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REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL  
ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE TERRITORIES  
UNDER COLONIAL AND RACIST DOMINATION



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A INTRODUCTION

1. Since September 1969 the overall situation in the territories under Colonial and minority racist regimes, especially in Southern Africa, has deteriorated further. The illegal and defacto racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury have continued to defy the United Nations and the International Community by intensifying their oppression against the African populations in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Of late they even held farcical elections in the three territories where, as could be expected, the illegal minority regimes were "returned to power by an overwhelming majority vote". And thanks to their bosom friends in the Western World their economies, despite U.N. Sanctions and embargo, are doing even better than their own expectations. As a result they have jointly built the most powerful military machine on the African continent, This military might is obviously meant against the freedom-seeking Africans in Southern Africa as well as against the independent African Nations, especially those which have consistently opposed colonialism and racial discrimination. Again thanks to the direct assistance of NATO member States and the collaboration of Pretoria and Salisbury, even tiny and impoverished Portugal has continued to intensify its war of genocide against the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea.

2. During the last Session of the United Nations Pretoria and Lisbon reaffirmed their aggressive posture towards Africa and their contempt of the international community when they rejected the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, which was almost unanimously accepted by the rest of the U.N. Member States, by voting against it. It is therefore obvious, more than ever before, that the over thirty million Africans, under the illegal minority racist regimes in Africa, as well as the member States of the Organization of African Unity collectively, cannot put faith in any possibility of a dialogue with these racist regimes which have chosen to remain arrogant and intransigent. Consequently the only alternative left to the enslaved millions in Southern Africa as well as to the Organization

of African Unity becomes clear. The possibility for doubts and equivocations is now over for the Organization to appraise the realities of the situation and draw the necessary conclusions.

## APARTHEID - SOUTH AFRICA

### I The Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa

3. It will be recalled that the "Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa" was adopted unanimously by the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Subsequently on October 8, 1969, His Excellency President Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon, the Current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, officially presented the Manifesto to the Twenty-Fourth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Manifesto was warmly welcomed by members of the United Nations, including the four big powers, namely the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Republic of France.

4. At the end of the debate on the Manifesto, during which no less than thirty countries took part, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 2505 (XXIV) on 20 November 1969 which inter alia, stated that the General Assembly:

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

5. The resolution, sponsored by 48 countries, was approved by a roll-call vote of 113 countries in favour, two against (South Africa and Portugal) with two abstentions (Malawi and Cuba). The resolution as a whole is attached to the report as Annex 1.

6. Earlier, barely a month after the conclusion of the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government the Pretoria regime had expressed its opposition to the Lusaka Manifesto. At a Press Conference in New York Pretoria's Foreign Minister, Dr. Muller, declared that as far as his government was concerned there was a major obstacle enshrined in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa which prevented a dialogue between the Pretoria regime and Independent Africa. That obstacle was identified by Dr. Muller as "the allegations of racial discrimination in South Africa ... . In South Africa there is in fact a commitment to this principle (Apartheid)"

In other words for the Pretoria regime the question of Apartheid and racial discrimination cannot be subject for any discussion, for to do so would be an interference in Pretoria's internal affairs!

## II A Decade of fascist oppression in South Africa

7. With the end of the last farcical elections in South Africa in April of this year, in which Vorster's party was "returned to power" for another five years by a substantive majority, the so called National Party entered its 23rd year of Power in the Apartheid republic during which time it enforced the policy of Apartheid through intimidation and terror. On April 21, 1970 Africa and the World at large solemnly commemorated the tenth anniversary of the barbaric massacre by the fascist Pretoria regime of unarmed and innocent Africans at Sharpeville and Langa townships. What the last ten years have witnessed is the continued consolidation of Apartheid by means of repressive legislation and the apparatus of a police state along the lines of Nazi Germany. Since April 21, 1960 countless acts have been passed by the so-called parliament of Pretoria to deny the over fourteen million Africans of their most elementary human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as to repress other opposition elements in South Africa. Detention without trial, banning of individuals, especially African leaders and militants, and organizations, such as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, suppression of publications, keeping of political prisoners in goal under inhuman conditions are all clear proof of the ruthlessness with which the Apartheid regime continues to operate.

8. Life for the non-whites in South Africa has become so harsh and unbearable so much so that seven people commit suicide every day in South Africa. Moreover, every day an average of two thousand Africans are prosecuted under apartheid laws. It has also been statistically established that South Africa accounts for half of the World's legal executions.

9. As late as April of this year the Pretoria regime has taken yet a further step towards the strengthening of its rabid Apartheid policy through a decree which took effect on May 3, 1970. The decree banned all Africans from holding white - collar and all jobs of a skilled nature in the urban areas. Africans have thus been debarred from working as counterhands in shops or cafés, as receptionists in commercial or professional undertakings, as telephonists or telephone switch-board operators in shops, offices or

factories. It has been reported that as a result of this decree in Transvaal alone (mainly in Johannesburg) ten thousand Africans will lose their jobs. The Vacancies are to be filled by whites. But since white labour is scarce the Pretoria regime, in its efforts to remove all Africans from white cities, has launched a vigorous campaign to attract white immigrants from Europe and elsewhere. In 1969 over fourty thousand Europeans from Britain, Holland, West Germany, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland and Italy were said to have emigrated to South Africa.

### III Economic and Financial Offensive of Pretoria

10. It has been repeatedly stated by high ranking officials of the Vorster defacto government that the reason for the so-called "outward-looking policy" of the Pretoria regime was to strengthen South Africa's economy and gain the World's (especially the Western world's) confidence so as to make South Africa indispensable to her trading partners. As was succinctly expressed by Pretoria's former agriculture minister, Mr. Uys, "the stronger we are the less they (the Africans and the world) can touch us ... this is our guarantee for the future". Indeed Pretoria's so-called "outward looking policy" holds economic and political benefits for the apartheid regime and is also promising for subsidiaries of foreign companies in South Africa. After all the Apartheid system provides a pool of cheap African labour which results in very low production costs and therefore industrial goods can be manufactured cheaply in South Africa than in the highly industrialized western nations. As a result South Africa boasts that investments in apartheid yield the World's highest return. In March 1969, the American journal, Business Week, reported that according to a survey carried out by its staff South Africa had the attraction of an investment return of between seventeen (17) and twenty six (26) per cent. It is not surprising therefore that the most active and enthusiastic lobbyists for the Apartheid regime in Western capitals are business and finance groups.

### IV Pretoria's most important trading and Investment partners British Investment in Apartheid

11. Taking into account all the investment by British oil, banking, insurance and shipping companies as well as the large amount of shareholdings (Portfolio investment) by British investors in South African mining and industrial companies, it has been estimated that the total amount of British

investment in South Africa is over one thousand three hundred million pounds sterling (£ 1300 million). This was revealed by the South African Embassy publication in London, "Report from South Africa", in November, 1968. By now it is certain that the amount will reach £ 1500 million.

12. The scale of British involvement in the South African economy is so great that the amount of British investment constitutes almost two-thirds of the total foreign investment in that country. As a result every year Britain receives more than one hundred million pounds sterling (£100 million) as dividends from direct and portfolio investments in South Africa.

13. It has been established that only very few of the biggest British companies do not have a substantial involvement in the South African economy. The list of the giant British companies with South African interest is attached to this report as Annex 2. According to the British monthly journal, Labour Research, of January 1970, seventy percent (70%) of the top 38 British companies are employing South African labour. The stake which some of these companies hold in the South African economy is very large. For example, Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) is joint owner with De Beers, part of the giant Anglo-American corporation of South Africa, and African Explosives and Chemical Industries which dominate the chemicals market and is by far the biggest manufacturing concern in South Africa. Associated British Foods owns the Premier milling company, which controls 38 flour mills, 48 bakeries and 13 other factories in South Africa and gained a profit of £ 5.9 million in 1968. Shell and BP jointly own the biggest oil refinery; British American Tobacco owns the biggest tobacco company; and Rio Tinto-Zinc owns the great Palabora Copper mine which yielded a profit of £ 24 million in 1968.

14. Many British Companies, which are not large enough to come into the list of the top 38 giants, have also extensive interest in South Africa. Most of these companies are actively expanding their South African interests. In fact it has been established that there are over four hundred (400) British companies, big and small, with business interests in South Africa. The list of these companies has already been communicated to member States.

15. London has always been intimately involved in the finance of South African gold mining and other activities. Three of the ten major mining finance houses are run from London. The £ 396 million Charter consolidated has about 40 per cent of its assets in South Africa. The £ 316 million consolidated Gold Fields has 55 per cent of its assets in South Africa. The third giant company, Selected Trust, is equally heavily involved. All the other mining finance houses, such as the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, which is part of the great Oppenheimer empire, have their shares quoted in the London Stock Exchange. Also eleven out of the sixteen (16) of the largest South African public companies have London share quotations and four of these have special London Committees.

16. Moreover, two of the four banks dominating commercial banking in South Africa are British. Barclays Bank D.C.O. has eight hundred twenty five (825) branches in South Africa and the Standard Bank, partly owned by the National Westminster and the Midland Banks, has about eight hundred (800) branches in South Africa. One of the largest merchant banks in the city of London, Hill Samuel, has very close connections with South Africa, as also have several of Britain's principal insurance companies, including the Prudential and the Norwich Union. The Legal and General Assurance Company has in fact described itself, in an advertisement in the London Financial Times; as "an integral part of South African life." Eagle Star Insurance, which has twenty seven (27) Branch offices in South Africa, reported recently that "we made excellent profits in South Africa."

17. The United Kingdom - South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA) was formed in 1965 in order to protect and promote trade with South Africa. Almost all of the major British companies trading with South Africa or having investments in it are members of the Association. In fact the membership of UKSATA reads like a roll-call of the leading personalities in British Finance, Banking, Insurance and Industry. The importance which the major British companies attach to the further development of trade and investment in South Africa is clearly shown by the fact that the deputy director - general of the Confederation of British Industries is also a director of the United Kingdom - South African Trade Association. Thus, as was eloquently stated by an influential member of the British Labour Government, Mrs. Barbara Castle, "Not only is British investment steadily increasing; it is playing an integral part in underwriting the apartheid Policy".

V British-South African trade grows

18. Trade between Britain and South Africa in 1969 was seven per cent (7%) up on 1968. South African exports to the United Kingdom went up by 8%. United Kingdom exports to South Africa went up by 6%.
19. The Organizations that promote trade between the two countries are the Southern Africa Committee of the British National export Council (the latter in fact gets a grant from the British Board of Trade); the United Kingdom - South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA), mentioned earlier, and UKSATA's equivalent in South Africa, the South Africa - British Trade Association (SABRITA). In 1969 more than eighteen (18) "highly successful" British trade missions visited South Africa. The figure for 1970 will be even more. SABRITA alone has already arranged fourteen (14) missions.
20. At a government level the policy of the British Government was bluntly stated by the present British Ambassador to South Africa. In a statement to the press on his arrival at Cape Town to assume his post, the Ambassador, Sir Arthur Snelling, declared that his most important duty was to promote more trade missions and to make trade between Britain and South Africa increase even faster. He added that he hoped politics would allow him to be free to pursue his main task, namely encouraging Britain's exports to South Africa. The British stake in the apartheid economy is so great that despite South Africa's open role as the major saboteur of sanctions against Rhodesia the British Government has repeatedly declared that it "cannot contemplate any economic confrontation with South Africa." And so British business circles as well as the British Government appear to be committed, directly or indirectly, to the preservation and strengthening of the Status quo in South Africa, that is, in the continuation of the fascist policy of Apartheid in South Africa, which is fast spreading to Namibia and Zibabwe.

VI Collaboration of other powers with South Africa

21. In addition to the United Kingdom the other most important investors and trading partners with South Africa are the United States of America, France, West Germany, Japan, Switzerland and Italy. The United States alone has over two hundred and sixty of its firms involved in South African



business and industry. The list of these companies has already been communicated to Member States. The total amount of United States investment in the Apartheid economy is estimated to be over eight hundred million dollars (US\$ 800 million). In fact American Capital accounts for over thirteen per cent (13%) of total foreign private investment in South Africa. This makes the United States the second biggest investor in the apartheid economy, second only to Britain. United States companies own and run approximately sixty per cent (60%) of South Africa's oil refineries. As far as trade is concerned more than 8 per cent of South Africa's exports go to the United States. This figure excludes the export of South African gold to the United States. According to the United States Trade consul in South Africa, Pretoria took over 40 per cent of the 1.1 billion dollars worth of goods exported by the United States in 1967 to Africa. Pretoria also supplied 25 per cent of the almost 900 million dollars worth imported from Africa.

22. It should also be pointed out here that under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations there was mainly re-investment of profits by American companies in South Africa. The Nixon Administration has, however, quietly authorised U.S. Steel to invest about 8 million dollars in South Africa by buying 15 per cent of African Triangle Mining, a South African firm mainly involved in quarrying copper, Zinc and precious stones in Namibia and a platinum mine in South Africa.

23. A survey published by the Johannesburg Financial Mail of December 1968 has ranked France as the third biggest foreign investor in South Africa after Britain and the United States. Between 1961 and 1967 France's exports to South Africa increased by 135%. During the last few years France has been selling to Pretoria sophisticated military hardware worth over 100 million dollars every year in contravention of the Security Council embargo on arms supplies to South Africa.

24. The Financial Mail survey has also published comparable figures for other countries, reflecting the increase in their exports to South Africa between 1961 and 1967. These include Japan, 205 per-cent; Italy 153 per-cent; and West Germany 113 per-cent.

25. As a group the most important trading partners of South Africa, namely, the United Kingdom, the United States, West Germany and Japan accounted for more than 75% of the total increase in South African exports between 1962 and 1967. During the same period these four Countries alone were responsible for supplying Pretoria with over 60 per cent of the total increase in its imports. These four countries as well as France (which concentrates on exports of war material to Pretoria) constitute the chief market for South African exports and the Chief Source of supply for its imports to the extent that South Africa ranked among the top twelve trading nations of the world in 1968, with exports of over 1,500 million Rand and imports of over 1880 million Rand.

26. Accordingly, thanks to the direct and indirect collaboration of the major western powers and Japan with the Pretoria regime, the South African economy shows continued growth and expansion. According to the latest survey by the South African Reserve Bank South Africa's economic growth rate showed a "substantial further acceleration in 1969". Economic growth in real terms during 1969 was over 7 per-cent as against 3.5 percent in 1968, which was found to be above the long-term average target rate of 5.5 per cent. At current prices, the gross domestic product increased by 12 per-cent. Moreover, since U.N. Sanctions were imposed on South Africa, Pretoria, thanks again to its Western collaborators, has been able to diversify its economy. This measure, together with currency controls, import restrictions and a flood of private investment from overseas has doubled the gross national product of South Africa in one decade. Nevertheless, while the per capita income for the Africans in South Africa is only 210 dollars a year the per capita income of the whites is over 2300 dollars a year, which is more than ten times that of the African! In fact it is estimated that the standard of living of the Europeans in South Africa is among the highest in the world, only about 10 per cent below the United States level. According to the London Guardian of December 1, 1969, "the number of known millionaires (whites) in South Africa has doubled to more than 400 (four hundred) in the past two years"!!!

VII Recent Developments Concerning Airline Services to  
and from South Africa

27. A weekly all-cargo service between Frankfurt, West Germany, and Johannesburg was inaugurated on 5 January 1970 by Lufthansa in conjunction with South African Airways. On January 7, 1970 it was announced that South African Airways and the B.O.A.C. had concluded an agreement for a weekly all-cargo service between London and Johannesburg from May 2, 1970, using 30-ton capacity Boeing 707's. Reporting the agreement, the Star, a Johannesburg daily, wrote on 7 January this year:

"Freight is the fastest growing section of the Airline business and although the first all-cargo jet service to Johannesburg began only late in 1967, Airline after airline has been introducing freighters in partnership with South African Airways.

U.T.A., the French Airline, was the first in 1967. Then came Alitalia, last year and only this week Lufthansa began its Cargo Service. ...

It will mean that for the first time large pieces of machinery, racing cars and even elephants can be flown direct to London, with good connections for Cargo destined for America".

28. It was reported in April 1970 that Varig, the Brazilian international Airline, had announced that, subject to the approval of the Government of Portugal, it would shortly inaugurate regular flights from Rio de Janeiro to Johannesburg and Luanda, Angola.

29. On November 21, 1969, it was reported by the Johannesburg Financial mail that the Argentine Government had approved an application by the Olympic Airways for a flight from Athens to Buenos Aires via Nairobi and Johannesburg. The inauguration of the flight was reported awaiting approval by the South African Government as the route would not be viable without rights to pick up and deliver passengers in South Africa.

30. Finally, Mr. Johnny Walker, the new marketing chief of B.O.A.C. in Johannesburg said in April 1970 that the B.O.A.C. hoped to arrange the first "Jambo-Jet" service between Johannesburg and London in October 1971 in association with the South African Airways. That would mean a 33.3 percent increase in capacity over the present two way traffic flow operated jointly by B.O.A.C. and South African Airways.

V VIII Pretoria's Massive military buildup

31. As is well known the Pretoria regime has built the most powerful military machine on the African continent. In its latest report, "The Military Balance 1969-70", the London Institute of Strategic Studies disclosed the following defence figures for South Africa. According to the report South Africa has 29,700 regular servicemen and 85,500 under full mobilization. These are of course drawn from the white population. In addition it has a 22,300 strong citizen's force under training at any one time and about 60,000 men in reserve. The Army has about 200 tanks as well as several hundred armoured cars and personnel carriers. The Air Force is 5000 strong with a 3000-strong citizen force. It has 230 aircraft, including light jet bombers, Mirage fighter bombers with air-to-surface missiles, Mirage interceptors and Vampires. The Police are 23,700 strong with 12,00 reservists. There is also a volunteer militia, the "Kommandos", numbering 58,000. The report states further that Pretoria allotted 272 million Rand (US.\$ 372 million) for defence for 1969-70. The 272 million Rand for 1969/70 was to be allocated as follows:

Procurement of armaments	95,027,000 Rand
Defence special equipment	42,571,500 "
Citizen Force	40,180,000 "
Airforce	38,004,708 "
Army	20,310.035 "
Navy	13,575,803 "

The 1969/70 defence estimate amounted to 17 per cent of the budget as compared to 6.6 percent eight years ago.

32. During the next five years 1969/1974, Pretoria is to spend \$2,400 million dollars on defence, buying aircraft, ships, armour, anti-aircraft guns, rockets and guided missiles, ammunitions, vehicles and radar navigational and other military equipment. A white paper on Defence stated that the country's defence forces must be prepared to face both conventional and unconventional attack. "Although an unconventional threat already exists in the form of terrorism, the possibility of a conventional attack is not excluded", it said. In this connection Defence Minister Botha has disclosed that there were now five centres in South Africa where young men "were being trained continually on a full - time basis to combat terrorism".

The white paper, moreover, underlined that in spite of an arms embargo against South Africa, supplies were being obtained without difficulty. Airfields were also being built in "Strategic areas" and the local electronics industry was "making some of the most modern and sophisticated equipment".

33. The white paper also laid emphasis on Maritime defence and the importance of the sea route around the Cape. It announced the construction of a new tidal basin and submarine base at Simonstown costing 14.4 million Rand; the building of a synchro-lift dock for handling submarines and smaller surface ships; the acquisition of a fleet of fast coastal patrol craft; the replacement of the old hydrographic survey ship, Natal, with a new one; the replacement of the old Cape naval radio, taken over from Britain, by a modern operations and communications complex at Westlake, which would give world-wide communication capacity and cost 12 million Rand; and the provision of Light reconnaissance aircraft to police coastal waters. Pretoria's strong emphasis on its so-called "Maritime Defence" was revealed even more clearly by its defence minister when he declared: "South Africa was the Natural protector of the Sea routes around her; her defence force would be able to keep contact with aircraft, ships, submarines from South America to the Indian ocean and as far as Antarctica".

34. In line with its Maritime strategy Pretoria continues to create new relations and strengthen old ones with several countries. In March 1970 the South African Department of Defence disclosed that between the closing of the Suez Canal in July 1967 and the end of 1969, 195 warships and 139 fleet auxiliaries of the United Kingdom and other Nations had made use of South African ports. Moreover, according to the Cape Times of October 13, 1969, in October - November 1969, a South African Navy squadron of five ships visited three ports in Angola (Luanda, Lobito and Mossamedes) during a training cruise of three and a half weeks. On February 24, 1970, a frigate of the Argentine Navy, ARA Libertad, arrived in Cape Town on a five-day courtesy visit. The Commanding officer, Captain Emilio Massera, called on the South African Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence. The officers and the crew were entertained by the chief of the South African Navy, Vice-Admiral H. H. Bierman, and the Mayor of Cape Town.

35. In February 1970, the British Defence Secretary, Mr. Dennis Healey, disclosed in the House of Commons that Naval Co-operation between the United Kingdom and South Africa continued. He said: "In recent years, combined Anti-Submarine exercises have been held annually. In addition, joint maritime training has been occasionally carried out by H.M. Ships while on passage round the Cape." The Minister also said that there had been exchanges of technical officers between the two Navies since 1965.

36. In short, in recent years South Africa has concentrated on expanding her naval forces in preparation for assuming new "responsibilities" in the Southern Hemisphere. Pretoria has, for sometime now, been working intensively to establish a military alliance in the Southern Hemisphere. In fact in April last year Mr. Vorster informed "Parliament" that his "government" was having talks "at the highest level" with certain nations. Subsequently, Die Transvaler, a government newspaper, said: "The Indian Ocean links these two powers (Australia and New Zealand) with the Republic. The Southern part of the Atlantic Ocean is also for South American powers, such as the Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil, a Common area". And so, with the view of setting up a South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) Pretoria has been feverishly working to establish close economic and political links, not only with Australia and New Zealand, but also with South American countries, especially Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. In addition, as part of its aim to forge a regional alliance with the Western powers, on the pretext of a "vacuum in the Indian Ocean" created by Britain's withdrawal from east of Suez and the fear of the Naval Power of the U.S.S.R. in the Southern Hemisphere, Pretoria has set about increasing its military power and maritime facilities to make itself an attractive, if not indispensable, ally of the West. Already influential personalities in the West such as the former British Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas Home, have suggested: "NATO should concern itself with keeping South Africa to defend this sea route"! Hence, the time may not be far away when South Africa will be integrated formally into the overall Western defence system.

IX... Western help for South Africa's Militarization

37. All available data indicate clearly that Pretoria's rapid militarization and the development of a massive armaments industry, especially since the 1960 Sharpsville Massacre, was due to the Co-operation and support of Western Business firms and Governments. Despite the United Nations arms embargo (Security Council resolutions 182 of August 1963 and 183 of December 1963) on South Africa many Western nations have been selling military equipment to Pretoria. In particular, France, in open defiance of the said Security Council resolutions, has increased her arms trade by supplying South Africa with modern aircraft and naval vessels, including a number of Daphne class submarines capable of 12 knots while submerged, worth 12 million pounds sterling. In 1969, it was officially announced that in Co-operation with France, South Africa had developed the Cactus air defence system, "the most advanced and effective of its kind in existence." Towards the end of 1968, it was disclosed in France that South Africa was France's third biggest customer for the sale of military equipment, coming after Israel and Belgium. Subsequently, it has been established that France has been selling military equipment worth over 100 million dollars every year to South Africa. As was pointed out by Le Monde of 25 June, 1969, "The South African armed forces, among the strongest on the African continent, are equipped with French material, from Submarine and radar equipment to helicopters and mirage fighter planes. The excuse most often cited by the French Government was that the types of weapons furnished by France are unlikely to be used as instruments of repression against the African populations. This, however, is not a very convincing argument, and there is no doubt that they have also been used outside the borders of the republic, notably in Angola and South West Africa."

38. Britain has also made loopholes on the embargo by making two major qualifications to the U.N. resolutions, namely, the previous contracts were to be fulfilled and that spare parts for "equipment sent there" would continue to be supplied. Consequently, Britain continues to supply ammunition for South Africa's centurion tanks and 25-pounder guns as well as spare parts for Canberra bombers of the Air Force and the Naval Shackletons based in Cape Town. The United States is also reported to have supplied spare parts for light aircraft and other equipment supplied under contracts signed before 1963. Moreover, in January 1970, a French-

German jointly owned aircraft company, Transporter Allianz, delivered some of the nine Transall C-160 freight and troop carriers to the South African Airforce. These giant aircraft can operate from semi-prepared surfaces and they are expected to be used for anti-guerrilla operations. A team of South African pilots were trained in West Germany in 1969 to operate these planes.

39. The Major loophole in the international arms embargo is the ease, and often the enthusiasm, with which Western Governments permit South Africa to purchase licences and blue-prints for military equipment. While the governments of Britain, the United States, West Germany, Belgium and Italy formally pledge support for the U.N. arms embargo, they sanction the supply of military know-how, permit their firms to invest capital in South African arms firms, and do nothing to discourage their citizens from migrating to take up posts in the arms firms of South Africa. France openly supplies military weapons, permits investment in the South African arms industry, allows skilled technicians to migrate, and sells patents for military equipment. Even in areas where the boycott has been applied, ingenious arrangements have enabled South Africa to obtain Weapons and equipment. For example, engines for the Impala aircraft being built in South Africa are of British design. But the South African licensing arrangement is with an Italian firm, though the original licence comes from Rolls Royce, and work on these engines has been supervised in South Africa by a team from Rolls Royce. So far over 300 of the Impala has been assembled in South Africa and it is now known that part of these jet fighters go to Rhodesia.

40. By the end of 1965 South Africa had obtained, according to the then defence Minister, Mr. Fouché, over 120 licences to manufacture weapons locally and was "already practically self-sufficient so far as the production of small weapons, ammunition and explosives were concerned. We would even be able to sell arms which we manufacture in this country to well disposed friends". It is now known that Pretoria has developed the poison gasses Tabun, Soman and Sarin, all colourless, odorless and tasteless. A gramme of Tabun is said to be able to kill 400 people, while the other two are even more lethal.



41. Since December 1968, Pretoria has started producing rockets and lately it has been indicated in Western military circles that Pretoria was about to join the nuclear club. Already in 1965 Defence Minister Fouché had announced that South Africa had received "from a Western government a licence to produce in South Africa a bomb of the most modern type". In 1968 Dr. Roux, the Chairman of the South African Atomic Energy Board, had also disclosed that South Africa co-operated in the nuclear field with the United States, France, Britain and Portugal. In this respect, there has also been widespread speculation about collaboration between South Africa and West Germany, which is not allowed to produce nuclear weapons on her territory.

42. In short, the economic and military strengthening of the Pretoria regime entails dangerous consequences. In the first place, Pretoria's military capacity enables her to pursue her major objective of keeping political and economic power firmly and irrevocably in three million white hands to the total neglect and detriment of the over fourteen million Africans in South Africa. In the process of the imposition of Apartheid over the 80% of the non-white population the so-called Bantustan policy also brings about the effect of dividing the people of South Africa, weakening their national objectives as one people under one government. Moreover, the Bantustan policy has had the effect of concentrating the African population into what are called "homelands," which are easy targets for Pretoria's security forces, and even for its Air Force, without risking the loss of life of any white people in those areas. In other words, Pretoria's intensive re-armament will help it carry out a ruthless and large scale war of genocide against the African population, already herded into so-called Bantustans.

43. Secondly, Pretoria's economic and military strength has brought about the possibility of financial infiltration and eventual control of the economies of almost all the countries in Southern Africa. This "outward-looking policy" of Pretoria has already provided markets for its goods, investment opportunities for its capital and will eventually aim at creating dependent states, and ultimately dependent regimes, which could serve as buffer states for its domestic Apartheid system. In this respect, the direct and indirect consequences of Mr. Vorster's official "State Visit" to Malawi on May 20 and 21, 1970 are obvious. When President Banda, at a

state banquet for Mr. Vorster, declared: "To see the head of State of South Africa in my country makes my life worthwhile", Mr. Vorster gleefully replied. The Apartheid "South African National Anthem never sounded so beautifully as when I heard it in Malawi"!! What is even more disturbing is that, according to news dispatches from Blantyre, President Banda is reported to have agreed to Mr. Vorster's request to make use of the Lilongwe International Airport, being built by South Africa, for South African Air Force planes. Obviously Pretoria's Air Force is meant against African freedom fighters as well as against Independent African States which are opposed to colonialism, racial discrimination and tyranny.

44. In the meantime the prospect of Pretoria's direct military intervention in neighbouring territories has increased. In order to protect the Status quo South African troops are fighting freedom fighters and suppressing domestic resistance in Zimbabwe, and supporting portuguese troops in Angola and Mozambique, Mr. Vorster says repeatedly: "We are prepared to fight terrorists wherever we are allowed to . . . . If a neighbour's house is on fire you don't need an understanding or a treaty to go and help that neighbour to extinguish the fire." Within the context of Mr. Vorster's declarations, Pretoria's security frontier has already moved northwards, away from her own borders, to the Zambezi. In addition Pretoria's Air Force operates regular reconnaissance flights over several African countries. Since last year Mr. Vorster's Apartheid regime has intensified further its intelligence operations beyond South Africa's own borders as was revealed by the creation of the notorious, high-level and top-secret Bureau of State Security (BOSS), with virtually unlimited funds.

45. Finally, Pretoria's economic and military might has led her to claim the role of a regional power with a self-imposed mission of defending the interests of the West in the area. As was reported by the U.S. News and World Report, of 15th July 1968, for Mr. Vorster: "Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal are all very interested in the stability of Southern Africa, and we want to keep it that way-not only in our interest, but in the interests of the free world". As could be expected, through its diplomatic and military links, Pretoria has over the years established close contacts with military circles in Western countries, In fact the military 'brass' and the arms industries in these countries as well as the financial circles, which

constantly urge closer relationships with Pretoria, are the best allies of and lobbyists for the Vorster regime. As lucrative links with South Africa continue to increase, Western Governments, urged by their powerful financial and economic circles, increasingly show equivocations and manoeuvres and continue to show reluctance to support firmly international action against the Apartheid regime of Pretoria. As a result, until now at the United Nations and elsewhere Western Governments have successively blocked all meaningful action to counteract the obnoxious policy of Apartheid in South Africa.

46. The Policy of Apartheid as practiced by the Pretoria regime has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity and a threat to peace and international security. Various types of organizations all over the world have been actively campaigning against Apartheid in South Africa. Consequently South Africa has become increasingly isolated. In May of this year South Africa was expelled from the Olympic movement by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) because of that Country's racial discrimination in sport. The vote of the IOC was 35 in favour 28 against with 3 abstentions. South Africa has already been thrown out of the Davis Cup lawn tennis competition, the International Federations of table tennis, weight-lifting, boxing, soccer, basket ball and fencing. Thus with her expulsion from the Olympic Movement, South Africa's opportunity for international contact in this field has been close. Even bi-lateral sports arrangements between South Africa and other mainly Western, Nations seem to be heading towards a similar end as was shown by the cancellation of the South African cricket team's tour of England in June, 1970. After a great deal of prevarications the English cricket body, the MCC, cancelled the said tour of the South African ~~cricket~~ team on May 22, 1970. There is no doubt that the victory was won as a result of a solid common front put up by African States, members of the Commonwealth, which threatened to boycott the Summer Commonwealth games at Edinburgh. In this respect, the indirect and subtle pressure applied by the British Labour Government on the MCC to cancel the tour is also worthy of note. In short, with the cancellation of the tour to England South African cricket and in fact South African sport in general has been dealt a heavy blow and the prospect of South African (white) sportsmen having any sports competitions with other Nations inside or outside of South Africa is indeed bleak.

## X Apartheid and the International Community

47. For over twenty years the United Nations has been dealing with the problem of Apartheid and racial discrimination. The archives of the United Nations are, as a result, replete with voluminous documents and resolutions on the subject. But so far, the Pretoria regime has not abandoned its policy of Apartheid. On the contrary, Mr. Vorster's regime has become even more arrogant and intransigent, thanks to the direct and indirect political, economic and military assistance of its Western friends. As a result South Africa still remains the bastion of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa and the principal threat to peace and to the authority of the United Nations.

48. It will be recalled that on November 6, 1962, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1761 (XVII) by a vote of 77 to 16 with 23 abstentions. among other things this resolution called upon all Member States to boycott South African goods and to refrain from exporting goods, including arms and ammunition, to South Africa. Again in August and December 1963, the Security Council, by resolutions 182 and 183 respectively, imposed an arms embargo on South Africa. But as was sufficiently pointed out earlier in the report the failure of the major Western powers as well as Japan to comply with the said U.N. decisions has enabled the Apartheid regime of Pretoria not only to strengthen and consolidate its policies of Apartheid but also to expand that policy beyond its borders to the international territory of Namibia as well as to Zimbabwe.

49. As was clearly demonstrated with statistical data, the key to an effective boycott of the South African economy and an embargo on arms supplies and know-how to Pretoria lies in the hands of South Africa's five major trading partners. Economically, only four of the five countries, Britain, the United States, West Germany and Japan provide markets for over 60 per cent of South Africa's exports and supply her with over 60 percent of her imports. Militarily, France, West Germany, Britain and the United States supply the Pretoria regime with almost all its sophisticated military hardware as well as military know-how. It is obvious, therefore, that as long as these five Countries in particular fail to co-operate in the implementation of the said United Nations resolutions, any boycott and embargo cannot be successful. In other words, if the entire world with the exception of the United Kingdom,

the United States, France, West Germany and Japan had enforced the said economic boycott and an arms embargo against South Africa, the result would have been a failure, as it is now. Therefore, as long as these five countries refrain from imposing economic sanctions and an arms embargo against South Africa, any economic boycott and arms embargo, no matter how many other countries comply with the sanction, cannot succeed in achieving its objective, namely, to impose penalties sufficiently severe to persuade the South African regime to abandon its inhuman racial policies.

50. Meanwhile, the Pretoria regime continues to believe that her position is impregnable due to the continued support of its friends militarily, economically and politically. Now that the response to the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa by the illegal minority racist regimes of Southern Africa has been clearly and unmistakably identified and the necessary conclusions drawn by free Africa, perhaps it is also time and appropriate for the Organization of African Unity to draw up another Manifesto to the important trading partners and secret allies of the Pretoria regime inviting them to make their positions clear and make them public, once and for all. Untill then, all the efforts of independent Africa will only take it back to the starting point of the same vicious circle, in which the brutal enforcement of the policies of Apartheid by the Pretoria regime and the direct and indirect assistance that regime gets from its Western friends continue to operate as two sides of the same coin, namely, the coin of oppression, exploitation and aggression.

51. Finally, the United Nations General Assembly, in its resolution 2544 (XXIV), has declared 1971 as International year for Action to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The main resolution on Apartheid is attached to this report as Annex 3.

B NAMIBIA

52. It will be recalled that since Pretoria's so-called Parliament passed the "South West Africa Affairs Act" in 1969, which virtually annexed the international territory of Namibia to South Africa, Mr. Vorster's regime has been administering Namibia as its fifth province. Because of the grave situation that developed in Namibia following the implementation of the said act the United Nations Security Council convened an urgent meeting and passed resolution 269 (1969), on August 12, 1969, calling upon the "Government of South Africa to withdraw its administration from the territory immediately and in any case before October 1969."

53. However, instead of complying with the said Security Council resolution, Pretoria's reply in October 1969 was a three-hundred-page memorandum to the U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, rejecting the Security Council's demand and stating categorically that "on no account will the Republic" of South Africa withdraw from Namibia.

54. The eleven-member U.N. Council for Namibia in its annual report to the United Nations last October also admitted total failure in taking over and administering the international territory of Namibia for the third successive year. The report, inter alia, stated:

"It need scarcely be emphasised that the efforts of the United Nations including those of the Security Council, have so far produced no change in the totally negative attitude of South Africa concerning the question of Namibia". The Council also requested the Security Council to take strong action to force the withdrawal of South Africa from the international territory of Namibia, if need be by invoking Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter. The Council also called upon all member Countries of the world/body to stop dealings with the Pretoria regime so as to bring about an effective economic and diplomatic isolation of South Africa.

55. Subsequently on December 1st 1969 the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on Namibia by 95 Votes in favour, 2 against (South Africa and Portugal) and 19 abstentions.

56. The resolution, among others, condemned South Africa for its "persistent refusal" to withdraw its administration from Namibia. Pretoria's attempts to "destroy the national Unity and territorial integrity of Namibia" were also condemned. Moreover, the General Assembly reaffirmed the Namibian people's right to independence and self determination, and expressed the Assembly's solidarity with the Namibians "legitimate struggle against foreign occupation". Finally, the General Assembly requested the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to discharge, by every available means, the functions entrusted to it and called on all States to co-operate with the Council. The December 1st resolution as well as the Security Council resolution 269 (1969) are attached to the report as Annexes 6 and 7.

57. During consideration of the question of Namibia, the General Assembly also approved the recommendation of the Secretary General, U Thant, to appoint Mr. Agha Abdul Hamid of Pakistan as acting United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, in addition to his duties as Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information, effective 1st January 1970.

58. Between 28 and 30 January 1970, the Security Council again considered the question of Namibia. The meeting was in fact held at the request of fifty - eight member States for urgent consideration by the Security Council of the failure of South Africa to comply with resolution 269 (1969). Accordingly, at its 1529th meeting, the Security Council adopted resolution 276 (1970), the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"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 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."

59. In accordance with operative paragraphs 6 and 9, the Security Council is expected to take up the question of Namibia for consideration sometime this year. By the time this report was prepared there was no indication as to when the question of the international territory of Namibia was to be considered by the Security Council.



C ZIMBABWE (Rhodesia)

60. On November 11, 1969, the illegal minority racist regime of Salisbury entered its fifth year of U.D.I. with some confidence in its ability to continue its administration of the territory, with political, economic and military power totally in the hands of some 240,000 whites as against 5 million dis-franchised Africans. Marking the occasion, the leader of the rebel regime, Mr. Ian Smith, declared "our continued economic strength is shown by the fact that except for an initial setback in 1966, our economic activity has been more than well maintained with the gross domestic product increasing by eleven percent since 1965." Referring to the success of his regime in beating U.N. sanctions Mr. Smith said that, in fact, sanctions had forced industrial expansion to treble, strengthened agriculture, strengthened his illegal minority regime and that, as a result, during 1970 his regime will be in a better position to demonstrate "its independence from Britain" more forcefully than ever before.

61. In conformity with his declared intention to assert the "independence" of his regime, Mr. Smith broke the final links of Rhodesia with the British Crown. As a further affront to Africa and the world, at one minute past midnight on March 2nd 1970, Rhodesia was declared a Republic. On March 1st, Mr. Clifford Dupont, Officer Administering the Government, signed a proclamation dissolving "Parliament". With his signature, the 1969 constitution introducing a "republican form of government" came into operation automatically. Subsequently the Governments of Norway, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, West Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland, Greece and the United States closed their consulates in Rhodesia. The Consulates of South Africa and Portugal still remain open. Although the United States Government has formally closed its consulate in Salisbury a privately financed group, the American-Southern Africa Council, has decided to set up an "American Information Office" in Salisbury. On his departure to Salisbury to establish the said U.S. Bureau the Chairman of the American-Southern Africa Council declared that the Bureau "will serve as a concrete symbol of the friendship of the American people for the people of Rhodesia". He described Rhodesia as "a bastion of freedom and Western civilization in a continent of anarchy, communism and cannibalism".

Subsequently, the American-Southern Africa Council has disclosed that its information centre in Salisbury will work to "protect American business interests" in Rhodesia which is estimated to amount over £ 40 million. The U.S. State department's reaction to the setting up of the privately financed "U.S. Information Bureau" in Salisbury was that it "could not see any objection to the information centre".

62. On April 10th, 1970, the Smith regime held another of its farcical elections during which Ian Smith's "Rhodesian Front Party" won all the 50 seats in "Parliament" reserved for the 240,000 whites in Rhodesia. There were only 8 seats reserved for the 5 million Africans, under the so called 1969 constitution, which, according to Mr. Smith, would "sound the death knel of the principle of majority rule."

63. Now that a Republic has been declared and the farcical elections have produced a farcical parliament, the Apartheid-style 1969 constitution of the rebel minority regime of Salisbury has entered into force as from May 1970. Accordingly, detention and house arrest without trial or accusation have become integral parts of the laws of the territory. Moreover, the racist Land Tenure Act, which replaced the 1931 Land Apportionment Act, will be implemented even more forcefully with the view to expediting the effective "separation of races" in Zimbabwe.

64. Recently, on account of the Land Tenure Act the Smith regime was confronted by leaders of Rhodesia's Churches. At the beginning of May, Rhodesia's major christian Churches, headed by the Catholics, declared their intention to defy the land tenure act, which is the cornerstone of white supremacy in Zimbabwe. The Act, as is well known, forcibly divides Rhodesia into white and black areas of activity and controls the activities of one race in an "alien" area along the lines of Pretoria's Apartheid Policy. The churches being non-racial are required to register as "voluntary organization" and consequently their activities will be under "government control". Accordingly the Church leaders believe that the land tenure act would reduce the scale of their activities to operating by Government permission and subsequently to agreeing to racial segregation. They have therefore decided to refuse to register under the land tenure act even though this might mean confiscation of their material possessions and possibly jail sentences. Meanwhile the Roman Catholic Church has

even gone one step further and warned the Smith regime that unless the said legislation is changed all the schools, hospitals, old age homes and orphanages run by that church will be closed down. So far the Salisbury regime has reacted moderately by stating that it wants to avoid any confrontation with the Churches and is prepared to hold talks with religious leaders. In any case during the coming months we shall be able to gauge the extent of the Confrontation between the Churches and the minority racist regime of Salisbury and the outcome of that confrontation. Meanwhile the ensuing struggle of the Churches against the Smith regime is a welcome new front in the struggle against colonialism and racial tyranny in Zimbabwe.

#### The Economic Situation

65. In his New Year message broadcast on 1 January 1970, Mr. Ian Smith declared that the external trading position of the territory had improved and that Rhodesia would end 1969 with a substantial visible trade balance. He added that the current account balance of payments was in surplus compared with the deficit in 1968. Preliminary estimates of the gross domestic product for 1969 showed a growth of 13 percent to more than £440 million. Manufacturing and mining output had increased and capital formation would exceed the £69 million achieved in 1968, which according to Mr. Smith, was the highest figure since the period when the Kariba Dam was under construction. Mr. Smith went on to state that the employment of all races had risen and figures for immigration and tourism were encouraging. Concluding his message Mr. Smith declared: "Our problem will be to control and maintain a balance in the surge of expansion which we anticipate." Subsequently, the President of the Association of Rhodesian Industries, Mr. Owens, stated on 8 January 1970 that industrial production would increase by between 11 and 15 percent in 1970.

66. According to the latest Economic Survey issued on April 20, 1970, by the "Minister of Finance", the country's export earnings increased by more than 20 per cent in 1969 to £140 millions, while "government" controls cut imports by £5 millions. This gave Rhodesia a surplus of £20 millions in its visible trade balance. In spite of heavy redemption payments abroad, the country received a net inflow of capital worth £8 millions.

The economic survey said further: "The terms of trade continued to move in Rhodesia's favour. The average cost of imports valued in the country of origin increased by just over 2 percent, but this unfavourable movement was more than offset by a 5.5 percent rise in average export prices."

67. The survey recalled that in 1968 Rhodesia suffered a major economic setback when a widespread drought was followed by severe frosts. Last year however, bumper crops pushed the value of agricultural production up to £ 135 millions. The survey states further that the value of Rhodesian mineral production rose by 30 percent in 1969 to £50 millions! "This expected upsurge in production is consistent with the substantial investments in the industry since 1965. A number of new mines will come into production in the near future, and others are in the planning stage." According to the survey, diversification projects, stimulated by economic sanctions, have had a significant impact on manufacturing output. The value of manufacturing output reached nearly £ 30 millions in 1969, which constitutes an increase of 14 percent over the previous year. "The high growth reflects the large proportion of the 1,100 new projects approved since 1965 which came on stream during the year", the survey said.

68. The economic survey also mentioned one of the major problems facing the Smith regime, namely the high African birth rate. It pointed out that from 1962 to 1969 the population growth rate has been 0.8 percent per annum for Europeans and 3.4 percent for Africans. Accordingly, during the past eight years the African population has increased from 3.9 million to nearly 5, million. Yet the survey revealed that although 34,000 new jobs for Africans were created in 1969, the total number of Africans in employment reached only 697,000, earning an average monthly wage of about £ 8, compared to the average white monthly wage of £ 170. The survey reveals, rather apprehensively, that "at the present rate of natural increase the African population will have grown by a further eight million to more than 13 million by the end of the century". It stated further that commerce and industry would not be able to absorb all Africans coming on to the labour market. Those unable to find work in the money economy would have to seek "gainful occupation" in the remote tribal areas because "in the longer term, the problem can only be resolved by a reduction in the birthrate," the survey concluded.

69. The most significant conclusion to be drawn from a cursory look at the economic survey is that the Smith regime has been able to contain the effects of sanctions and that the economic situation in Rhodesia has been normalized since U.D.I. As was succinctly stated by the regime's spokesman on April 21, 1970. "The Economic survey shows that Rhodesia is winning the battle of Sanctions, but this would not have been possible but for the friendship and help of South Africa and Portugal, and the people, if not the governments, of other countries".

70. This open admission by the Smith regime that the effects of Sanctions on the Rhodesian economy have been nullified by the collaboration of South Africa and Portugal leads us back to the starting point of the same vicious circle. As long as South Africa and Portugal openly flout U.N. decisions regarding comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, then the Rhodesian economy will continue to grow and expand, as it was revealed in the 1969 economic survey. Consequently, the myth of an effective sanctions against Rhodesia becomes untenable and even farcical. In fact there are already ready-made loopholes within the structure of the Southern African economy whereby South Africa and Portugal, as well as many Western companies, are enabled to bust U.N. Sanctions. It is known that a large proportion of Rhodesian enterprises are subsidiaries either of South African companies, or of British or American, French or West German companies which also have South African, and increasingly Angolan and Mozambican, subsidiaries. Thus as long as Rhodesian trade with South Africa and with Portuguese Colonies continues (which is in fact officially approved and encouraged by Pretoria and Lisbon) then structures already exist for trading abroad through third party sanctions breakers.

71. Rhodesia's economy could have collapsed within weeks for lack of oil had South Africa and Portugal through Mozambique withheld help to Rhodesia. In fact, following the first U.N. action an immediate temporary operation brought oil overland from South Africa. Then the South African subsidiaries of Shell, British Petroleum, and Mobil financed a new 100,000 gallon petrol depot at Messina, Transvaal, in easy reach of the Rhodesian border. By March 1968 Ian Smith claimed that Rhodesia had a year's petroleum supply in reserve. It is now believed that the Mozambique refinery at Lourenco Marques supplies the bulk of Rhodesia's needs, transported directly by rail. Obviously, the oil must have first come to that port by sea from other countries which are Sanctions breakers!

72. Similarly, South African and Portuguese agencies have enabled the Smith regime to continue to export its basic products: Asbestos, Copper, chrome, iron ore, sugar and tobacco. As a result, while imports from Rhodesia by several countries such as Japan and Britain dropped by 99% since 1966, the imports of these countries from South Africa rose very high. According to the latest available data, for instance, Japan's imports from Rhodesia dropped 99 percent since 1966, while her imports from South Africa continued to rise as high as 79 percent. In short, through the camouflaged and concealed operations of South African, Portuguese as well as Western companies, which openly break U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia, the import and export trade of the Smith regime has not only continued but flourished. In this respect, Lisbon has in fact been recently described as Ian Smith's "beach-head in Europe", because it is in Lisbon that sanctions-breakers from all over the world meet and do business with Mr. Smith's trade emissaries, permanently stationed as members of the "Rhodesia Diplomatic Mission" in Lisbon. Since U.D.I. and, more recently, the closure of Rhodesia House in London, the "Lisbon Mission" has become the staging area in Mr. Smith's assault on sanctions, acting as an international clearing house for Rhodesian business.

73. From these and many other facts, which are already known, it should be clear that incomplete and half-hearted measures against the rebel minority racist regime in Salisbury cannot and will not change the status quo. In other words, the facts of the situation clearly show that any economic and political measures against the Smith regime that do not include South Africa and Portugal will remain a bluff, an ingenious way of shedding crocodile tears in order to fool African and World public opinion. So far, neither the actions initiated by the United Kingdom as the administering power, nor the economic and other sanctions applied by the majority of the U.N. Member States in response to the decisions of the Security Council have produced the result which the international community has been encouraged to expect.

74. The role of the United Nations in the Rhodesian question was aptly described by a spokesman of the Smith regime, on March 13, 1970, when he declared that the world body was "lost in the jungle of its own resolutions".

Since U.D.I. on November 11, 1965, the United Nations General Assembly as well as the Security Council have passed numerous resolutions, but so far the Smith regime has not only survived but strengthened thanks to the direct and indirect assistance of South Africa, Portugal as well as many of its friends in the West. This serious development has taken place in full knowledge of the United Nations.

75. During the Twenty Fourth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Rhodesian question, as usual, was debated at length. The resolution that was adopted by 83 votes in favour, 7 against and 20 abstentions, condemned all the Governments particularly those of South Africa and Portugal, which continued to have political, military and other relations with the illegal, racist minority regime of Salisbury in Contravention of U.N. General Assembly as well as Security Council decisions. The resolutions, moreover, called upon Britain, as the administering power in Rhodesia, to take effective measures, including the use of force, to bring down the Smith regime. It also called the attention of the Security Council to the urgent necessity of applying stronger measures as envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter of the U.N. not only against Rhodesia but also against South Africa and Portugal. The whole resolution is attached to this report as Annex 4.

76. Subsequently, after Smith's declaration of a Republic in Rhodesia the Security Council discussed the Rhodesian question in March 1970. After the debate two draft resolutions were presented to the Security Council. The first was a draft resolution, proposed by five Afro-Asian Countries, calling on all member countries of the U.N. to sever all relations with Rhodesia, including the severing of all communications, and demanding sanctions and embargoes against South Africa and Portugal, which continue to openly violate the U.N. Sanctions against Rhodesia. The second draft resolution, proposed by the United Kingdom, merely called upon member States not to recognise the so-called republic of Rhodesia. Both draft resolutions failed to acquire the required majority vote in the Security Council. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that for the first time the United States used its veto power in the Security Council against the Afro-Asian draft resolution.

77. In appreciation of this United States move, a spokesman of the Smith regime declared on March 22, 1970: " In a sudden burst of realization, the United States cast her first veto in the United Nations. last week and it was the Rhodesian issue which ironically enough forced the strongest nation in the world today to take this step. The fact of the matter is that America had just to draw the line somewhere beyond which she cannot be pushed to take forceful action in Africa against the white-controlled countries ... ". Because of the seriousness of America's first veto in the Security Council, and curiously enough on the Rhodesian question, could it be interpreted to mean that the Anglo-American veto is a clear proof of the setting up of an Anglo-American (or it is Anglo - Saxon) alliance against the national liberation movements of Southern Africa and in defence of the less than 4 million whites in that regime? This is very serious matter that deserves the attention of the Council of Ministers as well as of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government,

78. Finally, after the two draft resolutions were defeated, a compromise resolution proposed by Finland was adopted. The whole resolution, Resolution 277 (1970) adopted by the Security Council on 18th March 1970 is attached to the report as Annex 5.

#### D TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

79. During the second half of the XXth century, nationalism has become an invincible force. The major colonial powers became aware of this fact and the result was that gradually, with some amount of good-will, they complied with the demands of the peoples for their legitimate right to self determination and independence.

80. The only colonial power which, out of downright stupidity, did not understand that lesson of History, is Portugal, the poorest and most wretched of all the European nations. Despite the fact that there has been a wind of change and independence in Africa for more than ten years now, Portugal is still trying in vain in its "African colonies" to stand



four-square to the storm which has swept away much more powerful colonial powers. Imbued with an ostrich philosophy, the Portuguese think that by mobilising all their resources to oppress the nationalist movements, they could remain indefinitely in Africa. But they are grossly mistaken. One hardly needs to be a prophet to know that the Portuguese will be chased out of their colonial territories.

81. People have very often wondered when the leaders of Lisbon will see reason and withdraw from this colonial territories before the fatal hour of defeat comes. In spite of the atrocities and massacres of innocent civilians by Portuguese soldiers, it is the same cry for independence, the same request for national sovereignty, the same rejection of colonialism, the same determination to get rid of foreign invaders and exploiters all over the territories in question.

82. It naturally goes without saying, that it is sheer folly on the part of a small nation like Portugal to spend more than 40% of its national budget for the preservation of a colonial empire doomed to disappear. Up to now, the Portuguese soldiers are still fighting under the false illusion that every new year will herald their victory over the nationalists. But in fact, since the armed liberation struggle was launched in Angola by the African nationalists, it is the contrary which occurred. Today, while there are clear signs of weariness among the Portuguese forces, the self-confidence of the African nationalists is ever growing. In place of sporadic combats, as was the case only a few years ago, the Portuguese soldiers are now facing well organized forces of liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and in Guinea-Bissao.

83. In metropolitan Portugal itself, the economic and social situation has become more difficult than ever. After years of sacrifice, the Portuguese people have now become aware of the extent to which they are being deprived of their daily bread to pay the price of an endless war. The result is that, the effect of these various factors combined, has proved to be a serious blow to the theoreticians and philosophers who advocate the preservation of Portuguese presence in the colonies. Barely a few months ago, there were mass demonstrations in Lisbon against the war which the Government is waging in the African territories. The demonstrators called upon the Government to put an end to its policy of hegemony in Africa.

84. Portugal's blind and brutal obstinacy in pursuing its war in the colonies has also had negative effects on a large number of Portuguese soldiers fighting the African nationalists. Many of these soldiers have come to realize that they are unnecessarily sacrificing their lives for lands which do not belong to them. Some of them have deserted their camps and joined the African nationalists in order to wage a merciless war against the Portuguese invaders. Others have simply laid down their arms and have decided to live in peace.

85. In Angola, the African nationalists have been every active. Hence in March 1970, they opened mortar and automatic rifle attacks on the barracks of Portuguese troops at caripandé, South Casombo near the Zambian border. This information was communicated by the Commander in Chief of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Loanda and the same communique stated that the attackers "operating in any case in full view of border guards of neighbouring countries" probably belonged to the MPLA (popular movement for the Liberation of Angola) which were in hiding there," assured" as they were, of the impunity which they are enjoying in "Zambia". The Communique added that the attack claimed several casualties but did not specify the number.

86. It is interesting to note that it is contrary to their practice that the Portuguese command should make public an attack and losses it had suffered from the freedom fighters. The fact that he specified that the nationalists had launched their attack from Zambia meant that Portugal was going to raid Zambian villages. What is more, it was not long before these reprisals took place, because a few days later a train heading for Zambia was stopped and ransacked by the Portuguese soldiers in retaliation of the heavy losses suffered by them from the freedom fighters. The first attack on the train took place in Nova-Lisboa, about 300 kilometers from the Rand Terminus and the second in Texeira de Souza, a few kilometers from the Congo border. The losses suffered by the train amounted to several thousands of dollars.

87. In Guinea Bissao, the African Nationalists have been particularly active and their pressure on the Portuguese forces of occupation has not in the least reduced. What is more, their grip have continued to strengthen around towns and there is every reason to believe that from the present trend of evolution of guerrilla activities, the end of Portuguese colonialism in that territory is in sight.

88. Generally, the military situation in the territory is characterized by a constant retreat of the colonial forces from the main urban centers and by the intensification of offensive attacks by nationalists on fortified Portuguese camps. With the PAIGC controlling the largest portion of the territory, the activities of the Portuguese forces have practically reduced to aerial napalium bombardments, and terrorist assaults on people in the liberated regions (villages either burnt or razed, animals killed and crops destroyed). The enemy troops also have recourse to the practice of camping in strategic hamlets in which they gather the people of the occupied zones and then proceed with acts of provocation and aggression against the neighbouring countries as was the case of the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Guinea at the beginning of the year. The obvious aim of these acts of aggression is to intimidate the authorities of these countries in order to set them against the African nationalists.

89. The aerial bombardments which the African nationalists are facing with much courage, is insignificant owing to specific conditions peculiar to Guinea Bissao. In fact, under the leadership of the PAIGC, the people have been advised against establishing permanent guerilla bases. This renders enemy planes reaching the people practically impossible. On the contrary, these bombardments have only gone to strengthen the courage and to re-inforce the determination of the nationalists to continue the war. The operations of the latter are carried out in the following manner:

a) continued attacks on Portuguese fortified areas and occupied urban centres:

In these operations, all the big centres, excepting Bissao and Bafata have already been attacked. Following violent attacks, the enemy was obliged to evacuate more than 20 fortified camps leaving behind heavy casualties. Among these camps are those of Sanconha, Cacoca, Madjo, Madina-Boe, Beli, Bandjara, Xexe, Contabane, Gangenia and Gan-Carnes, all of which are of considerable strategic importance.

b) Ambush on roads in contested zones and obstruction of water ways used as supply routes by the enemy

The object of these operations is clear and nearly 200 ambushes have successfully been laid and more than 70 canoes sunk.

c) Attack on Portuguese airports and installations

Urged on by the success scored during the attack on the Bissao International Airport situated only 9 kilometers from the Capital, in February, 1969, and by the attack on the Binta port, the members of PAIGC have intensified this kind of operations which are very important in the destruction of the colonial war infrastructure.

d) Commando operations in urban centres:

The nationalists of Guinea Bissao have adopted this kind of operation which has already been applied successfully in several towns and urban centres, notably in Farim, Mansoa, Catio, Bula, Mansaba, Fulacunda and even in Bolama.

As could therefore be seen, in spite of numerous difficulties, PAIGC is waging an active struggle in Guinea Bissao.

90. In Mozambique, the African nationalists have not remained inactive. According to communiques published by both the Portuguese authorities and the freedom fighters, the latter have scored marked victory during the period under review. Hence, the African nationalists affirmed in a communique on their guerrilla activities, that they killed more than 400 soldiers during the first five months of the year 1970; the communique added that more than 70 military vehicles were destroyed and that a large quantity of material was captured in the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Tété. Again, recently, a spokesman of FRELIMO declared that the guerrilla activities of FRELIMO covered more than 20% of the country and that FRELIMO exercises an effective military, political administrative and economic control over more than 150,000 hectares of land in the northern province of Cabo Delgado.

91 As could therefore be seen, the African nationalists of Mozambique, are waging their struggle without respite. However, in view of the immense wealth of that territory and the collusion of western imperialist interests in the Cabora Bassa dam project, Portugal has also decided to reinforce its colonial troops in the territory. This reinforcement of colonial troops has resulted in the increase of the military expenditure in Mozambique. The direct consequence has been a considerable increase in military

expenditure in the colonies. According to figures issued officially by the Portuguese Government, a considerable part of the budgetary expenditure for the year 1970 is set aside for the armed forces of the country and particularly for troops operating in the African colonies of Portugal. According to the same sources, 11,950 million ecudos out of a total sum of 28800 million ecudos has been allocated as "emergency funds", This significant sum is set aside for the maintenance of the armed forces in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissao and for the equipment of these territories with modern arms.

92. In analysing the national budget of Portugal, the rather complex nature of military expenditure in the colonies should not be overlooked. Each territory has its own budget and the budget of metropolitan Portugal itself, also allocates under the item of expenditure for national defence, sub-items for the special armed forces of the overseas territories. Though the budget is separated, the colonies are obliged to contribute to the general national defence budget and also to funds for the defence of "overseas territories" in accordance with the 1959 decree.

93. Since 1961, during which the flame of African nationalism began to engulf the Portuguese colonies, the special war expenditure of Lisbon has followed a constant upward trend. Additional funds which exceed the estimates by about 50% have regularly been added to the initial provisions. This is equally applicable to the military budget of the colonies. It would suffice to know that in Angola for example, between 1963 and 1967, the military budget has risen to more than 70% and to more than 75% in Mozambique. In these two territories, these additional expenditure have been principally met from local revenue.

94. In accordance with the recent "Law on Methods and Means of Defence", the tendency to increase military expenditure to the detriment of the originally planned means for equipment needs, has been clearly indicated. As the Portuguese Prime Minister recently admitted in one of his speeches, "all military activities in the overseas territories were and will continue to be financed from funds raised from the regular development fund. This is why we have to meet most of these expenditures with funds received as loans".

95. Considering the need to increase the numerical strength of the armed forces, the Lisbon authorities have passed a law prolonging the duration of military service from two to three years; and when necessary, this may be extended to four years. According to observers, the Caetano Government is feverishly engaged in accumulating the necessary reserves for the army and at the same time in checking the unnecessary immigration of the youth aged between 18 and 21 to other European countries. The Lisbon authorities hope that these measures will enable Portugal to double the number of its armed forces which presently stands at 180,000; 150,000 of which is based in the African territories.

96. The recent decisions taken by the Portuguese Government regarding the increase of budgetary allocations and the increase of the number of the armed forces in the colonies clearly show the serious difficulties which Lisbon is facing in the pursuit of the colonial war. It goes without saying, that the Portuguese Treasury would have been empty since long, but for the considerable and substantial aid it receives from the NATO countries.

97. A recent study made by members of the "Committee on Angola of Netherlands" gives very serious and very interesting details on the great role being played by the principal NATO partners in the war which Portugal is waging against the African nationalists. The report (Portugal and NATO - Committee on Angol, Klarenburg 253, Amsterdam 3 S) gave detailed information on the equipment used by the armed forces of Lisbon including their type, numbers, dates of delivery as well as the countries of origin.

98. The United Kingdom sent war ships as well as hundreds of jeeps, planes and spare sparts as its ontribution to the war Portugal is waging in its colonies.

"After the outbreak of the war in Angola, " says the report, " the British Government under parliamentary pressure, decided to stop the exportation of arms to Portugal for use in the colonies. However, supply of arms for use by NATO continued. The United Kingdom thus supplied war ships which were immediately sent to the colonies. The war ship "Regulus" built in Great Britain was also sent to the colonies".

"Between 1961 and 1964, Great Britain supplied 150 aircrafts of the Auster type; most of which was given to the Portuguese Air Force. These aircrafts were used in the colonies. In 1963, the Portuguese Air Force ordered spare parts for its Auster planes. Payment of these spare parts was classified under the item: "Special expenditure for the Overseas Forces" and in 1965, Great Britain supplied 200 Austin jeeps to the Portuguese Army and the following year, the frigate "Dalrymple" was delivered to the Portuguese Navy".

99. The same report states that "United States military assistance to Portugal between 1962 and 1968 amounted to US.\$ 33 millions 700,000 (figure given officially by the United States Government). In addition to this financial assistance, Washington has also given to its NATO ally, considerable assistance under the item "defence aid". In concrete terms, since 1962, this assistance took the form of Portuguese air attacks on African villages after which fragments of 750 lbs. napalm bombs still marked "Property of the United States Air Force" could be found and identified by foreign observers.

100. France is also among the principal suppliers of war materials to Portugal. "A large number of armoured vehicles, helicopters, war ships, guns and amunitions is supplied by that country for Portugal's colonial wars in Africa" states the Amsterdam report. "France is also a large scale supplier of war materials to South Africa and Rhodesia."

101. "The Bonn Government has signed a certain number of military agreements with Lisbon since the beginning of the war in the African colonies. Some of these treaties are top secrets. The report states that Germany has undertaken to supply a large quantity of arms worth over US.\$ 100 million to Portugal. West Germany and the United States of America are very probably the only countries in the world which give free military assistance to Portugal. West Germany's contribution is estimated at approximately US.\$ 3 million per year," concluded the report.

102. During the last ten years, the United States alone has given military assistance totalling US.\$ 336 to Lisbon. According to the Italian newspaper UNITA, this aid has a dual purpose: firstly, support the fascist regime of Lisbon, and secondly, support measures for the defence of economic, political and strategic interests of world imperialism in the southern part of the African continent.

103. This massive military assistance of the NATO countries should not in the least come as a surprise to anybody if it is known that the "Portuguese colonies" are immensely rich and that world imperialism has considerable economic and financial interests there.

104. It would thus be recalled that in 1969, German banks: "Deutsche Unionsbank and Hamburgische Landesbank and the Lavoro Bank A.G. of Zurich granted the Compagnie Minière de Lobito US.\$ 22 million loan for the exploitation of the rich Kassinga iron mines.

105. With regards to France, the "Société des Etudes et Entreprises Sidérurgiques Schernider Creuzot et Sestig is associated with the study on the new Steel-works of the Companhia Uranio de Mozambique. Under the terms of an agreement signed in 1969 between the French Iron-works company USNION and the Companhia Mineraria de Lobito, Angola will supply the French company two million tons of iron ore for the next five years, from the Kassinga mines. On the other hand, the Compagnie Française des Pétroles d'Aquitaine will carry out intensive oil prospection in Angola in close association with the Petrangol-Angola group, largely controlled by Belgium interests.

106. The American company, United States R.N. Corporation and Koppers Company is associated with the studies on the new steelworks which the Companhia Uranio de Mozambique has been authorized to construct at Tété. As for the United States Texaco Oil Company and the Tennessee-Oil Company they are actively engaged in the prospection of petrol and the exploitation of sulphur and gypsum respectively.

107. However, of all the American companies, the most significant is the Gulf Oil Corporation which is one of the main American investors in Angola. After substantial discovery of petrol in Cabinda, the Gulf Oil Corporation has undertaken a systematic prospection in Angola and Mozambique. The petroleum company is the only concessionnaire in Cabinda where the most substantial discovery of petrol has yet been made. According to experts, Cabinda is the richest and most profitable of petrol concentration of all the "Portuguese colonies" and it ranks among the six African producers of petrol. The Wall-Street newspaper has estimated that the expenses incurred by the Gulf Oil Corporation in the exploitation and development of these petrol installations in Cabinda amounted to US.\$ 30 millions in 1969.



And the journal "World Petroleum" has also stated in the report published at the end of the year 1969 that the extension projects to present installations amounting US, \$ 76 millions will bring the daily production to 150 thousand large barrels at the end of 1970.

108. Thus to the American, British and South-African investments particularly in the Diamond Company the German contribution to the Lobito Mine Company, and the Belgium capital in the Petroleum company have been added quite a number of other companies like the "Nippon Mining Company", a Japanese Company which in 1968 started working the UIGE copper mines, formerly the monopoly of the Portuguese CUF.

109. In this coalition of western interests, sight should not be lost of the lion share which comes to South Africa, principal economic and financial support of the NATO powers. The great role played by South Africa is better seen in its participation in the Cabora-Bassa Dam project.

110. The Cabora-Bassa Dam will be built by the ZAMCO International Consortium which has secured the contract. This company is composed of a large number of international companies headed by South African companies. In fact, the ZAMCO Consortium has the following firms as its partners.

- South Africa: Anglo-American, Shaft Sinkers Ltd. V.P.C. Powerlines
- Western Germany: Siemens A.G., ARG Telefunken AG, Hochstieg AG, J.M. Voith GmbH
- France: Alsthom. Paris; C.C.I. Cogeler; Compagnie Générale d'Entreprises Electriques; Société Générale d'Electricité
- Portugal: Several companies of smaller scales.

111. The Anglo-American company is by far the most powerful and most important in the group of mining, financial and industrial institutions which control the South African economy. It includes the famous Compagnie de Beers, known throughout the world for its diamond transaction the A.A.C. owns 29 companies in the Gold industry, 26 in the coal industry, and 6 in the platinum industry. The Anglo-American also has substantial investments in a large number of industrial and estate enterprises both in South Africa and outside that country. Its net profit rose to £ 10 million Sterling at the end of the year 1968/1969.

112. However, in addition to the contribution of these companies within the framework of ZAMCO to the project, there are other financing sources. The West German Bank Kreditanstalt Fur Wiederaurban Bank will contribute £32 million Sterling. France's contribution will be £ 31 million Sterling to be provided by the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. With regards to South Africa and Portugal, their contribution will be £ 2,500,000 and £ 40 million Sterling respectively. Other Western countries, particularly the United States of America and Great Britain, will participate indirectly in the construction of the Dam through the Anglo-American and the Barclays Bank DCO. The Barclays Bank DCO operates mainly in southern Africa where 909 of the 1703 branches composing it are established.

113. The construction of the Dam has three motives: first of all, on the economic level the Dam will strengthen the white minority racist regimes by making it possible to exploit even better the immense mineral and agricultural wealth of Mozambique, Angola and also Rhodesia. The strengthening of the economic base of these regimes will also mean the strengthening of the oppressive arm of colonialism and apartheid and the intensification of white supremacy in Southern Africa.

114. The Dam, in effect, is the core of a vast colonial development project planned for the province of Tété in Mozambique by the Portuguese Government. It will be built on the Zambesi river, 60 miles from the Rhodesian border and 300 kilometers from the mouth of the river. When completed, it will produce annually 17 million KWH (or 70% more than the Assouan Dam in the United Arab Republic), thus becoming one of the biggest projects of its kind in the world. The first phase of the project which is scheduled to be completed in 1974 will cost £ 15 million Sterling. The rest of the work which will lead to the total completion of the dam will include:

- a) high tension transmission lines built across the Mozambique and Transvaal to connect the industrial complex of Witwatersrand in a vast South African system which is planned to be extended as far as to Zambia, Malawi, Kenya and Congo.
- b) small subsidiary dams which will produce additional power of up to 28 million KWH per year.

- c) some 24,000 African peasants will be evacuated from the region and about one million white settlers will be brought from Europe and elsewhere to cultivate the irrigated land along the stretch of the Zambesi.
- d) the exploitation of mineral wealth will be open to foreign companies and the production and exportation of cereals greatly improved.

115. On the military level the Portuguese colonialist regime which alone could not afford to finance the three costly wars which it is waging in Guinea Bissao, Angola and Mozambique, has, as has just been seen, succeeded in attracting many countries to participate in the project. This way, the countries will contribute directly to the defence requirements of Portugal. It is obvious that the thousands of immigrants who will come from Europe and elsewhere will contribute directly to the war against the people of Mozambique. In an independent State of Mozambique, based on African majority rule and equality of right and opportunity, a development project of this type should have been warmly welcomed by all those who are interested in the well-being of the people of Mozambique. But in the present prevailing situation in Southern Africa and particularly in colonized Mozambique, the project will undoubtedly have disturbing effects not only on the future of Africans who will be directly affected but also on the whole of southern Africa. Because it is clear that the final motive behind the project is and remains the consolidation of Portugal's domination of Mozambique, the establishment of white supremacy in southern Africa from the Zambesi, and the prevention of the extension of the armed liberation struggle of the African peoples, in this wise, the Cabora-Bassa dam is a precious investment by the white minorities for the purpose of colonization.

116. On the political level, the Dam will have grave implications not only for the independent and the dependent countries in southern Africa but also for the whole of Africa. These implications will serve to divide even more radically the African peoples and those of the countries which have accepted to participate in the execution of this project. The gap between the Portuguese people, who are themselves oppressed by the fascist regime in Lisbon, and the peoples of Mozambique and Angola will be widened, thus setting the stage for a racial war which will envelop, without any shadow of doubt, the whole of mankind.

117. With the supply of large sums of money and the great responsibilities assumed by the ZAMCO Consortium, which is dominated by South African interests (with the Anglo-American Corporation at its head) in the construction and financing of the dam, the economic hegemony of South Africa on the sub-Continent will be extended and the efforts of the central and east African States to free themselves from the tentacles of the racist State will be gravely endangered.

118. This is why the implications of the Cabora-Bassa dam project have already been condemned by Zambia, Tanzania and the other Central and East African States. It is also for all these reasons that everything should be done to ensure against the project becoming a grave threat and the greatest danger to the independence and sovereignty of independent African States. Once completed, it will enable the Portuguese regime, with the direct and declared support of all those who would have contributed to its construction, to thwart the liberation struggle being waged by the African patriots in the Portuguese colonies.

119. This is, besides, how the FRELIMO freedom fighters who have undertaken to leave no stone unturned in order to ensure the failure of the western imperialist Machiavellian designs and the efforts of racist South Africa, see it. These African patriots should be helped and independent African countries are duty bound to do so because their own survival is at that price.

120. Resolution 2507 (XXIV) adopted by the 24th session of the United Nations General Assembly and the Declaration on the Cabora-Bassa dam adopted by the 14th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers will be found attached as annex.

#### TERRITORIES UNDER SPANISH AND FRENCH DOMINATION

##### A. SPANISH SAHARA

121. Up to now, Spain has not yet decided to take the necessary step for the implementation of United Nations Resolutions 2229 (XXI) and 2354 (XXII) relative to conducting a referendum in Spanish Sahara to enable the people of that territory to decide for themselves. What is more, Spain has not even taken the first step towards the implementation of the other Resolution No. 2428 (XXIII) of the World Body requesting that a mission of enquiry be sent to the territory.

122. Being nearly three years since the adoption of these Resolutions, it would be highly desirable that OAU brings pressure to bear on Spain through every possible means to comply with them.

B. SO-CALLED FRENCH SOMALILAND (Djibouti)

123. Since the January 1970 incidents during which a bomb thrown into a Djibouti bar wounded some twenty people, nothing remarkable has taken place in that territory. After that incident, the French authorities tightened security measures and the result is that, today, the country has known the absence of refugees on a large scale.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

2505 (XXIV). Manifesto on Southern Africa

The General Assembly,

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

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

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

1. Welcomes the Manifesto on Southern Africa and recommends it to the attention of all States and all peoples;
2. Expresses once again the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa.

## SOUTH AFRICAN INTERESTS OF LARGE BRITISH COMPANIES

COMPANY	SOUTH AFRICAN SUBSIDIARIES (a)	PRODUCTS
Shell .. .. .	Shell and BP Refineries (50) Shell Chemical SA .. ..	Oil refining and marketing Chemicals
British Petroleum ..	Shell and BP Refineries (50) Sentrachem (19.7) .. ..	Oil refining and marketing Chemicals
ICI .. .. .	African Explosives & Chemical Industries (42.5)  SA Nylon Spinners (37.5)	Chemicals, explosives, fertilisers, paints plastics  Man-made Fibres
British Steel Corporation	Stewarts & Lloyds of SA (49) Dorman Long (Africa)	Tubes, etc. Structural engineering, diesel locomotives ship repair
<del>GEC</del> English Electric ..	GEC of SA .. ..  Telephone Mfrs. of S.A. (50)	Electrical and elect- ronic products
<del>British</del> American Tobacco	United Tobacco Cos. (South)	Tobacco products
Unilever .. .. .	Lever Brothers .. ..	Margarine and other foods, animal feeds etc.
Rio Tinto-Zinc .. ..	Palabora Mining Co. (65)	Cooper
Courtaulds .. .. .	SA Fabrics .. .. SA Gossard .. .. Saiccor (66) .. ..	Knitted fabrics Foundation garments Woodpulp
British Leyland Motor	Leyland Motor Corporation of SA (56.7)	Assembly of cars and commercial vehicles, mfrs. of components
Guest Keen and Nettlefold	Guest Keen and Nettlefold SA	Nuts, bolts, and a wide range of engineering products and motor components
Distillers .. .. .	Gordons Dry Gin Co. (88)	Gin
Bowater Paper .. ..	Mondi valley Paper Co. (b)	Paper mills being built at Durban and Mondi

COMPANY	SOUTH AFRICAN SUBSIDIARIES (a)	PRODUCTS
Dunlop .. ..	Dunlop SA .. ..	Tyres and many other rubber products
Reed Paper Group ..	Reed Corporation .. ..	A range of paper products
Tube Investments ..	Raleigh Cycles (SA) .. ..	Cycles and accessories
Great Universal Stores	Great Universal Stores (Africa) Sewis Stores	Retail stores
British Insulated Callenders Cables	Brit, Ins. Callenders Cables SA	Cables
Whitbread .. ..	Whitbread SA (50) .. ..	Brewing
Assoc. Portland Cement	White's SA Portland Cement Co. (76)	Cement
Coats Patons . . .	J. and P. Coats (SA) Patons and Baldwins (SA)	Cotton and synthetic threads Wool and synthetic yarns
Marks and Spencer ..	Woolworth Holdings (12.6)	Retail stores
Rank Organization ..	Rank Xerox SA .. ..	Document copying
British Oxygen ..	African Oxygen (68) ..	Industrial gases, chemicals
Tate and Lyle ..	Pure Cane Molasses Co. (Durban)	Sugar
Plessey .. ..	Plessey SA .. .. Telephone Mftrs. of SA (50)	Electronic and telecommunications equipment
Associated British Foods	The Premier Milling Group (60)	Flour mills, bakeries, animal foods, retail groceries

(a) Only the name of the principal subsidiaries are given. Many companies have several SA subsidiaries or associated companies, e.g. GKN has 10, Reed has 8, etc. We have shortened South Africa to SA throughout. The percentage of the subsidiary's share capital owned by the parent company is given in brackets when it is less than 100.

(b) Option to increase holding to 25 per cent.



RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
(on the report of the Special Political Committee)

2506 (XXIV). The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa

A

The General Assembly

Taking note of the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa <sup>1/</sup> and the report of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, <sup>2/</sup>

Bearing in mind its resolutions calling on the Government of South Africa to liberate all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for their opposition to apartheid,

Noting with grave concern that the Government of South Africa has continued to persecute the opponents of apartheid, that detainees are subjected to brutal treatment and that several such persons have died following this inhuman treatment,

Convinced that such actions further aggravate the deteriorating situation in South Africa,

1. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for an end to the oppression and persecution of all persons opposing the policies of apartheid;
2. Further condemns the Government of South Africa for its repressive acts against the political movement of the oppressed people of South Africa, and in particular for its enactment of the Terrorism Act, 1967;
3. Urges all States and organizations to exert every appropriate effort to secure the unconditional release of all political prisoners and persons subjected to restrictions for opposing apartheid;
4. Reiterates that freedom fighters who are taken prisoner in the course of their legitimate struggle for liberation should be extended human treatment in accordance with the humanitarian principles laid down in the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949; <sup>3/</sup>
5. Expresses solidarity with all those persecuted in South Africa for their opposition to apartheid.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions and those of the Security Council on the question of apartheid,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, <sup>4/</sup>

Noting with concern that the Government of South Africa continues to intensify and extend beyond the borders of South Africa its inhuman and aggressive policies of apartheid and that these policies have resulted in violent conflict,

Noting further that the Government of South Africa, in collaboration with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and the Government of Portugal, continues to defy the United Nations and denies the peoples of southern Africa their inalienable right to self-determination, equality and independence,

Convinced that the policies and actions of the Government of South Africa are contrary to the obligations of a Member State and constitute a grave threat to international peace and security,

Noting with regret that the collaboration between the Government of South Africa and its main trading partners and certain financial and economic interests has encouraged that Government to pursue its policies of apartheid, thereby nullifying all United Nations efforts, so far, to solve the problems,

Recognizing the obligations of the United Nations to take urgent and effective measures to resolve the situation in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Noting with interest the Manifesto on Southern Africa <sup>5/</sup> adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth ordinary session;

Noting that the security Council has not considered the problem of apartheid since 1964,

1. Reaffirms its resolution 2396 (XXIII) of 2 December 1968 and its other resolutions on the question of apartheid;

2. Reiterates its condemnation of the policies of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa as a crime against humanity ;
3. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the exercise of their inalienable right of self-determination, and thus to attain majority rule based on universal suffrage ;
4. Urges all States and organizations to provide increased assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policies of apartheid in the light of the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa ;
5. Invites all States, in recognition of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa :
  - (a) To desist from collaborating with the Government of South Africa by taking steps to prohibit financial and economic interests under their national jurisdiction from co-operating with the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa ;
  - (b) To prohibit airlines and shipping lines registered in their countries from providing services to and from South Africa and to deny all facilities to air flights and shipping services to and from South Africa ;
  - (c) To refrain from extending loans, investments and technical assistance to the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa ;
  - (d) To take appropriate measures to dissuade the main trading partners of South Africa and economic and financial interests from collaborating with the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa ;
6. Calls upon all States to implement fully and scrupulously the provisions of the Security Council resolutions concerning the embargo on the supplying of arms and other military equipment to the Government of South Africa ;
7. Calls upon all States to desist from providing the Government of South Africa with technical and other assistance for the manufacture of arms, ammunition and military vehicles ;

8. Calls upon all organs of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations to refrain from extending facilities to banks and other financial institutions which provide assistance to the Government of South Africa and to companies registered in South Africa ;
9. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, and recommends the Council to resume urgently the consideration of the question of apartheid with a view to adopting effective measures, including those under Chapter VII of the Charter, to eliminate the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation ;
10. Urges all specialized agencies and other international organizations to withhold the benefits of international co-operation from the Government of South Africa so long as it persists in its policies of apartheid ;
11. Invites all States and organizations to observe with appropriate ceremonies the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1970 - the tenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre - in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, and to make special contributions on that day in support of the struggle against apartheid ;
12. Requests the Special Committee :
  - (a) To take additional steps to promote assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policies of apartheid, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity ;
  - (b) To hold consultations with representatives of this movement on various aspects of the question ;
  - (c) To take further steps, including the holding of joint meetings with other appropriate organs of the United Nations, to increase its co-operation and co-ordinate its efforts with such organs ;
  - (d) To continue its co-operation with the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned with the problems of southern Africa ;
- 13.. Requests the Secretary-General and Member States to intensify dissemination of information on the problems of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, in the light of the recommendation set forth in paragraphs 155 to 160 of the report of the Special Committee.

Question of NamibiaThe General Assembly.

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Bearing in mind the particular responsibilities of the United Nations towards Namibia,

Recalling Security Council resolution 246 (1968) of 14 March 1968, in particular the last preambular paragraph in which the Council takes cognizance of its special responsibility towards the people and Territory of Namibia,

Recalling further Security Council resolution 269 (1969) of 12 August 1969, in particular (operative) paragraph 5 in which the Government of South Africa was requested to withdraw its administration from the territory immediately and in any case before 4 October 1969,

Noting the report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 269 (1969) concerning the situation in Namibia,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the legitimacy of their struggle against the foreign occupation of their country;
2. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw its administration from Namibia and in particular its defiance of (operative) paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 269 (1969);
3. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the deteriorating situation which has arisen as a result of the refusal of South African authorities to comply with Security Council resolution 269 (1969).

2508 (XXIV). Question of Southern Rhodesia

The General Assembly.

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia,

Having heard the statement of the petitioner,

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

Recalling further all previous resolutions concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Bearing in mind the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and particularly its resolutions 232(1966) of 16 December 1966 and 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, in which the Council determined that the situation constituted a threat to international peace and security,

Deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia resulting from the introduction by the illegal racist minority régime of new measures aimed at entrenching itself as well as repressing the African people in violation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and about the continued presence of South African forces in the Territory.

Deeply concerned also about the persistent threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States resulting from the existing situation in Southern Rhodesia and the presence of South African forces in the territory,

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

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
2. Declares illegal all measures taken by the racist minority regime to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights and to entrench its policies of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia;
3. Condemns the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, to take effective measures to bring down the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule in accordance with all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;
4. Condemns the intervention of South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia, which constitutes an act of aggression against the people and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe, and calls upon the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African forces from Southern Rhodesia;
5. Condemns the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and other Governments which continue to have political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia in contravention of the relevant United Nations resolutions, thereby violating their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations;
6. Condemns the policies of those States which make it possible for their nationals to emigrate to Southern Rhodesia in violation of Security Council resolution 253 (1968);
7. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom, in fulfilment of its responsibility as the administering Power, to take effective measures, including the use of force, to put an immediate end to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer all powers to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule;

8. Calls upon the administering Power to ensure the immediate release of the African nationalists who are in detention and to prevent further assassination and imprisonment of African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia;
9. Calls upon all States which continue to maintain political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia to bring them to an immediate end;
10. Calls upon all States, specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned to extend all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity;
11. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom, in view of the armed conflict in the Territory and the inhuman treatment of prisoners, to ensure the application to that situation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War <sup>1/</sup> and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, <sup>2/</sup> dated 12 August 1949;
12. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the gravity of the situation arising from the intensification of suppressive activities against the people of Zimbabwe and from armed attacks perpetrated against neighbouring States in violation of international peace and security;
13. Reaffirms its conviction that the sanction will not put an end to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia unless they are comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa and Portugal;
14. Further draws the attention of the Security Council to the urgent necessity of applying the following measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter:
  - (a) The scope of the sanctions against the illegal racist minority regime should be widened to include all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter;

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<sup>1/</sup> United Nations, Treaty Series, Vol.75 (1950), No.972.

<sup>2/</sup> United Nations, Treaty Series, Vol.75 (1950), No. 973.



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

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

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

1816th plenary meeting,

21 November 1969

RESOLUTION 277 (1970)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1535th meeting  
on 18 March 1970

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965, 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, 221 (1966) of 9 April 1966, 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966 and 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968,

Reaffirming that, to the extent not superseded in this resolution, the measures provided for in resolutions 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966 and 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, as well as those initiated by Member States in implementation of those resolutions, shall continue in effect,

Taking into account the reports of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/8954 and S/9252),

Noting with grave concern:

(a) That the measures so far taken have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end,

(b) That some States, contrary to resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968) of the Security Council and to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, have failed to prevent trade with the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia,

(c) That the Governments of the Republic of South Africa and Portugal have continued to give assistance to the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia, thus diminishing the effects of the measures decided upon by the Security Council,

(d) That the situation in Southern Rhodesia continues to deteriorate as a result of the introduction by the illegal régime of new measures, including the purported assumption of republican status, aimed at repressing the African people in violation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV),

Recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV),

Reaffirming that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter,

1. Condemns the illegal proclamation of republican status of the territory by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia;
2. Decides that Member States shall refrain from recognizing this illegal regime 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 regime 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 regime 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 regime 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 regime 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 regime of Southern Rhodesia from their respective organizations and to refuse any request for membership from that regime;

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 regime 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 regime 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.

RESOLUTION 269 (1969)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1497th meeting  
on 12 August 1969

The Security Council.

Recalling its resolution 264 (1969) of 29 March 1969,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/9204,

Mindful of its responsibility to take necessary action to secure strict compliance with the obligations entered into by States Members of the United Nations under the provisions of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Mindful also of its responsibilities under Article 6 of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Reaffirms its resolution 264 (1969);
2. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its refusal to comply with resolution 264 (1969) and for its persistent defiance of the authority of the United Nations;
3. Decides that the continued occupation of the territory of Namibia by the South African authorities constitutes an aggressive encroachment on the authority of the United Nations, a violation of the territorial integrity and a denial of the political sovereignty of the people of Namibia;
4. Recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia against the illegal presence of the South African authorities in the territory;
5. Calls upon the Government of South Africa to withdraw its administration from the territory immediately and in any case before 4 October 1969;
6. Decides that in the event of failure on the part of the South African government to comply with the provisions of the preceding paragraph of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet immediately to determine upon effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the relevant chapters of the United Nations Charter;

7. Calls upon all States to refrain from all dealings with the Government of South Africa purporting to act on behalf of the territory of Namibia;
8. Requests all States to increase their moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia in their struggle against foreign occupation;
9. Requests the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible;
10. Decides to remain actively seized to the matter

Twenty-fourth session

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
(on the report of the Fourth Committee (A/7768))  
2507 (XXIV), Question of Territories under Portuguese  
administration

The General Assembly

Having considered the question of Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having heard the statements of the petitioners,

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

Recalling also all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly as well as those 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 and by the Security Council on the question,

Expressing its deep concern over the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to recognize the inalienable right of the African peoples under its domination to self-determination and independence and to co-operate with the United Nations in seeking solutions that would bring colonialism rapidly to an end,

Deeply disturbed by the continued and intensified activities of economic, financial and other interests which impede the realization by the African peoples of those Territories of their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence,

Deploring the aid which the Government of Portugal continues to receive from its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and from other countries, which enables it to pursue its military operations against the African population of those Territories,



1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissao) and of other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle by the peoples of those Territories for their independence and freedom;
3. Condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and all other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council;
4. Condemns Portugal's policy of using the Territories under its domination for violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States, as in the recent case in the Republic of Guinea;
5. Condemns the colonial war which is being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peoples of the Territories under its domination;
6. Condemns the collaboration between Portugal, South African and the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, which is designed to perpetuate colonialism and oppression in Southern Africa;
7. Condemns the intervention of South African forces against the people of the Territories under Portuguese domination;
8. Deplores the policy of the Government of Portugal, which violates the economic and political rights of the indigenous population by the arbitrary eviction of the African population and the settlement of immigrants in the Territories, and calls upon Portugal to cease those practices immediately;
9. Deplores the activities of the financial interests which obstruct the struggle of the peoples under Portuguese domination for self-determination freedom and independence and which strengthen the military efforts of Portugal;
10. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to adopt immediate measures for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in the Territories under its domination;

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

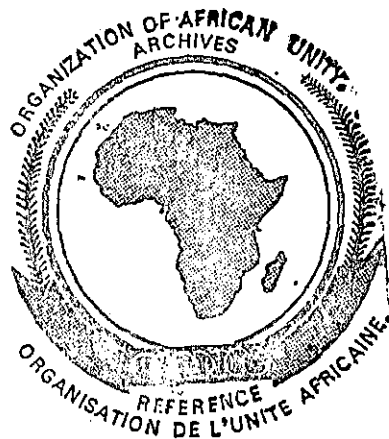
12. Recommends that the Security Council, with a view to the immediate implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in the Territories under Portuguese domination, should take effective steps in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and in view of the determination of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

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

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

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

16. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the granting of Independence to colonial countries and Peoples to keep the situation in the Territories under review.



COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourteenth Ordinary Session  
Addis Ababa - February/March 1970

DECLARATION ON THE CABORA BASSA HYDRO-ELECTRIC  
DAM BY THE FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF  
THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The Fourteenth Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 27th February to 6th March 1970, received and discussed the report of FRELIMO concerning the progress of the struggle against Portuguese colonial regime in Mozambique. The Council of Ministers, in particular, studied in detail the project for the construction of the Cabora Bassa Hydro-electric Dam whose plans are already very advanced. It was made amply clear by the list of countries and international monopolies involved in the execution of the project that the Southern minority and racist regimes with the support of other reactionary forces want to make the Cabora Bassa Dam the stopping point of the National liberation struggle of the oppressed people, not only of Mozambique but of Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The Cabora Bassa is therefore designed to serve three purposes: militarily, the Portuguese colonialist regime which alone could not afford to finance the three costly wars in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissao) has been able to involve many countries of the North Atlantic Treaty in contributing directly to Portugal's defence requirements. The Cabora Bassa which is also designed to make it possible for Portugal and the other minority and racist regimes in Southern Africa to settle over one million immigrants who shall contribute directly in the war against the people of Mozambique.

Economically, the Cabora Bassa project will strengthen the minority racist regimes by making it possible to exploit even better than presently the wealth both in agricultural and mining fields. The effect of strengthening the economic base of these regimes will also mean the strengthening of the oppressive arm of colonialism and apartheid and the intensification of white supremacy in Southern Africa.

Finally, the Cabora Bassa project will have grave political implications not only for the independent and non-independent African countries in Southern Africa, but for the whole of Africa. Such implications will serve to divide even more radically than at the present the African people and those of the countries which will participate in the execution of this project. The gap between the Portuguese people, who are themselves oppressed by the fascist regime in Lisbon, and the people of Mozambique and Angola will be widened thus setting the stage for a racial war which will most certainly envelop the whole of mankind.

The OAU Council of Ministers is deeply concerned by the facts at its disposal concerning the construction of the Cabora Bassa project. The participation by the imperialist Western NATO powers in the project is particularly disturbing especially in the wake of the Lusaka Manifesto which sought to find a solution to the problem of Southern Africa through peaceful means. The Mozambican people and the rest of Africa were happy to learn of the withdrawal by the Swedish electro-manufacturing Company, A.S.E.A., from participation in the project. We were also gratified to learn that the British General Electric Company had also withdrawn from the project. These two companies headed the views of the progressive people in Africa and in their own countries and Africa congratulates them for taking this hold and just stop.

The OAU Council of Ministers has learned, however, that the West German monopoly, SIEMENS-TELEFUNKEN, has taken the place which the A.S.E.A. turned down. In addition, the Council has learned of the part played by the following countries in the financing of the project. Through the KREDITANSTALT FUR WIEDERAUFBAU Bank West Germany has put at the disposal of the Portuguese £ 32,000.000. Through the BANQUE DE PARIS ET DE PAYS-BAS, France has contributed £ 31,000.000 to the construction of the Cabora Bassa and Italy has contributed £ 20,000.000 to the project.

South Africa and Portugal have contributed each, £ 12,500.000 and £ 40,000.000. The OAU Council of Ministers is also aware of the fact that a number of other countries, especially United States of America indirectly have participated through companies such as Angol-American and others which

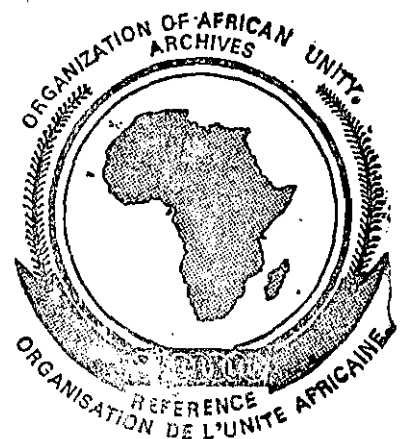
operate in South Africa, Portugal, France and Britain. In other words, collusion of the imperialist Western NATO countries has been completed in the suppression of the demand by the peoples of Africa for freedom, independence and human dignity.

Bearing in mind these facts, the OAU Council of Ministers makes the following declaration:

"The Cabora Bassa Dam is aimed at oppressing the people of Mozambique, the people of the rest of Southern Africa and ultimately the entire people of Africa. This project is not only going against the interests of the people of Africa the Resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, but also the United Nations' many resolutions, with particular reference to economic and other interests impeding the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The Dam will further increase the threat to international peace and security by strengthening the arm of those who are already committing crimes against humanity.

"The Council of Ministers, therefore, deploras and condemns in the strongest terms possible all those companies and countries which in collusion are preparing to start construction of the Dam. In particular the Council of Ministers Committee condemns the imperialist Western NATO countries of West Germany, France, Italy, United States and Britain without whose involvement the project could not be realised.

"The Council of Ministers, therefore, reiterates its support to the freedom fighters in Mozambique and all the fighting people in Southern Africa by increasing its military and other facilities necessary to frustrate the combined efforts of



imperialism in continuing to suppress the people through the construction of this Dam.

"The OAU Council of Ministers also calls on all progressive peoples the world over to rise and condemn the actions of the governments of their countries involved in the execution of this diabolical project."

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1970-08

# Report of the Administrative Secretary General on the development of the situation in the territories under colonial and racist domination

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