to place the rights enjoyed by the citizens of the two countries on a reciprocal basis. Among other public functions which may be exercised only by native-born Portuguese are those of the president, deputy or representative in the Corporative Chamber, a member of the Government and governor of an "overseas province".

129. The amendment, if approved, would presumably enable Brazilians resident in the overseas Territories to vote in territorial elections.

130. In February 1971, the National Assembly approved a proposal creating a Parliamentary Committee on the establishment of closer relations within the Luso-Brazilian Community. Mr. Franco Nogueira has been appointed chairman of the Committee.

5. PORTUGAL'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE TERRITORIES UNDER ITS ADMINISTRATION

Economic integration

131. As previously explained, the original plans for economic integration as laid down in 1961 (Decree-Law 44,016, 8 November 1961), envisaged the establishment by 1972 of an escudo zone common market comprising Portugal and its overseas Territories in which there would also be free movement of capital and persons. However, although public opinion in Portugal and the Territories generally favours the idea of economic integration, the interterritorial payments system has never really worked and, in spite of various relief measures over the years, the Territories have continued to be hampered by the exchange controls.

132. During 1970, both Angola and Mozambique reported a further deterioration of their balance of payments with Portugal. As a result, pending transfers, which amounted to 5,100 million escudos at the end of 1969, were estimated to have risen to 7,000 million escudos by the end of 1970 and to be accumulating at the rate of 200,000 escudos a month. Because of this situation, delays in transfers from Mozambique rose to over twelve months, in some cases. These delays not only caused business difficulties but also embarrassing hardships to people in Portugal dependent on remittances from the Territories for their living.

133. Between September and November 1970, the Government introduced a number of emergency measures to relieve the special hardships resulting from these delays. These included the establishment of an order of priority for transfers based on need; measures to protect local industries in the Territories through the authorization of selected import restrictions and the restoration of import duties on certain goods; and restrictions on "dumping" measures to enable banking institutions to increase their foreign exchange holdings above their own needs. However, as several articles in the Portuguese newspapers have since pointed out that these measures have only alleviated some of the immediate hardships but have not solved the fundamental issues which require a complete revision of the entire system of inter-territorial payments.

134. In December 1970, the Mozambique Government introduced a new consumption tax purportedly to ease the Territory's balance of payments situation by imposing heavier taxes on non-essential imported goods and those which could be produced locally. This measure has been criticized locally, however, because it is considered to be inflationary and because the consumption tax also has been raised on certain local products, such as beer and cigarettes, and on Portuguese dietary staples, such as dried cod (bacalhau).

135. According to the official explanation, control over the transfer of money from the Territories to Portugal was introduced originally to prevent the escape of capital from the Territories where it was needed for development. In order to solve the balance of payments difficulties, the Government in Portugal considers that the Territories have to increase their production and exports. Both these views have been criticized.

136. A recent article in a Portuguese publication, Rumo, pointed out that the present system could only work if there were an equilibrium in the inter-territorial payments, or if each Territory had an over-all balance of payments surplus. In other words, any Territory which had a trade deficit with Portugal would have to develop a foreign trade surplus to cover its escudo zone deficit. Continuing this line of argument, the author said that the only reason why the balance of payments situation of the Territories was not worse was due solely to the fact that the Territories had sold most of their gold and foreign exchange to cover their escudo deficits.

137. The article explained that the exchange controls, while creating hardships, did not effectively prevent the escape of capital from the Territories because of the existence of a number of "parallel clearings". There were, for instance, special clearing procedures used by the military branch, as well as special exchange arrangements which some companies and concessionaires had obtained from the Government. In the opinion of the author, the growth in Portugal's gold and foreign exchange reserves had in a large measure resulted from the payment deficits of Angola and Mozambique; the increase in savings deposits in Portugal was also due to the transfers of earnings from the overseas Territories.^{aa/} In conclusion, he found that while the Territories suffered from the inconveniences of a theoretically unified monetary zone, having in fact separate currencies, they enjoyed none of the advantages.

138. In Angola, where there is considerable dissatisfaction with the Territory's economic relations with Portugal, members of the Legislative Council pointed out last year that a generally expanding economy and the increased exports of iron ore and petroleum had not solved the Territory's balance of payments problems with Portugal.

139. While many articles in the press have called for a total review of the system of economic integration, some have also called for a unified currency in the escudo zone. A recent article reported that very few people in Portugal understood the intricacies of the exchange controls within the so-called escudo zone which in itself implies a uniform currency. It was difficult to explain why any one could get escudos in exchange for any foreign currency such as French francs, while it was necessary to wait months to cash a money order in escudos from Angola.

140. It may be noted that most of the economic interests in Angola and Mozambique support economic integration in general, especially as Portugal provides a ready and protected market for certain local products such as raw cotton and unrefined sugar. For instance, the round table discussions on industry in which the principal industrial interests of Portugal and the Territories are represented have, since 1967, expressed support for closer economic integration while pressing for a change in the system of inter-territorial payments which also seriously affects exporters in Portugal. The Third Round Table, which was held in Lourenço Marques in 1970, again recommended an immediate solution to the payments problem and suggested that some method should be devised at least to liquidate automatically transactions of "nationally" manufactured products which compete with those of foreign origin and which are not produced locally.

^{aa/} In another article dealing with the same problem, it was reported that between 1965 and 1969, current deposits in Portuguese credit institutions had risen from 51,877 million to 82,259 million escudos, and term deposits from 20,107 million to 51,038 million escudos during the same period.

141. There is no recent information as to whether the Government intends to make a complete revision of present legislation, now serving as a framework for economic integration, or whether further measures will be taken to resolve the payments problem. It seems likely, however, that two forthcoming events will no doubt influence the Government's policy on economic integration. One of these is the possible revision of the Constitution. Amendments proposed by the Government are intended to give the Territories a larger degree of political, economic and administrative autonomy. It seems likely that if economic integration is maintained, the structure will have to be revised, at least to eliminate the handicaps suffered by the Territories.

142. The impact of the second factor which may affect Portugal's economic integration with the Territories may not be felt for some time. In November 1970, Portugal formally applied for an association agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC) at the time it is to be expanded. The terms of this association are still being negotiated. Although government spokesmen have denied that such an association marks a change in its economic policy, many international observers believe that Portugal will eventually have to make a choice between Europe and Africa.

Escudo zone balance of payments

143. The over-all balance of international payments of the escudo zone for 1969 continued the downward trend revealed in 1968, with the surplus dropping to a new low of 1,643 million escudos, compared with 6,067 million escudos in 1967. The most important factor contributing to this decline was the drop in the balance of capital movements from plus 2,475 million escudos in 1967 to minus 681 million escudos in 1969.

144. The economic survey of Portugal, published in 1970 by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), found the high surplus in balance of payments in the past few years "not entirely appropriate to a country in the process of industrial development". The survey adds: "Even if the surplus were to disappear, it might be partly offset by a larger inflow of foreign direct investment. ... Even a moderate temporary worsening of the over-all balance of payments, with some decline in official gold and foreign exchange reserves, would not seem inappropriate given the strong reserve position and the benefits deriving with a more dynamic economic development and a faster improvement of living standards". bb/

145. From table 3, it is seen that Portugal's own balance-of-payments surplus, which in 1967 amounted to 3,672 million escudos, was all but wiped out in 1969, owing mainly to the change in capital movements. The escudo zone surplus therefore consisted almost entirely of the surplus of the overseas Territories, with 1,555 million escudos from Angola and 46 million escudos from Mozambique.

bb/ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Economic Surveys, Portugal, OECD, Paris, 1970, p. 45.

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

	Angola			Mozambique		
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Merchandise	+1,024	+ 622	+ 188	-1,618	-1,484	-2,540
Current invisibles and capital	+ 334	+ 646	+1,367	+2,541	+2,556	+2,586
Total	+1,358	+1,268	+1,555	+ 923	+1,072	+ 46

146. In 1969, medium and long-term capital transactions of the private sector showed no marked changes in structure from the previous year (see table 4). The decrease in imports was due to the decline in loans from abroad and the drop in credits related to imports and capital from security transactions. Investments made in Portugal by non-residents which had been on a downward trend, were reported to have increased by 55 million escudos between 1968 and 1969.

147. Imports of long-term capital which have been decreasing since 1967 further declined by 60 per cent in 1969 (see table 5).

148. The available data for 1967-1969 on the balance of payments situation between Portugal and the overseas Territories are shown in table 6. The information shows that over this period: (a) the over-all balance continued to increase in favour of Portugal; (b) Portugal's investment income increased by almost 40 per cent, rising from 660 million to 1,063 million escudos; (c) private transfers decreased, but since some 5,100 million escudos were pending transfer at the end of 1969, the apparent decrease is only symptomatic of the bottleneck on exchange transfers; (d) government expenditure in the Territories decreased substantially in 1969, dropping by more than 40 per cent since 1967; and (e) while there was no substantial change in medium and long-term capital movement, the direction of short-term capital movement changed in favour of Portugal.

149. According to the report of the Bank of Portugal for 1969, the largest capital sums sent to the Territories concerned transactions on securities (311 million escudos) and loans (267 million escudos). The capital flow to Portugal was made up of credits on merchandise transactions (97 million escudos), direct investments (96 million escudos), and repayments of financial loans (89 million escudos).

Table 3

International balance of payments of the escudo zone
1967-1969

(million escudos)

	Portugal		Overseas Territories		Escudo zone	
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u> (revised)	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u> (revised)	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u> (revised)
Current transactions	+871	+1,361	+2,415	+2,405	+3,286	+3,766
Trade	-9,564	-8,705	-1,317	-1,750	-10,881	-10,455
Current invisibles	+10,435	+10,066	+3,732	+4,155	+14,167	+14,221
Capital movements	+2,797	+459	-322	-164	+2,475	+295
Errors and omissions	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	+3,672	+1,820	+2,093	+2,241	+6,067	+4,115
						+1,643
						-681
						+290

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

Table 4

Medium and long-term private capital

Transactions between Portugal and foreign countries

(million escudos)

	<u>1967</u>		<u>1968</u>		<u>1969</u>	
	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>
			(revised)			
Direct investments	616	31	565	89	615	70
Transaction in securities	226	79	579	200	284	231
Credits concerned with merchandise	2,234	1,426	2,073	1,899	1,682	1,932
Loans for financial purposes	1,948	672	1,846	1,117	1,246	1,822
Capital movements of a personal nature	22	11	24	18	16	17
Sundries	211	55	300	69	274	37
Total	5,257	2,274	5,387	3,392	4,117	4,109
Balance	+2,983		+1,995		+8	

Sources: Bank of Portugal, Report of the Board of Directors for the year 1968, p. 139; and ibid., 1969, p. 141.

Table 5

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

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Loans from United States banks	-	-	-
Loans for the construction of the bridge over the Tagus	85	-	3
External loan in bonds (United States dollars)	-	-	-
Repayment of the loan to Turkey	2	3	-
Loan from <u>Siemens/Kreditanstalt</u> for postal and telegraph service	44	13	29
Loans under the terms of Decree-Law No. 47,296 <u>a/</u>	776	44	79
Other	<u>851^{b/}</u>	<u>1,389^{b/}</u>	953
Total	1,758	1,449	1,064

Source: Bank of Portugal, Report of the Board of Directors for the year 1967, p. 164, ibid., 1968, p. 140, and ibid., 1969, p. 142.

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

b/ Loans for shipbuilding.

Table 6

Balance of payments of Portugal with the overseas Territories
1967-1969
(million escudos)

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Current transactions	+3,923	+3,328	+4,467
Merchandise	+2,512	+2,699	+2,424
Current invisibles	+1,411	+ 629	+2,043
Foreign travel	+ 483	+ 492	+ 482
Transportation	+ 174	+ 127	+ 238
Insurance	+ 36	+ 34	+ 50
Investment income	+ 660	+ 771	+1,063
Government	-1,763	-2,385	- 736
Other services	+ 61	+ 102	+ 246
Private transfers	+1,760	+1,488	+ 700
Capital movements	-1,501	- 275	- 849
Short-term	- 565	+ 180	+ 66
Medium and long-term	- 936	- 455	- 915
Private sector	- 645	- 179	- 271
Official sector	- 291	- 276	- 644
Unbalanced transactions and errors and omissions	- 5	+ 6	- 31
	<u>+2,417</u>	<u>+3,059</u>	<u>+3,587</u>

Sources: Bank of Portugal, Report of the Board of Directors for the year 1968.
Lisbon, 1969, p. 151; ibid., 1969, p. 154.

APPENDIX

AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF PORTUGAL RELATING TO THE TERRITORIES UNDER ITS ADMINISTRATION a/

/Original: Portuguese/

CHAPTER VII

The overseas provinces

Art. 133. The Territories of the Portuguese Nation situated outside Europe constitute overseas provinces, which shall have their own statutes as autonomous regions; they may be designated States, in accordance with national tradition, when this title of distinction is justified by the progress of their social sector and the complexity of their administration.

Art. 134. Each province shall constitute an autonomous juridical personality in public law and have the right to acquire title, to execute contracts and to be a party in legal proceedings; its statute shall establish a political and administrative organization consistent with its geographical situation and the level of its development.

Art. 135. The autonomy of the overseas provinces shall include:

- (a) The right to have bodies to elect their own Governments;
- (b) The right to enact legislation, through their own organs, with due respect for the provisions of the Constitution and those emanating from the sovereign authorities, in all matters of exclusive concern to the province in question which do not, under the Constitution or the prescription referred to in article 93, paragraph (m), lie within the exclusive competence of the said authorities;
- (c) The right to ensure, through their own organs of government, implementation of the laws and internal administration;
- (d) The right to dispose of their revenue and to use it for public expenditure as authorized by their own representative bodies;
- (e) The right to possess and dispose of their property and to execute such acts and contracts as may concern them;
- (f) The right to have an economic system suited to the requirements of their development and the well-being of their peoples;
- (g) The right to refuse nationals or aliens entry into their territory for reasons of public interest and to order their expulsion in accordance with the law, when serious internal or international difficulties would arise from their presence, without prejudice to any appeal that may be made to the Central Government.

Art. 136. The exercise of autonomy by the overseas provinces shall not affect the unity of the Portuguese Nation or the integrity of the State's sovereignty.

To this end it shall be the responsibility of the sovereign authorities of the Republic:

a/ Portugal, Diario das Sessoes, No. 50, Second Supplement, 3 December 1970.

- (a) To represent, both internally and internationally, the whole Nation; the provinces may not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with foreign countries, or conclude separate agreements or conventions with them or contract loans in them;
- (b) To enact legislation concerning matters of common interest, or of major State interest, as specified in article 93, paragraph (m), and to revoke or annul any local enactments which are contrary to such interests or at variance with constitutional norms or norms emanating from the organs of the Central Government;
- (c) To appoint the governor of each province, as a representative of the Central Government and head of the local executive authorities;
- (d) To ensure national defence;
- (e) To supervise the administration of the provinces, in accordance with the higher interests of the State;
- (f) To supervise their financial administration, extending assistance to them when necessary, by means of appropriate guarantees and providing them with such credit facilities as may be advisable;
- (g) To ensure the integration of the economy of each province into the over-all economy of the Nation;
- (h) To protect, when necessary, the populations against such threats to their security and well-being as cannot be countered by local means;
- (i) To ensure respect for individual rights in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.
- (1) The sovereign authorities with legislative powers relating to the overseas provinces shall be the National Assembly, in matters within its exclusive competence and where legislation is required, for the whole of the national territory, and the Government, by means of legislative decree, or, where the enactments are meant only for the provinces, by means of an instrument enacted by the Minister in whom special powers for the purpose are vested by law.
- (2) The legislative instruments of the Minister having special responsibility for the overseas provinces shall take the form of decrees, promulgated and countersigned in accordance with the Constitution; they may take the form of ministerial legislative enactments when the Minister exercises his functions in any of the overseas provinces and of orders in the other cases prescribed by law.
- (3) Ministerial legislative responsibility for the overseas provinces shall be exercised after consultation with an appropriate advisory body, except in emergencies, in cases in which the Minister is exercising his functions in any of the overseas provinces, and in the other cases prescribed by law.
- (4) To have effect in the overseas provinces, enactments published by the Central Government must state that they have to be published in the Boletim Oficial of the province or provinces in which they are to be implemented.

Marcello Caetano
President of the Council
Lisbon, 2 December 1970

B. ANGOLA*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
1. GENERAL	1 - 2
2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL	3 - 31
3. MILITARY ACTIVITIES	32 - 72
4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	73 - 94
5. EDUCATION	95 - 96

APPENDIX

MAP OF ANGOLA

* Previously issued under the symbol of A/AC.109/L.699 and Add.2.

B. ANGOLA

1. 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 "mestico"; 4,604,362 as "preto"; and 166 as others. In mid-year 1969 the total population of Angola was estimated by the United Nations at 5,430,000. a/ According to an unofficial source, the European population, which constituted 7 per cent of the total population in 1967, had "in all probability" exceeded 500,000 by 1970.

2. The general population census, which is taken every ten years, was scheduled to take place on 15 December 1970. This was to be the fourth general population census in Angola. For the first time, a housing census, originally scheduled for 1968, was to be included. There was very little information in the Angolan press before the census, and information on the results of the census is not yet available.

2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

Relations with the Central Government^{b/}

3. During his annual visit to the Territory, the Overseas Minister, Mr. Silva Cunha, gave priority to making contacts with "economic interests, individuals and social groups". This was in contrast to his previous visits which have always been devoted mainly to meetings with territorial officials. In the course of six days, travelling by air, he visited the districts of Benguela, Huambo, Huíla, Luanda, Malanje, Moçâmedes, Uíge and the newly created Cunene district (see paragraph 30 below). In six of the largest urban centres, he attended the dedication ceremonies of various new industries: a cold storage plant for fish at Moçâmedes which represented an investment of 64 million escudos; c/ a new extension of a candy factory at Lobito, which cost 20 million escudos; three new factories at Sá da Bandeira; a tobacco processing plant in

a/ United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1969.

b/ For territorial participation in the National Assembly, see annex I.A above, paras. 60 ff.

c/ One escudo equals \$US .035; 28.5 escudos equals \$US 1.00.

Benguela; a rice processing plant at Malanje; and a car assembly plant and a battery factory at Luanda, built at a cost of 20 million and 30 million escudos respectively. He opened the Congress on Settlement and Social Development at Luanda, the First General Meeting of the Grémios d/ in Angola, the Luanda Industrial Fair and an industrial advertising exhibition. He also officially opened the last section of the road linking Luanda to Santa Clara on the border with Namibia in Cunene District, which completes the link between Luanda and Lourenço Marques through Namibia and South Africa. Finally, he participated in the celebration of the first centenary of the town of Malanje, and dedicated new facilities for the Navy and Maritime Departments.

4. From the point of view of the economic interests in the Territory, the significance of the Overseas Minister's visit was probably reflected in an editorial in Actualidade Económica which stated that, for Angola, the numerous new industries he had dedicated not only represented an investment of hundreds of millions of escudos but, above all, clearly provided new proof of confidence in the future of Angola.

5. In a message to the people of Angola, Mr. Silva Cunha said that his visit had enabled him to "take the pulse" of the Territory, which he found "bursting with energy" in a spectacular thrust forward in economic development. This success was the result of a policy of action as opposed to immobilism, and flexibility as opposed to rigidity. Among the special difficulties facing the Territory, he mentioned the problems of capital transfers and interterritorial payments, and promised immediate government action to ease any hardships.

Territorial Government

General

6. In June 1970, the Governor-General made an official visit to Lisbon to report on the progress of the Territory and to discuss various problems, including, in particular, the Territory's financial and exchange situation, the implementation of the development plan, tax reform, administrative changes and the salaries of members of the Angolan civil service. e/ According to one source, he was called to Lisbon to report to a special meeting of the Defence Council convened to review the military situation in Angola. He was also called to Lisbon in August by the Minister for Overseas Territories, and again in September when his term of office was extended for another two years. He was first appointed Governor-General of Angola in November 1966.

d/ Often translated as guilds, the Grémios are the primary or elementary corporative bodies in the Portuguese Corporative State. They are associations of producers, employers or self-employed persons. For details on the principles of economic organization in the Portuguese Corporative State, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V, annex, appendix I.

e/ The civil service in Angola comprises two categories of personnel: the quadro comum do Ultramar (general staff of the Overseas Ministry) and the quadro privativo (private staff) of the Territory (see ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1) chap. VII, annex I.B, para. 8). The salary raise authorized in 1970 was for the quadro privativo.

7. During 1970, as in the preceding year, the Governor-General toured Zaire District in the north, and Lunda and Moxico Districts, in the east. He did not, however, visit Cuando Cubango. In January 1971, he spent several days in Cabinda District. In the course of his tour of each of these districts, during which he was accompanied by the military commander, he visited various aldeamentos ^f and made a point of talking with the African authorities and the local inhabitants in Zaire, on the mouth of the Congo River, Mangué and Ambrizete on the coast and in several of the larger inland population centres linked by the main roads. The newspaper accounts of his tour emphasized the fact that he had inaugurated a number of public works valued at over 35 million escudos, including a fifty-eight-bed hospital at Foz do Congo, a vocational school at Tomboco, a militia barracks at Ambrizete, a landing strip for small planes at Bessa Monteiro, and an electric power generating station at Ambrizete.

8. In Lunda, he visited the regions of Luma-Cassai and Dala which were mentioned in military communiqués during the year as areas of insurgent activities. From Dala, he returned by road to Henrique de Carvalho, stopping at various aldeamentos along the way. In Bié he visited the rural reordenamento pilot project at Andulo and various aldeamentos being constructed as part of the rural extension programme. These and other settlement schemes are described in a later section. In Cabinda, where for the past year the District Governor has had both military and civil powers, he met with the municipal council to discuss various local problems.

9. The Governor-General also made short visits to Lobito in Benguela District, Nova Lisboa in Huambo District, and Sá da Bandeira in Huíla District in connexion with various new economic activities. In November 1970, he attended a celebration at Malanje at which the presidents of all the municipal councils were represented.

10. The Governor-General's various public speeches during the year and his interviews with the press showed a continuing concern with the progress of the Territory and its future destiny. In almost every statement in which he has given account of the extraordinary economic progress of Angola over the past nine years, he has expressed frank optimism about the Territory's prospects for further economic growth. He has even suggested that if the present rate of growth is sustained, the Territory may, in ten years' time, attain a level of economic development comparable to that of some European countries.

11. On the other hand, the Governor-General has emphasized the need for a united effort, both within the Territory and between the Territory and Portugal. He has apparently been specially concerned by the growing complaints voiced by economic interests which have demanded an increase in territorial revenues, the removal of restrictions and controls imposed by Portugal and greater decentralization of authority from Lisbon.

f/ See ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex III, para. 14.

12. For instance, in a speech at the commemoration of the 106th anniversary of the Commercial Association of Luanda, he said that, for years to come it would be necessary for the people of Angola to live according to the precept of "one for all and all for one" - where "one" meant the Government and "all" referred to the Portuguese nation. This required a profound change in attitudes, feelings, thinking and patterns of action. He suggested that the dynamic approach which had resulted in accelerated economic development must also be applied to the task of realizing a society in which everyone lived harmoniously together, without racial discrimination. He added that it was easy to find fault and demand changes, but doubted whether some of the solutions which had been proposed could really solve the problem of subversion in the Territory. On other occasions, he has emphasized the extent of Portugal's sacrifices for the defence of Angola and urged a reciprocal feeling of identity and willingness to work together.

13. Although optimistic about Angola's economic future, the Governor-General has been more guarded about the military situation. Replying to a question on this aspect, he stated in a press interview, published in June 1970, that although co-operation between the armed forces and the local population had resulted in a decrease in guerrilla activities, it was not possible to determine whether this was an irreversible change or simply a lull marking a reorganization in preparation for more violence.

14. In his New Year's Day message, the Governor-General again emphasized that the destiny of the overseas Territories was being determined by every action taken, whether political, administrative, economic, social or military, and that this destiny was of primordial importance to the life of the Portuguese nation, both now and in the future.

Activities of the Legislative Council and Economic and Social Council

15. During 1970, the Angola Legislative Council held eight meetings, five during the first session earlier in the year, and three during the second session. In contrast to previous years, the Governor-General did not make an opening statement. g/ In a new move, however, the provincial secretaries and other territorial government officials attended the Council sessions and replied to questions raised by members. The discussions in the Legislative Council were also given greater coverage in the local newspapers.

16. The general discussion period h/ in the Legislative Council appears to have provided an opportunity for the airing of complaints by members on a wide range of subjects and for criticism of government policies and red tape. There was also criticism of the current system whereby the Governor-General may enact legislation without consulting the Legislative Council. One member suggested that the Legislative Council should be able to exercise a legislative role comparable

g/ For information on the organization, authority and membership of the Legislative Council, see ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 37-39, and annex I.B, paras. 10-14.

h/ Under the existing system, members may raise any issue before the Council takes up its order of business.

to that of the Governor-General and, if necessary, the Overseas Organic Law should be revised to bring about the necessary changes. Some dissatisfaction was also expressed with the Economic and Social Council all of whose members reside in Luanda and, unlike the members of the Legislative Council, do not have as much knowledge of local conditions in the various districts.

17. In 1969, the Portuguese Government enacted legislation providing for the regulation and registration of fishing activities in the overseas Territories by the National Fishing Development Board in Lisbon. Although this legislation has not yet been applied in Angola, two members expressed concern over the possible effects on the local fishing industry, especially the small operators. As a result, the Governor-General appointed a committee of three members (two elected members and the Attorney-General, as an ex officio member) to study the question and report to the Council at a later date. The dominance of the local fishing industry by Portuguese interests has been the subject of much dissatisfaction in Angola since 1967. i/

18. As regards the perennial currency exchange problem, it was pointed out that, although, three years previously, the Governor-General had said that increased mineral exports would bring a solution, the increases have failed to remedy the problem which has become even more serious. There was also criticism of the regulation of the movement of persons between Angola and Portugal. It was pointed out that, whereas residents of Angola who wanted to travel to Portugal were harrassed by clearance requirements, no similar requirements were imposed on residents of Portugal who visited the Territory.

19. There was also discussion of the Government's industrial policy, the economic difficulties in the lumber industry in Mexico and other districts as a result of the shortage of shipping facilities and the competition with Brazilian lumber in the Portuguese market, the delays at the Port of Moçâmedes due to excessive red tape, the electric power shortage at Bié and Cuanza-South Districts, the shortage of building facilities to implement the consolidated preparatory cycle of secondary education in the Territory, j/ and the inadequacy of medical assistance to the poor who, in most cases, it was said, were not adequately informed of the facilities available to them.

20. The replies of the provincial secretaries and other government officials to various complaints did not satisfy all the members, although they expressed approval of this new form of dialogue with the territorial Government.

21. During its two regular sessions, the Legislative Council approved two bills and rejected one which dealt with the processing of pork by-products. The two bills approved by the Council introduced measures for regulating livestock undertakings and rural markets. No draft legislation was introduced by any member of the Legislative Council. At the end of its second session, the Council still had two items of unfinished business, one relating to the 1971 territorial budget and the other to the planning of territorial economic development.

i/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VIII, annex II, paras. 102-104.

j/ See ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex II, para. 33.

22. Under the 1963 Overseas Organic Law, the Legislative Council, when in session, has the right to approve the budget of the Territory. In order to study the budget estimates for 1971, which had been prepared by the Government, the Council set up a budget committee composed of two elected members and the Treasurer who is an ex officio member of the Council. Subsequently, one of the budget committee members, the representative of Huíla District, reported to the Council that as it had no real role to play in the preparation of the budget and had no authority to increase expenditures, there was no need for any discussion. He also suggested that, as the tax burden already exceeded the financial capacity of most taxpayers, the Government should increase revenue by reviewing its contracts with various companies and obtaining a larger contribution from them. In this connexion, a proposal was made for the establishment of a working group to study a revision of the tax system in Angola.

23. The Council also failed to take a decision on the draft legislation for territorial development planning, introduced by the Director of Planning Services of Angola, which was aimed at giving more emphasis to local conditions in Angola.

24. Although the Governor-General had announced that an extraordinary session would be called before the end of the year to complete discussion on the budget estimates and the bill on development planning, no information is available on further developments.

25. According to press reports, in 1970 the Economic and Social Council held at least twenty-four meetings and approved more than 200 items submitted by the Governor-General. Although most of the items considered by the Council were of a routine administrative nature, it also approved several bills, including three on taxes (on the use of gas oil, on timber exports, and a surtax on tobacco consumption); one amending the Angola Labour Code to limit the work of minors and women in industry; and one establishing the regulations of the Angola Credit Institute.

Administrative changes

(a) New appointments

26. As in Mozambique, new appointments were made during the past year, to almost all the major military posts in the Territory, as well as to a number of senior posts in the Government. These included the appointment of three new provincial secretaries, three new district governors, the provincial inspectors of Planning and Economic Integration and of Geology and Mines, the Provincial Director of the Civil Administration Services and the Director of the Provincial Housing Board.

27. The local press attached considerable importance to the appointment of Mr. Teixeira Marques to fill the newly created post of Provincial Secretary of Labour, Social Security and Social Action. k/ Mr. Marques had been Chief of

k/ See ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I.B, para. 6.

Social Services in the Ministry of Corporations and Vice-President of the National Pension Fund in Lisbon. The other two new appointments were the Provincial Secretary of Education and the Provincial Secretary of Health and Welfare, following promotion of the incumbents to the rank of senior overseas inspector.

28. New district governors were appointed for the districts of Moçâmedes, Moxico and Cabinda. As a consequence of these appointments, ten out of the sixteen district governors of Angola are now military officers. Following the creation of Cunene District (see below), the Governor of Cuando Cubango District was transferred to head the new district. His previous post has not yet been filled.

29. The appointment of a new governor for Cabinda District was specially significant as it was the first time in Angola that a military authority had been given administrative responsibility under new legislation introduced in 1970. According to Decree-Law 182/70 of 28 April 1970, the Ministers of Overseas and National Defence, in consultation with the territorial Government and the National Defence Council, may designate areas of the overseas Territories as subject to a special administrative-military régime. In such areas, which must always correspond to an administrative division of the Territory, the military authority is also responsible for the administrative functions of the highest civil authority. He is assisted by the civil employees already serving in the area, but may fill any vacancies with military personnel if civil personnel are not available. Thus, since April 1970, Cabinda District has been a special area under direct military administration.

(b) Creation of new districts

30. In July 1970 (Decree 339/70 of 25 June 1970) the district of Huíla, one of the largest in Angola, with a population of 595,672 in 1960, was divided into two districts. One of these will continue to be known as Huíla District, with Sá da Bandeira as its capital, and the other, which is to be known as Cuene District, will include the Cuamato and Cunha municípios and the Curoca, Cuvelai and Gambos circunscrições, with Pereira do Ego as its capital. The new Cunene District includes the area of the Cunene River Basin scheme. So far, there is no information that local elections have been held to choose the new district representatives in the Legislative Council.

31. The Overseas Council, which has to be consulted on the administrative division of the overseas Territories, has expressed itself in favour of the creation of new districts in order to improve the administration of the Territory and to facilitate the orderly regrouping of the population (enquadramento das populações). Although other changes are envisaged, it was decided to give priority to the creation of Cunene District.

3. MILITARY ACTIVITIES

Military appointments

32. Beginning in May 1970, nearly all the senior military commanders of Angola were replaced. General Costa Gomes, who had served in Mozambique as second commander of the Mozambique Military Region, was appointed as the new Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The Commander of the Angola Military Region, the Chief of the Territorial Air Command, and the Naval Commander, who is also the Director of the Provincial Maritime Services, were also replaced.

Visits of the Defence and Naval Ministers

33. As already reported (see annex I.A above, para. 74), in January 1971, the Defence Minister, General Sá Viana Rebelo, toured Angola where he visited a number of military units to obtain a first-hand knowledge of conditions and to improve the efficiency of the total military effort. Replying to the Governor-General's welcoming address, General Rebelo expressed his gratitude for the co-operation of the territorial Government and its contribution to military expenditures. He said that a perfect understanding between civilian and military authorities at all levels was necessary to achieve the final goal.

34. During his eight-day stay in the Territory, he visited all major areas of guerrilla activity as well as a number of the principal towns, including Nova Lisboa (Huambo District), Serpa Pinto and Cuito Cuanavale (Cuando Cubango District), Cazombo and Luso (Moxico District), Munhango and Silva Pinto (Bié District), and Malanje (Malanje District). At some places, in addition to meeting with regular military leaders, he also met with the various specially trained para-military groups and with the traditional African authorities. His trip from Luso, the capital of Moxico District, to Munhango in Bié District, a distance of some 400 kilometres by train on the Benguela Railway, was widely publicized in the Angolan press, as that part of the Territory is regarded as "one of the areas most affected by guerrilla activity".

35. In December 1970, the Naval Minister, Vice-Admiral Pereira Crespo, toured the naval bases at Vila Nova de Armada in Cuando Cubango District and at Santo António do Zaire at the mouth of the Congo River.

War in Angola

36. On 15 March 1971, Angola commemorated the tenth anniversary of the uprising with ceremonies in a number of towns in the north, including Carmona and Quitexe in Uíge District. On this occasion, the Governor-General made no predictions as to the end of the war, although he again expressed confidence in ultimate victory.

37. For several years past, international observers have reported that war has become a way of life in Angola. During 1970, however, there was mounting concern over the fact that, whereas the Territory has never been more prosperous, the prosperity was enjoyed mainly by large economic interests. Furthermore, whereas the Governor-General had stated in November that not a single povoação ^{1/} in Angola was under guerrilla control, the war nevertheless continued in the more sparsely populated areas in the east, and there was evidence that the areas subject to subversion were being extended.

38. As reported elsewhere, the Portuguese Government has now recognized that military operations constitute only one factor in the war in Africa (see annex I.A above, para. 71). In a press interview, reported in the local press in October 1970, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in Angola, General Costa Gomes, said that the war in Angola was one of subversion, and was therefore a total war directed against the people. He emphasized that subversion had to be fought with various programmes, the most important of which were military, psychological, economic and cultural programmes, as well as communications, defence, rural resettlement and social development.

39. The growing concern over subversion is not based solely on rumours. According to sources of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) the MPLA has increased its political activities in the cities and especially in Luanda. A series of articles published in O Comércio (Luanda) in July 1970, stressed the importance of the problem of subversion. One article, for instance, noted that, while the Portuguese armed forces had been able to neutralize the turra groups ^{m/} in the east, the groups' opportunities for spreading subversion had grown as the result of "some negligence and selfishness among the civilian population". In another article discussing the outlook for peace, it was reported that, "Despite the singular calm in the east, the climate obviously does not shape up for the best. On the contrary, it suggests the narrowest margin of security. There appears to be a certain bitterness because of the lack of understanding shown by the public and many public and private bodies with respect to a problem of vital importance for the life of Angola". Towards the end, this article which completes the series, sums up by stating: "The war in the east, as in the north, flows back to Luanda and spreads throughout the province. The enemy penetrates all sectors of life in Angola, openly and in every possible way."

^{1/} In the general sense, povoação means a small group of families in one place, for instance, a hamlet. However, in Angola and the other overseas Territories, the word has traditionally a more specific meaning. In the past it has not generally been used to designate a group of African families but only an officially recognized settlement of European or possibly other non-African families. Many such settlements started as trading posts and were officially designated as povoações comerciais when the settlements became permanent.

^{m/} Turra means one who is stubbornly against someone or some thing. This appears to be a new Portuguese designation of the guerrilla fighters of the liberation movements, replacing the previously widely used term "terrorists".

40. Since August 1970, Portuguese military bulletins have been issued on a monthly instead of weekly basis, and they no longer mention place names, the type of guerrilla activities or Portuguese military operations. Instead, a statistical summary is given making it even more difficult to assess the course of the war. The information available from Portuguese sources, from the liberation movements and from the international press concerning the progress of the war in Angola during 1970 is briefly summarized below.

41. According to Portuguese sources, there was considerable MPLA activity in Cabinda District during the first half of the year when MPLA forces ambushed Portuguese troops, laid booby traps and even attacked some urban centres, including the town of Miconje. Fewer such activities were reported after Cabinda was placed under a military administration in April 1970. Early in 1971, Brigadier Ferreira Gonçalves, the District Governor and Military Commander, said that peace was being consolidated in Cabinda with the return of the last few dozens of families from across the borders. He said that as a result of the construction of new roads over the past two years, it had become possible to bring guerrilla activities under control more rapidly.

42. In what is generally referred to as the northern region, Portuguese sources did not report any actual fighting in Zaire District, except for a few sporadic incidents. During most of the year the Dembos forest area and its vicinity were the main centre of Portuguese military operations. Portuguese military bulletins reported guerrilla activities in an area stretching from Quitexe in Uíge District in the east, to Bela Vista in the west and south to Ucuá, both in Luanda District, and Pango Aluquém in Cuanza-North District. Up to the end of May, frequent guerrilla activities had been reported around Zala, Nambuanguongo and Canacassala, on the edge of the forest, and most of the area between Quitexe and Canacassala.

43. Towards the middle of the year the Portuguese armed forces mounted a series of new operations in the Dembos region in an effort to wipe out the guerrilla strongholds. A special official communique issued in July reported the results of operation "Broca" in the Zala-Nambuanguongo area of Luanda District, which was said to be the support base for guerrilla activities in the Dembos region. According to this source, Portuguese troops, which were flown in by helicopters, attacked and completely destroyed the base of the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA), including some 1,000 structures such as barracks, arms caches and watch posts. Portuguese military activities in the region continued through November and December, and the military communiqués for this period claimed that large numbers of guerrillas, as well as the local population under their control, had surrendered to Portuguese authorities.

44. Following the operation in the Zala-Nambuanguongo area, Portuguese troops began to open up the region and launched a pacification programme among the remaining population. In December, a special pacification operation called Vinde a nós ("Come to us") was launched in the Dembos area to attract Africans still in hiding in the forest.

45. In order to instil confidence in the population concerning the security of this area, the Government has initiated a series of public works in Quitexe, the administrative seat of the Dembos concelho. These include the construction of new offices for the Treasury and the Security Police, a new hospital and a secondary school providing the preparatory cycle. The Government also plans to set up a radio station in the town. In March 1970, it was also reported that the Cuanhama people from the south were being trained as guards on the coffee plantations.

46. Since the uprising in 1961, military escorts have accompanied traffic on the so-called coffee route which runs from Carmona to Luanda, and passes partly through the Dembos forest. In January 1971, the Government announced that the coffee route would soon be open to regular, unescorted traffic. This announcement is reported to have aroused some uneasiness among truck drivers, coffee growers and traders, who do not feel that the region is yet safe enough from further guerrilla attacks.

47. In the east, in contrast to the previous year when Portuguese sources reported fighting in large areas of four districts ^{n/} most of the guerrilla activities in 1970 were centred in Moxico and Cuando-Cubango. There were continuous attacks around nearly all the population centres in the eastern two-thirds of the Moxico District, parts of Cuando-Cubango District and in a few places in the southern part of Lunda District. Portuguese military bulletins reported MPLA attacks as far east as Cangumbe on the Benguela Railway line, and Longa, located 250 kilometres to the south, in Cuando-Cubango, and almost 400 kilometres from the Zambian border. In the first five months of 1970, Portuguese sources reported guerrilla activities in some thirty-five different localities in the region, with an average of at least six localities being affected each week. In Moxico District, the localities affected included Teixeira de Sousa, Cassai Gare, Lumeje, Leua and Cangumbe, along the railway line; Calunda, Caripande, Cazombo, Lovua and Macondo, in the eastern enclave; Lucusse, Luvuei, Gago Coutinho, Sete and Ninda, in the central and south-eastern areas; and Muilé and Cangamba in the south. In Cuando-Cubango District, these included Longa, Lupire and Coutada de Mucusso; and in the southern part of Lunda District, Cazage and Dala.

48. In July and August, Portuguese forces launched a series of special military operations against MPLA bases in Moxico District. Operation Zumbo s/H was carried out in an area bound by the Alto Cuito, Cuito and Cuvelai rivers, close to the central district of Bié. The special military communiqué describing these operations claimed that MPLA was intending to build new facilities in the area. It also claimed that 177 structures had been destroyed, eighteen guerrillas killed, sixteen wounded and sixty-seven captured. Another operation, code named "Zaga", was aimed at eliminating MPLA forces, from an area in the south-eastern part of Moxico District bound by Muilé, Cangombe, Chiume and Ninda. Twenty-one guerrillas were killed, seven wounded and 145 persons were freed. An operation code named "Energá" was directed against the Luena area in the central eastern region of Moxico District. In this case, Portuguese bulletins claimed that seventeen encampments had been destroyed and that the nationalists had suffered ninety-seven casualties, including those killed, wounded and captured.

49. Even after the military bulletins had ceased to indicate place names, they continued to report guerrilla activity in Moxico and Cuando-Cubango Districts. In November, the local press described in some detail an MPLA attack on an African village in the Rivungo region of Cuando-Cubango District on the border with Zambia. In this attack, thirty civilians were reported killed and three seriously wounded, and fifteen Africans, including the chief of the village, were reported to have been "kidnapped". Most of the shortened versions of the Portuguese

^{n/} See ibid., para. 79.

military bulletins made a point of emphasizing guerrilla attacks on the local population and reporting the number of people said to have been abducted.

50. According to an MPLA account of its military activities during the first six months of 1970, its forces made further gains in this period. In the districts of Luanda, Cuanza-North, Uíge and Zaire, o/ its main operations were directed at Portuguese coffee plantations and other economic and commercial centres, and at the sabotage of communication lines. It also reported intensive underground political activity in the towns in this region, especially in Luanda, where numerous arrests were made by the Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS). In Cabinda, its forces mined roads and attacked Portuguese barracks with mortars, including those at Sanga Mongo and Boco Zau. In Moxico and Cuando-Cubango, where the MPLA claims to have had control since 1967, it attacked Portuguese barracks at Caianda, Cazombo, Lumbala and Caripande in the eastern Moxico enclave and another barrack at Muíé in the southern part of the same district. In Lunda and Malanje, which the MPLA considers to be of great strategic importance both to itself and to the Portuguese forces, it claimed that the combat front had continued to expand with mortar attacks on an increasing number of Portuguese barracks. In Bié, the MPLA claims to have been strongly established since it began operations there in 1969. The MPLA considers this achievement important because the district is more populated than the eastern areas, and provides a natural spring-board into other regions.

51. The MPLA also considers that its operations deep inside Angola refute the Portuguese claims that all attacks are externally based. Although the Portuguese press did not report any guerrilla activities in Bié during 1970, the MPLA claims it attacked Portuguese troops near Luambwa in May, and Mutumbo and Umpulo in June. It may be noted that, in an interview in October 1970, the Commander-in-Chief of the Angolan Armed Forces, General Costa Gomes, acknowledged that the MPLA was making "an all-out effort" to initiate guerrilla actions in the districts of Bié, Malanje and Huambo, in order to open a "gateway to the sea". According to an MPLA source, it had 11,000 men active in Angola in 1970. It further claimed that as a result of its activities in all five regions during the first nine months of 1970, the Portuguese forces suffered the following losses: 1,083 Portuguese soldiers and mercenaries killed; 33 garrisons attacked; 77 vehicles wrecked; 25 bridges sabotaged; and 7 boats sunk. It also reported 176 ambushes on Portuguese troops and the liberation of hundreds of people from aldeamentos.

52. In 1970, Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, claimed that his movement controlled one third of Angola. He stated that in the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango, the Portuguese forces had to supply their isolated military posts by air using French-made Alouettes 2 and 3. He asserted that the Portuguese forces were using napalm and a number of toxic agents, including defoliants, in the liberated areas.

o/ The MPLA account describes its activities in the five politico-administrative regions in which it is currently active. Luanda, Cuanza-North, Uíge and Zaire are designated as the first region; Cabinda, the second; Moxico and Cuando-Cubango, the third; Malanje and Lunda the fourth, and Bié the fifth.

53. Speaking at the Third Conference of the Heads of State of Non-Aligned Nations held in Lusaka in September 1970, Mr. Neto reaffirmed his claim that the MELA had control over one third of Angola and suggested that the United Nations should declare the Portuguese presence in Angola to be illegal, and that the Security Council should strictly apply Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter against Portugal. He also suggested that the liberation movements should be recognized as the representatives of their own countries.

54. In September 1970, Mr. Holden Roberto, President of the Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exile (GRAE), claimed that his movement had 13,000 men in the field fighting against Portuguese forces in Angola, and that it controlled an area extending from the border of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to Luanda. He said that the GRAE had three main base camps in Angola, located in the north, north-east and east of Angola.

55. There was little information during the year on GRAE activities. A series of articles in one of the Angolan newspapers, describing the war in the east, reported that in June some of Mr. Roberto's forces had attacked a police detachment twenty kilometres north of Luso in Moxico District.

56. In August, the GRAE turned over to the International Red Cross two little Portuguese girls, aged two and four. A GRAE spokesman said that during a raid on a plantation near Quibaxe in the Dembos region, its forces had killed fourteen soldiers guarding the place. It had found the two young children after the attack and had taken care of them for a month before evacuating them to Kinshasa. At about the same time, the Portuguese press reported an attack by the GRAE armed forces, known as the National Liberation Army of Angola (ALNA) on the Santa Eulália plantation near Quibaxe, but the article said that only the manager's wife and her two children were on the plantation at the time and that she was killed and the children were kidnapped. GRAE also claimed the capture of a Portuguese soldier during the year. Some pictures published in GRAE information material in 1970 showed six captured Portuguese soldiers. In October 1970, a representative of the GRAE told the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly that his movement still held nine Portuguese prisoners of war and asked for an arrangement to be made for the exchange of prisoners of war with Portugal. He said that hundreds of Angolans had been taken prisoner by the Portuguese authorities.

57. According to reports by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) it had control over one million people in the districts of Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Malange, Bié, Lunda and Huíla during 1970. It also claimed to have set up and consolidated military bases in Bié, Cuando-Cubango, Lunda and Malange. It reported that, in 1969, it had held its second congress inside Angola. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FALA), which is the UNITA fighting arm, reported activities around Luso, the capital of Moxico District, within a radius of fifty kilometres to the north of Luso and eighty kilometres to the south. Other areas of reported military activity included Mumué (probably Mumbué) in the southernmost part of Bié District, near the border with Cuando-Cubango, and Coutada do Mucusso in Cuando-Cubango District, a game reserve in the south-eastern corner of the Territory. In one of its special bulletins, the UNITA stated that, on 29 March 1970, six planes supported by four bombers dropped poison gas on thirteen co-operative farms in an area controlled by the UNITA.

58. An article in one of the Angolan newspapers published in October 1970 said that the UNITA did not have bases abroad and that its activities were limited to an area between the Lungué-Bungo and the Luanguinga rivers in the centre of Moxico District. A series of articles on the war, published in O Comércio of Luanda in July 1970 reported UNITA activities in the area around Luso, as well as in the area between the Alto Cuito River and Cangamba, further south. The UNITA is estimated to have some 500 men under arms, all of them in the eastern region.

59. Reports in the international press have generally reflected a composite view of the war situation in Angola. For instance, an article in The New York Times of 8 July 1970 stated that Portuguese officers in Angola no longer talked of winning. It reported that while the Portuguese forces had made some gains in the north, guerrilla activity had increased in the east and had moved towards the centre of the Territory, and that the whole Moxico District was considered to be a "zone of insecurity". To lessen the danger from mines, the Government planned to asphalt the roads between Gago Coutinho and Luso and west to Serpa Pinto. It described the black muceques (shanty towns around the cities of Luanda, Nova Lisboa and Lobito) as a fourth front where the war was being waged by the police in an attempt to repress subversion.

60. A more recent article in The Economist (London), while expressing the view that, compared with ten years ago, the tide of war seemed "quite clearly to have turned, for the moment at any rate, in favour of the Portuguese", also reported that, by comparison with Mozambique, success had been less dramatic in Angola, and that two thirds of the Portuguese forces were garrisoned in the eastern region.

61. Mr. Basil Davidson, who visited the interior of Angola with an MPLA escort in June 1970, shares the view that it is in the east where the war is most important. He reported that he had travelled some 300 miles by foot in Moxico District, reaching within 400 metres of Muíé, which he described as a rectangle surrounded by barbed wire with eleven watch towers and three searchlights. He said that the principal function of the Portuguese troops at Muíé was to "concentrate" Africans behind barbed wire. He also reported having been within a short distance of a Portuguese bombing attack. In his view, Portuguese troops were slowly losing the initiative to the liberation movement in that area.

62. In the middle of August, the Moxico District Governor said that the region could turn out to be the decisive key to end the war. He refused to discuss "operational aspects", but noted that the road network in the district was poor and did not correspond to the needs of Portuguese sovereignty. He also claimed that since 1966, when fighting began in the east, 35,000 people had surrendered to the Portuguese authorities.

Military and para-military forces

63. As reported previously^{p/} apart from regular Portuguese troops, variously estimated between 60,000 and 80,000, a growing number of African troops and militia

p/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.B, para. 62.

have been put into service in Angola. In 1970, there were reports of the formation of at least three different types of African units. These include the Tropas Especiais (T.Es), the Grupos Especiais (G.Es) and the Flechas.

64. In Cabinda, a new company of Tropas Especiais was formed in 1970, comprising Africans who since 1965 have voluntarily helped the Portuguese authorities in fighting the guerrillas. These are commando troops with special training in guerrilla warfare. The Cabinda company is headed by a European guerrilla warfare expert. Since April 1970, they have been deployed along the Cabinda border with the People's Republic of the Congo where they are said to live among the local population.

65. During the year, the Grupos Especiais were reported to be participating in the fighting in the eastern region. In contrast to the Tropas Especiais, the Grupos Especiais are not a part of the formal military structure but are a kind of militia possessing basic military training.

66. The term "Flechas" appeared in the official accounts of military activities in Angola for the first time in 1970. Originally, the Flechas were African assistants recruited by the PIDE (intelligence police), now known as the DGS. Apparently, four years ago they were organized into a special corp known as the Corpo de Flechas, as an auxiliary of the DGS, although they were never mentioned in the press. A photograph, taken in October 1970 at the commemoration of the Governor-General's fourth anniversary in office, showed them wearing battle dress. The exact functions of the Flechas are not known, though it seems that they are used in direct actions against the guerrilla forces. During 1970, the Flechas were exempted from the military tax which is levied in Angola on all individuals who do not serve or have not completed their military service. Similar exemptions were granted in previous years to security police assistants. q/

67. Among the various para-military groups in Angola the rural guard, which is mainly European, is reported to be the most feared. r/ In 1970, there were an estimated 2,000 rural guards in Angola, mostly on the eastern front. Early in 1971, fifty-four new rural guards graduated from training school in Uíge District.

68. The Provincial Organization of Volunteers and Civil Defence (OPVDC) was reported to have a membership of 25,000 volunteers. Apart from these, there were also 6,900 members described as agentes (passivos). Over the past six years, the OPVDC has organized a total of 530 civil defence courses in Angola. In Bié District, which has 3,000 OPVDC volunteers, civil defence drills have been organized in 256 communities. The OPVDC, which is also responsible for training the African militia, had another 4,000 Africans in training in the district. In addition, there were, 8,000 African militia in the 1,400 aldeamentos.

q/ See ibid., para. 65.

r/ For a description of the rural guard, see ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex I, para. 37.

Security measures

69. Security measures were tightened in Luanda in 1970. Persons travelling in and around Luanda were required to show their residence cards at certain control points and on demand by any of the public services. The Luanda residence card was introduced in 1968 (Diploma Legislativo 3819 of 4 April 1968).

70. According to a recent report, the Government is planning to expand the prison system in Angola. In March 1971, the Government in Lisbon authorized an expenditure of 100 million escudos for the construction of new prison facilities.

71. The existing prisons in the Territory include: the Péu Péu Labour Camp in Huíla; the Cavaco Valley Labour Brigade, in Benguela; the Malanje Penitentiary; the Luanda Central Prison; and two new prisons, one at Silva Porto in Bié District and one at Moçâmedes. Another prison was reported to be under construction in 1970 at Salazar in the district of Cuanza-North. In 1970 there were 300 inmates at Péu Péu, of whom 80 per cent were Africans; 135 inmates at Cavaco Valley; and 600 in the Luanda Central Prison. There was no information on the number of prisoners in the Malanje Penitentiary.

72. Under the new plan, the Péu Péu Labour Camp and the Cavaco Valley Labour Brigade will both be expanded to a capacity of 500 inmates each. In addition, five new prisons are to be built. These include a prison for 500 inmates at Viana near Luanda; one for 250 inmates at Novo Redondo in Cuanza-South; and three others, one at Henrique de Carvalho, in Lunda District, one at Serpa Pinto in Cuando-Cubango and one at Cubal, in Benguela. When completed, the network of prisons will cover ten districts with two each in Luanda and Benguela and one each in the eight other districts. There appear to be no plans at present to establish any prisons in Zaire, Uíge, Moxico, Huambo and Cunene, all of which, except for Huambo, are border districts.

4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

73. Recent information on the general economic trends in Angola, including information on mining, transforming industries, trade and balance of payments, and the Cunene River Basin scheme, is reported in the supplementary working paper prepared by the Secretariat on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Territories under Portuguese administration (See A/8398/Add.1). The following paragraphs summarize briefly developments in the other areas not included in that report.

Agriculture

74. With the growth of mining activities in the Territory, agricultural products, which for decades have dominated exports, have gradually begun to lose their place. Whereas, during the period 1960-1968, s/ agricultural commodities accounted on an average for about 60 per cent of the total value of visible exports, in 1969 they accounted for only 49.1 per cent and mineral exports accounted for 36.8 per cent. According to available information mineral exports continued to increase in 1970 and accounted for over 40.0 per cent of the total exports.

Coffee

75. Despite the lack of rain and the attack of coffee rust in some areas in 1969, coffee production for the year amounted to 215,000 tons compared with 198,000 tons in 1968. No figures are yet available for 1970. As the lack of rain and the coffee rust problem continued, no increase in production was expected.

76. Over the period 1966-1970, coffee exports from Angola rose by some 15 per cent, from 157,000 tons to 181,000 tons. As Angola, through Portugal, is party to the International Coffee Agreement, its coffee exports to traditional markets are controlled by quota. Most of the Territory's increase in coffee exports has been to new markets, with substantial increases going to Sudan, Thailand and South Africa. There has been some increase also in coffee exports to escudo zone markets, especially to Portugal. In 1969, the leading five customers were the United States of America (1,397.8 million escudos out of a total of 3,234.4 million escudos); Netherlands (779.2 million escudos); Portugal (255.9 million escudos); Spain (185.8 million escudos) and South Africa (98.6 million escudos). In 1970, coffee exports dropped to 180,650 tons, but the value of exports rose to 3,897.6 million escudos.

77. In 1969, African coffee sold in the rural markets amounted to 74,455 tons which was about 35 per cent of total production, compared with 25.6 per cent in 1959. However according to a report of the Bank of Angola, owing to the inferior quality

s/ See ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.B, para. 92.

of the African-grown coffee marketed in 1969 the price was almost 10 per cent lower than in the previous year, yielding a return of 325.0 million escudos, compared with 364.1 million escudos for 73,136 tons in 1968.

Cotton

78. As reported previously since the mid 1960's there has been a steady increase in the output of cotton from European growers with mechanized farms. During this period, European production increased more than six-fold, from 6,432 tons to 43,481 tons, while African production rose from 13,075 tons to only 16,576 tons.

79. The expansion of European production has been most marked in the traditionally cotton growing district of Malanje where output in 1969 was almost ten times what it had been in 1965. The simultaneous decline in African output in this district is unexplained however. Cuanza South also has gradually become an important new cotton growing area. By 1969, there were already 22,137 hectares of cotton in Cuanza South, compared with 33,683 hectares in Malanje.

Sisal

80. As a result of the drop in world prices and the Rome Fibre Agreement of 1967 establishing a quota on sisal exports, sisal production in Angola is reported to have declined further in 1969 and 1970 and many sisal growers have ceased production. The Fazenda Cahombo, S.A.P.L., for instance, which produces only sisal reported a loss of one million escudos in the fiscal year 1970. As a result, it dismissed part of its staff, mainly African workers. The Angola Government has appointed a special committee to study the reorganization of sisal activities in the Territory.

81. Since 1967 Angola has had a quota of 57,800 tons. Although many of the sisal growers in Angola consider the Territory's quota inadequate, no new agreement was reached at the meeting held in October 1970 by the Study Group on Hard Fibres, a sub-group of the Committee on Commodity Problems, of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). At the end of 1970, Angola's sisal exports amounted to 67,726 tons, which exceeded its quota by almost 17 per cent.

Sugar

82. In recent years, sugar production in Angola has remained almost stationary, reaching an annual output of about 65,000 tons. However, with growing internal consumption the output of crude white sugar has risen since 1967. Although no data are available for 1970, the Territory's total sugar output in 1971 was expected to amount to 64,350 tons (53,550 tons of crude white and 10,800 tons of crude yellow). Exports, which consist of crude yellow, amounted to 13,742 tons, valued at 48.7 million escudos, in 1968, and 14,422 tons, valued at 51.1 million escudos, in 1969.

Tobacco

83. Despite the Government's hopes to improve the quality and increase tobacco output, results have not fulfilled expectations. In 1969, tobacco output, at 4,100 tons, was slightly below the 1968 level.

84. The main tobacco company in the Territory, SETA-Sociedade Exportadora de Tabacos de Angola, S.A.R.L., an organization owned partly by the Universal Leaf Tobacco Company of the United States and partly by Portuguese interests, reported a 3 million escudo loss of the fiscal year 1970. During 1970, it increased its capital from 8 million to 20 million escudos and started production on its own plantations. Heretofore, SETA had purchased tobacco from tobacco-grower co-operatives.

Maize

85. As reported previously^{t/} maize is the most important of the subsistence crops grown by Africans. There is no information on the actual output but only on purchases by the Grémio dos comerciantes e Exportadores de Milho. Maize purchased by the grémio rose from 142,596 tons in 1968 to 195,710 tons in 1969, with the Huambo and Huíla regions accounting for most of the increase. Following experiments with hybrid maize from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, production was expected to increase in 1970. Maize exports rose from 153,291 tons, valued at 245.2 million escudos in 1968, to 177,393 tons, valued at 305.1 million escudos in 1969.

86. In 1970, three new mills to process maize were set up in Huíla District, representing an investment of 40 million escudos. The mills will produce corn meal and corn oil.

Fishing industry

87. Following the introduction in 1968 of various government measures to help reorganize and modernize the fishing industry u/ there has been a marked expansion of this sector. In 1969, the fish catch was 417,450 tons, compared with 293,409 tons in 1968 and the output of fish products rose to 173,689 tons from 120,934 tons. The value of exports of fish products rose by 51 per cent to 512.7 million escudos. Most of the increase was from the Moçâmedes and Lobito areas.

88. Provisional figures show that the fishing industry continued to expand in 1970. In the first half of the year, the value of exports of fish products, at 128.6 million escudos, was 17 per cent higher than during the same period of 1969.

Public finance

89. In 1969, total actual revenue, at 9,387.5 million escudos, was 44 per cent higher than the original budgetary estimates. Most of the increase came from income from the petroleum industries which rose from 39.2 million escudos in 1968 to 530.4 million escudos in 1969. Other items of revenue which showed substantial increases were indirect taxes, which amounted to 1,619.2 million escudos, and income from State and private industries, which amounted to 317.1 million escudos. Revenue from these two sources were respectively 5 per cent and 16 per cent higher than in 1968.

^{t/} See ibid., annex I.B, paras. 115-117.

^{u/} See ibid., annex I.B, paras. 119-120.

90. Total expenditure in 1969, at 8,967.1 million escudos, was 14 per cent higher than the original budgetary estimates. Ordinary expenditure exceeded estimates by 945.0 million escudos and extraordinary expenditure by 181.0 million escudos. Of the total extraordinary expenditure, 1,201.8 million escudos was spent on the implementation of the Third National Development Plan (see below). Ordinary and extraordinary expenditure with "national defence" amounted to 1,206.6 million escudos.

91. On 31 December 1969, the public debt of Angola amounted to 6,522.2 million escudos, which was 973.0 million escudos higher than in the previous year. Most of the Territory's public debt is in metropolitan escudos. In 1969, the additional public borrowing included a 500-million escudo loan from the Bank of Angola and the sale of Angola treasury bonds as authorized in 1965 and 1968.

92. Budgetary estimates for 1970 and 1971 are shown in the following table.

Table

Angola: Public finance, 1968-1971

A. Revenue
(million escudos)

	Actual		Estimates		
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Ordinary revenue	6,345.7	7,388.5	5,164.8	5,994.2	6,836.0
Direct taxes	907.3	927.8	728.3	831.0	970.0
Indirect taxes	1,542.7	1,619.2	1,223.5	1,411.6	1,621.6
Special régime industries	543.8	1,048.0	563.3	954.6	732.2
Income from services	349.1	385.8	270.6	322.7	368.8
Income from State and private industries	273.2	317.1	257.0	262.9	342.9
Income from shares	37.8	60.4	34.0	58.7	75.1
Refunds	93.8	152.1	130.6	102.8	101.4
Consigned receipts	2,598.0	2,878.1	1,957.5	2,049.9	2,624.0
Extraordinary revenue	1,725.3	1,998.6	1,461.0	1,844.9	1,553.6
Total	8,071.0	9,387.1	6,625.8	7,839.1	8,389.6
					10,598.3

B. Expenditure
(million escudos)

Ordinary expenditure	5,755.9	6,941.2	5,164.8	5,994.2	6,836.0	8,690.9
Public debt	300.1	389.1	322.7	469.0	368.3	546.3
Government	20.7	21.8	17.8	21.6	26.7	38.8
Pensions	58.6	64.0	65.0	75.0	80.0	110.0
General administration	1,146.3	1,596.9	1,193.9	1,554.9	1,847.0	2,363.2
Treasury	110.7	132.9	125.7	157.6	167.6	215.3
Justice	69.0	89.0	82.5	103.8	106.1	145.0
Development services	2,141.6	2,580.2	1,593.8	1,962.2	2,423.5	3,097.6
National defence-armed forces	810.0	846.6	800.9	627.5	686.5	796.2
Navy Department	26.5	33.0	27.4	31.0	32.4	50.1
General expenditure	1,062.8	1,176.9	926.9	983.4	1,087.7	1,317.4
Other	9.6	10.8	8.2	8.2	10.2	11.0
Extraordinary expenditure	1,892.9	2,025.9	1,461.0	1,844.9	1,553.6	1,907.4
Development plan	1,351.5	1,201.8	1,346.0	1,327.9	895.0	1,174.0
Other	541.4	824.1	115.0	517.0	658.6	733.4
	<u>7,648.8</u>	<u>8,967.1</u>	<u>6,625.8</u>	<u>7,839.1</u>	<u>8,389.6</u>	<u>10,598.3</u>
Total						

Sources: Banco de Angola, Annual Report and Economic and Financial Survey of Angola, 1969; Angola, Diploma Legislativo 4,078, 5 February 1971, and Portaria 17,593, 20 March 1971.

Development financing

93. In its definitive form, the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973, provides for a target investment of 25,383.5 million escudos in Angola. v/ Spread over six years, this would require an average annual rate of investment of 4,230.5 million escudos. However, the actual investments in 1968 were only about one third of this target, while authorized investments for 1969, 1970 and 1971 were even lower. Despite the general lag, investments in the field of education and research as well as in transport and communications have been close to the original targets. Nevertheless, even allocations for transport and communications in 1970 and 1971 were substantially below the average annual target.

94. In 1970, Angola's contribution from its own budget to the implementation of the Third National Development Plan was only 410.0 million escudos which included 230.0 million escudos paid by the Angola Diamond Company (DIAMANG) to the Angolan Government as a result of the re-evaluation of its shares.

5. EDUCATION

95. In the academic year 1968/69, there were 333,767 pupils enrolled in primary schools, compared with 302,099 in the previous year. However, no separate statistics are available showing the number of pupils in school posts w/ and the number in full primary schools. In 1966/67, only about 20 per cent of the primary institutions were full primary schools providing all four primary classes. The remaining 80 per cent were school posts which provided only the first three primary classes and a pre-primary class for children who had to be taught Portuguese.

96. In 1968/69, the unified introductory two-year secondary course, designated the secondary preparatory cycle, was introduced in Angola. Of the 43,634 pupils enrolled in secondary courses that year, 12,903 were in the preparatory class; 16,754 in academic secondary schools and 13,977 in technical secondary schools. There were also 1,074 students enrolled at the university. In the previous academic year, there had been 38,992 students enrolled in secondary schools, of whom 20,793 were in academic courses and 18,199 in technical courses, with 827 students enrolled at the university.

v/ Portual, Presidência do Conselho. III Plano de Fomento para 1968-1973, vol. III. The previous figures were from Portugal's Boletim Geral do Ultramar (June 1967) (see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-Third Session, Annexes, agenda item 23, document A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VIII, annex II, para. 148).

w/ For a description of the school system see ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.B, paras. 148 ff.

APPENDIX

MAP OF ANGOLA

C. MOZAMBIQUE*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
1. GENERAL	1 - 5
2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL	6 - 33
3. MILITARY AND SECURITY ACTIVITIES	34 - 79
4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	80 - 108
5. EDUCATION	109 - 111

APPENDIX

MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE

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C. MOZAMBIQUE

1. 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°. It is bound on the north by the United Republic of Tanzania, on the west by Lake Nyassa, Malawi, Zambia and Southern Rhodesia, on the south by Swaziland and South Africa and on the east by 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. In 1970, an unofficial source estimated the total population at 8 million persons, as follows: 7,750,000 Africans; 210,000 Europeans and persons of mixed descent; and 40,000 Asians. a/

3. At the April session of the Legislative Council, the Governor-General announced plans to enlist public support, through widespread use of all mass communications media, for the fourth general population census, to be held in 1970. b/

4. Different procedures were established for collecting the census data in the concelhos and in the circunscrições. In the concelhos, the census was to be taken by households and all heads of family c/ were required to fill out a census form. In urban areas, which for the purpose of the census were defined as areas with more than 2,000 persons, a census was also taken of dwelling units. In the circunscrições, the administrators of concelhos were required to call a meeting of the "authorities of the regedorias" prior to the census, to explain to them the importance of the census and the procedures to be adopted, making it clear that the census was not for the purpose of imposing new taxes or increasing the existing ones. For the actual census, centres were designated at which the local inhabitants were convened with their traditional authorities and the census data reported orally to the census taker by each family. In its final form, the census

a/ Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Boletim Trimestral (Nos. 77 and 78), 1969. United Nations sources estimated the population to be 7,376,000 in 1969. See also Angola and Mozambique. An Economic Survey, Supplement to the Standard Bank Review, Johannesburg, September 1970.

b/ Details of the census procedures were published in Boletim Oficial (Diploma Legislativo 2,972 of 20 May 1969) and Portaria 23,173 of 20 May 1970.

c/ For the purpose of the census, "family" was defined as "the whole group of persons linked by union or parentage, legitimate or illegitimate, who habitually use the same alojamento (accommodation), and the single person who occupies a unit of the alojamento." In addition, domestic servants were to be included as part of the family.

will tabulate the rural population data by hamlets, groups of hamlets, regedorias, and circunscrições.

5. The general population and housing census in the urban areas was taken on 15 September 1970. In the rural areas, the census began on 12 September and was scheduled to end on 30 November. The results are not yet available.

2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

Relations with the Central Government^{d/}

6. In November 1970, the Overseas Minister, Mr. Silva Cunha, made his annual visit to the Territory. He was accompanied by the Secretary of State for Industry, Mr. Rogério Martins. During his visit, he met with the Governor-General and the district governors, and was briefed on the military situation in the Territory by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Kaulza de Arriaga. He attended the Third Round Table Conference on Industry in the Portuguese Domain and visited the Cabora Bassa project. He also inaugurated various public works, including the Révue hydroelectric project in the new Vila Pery District.

Territorial Government

7. The new Governor-General, Mr. Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira, who succeeded Dr. Rebello de Souza as the second civilian governor, arrived in Mozambique in March 1970. At the time, because of his professional qualifications as a civil engineer, his appointment was interpreted in the press as a sign of Portugal's concern for the success of the Cabora Bassa dam.

8. In statements made since his appointment, the new Governor-General, while stressing his responsibility to ensure Portugal's historic mission in Mozambique, has repeatedly emphasized the territorial Government's intention of improving the welfare of the mass of the people in the rural areas by providing them with better social conditions, more health and educational facilities and a larger share in the economic wealth of the Territory. In the north, military action is to be combined with social, economic and cultural development, particularly through the establishment of new settlements and regrouping of the rural population. To achieve its goals, the territorial Government plans to increase the "density of the administrative network", promote community development schemes, stimulate the transition from a subsistence to a market economy and spread the use of the Portuguese language, not only by means of formal instruction, but also by promoting closer contacts through increased settlement. It also plans to revise legislation relating to the use of land and to labour relations under the Rural Labour Code. Other plans include the establishment of special agricultural schools and the introduction of teaching by radio and audio-visual aids to supplement formal educational facilities.

^{d/} For territorial participation in the National Assembly see annex I.A above, paras. 60 ff.

9. Further information on new settlement schemes and the reorganization of the rural population are discussed in another section (see paragraphs 59 ff below), and economic measures are discussed in section 4 of the present report.

10. During 1970, the Governor-General spent a considerable part of his time touring the Territory and meeting in situ with the district governors and other local officials. He twice visited the Cabo Delgado and Niassa districts and spent the end of the year in the frontier region of Cabo Delgado with Portuguese troops. In November, he accompanied the Overseas Minister on a visit to the Cabora Bassa dam project, the new district of Vila Pery, the Révùè hydroelectric project and the site of the Massingir dam.

11. In January 1971, the Governor-General held a series of meetings with the provincial secretaries and the district governors in Lourenço Marques to discuss various government activities and programmes. This appears to be the first meeting of this kind. The main topics of discussion were: rural development and improvement of the administrative network; the training and recruitment of technical personnel for the health services, and the structure of the regional hospital network; rural markets, commercialization of agricultural products, livestock and forestry; balance of payments and implementation of the Third National Development Plan; labour problems, including minimum wages and benefits; educational matters; and transport and communications.

Activities of the Legislative Council

12. The Mozambique Legislative Council held a total of fifteen meetings in 1970, nine during the first session earlier in the year and six during the second session. For the first time in recent years, the Governor-General not only welcomed comments by the members of the Legislative Council, e/ but also invited their greater participation and discussion on all matters, and made a point of replying personally to each speaker. Also for the first time, the Lourenço Marques newspapers reported the discussions in considerable detail and published most of the speeches, as well as the Governor-General's replies.

13. As in the case of the National Assembly, press coverage was limited mainly to reporting speeches made in the general debate. No information was given on the way individual members voted on the proposals submitted.

14. In the course of the general discussions in the Council, references were made to several government studies, including a report of a commission of experts on the problems of inter-territorial payments, a study on the administrative network of the Territory, especially in the north, and a study of wage rates. None of these reports was made available to the Council, however, and some members complained that they had not been informed of these studies. Several members also complained of the lack of up-to-date statistics which made it difficult to assess the real situation in the Territory.

15. Most of the speakers directed their comments to economic matters, ranging from general problems, such as the question of settlement and the deterioration of the Territory's balance of payments, to specific local needs, such as the Massingir dam in the south, and paved roads, telephone services and water supplies in Tete.

e/ For the composition of the Legislative Council, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, para. 8.

Although there was considerable criticism of the fact that rising imports had not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in exports, the problem was not thoroughly discussed in the Council, possibly due to the lack of up-to-date statistics. One member attributed the lag in agricultural exports to inefficient methods of production in the organized farming sector and failure of the Government to assist African farmers. He suggested that greater efforts should be made to develop the hinterland, instead of concentrating investments in the area of Lourenço Marques.

16. Several speakers criticized the minimum wage structure in the Territory which has not been changed since 1956 but which is under revision. Some proposals were made for the improvement of health and education services, particularly in the rural areas. There was also a proposal for dividing Moçambique District into two because of its large size and population density.

17. A number of speakers expressed their general dissatisfaction with the rigidity, bureaucracy and red tape of the administrative services. Even the functioning of the Legislative Council was criticized in a press interview by its Vice-President, Mr. Satúrio Pires. In his view, although the first session of the Council had been marked by "objectivity", it had not been able to discuss all the relevant proposals, partly because of the short duration of the session, and partly because the administrative services did not always have enough time to prepare the necessary reports. The new tax code, for instance, had been discussed in the Economic and Social Council but not in the Legislative Council, which was open to the public.

18. In 1970, the Legislative Council approved twenty bills. Most of these were amendments to existing legislation, with some introducing new regulations. The most important item considered by the Council was the bill establishing guidelines for the 1971 territorial budget. Three bills dealt with conditions and training in the public services; two with special exemptions from existing taxes; three with conditions relating to agricultural and livestock production; three with health and welfare services; two with education and training; one with fiscal stamps; and the remaining five dealt with the population census, registration and identification of Africans living under customary law, procedures for payment of the imposto domiciliário (a tax levied on all males between 13 and 60 years of age in Mozambique), conditions for granting passports to persons intending to work in neighbouring countries, and the compulsory use of the Portuguese language in public notices, signs and advertising.

19. It may be noted that whereas the Legislative Council approved only eleven bills during its first session, by the time the Legislative Council held its second session, the Governor-General, in the exercise of his legislative functions, f/ had issued over fifty-five diplomas legislativos.

Administrative changes

(a) New appointments

20. Between March, when the Governor-General took office, and the end of the year, new appointments were made to nearly all the major military and

f/ See ibid., chap. VII, paras. 29-30.

administrative posts in the Territory. These include four of the six provincial secretaries, g/ the representative of the Attorney General, the President of the Tribunal de Relação (Court of Appeals); provincial directors of statistics, economy and health and assistance; the Inspector-General of the Economy; and provincial inspectors of economics and cereals. The governors of the districts of Cabo Delgado and Zambézia were also replaced.

(b) Creation of new districts

21. In July 1970, h/ Manica and Sofala, the largest of the nine districts of Mozambique, with an estimated population of 800,000 in 1966, was divided into two separate districts. One of these became the Beira District with the town of Beira as its capital; the other became Vila Pery District, including Barué, Chimoio and Manica, with the town of Vila Pery as its capital. In January 1971, Colonel Manuel Sousa Teles was appointed as Governor of Beira District. He will also assume the functions, on a temporary basis, of the governor of Vila Pery District. So far, no information is available concerning local elections to designate the new representatives to the Legislative Council.

22. During 1970, two further changes in the administrative organization of the Territory were suggested. The first suggestion, as already mentioned, was to divide Moçambique District, which in 1966 had an estimated population of 1,452,000, into two districts, and the second was to transfer the capital of the Territory to Nampula. No decision was reported on either of these suggestions.

23. It may be noted that every increase in the number of districts involves an increase in the size and density of the administrative network. As this has been the subject of a study by the territorial Government, further changes are expected.

Local government

District boards

24. During 1970, there were few changes in the budgeted expenditures of the districts, which would indicate significant growth of their activities compared with the preceding year. The principal exception was in the district of Inhambane, where the board's budget nearly doubled, rising from 4.9 million to 9.4 million escudos. i/ In Lourenço Marques and Cabo Delgado, allocations for police and social welfare dropped by some 50 per cent (see table 1 below). However, in 1970, Cabo Delgado received a special allocation of some 23 million escudos, of which 13 million escudos were for the improvement and extension of the network of aldeamentos (see below) and 10 million escudos were for other public works in Porto Amélia.

g/ The provincial secretaries for Land and Settlement and for Planning, Economic Integration, Treasury and Accounts were re-appointed. As a general practice, new provincial secretaries are appointed on the recommendation of the new Governor-General.

h/ Diário do Governo, Decree 355/70, 28 July 1970.

i/ One escudo equals \$US .035; 28.5 escudos equals \$US1.00.

Table 1

Mozambique: district budgets for 1969-1970
(million escudos)

District	Total		Selected items of expenditure				Other subsidies	
			Subsidies to local Police and social					
			authorities		welfare a/			
1969	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970	
Lourenço Marques	5.5	6.0	2.6	2.1	0.2	0.08	0.3	0.6
Gaza	3.8	4.3	1.4	1.5	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3
Inhambane	4.9	9.4	2.0	2.2	0.08	0.08	0.4	0.6
Manica e Sofala	9.5	10.7	3.7	4.7	0.3	0.4	0.3	1.0
Tete	9.9	9.0	4.5	3.9	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4
Zambézia	10.2	12.2	2.8	3.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2
Moçambique	9.4	9.2	3.0	2.8	0.02	0.02	1.5	0.6
Cabo Delgado	9.4	10.7	4.4	4.5	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3
Niassa	6.2	6.1	3.3	3.8	0.4	0.4	0.07	0.07

Source: Mozambique, Boletim Oficial, Series I, Despacho, 23 February 1970.

a/ Includes payments to regedores.

Municipal councils

25. There were thirty-one municipal councils in Mozambique in 1970. However, press reports have been limited to the activities of the Lourenço Marques and Beira councils, and occasional references to those of Porto Amélia, Nampula, Vila Cabral and Tete.

26. Most of the municipal councils referred to are reported to have been concerned over the inadequacy of their budgets, their lack of sources of direct revenue and heavy government bureaucracy. Speaking in the National Assembly in January 1971, Deputy Carlos Ivo said that there was an urgent need to review out-dated legislation governing the municipal councils which suffered from the effects of excessive centralization, paralysing bureaucracy and a permanent lack of funds.

27. Only the municipal councils of Lourenço Marques and Beira have sizeable budgets. Each year, however, the original budget has to be supplemented several times. In 1970, for instance, the original estimated budget of the Lourenço Marques Municipal Council was supplemented by six allocations. For 1971, the

municipal council has an estimated budget of over 500 million escudos, of which some 40 per cent is for water and electricity services, 37 per cent for salaries, and 20 per cent for municipal transportation. In 1969, the Council's budget amounted to more than double the allocation of 241 million escudos for education in the territorial budget. For some of the other municipal councils the 1971 budgets were: Beira (population, 59,970), 135 million escudos; Porto Amélia (population, 55,166), 14.2 million escudos; Nampula (population, 103,985), 30 million escudos.

28. As has been explained previously,^{j/} the municipal councils are concerned mainly with urban public services within the town boundaries. Problems discussed in the Lourenço Marques Council in 1970, for instance, included: electricity and water supplies; sewage systems for the city; construction of a rural market; traffic and parking facilities; housing programmes, and the preferential use of vacant land for housing for higher income groups.

29. For the past seven years, the Beira Municipal Council has been considering the purchase from the Companhia de Moçambique of its controlling interest, valued at 39 million escudos, in the local water supply company. To finance the purchase, the Council considered taking a loan of 40 million escudos for twenty years. The Council's decision on the purchase is not known.

30. The problems of the Nampula Municipal Council, which is the headquarters of the Mozambique military region, have been of a different order. Instead of a lack of funds in 1970, the Council had accumulated over 15 million escudos in bank deposits and, in September of that year, obtained a loan of 24 million escudos from the National Development Bank (Mozambique, Portaria 23, 178, 23 May 1970) for the purchase of new electric generators. As a result, the Council was criticized by the press for bad management and the Bank was criticized for granting a loan where the need was not proven.

Judiciary

31. As noted above, both the representative in Mozambique of the Attorney General and the President of the Appeals Court of the Territory were replaced in 1970.

32. At the swearing-in of the Attorney General's representative, the Governor-General said that, under the provisions of the Portuguese Constitution, the sovereignty of the State was specifically limited by morality and law. It was the duty of the State to define and enforce respect for rights and guarantees of morality, justice or the law, in the interest of individuals, families, and local autonomous and public or private bodies. The Government's role was to guarantee the inalienable basic rights of citizens and fundamental principles of justice. As the juridical consultant of the Governor-General and as an ex officio member of the Legislative Council, the responsibility of the

^{j/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.B, paras. 31-32.

Attorney General's representative was to help clarify and ensure the just and equitable interpretation of the laws.

33. The new President of the Appeals Court, Mr. Valadas Preto, who was sworn in by a judge of the Court, stressed the importance of the separation and independence of the judiciary from the legislative and executive branches of government. He said that the practice whereby the highest representative of the Government usually swore in the President of the Appeals Court had led those outside the judiciary services and even some government officials to assume that there were hierarchical links between the courts and the Government. This idea was erroneous because it was contrary to the structure of modern States as well as to the principles of the Portuguese Political Constitution, and it was pernicious because it distorted the idea of justice and the role of the judges. The President of the Appeals Court was a judge like any other. His powers and duties were limited and the moral force and prestige of the Appeals Court did not depend solely on his attitudes, but on the joint action of all the judges. Mr. Preto announced that he would not hesitate to make known to the appropriate authorities any changes necessary to improve the judicial system. He regretted that, hitherto judges in Mozambique had found it difficult to suggest improvements, possibly because the legal profession in the Territory had no channel for presenting its collective voice. In his view, the combined efforts of lawyers and judges were essential to instil in the overseas judicial system the vitality that it needed to achieve "justice in all its plenitude". Real justice, he said, had to be not only juridically perfect but must express the ethical conscience of the community, without losing sight of the ideological climate of the times in which the law was applied. Justice must be made accessible to the entire population through the establishment of a network of territorial courts with professional judges and the provision of legal assistance to those in need.

3. MILITARY AND SECURITY ACTIVITIES

Military appointments

34. In the nine months, beginning March 1970 with the appointment of General Kaulza de Arriaga as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, nearly all the chief military and naval officers were changed, including those of the Mozambique Military Region, the Naval Commander and the Chief of the Territorial Air Command. Other military appointments during 1970 included those of the Commander of the Mozambique Air Force, the Deputy Army Commander of Mozambique, and the Commander of the Maritime Defence and Harbour Master of Quelimane (Zambézia District).

War in Mozambique

35. In 1970, the war in Mozambique moved into a new phase. The first indications of a possible change in military strategy became evident in January with the appointment of the new Commander-in-Chief, referred to above, and the arrival of new troops in the Territory. On his arrival in Mozambique, General Arriaga announced that measures were being taken by the Government in Lisbon to increase the efficiency of the Mozambique war machine. Among other things, these measures were expected to lead to: (a) greater autonomy for the Commander-in-Chief;

- (b) closer and more efficient co-operation between the various commands;
- (c) improved welfare of the troops; and (d) increased mobility of the operational units.

36. Although fighting by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) continued with varying intensity throughout the year in the three northern districts, most of the news was overshadowed by the new Portuguese offensive against their established bases, especially in the Maconde homelands. In what appears to have been a prelude to the new offensive, the Portuguese forces announced in April the capture of twenty-six FRELIMO bases. During June and July a series of military operations were mounted in Cabo Delgado District to seize the main FRELIMO bases around Mueda and along the Rovuma River to stop infiltration from across the border and to put an end to guerrilla activities south of the Messalo River. These were followed by major operations in Tete in August and September, aimed at destroying the scattered groups which had infiltrated the region and preventing the local population from assisting them. In October and November, special operations were mounted in Niassa to prevent infiltration by FRELIMO units south of the Lugenda River and to train the local population in self-defence. In a statement in March 1971, General Arriaga said that the operations in Cabo Delgado had begun as a defensive action against a two-pronged FRELIMO offensive pushing south of the Messalo River.

37. In special communiqués describing the offensive, the Portuguese authorities reported that over the period June-December 1970 their forces had engaged in 70 military operations, designated by code-names (40 in Cabo Delgado, 20 in Tete and 10 in Niassa), involving a total of 128,598 "troops and other personnel," k/ and 63,500 tons of matériel. Portuguese forces logged over 11,000 hours of air combat flights and 12,000 hours of naval patrols. In addition, they spent 300 hours in airborne loud-speaker appeals to the local population and they distributed 1.7 million leaflets. According to the communiqué, 61 bases and 165 hide-outs were destroyed, 1,804 guerrilla fighters were captured and another 651 killed and 6,854 persons surrendered. Portuguese losses were reported to have been 132 soldiers killed.

38. In Cabo Delgado, Portuguese forces were reported to have occupied the Limpopo base of FRELIMO on the Rovuma River and to have established a new outpost there. They are also reported to have occupied the three main FRELIMO bases in the Maconde area around Mueda. Among the bases captured, sixteen were reported to have been of sufficient size to contain their own social services organizations. The operations had necessitated opening up existing roads, eliminating land mines and building new roads to gain access from Mueda to Nangade in the north and to Miteda in the south. Of the Portuguese casualties, more than 80 per cent were said to have occurred during the movement of troops and only 20 per cent during actual operations. Despite the successes claimed by the Portuguese authorities, it is estimated that there were still about 1,000 FRELIMO fighters in various parts of Cabo Delgado. In March, General Arriaga said that he believed that FRELIMO had some 5,000 men in Mozambique.

k/ Various accounts estimated that about 30,000 to 35,000 regular troops were used in these operations. A recent report estimates that Portugal has 80,000 trained troops in Mozambique.

39. In Tete District most of the operations were said to have been of a preventive nature because of FRELIMO's avowed aim to destroy the Cabora Bassa dam. In Niassa, military operations were reported to have been carried out in the area of Olivença near the northern border with the United Republic of Tanzania, on the Miandica plateau, in the area along Lake Niassa and in Chiconono, north of Valadim.

40. According to newspaper accounts, among which were a series of over twenty articles published in Notícias of Lourenço Marques, the 1970 military operations were characterized by the extensive use of civilian and government services. These included not only the militia and other para-military bodies, but civilian air and motor transport and civilian hospital services contracted by the armed forces. This total involvement in the war effort is evidently part of Portugal's military strategy in Mozambique. Since General Arriaga assumed command, he has stressed that everyone in Mozambique is responsible for the war, that direct military action alone could not win it, and that lasting peace could only be built on the economic development and educational and social advancement of the people.

41. This policy has also been stressed in the Mozambique newspapers. One article, written in June 1970, emphasized that, despite the success of the various special military operations, the end of the war was not yet in sight, primarily because all elements in Mozambique were not united in the supreme effort needed. It was pointed out that the reality of the war was there for all to see and feel: it was made apparent not only by the grenades, the mining of roads, but also by the evidence of general neglect and of the failure of the Government to provide needed services.

42. It has been increasingly emphasized by the Portuguese authorities that the war cannot be won by military efforts alone. In his various speeches, General Arriaga has stated that Portugal's primary objective is "to convince the minds and win the hearts" of the people. This, he said, involves two steps: first, to dissociate the population from the guerrilla fighters, and second to win them over permanently to the Portuguese side. Most of the military and psycho-social actions of the armed forces are directed towards the first objective. The territorial Government services are responsible for the housing, settlement and welfare of the people.

43. It is difficult to assess to what extent either or both of these objectives are being achieved. Portuguese sources have reported the surrender of several former FRELIMO leaders during 1970, including Miss Veronica Namiva, former leader of the Liga Feminina (Women's League) of FRELIMO; Mr. Manuel Mussa Katur, a former member of the FRELIMO Central Committee; and Mr. Miguel Artur Murupa, also a former member of the Central Committee and Director of External Affairs of FRELIMO. Further, as noted above, official statistics listed some 7,000 persons as having returned to the Portuguese side after the new offensive in Cabo Delgado. Nevertheless, Portuguese sources describing the war in Mozambique two years ago estimated the number of Maconde bearing arms at some 136,000. Except for the settlement schemes described below, there is even less information concerning the economic and social development of the war areas.

44. In January 1971, the Portuguese Defence Minister, General Sá Vianna Rebelo, spent eight days in the Territory. He visited the headquarters of the Mozambique Military Region in Nampula, where he held meetings with the Commander-in-Chief of

the Armed Forces in Mozambique and other top military officers. He also visited the site of the Cabora Bassa dam and the military quarters in Chicó, in Tete.

45. A Portuguese communiqué issued towards the end of January 1971 admitted that in spite of the massive operations, not all the military objectives had been achieved. Although the Portuguese sources claimed success in destroying the principal FRELIMO bases in Cabo Delgado, it was admitted that FRELIMO had reoccupied some of these. In fact, FRELIMO's strength was demonstrated almost simultaneously with the release of the communiqué by two attacks on Portuguese troops, one, south of the Messalo River in Cabo Delgado District, and the other in the vicinity of Magoé, near the Cabora Bassa dam in Tete and 100 kilometres from Chicó.

46. Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, President of FRELIMO, said in 1970 that 80,000 Portuguese soldiers were engaged in the war in Mozambique against the liberation movement. According to FRELIMO, since its forces entered Tete District two years ago, their activities have been extended to the vicinity of Vila Gamito and Vila Coutinho in the north-east near the Malawi border and other areas in the south. FRELIMO claimed to have compelled the Portuguese to abandon many of their fortified posts in Tete District and stated, moreover, that the whole of the Territory north of the Zambezi River had been affected by the war. Although the Portuguese authorities had built a cordon of fortified posts along the north bank of the Zambezi River to prevent crossings, FRELIMO forces were already established south of the river, where the movement was engaged in intensive political work and had set up six schools, and medical centres.

47. FRELIMO sources said that the fighting in 1970 constituted the first real test of the liberation movement's strength and organization, as well as the people's will to fight. They considered that the Portuguese claim of "spectacular victories" had to be viewed in the context of Portugal's concern over the nationalists' victories and its growing isolation on the international scene.

48. FRELIMO also claimed that in June and July 1970, its forces had killed 1,855 Portuguese soldiers, destroyed 311 vehicles and 7 aircraft and engaged in 457 ambushes and mining operations and 64 assaults. Portuguese military communiqués on the other hand, reported 188 troops killed during the period.^{1/} FRELIMO later claimed that it had killed more than 200 Portuguese troops in the period September to November 1970 and carried out six major operations in the districts of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. In February 1970, FRELIMO reported that it launched an attack on the coast near Lourenço Marques to mark the first anniversary of the death of Mr. Eduardo Mondlane, the former President of FRELIMO, killing thirteen Portuguese soldiers and destroying some homes. Portuguese sources have not reported such an attack.

49. Following the Defence Minister's visit, General Kaulza de Arriaga told the press that since the attacks by FRELIMO forces on the Cabora Bassa dam in 1970, a plan had been worked out for the civil and military defence of the

^{1/} For June and July 1970, the figures given included dead and seriously wounded.

dam area, which is now protected by a strong and highly mobile military force able to pursue the guerrillas. New aldeamentos m/ were also being established as part of the defence. General Arriaga said that, in 1970, FRELIMO forces had tried to reach the dam, but had been killed, captured or scattered before reaching the target. As a result of the new defence plan, the guerrillas had changed their tactics and were concentrating on "terrorizing" the populations, especially those south-west of Cabora Bassa.

50. None of the communiqués issued by the Portuguese military authorities during 1970 contained any reference to activities by the Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO)). Nevertheless, in January 1971, O Combatente, the movement's official organ, reported that during the preceding year, COREMO had expanded its forces and strengthened its organization in the districts of Tete, Manica and Sofala and Zambezia, n/ and that it had conducted twenty-six attacks in these three districts between 17 June and 29 November 1970. The most important action, according to COREMO, had been in Tete, where it claimed to have killed seventy-two Portuguese troops and destroyed three military vehicles and a bridge. The locations mentioned in the communiqué were: Zambue and Zumbo, on the north-west frontier with Zambia, and small posts located along the Zambezi River, between Zumbo and Magoé in the area of the Cabora Bassa dam project.

New liberation movements

51. In September 1970, the Chairman of the Special Committee received a petition from Mr. Almeida Magaia, Vice-Chairman of a newly formed group called Movimento de Libertação de Moçambique-Mozambique Liberation Movement (MOLIMO), with its headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. In this letter, MOLIMO asked the Special Committee for financial and other assistance.

52. Portuguese military communiqués have also mentioned another movement, ULIPAMO, said to have been formed by dissident members of FRELIMO. There is no other information available on this movement.

Security measures

53. The Polícia de Segurança Pública (PSP; Public Security Police) made 12,818 arrests in 1969, compared with 14,154 in 1968, a drop of about 10 per cent. In both years, over 90 per cent of those arrested were Africans. The number of prisoners handed over to the Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS; Directorate General of Security; formerly PIDE), for crimes against public peace and order, rose from 94 in 1968 to 122 in 1969. No figures are yet available for 1970 (see table 2 below).

m/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex III, para. 147.

n/ Portuguese military communiqués contained no reports of guerrilla activities in Zambezia, Beira and Vila Pery districts during 1970.

Table 2

Mozambique: arrests made by the Public Security Police (PSP)
in 1969

Month	Persons arrested for crimes against public order and peace				Total	Persons turned over to PIDE a/	For crimes against public order and peace		
	Whites		Africans						
	Men	Women	Men	Women					
January	1,366	29	1,316	6	5	403	48	2	-
February	1,540	40	1,465	10	1	420	37	37	32
March	1,269	46	1,183	11	-	523	23	5	1
April	1,185	45	1,122	16	2	226	28	8	-
May	1,086	22	1,045	6	-	312	106	3	1
June	893	13	870	2	-	202	68	11	8
July	895	23	864	4	2	138	50	49	33
August	972	40	907	9	-	195	56	8	-
September	867	23	831	9	5	171	93	31	27
October	1,029	31	946	7	1	117	41	8	5
November	741	41	685	3	-	69	19	18	15
December	975	26	917	8	3	155	135	2	-
TOTAL	12,818	379	12,151	91	19	2,731	1,154	182	122

Source: Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, January-December 1969.

a/ Now the Direcção-Geral de Segurança.

54. In addition to the 18.3 million escudos allocated for expenditure on prisons in the 1970 budget for Mozambique, o/ the Overseas Minister authorized a special credit (Portaria 185/70 of 3 April 1970) of 3 million escudos for construction of prison installations. An additional sum of about 30 million escudos was also allocated to the PSP for extraordinary expenditure.

55. Several articles appearing in the local press during 1970 emphasized government efforts to rehabilitate prisoners, and, in particular, to win over those arrested for "subversive activities". In May 1970, an undisclosed number of inmates held at Machava prison in Lourenço Marques were granted amnesty in connexion with the celebration of the forty-fourth anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution. These prisoners had been held on charges of "subversive activities and other crimes against the security of the State". In December 1970, the Government announced its intention to release twenty-eight former guerrilla fighters who were imprisoned on the island of Ibos in Cabo Delgado District. These men were freed in January 1971 after a ceremony at the prison attended by the Governor-General. A photograph in the local newspaper showed the Governor-General with a group of about twenty Africans dressed in civilian clothes. According to the newspaper account, they were listening to a speech of thanks delivered by one prisoner who admitted that he had at one time been responsible for guerrilla activities in Cabo Delgado.

56. In December 1970, seventeen prisoners held by the DGS were allowed to sit for the fourth year primary school finals; p/ eight others sat for the third year finals. A photograph of the prisoners at the examination was published in the local press.

57. In January 1971, it was reported, in an article published in Le Monde (Paris), that "a source close to the Portuguese authorities" had asserted that eighteen African political prisoners had been killed by the political police in Mozambique. One of those killed was reported to have been identified as Mr. Joel Monteiro, a former FRELIMO member, who had been arrested in 1964 and held at Machava prison in Lourenço Marques. The article also reported that several prisoners from Machava and Mabalane prisons had been forced to work with the special commandos during the military operations in the districts of Cabo Delgado and Tete.

58. Towards the end of 1970, the local newspaper published a notice from the DGS reminding all foreigners in Mozambique that each year in January they were required to present their residence permits to the competent authorities (Diploma Legislativo 2184 of 30 December 1961).

Resettlement and other counter-subversion measures

59. In November 1970, the Governor-General told the Legislative Council that, as a result of action by the armed forces, subversion had been practically confined to

o/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, para. 69.

p/ Ibid., annex I.C, para. 73.

the north and north-eastern frontier areas of the Territory and guerrilla bases in these areas had been gradually dismantled. As a result of co-operation between civil and military authorities, the entire administrative network had been kept intact, and "not a single administrative post had been abandoned". Also, apart from the purely military operations which had received assistance from the police force, the civil authorities, the militia and "in many cases the local inhabitants themselves led by their traditional chiefs", progress had been made in the development and improvement of living conditions in the areas affected by subversion. He stressed the importance of intensifying these efforts as a part of the counter-subversion measures and as a means of ending the war, which otherwise could be prolonged indefinitely as it was "nurtured by the deprivations suffered by the populations that were ably exploited by the agents of subversion".

60. According to the Governor-General, important progress has been made both in the number and in the improvement of the methods used in the resettlement and reordenamento (regrouping) of the rural population, and especially in the construction of new aldeamentos and the improvement of existing ones.

61. Currently, the settlement and resettlement projects in Mozambique can be classified under four major categories according to the stated objectives. These are: (a) government-sponsored, large-scale settlement schemes involving irrigation and located mainly in the south, such as the Limpopo, Maputo and Révuè schemes; (b) settlements, mainly African, oriented towards the economic development of hitherto neglected areas of low population density in northern Mozambique, which have been designated priority settlement zones in the Third National Development Plan for 1968-1973; (c) rural regrouping of Africans into permanent settlements under the territorial reordenamento plan; and (d) the resettlement of the African population in a strategic network of aldeamentos to prevent guerrilla infiltration. Although the Governor-General in his speech, referred only to the last two categories of settlements in connexion with counter-subversion, in practice, security considerations are also an important factor in the priority settlement zones in Niassa and Cabo Delgado, as well as in some of those in Zambézia and Moçambique. These settlements are discussed below by district.

(a) Cabo Delgado

62. As reported previously, by 1969 a large number of African aldeamentos had already been established in Cabo Delgado in three lines of defence. ^{q/} During 1970, the network of aldeamentos was expanded in the northernmost part of the Territory, which is considered to be part of the front line of defence. Thus, in November 1970, at a meeting of the Cabo Delgado District Board, the District Governor announced an allocation of 12.96 million escudos for rural reordenamento works in Palma, Mocimboa da Praia, Macomia, and an additional 10 million escudos for various other improvements in the district. The major reordenamento works to be undertaken include the construction of two new aldeamentos at Mocimboa da Praia, and one at Macomia, at a cost of 200,000 escudos each; a number of school post buildings, first-aid stations and "residences" (these are generally for the local chiefs and administrators); the purchase of bulldozers, radios for the aldeamentos and trucks; and drilling of wells. Following a visit of the Provincial Secretary

^{q/} See ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23A (A/7623/Rev.1/Add.1), appendix III, paras. 150 and 151.

of Economy of the Territory with a team of economists in July to study the economic potential of the district, plans were to be worked out for the establishment of agricultural enterprises and for the settlement of European and African farmers.

63. In 1970, within the framework of the Third National Development Plan, some 500 farmers from the Madeira Islands and their families were settled in the areas of Montepuez, Balama, Namuno, Chiure, Ancuabe, Mirrote, Erati, Alua, Ocua, Meloco and Mesa, south of the Messalo River. Nearly all of these settlements are located along the main roads: four along the road from Porto Amélia to Vila Cabral, four along the next important parallel road to the south and three along the principal north-south road of the district. The most southern location is Mirrote, which is close to the Lúrio River in an area where large iron ore deposits have been found.

64. As in the case of other state-assisted settlers from Portugal, the families were given free transportation to Mozambique and financial assistance on arrival. r/ Each farmer received 250 hectares of land for crops and cattle raising. Each parcel of land is expected to yield a minimum annual net income of about 130,000 escudos.

65. These settlers from Madeira are to constitute new settlement nuclei. Africans will be resettled in these areas to provide manual labour and in turn to benefit from closer contact with the more "developed" settlers. The Montepuez settlement of Madeiran farmers dates back to 1967-1968. It began with a group of less than ten farmers who were settled in an area of 70,000 hectares, of which part had already been cleared. By October 1970, it had over 150 settler families. Located in what is called "the heart of Cabo Delgado", this settlement is described as "the most advanced development front against subversion in the north of Mozambique". By 1973, it is expected that some 300 families will be settled in Montepuez.

Niassa-Zambézia

66. As reported previously, in March 1969, top priority was given to the Mozambique Settlement Board for settlement of 1,000 new settlers in Cabo Delgado and Niassa districts over a period of six years.

67. The priority zones established by the Third National Development Plan for settlement in Niassa District comprise the Mecanhelas-Molumbo and Lioma triangle (the latter in Zambézia District) in the south, and the Vila Cabral-Maniamba-Muamba triangle in the north. Both zones were originally designated for agricultural settlement schemes, but a strategic aldeamento has been established at Mecanhelas which is considered to be a "strategic area" because it has been a target for guerrilla attacks.

68. In June 1970, the Governor of Niassa District, accompanied by a high-ranking military officer, visited Mecanhelas and distributed arms to the local population, including some 600 Africans, who were described as forming a "defence wall" against

r/ For a description of similar schemes see ibid., Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/7200/Rev.1, chapter VIII, annex III, paras. 54-57.

the guerrillas. In August 1970, General Kaulza de Arriaga also visited Mecanhelas, specially to meet the régulos responsible for the area. In Niassa District, 300 settlers were to be established at the rate of fifty a year.

69. Land clearing and related works in the Mecanhelas-Molumbo-Idoma triangle were to have begun in October 1970 as an initial step in the expected settlement of these families, which are to arrive over a four-year period. Under the Third National Development Plan, this area is to be devoted mainly to dry-farming, while the Vila Cabral-Maniamba-Muamba triangle is intended for cattle raising, cultivation of potatoes and horticulture.

Tete

70. In Tete, although the building of the Cabora Bassa dam has made it necessary to move thousands of African families from the areas which will be eventually flooded, the new aldeamentos are being organized as an integral part of the defence of the area. According to General Arriaga, the large number of aldeamentos are intended to act as centres for promoting social progress and to isolate the population from guerrilla contacts and violence. Some of the communities are to be placed on a self-defence basis.

71. Thirty areas have already been designated by the Zambezi Settlement Bureau (Gabinete do Povoamento do Zambeze) established by the Government to draw up plans for resettlement in the Cabora Bassa area. A total of 24,000 families are involved in the initial stage. On the north bank of the Zambezi River, settlement areas are planned along a distance of some 150 kilometres from Zumbo in the west to Chipera in the east. This is partly because more people on the north bank will be affected by the flooding than on the south bank. Also until recently, most of the guerrilla attacks have been from the north. The areas south of the Zambezi River that have been selected for resettlement of African families have not been announced. According to the Portuguese military communiqués, guerrillas attacked some aldeamentos around Magoé in February 1971.

72. In its effort to win over the population of the area, the Government has discussed the new plans extensively with local African authorities. To minimize difficulties, most of the local population is being settled as close as possible to their previous homes. Moreover, the Government has pledged that consideration will be given to African traditional customs in the selection of the areas of resettlement and in determining the appropriate time for the move, which is to be made between harvests. The ethnic composition of the different groups also will be maintained.

73. More than in the case of the other settlements, this large-scale regrouping of the local population is regarded as a "hypersensitive operation" and is being handled as such. This is due to the fact that various ethnic groups are involved and some of the people who used to live along the river banks will now be moved to dry areas where they will have to learn new ways of living.

74. High priority is being given to educational and social welfare facilities. The Education Services and the Roman Catholic missions in the area are being equipped to provide schooling for 80 per cent of the 3,000 children of school age in the area. Social welfare programmes include child-care, home economics and improvement in nutrition habits, aimed particularly at the women.

75. The Government plans to resettle some 8,000 persons a year. Each resettled family will be given five hectares of land, of which two hectares will be cleared and ready for cultivation, and three hectares will be future expansion. In addition, each family will receive compensation for the loss of their houses and plantations (fruit-trees) and given free transportation to the new area, free construction materials, free food, the loan of seeds for cultivation and tax exemption for one year.

Other

76. Increasingly, settlement in Mozambique is being related to the defence of the Territory. European settlement, in particular, is expected to play a key role in the "economic occupation" of the Territory, in the development of a "multiracial society" in Mozambique and in the spreading of Portuguese language and culture.

77. Speaking in February 1970, the Vice-President of the Mozambique Provincial Settlement Board declared that the implementation of the settlement programme established under the Third National Development Plan would not only have an important political, economic and social significance, but would also contribute to maintaining Portuguese sovereignty in Mozambique. It would ensure a more balanced occupation of the Territory, a better use of the natural resources and would stimulate the social promotion of the menos evoluídos so that they can form multiracial societies that are deeply Portuguese.

78. For 1971, the Provincial Settlement Board has allocated 200 million escudos for various settlements in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Moçambique districts. Of these, 150 farmers are to be added to the established settlements at Montepuez, Balama, Ancuabe, Namuno, Namapa and Ocua, referred to above. In addition, 180 farmers are to be settled at Mandimba (Niassa District), and thirty at Lioma (Zambézia District). Under the rural reordenamento plan, African families in these areas will also be regrouped.

79. The settlement of demobilized soldiers continues to be discussed in the press as an important factor in the defence of the Territory. In March, however, an article in a Lisbon paper pointed out that in 1967, only 365 soldiers had been settled. It blamed government red tape for the lack of progress in this area.

4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS^{s/}

80. Recent information on the general economic trends in Mozambique, including information on mining, transforming industries, trade and balance of payments and the Cabora Bassa project is contained in the supplementary working paper prepared by the Secretariat on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Territories under Portuguese administration (see A/8398/Add.1). Developments in other areas are described briefly below.

Agriculture

81. In contrast to Angola, there has been little change in the structure of the economy in the past decade, with sugar, cashew and cotton still accounting for almost 50 per cent of the total exports. Although a half-page advertisement by the Overseas Companies of Portugal in the Financial Times Survey on Angola and Mozambique, which was published in July 1971, gave statistics showing that the Territory's exports had doubled in value between 1960 and 1970, part of this growth is apparently due to price changes, as it is not reflected in the volume exported up to 1969. ^{t/} In fact, the year by year statistics contained in the Anuário Estatístico show that between 1960 and 1969, the increases in volume were in most cases well below 50 per cent. The increases in volume for the principal products were: cotton lint, 15 per cent, from 44,400 tons to 47,700 tons; sugar, 53 per cent, from 111,200 tons to 170,100 tons (it may be noted that 1960 was the third worst year in the nine-year period of which 1969 was the peak year); and tea, 93 per cent, from 8,100 tons to 15,600 tons. On the other hand, owing to the growing world surplus and the introduction of export quotas, Mozambique's sisal exports dropped by some 18 per cent, from 27,900 to 22,700 tons. Also copra, which had been one of the Territory's leading exports, after rising from 40,800 tons in 1960 to 60,070 tons in 1961, dropped to 41,100 tons in 1969. Only exports of cashew kernels and unshelled nuts showed a steady and substantial gain in this period; exports of unshelled nuts rose to a peak of 132,146 tons in 1968 before declining to 68,500 tons in 1969 due to a larger share being processed in the Territory, and exports of cashew kernels (shelled nuts) rose from 1,058 tons to 12,800 tons.

82. From the Government's point of view, the Territory's agricultural potential can be fully developed only by a more intensive "occupation" of the land. Although it is estimated that about one-third of the Territory is suitable for agriculture, only 5 per cent is under cultivation. It may be recalled that a survey of the farming units in Mozambique which was published in 1968, ^{u/} showed

^{s/} Background information on the general economy of the Territory is contained in previous working papers reproduced in the reports of the Special Committee. See especially Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda items 63 and 23, (A/3023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, paras. 78 ff.

^{t/} Export statistics for 1970 are not yet available.

^{u/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex III, table 2.

that the "traditional sector" occupied about 2.2 million hectares with an average holding of 1.4 hectares and the so-called "developed sector" which includes commercial farming by individuals and companies, occupied 2.3 million hectares, with an average holding of 562 hectares. On the basis of that survey it is considered that at least another 70 million hectares could be brought into production.

83. During the last crop year, several areas were affected by the lack of rain. The Gaza district was hit by a long drought which resulted in losses of livestock and crops. The Zambezi Valley and the districts south of the Save were also affected. Production figures, however, are not yet available for 1970.

Cotton

84. Provisional figures from the Mozambique Cotton Institute indicate that the Territory's cotton production during the 1969/70 crop year amounted to about 133,000 tons, of which 92,870 tons (nearly 70 per cent) was from African growers, or the "traditional" farming sector, and 40,000 tons from "autonomous" farmers including commercial growers. This was a lower production than expected, owing to the severe drought which affected the Territory. According to the Provincial Secretary of Land and Settlement, had the weather been normal, the Territory could have expected a production of 140,000 to 150,000 tons. v/ He said that because of the lack of rainfall, south of the Save, for instance, which produces an average of 11,000 to 12,000 tons a year, cotton production would not even amount to 1,000 tons.

85. The 1970/71 cotton crop was estimated to total 150,000 to 160,000 tons and, for the first time, 20 per cent of the cotton produced was to be sold on the international market. In the next two or three years production is expected to exceed 200,000 tons. Much of this increase so far is reported to be from the new settlements in the north. In Cabo Delgado, where the production is estimated at some 15,300 tons, only 5,300 tons is attributed to "traditional" growers. By introducing American cotton and pesticides it is expected to increase the yields of African growers to about 1,500 kilogrammes per hectare. w/ The yield on European farms averages 2,000 kilogrammes per hectare.

Cashew

86. In the course of the last ten years cashew has steadily increased in importance in the Territory's exports and in 1969, exports of unshelled cashew and cashew kernels amounted to 780 million escudos, compared with 794.5 million escudos for sugar exports.

87. However, in spite of increased production, which was estimated at 160,000 tons in 1969, the volume of exports was lower than that of the previous year: unshelled cashew dropped from 132,900 tons to 68,500 tons, and shelled cashew from 13,400 to 12,800 tons. The decrease in cashew exports in 1969 seems

v/ It will be recalled that in 1969, production was expected to total some 133,000 tons. This higher figure is presumably based on the further increase of European growers.

w/ In 1968 the average output by African growers was reported to be 339 kilogrammes per hectare.

to have been due in part to problems affecting the cashew shelling industry, which the Governor-General has described as a question of finding a solution to "conciliating the interests of production, commercialization and industrialization".

88. Although it was reported in 1970 that the Government intended to set up some form of permanent agency to provide a co-ordinated solution to the problem and to encourage production, by mid-1971 no action had been taken to this end. The regulations issued in October 1970 governing the sale of cashew in the 1970/71 season were substantially the same as those for the previous ones. Export of cashew from the entire region south of the Save River remained prohibited, except for the areas close to the city of Beira, which were permitted to export their cashew from the Beira port. Regions north of the Save River were allowed to export their cashew stocks if they were not needed by the industries, and, in any case, only one-third of the amount sold to them. In the district of Cabo Delgado, traders were permitted to export two-thirds of the quantity sold to local industries. In both the north and the south all cashew unsold at the end of the season had to be sold to the Government at 3 escudos per kilo.

Sugar

89. The new investments in sugar which have been made since the early 1960s have finally begun to bear results. In 1969, production reached 226,000 tons, which represented an increase of almost 33 per cent over the average annual output in the period 1961-1965. In 1970 total exports of sugar from the Territory amounted to 250,000 tons, valued at 960 million escudos.

90. In May 1971 (Portaria 225/70, 1 May) the Portuguese Government decided to limit its imports to raw sugar and to discontinue the purchase of refined (white) sugar from the Territories. Until then, the companies had been permitted to supply up to one-third of their quota with white sugar. Along with this change, the Government introduced international standards for grading sugar and fixed the price of purchase at 3.5 escudos per kilogramme for raw sugar with a minimum polarimetric content of 97.5 degrees, along with a sliding scale of prices for sugars with a lower polarimetric content.

91. In October 1971, it was reported that six more sugar cane factories were being built in Beira at a cost of more than 1,000 million escudos. When completed, these factories are expected to raise the Territory's annual production to over 300,000 tons.

Maize

92. Between 1964 and 1968, maize production in Mozambique rose from 330,000 to 500,000 tons, when more than 120,000 tons were exported. In 1970, however, the Territory again had to import some 15,000 tons of maize because of drought conditions in large areas of the south. In July 1970, the Director of the Cereals Institute said that because of the drought conditions there had been little maize surplus from the districts of Manica Sofala, Zambézia and Tete. He admitted that both the system of licencing of maize traders and the lack of adequate means of transport had made it difficult for the Government to ensure a better distribution of maize in all parts of the Territory.

93. The fluctuation in the Territory's maize situation reflects the need for more planning and development of the traditional sector of agricultural production. In March 1971, a series of articles in the local press questioned why the Government had not yet introduced measures to prevent the shortage of maize which is a basic staple of the Territory. x/ It was pointed out that although a study had been made as early as 1966 pointing the way towards improving maize production in the Territory through the use of new hybrid seed, the study had not been published by the Institute of Agronomic Research until December 1970. With the use of hybrid seed, it was possible to obtain a yield per hectare of 8,000 kilogrammes, whereas in Mozambique, traditional African growers produced an average yield of 512 kilogrammes and the "evolved" farmers produced 829 kilogrammes. It was also suggested that instead of exporting maize in a surplus year, the Government should introduce measures to make the Territory self-sufficient.

Tea

94. In 1970, tea production reached a record of 16,973 tons, representing an increase of 939.8 tons over the previous year. It appears that the increase has been due mainly to higher yields, as the reported area under tea covered only 15,141 hectares, compared with 15,227 hectares in the period 1961/62. Owing to bad weather, a drop in production was expected in 1971.

95. Tea exports from Mozambique amounted to 15,488 tons in 1969, which was slightly below the 36.2 million pounds allocated to the Territory under the agreement reached that year by the Consultative Committee on Tea of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). In 1970 Mozambique's quota was 16,400 tons, and reported exports were 16,700 tons.

96. In June 1971, the tea growers in Gurué in Zambezia District were reported to be investing five million escudos to develop new markets for tea exports.

Transport and communications

Ports

97. Transit traffic through the port of Lourenço Marques continued to increase during 1969 and 1970. Newspaper reports attributed the increase mainly to the expansion of the Gorjão quay, and to the construction of a petroleum and mineral quay at Matola.

98. In 1970, Lourenço Marques handled more than 13.6 million tons of cargo. This included nearly 50 per cent of the traffic to and from the Transvaal, as well as iron and sugar exports from Swaziland. According to one report it also included a substantial proportion of the traffic to and from Southern Rhodesia. It is difficult, however, to assess the proportion of Southern Rhodesian traffic that has been diverted through Lourenço Marques.

x/ A previous study showed that in an average year, 430,000 Africans produced some 350,000 tons of maize and consumed 310,000 tons (see foot-note s/ above).

99. In 1969, there was a further drop in the cargo handled at Beira. According to a recent report, however, it is expected that Beira may capture some additional tonnage in connexion with the Cabora Bassa project and subsequent development.

100. Both the Lourenço Marques and Nacala ports are being expanded. At Lourenço Marques, a mineral quay is being built to serve petroleum and mineral tankers of up to 300,000 tons. This project, estimated at a cost of 1,000 million escudos, was prepared by the French concern Compagnie Générale de Géophysique and is now being considered by the Mozambique Harbours, Railways and Transport Administration. At Nacala, a 250 million escudos project is under way. This will include the construction of a 480 metre quay for loading ships of up to 100,000 tons, and the expansion of existing docks by 150 metres at an estimated cost of 150 million escudos. In addition, two warehouses are being built at an estimated cost of 8.4 million escudos.

101. The expansion of Nacala port is being made to provide for the additional traffic expected from Malawi as a result of a new rail link.

Air transport

102. Although envisaged investments in the transport and communications sector under the Third National Development Plan amounted to almost one-third of the total, only 650.5 million escudos, with 448.5 million escudos for airports and 202 million escudos for planes, was allocated to development of air transport. In the past few years, with the growing importance of domestic and international air traffic, the Government has decided to devote more effort to this sector. In September 1970 the Provincial Secretary for Communications announced that the Government planned to spend some 700 million escudos over two to three years to improve the Territory's network of airports.

103. Improvements to the Lourenço Marques airport include the installation of an instrument landing system, electronic signalling and radar, lengthening of runways in order to accommodate the new larger jet planes, and extension of terminal buildings. It is estimated that these improvements will cost about 12.6 million escudos. In Quelimane, Zambézia District, a new airport is being planned as well as improvements in the existing one. Estimated costs of these works amount to 23 million escudos. Plans to construct an airport at Vila Pery, capital of the newly created district of the same name, are under study (see paragraph 21 above).

104. In December 1970, the Direcção de Exploração de Transportes Aéreos (DETA) was authorized by the Overseas Minister to purchase a third Boeing 737 jet plane. The contract between DETA and the Boeing Company was signed on 18 December 1970, and the plane was scheduled to be delivered to DETA in October 1971, to begin regular flights also in 1971. The estimated cost of the new plane is more than 150 million escudos. It may be recalled that in 1970 DETA was contracted for service to the armed forces in Mozambique (see A/8423 (Part II)). In April 1971, the Harbours, Ports and Railways Administration was authorized to obtain a loan of \$US 5.3 million from the Banco Nacional Ultramarino for the purchase of an airplane, extra motor and parts for DETA (Decree 100/71 of 24 March 1971). There was no information on the type of plane that was to be purchased.

105. International air traffic to Mozambique is also increasing. In June 1971 the Portuguese airlines Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP) was to increase its Boeing 707 flights from Lisbon to Beira and Lourenço Marques from five a week to a daily service. Several other international airlines were also reported to be planning to introduce a stopover at Lourenço Marques airport. The Brazilian airlines Viação Aérea Riograndense (VARIG) plans to open an agency in Lourenço Marques as a first step towards introducing direct flights between Lourenço Marques and Rio de Janeiro.

Public finance

106. In 1969, actual revenue and expenditure exceeded estimates by almost 37 per cent. Ordinary revenue exceeded estimates by 1,680.5 million escudos, extraordinary revenue by 609 million escudos. Although, exceptionally, actual expenditure for the military services was only slightly above the estimates, it was still 10 per cent lower than the previous year. On the other hand, while total extraordinary expenditure exceeded the budget by 847 million escudos, this was only because the original budget estimates did not include allocations for the implementation of the Development Plan, which are generally authorized later in the year.

107. The budget estimates for 1971 which are summarized in table 3 below continue to reflect the traditionally cautious policy of basing the estimated revenue on the actual receipts in 1969. Nevertheless it may be noted that, notwithstanding this conservative policy, the Territory's public debt service is expected to rise by more than 35 per cent over the 1969 public debt which stood at 4,147 million escudos. Details of loans contracted in 1970 are not yet available.

Table 3

Mozambique: Public Finance, 1968-1971A. Revenue

(million escudos)

	Actual		Estimates			
	1968	1969	1968	1969	1970	1971
Total revenue	7,534.8	8,157.2	8,157.2	5,967.7	6,639.2	8,101.4
Ordinary revenue	6,834.7	7,423.1	5,114.4	5,842.6	6,452.8	7,855.3
Direct taxes	1,063.9	1,293.7	914.5	1,044.9	1,142.2	1,297.5
Indirect taxes	917.3	960.4	773.3	811.8	929.2	1,007.7
Industries under special régime	471.3	652.3	354.3	574.2	661.5	712.5
Revenue from services	377.1	410.2	298.9	332.0	397.4	480.9
Income from state and private industries	37.2	43.1	31.8	35.3	36.0	37.5
Earnings on capital	13.9	11.6	7.6	7.9	9.4	11.5
Refunds	292.7	292.8	267.9	267.2	303.6	428.4
Consigned receipts	3,661.7	3,758.8	2,446.1	2,769.4	2,973.7	3,879.3
Extraordinary revenue	700.1	734.1	100.0	125.1	186.4	246.1

B. Expenditure

(million escudos)

Total expenditure	7,534.8	8,155.7	5,214.4	5,967.7	6,639.2	8,101.4
Ordinary expenditure	6,519.5	7,183.0	5,114.4	5,842.6	6,452.8	7,855.3
Public debt	314.3	333.9	318.0	325.1	383.7	521.8
Territorial Government	13.4	18.0	13.7	25.5	29.0	36.1
Retirement and pensions	62.3	64.6	70.0	80.0	80.0	114.0
General administration	997.1	1,078.8	939.5	984.8	1,125.2	1,374.7
Treasury	119.8	127.3	135.8	142.1	154.4	185.7
Justice	79.2	80.5	83.1	87.0	99.1	116.4
Development services	3,079.1	3,388.1	2,021.8	2,349.1	2,494.4	3,142.2
Military services	1,023.4	938.2	836.5	900.0	932.1	993.1
Naval services	116.0	138.9	95.0	112.3	124.4	143.9
General expenditure	711.3	1,008.6	597.6	833.5	1,027.0	1,223.9
Other	4.0	6.1	3.4	3.4	3.4	-
Extraordinary expenditure <u>a/</u>	701.3	972.7	100.0	125.1	186.4	246.1

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; Boletim Mensal de Estatística, March 1970.

Estimates: Budgets for the respective years.

a/ Actual extraordinary expenditure includes investments under the Third National Development Plan.

Table 4

MOZAMBIQUE: Implementation of the Third National Development Plan,1968-1973

(million escudos)

	<u>1968-1973</u>	<u>Per year</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Authorized</u>		
				<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Agriculture	2,136.1	356.0	168.7	239.1	263.8	311.1
Industries	6,502.5	1,083.8	6.0	12.5	17.6	14.5
Rural development	113.7	19.0	11.7	20.3	19.0	17.2
Electrical power	1,022.4	170.4	3.6	10.0	10.9	24.3
Marketing	103.3	17.2	-	4.2	18.2	26.5
Transports and communications	5,460.6	910.0	260.0	357.1	519.5	379.5
Tourism	10.0	1.7	-	5.7	6.0	3.1
Education	1,004.6	167.4	85.0	220.0	235.1	104.2
Housing	459.0	76.5	-	1.8	-	-
Health	412.5	68.8	29.3	56.8	43.5	35.0
Total	17,224.7	2,870.8	563.6	927.5	1,336.6	915.0
			(19.6%)	(32.3%)	(39.5%)	(31.9%)

Source: Portugal, III Plano de Fomento para 1968-1973, vol. IV; Official Gazette, 1969-1971.

Implementation of the Third National Development Plan

108. A total investment of 17,224.7 million escudos was envisaged under the Third National Development Plan over the six year period, an average expenditure of nearly 3,000.0 million escudos a year. Figures for actual expenditure are available only for 1968, when the total expenditure amounted only to 563.6 million escudos, 19.6 per cent of the target. Authorized expenditures for 1969, 1970 and 1971 represent 32.3 per cent, 39.5 per cent and 31.9 per cent respectively of the average annual target (see table 4 above).

5. EDUCATION^{y/}

109. According to an official source, in 1969/70 there were 634,413 pupils enrolled in school in the Territory. Of these, 589,713, or over 93 per cent, were enrolled in primary schools and school posts. The number of schools and teachers at different levels is shown in table 5 below. On the basis of these figures, it is officially claimed that 45.5 per cent of the children of school age are enrolled in school. Under the Third National Development Plan it was envisaged that 50 per cent of the school age children would be enrolled by 1975. In 1970, 12 new primary schools were established: two in Lourenço Marques, two in Gaza; one in Zambézia; five in Mozambique and two in Niassa.

110. As in Angola, the university is also being expanded. A Department of Economics was added at the university in 1971/72. Plans have been approved to build a university city at an estimated cost of 300 million escudos. It is expected to be completed in five years.

111. As previously reported, the budget estimates for education in 1970 had been set at 234.7 million escudos, with 72.7 million allocated to the Catholic missions. According to the Provincial Secretary of Education, the Territory's expenditure on education in 1970 amounted to 300 million escudos. Allocations for the Catholic missions totalled 100 million escudos.

^{y/} For a description of the educational system in Mozambique, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, paras. 144-145.

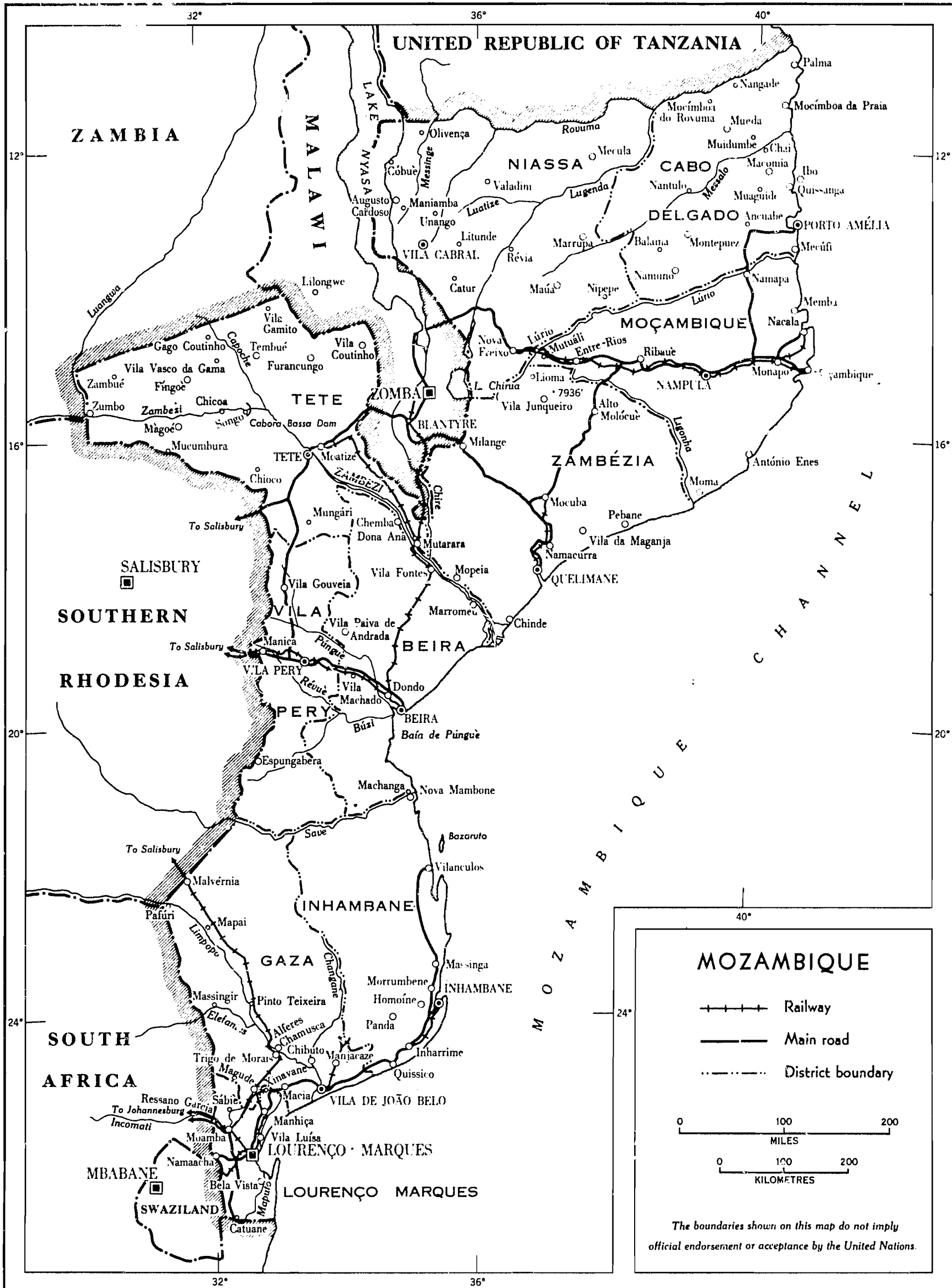
Table 5

Mozambique: Educational statistics
1968/69 - 1969/70

	Schools		Teachers		Pupils	
	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1969/70</u>	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1969/70</u>	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1969/70</u>
Total	3,769	5,498	7,431	10,454	503,071	623,514
Nursery schools	13	...	38	...	1,005	...
Primary	3,691	5,367	6,274	8,479	485,045	589,713
Secondary	...	101	...	1,360	...	20,645
Technical	25	28	770	615	14,922	11,800
Vocational	13	...	53	...	1,038	...
Teachers (normal)	12	...	104	...	1,061	...
Higher education	9	2	192	201	904	1,356

Sources: 1968/69: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II;
1969/70: Notícias, Lourenço Marques, 18 June 1970.

APPENDIX
MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE



D. GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
1. GENERAL	1
2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL	2 - 19
3. MILITARY ACTIVITIES	20 - 45
4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	46 - 65
5. EDUCATION	66 - 70

APPENDIX

MAP OF GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.701.

D. GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA

1. GENERAL

1. Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, lies on the west coast of Africa between 12°40' N and 10°52' N in the latitude and between 13°38' WG and 16°43' WG 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, 1969, the estimated population at mid-1969 was 530,000. In 1970, a newspaper source estimated the population at 800,000 of whom 3,000 were Europeans. There is no information on the 1971 population census in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea.

2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL

Relations with the Central Government

2. In July 1970, a group of eight deputies of the National Assembly, including Mr. Jaime Pinto Bull, deputy for Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, visited the Territory. An article in the Diário de Notícias, Lisbon, reported that the visit was in response to the frequently expressed views of the Minister for Overseas Territories, the governors and the deputies of the Territories that it was important for members of the National Assembly to have a personal knowledge of conditions in the other parts of the Portuguese nation. The article also stated that the visit was significant because it would not only be evidence of the structural unity of the nation but also prove groundless the claims that the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) occupied part of the Territory.

3. The deputies visited various parts of the Territory, mostly by helicopter, including Bafatá and Gabu. One of the helicopters was caught in a storm when flying between Teixeira Pinto and Bissau, killing four of the deputies, including Mr. Pinto Bull. In early August, Portuguese navy personnel recovered the wreckage of the air force helicopter in the Mansoa River. Experts who examined the wreckage were reported to have found no signs of an explosion. In August, the PAIGC claimed that it had shot down the helicopter.

4. There is no information as to whether any election has since been held to elect a deputy from the Territory to the National Assembly.

Territorial Government

General policy

5. General António Spínola, who has been governor of the Territory since May 1968, is vested with both civil and military authority. In a recent interview, he explained that "contrary to what might be thought, the centralization of the offices of governor and commander-in-chief in one person did not stem from military considerations, but was done for the purpose of making the maximum use of the technical potential of the armed forces to speed up development by helping to build the necessary infrastructure". According to another source, since his arrival in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, General Spínola has demanded and received additional troops and dismissed some members of the civil service for incompetence or unacceptable attitudes, in certain cases replacing them by military personnel. a/ Further details on the role of the armed forces is given in the section on military activities.

6. In a number of speeches during the year, General Spínola further elaborated on the basis of the Government's "better Guinea" policy which was first enunciated by Prime Minister Marcello Caetano when he visited the Territory in 1969. b/ All these speeches were reported in some detail in the Portuguese press.

7. As explained by the Governor, the "better Guinea" policy aims at bringing about a "social counter-revolution" which will win the war against the PAIGC. The objective is to show that "by remaining Portuguese", the people of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, have a greater chance to develop themselves than those in the independent neighbouring countries. This policy was based on five principles: (a) social justice; (b) respect for traditional institutions of different ethnic groups; (c) economic and social development; (d) increase in African participation in public administration; and (e) internal security. Accordingly, to bring about the social revolution and to remove the causes of subversion, the Government was seeking "to interpret and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people".

8. In August 1970, the Government convened what was called the "First Congress of the People of Guinea" comprising dozens of "traditional and religious chiefs" and "homens grandes" representing all the "ethnic communities" of the Territory. This Congress had been preceded first by separate congresses of the chiefs of different ethnic groups in the Territory. Three such congresses were reported, involving the Balantas, the Mandingas and the Fula peoples. In his speech to the First Congress, in which he explained the five principles, referred to above, General Spínola said that social justice meant complete equality of all before the laws of the nation, the just distribution of sources of wealth, just profits and equal opportunities for advancement, regardless of [ethnic] origin. The Government respected the traditional African institutions because those

a/ Decree-Law 182/70 (2 April 1970) authorizes the establishment of military administrative regions in which military personnel may be used in place of civil personnel if these latter are not available.

b/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.D, paras. 9 and 19).

institutions interpreted the culture of the people and because progress which did not respect the moral values of the people robbed them of their dignity. The Government wanted to help all the "cultural communities" evolve harmoniously and it wanted to give greater importance to the traditional structures of each ethnic group to enable the people to participate in the administration of collective interests.

9. It may be noted that although the Director of the Portuguese National Information Service (ANI) has reported that the five principles applied "to all Portuguese Africa" (see annex I.A above, paragraph 75) so far they have been applied only to Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, where there are no European settlers and few non-African interests. While the offer of the "peace of the brave" to the Maconde people in Mozambique in 1969 c/ may be compared to the "better Guinea" policy, there has been little information on African participation in the public administration of that Territory. In Angola, as far as is known, no such statement has ever been made by the Government.

10. In a recent interview with the Portuguese publication Epoca, d/General Spínola was asked whether the Portuguese Government had compared its ["better Guinea"] policy with the historical option that many Africans had taken in preferring self-government to good government. His reply was that the Government's policy aimed at creating "within the shortest delay, a Portuguese Africa basically governed by Portuguese Africans" and that, in due time the African Territories would have "both a good government and self-government". He said that the trend towards granting the Territories greater autonomy would mean the need for a growing participation of "African Portuguese" in public administration and access to "the structures" of economic and social development which would lead to "a Guinea basically and naturally governed by Guineans".

11. Apart from the fact that the Portuguese Government assumes the role of "interpreting" the aspirations of the people, it is clear from other statements that the Governor has made, that the envisaged "self-government" would not lead to independence. In 1970, in a speech to the members of the National Assembly who visited the Territory, General Spínola explained, for instance, that the "better Guinea" policy aimed at putting time on Portugal's side in the war against subversion, but the Territory had no possibility of survival separated from the whole (Portuguese) nation in which it was integrated. In effect, without trained personnel and without any possibility of economic and financial autonomy, the Territory was deeply linked to the national structure of Portugal from which it could not be separated.

12. The military and other aspects of the "better Guinea" policy are described in the relevant sections below.

Activities of the Legislative Council

13. There is little information on the discussions held in the Legislative Council during 1970. At its May session, which was the subject of a report of

c/ See ibid., annex I.C, para. 55.

d/ An English text of this article was issued as a press release by the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations in March 1971.

sixteen lines in the Diario de Noticias of Lisbon, the Legislative Council approved the allocation of 12 million escudos e/ to the Autonomous Ports Board for the construction of new quays in Bissau. It also approved changes in the regulations for the recruitment of the permanent staff of the Public Security Police (PSP) and changes in family allowances for civil service and armed forces personnel serving in the Territory.

14. In his address to the November session of the Legislative Council, the Governor said that the progress of the Territory as a part of a nation that was "African and multiracial in character", had to be measured in terms of the increase in the number of public offices occupied by the different ethnic groups because a durable and solidly based society could not be built without raising the cultural level of the masses of "African Portuguese" and their progressive integration into the administrative services of the Territory. He said it would therefore be necessary to abandon traditional taboos and antiquated structures and to promote progress. After having given an account of the new projects completed in the Territory during 1970 (see below), the Governor announced that the new transmitter of the broadcasting centre would shortly begin operation and that a new company was being formed to publish a local daily newspaper. According to the press report, the Legislative Council also considered a revised text of the present regulations governing the territorial Public Works and Transportation Services which were laid down in 1935.

15. In January 1971, the Legislative Council approved the territorial budget and considered the Territorial Development Plan for the current year.

16. In December, the regedor of Propana, in the administrative post of Pirada, was unanimously elected by a special meeting of regedores as representative in the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council comprises fourteen members, of whom three are ex officio, and eleven are elected, including three elected by and representing the regedores.

17. Since 1969, the territorial budget has provided for the payment of a monthly salary to each local chief, known as a régulo, according to the number of taxpayers in the area under his authority. The scale set for 1969 was as follows:

<u>Number of tax payers in area of authority</u>	<u>Monthly salary (escudos)</u>
Up to 1,000	750
1,001 to 2,000	1,000
2,001 to 3,000	1,250
Over 3,000	1,500

18. It may be noted that this salary scale differs substantially from one approved in August 1969 for Mozambique, where the annual salary paid to each local chief, known as a regedor, was set from 4,200 escudos per annum for those having authority in an area with up to 100 taxpayers, to 8,400 escudos per annum for those with over 500 taxpayers. f/

e/ One escudo equals \$US.035; twenty-eight escudos equals \$US 1.00.

f/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.C, para. 25.

African participation in administration

19. In May 1970, the Governor reinstated the Moslem Chief Adam Baldé as régulo of Pochana in the Gabu region from which post the Portuguese authorities had removed him soon after the PAIGC uprising. At the swearing-in ceremony, which was attended by ten other régulos, the Governor reaffirmed that it was the Government's policy to devolve increased responsibilities to the traditional authorities.

3. MILITARY ACTIVITIES

War in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea

20. According to official Portuguese statements, the situation in the Territory has steadily improved over the past year. In July 1970, General Spínola said in an interview that the war in which the Territory was engaged was such that it could be considered won when the Government and peoples shared the same goals and ideals. He said that from this point of view, the "battle for peace" in the Territory was being won to the extent that the peoples recognized that "under the Portuguese flag" their aspirations for social justice could be fulfilled, and to the extent that they felt that they were victims of a war which was being prolonged against their desire for a better life. In August, during his visit to Lisbon, he said that the growing support of the people had already resulted in significant militant activities which made it possible to face the future with security.

21. As revealed in the official weekly military bulletins, the pattern of fighting in the Territory continued along the lines reported during the second half of 1969. g/ There were frequent reports of PAIGC attacks on villages along the frontier regions with Senegal and the Republic of Guinea, in some cases by mortar shelling from across the borders. In the north, PAIGC attacks were reported on many of the towns and villages along the border, from S. Domingos in the west to Pirada in the east, including, especially, Ingoré, Bigene, Guidage and the area around Pirada. In July, for instance, Portuguese sources reported a PAIGC attack on Pirada by some 300 men, causing a number of civilian casualties. PAIGC attacks were reported throughout the year on Guileje, Gadamael and other towns in the southern region, as well as in the area to the west, including Catió and Bedanda.

22. In what the military bulletins referred to as the "interior", where Portuguese troops were reported to be engaged in "preventing infiltration", there were reports of frequent clashes with PAIGC forces. In several instances, the military communiqués specifically mentioned that information on PAIGC movements had been provided by the local population. On the other hand, the official bulletins also reported some PAIGC ambushes and attacks on Portuguese troops and barracks, as well as attacks on some of the newly organized villages and acts of intimidation against the local population. In the first half of the year, guerrilla activities were reported in both the Oió and Mansoa regions. In the period 27 September to 25 October 1970, the official bulletins reported an ambush by PAIGC in the Piche region in the east and also claimed the destruction by the armed forces of PAIGC camps in the regions of Buba, in the south, and Belengueréz, Bigene, the Cacheu River and Fambantã in the north.

g/ See ibid., annex I.D, para. 25.

23. In January 1971, a special military communiqué issued in Bissau, summing up the military operations during the past year, emphasized the role played by the armed forces in the implementation of programmes of economic and social development (see below). It also claimed that Portuguese forces had caused heavy casualties to the PAIGC, including 895 killed (compared with 614 in 1969), 749 wounded (compared with 259), and 86 captured (compared with 165). In addition, 132 PAIGC elements had reportedly surrendered. The same source also claimed the capture of some forty-nine tons of armaments, including 500,000 grenades of various types, automatic rifles and grenade launchers. According to two London newspapers, the military authorities in the Territory had said that, as a result of these casualties, nearly one third of the PAIGC forces had been put out of action in 1970.

24. The weekly bulletins issued during the year reported an average of ten Portuguese soldiers killed each month. The heaviest PAIGC casualties were reported during the months of June, July and August 1970, when the number killed averaged more than ninety a month. During this period also, the bulletins reported the return of more than 300 refugees per month from Senegal. In July, the Portuguese press announced that the Governor had received a broadcast message from some PAIGC members in Conakry asking for assurances of their safety if they returned to Bissau. In his reply, which was broadcast over the official radio station, the Governor repeated the peace offer that Mr. Caetano had made during his visit to the Territory in 1969, and guaranteed immunity from punishment to all those who returned. He said that the past would be forgotten and that what mattered was only their sincere desire to participate in building the future of the Territory. The PAIGC denounced the Portuguese report as a propaganda move. From the week ending 12 July to the week ending 30 August the military bulletins reported the return of over 200 persons who had been "outside the control of the authorities" in the interior of the Territory and the return of forty-three refugees who had been in the Republic of Guinea. The military bulletin for the period 26 October to 1 November 1970 reported the surrender of thirteen PAIGC members, most of whom brought their weapons with them and received the reward referred to as prémio de entrega. The official report said that these PAIGC members were immediately freed and "integrated into the normal life" of the Territory and that they were allowed to choose the place where they wanted to live. At the end of the year, the Governor freed another ninety-seven former members of the PAIGC and told them to return to their families and to co-operate in working for a "better Guinea".

25. Fighting in the Territory has continued since the beginning of 1971. In January, for instance, Portuguese sources reported a PAIGC attack in the south which destroyed 105 houses, as well as attacks on the new villages in Piche in the east, and attacks in the areas of S. Domingos in the north, and Aldeia Formosa, Guilege, Cadamael, Cufar and Bedarda in the south. It also reported PAIGC infiltration into the area of Farim, on the northern bank of the Cacheu River.

26. The fighting along the northern border led to a complaint by the Government of Senegal to the Security Council, dated 8 July 1970 (S/9861), against Portuguese violations of its national territory, causing loss of life, damage to property and a threat to the security of the inhabitants in the Casamance region. The Portuguese Government denied the specified charges (S/9870) and, in a letter dated 16 July 1970, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9871), charged that Pirada had been attacked by "elements coming from the Republic of Senegal", covered by fire from rockets, anti-tank cannon, mortars and other heavy

weapons. On 17 July 1970 (S/9875), the Government of Senegal complained of another attack on its Territory by Portuguese artillery based in Guinea (Bissau).

27. During 1970, PAIGC continued to issue monthly bulletins and special communiqués describing the course of the war. In April 1970, PAIGC charged that Portuguese forces had begun indiscriminate bombing of the liberated areas. It said that in February, Portuguese planes bombed a school at Iador, killing eight children and wounding seventeen others, and that in late March they bombed a school at Tambico, killing seven pupils and wounding eight others. As a result, PAIGC warned that although it had never used force against civilians, it was determined to protect the population in the liberated areas and would have to revise its position. PAIGC bulletins reported continued attacks throughout the year on Portuguese garrisons and towns. Places mentioned in the bulletins included Biche in the east in the Gabu region; Suzana, S. Domingos, Bigene, Guidage and Pirada on the northern border; Ganture, Gadamael, Guileje, Bedanda, Catió and Eula in the southern region; and Bambadinca, Mansabá, Encheia and Mansoa in the central region. The last two towns are within a radius of about fifty kilometres from Bissau, the capital.

28. In July, Mr. Amilcar Cabral, the leader of PAIGC, said at a press interview that his party had "reversed the old situation" in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, and that "now it is we who are surrounding the Portuguese".

29. Up to the end of August, PAIGC claimed that it had launched 400 attacks against Portuguese forces, including almost all the main urban centres, had successfully conducted 78 ambushes, some of which resulted in direct clashes with Portuguese troops, and that it had put out of action over 500 Portuguese troops, including those killed and wounded, and captured four prisoners. In addition, it claimed the destruction of twelve vessels, thirty-five trucks and other military vehicles and two helicopters.

30. In another report, issued in November 1970, Mr. Amilcar Cabral warned that because of the critical situation they faced, Portuguese colonialists were preparing to step up activities against the peoples of the liberated areas during the dry season. He announced that from the beginning of August to mid-October, PAIGC had made 124 attacks against armed garrisons, 36 ambushes, 13 commando raids on urban centres and 10 attacks on air fields and posts. In this period alone, 135 Portuguese soldiers had reportedly been killed, three had been captured and three had deserted from the Portuguese army in the Territory.

31. A PAIGC communiqué dated 11 January 1971 said that Portuguese troops had stepped up the use of napalm and had set twelve villages on fire. There were no details of the location of the villages.

32. According to a PAIGC spokesman, his party is no longer fighting for "so-called self-determination" because the people made their decision when they decided to take up arms to struggle for independence. The people were "already sovereign" in most of the Territory, and participated in the administration of their own affairs.

33. One of three French film makers from Paris (France) who spent two months in the Territory during the summer of 1970 reported his experiences in a series of articles published in Le Monde (Paris) in September. According to this source, PAIGC had more than 15,000 children in school and some 300 students in various

universities and institutions of higher training outside the Territory. It also had three hospitals, which were frequently moved to escape bombing. PAIGC forces were reported to be on the offensive everywhere, and as a result, the Portuguese military command was said to have largely regrouped its forces into a few key positions away from areas controlled by the guerrillas. Although the Portuguese forces had the advantage of planes and helicopters, PAIGC forces ruled the ground. Faced with the impossibility of winning the war, the Portuguese had turned to a campaign to "win the peoples' hearts" with reforms and social and economic development. The author also reported that PAIGC was no longer fighting for self-determination as the party believed that after seven years of fighting the people had clearly expressed their will, but PAIGC was ready to enter into negotiations leading to complete independence for "Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands".

34. An article in Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, published in May 1970, expressed the view that while Portuguese forces could bomb out PAIGC forces, they could not reoccupy the areas left free, so that the military advantage rested with the "Guineans".

35. While the PAIGC is widely reported to control between two thirds and four fifths of the Territory, Portuguese sources assert that "no part of Guinea" is under PAIGC control. A reporter from Angola who spent twenty days in the Territory said that even the "operations zone" covered only a small part of the Territory. He admitted, however, that the densely populated areas inhabited by the Mandingas and Balantas had been most affected by the PAIGC, while the Fulas and Fulupes had resisted "subversive propaganda". He said that PAIGC had a few "concealed bases in some almost inaccessible places", but PAIGC forces never stayed in one place for more than forty-eight hours. In his opinion, PAIGC had an 80 per cent chance of success in encounters based on sudden contact and ambush. One of the National Assembly deputies who visited the Territory in July 1970 expressed the view that it could probably be said that PAIGC had "some influence - and only influence - in approximately 15 per cent of the Territory" but still lacked the full control to which it aspired. In his view, total victory for Portugal was entirely within the possibility of attainment.

36. From the different and sometimes conflicting reports, one fact which emerges clearly is the extensive nature of the war. In spite of the optimism generally expressed by Portuguese spokesmen, only two "great zones of peace" are said to have been created, one around Bissau the capital, and one in the inhabited area of Manjaco to the north-west of Bissau, where a special Comando do Agrupamento Operacional (CAOP) has been making a special effort to promote economic and social development since 1969. h/

"The battle for peace"

37. More than in Angola and Mozambique, the war in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, which Portuguese sources frequently refer to as the "battle for peace" aims at "winning over the population". Over the past two years, the so-called "better Guinea" policy, described above, has been increasingly accompanied by a new campaign of persuasion and exhortation.

h/ See Ibid., paras. 29 to 30.

38. In various statements during the year, General Spínola has told the people that the Government was ready to provide the necessary funds and technical knowledge and skills for a more rapid economic and social development of the Territory. He has emphasized, however, that peace was necessary for this purpose and that the Government shared the people's desire for peace. Having failed to fulfil its promise to bring about a better life for the people, the PAIGC had found it necessary to resort to armed attacks on the villages and the local inhabitants. According to the General, this clearly showed that the PAIGC was the real enemy of the people because it was responsible for imposing the war. Therefore if the people really wanted peace and progress they should join the Government in the fight against PAIGC.

39. Essentially, the campaign of persuasion and exhortation aims at creating a "unity of ideas" between the Government and the people, which the Governor equates with winning the war. In this connexion, the Government has made a point of publicizing guerrilla attacks on villages and civilian casualties. In July, for instance, a large meeting was organized to protest the PAIGC attack on Pirada which the Governor said was an unequivocal demonstration of the growing division between the movement and the "real sons of Guinea".

40. On the occasion of his second anniversary as Governor, General Spínola said that to win the battle of peace, it was necessary first to establish a climate of confidence, fraternity, understanding and faith which would bring together "the people of Guinea", united by a social ideal which Portugal intended to make into a reality. He told the First Congress of the people of Guinea that the most important responsibility of any government to the people was to lead them towards progress and well-being. But in order to achieve these goals, the Government had to "define them correctly according to the specific characteristics of each society". Consequently, it was necessary for the people to inform the Government of their aspirations, become aware of their realization and participate actively in building the future. The Government's policy, he said, was to listen, "by means of a permanent dialogue", to the most representative elements of the people.

41. The Government's policy of developing a broader participation by the population in the management of their own affairs is being implemented on different levels. For defence purposes, new all-African military units have been trained and armed. Locally recruited new units formed during the year included a first detachment of African Fusiliers and two African companies, and a company of light infantry composed entirely of Balantas. This last group was referred to in the Portuguese press as the Balantas Unit of the African Army of Guinea. There was also mention of a Guinean Company of African Commandos. In addition, a first group of twenty-three militia sergeants, comprising persons from Portugal, Cape Verde and the Territory, completed their first cycle of training.

42. As in Mozambique, new villages with their own trained militia have been established in various parts of the Territory for defence purposes. According to one report, most of the population along the northern frontier has been withdrawn to the shelter of Portuguese military posts, leaving the surrounding areas free where Portuguese military patrols seek to intercept PAIGC groups. During the year the official military bulletins mentioned a number of areas where new self-defence hamlets and villages have been created, including C6 and Tabassi near Pirada. New hamlets completed during the year at C6, Farim, Pelundo and Cancolim were reported to involve 699 families. The most important pacification

zone is the area to the north-west of Bissau, where the population has been regrouped. In Betal, Bissassema de Baixo, and Nhala, new villages have been built to house the several hundred Balantas who had lived in the area before the fighting started and had since returned. In addition to providing health facilities and schools, the Government has distributed high-yield rice to help the population become self-sufficient in food.

43. In December 1970, it was reported that several communities had asked to participate in their own defence. Among the communities cited were Calaque and Darsalame, Cafine, Caboxanque and Cantannex. This last named village lies between the Cumbijan and Cacine Rivers. In such cases, the Government has responded by sending a detachment of troops to the area and by organizing militia among the villagers themselves who are then given appropriate training. There is no information on the total number of villages which have organized militia. According to one source, by 1968, some 20,000 weapons had already been distributed to the local population and over 500 villages had trained militia.

44. At the local government level, as already noted above, traditional African authorities are being given more status and responsibility in their own areas. It seems to be the Government's policy at present to encourage separate development of the different ethnic groups under their traditional leaders.

45. Steps are also being taken to increase local participation in cultural affairs as regards both religious matters and education. Press reports however, provide little information on the role of the Roman Catholic Church and the type of education provided in the schools in the predominantly Moslem areas. There are some indications that there has been less insistence on Portuguese as the only language of instruction and on the Portuguese way of life as the only one leading to full political and social equality.

4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

External trade and payments

46. There is no recent information on external trade and payments.

Agriculture

47. It will be recalled that in March 1970, the Government announced various new measures to improve agriculture in the Territory. During the year, high-yield rice was distributed to a number of new communities and the Agriculture and Forestry Service helped in dike building and the recovery of rice fields in several areas, especially in the region of the Manjaco peoples (Chão Manjaco) where 10,000 metres of dikes were completed and 600 hectares of rice fields were reclaimed.

48. Under the plan of action for 1971, which appears to include some of the schemes set out in the Third National Development Plan, the Government intends to establish a training course for rural agents; to distribute improved seeds of rice, ground-nuts, new varieties of fruits and vegetables; and to stimulate greater production of manioc, sorghum and sweet potatoes. Cashew trees and coconut palms will be introduced as cash crops in some areas. In addition 100 animal-drawn vehicles will be distributed and livestock farming with new species will be encouraged.

49. In December 1970, the Government issued an order guaranteeing the purchase of all the ground-nuts available from the Territory for the oilseed industry in the Azores, at a price of 3.60 escudos per kilogram f.o.b. Ground-nuts are the Territory's major export, and in 1968 amounted to 513 million escudos in value.

Transport and communications

50. For the past few years, development of the transport and communications sector has received top priority. The most important projects have been road construction, improvement of sea and river ports and airfields, and telecommunications linking the major towns, as well as connexions with Portugal.

51. In 1970, with the help of the armed forces, a few hundred kilometres of new roads were opened during the year, and the roads paved included those linking Teixeira Pinto, Pelundo and C6, and Bula and S. Vincente. Roads to be completed in 1971 include those linking Teixeira Pinto and Cacheu, Bambadinca and Xime, Mansabá and Farim, Nhacha and Cumeré and Pirada and the frontier. New road-building equipment is to be acquired and roads are to be built between Mansoa, Bissora and Olossato, and the extension of the road between Nova Lamego, Piche and Buruntuma. As many of these locations have suffered guerilla attacks in the past, the military importance of these roads is evident.

52. In September 1970, for the first time, a territorial road plan was approved for the Territory defining first, second and third class roads, their grading and other specifications (Decree 431/70, of 10 September 1970).

53. Two new airplanes are to be added to the Territory's air transport system. Various sea and river ports are to be improved and new acquisitions are to include a tug boat and two motorized barges. All government-owned boats will be linked by a radio-telephone network.

54. Important improvements are to be made in the communications system of the Territory. Telex and a teletype system will link the Territory with Lisbon and new very high frequency radio telephones will be installed to link some of the more important towns not included so far. New telephone exchanges will be installed in several important towns, including Bafatá, Nova Lamego and Teixeira Pinto. High frequency radio transmitters and receivers are to be installed at Aldeia Formosa, Porto Gole, Olossato, Encheia, Injante, Xitole and Contuboel, among other places. Public information channels will also be improved with the coming into operation in 1971 of the new short and medium wave and FM transmitter. A special generating station will be built for this transmitter.

Public finance

55. There is no information available on the Territory's 1970 budget estimates nor on actual revenue and expenditure for 1969. In June 1971, the Minister for Overseas Territories stated that, over the past five years, the Esso Company had paid the Territory 100 million escudos under its contract. In May 1970, the Territory was granted an extraordinary, non-repayable subsidy of 60 million escudos by the Portuguese Government (Decree-Law 227/70 of 19 May 1970). The Territory's budget estimates for 1971 are reported to amount to 255.82 million escudos, compared with 200.8 million escudos in 1969. In 1967 and 1968, the Territory's public debt servicing amounted to 15.3 million escudos. In 1969, the Portuguese Government authorized suspension of interest payments on loans, in order to ease the Territory's financial situation.

General

56. As part of its "better Guinea" policy, the territorial Government has since 1969 started an accelerated programme of economic and social development intended to prove to the inhabitants that the Government is fully committed to improving living conditions in the Territory, especially for the most needy. In order to achieve results in the shortest possible time, the Governor (who is also the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in the Territory), has used the armed forces and the technical services, whenever possible, for such tasks as the construction of roads, houses, schools, and for health, education and agricultural extension services. The official military communiqués issued in 1970 made frequent reference to development projects carried out by the armed forces.

57. A special military communiqué, issued on 4 January 1971 in Bissau by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, listed, among other things, the following works completed by the troops during 1970: 37 health posts; 46 school posts; 44 wells with manually operated water pumps; 10 artesian wells; 5,000 houses; a number of schools located at Cacheu, Teixeira Pinto, Bafatá, Nova Lamego, Bula, Balama and Farim; some hundreds of kilometres of roads; water and electricity supplies in eight concelhos; and aircraft landing strips and airports.

58. As reported previously, the territorial Government has made a special effort since 1969 to develop the area inhabited by the Manjaco people, which comprises the region north-west of Bissau extending to the border with Senegal. All the responsible civil and military authorities, as well as the Comando de Agrupamento Operacional (CAOP), have been involved in the provision of housing, schools and roads and improvement of agricultural production.

59. Pelundo, which is almost the geographical centre of the Manjaco area, is being developed as an example of the "better Guinea" policy, and the various projects in that town have received substantial coverage in the Portuguese press. In June 1970, the Governor visited Pelundo to inaugurate a new church and school. In his speech on this occasion, the Governor said that the new schools, houses, churches and the other "improvements" at Pelundo were an example of what the Government could achieve and what the Government wished to express in "the language of peace". Since then, the Governor has twice visited the area to inaugurate other new projects. In November 1970, he opened a new school at Teixeira Pinto. On that occasion he mentioned other projects being undertaken at Caió, Batucar, Carenque and other communities in the Chão Manjaco. He pointed out that, in the Government's view, these improvements were significant because in order to make popular participation a reality, the people had to have a minimum degree of well-being.

60. In January 1971, he again visited Pelundo to dedicate the new barracks. An article in the Portuguese press describing this visit stated that, during the past year, Pelundo had been transformed from a tabanca (small African village) to a thriving centre with new housing, a heliport and its own water supply, linked by paved roads to Teixeira Pinto in the west and to Bissau in the south. The new facilities that have been provided include a civic centre, a school with a teachers' residence, a health post with a maternity section, and the newly opened church, which also serves as a school.

61. Among other projects for 1971, the Government plans to make a study of the development potential of the Territory. It also plans to set up a number of light industries, including a wine bottling plant, a ceramics plant and a gas storage and bottling factory. Bissau is also being developed as part of this plan. The water and electricity supplies and the sewerage system are to be expanded and improved, and two new electric generators will be added. The city has granted a special subsidy of 16.3 million escudos (Portaria 358/70 of 15 July 1970) to cover the cost for provision of these services.

62. In March 1971, the Under-Secretary of State for Development of the Overseas Territories, Mr. Rui Martins dos Santos, visited the Territory to open a fair sponsored by the local industrial association. At a meeting with territorial officials, Mr. dos Santos pledged that the central Government would continue to provide the Territory with needed financial and other help in order to win peace.

Development financing

63. Although it was reported in 1970 that 154 million escudos had been authorized for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan, i/ according to official information available to date, the actual appropriations may have been considerably lower. In June 1970 (Decree-Law 288/70 of 16 June 1970), the Portuguese Government authorized a special credit of 44.14 million escudos as additional funds for implementation of the development plan during the budget year. The programme of expenditures is shown in the table below.

Table

Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea - Third National Development
Plan 1968-1973: programme of expenditures for 1970
(million escudos)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	
Development of resources	2,000,000
Irrigation and settlement	150,000
Agricultural credit	1,018,000
Industry	
Mining industry	72,000
Rural improvements	
Economic and social development	15,000
Transport, communications and meteorology	
Roads	4,766,168
Ports and navigation	8,800,000
Air transport	4,008,000
Telecommunications	15,065,000
Meteorology	313,000
Tourism	200,000
Education	5,188,000
Research	2,501,000
Public health	44,000
Total	44,140,168

i/ Ibid., para. 50.

64. To finance this programme, the Portuguese Government authorized a loan of 15 million escudos at 2.5 per cent interest for ten years from the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (Decree 162/70 of 14 April 1970) and a loan of 10.56 million escudos at 5 per cent interest for eleven years from the Banco de Fomento Nacional to the Department of Ports, Telegraph and Telephones (Decree 174/70 of 18 April 1970). The remainder was to be financed by 2.45 million escudos from the income from the oil concession; 1.8 million escudos from the Territory's budgetary surplus from the previous year, and 14,330,168 million escudos in the form of a loan from the Portuguese Government.

65. Later in the year, the Government authorized a further allocation of 9.5 million escudos for the development of transport and communications. This sum was to be made available from the subsidy provided by the Secretariat of National Defence to the Territory (Portaria 595/70 of 25 November 1970). In December, the Government authorized another loan of 12 million escudos from the Banco Nacional Ultramarino for the construction of a new pier at Bololo which is envisaged in the Third National Development Plan. The loan is for twenty years at 3.5 per cent interest (Decree 617/70 of 12 December 1970).

5. EDUCATION

66. As part of its "better Guinea" policy, the Government has made an effort to mobilize all available resources to establish additional schools, especially in the newly pacified areas such as the Manjaco region.

67. According to newspaper reports, the Governor has not only used the armed forces to build schools, but has also created special postos escolares militares (military school posts) in various parts of the Territory which are run by the armed forces. During 1970, in collaboration with the territorial Department of Education, the army also organized a special training course for military school post teachers. A first group of eighty-four teachers completed training in September.

68. In February 1971, Major Alípio Tomé Falcão was appointed to head the territorial educational services. At the swearing-in ceremony, the Governor said that any imposition of techniques and structures, even in the name of progress, would constitute a violation of the principles underlying Portugal's overseas policy. Therefore, the Government considered that the best way to proceed was to improve the traditional structures so that, while respecting cultural differences, gradual assimilation would be achieved through a natural process of evolution in a climate of social peace and harmony.

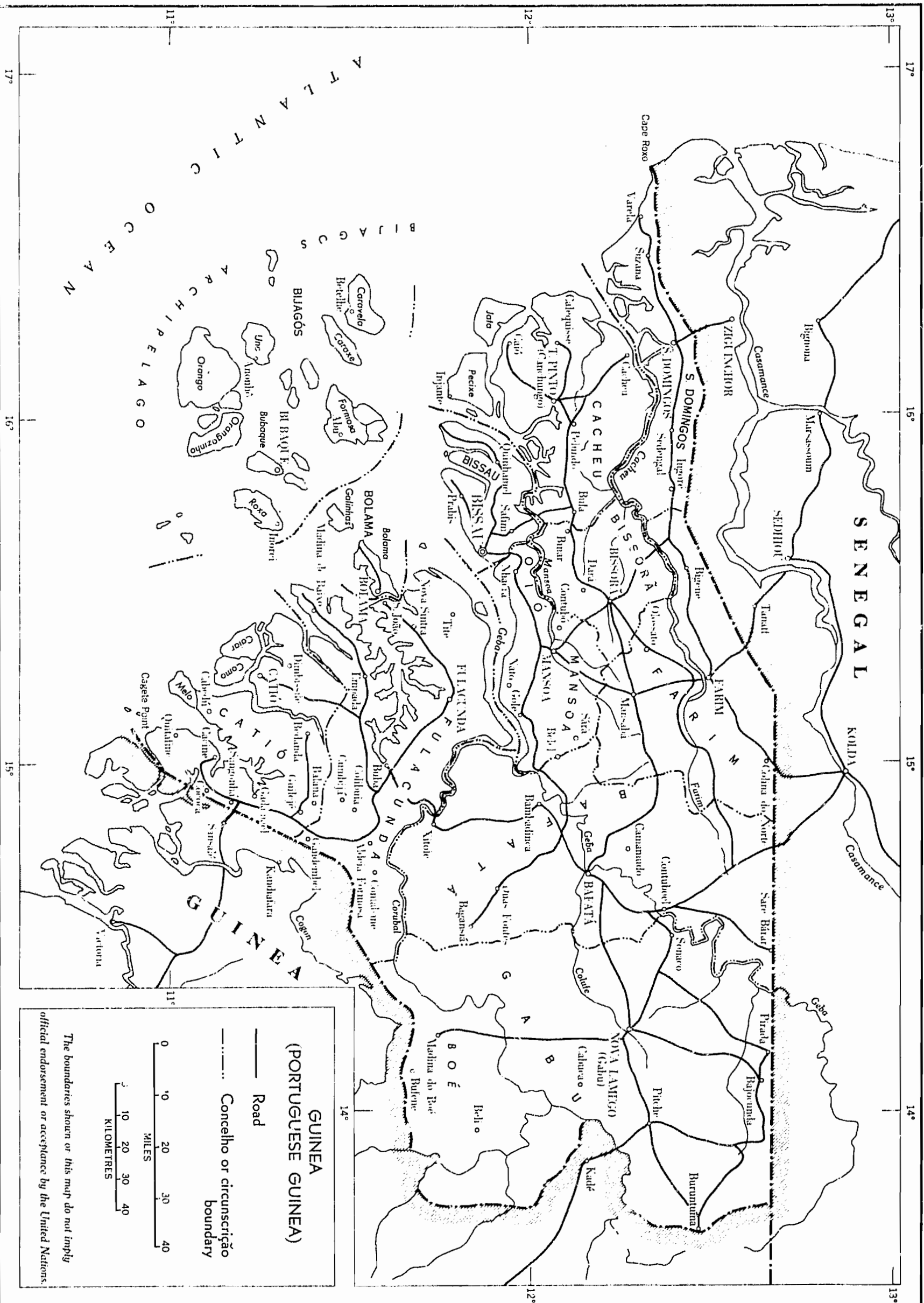
69. From various official statements, it appears that the Government has not tried to establish Roman Catholic schools in the predominantly Moslem areas. Instead it has respected the wishes of the people in the type of education provided in the newly built schools. This follows from statements by the Governor, including one

made as recently as March 1971, that respect for traditional customs and religious freedom was a basic principle of Portuguese policy.

70. The plan of action mentioned above provides for the creation during 1971 of 31 new school posts and the construction of 14 new primary schools (Bissau, 2; Bula concelho, 2; Bissorã, 5; Farim, 1; Bafatá, 2; and Gabu, 2). In addition, a technical school is to be established at Bissau and new buildings are to be provided for the secondary preparatory cycle. A third training course for school post teachers will be organized, scholarships are to be established to help needy students and a branch of the Mocidade Portuguesa will be created. The Gulbenkian Fund is reported to be assisting some of the education projects in the Territory. There are no recent school statistics other than those previously reported.

APPENDIX

MAP OF GUINEA, CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA



GUINEA
(PORTUGUESE GUINEA)

— Road

--- Concelho or circunscrição boundary

0 10 20 30 40
MILES

0 10 20 30 40
KILOMETRES

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

E. CAPE VERDE ARCHIPELAGO*

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
1. GENERAL	1 - 5
2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL	6 - 13
3. SECURITY MEASURES	14 - 16
4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	17 - 61
5. EDUCATION	62 - 67

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.726.

E. CAPE VERDE ARCHIPELAGO

1. 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°43'N and 17°12'N latitude and between 22°41'W and 25°22'W 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. Santo Antão, Boa Vista, Sal, São Nicolau and São Vicente and one uninhabited island. The Sotavento group, which lies to the south, comprises Brava, Fogo, Maio and Santiago, on which Praia, the capital, is located. 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. ^{a/} The population was officially estimated at 237,800 in 1967 and at 252,000 in 1970. In May 1971, the Governor, speaking in the Legislative Council, said that the Territory was experiencing a "population explosion" and would have 330,000 inhabitants by 1980, 440,000 by 1990 and 600,000 by the year 2000.

3. 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.

4. In preparation for the 1970 population census, procedures were published in the Government Gazette in September (Portaria 8983, 28 September). For the purpose of the census, the population of the Territory was to be recorded under five classifications: "yellow", "white", "Indian", "mixed" and "black". As in Mozambique an inventory of housing units was to be taken at the same time. Procedures for the housing census were published in June (Portaria 8915, 27 June). Census agents were warned to use the greatest courtesy when dealing with the people and to refrain from using "threats". The published procedures envisaged a publicity campaign using mass media to familiarize the people with the "purely statistical purposes" of the census.

5. The general population and housing census were both taken on 15 December 1970. The results are not yet available.

2. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Constitutional and political relations with the Central Government

Visit of members of the National Assembly

6. In July 1970, a group of eight members of the Portuguese National Assembly, including Mr. Salazar Leite, one of the two members from Cape Verde, visited

^{a/} For details of the population distribution see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23, (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.E, table 1.

Territory, on the first part of a tour which included Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea (see annex I.D. to the present chapter), to study local conditions and problems. The group visited the islands of Santiago, Fogo, Brava, Santo Antão and São Vicente accompanied by Mr. Bento Levy, the other deputy from Cape Verde. They also met with the Governor and other local officials. As a result of this visit, conditions in the Territory have been given more attention in the Portuguese press and in the National Assembly.

Visit of the Prime Minister

7. In February 1971, Prime Minister Marcello Caetano made an unexpected visit to the Cape Verde Islands to assess the effects of the economic crisis resulting from the three-year drought, the worst in 40 years. Mr. Caetano was accompanied only by the Minister for Overseas Territories, Mr. Silva Cunha, and two secretaries. A notice from the Government, issued after the Prime Minister had left Lisbon, explained that he had especially wished to avoid burdening the local government with the expenses of a larger official party and the usual festivities of welcome.

8. During his five-day visit, the Prime Minister toured the islands of Sal, Santiago, Fogo, Brava, São Vicente and Santo Antão to see local conditions and talk to the people personally. A round-table meeting held with the Governor of Cape Verde, Brigadier António Lopes dos Santos, and other local officials, including the chiefs of the Department of Health, the Department of Roads, and the Director of the Drought Study Centre, was televised in Lisbon. Cape Verde, however, has no television.

9. Following the Prime Minister's visit, the Government in Lisbon authorized a non-reimbursable subsidy of 140 million escudos b/ to Cape Verde.

10. In June 1971, the Grupo de Trabalho para o Desenvolvimento de Cabo Verde (Working Group for the Development of Cape Verde) was created in the Ministry for Overseas Territories. This group will be responsible for the study, planning and development of the infrastructures and industries necessary to improve the economic and social conditions of the inhabitants of the Territory.

11. Initially, the group will comprise three sectors dealing respectively with naval shipyards, infrastructures and industries. A local section of the group in Cape Verde will work under the direction of the Provincial Bureau of Public Works and Communications.

Territorial Government c/

(a) Administrative division

12. The archipelago of Cape Verde is divided into two administrative districts, with the Barlavento and Sotavento groups of islands each constituting one district. Each of the islands, except Santo Antão and Santiago, constitutes a concelho.

b/ One escudo equals \$US.035.

c/ For a description of the general system of government and administration see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23, (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.A, paras. 26 ff.

Santo Antão is divided into three concelhos. Since March 1970, a new concelho has been added in Santiago which now comprises four concelhos. The new concelho of Santa Cruz comprises the freguesias of Santiago Maior, S. Salvador do Mundo and S. Lourenço dos Orgãos all of which used to form part of the concelho of Praia. As a result of this change, administrative services in Santiago will be increased and a new municipal council will be constituted.

(b) New developments

13. Government action in the past year appears to indicate that there has been considerable dissatisfaction among the local population. Among other measures, the Government has begun a study of the administrative division of the Territory. It was noted, for instance, that the division of the Territory into two districts served no administrative purpose. The study will also take into account the need to change some of the boundaries of the freguesias and to create new ones in order to provide improved administrative services. The Governor also reported that in some areas administrative services had already been improved but that, in general, the basic structures had proved inadequate for the needs of the Territory, and that only the lack of funds made it impossible to affect a complete reorganization. In July, the Government amended the civil service regulations to make entry into the service subject to public competition, with the object of giving everyone an equal opportunity to apply for government posts (Portaria 8927 of 4 July 1970).

3. SECURITY MEASURES

14. Cape Verde's budget estimates for 1971 show an increase of 44 per cent in the allocation for the Public Security Police (PSP), and of 31 per cent for the Direcção Geral de Segurança (DGS), formerly the PIDE. These increases followed the imprisonment of four persons in October 1969 on charges of subversive propaganda and of having a connexion with the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC). d/ There was also an allocation of 2.9 million escudos in the extraordinary budget for PSP personnel from Portugal serving in the Territory.

	<u>1969</u> (actual)	<u>1970</u> (estimates)	<u>1971</u> (estimates)
	(million escudos)		
National defence	4.7	5.1	3.5
PSP	3.1	3.2	4.6
DGS	1.4	1.4	2.3

15. In March 1971, the Government authorized a loan of 1.4 million escudos to Cape Verde to finance the Territory's 1968 share in the Independent Territorial Command of Cape Verde.

d/ Ibid., annex I.E, para. 20.

16. In 1970 there were new appointments to the three major military posts in the Territory. In September, Colonel Antônio Romão was appointed Military Commander; in October, Commander José Barreiros became Chief-of-Staff of the Cape Verde Naval Command; and in October, Rear-Admiral Lino Paulino Pereira was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and Naval Commander of Cape Verde.

4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS e/

Drought situation

17. The three-year drought has brought to the forefront all the Territory's long-standing economic problems and highlighted its chronic poverty. Despite the investments made under successive national development plans, no real solution has been found to stimulate economic growth. According to official data, the annual per capita income in the Territory rose by only 430 escudos between 1960 and 1968, from 1,751 escudos at 1963 prices to 2,181 escudos. As described by one of the deputies who visited the Territory agricultural methods are still archaic, there are no significant industries, inter-island communications need to be improved and a policy must be found to meet the problems of overpopulation. Although the Government encourages Cape Verde families to settle in Angola and Mozambique, a much larger number leave the islands in search of work in western Europe and the United States of America. Some workers are also recruited in the islands. In March 1970, the Government authorized employers contracting Cape Verde labour for work overseas to pay workers 2,000 escudos in advance to meet necessary expenses. These loans, which must be written into the contract, may be repaid over the period of the contract.

18. As a result of the drought there has been a total loss of agricultural production in most areas. The main food crops including corn, beans, manioc and sweet potatoes, and the export products coffee and bananas have been devastated. The island of Santiago, comparatively the richest of the archipelago, and normally responsible for the subsistence of nearly 45 per cent of the population, has been severely affected by the drought.

19. Since taking up his duties in March 1970, the Governor has given top priority to the drought. He established the Comissão Central de Planeamento para o Apoio das Populações nas crises agrícolas (Central Aid Planning Commission), and introduced provisions for setting up working groups on specific problems. Land planning schemes have been drawn up for each municipality setting out guidelines for dealing with very poor, medium and marginally poor agricultural years. According to the Governor, at the end of 1970 the Territory was already prepared to meet another bad year.

20. During 1970, the Government provided food relief to all areas affected by the drought, as a result of which, according to official sources, there has been no famine. In the latter part of the year the drought worsened with the continued lack of rains. Special mobile health units were created to supplement the regular

e/ For a general description of the economic conditions see ibid., Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (Part II), document A/6700/Rev.1, chap. V.

health services and the food situation was assessed with the help of nutrition specialist. The Government also initiated a public works programme to provide relief for unemployment. By November 1970, 60 million escudos had been spent on aid to the population, of which 32 million were allocated to Santiago Island, 12 million to Fogo, and 9 million to Santo Antão.

21. Government aid to the people affected by the drought, which had been running at 10 million escudos a month, was increased to 11 million escudos in November 1970, and to 13.5 million escudos at the beginning of 1971.

22. Measures being taken to deal with the chronic lack of rainfall include two desalination plants, underground water exploration programmes on the islands of Santiago, Fogo and São Nicolau; a new road-building programme which will create jobs for the rural workers and accelerate distribution of relief to affected areas; construction of silos to hold food reserves for public distribution; and programmes for distribution of milk and vitamins in the interior. These schemes are summarized below.

Desalination plants

23. In 1967, the Cape Verde Government signed a contract with Sociedad Española de Construcciones Babcock y Wilcox, S.A., for the construction of a desalination plant at Mindelo, S. Vicente Island, at a cost of 38 million escudos. f/ The plant was originally expected to be completed by December 1969. The estimated total cost of the project has since been increased to 52 million escudos. The plant, when completed, will provide 2,200 cubic metres of water daily and the water will be sold to local consumers at 20 escudos per cubic metre. Currently, S. Vicente, with a population of 30,000 consumes an average of 300 cubic metres per day. However, in order to attract ships to the S. Vicente harbour, the surplus water supplied to them will be priced at 12 escudos per cubic metre. Of the effective cost, two thirds represents the cost of the fuel oil used, although the fuel oil is imported duty free. Negotiations with Angola were reported to be under way in February 1971 to purchase fuel oil at a lower price. If these are successful, the price of the water could be reduced.

24. There is already a desalination plant at the Espargos Airport, on Sal. A second desalination plant, under construction at Vila de Santa Maria, Sal, was scheduled to be completed by March 1971. It is expected to produce 90 tons of potable water daily. No information is available on the companies involved in its construction. This island, which had a population of 2,626 at the 1960 census, is the site of a new tourist development being built by the Belgian-financed Sociedade para o Desenvolvimento e Turismo da Ilha de Sal (DETOSAL).

25. In April 1971, the Overseas Minister set up the Junta Autónoma das Instalações de Dessalinização de Água (Autonomous Board for the Installation of Water Desalination) in Cape Verde (Decree 125/71). The Board is to co-ordinate the study, construction and operation of water desalination schemes in Cape Verde and to maintain and administer such water supply services. It is envisaged that other desalination plants will be built to serve some of the urban centres.

f/ Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23, (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex V, para. 38.

Underground water

26. A preliminary survey of the Territory's underground water resources was begun in 1970 on the islands of Santiago, Fogo, S. Nicolau and Boa Vista with encouraging results. The French concern Bureau d'Etudes de Géologie Appliquée et d'Hydrologie Souterraine (BURGEAP) has since been invited to assist in the second phase of the study, which is expected to cost some 6 million escudos.

27. In December 1970, the Minister for Overseas Territories set up a task force on underground water. This body, known as the Brigada de Águas Subterrâneas, is to make an inventory of the Territory's underground water resources and study the possibility of their development.

Road-building programmes

28. Since 1960, the Roads Board has built some 400 kilometres of roads in the Territory, of which 140 kilometres are paved.

29. Roads under construction in 1970 included: roads linking Praia with Tarrafal, Milho Branco with Tarrafal, and Volta Monte with Tarrafal, on Santiago; roads linking Porto Novo with Ribeira Grande, Ribeira Grande with Chã de Igreja, and Ponta Sul with Curral das Vacas on Santo Antão; and roads linking Santa Maria with Espargos and Espargos with Pedra de Lume, on Sal.

30. It may be noted that under the Third National Development Plan for 1968, transport and communications were given the highest priority. In 1969, out of a total expenditure of 118.4 million escudos on development schemes, 68.8 million escudos were spent on transport and communications. The corresponding expenditures authorized for 1970 and 1971 were 52.2 million and 57.5 million escudos (see table 5 below), or 45.5 and 45.0 per cent respectively of total programmed expenditure.

Silo food storage

31. The Government has started a silo building programme to provide adequate food storage facilities in the Territory. The silo under construction at Porto Grande, S. Vicente, will have a storage capacity of 4,000 tons and is expected to be completed in September 1971. The cost of the project is estimated at 17 million escudos, of which 9 million escudos are for the construction work and 8 million escudos are for equipment. The project is being undertaken by Construções Técnicas, Lda., a company involved in various other projects in Cape Verde, as well as in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. According to one report, the machinery will be supplied by a German concern.

Distribution of milk and vitamins

32. Mobile health brigades have been created on the islands of Santiago, Fogo and S. Nicolau for distribution of vitamins and milk to the population.

Petition from PAIGC concerning the drought

33. In April 1970, Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary General of the PAIGC, held a press conference in Stockholm, Sweden, on the drought situation in Cape Verde and subsequently transmitted the press release he had issued to the United Nations as a petition (A/AC.109/PET.1190). In his statement, Mr. Cabral charged that during the last 200 years of Portuguese rule, the people of Cape Verde had "had to face one year of total famine for every four years of existence", and that after three years of intensive drought, the population, especially the poorest group, was "deprived of even the barest minimum nutrition necessary to survive". He said that, in the absence of effective measures against the famine, the population might be reduced by 30-50 per cent. Among other things, he asked the United Nations, through the Secretary General, to take measures immediately to evaluate the gravity of the situation and to aid the peoples of the islands against famine.

External trade and balance of payments

34. In 1969, Cape Verde's balance of trade deficit rose to 374.3 million escudos, 55 per cent higher than in 1968. Imports increased by 49 per cent to 418.8 million escudos, while exports rose by less than 9.3 per cent to 44.6 million escudos.

35. Traditionally, imports consist mainly of consumer goods, especially food-stuffs (maize, rice, sugar, wheat, flour and wine). The effects of the second year of drought are reflected in the trade figures. Imports of maize, for instance, rose from 7.7 million escudos in 1968 to 72.9 in 1969 (see table 1 below).

36. Exports remained at more or less the same level as in 1968, except for preserved tuna fish, which rose from 3.0 million escudos to 7.8 million escudos.

37. The Territory's principal trading partner, Portugal, supplied 49.5 per cent of its imports, and purchased 65.6 per cent of its exports. The second most important supplier continued to be Angola, followed by Mozambique, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. The United States followed Portugal as the main purchaser of exports. Other purchasers were Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (see table 2 below).

38. Like Angola and Mozambique, Cape Verde has a chronic balance of payments deficit with Portugal owing to its imports. The Territory's payments deficit with Portugal rose from 3.6 million escudos in 1968 to 85.1 million escudos in 1969. On the other hand, its balance of payments surplus with foreign countries dropped from 59.6 million escudos to 52.9 million escudos. As a result, the net surplus of 32.0 million escudos in 1968 became a 32.2 million escudo deficit in 1969. As will be seen in table 3 C below, private transfers from Cape Verde immigrants abroad accounted largely for the Territory's balance of payments surplus with foreign countries.

Table 1

Cape Verde: Imports and exports, 1968-1969
(thousand tons and million escudos)

A. Main imports

<u>Products</u>	<u>Volume</u>		<u>Value</u>	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Total imports	-	-	281.9	418.8
Sugar	4.0	4.8	18.2	21.7
Cotton textiles	0.2	0.4	14.6	11.1
Wheat flour	2.6	2.8	11.4	12.2
Rice	1.7	2.3	10.7	14.2
Cement	14.6	15.6	9.6	10.4
Wines	1.3	1.2	8.2	7.7
Maize	3.2	31.9	7.7	72.9
Automobiles (number)	258	228	13.7	15.1
Petroleum	3.0	3.1	5.3	5.6

B. Main exports

Total exports	-	-	40.8	44.6
Bananas	5.2	5.2	10.4	10.3
Tuna fish preserve	0.4	0.6	3.0	7.8
Fish and fish products	0.7	1.0	5.3	5.9
Water	78.9	75.2	3.3	3.1
Pozzolanas	7.8	13.9	1.9	2.6
Salt	30.3	24.9	2.9	2.4
Peanuts	0.5	-	2.2	-

Source: Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício de 1969.

Table 2

Cape Verde: Principal trading partners, 1968-1969
(thousand tons and million escudos)

A. Imports

<u>Country of origin</u>	<u>Volume</u>		<u>Value</u>		<u>Percentage of total value</u>	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Portugal	31.4	31.5	177.3	207.5	62.9	49.5
Angola	8.9	37.6	25.0	91.9	8.9	22.0
United States	1.5	1.8	10.8	12.5	3.8	3.0
United Kingdom	0.3	0.5	9.4	15.5	3.3	3.8
Netherlands	0.8	1.8	6.5	13.0	2.3	...
Mozambique	0.2	6.2	2.1	16.5	...	3.9

B. Exports

<u>Country of destination</u>						
Portugal	17.4	19.6	25.7	29.3	63.0	65.6
Supply to navigation	79.4	75.4	4.6	4.8	11.3	10.8
... .., called						
Portuguese Guinea	1.9	1.9	3.4	2.1	8.3	4.7
United States	0.3	0.6	3.2	5.3	7.8	12.0
Congo (Democratic Republic of)	18.1	17.4	1.8	1.6	4.4	3.6

Source: Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício de 1969.

Table 3

Cape Verde: Balance of payments 1968-1969
(million escudos)

A. Net global balance of payments

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Merchandise	-169.8	-248.8
Current invisibles	+209.2	+224.9
Capital movements	- 7.4	- 8.3
	<u>+ 32.0</u>	<u>- 32.2</u>

B. Balance of payments with Portugal
and adjacent islands

<u>Current transactions</u>	- 2.6	- 76.9
Merchandise	-107.6	-200.3
Current invisibles	+105.0	+123.4
Tourism	+ 0.5	+ 1.9
Transport	- 3.1	- 8.2
Insurance	- 1.4	- 1.3
Earnings from capital investments	- 3.6	- 3.9
Government	+111.5	+120.6
Other services	+ 11.7	+ 21.8
Private transfers	- 10.6	- 7.5
<u>Capital movements</u>	- 1.0	- 8.2
Short term	- -	- 4.1
Long term	- 1.0	- 4.1
Total	- 3.6	- 85.1

Table 3 (continued)

C. Balance of payments with foreign countries

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
<u>Current transactions</u>	+ 65.5	+ 52.9
Merchandise	- 31.0	- 48.6
Current invisibles	+ 96.5	+101.5
Tourism	+ 1.3	+ 0.5
Transport	+ 2.1	+ 2.2
Insurance	+ 0.1	+ 0.2
Earnings from capital investments	-	+ 0.1
Government	- 0.2	-
Other services	+ 21.2	+ 28.8
Private transfers	+ 71.6	+ 69.7
<u>Capital movements</u>	- 5.9	-
Short term	- 5.4	-
Long term	- 0.5	-
Total	+ 59.6	+ 52.9

Source: Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício de 1969.

Agriculture

39. Because of the drought, there is little new information on agricultural activities in the Territory. Agricultural production on the islands is limited by the small amount of suitable soils available and the lack of rainfall. In general, government action has aimed at improving the production of food crops and introducing new export crops. At the same time measures have been taken to improve land use through the regulation of land tenure and the introduction of irrigation. g/

40. The Government has initiated a concerted search for underground water resources, and is attempting to convert agricultural production from maize, the principal crop, which requires adequate rain at specific periods, to irrigated farming. Instead of food crops, the Government is encouraging the production of export crops, such as coffee and bananas, which have proved more profitable. It is believed that with proper market and transport facilities, banana production could be increased 40 to 50 times by planting the valleys on Santiago and Santo Antão. Other crops to be developed include tomatoes, pimentos and other vegetables (hortícolas). Irrigation, however, is not yet widespread.

41. There has been dissatisfaction among the landowners ever since the Government introduced legislation regulating arrendamento (lease hold) and share cropping agreements. h/ Among other things, they have complained of being made to bear the losses in a bad year when tenant farmers and sharecroppers have failed to make the scheduled payments. In an interview with one of the leading newspapers in Lisbon, in October 1970, the Governor was asked to comment on the widespread opinion in the Territory that the arrendamento regulations had created an intolerable situation for the landowners. It was said that government agents charged with explaining the regulations to the people had sometimes given a wrong interpretation and had caused hostility between the two sides involved. In his reply, the Governor denied that the sharecropping regulations were an infringement of the rights of private ownership. On the contrary, they were intended to protect both the owner and the sharecropper. He said that it should be understood once and for all that the Government would not hesitate to carry out the policy of the social State. The sharecropping regulations had been introduced to bring about greater social justice and to correct a situation created in the past. i/ The Government shared the view that losses from a bad year should not be borne solely by the landowners. Any real abuses could be prosecuted in the courts. The Governor pointed out that, on Santiago, there were areas rented as irrigated land which had been without water during the major part of the year, owing to the drought. In such cases, it was

g/ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23, (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.E, paras. 31-46.

h/ Decree 47,314, 15 November 1966 and Cape Verde Portaria 7873, 24 May 1967.

i/ According to an article published in 1968, there were slightly over 100 large landowners in Cape Verde. There were also some small landowners with about three hectares each, but the majority of the farmers worked for others or were tenant farmers and sharecroppers. See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23, (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. VIII, annex V, para. 13.

difficult to understand how the same rents could be demanded. He agreed that the farmers did not always take good care of their rented property, but stressed that in order to raise the standard of living in the Territory the Government needed the help of private interests and the co-operation of the people themselves.

42. It will be recalled that in 1969, in order to encourage better land use and wider ownership of land, the Government extended to the Territory the land concession legislation which has been in force in Angola and Mozambique since September 1961 (Decree 43,894, 6 September). In April 1971, the Government approved legislation granting ownership of land to anyone who had had continued peaceful occupation of the land for over 15 years and who had developed it, but had not previously completed the necessary formalities (Decree 132/71, 6 June).

Fisheries

43. The three largest fishing concerns in Cape Verde are: Companhia de Pesca e Congelamento de Cabo Verde (CONGEL); Sociedade dos Armadores de Pesca de Lagosta, S.A.R.L. (SAPLA); and Empresas de Conservas Ultras, S.A.R.L.

44. CONGEL, which is the largest fishing and canning concern in the Territory, has a registered capital of 50 million escudos. It has been financed largely by Fried Krupp, Essen, Federal Republic of Germany, but the Cape Verde Government owns 30,000 shares of its capital stock valued at 30 million escudos. ^{1/} Although the company had received three of the ten fishing boats it had ordered by October 1969, at the end of a year it had produced only 30 tons of canned fish. The company's operations were criticized by one of the deputies to the National Assembly who had visited the Territory, and noted that other fishing fleets in the area had done much better. In 1970, the Caixa de Crédito de Cabo Verde granted the company a 3.6-million escudo loan, and, according to one source, the Government assigned some technicians to the plant in an attempt to improve production.

45. It will be recalled that the Third National Development Plan included 267.5 million escudos to be invested in fisheries by foreign capital. So far, except for a loan of 74.7 million escudos for the boats referred to above, investment in this section has been less than 5 per cent of the target (see Below). During 1970, the Government also granted a loan of 500,000 escudos to the Empresas de Conservas Ultras, S.A.R.L.

Mining

46. In March 1970 the Governor reported to the Legislative Council that two requests for petroleum concessions in Cape Verde were being studied by the Overseas Ministry, as well as a request for exploitation of sulphur. There is no information on the outcome of these requests.

Other industries

47. Apart from the processing of fish and food-stuffs for domestic consumption, the only sizeable industries are those for the extraction of salt, lime and pozzolana for export.

^{1/} Ibid, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23, (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.E, paras. 47-48.

Tourism

48. DETOSAL, to which reference has been made above, was formally constituted on 20 July 1970 to develop and exploit tourism on Sal Island, with the possibility of expanding its activities in all parts of Cape Verde, if so decided by the Board of Directors.

49. The company has an initial registered capital of 12 million escudos, divided into shares of 1,000 escudos each. The registered capital may be increased to 100 million escudos. The principal shareholders are: the Government of Cape Verde, with 7,200 shares; the Society Nogueira Internacional (Importações e Exportações), with headquarters in Lisbon, with 1,500 shares; Mr. Gaspar Richard Vynchier, a Belgian national, with 1,100 shares; Mr. Valère Darchembau, also Belgian, with 798 shares; Mr. Georges Vynchier, of Belgium, with 498 shares; and the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, with 90 shares. Three other Belgian nationals hold one share each.

50. There is no information on the estimated cost of the investments envisaged by the company or on the activities of the other tourist concerns, the Atlântico Interplano - Empreendimentos e Investimentos Ultramarinos, and TURMAIO. k/

51. A new tourist centre is planned on Cape Verde to develop domestic tourism. The Tarrafal Tourist Village, as it is to be known, is located on Santiago. It will consist of small housing units and will feature a camping part. According to the plans, the new centre will provide fishing, underwater hunting and other sports. It is hoped that this centre will also attract foreign visitors to the Territory.

Transport and communications

Telecommunications centre

52. The new telecommunications network is scheduled for completion in 1972, at an estimated cost of 60 million escudos. This network will link the islands and the Territory with the outside world through automatic telephone exchanges, telex, telegraph and facsimile. Some of the links reportedly will have a transmission capacity of up to 960 simultaneous telephone connexions.

53. The contract for the telecommunications centre was granted to Plessey Automática Eléctrica Portuguesa, a subsidiary of the Plessey Company, Ltd. of the United Kingdom, for 60.5 million escudos, to be paid in four instalments up to 1973. The Plessey Company is involved in the manufacture and sale of systems, equipment and components for the telecommunications, electronic, automation, aerospace, hydraulic and related industries. In 1969, its total sales amounted to \$US429.8 million, its assets were \$US499.1 million, and its net income \$US27.1 million. The company ranks 164th in "The Fortune Directory: The 200 Largest Industrials Outside the United States". 1/

Harbours

54. Other projects include the construction of a petroleum quay at S. Vicente Harbour. This is still under study by technicians from LISNAVE, PRO-FABRIL and Construções Técnicas, Lda.

k/ See ibid., paras. 51 and 53.

1/ Fortune, June 1970.

55. LISNAVE is owned by Portuguese interests linked to the Companhia União Fabril (CUF); the Swedish concerns Eriksberg Mek. Verkstads A.B. and Kockums Mekaniska Verkstads A.D.; and the Netherlands firms Wilton-Fijenoord Bronswerk, N.V., Nederlandsche Dok-en Scheepsbouw and Rotterdamsche Droogdok. PRO-FABRIL, which is involved in the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique, is a subsidiary of the CUF group. The ownership of Construções Técnicas, Lda. is not known.

56. The project for the construction of Praia Harbour, estimated at 70 million escudos, will provide the capital with a 180-metre quay, as well as complementary installations for smaller ships and wide levees (terraplenos) to facilitate the movement of cargo. Work was expected to begin in 1971.

Naval shipyards

57. In 1969, the Government established a working group to study and make recommendations on the establishment of naval shipyards at Porto Grande, São Vicente. m/ When it visited the Territory in September 1970, the working group was accompanied by representatives of the Department of Public Works of the Ministry of Overseas Territories and the Sociedade Financeira Portuguesa, which was created in 1969 to help finance projects involving large capital and relations with foreign countries. n/

58. In December 1970, the Government signed a contract with Techno-Economic Resources, Inc. of the United States, for a technical and economic study of the proposed naval shipyards. The study is estimated to cost \$US9,000. Among other things, the study will include an analysis of present and future traffic trends, projected up to 1985, particularly the pattern of petroleum and minerals, traffic, its origin, destination and markets; factors which affect the traffic of goods, particularly those of a Portuguese character; regulations concerning commerce, navigation, economic growth and strategic considerations; and trends and perspectives of the international fishing industry, with particular relevance to the South Atlantic and Cape Verde. These analyses are to take into consideration international and Portuguese naval repair requirements in the South Atlantic.

Public finance

59. The Territory's 1971 budget shows estimated ordinary revenue at 169.0 million escudos, which is almost the same amount as the actual revenue collected in 1969. (see table 4 below). Estimated ordinary expenditure, however, shows an increase of almost 20 per cent over the previous year. In 1969, the Territory's total extraordinary revenue amounted to 133.8 million escudos, comprising a 117.0 million escudo loan from Portugal for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan, 10.6 million escudos from budget surpluses and a special loan of 6.25 million escudos to the Agricultural and Livestock Credit Fund. Actual expenditure under the Third National Development Plan amounted to 118.4 million escudos. There is no indication of what special funds if any were used for drought relief in 1968 and 1969.

m/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23, (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.F, para. 17.

n/ Ibid., annex I.A, para. 188.

Table 4

Cape Verde: Public finance, 1968-1971

	A. <u>Revenue</u>				
	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total	258.6	303.0	131.3	146.6	171.9
Ordinary revenue	147.1	169.2	128.4	144.0	169.0
Direct taxes	25.0	27.2	21.9	24.8	28.6
Indirect taxes	48.5	53.9	45.8	48.2	54.0
Industries under special régime	2.3	2.5	1.9	2.2	2.4
Revenue from services	21.1	24.1	14.7	18.5	23.6
Income from state and private enterprises	4.1	4.1	4.7	5.0	4.2
Earnings on capital, bonds from banks and companies		-	1.2	1.2	1.2
Reimbursements	3.9	4.0	3.7	3.7	5.1
Consigned receipts	42.2	53.6	34.5	40.4	49.8
Extraordinary revenue	111.5	133.8	2.9	2.6	2.9
Loan from Portugal for Development Plan	77.8	117.0	-	-	-
Budget surplus	22.5	10.6	-	-	-
Loan for the Agricultural Credit Fund	11.25	6.25	-	-	-
	B. <u>Expenditure</u>				
Total	232.9	276.0	131.3	146.6	171.9
Ordinary expenditure	121.4	142.2	128.4	144.0	169.0
Public debt servicing	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8	-
Government and administration	62.8	69.6	70.9	77.3	91.3

Table 4 (continued)

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Pensions	5.2	5.0	6.4	6.4	6.8
Treasury	10.5	12.1	11.9	12.2	15.7
Justice	2.7	2.7	3.2	3.6	5.5
Development services	22.8	29.5	19.8	23.9	32.9
National Defence	1.6	4.7	5.3	5.1	3.5
Navy	11.6	15.3	7.6	12.5	14.1
Other	1.3	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2
Extraordinary expenditure	111.5	133.8	2.9	2.6	2.9
Third Development Plan	77.8	118.4			
Other	33.7	15.4			
Caixa de Crédito Agro-Pecuário	11.3	6.3			
Loan to Caixa de Crédito Agro-Pecuário	3.5	-			
Public works	8.2	0.9			
Equipment for services and buildings	2.5	1.7			
Payment to PSP personnel from Portugal	1.9	1.7			
Repairs in buildings	0.9	1.9			
Various	5.4	2.9			

Source: Actual: Cape Verde, Contas da Gerência e do Exercício, 1968 and 1969.

Estimates: Budgets for the respective years.

Implementation of the Third National Development Plan

60. Under the Third National Development Plan for 1968-1973, a total investment of 1,018.2 million escudos over the six-year period was envisaged. Whereas this Plan called for an average expenditure of almost 170 million escudos a year, actual investment in 1968 was only 45 per cent of this amount. In 1969, although programmed expenditure amounted to 128.3 million escudos, actual expenditure was slightly less, at 118.4 million escudos.

61. As shown in table 5 below, the authorized expenditures for 1970 and 1971 will bring total investments under the Plan to 438.7 million escudos at the end of the year. This would leave more than 50 per cent of the funds to be spent in the last two years if the planned investments are to be fulfilled. The greatest lag in investments has been in the fishing sector in which investments for the period 1968-1971 amount to only 12.8 million escudos. The only sector in which actual investments have met the planned target so far is transport and communications.

Table 5

Cape Verde: Implementation of the Third National
Development Plan, 1968-1973
(million escudos)

	<u>Target</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>			
	<u>1968-1973</u>	<u>Per year</u>	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Authorized</u>	
			<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Agriculture	100.2	16.7	9.8	11.2	7.3	8.9
Fisheries	267.5	44.6	2.4	2.9	3.7	3.8
Industries	17.0	2.8	1.0	1.0	4.0	4.5
Rural development	36.0	6.0	4.3	4.2	5.0	5.5
Electric power	23.8	4.0	2.4	4.5	5.0	4.2
Marketing	3.4	0.6	-	-	2.0	0.5
Transport and communications	329.7	55.0	39.3	68.8	52.2	57.5
Tourism	7.8	1.3	1.5	0.7	0.5	0.9
Education	70.6	11.7	4.5	7.3	8.5	21.1
Housing	102.3	17.0	7.1	11.8	23.0	14.8
Health	60.0	10.0	5.0	6.0	3.6	6.0
Total	1,018.2	169.7	77.8	118.4	114.8	127.7

Sources: Portugal. Presidência do Conselho, III Plano do Fomento para 1968-1973, Vol. III; Ibid., Programa de Execução para 1968 and 1969; Cape Verde. Boletim Oficial, Portarias 8549 of 4 April 1970; 8951 of 8 August 1970; 9972 of 30 January 1971; Portugal. Diário do Governo, Portaria 387170 of 6 August 1970.

5. EDUCATION o/

62. The school statistics published by the government statistical services for 1967/68 and 1968/69, which are summarized in table 6 below, do not agree with the statistics published in the Boletim Geral do Ultramar, which have been used in previous years. The main difference appears to be in the classification of the primary institutions. School statistics from this second source are summarized in table 7 below.

63. In describing educational progress in Cape Verde over the past years the Governor stated, in February 1971 that primary enrolment had steadily increased since 1967/68, rising from 12,473 to 23,988 in 1968/69, and to 40,685 in 1969/70. This latest figure, he said, brought the enrolment to 90 per cent of the children of school age. No official explanation has been given for the difference between these figures and previous data. It may be noted, however, that the Governor made no distinction between the number of children enrolled in school posts, which provide only the first three years of primary education, and those enrolled in full-fledged primary schools, which provide the four years schooling usually required for entry to the lowest grades of the civil service.

64. In 1970, there were 22 new school posts created in the Territory, 14 in Praia, 4 in Santa Catarina (both on Santiago), 3 in Porto Novo, and 1 on Sal Island. In addition, three new primary schools were created in Praia (Santiago), and 42 new school rooms were to be completed for the school year 1970/71.

65. Secondary and vocational school facilities were also being expanded with the addition of a general commercial course, a course for training civil construction foremen, a Technical School for Nursing, with an enrolment of 34 students, and a school for assistants in pharmacy, with an enrolment of 18 students. In addition, a maritime school was established at Mindelo (Decree 436/70 of 31 August 1970) to provide training for those wishing to join the merchant marine services.

66. As a result of the increased school enrolment, 173 new teachers were appointed in 1970 on a temporary basis (professores eventuais). Of these, 46 were assigned to primary schools and 127 to school posts. In addition, 320 new monitors were assigned to school posts, and 64 teachers to adult classes.

67. Government expenditure on education rose from 12.0 million escudos in 1968 to 17.0 million escudos in 1969. In the 1971 budget, 26.3 million escudos has been allocated for education (see table 8 below).

o/ For a description of the school system see ibid., annex I.E., para. 60.

Table 6

Cape Verde: Educational statistics, 1967-1969

	<u>Schools</u>		<u>Teachers</u>		<u>Pupils</u>	
	<u>1967/68</u>	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1967/68</u>	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1967/68</u>	<u>1968/69</u>
Total	264	241	500	768	22,308	30,178
Primary					19,680	26,990
Official	113	122	226	441		
Missions	121	86	127	108		
Private	<u>23</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>40</u>		
	257	233	381	589		
Secondary						
Academic (<u>liceu</u>)					2,059	2,718 <u>a/</u>
Official	2	3	51	96		
Private	3	3	-	53		
Technical					494	395
Official	1	1	28	23		
Private	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>		
	6	7	113	172		
Vocational						
Official						
Private	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	75	75
	1	1	6	7		

Source: Portugal. Anuário Estatístico, Vol. II, 1968 and 1969.

a/ 1,125 pupils enrolled in the preparatory cycle.

Table 7

Cape Verde: Educational statistics, 1965-1967

	<u>Schools</u>		<u>Teachers</u>		<u>Pupils</u>	
	<u>1965/66</u>	<u>1966/67</u>	<u>1965/66</u>	<u>1966/67</u>	<u>1965/66</u>	<u>1966/67</u>
Total	386	519	612	673	25,558	31,813
School posts						
Official	144	246	226	254	8,597	13,093
Private	90	133	95	136	4,837	6,856
	<u>234</u>	<u>379</u>	<u>321</u>	<u>390</u>	<u>13,434</u>	<u>19,949</u>
Primary						
Official	82	72	119	108	6,343	5,543
Private	63	58	81	66	4,020	4,052
	<u>145</u>	<u>130</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>10,363</u>	<u>9,595</u>
Secondary						
Academic (<u>liceu</u>)	2	2	46	50	1,189	1,280
Technical	3	2	34	50	523	581
Vocational						
Official	1	-	9	-	27	-
Private	1	-	2	-	22	-

Source: Boletim Geral do Ultramar, No. 519/520, September/October 1968.

Table 8

Cape Verde: Expenditure on education, 1968-1971
(million escudos)

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Educational services	11.2	15.1	18.6	24.2
School expenditure				
Secondary schools	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.7
Technical schools	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Primary schools	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
Catholic missions	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8
Total	<u>13.0</u>	<u>17.0</u>	<u>20.6</u>	<u>26.3</u>
Percentage of total expenditure:	7.9	9.5	14.0	15.0

Sources: Actual: Contas da Gerência e do Exercício, 1968 and 1969.

Estimates: Budgets for the respective years

F. SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
1. GENERAL	1 - 6
2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	7 - 14
3. EDUCATION	15 - 16

F. SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE

1. GENERAL

1. The two islands of São Tomé and Príncipe are situated in the Gulf of Biafra, west of the Republic of Gabon. Their total area is 964 square kilometres, and they lie between 1°44'N and 0°1'S latitude and 6°28'EG and 7°28'EG longitude. The area of São Tomé is 854 square kilometres; the area of Príncipe, which lies about 120 kilometres north of São Tomé, is 110 square kilometres.

2. According to the 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 autóctone; the remainder were from Portugal and other "national" Territories, mainly Angola, Cape Verde, and Mozambique, including 2,655 Europeans.

3. Provisional figures for the 1970 census give the total population of the islands as at 30 September 1970 as 73,811, of which that of São Tomé was 69,149 and that of Príncipe was 4,662. According to preliminary official reports, there has been a drop in the number of workers from outside the Territory, partly because imported workers were repatriated after the 1962 Labour Code came into effect. There has also been an increase in the population of the city of São Tomé and its outskirts. In the freguesias a/ of Graça and Conceição which are part of the city of São Tomé, the population growth during the ten-year period was reported as 83.6 per cent and 71.3 per cent respectively.

4. In July 1970, President Américo Thomaz and the Minister for Overseas Territories, Mr. Silva Cunha, visited the Territory to participate in the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the São Tomé and Príncipe islands.

5. During his visit to the Territory, Mr. Silva Cunha exercised his legislative powers to introduce several new measures. One of these granted amnesty to military personnel who had been sentenced for violations of the Military Discipline Regulations (Diploma Legislativo 2, 23 July 1970), and another granted amnesty to civilians sentenced for violations leading to sentences of up to three months in jail or a 2,000-escudo fine and for violations of the Overseas Civil Service Statute and the Overseas Administrative Reform (Diploma Legislativo Ministerial 1, 23 July 1970). The Minister for Overseas Territories also authorized the introduction of a radio course of secondary education (see paragraph 19 below).

6. During 1970, 14 deputies of the National Assembly toured urban centres and plantations during a visit to the Territory.

a/ In the Portuguese administrative system, a group of families from a freguesia (parish) and a group of freguesias from a concelho (municipality). See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), annex I.A, paras. 41-44.

2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

General

7. At the November session of the Legislative Council, Governor Silva Sebastião said that the cessation of air-lift relief operations to Biafra, which had created an economic boom, had not been followed by a substantial deterioration in the standard of living of the population. During the first nine months of 1970, imports of various foodstuffs, including such items as powdered milk, potatoes, millet, sugar, rice and wheat flour, had been substantially above those of the previous year. Exports of cocoa had also increased, and it was expected that the Territory's exceptional trade deficit would be considerably reduced by the end of the year. He expressed satisfaction with the "new spirit" which was "more relaxed, more confident and more dynamic in all sectors". He found it surprising that, despite the changed atmosphere, there was still evidence of "certain misunderstandings" (for instance, local opposition to the construction of a new port at Morro do Carregado) b/ which were responsible for the stagnation in which the Territory had found itself for many years. He appealed for greater understanding and closer co-operation instead of attitudes of suspicion and mistrust towards innovations, such as had been evident during the population and housing censuses.

Trade and payments

8. Detailed trade statistics for São Tomé and Príncipe are not yet available for 1970. In the first nine months of the year, imports amounted to 202.5 million escudos and exports to 162.2 million escudos, leaving a trade deficit of 40.3 million escudos. For São Tomé and Príncipe, this marks a significant change, as the Territory has traditionally enjoyed a trade surplus.

9. As at December 1969, São Tomé and Príncipe had foreign exchange reserves amounting to 125.6 million escudos. Early in 1970, however, there was an increased exodus of foreign exchange. There is no information on the Territory's balance of payments.

Agriculture

10. In 1970, the cocoa output was expected to amount to 12,500 tons, compared with 10,232 tons in 1968. Copra production was expected to total 7,000 tons compared with 4,736 tons in 1968. There is no recent information on agricultural output beyond that already reported in last year's report of the Special Committee c/.

Mining

11. In May 1971 the Portuguese Government authorized Hidrocarbo, Hidrocarbonetos de São Tomé e Príncipe, S.A.R.L., to be associated in a joint venture with the Texas Pacific Oil Company of Portugal to prospect for and exploit oil reserves in

b/ See ibid., annex I.F, paras. 29 and 30.

c/ Ibid., annex I.F, table 4.

the area of the concession granted to Ball and Collins (Oil and Gas), Ltd., in 1970. d/ It is assumed that Hidrocarbo, Hidrocarbonetos was established by Ball and Collins under the terms of its contract with the Portuguese Government. According to one source, the Texas Pacific Oil Company is a subsidiary of Joseph E. Seagram and Sons, Inc.

Public finance

12. In 1969, actual government expenditure, at 172.3 million escudos, was 28 per cent higher than in the previous year. As actual revenue amounted to 209.3 million escudos, the year closed with a surplus of 37.0 million escudos. The largest single item of revenue was import and export duties, which contributed 20 per cent of the total ordinary revenue. The budget estimates for 1970 are shown in table 1 below. As at 31 December 1969, the Territory's public debt was 421.2 million escudos, of which 383.7 million escudos was owed to the Portuguese Government.

Development financing

13. The Third National Development Plan, covering the period 1968-1973, envisages an investment target of 637.6 million escudos in São Tomé and Príncipe over the six-year period, at an average investment of 106.2 million escudos per year. Actual expenditures in 1968 and 1969, however, were 40 and 48 per cent of the target.

14. Priority in both years was given to transport and communications, which accounted for 41 and 46 per cent of the total. Education and health together absorbed most of the remaining expenditure (see table 2 below).

3. EDUCATION

15. In the school year 1968/69, there were 9,439 pupils enrolled in school in São Tomé and Príncipe. This represented an increase of 43 per cent over the enrolment in 1966/67. Of the total enrolled, 8,281 pupils were in primary, 1,124 in secondary and 34 in teacher-training schools. There were 46 schools, compared with 33 in 1966/67.

16. Because of the increase in primary enrolment, the Territory was confronted with a shortage of secondary school facilities in 1970. To relieve this situation, the Minister for Overseas Territories authorized the introduction of a preparatory cycle of secondary education in the form of radio courses. This preparatory cycle is a two-year general secondary course for pupils who have had four years of primary school. After completing the preparatory cycle, which are the fifth and sixth years of schooling in the Portuguese system, pupils then proceed either to an academic secondary school or to a technical school.

d/ See ibid., annex I.F, paras. 23-27.

Table 1

São Tomé and Príncipe: Public finance, 1968-1969

(million escudos)

A. Revenue

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
<u>Total revenue</u>	157.0	209.3	107.0
<u>Ordinary revenue</u>	108.3	148.3	105.5
Direct taxes	21.1	23.9	20.9
Indirect taxes	31.6	34.9	31.6
Industries under special régime	9.9	12.2	9.8
Revenue from services	24.5	40.6	15.1
Income from State and private industries	5.2	5.1	5.1
Earnings on capital	1.6	1.6	1.6
Refunds	6.3	6.3	6.2
Consigned receipts	8.2	23.7	15.2
<u>Extraordinary revenue</u>	48.7	61.0	1.5 <u>a/</u>

a/ Revenue allocated for the Third National Development Plan not included.

B. Expenditure

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
<u>Total expenditure</u>	134.1	172.3	107.0
<u>Ordinary expenditure</u>	85.5	111.3	105.5
Public debt	12.8	14.3	12.1
General administration	31.0	40.5	43.4
Treasury	6.6	7.2	8.4
Justice Department	2.0	2.1	2.4
Development services	14.9	23.7	17.9
Military services	5.7	6.1	5.7
Naval services	1.1	1.3	1.3
General expenditure	11.2	16.0	14.1
Other	0.2	0.1	0.2
<u>Extraordinary expenditure</u>	48.6	61.0	1.5 <u>a/</u>

Source: 1968-1969: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, Províncias Ultramarinas, 1969. 1970: São Tomé e Príncipe, Boletim Oficial, No. 52, 31 December 1969, 2nd Supplement.

a/ Expenditures for the Third National Development Plan not included.

Table 2

Sao Tomé and Príncipe: Implementation of the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973

(million escudos)

	Target		Expenditure			
	1968-1973	Per year	Actual		Estimated	
			1968	1969	1968	1969 1970
Agriculture, forestry and livestock	186.8	31.1	5.0	4.3	29.2	20.1 24.8
Fisheries	35.7	5.9	0.1	0.2	1.5	4.5 1.0
Extractive and transforming industries	123.7	20.6	-	-	18.3	- 1.5
Construction industry and public works	...	...	-	-	-	- 2.8
Rural development	9.0	1.5	-	-	1.8	2.3 2.5
Electric power	...	...	-	-	5.0	- 1.3
Marketing	5.2	0.9	-	-	2.7	- -
Transport, communications and meteorology	179.1	29.8	17.7	19.6	30.1	30.5 25.5
Housing and urbanization	8.3	1.4	2.2	4.9	2.5	1.0 8.2
Tourism	2.4	0.4	-	-	0.3	0.2 3.3
Education and research	70.3	11.7	17.6 ^{a/}	21.7 ^{a/}	15.5	10.8 8.6
Health	17.0	2.8	...	...	1.7	3.2 2.8
Total	637.5	106.2	42.6	50.7	108.6	72.6 82.4

Sources: For target: Portugal, Presidência do Conselho. III Plano de Fomento para 1968-1973, Vol. III.
 For actual expenditure: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, Províncias Ultramarinas, 1969.
 For estimated expenditures: Portugal, Presidência do Conselho. III Plano de Fomento, Programa de Execução, 1968, 1969 and 1970.

a/ Includes investments in education, research and health. No breakdown was reported.

G. MACAU AND DEPENDENCIES

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
1. GENERAL	1 - 3
2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	4 - 23

G. MACAU AND DEPENDENCIES

1. GENERAL

1. Macau is located on the south coast of China, 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. At the 1960 census, the resident population was 169,299, of whom about 8,000 were Portuguese. An official estimate in 1967 gave the population as 268,300. In 1971, the Portuguese National Information Services reported the population as 245,000, and the population density of the Territory as 16,000 inhabitants per square kilometre. At the end of 1970, the European population was variously estimated between 7,000 to 10,000.

3. According to a statement by Governor Nobre de Carvalho, who was re-appointed in 1971 and promoted to Brigadier-General, the Territory has been developing favourably during the past year. The economy has continued to expand and there has been an atmosphere of confidence in the community where Portuguese and Chinese have worked out an adjustment based on common interests and aspirations.

2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

General

4. The Portuguese press reports that in the past year there was accelerated economic growth, especially in trade, industry and tourism. Although the private sector played an important role in the economy of the Territory, the Government was engaged in providing an infrastructure through the Third National Development Plan.

5. There has also been an increase in civil construction. This was reported as reflecting not only economic progress but also the Government's concern with the social progress of the Territory. The development of Coloane island, in particular, is expected to ease substantially the Territory's problem of overcrowding. Construction of a new bridge to link Taipa to Macau was begun in 1970 and is expected to be completed within three years.

Trade

6. In 1970, the Territory's exports rose to 257.5 million patacas^{a/} representing an increase of 14 per cent over 1969. Imports rose by 9.2 per cent to 393.2 million patacas, leaving a deficit trade balance of 135.7 million patacas which was 7 million patacas higher than the previous year.

^{a/} One escudo equals \$US.035; one pataca equals 5 escudos or \$US.175.

7. Textiles and clothing remain the Territory's most important exports and accounted for 150.6 million patacas, or about 58.4 per cent of the total in 1970. Next in importance were chemical products, which accounted for about 22 million patacas, followed by fish and fish products at 18.4 million patacas, and shoes, head pieces, artificial flowers and hats at 15.9 million patacas.

8. Hong Kong, which takes a major share of the Territory's exports, accounted for 47.4 million patacas in 1970. Exports to the other Territories under Portuguese administration accounted for some 47.4 million patacas, and exports to Portugal about 27.6 million patacas. In 1970, exports to the Federal Republic of Germany amounted to 39.2 million patacas, down from 51.3 million patacas in 1969. On the other hand, exports to France increased from 25.9 million to 35.3 million patacas. Exports to the United States of America amounted to 22.3 million patacas, including some 16 million patacas worth of fireworks.

9. In 1971, a trade mission from the clothing industries in France visited the Territory.

Industry

10. Several new textile and clothing factories have been established in the Territory in recent years. These include a new unit, established on Taipa in 1968, with 6,000 spindles and 190 looms. In November 1970, the first woollen textile factory was being built.

11. Two new industries which have begun to gain importance are optical goods, which had an output of 264 tons in 1967, and toys, which had an output that year of 50 tons. No recent data are available.

Tourism

12. In 1970, more than 223,000 persons visited the Territory as tourists, compared with some 160,000 the previous year. According to a Portuguese source, these included 90,556 visitors from Japan, 43,160 from Hong Kong, 31,027 from the United States and 8,025 from Australia.

13. Over the past year, two new hotels have been added on the island of Coloane which is being developed as a tourist centre. One hotel is financed by private capital and the other by the Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau, in association with the Hotel de Lisboa, opened in February 1970.^{b/}

Transport and communications

14. As part of the plan to develop tourism, the Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões was reported to be acquiring a new hydroplane in August 1970. This vessel, with

^{b/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No.23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex I.G, para.21.

a 280 passenger capacity, was expected to cost about 10 million patacas. In January 1971, the company was reported to be acquiring a 1,200 passenger ferry boat, as well as another hydroplane.

15. In August 1971, a British firm was said to be seeking the necessary authorization from the Portuguese and British Governments to establish a helicopter service between Hong Kong and Macau.

16. In June 1971, the Territory contracted a loan of 2.6 million patacas at 3 3/4 per cent interest for the improvement of the Territory's telephone and radio communications.

Electricity

17. In November 1970, the Government approved a loan of 5 million patacas for the purchase of two 5,000 Kw generators. In August 1971, the Portuguese Government gave its approval for the establishment of a new joint, Chinese-Portuguese electricity company.

Public finance

18. In 1969, actual revenue exceeded budget estimates by almost 20 per cent and actual expenditure exceeded estimates by about 13 per cent. Both revenue and expenditure were slightly below that of the previous year.

19. In 1970, actual revenue exceeded estimates by less than 10 per cent, but expenditure exceeded actual income. Details are not yet available for this year.

20. The 1971 budget estimates are shown in table 1 below. It may be noted that for the first time in recent years there was a substantial drop in the estimated expenditure for military services, for which only 1,867,000 patacas has been allocated, representing about one-third of actual expenditure in 1969.

21. In December 1970, the territorial Government was authorized to issue 500,000 coins of 5 patacas each, and in June 1971 was authorized to issue 1.25 million notes of 5 patacas each.

Development financing

22. In the period 1969-1970, target investments under the Third National Development Plan in Macau rose from 98.8 million to 111.5 million escudos. Of the 1970 total, however, 74 million escudos was to be financed by private capital, including all the investment in industry and electricity, 14 million escudos in transport and communications and 15 million escudos in tourism.

23. There is no information available on the actual implementation of the development plan.

Table 1

Macau: Public Finance: 1968-1971

(thousand patacas)

A. Revenue

	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Estimates</u>		
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
<u>Total revenue</u>	61,887	59,547	49,104	49,318	62,579
<u>Ordinary revenue</u>	54,852	52,351	48,574	49,318	52,895
Direct taxes	3,985	4,079	3,841	3,997	4,181
Indirect taxes	1,597	1,747	1,611	1,714	1,846
Industries under special régime	6,181	6,808	5,915	6,416	6,833
Revenue from services	12,951	11,521	12,186	10,214	11,791
Income from State and private industries	5,027	5,038	4,870	5,586	5,679
Refunds	6,977	6,605	6,755	7,478	8,199
Consigned receipts	18,134	16,551	13,396	13,913	14,366
<u>Extraordinary revenue</u>	7,035	7,196	530		9,684

B. Expenditure

<u>Total expenditure</u>	59,675	55,574	49,105	49,318	62,579
<u>Ordinary expenditure</u>	52,640	48,378	48,575	49,318	52,895
Public debt	2,936	2,845	2,966	3,526	3,289
General administration	14,848	14,275	15,405	15,661	19,008
Treasury	928	888	1,011	1,036	1,194
Justice	1,200	1,106	1,193	1,230	1,469
Development services	8,385	7,765	6,813	6,829	7,617
Military services	6,558	5,416	4,942	3,870	1,867
Maritime services	4,240	3,870	3,604	3,743	4,495
Other expenses	12,992	12,173	12,607	3,398	13,908
Previous year	553	39	34	24	48
<u>Extraordinary expenditure</u>	7,035	7,196	530		9,684

Sources: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, Vol. II, Províncias Ultramarinas, 1969.

Macau, Boletim Oficial No. 52, 3rd Suppl., 31 December 1970 and No. 7, 17 February 1971.

Table 2

Macau: Investments under the Third National
Development Plan, 1968-1973

(escudos)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Total investment</u>	<u>Allocations</u>		
	<u>1968-1973</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Agriculture	4,800,000	500,000	800,000	800,000
Transforming industries	30,600,000	-	5,100,000	10,100,000
Rural improvements	600,000	-	800,000	800,000
Electric power	147,300,000	250,000	26,460,000	35,000,000
Transport and communications	45,800,000	6,979,903 ^{a/}	20,850,000	32,600,000
Housing and urbanization	149,700,000	2,010,500	6,850,000	11,800,000
Tourism	28,000,000	750,000	32,875,000	15,500,000
Education and research	9,900,000	104,452 ^{b/}	1,080,000	1,950,000
Health	16,100,000	-	4,020,000	2,950,000
	<u>432,800,000</u>	<u>10,594,855</u>	<u>98,835,000</u>	<u>111,500,000</u>

Source: Portugal: Presidência do Conselho. III Plano de Fomento para 1968-1973, vol. IV; Programa de Execução para 1969; ibid., para 1970.

a/ Includes 6,779,903 escudos for the Macau-Coloane causeway.

b/ Research not related to education.

H. TIMOR AND DEPENDENCIES

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>
1. GENERAL	1 - 4
2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	5 - 15
3. EDUCATION	16 - 17

H. TIMOR

1. GENERAL

1. The island of Timor is located at the tip of the chain of islands forming the Republic of Indonesia. It lies between 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 includes 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 1960 preliminary census figures, the population of Timor was 517,079. At the 1950 census, when the ethnic composition of the population was last given, there were 568 persons of European origin, 2,022 mestiços and 3,128 Chinese. In 1970, the population was unofficially estimated at 700,000 of whom 10,000 were Chinese. There is no information available on the 1970 population census in Timor.

3. In his speech to the Legislative Council in May 1971, the Governor of Timor, Brigadier Valente Pires, said that, as in previous years, the Territory had enjoyed a climate of peace during 1970.

4. There is very little information available on conditions in Timor.^{a/} However, in 1970, several newspaper reports drew attention to the general stagnation of the Territory. One report in the international press said that the Territory's annual population increase rate of only 1.7 indicated low health standards and a high infant mortality-rate. The article suggested that the main problem appeared to be a lack of interest by the Portuguese Government, which had difficulty attracting qualified personnel. An article in the Portuguese press attributed the stagnation to the lack of trained staff, as those in Portugal and the other overseas Territories were unwilling to serve in Timor because it was neither professionally nor financially rewarding. As a result, recruitment was made without rigorous standards. To meet this situation, it was suggested that the Portuguese Government should introduce measures to make service in the Territory more attractive.

^{a/} In the past one of the principal sources has been an annual report on the overseas Territories in the Boletim Trimestral published by the Banco Nacional Ultramarino. The Boletim for the second and third semester of 1970, which normally would have contained the annual reports, had not been published by the end of August 1971 although subsequent issues have appeared regularly.

2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

General

5. As previous reports have shown, the economy of the Territory has made little progress in the last decade. Such is the situation that an article published in December 1970 in The Times (London), and written by a correspondent from Dili, the capital, was entitled "Timor shows 500 years of neglect". The article ended with a quotation from an economist who said that Timor "had not yet reached the stage of underdevelopment"

6. In January 1971, a Fundo de Melhoramentos Locais (Local Development Fund) was created in Timor (Decree 18/71, 26 January) with a view to financing local schemes of economic and social interest which would improve the living conditions of the population. The Fund will be financed through a 2.5 per cent tax on the value of all imported merchandise with duties higher than 4 per cent ad valorem, or 10 escudos b/ for any other taxable unit. In the initial stage, the Fund will be administered directly by the territorial Government. There is no information on the type of projects that will be financed by the Fund. In Angola, a similar fund has been used mainly to finance housing, electricity and water supplies and sewers.

Trade

7. Despite the fact that Portuguese coffee advertisements list Timor as one of the main producers of that product, the Territory's annual exports averaged less than 3,000 tons in the period 1966-1969. In fact, coffee exports declined from 3,591 tons in 1967, to 2,919 tons in 1968, and 2,800 tons in 1969. With practically no other exports and a rising consumption of imports, the Territory's balance of trade deficit rose from 71.9 million escudos to 122 million escudos during this period. Although published data are not yet available, according to the Governor, the Territory's balance of payments surplus was only 33.9 million escudos in 1970 compared with 50 million escudos in the previous year. Because of this situation, the Government had already introduced restrictions on imports, and measures were to be taken to prevent further deterioration of the balance of payments.

Agriculture

8. The available information on agricultural production in 1969 shows a substantial increase over previous years (table 1 below). As there is no explanation of the statistics it is difficult to know whether the increase is due to better reporting or to improved output.

b/ One escudo equals \$US.035 cents; 28.5 escudos equals \$US 1.00.

Table 1

Timor: Agricultural production, 1968 and 1969

(metric tons)

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Coffee	1,023	5,025
Rice	20,682	12,767
Maize	13,156	15,707
Rubber	44	16
Beans	862	3,252
Peanuts	198	1,211
Copra	911	2,461
Tobacco	52	77
Sweet potatoes	3,458	18,271
Manioc	5,074	23,379

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, 1969, vol. II.

Mining

9. Although Timor is known to have deposits of petroleum and manganese, the only mining concern operating in the Territory is the Companhia de Petróleos de Timor, S.A.R.L. (Timor Oil Corporation) c/ with headquarters in Sydney, Australia. Interest in mining in the Territory has increased in recent years. Prospecting for manganese is being carried out in Vemasse and Uato Cabau, and for chromium in the region of Subão Grande. In May 1971, the Governor of Timor said that five Australian companies and one from the United States of America had requested concessions for mineral prospecting in Timor; it was expected that at least two of the companies would be granted concessions during the year.

10. In May 1971, the Portuguese press reported that a deposit of petroleum had been found at Suai Loro, on the southern coast of Timor.

c/ For details on the area of concession and terms of the contract, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), annex VI, para. 38.

Public finance

11. Detailed figures are not yet available on the territorial budgets for 1970 and 1971. According to an official source, ordinary revenue in 1970 amounted to 170 million escudos, of which 7.5 million escudos were contributed by subsidies from Angola and Mozambique.

12. Actual revenue and expenditure for 1968 and 1969 are shown in table 2 below. As in past years, the main single item of revenue was the imposto domiciliar (personal tax), which accounted for 25 per cent of the total ordinary revenue.

13. In 1968 and 1969, the budgetary surpluses amounted to 14.4 and 34.4 million escudos respectively. Total expenditure in 1968 was nearly 50 per cent higher than the original budget estimates. d/ In both years, over 80 per cent of the total extraordinary expenditure was spent for the implementation of the Third National Development Plan (see below).

14. As at 31 December 1969, the Territory's public debt amounted to 26.0 million escudos.

Table 2

Timor. Public finance, 1968-1969
(million escudos)

A. Revenue

	<u>Actual</u>	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
<u>Total</u>	134.2	136.0
<u>Ordinary revenue</u>	110.9	110.5
Direct taxes	33.3	34.4
Indirect taxes	15.7	17.1
Industries under special régime	7.0	6.7
Income from services	24.9	26.3
Income from State and other industries	10.2	11.0
Income from shares	2.0	1.0
Refunds	3.1	3.2
Consigned receipts	14.7	10.8
<u>Extraordinary revenue</u>	23.3	25.5

d/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), annex VIII, table 8.

Table 2 (continued)

B. Expenditure

	<u>Actual</u>	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
<u>Total</u>	148.6	170.4
<u>Ordinary expenditure</u>	94.6	115.3
Public debt	0.9	0.6
Government	0.9	1.1
Pensions	2.9	3.0
General administration	35.6	44.8
Treasury	4.6	5.0
Justice	0.9	1.0
Development services	17.2	27.3
Military services	5.4	5.1
Naval services	0.9	3.5
General expenditures	25.0	23.7
Other	0.3	0.2
<u>Extraordinary expenditure</u>	54.0	55.1
Third National Development Plan	46.3	44.7
Other	7.7	10.4

Source: Portugal, Anuário Estatístico, vol. II, 1969.

Development financing

15. The Third National Development Plan, covering the period 1968-1973, envisages an investment target of 560.5 million escudos in Timor over the six-year period, at an average investment of 93.4 million escudos per year. Actual expenditure in 1968 and 1969, however, was 49 and 47 per cent of the target. Priority in both years was given to transport and communications, which accounted for 43 and 38 per cent of the total (see table 3 below).

Table 3

Timor: Implementation of the Third National Development Plan, 1968-1973
(million escudos)

	Target		Expenditure			
	1968-1973	Per year	Actual		Estimated	
			1968	1969	1968	1969
Agriculture	111.0	18.5	8.9	8.3	11.5	8.9
Fisheries	17.2	2.9	0.9	0.3	0.9	1.6
Industries	63.6	10.6	1.4	0.8	5.3	3.2
Rural development	15.5	2.6	1.0	a/	1.0	1.5
Electric power	14.0	2.3	0.5	0.5	1.3	1.3
Marketing	3.8	0.6	-	a/	-	0.7
Transport and communications	183.1	30.5	20.2	17.1	22.6	22.1
Tourism	14.6	2.4	1.7	a/	2.6	2.2
Education	59.3	9.9	4.9	5.4	6.6	8.0
Housing	53.9	9.0	5.3	5.9	6.9	6.8
Health	24.5	4.1	1.5	-	3.8	5.2
<u>Total</u>	560.5	93.4	46.3	44.6	62.5	61.5

Source: Portugal, III Plano de Fomento para 1968-1973, Vol. IV; Diário das Sessões, No. 30, 8 April 1970, 3rd Supplement; Portugal, III Plano do Fomento, Programa de Execução para 1969; Anuário Estatístico, 1969, vol. II.

a/ Although no figures are given for these items, 6.3 million escudos were listed under "other expenditure", and may be presumed to include expenditure relating to rural development, marketing and tourism.

3. EDUCATION

16. In the academic year 1968/69, there were 28,366 pupils enrolled in school in Timor, an increase of almost 40 per cent over the enrolment in the previous year. Of these, 27,299 were in primary school, 477 in secondary schools and 114 in teacher training. In the period 1966/67 to 1968/69, the number of schools increased from 195 to 372 and the number of teachers from 472 to 594. It was reported, however, that, in 1970, school facilities were sufficient for only half the number of children of school age; there were only one secondary school, one technical school and one agricultural school. Above the primary level, a large proportion of the school places were occupied by Portuguese, Chinese, Goan and children of mixed parentage. These children also received most of the 34 annual scholarships to Portugal.

17. Government expenditure on education amounted to 5.2 million escudos in 1968 and 6.2 million escudos in 1969, approximately 3.6 per cent of total actual expenditure. Although the Third National Development Plan envisaged an investment of 593 million escudos over the six-year period, actual expenditure was 4.9 million escudos in 1968 and 5.4 million escudos in 1969.

ANNEX II*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. At its 791st meeting, on 13 April 1971, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a resolution relating to the question of Territories under Portuguese administration (A/AC.109/368). The resolution read as follows: a/

...

"The Special Committee,

...

2. In accordance with paragraph 6 of the resolution, and having regard to the request for assistance contained in the communication under reference, the Secretary-General, in identical letters dated 14 April 1971, transmitted copies of the resolution to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the joint United Nations-FAO World Food Programme (WFP), requesting information on action taken or envisaged by them in response to the appeal made by the Special Committee in paragraph 5 of the resolution.

3. The substantive portions of the replies received in this connexion are reproduced below.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

/Original: English/
3 May 1971

I should like to draw your attention to section II of our comprehensive report on activities undertaken by FAO in implementation of the various General Assembly resolutions concerning decolonization, a copy of which was sent to you under cover of my letter of 26 March 1971. I am enclosing a copy of section II for easy reference. b/

I shall be glad to let you know the results of the consultations with the OAU referred to in section II as soon as possible.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/376.

a/ See para. 30 of the present chapter for the text of the resolution.

b/ Note by the Secretariat: The report under reference is reproduced in document A/8314.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

/Original: English/
23 July 1971

I am writing in reference to your letter of 14 April 1971 with which you transmitted the text of a resolution on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration (A/AC.109/368), adopted 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 at its 791st meeting on 13 April 1971. In your letter attention was drawn to operative paragraphs 5 and 6 of the resolution and in its conclusion your letter requested "information on action taken or envisaged in accordance with the provisions of this resolution, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity".

On 10 May 1971, following receipt of your letter, the Director-General of the World Health Organization addressed a letter to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity referring to the resolution adopted by the Special Committee and requesting any information that the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity might have available "so that further consideration can be given to this request".

You will be aware that on 17 June 1971 the Director-General transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a copy of resolution WHA24.51 adopted on 20 May 1971 by the World Health Assembly at its twenty-fourth session (A/8314/Add.1). c/ The Director-General is requested in this resolution to study further the contribution the World Health Organization might make in fulfilment of the humanitarian aims set out in the various resolutions of the General Assembly, and to present to the Executive Board at its forty-ninth session in January 1972 proposals with respect to appropriate activities of the Organization in response to requests of the United Nations General Assembly.

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

/Original: English/
24 May 1971

I have taken careful note of the resolution, in particular paragraphs 5 and 6 cited in your letter, as well as your request for information on action taken or envisaged in accordance with the provisions thereof.

As you know, General Assembly resolution 57 (I) establishing UNICEF provides, inter alia, that the Fund shall not engage in activities in any country except in consultation with and with the consent of the Government concerned. Nevertheless, I shall ask our representative in Addis Ababa to consult with the Organization of African Unity in an endeavour to ascertain whether there are any practical possibilities for UNICEF to provide assistance within the limits of its mandate as established by the General Assembly.

c/ See also document A/8314.

I might add that where refugees are concerned UNICEF is providing assistance in co-operation with the UNHCR to several countries in which such refugees are residing, d/ with the result that UNICEF's aid, with the agreement of the Government of the country, can benefit both nationals of that country and resident refugees alike.

I shall, of course, also, in due course, inform my Executive Board of the resolution transmitted in your letter under reference.

WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME

/Original: English/
22 April 1971

I have noted paragraphs 5 and 6 of the resolution and wish to inform you that the WFP is joining the FAO in a mission to Addis Ababa to discuss with the Organization of African Unity the possibilities of co-operation with them in the fields to which the resolution relates. e/

ANNEX III*

LETTER DATED 3 SEPTEMBER 1971 FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-
GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO THE UNDER-
SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR TRUSTEESHIP AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING
TERRITORIES

Pursuant to resolution A/AC.109/368 of 13 April 1971 adopted 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, I have the honour to inform you that the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is in close contact with the World Health Organization (WHO). The General Secretariat of OAU at Addis Ababa has suggested to WHO a concrete programme of assistance to liberation movements. It has also called a joint meeting of OAU with the specialized agencies of the United Nations and with the international institutions within the United Nations system (the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Labour Office (ILO)). This meeting will be held on 6 September 1971 at Addis Ababa, and its purpose will be to discuss in general the problem of extension of aid and co-ordination of assistance to liberation movements, refugees and victims of racial discrimination and colonialism. The participants will meet at Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, so that they may engage in more extensive consultations with the Liberation Committee of OAU and the leaders of liberation movements who are currently at Dar es Salaam.

I shall be happy to supply any additional information you may require concerning the implementation of the above-mentioned resolution.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/382.

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