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



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I TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

1. On 1st January, 1973, in his new year message to the Portuguese people, President Américo Thomas bitterly admitted the increasingly critical situation in which the Portuguese find themselves in Africa when he stated: "We have been engaged for nearly 12 years in a difficult and troublesome war of totally subversive nature." A fortnight latter, the Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano, in a radio and television address to the Portuguese people, made it clear that despite the obvious reverses to Portuguese colonial policy in Africa, his government will stick to the Salazar Course in its policy. In other words, the Portuguese Government will continue to intensify its colonial wars of genocide in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, despite the success of the Liberation Movements in their war of liberation and despite the condemnation of international public opinion of Portugal's continued colonial war.

2. During the last few years, the Lisbon authorities have consistently given top priority to their policy of suppressing the national Liberation Movements in the three territories. Last year, it is estimated that over 50% of the country's budgetary appropriations were devoted to financing the colonial war. This year the figure is expected to increase even more considerably 55-60%. To justify the mounting expenditure on the colonial venture, Marcello Caetano in his address of 15th January, 1973, incited pseudo-patriotic sentiments in the country. In this regard he declared, among other things.....
"Has anyone forgotten what happened in the Belgian Congo in 1961?"

"But is it therefore impossible to negotiate the surrender of the Overseas Territories to the terrorist movements which call themselves liberation movements ? I have often in the past dealt with this issue of negotiation. It need hardly be said that it is constitutionally and morally impossible for my government to have talks with groups whose only qualifications are those of sowing violence and being instruments of foreigners, with a view to handing them on a plate the rule over territories which the constitution, history and the nation's feelings say are an integral part of Portugal." Mr. Caetano concluded his address by declaring:...."the defence of Portuguese Overseas Territories demands sacrifices but to renounce that responsibility might bring graver and larger sacrifices and losses for every Portuguese and for the nation as a whole." It will also be recalled that as early as 3rd July 1972, Mr. Caetano, in his address to the nation, had declared categorically : ..."No, Ladies and Gentlemen, no, my dear friends listening to me, we cannot abandon Portuguese lands overseas and our brothers who live there..."

3. Thus, through such declarations as well as through intensified internal propaganda campaigns in the radio, television and the press, the Portuguese authorities are imposing on the Portuguese People the idea that Portugal is being threatened and that it is indispensable to continue the war to an end.

In other words the Caetano Government is still pursuing one major goal in the conduct of the colonial war of genocide, namely to preserve the existing order in the metropolis as well as in the colonies in Africa. It is also making use of the war to justify all emergency measures it introduces to combat the progressive anti-colonialist forces in Portugal and the patriots in the colonies.

Intensification of anti-colonial struggle in Portugal

4. As far as the internal anti-colonial resistance in Portugal itself is concerned, it is gratifying to note that it has succeeded in exposing and enervating the fascist regime of Lisbon. The resistance has taken various forms, such as massive demonstrations which took place in large cities such as Oporto where an estimated 40,000 people demonstrated against the rising cost of living, against fascism and the colonial wars. Student strikes, occupations of buildings of institutions of higher learning and demonstrations were also frequent during 1972. On 8th August, 1972, as 77 years old Admiral Amerigo Thomaz was being sworn in as head of state for a third seven-year term, a series of bomb explosions cut off power supplies in major Portuguese cities. Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra were all badly affected. In fact, according to the New York Times of August 10, 1972, 30% of Lisbon's electric power as well as all of Oporto's was cut effectively by the series of bomb blasts planted by anti-government forces. Again, on September 26, 1972, two blasts shattered Radio Marconi's Cables and radio communications centres, crippling communication with North America and Southern Africa for several hours. The target centres were cable and radio relay stations about 25 miles south and south-east of Lisbon. The patriotic front of national liberation (FPLN) claimed responsibility for the September 26 blasts. It will be recalled that the F.P.L.N. were also responsible for the bombing of many trucks destined for the Portuguese colonial army on 11th July, 1972, as well as for the armed robbery of hundreds of pounds of explosives in the Algrave on 11th June, 1972. According to the Associated Press, on 1st December, 1972, an occurred in a munitions factory in suburban Lisbon. As a result of the continued intensification of internal subotage in Portugal itself, the Lisbon authorities have increased measures of repression and terror.

Growing International Support

5. With regard to the situation in the Portuguese Colonies the liberation struggle, in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau has entered a new and important phase, with large parts of their territories liberated and local and regional representative authorities and infrastructural services established. For instance, in Guinea Bissau elections for a National Assembly were successfully completed during the summer of 1972. Eighty members were elected from the masses and forty elected from the party, P.A.I.G.C. It is expected that the Assembly would soon proclaim the existence of Guinea Bissau as a sovereign state in Africa. It will be recalled that the UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization had adopted a unanimous resolution on April 13, 1972, recognizing the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) as the only authentic representative of the territory. The Committee stated that the Special three-man mission it had sent during 1-8 April, 1972, to the liberated areas of Guinea Bissau had established "beyond any doubt" that PAIGC exercised de facto control in the territory. Consequently, the Committee asked all states and Specialized Agencies and other bodies in the U.N. system to furnish PAIGC with the assistance it needed in the struggle for national liberation. Similarly on the same grounds, there is an increasingly growing recognition by the international community that what is true of PAIGC in Guinea Bissau is equally true of FRELIMO and MPLA - FNLA in Mozambique and Angola respectively. Moreover, the increased international sympathy with the struggle of the Liberation Movements recognized by the OAU, has enabled them to attain important political and diplomatic victories. Thus, they have succeeded to get de jure recognitions by important international and inter-governmental bodies. Thus, the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned Nations, in Georgetown,

Guayana, in August 1972, granted, inter-alia, Observer Status to the PAIGC, MPLA and FRELIMO. Again, on September 22, 1972, the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly (Fourth Committee) voted overwhelmingly (79 for 13 against and 16 abstentions) to seat the recognized Liberation Movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau as well as other recognized movements in Southern Africa, to participate in the committee's deliberations on Decolonization. On November 13, 1972, the same Committee recognized the Liberation Movements in Portuguese colonies as the authentic representatives of the People in those territories and called for a transfer of power to them. The resolution called upon Portugal to negotiate with the Movements and to end its Colonial wars and acts of repression in Africa. It appealed to Governments and United Nations Specialized Agencies to give moral and material assistance to the liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies and called on states, especially those member-states of NATO, to withdraw any assistance to Portugal, in particular supplies of arms and military equipment, and to discourage their nationals and corporations from operating in the territories. The vote on this important resolution of the Political Committee was 103 for, 5 against (the United States of America, Brazil, Costa Rica, Spain and Britain) and 11 abstentions. Portugal and Apartheid South Africa were absent.

6. It is also worth noting here that at its 57th session in Geneva in July 1972, the General Conference of the International Labour Organization passed a strong resolution in which it pledged "the entire support and effective action" of the I.L.O. to "the lawful struggle of the People of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau for self-determination, civil and trade union liberties." The Conference condemned Portugal for its constant violation of human, civil and trade union rights; it urged member-states and employees and workers organizations to intensify their efforts to give effective aid to

the people struggling for their freedom in the Portuguese colonies and to cease all aid to Portugal. The resolution also paved the way for the representatives of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau to participate in ILO meetings. The resolution passed with 211 votes for, none against and 84 abstentions. According to the London Guardian of 28th June, 1972 after the resolution was passed, Portugal walked out of the meeting.

7. The General Conference of UNESCO, which was held in October 1972, in Paris, has also decided to associate the recognized Liberation Movements of the Portuguese colonies and other movements recognized by the OAU in its activities, including inviting them to participate in the General Conference. To that end, the Executive Council of UNESCO has been requested to take the necessary steps in conformity with its resolution 2678 and 2795 as well as United Nations General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII), adopted on November 14, 1972.

8. On March 1, 1973, the General Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) decided to bar Portugal from participating in the UN Agency as long as it pursues colonialist policies. By a vote of 68 for, 26 against and 15 abstentions, the assembly restricted Portugal from attending regional navigation meetings and some other ICAO meetings. Although Portugal may be allowed to attend the 125 Nation Assembly, her access to ICAO documents will also be limited. The decision of the ICAO Assembly was in conformity with UN decisions condemning Portuguese colonial policies and calling on U.N. Specialized Agencies to restrict their contacts with that country. Similar action was taken against Apartheid South Africa two years ago.

Intensification of the Struggle in Mozambique

9. Meanwhile, the situation in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau is deteriorating further. In Mozambique the Movement for freedom and independence is gathering momentum. Last July the colonialist authorities became so nervous and desperate that they made massive and widespread arrests of Mozambiquans especially in the Southern part of the territory. The STAR of Johannesburg reported on June 24, 1972, that the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique had made 1800 arrests. The arrests included drivers, male nurses at a sugar plantation, office workers, especially within the departments of public work, health and transport, as well as the President, vice President and 20 others in the leadership of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique. The detainees have been charged for "Political Offenses". Late in August, a Portuguese priest, Luis Alfonso Da Costa, revealed, with documented stories of concentration camps, torture, and the massacre of 92 people by the Portuguese in the Tete area of Mozambique. According to the London Guardian of August 5, 1972, Da Costa was one of two missionaries chosen by fellow priests and nuns to travel throughout the territory to inform them what was happening in the North of Mozambique. Da Costa was in danger of imprisonment when he left to Rome. Seventeen other missionaries were also detained for questioning during the July-August period. Of those two priests, Alfonso Valverde and Martin Hernandez tried to leave the territory via Rhodesia, but they were arrested by rebel Rhodesian authorities and flown back to Mozambique and placed in the Machaba prison near Lourenco Marques. Similar testimonies of Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique were given before the U.N. Committee on Human Rights in Dar-Es-Salaam in August by Mozambiquans who fled their country. As a result of the unbearable maltreatment and torture of prisoners by the Portuguese Secret Police, several of the prisoners have committed suicide. Or.

of these notable victims was the Reverend Zedequias Managohela, who has been president of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique since 1963, who hanged himself on December 11, 1972, after 6 months of isolation, torture and interrogation in a Mozambiquan jail. According to Frelimo sources there are more than 4000 Africans who are presently in prisons and concentration camps in Mozambique. Meanwhile, the freedom fighters of Mozambique, have stepped up their fight against the Portuguese colonial forces. FRELIMO has already liberated over one fourth of Mozambique. Apart from the periodic communiques of FRELIMO, the success of the liberation struggle in Mozambique have been corroborated by several people, from different countries, who visited the liberated areas. Among those was a British Peer who spent 15 days in Tete Province with FRELIMO guerillas. The Peer, Lord Gifford, who is the Chairman of the London based Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, declared on September 6, 1972 that, together with three of his companions, he toured the liberated areas and was highly impressed. According to him the Portuguese troops in the Tete Province were confined to fixed military bases. They had no direct access to the people other than by air. The three Portuguese deserters, fighting for FRELIMO, whom the Peer interviewed told him that the Portuguese attempt of rounding up people into the so-called strategic hamlets (Aldeamentos) had failed because of brutality. As a result of his visit Lord Gifford predicted that the Portuguese faced an increasing defeat in Mozambique.

10. Again, on September 17, 1972, an Italian group who visited the liberated Cabo Delgado Province for 11 days revealed that they were impressed by the strong links between the Mozambique people and FRELIMO. The group, the first from Italy to visit the liberated areas in Mozambique, was from the administration of Santa Maria Nova Hospital, near Bologna. The

leader, Signor Guiseppe Soncini, told a press conference in Dar-Es-Salaam that before the group left Portugal's Ambassador in Rome had told him that there were no guerrilla held areas in Mozambique. After the visit he declared that on the contrary the group had no contact with the Portuguese apart from seeing a plane broadcasting anti-frelimo propaganda. Signor Soncini revealed that they had seen FRELIMO run schools and health services in the various villages they visited and they had visited well organized military units.

11. Moreover, the November 27, 1972, issue of the American Newsweek contained a two and half pages report on "Africa's Mini-Vietnam" and on "A March in Mozambique". One reporter, Mr. Jaffe, who visited the Cabo Delgado Province reported: "the guerrillas clearly hold sway over the rural areas of the North". He witnessed a surprise encounter of FRELIMO with the Portuguese and reported "with consummate tactical skill, Chipande (a Frelimo Militant) moved a squad up to pin the Portuguese down and then led our column on a flanking movement that took us safely out of the ambush. There was no pursuit; we suffered no casualties". The other reporter who interviewed General Kaulza de Aniaga, Commander of the Portuguese Colonial Forces in Mozambique, quoted the latter as having conceded that his forces "have been slow to counter the new Frelimo campaign in Tete Province" and cited the Portuguese losses as "one a day killed or seriously wounded on the average." According to the reporter, the General spoke of the American-inspired tactic of regrouping the population into fortified hamlets (aldeamentos). He said over one million people will be settled in 1000 aldeamentos by the end of 1972 in the hope that those people will be won over to the Portuguese side. But as Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, had indicated clearly to Mr. Jaffe, Frelimo is convinced that the People herded into the aldeamentos simply feel imprisoned and

as a result become even more anti-Portuguese and more determined to assist the liberation struggle. In short it is clear that the Mozambique patriots are on the offensive and the Portuguese on the defensive. In this respect the British Morning Star of June 27, 1972, carried a special article by a correspondent visiting Southern Mozambique. The following is reported from a stop he made at a small village store a short way north of Lourenco Marques.

"Outside a Mercedes armoured truck pulls up under a tree. The crew consists of three Portuguese and one black. When the Officer in Command learns I am English he becomes friendly and communicative. The other three open their ration packs, supplied to the army by South Africa. I ask him how it is up North, as that is where they have come from.

"Terrible", he says. "We are glad to get out. Everywhere is mined or you are likely to be ambushed. We only went out in convoys, never alone. Only last week the Officer in charge of these men was killed and I had to take over."

"Will you win?" I asked

He smiles, "of course not. Its only a matter of time before they kick us out."

12. On 16th November 1972, the Portuguese Premier, Marcello Caetano, publicly admitted in a broadcast in Lisbon: "In Mozambique it is above all in the Province of Tete that the furies of the guerrillas have been concentrated.... Cabora Bassa continues. But some of our neighbours with less experience do not conceal their fears and in this way play the game of the enemy." Indeed, the growing anxiety of Lisbon Salisbury and Pretoria correctly reflects the success of FRELIMO in the Tete Province, a strategic corner of Mozambique wedged between Malawi and Rhodesia. The intensification of the liberation war in Tete is primarily

dictated by Frelimo's determination to prevent the completion of the Cabora Bassa Dam project which the Portuguese are building in close co-operation with South Africa and Western monopolies. Frelimo has effectively threatened the rail and road system, which serve not only the Portuguese but also provide outlets to the sea for Rhodesia and Malawi. Throughout 1972 and during the last months of this year, Frelimo has been constantly ambushing convoys, mining roads and cutting rail links. For example the main rail link connecting Tete with the Port of Beira was blown up towards the end of 1972 in more than twenty places along a 100 miles stretch. The Freedom Fighters have also been constantly firing mortars and attacking important military targets in the Tete Province. In fact, on 9th November, 1972, Frelimo guerrillas heavily shelled the center of the town of Tete, the provincial capital, damaging the Post Office, the so-called National Overseas Bank and the Zambezi Hotel, occupied by army Officers and engineers and staff working on the Cabora Bassa Dam. At the same time, another Frelimo unit shelled Tete's Chingozi Airport, where seventeen aircraft, including helicopters were destroyed on the ground. The hangar and aircraft within were also blown up and a helicopter flying in from another town, Coidas Xavier was shot down. The runway was reportedly very badly damaged. Thirty barracks near the Airport, housing a company of paratroopers, were also largely destroyed. This important military success was widely reported by many news agencies, including those known for their sympathies to the Portuguese. Among these was a known Portuguese sympathiser, Ian Colvin, Correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, who reported "a marked increase in guerilla terrorist activities" in the Tete area.

13. In his November 14, 1972, radio and television address to the Portuguese people, Premier Caetano declared: "In recent times it's (guerillas) attacks have become more fiercely directed against Cabora Bassa, that gigantic enterprise whose construction programme is being carried out

without the least deviation. Cabora Bassa has become the symbol of our determination to remain in Africa". It is obvious that the successful completion of the Dam would entrench Portuguese Colonial rule and re-inforce the Portuguese settlement policy in that part of Mozambique. It is expected that at least one million Portuguese will be settled around the Dam area. But the freedom fighters are equally determined to prevent that eventuality. The roads to the construction site of the Dam are subjected to constant mini-voys and attacks, thereby forcing all transport to travel in heavily armed convoys at a speed of 10 to 15 kilometres per hour. Even the laying of asphalt on some roads has not hindered Frelimo in mining them. As Samora Machel, President of Frelimo, was reported to have said to the Newsweek Correspondent last November, apart from sabotaging the construction of the Dam, Frelimo is also determined "to make the price of building it increase four or five times." Lately, even imperialist circles in the Western World have openly admitted that it would be highly expensive to protect the construction of the Dam until completion and that it would be impossible to protect the planned high tension cable to South Africa from attack by the Mozambique freedom fighters. Thus, according to Star of Johannesburg of 27th July, 1972, tenders were out for defoliation work, mostly by aerial spraying, to clear the land for 50 metres either side of the Tete-Songo road, which is 115 kilometres long, and to clear 250 hectares of land surrounding the Cabora Bassa Dam site to improve security. At this juncture it is important to note that according to the London Sunday Times of 9th July, 1972, the United States sales of herbicides to Portugal and South Africa have increased substantially between 1969 and 1972. The U.S. sales figures of herbicides for Portugal are as follows:

			<u>Value (US\$)</u>
1969	Herbicides, NEC	22,050 lbs	22,210
	Herbicide preparations	23,590 "	
11970	Herbicides, NEC	88,200 "	229,320
	Herbicide preparations	17,125 "	28,105
1971	Herbicide preparations	109,295 "	202,195
1972 (Jan.- July)	Herbicides, NEC	18,203 "	9,664
	Herbicides Preparations	239,268 "	234,696

(Source: Washington Notes on Africa, November 22, 1972.)

It should be noted here that the period of the sale of herbicides by the United States to Portugal between 1969 to 1972 coincides with repeated reports of Frelimo, MPLA and PAIGC of the use of herbicides by Portuguese colonial forces in the liberated areas of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau as well as reports that South African Planes have been in the spraying process, especially in Angola and Mozambique.

14. Although the United States was reported to have put pressure on the export-import bank to deny credit for sales which General Electric wanted to make to the ZAMCO consortium, it was revealed in October 1972, that the U.S. Caterpillar had sold 38 giant earthmoving machines and three industrial engines. In addition to helping excavate tunnels on each bank of the Zambzi River, the giant caterpillars also hauled rock for two cofferdams. Thus, according to the U.S. Journal, Southern Africa, of October 1972, the Caterpillars sales and maintenance service is the first direct United States participation in Cabora Bassa for which there is clear evidence.

15. Having liberated Cabo Delgado, Niassa and large parts of Tete, Frelimo announced on September 13 that its freedom fighters had opened up an important new front in the Manica-Sofala Province in Central Mozambique. Manica Sofala lies in the narrow waist of Mozambique between the

sea and Rhodesia, containing the Port of Beira and the oil pipeline to umtali, Rhodesia. The region has an area of 130,000 square kilometres, a population of one million and over 400 foreign agricultural companies as well as ten mineral concessions, especially, American, British, French, German, Japanese and Portuguese.

16. The first Frelimo war communique from the new front of Manica-Sofala was issued on October 27, 1972, indicating liberation activity in the region of Mandie, Mungari, Vila Gouveia and the area between Mungani and Chema. At the end of last year Frelimo issued a war communique in which it reported that between September 24 and November 26, operations were carried out in various parts of Manica Sofala Province. As a result six vehicles were destroyed and other equipment was destroyed or captured in the attack. On October 15 an assault was made on a cotton-trading post in Nhantete in which 350 sacks of cotton were burned. During 1972, Frelimo killed 50 Portuguese soldiers in ambushes and sabotage operations in the new war front of Manica-Sofala.

17. As the President of Frelimo, Samora Machel, declared on September 13 on the opening up of the new front:

"It is certain that the enemy, wounded in one of his most sensitive points will react waves of imprisonment, torture, bombing, and massacre will be increased, will be more intensive and systematic(and) given the strategic situation of the Province in relation to the rest of Southern Africa, we realize that in Manica and Sofala the forces of imperialism and the South African and Rhodesian racists will do all they can to crush our struggle..." Thus, as a result of the successful progress of the liberation struggle in Mozambique, there is no doubt, that the Portuguese will even get more assistance, particularly assistance in the military field,

from rebel Rhodesia and Apartheid South Africa. In effect this also means that these racist minority regimes will step up their attacks and subversion efforts against Zambia and Tanzania. The criminal activities of the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury Axis will be dealt with at a latter stage of this report. Meanwhile, the National Liberation struggle in Mozambique is progressing successfully. The success of the armed struggle, has resulted in the opening up of the Manica-Sofala front, south of the Zambezi River. The freedom fighters are also consolidating the liberated areas by setting up schools, medical centres as well as the nucleus of popular administration at the grass-root level. The Mozambiquan people in these liberated areas are participating in the fighting as well as in the tasks of national reconstruction with a sense of mission and a new sense of political awareness. There is no doubt that the result achieved in the liberated areas will become sources of inspiration to the Mozambiquan people still under the control of the enemy.

ANGOLA

18. As in Mozambique, the Liberation Struggle in Angola is gathering more momentum. Portuguese war communiques, reported in the Diario de Lisbon between July 7 and October 11, 1972, have admitted guerilla activities in the Moxico area, in the Dembos, in the South, in the Cuando-Cubango region, at Uige, in Northern Angola and in Cabinda. According to the Lisbon Vida Mundial of July 21, 1972, the Northern Cuanza, Nambuangongo, Owicobo, Ucuca, Dande, Bela Vista and Ambriz have been placed under absolute military control since April 28, 1972.

19. In parallel to the armed struggle developing in the countryside, militant action groups, especially MPLA cadres, are also intensifying their struggle in the urban centres of Angola, especially in Luanda.

20. In reply to the intensification of the armed struggle in Angola, the Portuguese Colonialist forces are in desperation, resorting to mass arrests, torture and execution by firing squad. The Paris Daily, *Lemonde*, of September 13, 1973, revealed the construction of new concentration camp for political prisoners at St. Nicolou, near Mocamedes, in Angola. This concentration camp is similar to the installation at the Tourafal in the Cape Verde Islands, where hundreds of persons are believed to have died by torture, withholding of medical treatment, starvation or simply being shot. The persons held in these concentration camps are what the Portuguese call "administrative detainees". On July 27, 1972, the Portuguese authorities announced for the first time a codification of security measures specified for this classification of detainees who are accused of having acted "against the territorial integrity of the nation." The Portuguese political police determine where such detainees shall be held and what their sentence is, without the intervention of military or civilian tribunals. The Governors of the separate colonies see to it that the orders are carried out without any interference from any quarter. According to MPLA sources, there are more than five thousand Angolans at the St. Nicolou concentration camp, which is reportedly equipped with crematory furnaces. All detainees at St. Nicolou are African and are subjected to forced labour.

21. Again, in the vain hope of counterring the successful armed struggle in Angola, the Portuguese are intensifying chemical warfare. The Portuguese started spraying chemical preparations, herbicides and defoliants in cultivated areas of the liberated regions in eastern Angola in May 1970. Chemical warfare has been most intensive in the district of Luanda, Moxico and Cuando Cubango. Large proportions of the harvests in these liberated regions have been repeatedly destroyed by herbicides and napolin, thereby seriously affecting subsistence crops in these regions, particularly the Cassova, which is the base of the subsistence diet in Angola. Since last August, the Portuguese

have repeatedly made heavy bombing raids, spraying defoliants, herbicides and other chemical elements in the liberated areas of Angola, especially in the eastern part to cause starvation. Because of starvation, following the intensified destruction of food crops by chemical agents, hundreds of Angolan villagers fled into the neighbouring countries, especially to Zambia. As an attempt to meet the basic needs of people affected by chemical warfare in the liberated regions of Angola, the MPLA has established an Angolan Red Cross last year.

22. It should be emphasised that Portuguese chemical warfare in its colonies constitutes one of several means which aim to reduce the activities of the guerillas among the people. With the use of herbicides, napalm and other types of bombs, harvests are destroyed and forests defoliated. In particular the defoliants are used to deny the guerrillas the possibilities of finding refuge in the forests. Moreover, the destruction of fields and harvests are even of greater importance in the Portuguese strategy to incapacitate the liberation struggle. The destruction of harvests can bring famine and the Portuguese attempt to use famine and starvation as a weapon against the people in the liberated areas. Besides affecting the sources of supply of the guerrillas and creating a psychologically terror effect, chemical warfare seeks to separate the freedom fighters from the people in an even more direct manner. By imposing famine among the people and thereby forcing them to migrate to the city slum district or the so-called strategic hamlets (aldeamentos) the Portuguese hope to be in a better position to control the people and thereby the guerillas. This, as usual, is the wrong lesson that Portugal's Allies, in particular the United States, appear to be giving in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. Apparently, reports from Angola regarding the mushrooming of the so-called strategic hamlets and the spraying of herbicides against cultivated regions gives proof of the similarity of

the objectives of chemical warfare in Angola and Vietnam. The combined use of napalm and herbicides in operations against liberated regions also has clear similarities with the tactics developed in Vietnam. Nevertheless, as the Vietnamese patriots have given the United States a lesson that it will never forget, there is no doubt that tiny and impoverished Portugal will learn an even more bitter lesson in Africa.

23. The Portuguese colonialists have also copied from the Americans another method. Just as the Americans used in their war of aggression in Vietnam what is known as Vietnamization, the Portuguese have lately concentrated their effort at Africanizing the colonial wars. Special forces composed of Africans are increasingly being formed to fight the freedom fighters. In Angola these forces are called Flechas. The Portuguese often give exaggerated figures of the number of Flechas to create the impression that the Africans support the Portuguese colonial rule. In effect the Portuguese do not trust the Flechas with weapons and they are always led by Portuguese Officers. The Flechas are not in the regular army, but under the order of the Portuguese Political Police (DGS) and they operate independently from one another. They act mainly as guides in the bush, reconnaissance groups or rearguards detachments in punitive operations against villages. Together with the special mission detachments (Flechas) and so-called local defence detachments, formed by tribal chiefs loyal to the colonialists, mercenaries, such as former Tchombe gendarmes, led by European mercenary officers also take part in the anti-guerrilla operations.

24. Meanwhile, Lisbon's policy of Africanization of the colonial war is encountering serious difficulties. Conscription has brought protest from African youth in the cities and towns. It has also gradually awakened the political consciousness of recruits from remote villages formerly estranged from and often indifferent to the politics of liberation.

25. Many Africans flee from conscription and hide in the bush in order to avoid participation in the war against their own people, often their relatives. Instances of desertion and defection of African troops into the guerrilla rank are on the increase. Apart from other sources, MPLA has corroborated this development. As the Vietnamization policy did nothing to help the United States in Vietnam, similarly, the policy of Africanization of the colonial war by Lisbon, has no chance of success. In short, despite the criminal use by the Portuguese of chemical weapons and napalm, despite the concentration camps and the terror and repression resorted to by the Portuguese colonialists and despite the Portuguese attempt at Africanizing its war of genocide in Angola, the armed liberation struggle is becoming stronger. Already, not less than one third of Angola, corresponding to an area of about 500,000 square kilometres with a population of approximately one million inhabitants is liberated from the Portuguese. In these liberated regions, the foundations of the new, free Angola are being built. The Portuguese fascists, whatever their desperate methods, are unable to stop the liberation struggle. In fact, the enemy has no more mobility. Pinned down and confined to cities, towns or to the camp, it is supplied by aircraft and helicopters. In this regard it would be of interest to quote some notes from an article by Bruno Crimi, based on his interview with Portuguese soldiers and officers, published last August in *Jeune Afrique*.

Quote from a former Captain in Angola:

"The Commander of the military region had sent me out to reconnoitre with a hundred men or so According to our orders we were to go some 20kilometres into the bush of Bie and return the following day. It was certainly a dangerous mission; we guessed that MPLA guerrillas were in the area personally I had no desire to risk my life and those of my men for the sake of reconnaissance. What was I to do ? What almost

all reserve officers do. Say "Yes Sir," strike out from the fortified camp that was our base, go several kilometres into the forest, stop in a safe place, station the sentries, return to camp the next day, and note in the report that reconnaissance revealed nothing."

Another young Officer:

"In Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, it is really very rare to find anyone who seeks an engagement with the guerrillas. If you can run away without too many risks - so much the better The Airforce, that's different ... The Pilots do not risk very much." unquote.

26. Finally, Crimi, the author of the article observes:

"The Commanders in the three territories are quite well aware of military realities. They prefer to trust important tasks to the airforce or to elite troops such as Commandos or the paratroopers, often chosen from sons of settlers. When it comes to the crunch, a peasant from Metropolitan Portugal doesn't care about losing the overseas province... It is symptomatic of the Malaise that Portuguese Secret Police (DGS) Agents are becoming increasingly numerous in the army."

27. In Angola, even the numerous coffee plantations have become armed camps. For instance, the Journal, Africa-Asia, No. 11-12 of August 1972, included an article by two German Journalists who visited a Coffee Plantation by a latifundist German family in Northern Angola near Bolongongo. The two journalists were not allowed to travel alone and were accompanied by fourteen soldiers travelling in convoy in German jeeps, with a bazooka pointed ahead and all other arms on alert. They were shown a road blocked by guerrillas, an evacuated village which the Portuguese had cleared, coffee plantations surrounded by barbed wire with guard towers every fifteen metres. The plantation buildings had shuttered windows and loopholes for shooting and observation. The owner of the plantation took two

automatic G-3 weapons with him in his Land Rover. When the journalists arrived at the plantation they noted that because all the local Angolans are suspected as terrorists, the plantation owners use only "contract" labour from the extreme South of Angola. The plantation house was reinforced like a fort and had a good stock of provisions and arms, and a private army of 23, seventeen of which were mainly night patrol guards.

28. In a futile attempt to block the spread of the national liberation struggle further South and to facilitate the settlement of over half a million Portuguese and other European immigrants in Angola, Lisbon and Pretoria, with the active assistance of Western Monopolies, are accelerating the construction of the Cunene Dam Project.

29. The Cunene Project will include 30 dams, several power stations, irrigation projects, canals and roads. The project, when completed, is expected to cost about \$600 million. The Cost of the Portuguese South African joint venture is to be shared equally between Portugal and South Africa, but South Africa and her allies will extend a loan to Portugal which covers Portugal's entire share for the first stage of the project. Although the greatest secrecy has been exercised as to which Western Monopolies are involved in the Cunene Project, several reliable sources have indicated that so far West Germany, French, British, Dutch and Belgian banking trusts are contributing to the financing of the project through loans. The process of collection of precise data on the Western banking trust is continuing.

30. The first stage of the project has already been initiated and is scheduled to be completed in 1978. Among other things the completion of the first stage of the project is expected to increase the production of electric power by almost one billion KWH. The most important part of the first stage is the Gove Dam which will be situated 100 kilometres north of

Nova Lisboa, in Angola. The Dam, which will be an artificial lake and covering 160 square kilometres was planned to be completed by the end of 1972. The Gove Dam is also expected to increase the production of electrical power of the Matala power station, which has been operational since 1959. With the help of South African money, the Matala Power station is expected to supply the Cassinga mines and the town of Sa da Bandeira and Mocamedes, with power. Another important plan in the first stage is the setting up of a power station at the border town of Ruacana, Namibia. In fact, the construction work at Ruacana was started in 1969, and the South African regime had declared its intention to build a permanent African and a "temporary" white town at Ruacana. From the Ruacana, falls the Pretoria regime intends to build a Dam at Calueque, inside Angola, which apart from controlling the water flow to Ruacana, will irrigate parts of Ovamboland in Namibia.

31. It should be stressed that the enormous electrical power of the Cunene Project will serve mainly the numerous foreign enterprises in the area. By selling electrical power, the Portuguese will also derive valuable foreign currency. More over, the iron ore mines at Cassinga will gain a great deal from the electrical power of the Gove Dam. Until now, because of the shortage of hydroelectric power it has not been possible to extend the exploitation of the Cassinga Mines. Now the owners,..... formally the Portuguese Companhia Mineira do Lobito but in reality the West German Krupp Empire, are negotiating with the South African Openheimer Empire about increasing the production of iron ore. This means that among other things, new mines will be opened and the loading facilities in the harbour of Mocamedes will be increased. In this regard, the Export-Import Bank of the United States has contributed to improved transport facilities from the Cassinga mines by granting loans.

32. The new uranium company in Rossing, Namibia, will also use the electrical power of the Cunene. By the middle of the 1970's, the Rossing

mines is expected to be the largest open uranium mine in the world. The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, which is the British Government authority for nuclear energy, had made it economically possible for the British Company, Rio Tinto Zinc, to open up the new Rossing Uranium Mine. The new company, Rossing Uranium Ltd., which is 80% owned by Rio Tinto Zinc and 20% by the South African Industrial Development Corporation and General Mining, is solely responsible for the extraction of Uranium at Rossing. Other foreign companies prospecting in the area and which in future will make use of the electrical power of the Cunene are, among others, De Beers and Societe Nationale des Petroles d'Aquitaine, which are searching for oil in the central part of Namibia; Falcon bridge (Canada) and Societe Nickel (France), which are hunting for nickel; Phelps Dodge (USA), which has obtained great copper concessions in the area. In short, the availability of enormous electrical power from the Cunene Project will definitely encourage further investments by foreign giant companies. The increase in investments in Angola and Namibia will in turn lead to the strengthening of the financial and military resources of Portugal and South Africa to continue their wars of genocide in Angola and further South.

33. It also goes without saying that further increases of investments by western monopolies will lead to the further strengthening of the "ties of friendship and mutual interest" between the imperialist NATO powers on the one hand and the racist minority regimes of South Africa and Portugal on the other. This dangerous possibility or eventuality will have to be nipped in the bud as soon as possible.

MPLA - FNLA Move Toward Unity

34. Obviously the most important instrument to prevent the completion of the Cunene Dam Project is the intensification of the armed liberation struggle in Angola. An encouraging step towards this goal was the recent MPLA - FNLA agreement a united action front against the common enemy, Portuguese colonialism. It will be recalled that since 1963 the OAU, through its various committees and sub-committees had made successive efforts to bring about the formation of a united front between the two liberation movements in Angola. As a follow up of that attempt, the 8th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which met in Addis Ababa from 21 - 23 June, 1971, had called upon the heads of state of the Peoples Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Zambia and Zaire "to use their good offices towards establishing a united front between MPLA and FNLA (AHG/Dec. 57(VIII)). In pursuance of the above decision, the Heads of State of Congo and Zaire met in Brazaville on 8th June 1972. Having discussed the problem with the leaders of MPLA - FNLA, the two leaders submitted a progress report to the Rabat Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Among other things the leaders of Congo and Zaire had recommended that an OAU Conciliation Commission be entrusted to help the two movements to work out the modalities for effecting a United action front. Accordingly, the 9th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government requested the Presidents of Congo, Tanzania, Zambia and Zaire "to continue with their mission until all aspects of conciliation between MPLA and FNLA are settled satisfactorily." (AHG/Dec.80(IX)). Thus, the MPLA - FNLA conciliation meeting took place at Kinshasa, Zaire, from 11 - 13 December, 1972. Despite the fact that the meeting of the Commission was held at ministerial level, the President of Zaire, H.E. General Mobutu Sese Seko, was closely associated with the work of the

Commission and contributed enormously towards its success. The MPLA delegation was led by its president Dr. Agostinho Neto, and the FNLA delegation by its President, Mr. Holden Roberto. The Administrative Secretary-General was represented by an Assistant Secretary-General, assisted by four senior officers. Having received detailed proposals from the two movements and after lengthy and intensive discussions with the leadership of the movements, the Commission arrived at the following four basic proposals:

1. Creation of a unified military command (UMC)

which will be responsible for planning and directing the liberation struggle in all its military aspects;

2. Creation of a Political Council of Angola (PCA), which will, among other things, work out a programme of Political integration between the two movements;

3. Creation of a Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola (SCLA), which will co-ordinate at the highest level the policies of both the unified military command and the Political Council of Angola; and

4. Creation, under the auspices of the OAU, of a Commission of Arbitration, to see to it that the commitments undertaken by the two movements are respected, and to arbitrate on any possible differences that may arise from time to time.

35. The above four basic suggestions of the Commission were accepted by both MPLA and FNLA and the detailed provisions of the final argument between MPLA and FNLA were worked out by the Commission. The final agreement as agreed to and duly signed by the Presidents of MPLA-FNLA and in the presence of the foreign ministers of Congo, Tanzania, Zambia and Zaire, is reproduced in extenso as Annex I to this report.

36. As can be seen from the provisions of the MPLA - FNLA agreement, the OAU Conciliation Commission has scored a political victory for the National Liberation Struggle, especially in Southern Africa. After more than ten years of mutual attack and recriminations, the two movements were finally convinced, thanks to the persistent efforts of the OAU, that the price of disunity was very high. Since 1962, their common enemy, Portuguese Colonialism, had been pleased with the continued division and internicine strife between the liberation movements. As a result, the Angolan liberation fighting forces could not make the required impact in their war against Portuguese colonialist forces. Now that a united action front is created, and subsequent developments indicate that the two movements are seriously attempting to implement the agreement, the liberation struggle in Angola will no doubt be accelerated on all fronts and Portugal is bound to loose ground and eventually loose the war. Henceforth, the main contradiction will be between the colonialist enemy and the oppressed and exploited people of Angola, under the leadership of the liberation fighting forces of Angola.

37. In addition the successful implementation of the agreement is likely to be emulated by the divided liberation movements, especially of Zimbabwe and South Africa. Now that the international situation is very favourable to the legitimate liberation struggle in Africa, the OAU's continued effort to promote the formation of a united action front between divided liberation movements operating within one territory against the common enemy will no doubt accelerate the liberation offensive against colonialism and racism. From such a relatively solid ground, it is even easier to create broadly based united action fronts among the consolidated liberation movements of Angola, mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa against Portugese Colonialism and the minority rascist regimes of Salisbury and Pretoria. And the liberation sturggle in Southern Africa could successfully

entered into a second and crucial phase in 1973, which is the beginning of the second decade in the life of the Organization of African Unity.

GUINEA BISSAU

38. It will be recalled that in April 1972, a three nation U.N. Mission, composed of the representatives of Ecuador, Sweden and Tunisia, visited the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau at the invitation of PAIGC. In its report published towards the end of July, the U.N. mission confirmed "that the struggle for the liberation of the territory continues to progress and that Portugal no longer exercises any effective administrative control in large areas of Guinea-Bissau are irrefutable facts." The report added that "It is also evident that the population of the liberated areas unreservedly support the policies and activities of PAIGC, which after nine years of military struggle exercises free de facto administrative control in those areas and is effectively protecting the interests of the inhabitants in spite of Portuguese activities." The mission noted that during its trip it had "ample opportunity to witness the devastation and misery caused by Portuguese actions, particularly the widespread and indiscriminate bombing of villages and the use of napalm to destroy crops At the same time, the mission was profoundly impressed by the manifest will of the people, despite their incalculable hardship and suffering to carry on the struggle until freedom and independence were won under the able leadership of the national liberation movements, the PAIGC."

39. On the basis of the findings of the mission the U.N. Decolonization Committee recognized the PAIGC as "the only authentic representative of the People of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands." Indeed, thanks to the successful conduct of its liberation war, the liberated areas

now under control of the PAIGC comprised between two-thirds and three fourth of the Guinea Bissau. This has, in fact, been verified by many foreign observers and journalists.

40. As in Mozambique and Angola, the Portuguese attempted to "pacify" the population by forcing them to move into "strategic villages" or Aldeamentos. As in Angola and Mozambique the Airforce has become the most important weapon against the liberated areas. Villages are bombed indiscriminately and napalm and other forms of chemical warfare used. As a Portuguese told Bruno Crimi, in the Jeune Afrique interview quoted earlier: "It was enough to drive you mad. I remember very well that in the zone of Bafata we lived underground all day. To go for a piss you had to reach a trench some 15 metres away. You knew there were snipers in the trees around the camp, so that every time you relieved yourself you risked your life. There was fear, dense fear. People were silent, no one spoke. often there wasn't enough to eat; but there was always plenty to drink, beer, wine. You get drunk to overcome your terror." In the same interview, a person close to the Portuguese Minister of War told Crimi: "We are all aware that Amilcar Cabral could take Bissau this very day. But he could not hold the city because we have the Airforce, and he hasn't enough anti-aircraft equipment As long as Cabral cannot hold Bissau, Portugal will not live Guinea."

41. Thus the Portuguese clearly know that they are fighting a war which they will lose for certain. Faced with inevitable defeats at the hands of the freedom fighters, the Portuguese colonialists continue to resort to even more desperate measures, such as open invasion attempts into neighbouring Democratic Republic of Guinea or constant aggression against Senegal.

Meanwhile, the PAIGC is consolidating the liberated regions of Guinea Bissau. In the process of replacing the colonial system through

radical reforms and innovations, the PAIGC is creating a new society. Village committees are used as the basic unit of organization to bring about a genuine liberation for the oppressed people of Guinea Bissau. In the liberated areas, rice, cassava, vegetables and millet are grown. The growing of peanuts, which the Portuguese encouraged for export purposes, is now discouraged by PAIGC. Acreage under cultivation has now increased enormously and improved cultivation methods have been successfully introduced. During the colonialist period, illiteracy was almost universal in the countryside. Now there are over 160 village schools with an average of 100 students each. In addition, instruction is carried on within the armed units and in the hospitals. Visitors to the liberated regions of Guinea Bissau have attested to the diligence of the liberation soldiers in their studies. With regard to health improvement, the party has built a system of hospitals, cottage hospitals and mobile health units. There are now four hospitals with doctors and more than 50 cottage hospitals with trained medical personnel. Outside of the liberated areas, PAIGC has two hospitals located in the Democratic Republic of Guinea and one in Senegal. As schools and hospitals are favourite targets of Portuguese bombing raids, they are mostly well camouflaged and relocated from time to time, which makes their work even more difficult.

42. In the Cape Verde Islands, there has been widespread famine. Although tens of thousands of people were in danger of starving to death, the Portuguese government showed no serious sign of concern. When several humanitarian organizations, such as the Swedish Red Cross, offered humanitarian aid through the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Portuguese authorities stubbornly refused to accept any assistance which might save thousands of lives. In fact, the Portuguese even attempted to take advantage of the famine to ship more than 15,000 young workers to Portugal where they are now working in the mines and cleaning streets. Another

2,000 of these young men are under-going compulsory military training in Portugal to be integrated into the colonial army. Those brave young men who rebelled against forced conscription are known to have been put in prisons in Portugal.

43. During the past year PAIGC has reported a great deal of military activity, whereby two and three attacks a day were launched against the Portuguese. In September, PAIGC launched more than 60 attacks on colonial troops in diverse locations in the South, North and East of the territory. The London Daily Telegraph of December 15, 1972, reported that on the previous day thousands of Portuguese soldiers and marines landed in an area of Southern Guinea Bissau known as Cantaez. Heavy bombing by Fiat G-91 fighters preceded the mass landing by sea and air. This is said to be the largest Portuguese operation in the war in Guinea Bissau and the first move in that particular area since the war began ten years ago. Apparently, this massive Portuguese Operation was based on Portugal's fear of reports that PAIGC was in the process of a major build-up of arms and supplies including amphibious armoured vehicles, 85 mm guns with a range of 10 miles and the 122 mm rocket. This assessment was in fact reported in the December 11, 1972 issue of the Daily Telegraph. But as could be expected the Portuguese have failed in their attempt to contain the tide of the liberation struggle in Guinea Bissau. No wonder, therefore, that the Portuguese authorities had to recall General Antonio de Spínola, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Portuguese colonial forces in Guinea Bissau. It will be recalled that at the time of Spínola's appointment four years ago, the Lisbon Press had extolled his military ability and had described him as one of the best Portuguese experts in anti-geurrilla warfare. The Lisbon regime had hopes that Spínola would finally bring about the routing of the liberation forces and the liquidation of PAIGC as a liberation movement. But Spínola, like his predecessors met with total failure.

44. On October 17, 1972, Amilcar Cabral announced that the PAIGC had conducted democratic elections for a national assembly in Guinea Bissau. 80 members were elected from the masses and 40 elected from the party cadres. The National Assembly was expected to proclaim the existence of Guinea Bissau as a state in Africa, sometime at the end of 1972, or early in 1973. On October 19, 1972, Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, became the first Liberation Movement Leader to address the Political Committee of the United Nations. It will be recalled that on September 27, 1972, the UN General Assembly Trusteeship Committee had voted overwhelmingly to give observer status to recognize liberation movements such as PAIGC, MPLA and FRELIMO.

45. Thus, under the brilliant leadership of Amilcar Cabral, PAIGC, has, during 1972, scored important military, political and diplomatic victories against the decadent colonialist regime of Lisbon. In desperation, the Portuguese authorities had Amilcar Cabral assassinated through their agents on 20th January, 1973, in Conakry. The untimely death of Cabral is certainly a loss to his country and to Africa. But the anachronistic regime of Lisbon has grossly miscalculated. Cabral's loss, however grievous, will not prevent the onward progress of the work that he began. The national liberation struggle in Guinea Bissau does not, and cannot, depend on one person alone. As Cabral himself has said:

"In our country we don't believe in the capacity of one man to liberate his people. Liberation is the job of all the people."

46. It is gratifying to note that since Cabral's murder, the PAIGC leaders have closed their ranks. They had no difficulty in choosing Mr. Aristides Pereira as Cabral's successor, that is as the Secretary-General of PAIGC. Subsequently developments indicate that the PAIGC is determined to work and fight even harder to complete the plan that the party, under

Cabral's leadership laid. There is no doubt that the PAIGC leadership will finalize the necessary preparations so that the new national assembly, elected in 1972 can meet inside Guinea Bissau this year. This Assembly will then proclaim Guinea Bissau as a state, parts of whose territory, especially some towns as well as Bissau, are still in enemy hands,

Portuguese and Imperialist Interests in the Portuguese Colonies

47. On March 6, 1973, while on a visit to South Africa, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Patricio, declared that Portugal can continue to conduct its colonial wars in Africa without economic difficulties. Apart from the fact that this statement is a wishful thinking, as has been amply stated in the report, it is appropriate to find out why Portugal continues to hold on to its African Colonies in the face of violent opposition from the inhabitants concerned and in spite of persistent condemnation by the international community? As has been repeatedly pointed out in successive reports of the General Secretariat, there are three basic reasons. First, Portugal is a small, poor, and backward European country, with few natural resources. On the other hand, the size of its colonies is more than 20 times that of Portugal. In these territories live about 15 million Africans. There are also rich deposits of Petroleum, iron ore, diamonds, copper, gold, coal, sulphur, bauxite. Natural gas and other mineral resources especially in Angola. Agricultural products such as coffee, cotton, sugar, sisal and cattle abound especially in Angola and Mozambique. These economic resources are used by Portugal to run its outdated Political, military and police machinery and to raise the standard of living of the Portuguese, in both Portugal itself and in the colonies.

48. Secondly, by propogating the outdated and false view that its African colonies are "Provinces" of Portugal and as such are integral parts of Portugal, the Lisbon authorities are attempting to use the colonies as a base for Portugal's power and influence in world politics. To that effect, the Institute of Higher Military Studies in Lisbon, in one of its publications, described Portugal as a nation "with 4.2% of its area and 41 percent of its population in Europe and 95% of its area and 55% of its population in Africa." As a follow up of this farce, the Lisbon authorities announced last May a "Constitutional revision" whereby the "overseas Provinces" would be called "States" within the "Portuguese Nation". But Portugal should have realized that international public opinion cannot be easily misled through pseudo-constitutional reforms aimed at perpetuating its naked exploitation of the colonies and the repression against the 15 million Africans under its domination.

49. Thirdly, by advancing a religious or messianic purpose, such as a "Christianizing" and "civilizing mission" in Africa, and lately, by persistently advancing the "communist" bogey, Portugal is attempting to involve directly the NATO powers in its war of genocide in Africa.

50. Already, some of the Major NATO Powers are involved indirectly in Portugals colonial wars in Africa. The General Secretariat has repeatedly stressed, in its successive reports to the Council and the Assembly, the fact that Portugal has little industry and was not therefore capable of producing complex air, naval and military equipment. Accordingly relied heavily on economic and military aid from its allies, which assistance has enabled it to continue its war of genocide in Africa. In this regard, the United States, West Germany, France and Britain remain the most important suppliers of military assistance to Portugal.

51. For example, according to official U.S. statistics, between 1946 and 1967 the United States gave Portugal more than \$325 million dollars worth of military aid. But in addition to the above figure, so-called "defense aid" was given. The military aid has increased after 1968. In connection with the new agreement about the so-called strategically important basis in the Azores, Portugal will obtain military weapons worth over \$200 million, distributed over five years starting 1971. There is close military co-operation between Portugal and West Germany. West Germany has a military base in Beja, Portugal and West German weapons deliveries are paid with West German imports from Portugal. Moreover, West Germany grants Portugal big loan on good terms. Next to the United States and West Germany, France is the biggest supplier of weapons and the only country which gives military aid to Portugal without any conditions. France sells the weapons by long term credits which are guaranteed by the French Government. The military aid from Britain is concerned mainly with delivery of warships. In addition to military and financial assistance, these Major NATO powers also train the Portuguese armed forces.

52. Strangely enough, the NATO powers still continue to declare that NATO weapons, which they admit to have given to Portugal, are not meant for use by Portugal in its colonial wars or genocide in Africa. However, the NATO powers know that by claiming that her colonies are "provinces" of Portugal and therefore Portuguese territory extends to these colonies; Portugal has arrogated to herself the right of using NATO arms in these territories. Moreover, concrete evidence has been given by the liberation movements and many western journalists who visited the liberated areas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau that, in fact, Portugal does use NATO weapons in Africa. So far, nothing concrete has been done by the Major NATO Powers to ensure that NATO does not indirectly participate in as well as foot the bill for Portugal's colonial wars. With the continued

flow of NATO's support to Portugal, there is no wonder that Mr. Caetano, the Portuguese Prime Minister, should have been more uncompromising in his 15th January statement declaring Portugal's unshakable determination to remain in Africa.

53. By opening its colonies, more than ever before to foreign investments Portugal has been deviously scheming to involve the Western Nations to participate directly in her colonial wars. Apart from contributing financially to the conduct of the colonial war, Western nations are being enticed to develop more appetites in biting the rich mineral and agricultural resources especially of Angola and Mozambique and thereby develop firm economic stakes in the maintenance of the status quo that is the perpetuation of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

54. For example, the Diario of Mozambique of November 3, 1972, revealed the extent of Gulf Oil's direct financial assistance to the Portuguese war effort in Africa. According to the paper, for 1972 alone Gabinda's Gulf Oil was to have paid Portugal \$33 million for total royalties and \$49.5 million for total taxes. In other words, the Lisbon regime has received in 1972 a direct financial contribution of \$85.5 million from one oil company alone. Moreover, from 1968 to 1971, the total sales of Gulf Oil was \$140 million. From the foreign sales of Gulf Oil from 1970 to 1972, Portugal was expected to obtain a total foreign exchange of \$99 million. In other words, apart from providing oil for Portugal and for the conduct of the colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, Gulf Oil continues to give to the Lisbon authorities hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes and royalties. It also provides the Lisbon authorities with hundreds of millions of valuable foreign currency which have enabled Portugal to obtain additional arms and military equipment in the black markets of Europe and North America.

55. According to the statement of the U.S. assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, David Newson, on 27th March, 1972, in the territories under Portuguese domination, the United States has an investment of \$220 million dollars.

56. In addition to their investment activities, the business relations of most NATO countries with Portugal is also note worthy. For instance, the United States buys half of the Angolan coffee and West Germany takes a great part of the Angolan iron ore export, processed mainly by the Krupp Empire.

57. Again, if we consider the direction of trade ^{of} Mozambique alone, for which the latest data is available, we will note that the major NATO powers and Japan play an important role

Principal Trade Partners of Mozambique, 1969 - 1971
(million escudos)

A. Import

	<u>Value</u>			<u>Percentage of total value</u>		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total imports	7,491.0	9,963.0	9,033.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Portugal	2,337.5	2,569.0	2,552.5	31.2	25.8	26.5
South Africa	1,127.2	1,429.0	1,423.5	15.1	14.3	14.9
Fed. Rep. Germany	635.8	713.0	816.2		7.2	8.6
United Kingdom	608.0	760.0	769.5	8.4	7.6	8.1
United States	488.9	911.0	728.8	6.5	9.1	7.5
Japan	396.3	561.0	530.4	5.4	5.6	5.6
Iraq	378.0	364.0	486.8	5.0	3.7	5.1
Italy	148.7	282.0	408.1	2.0	2.8	4.2
France	259.8	316.0	337.5	3.5	3.2	3.5

B. Export

	Value			Percentage of total value		
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total Exports		4,497.0	4,612.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Portugal	1,679.1	1,724.0	1,726.5	41.1	38.3	37.4
United States	400.9	417.0	623.5	9.9	9.3	13.5
South Africa	419.6	465.0	434.5	10.4	10.3	9.5
United Kingdom	196.7	221.0	200.3	4.8	4.9	4.4
Fed. Rep. Germany	127.0	119.0	91.6	3.0	2.6	2.0
Netherlands	48.3	95.0	63.9	1.4	2.1	1.4

Source: Portugal, Anuario Estatístico, 1970, vol. II, Mozambique, Boletim Mensal de Estatística, December 1971.

58. In short, by means of economic, trade, investments and strategic enticements, Portugal appears to be determined to involve the NATO powers directly in its colonial wars of genocide in Africa. So far, the major NATO powers have not given any convincing proof that they are not behind Portugal in its criminal colonial venture in Africa. It is their direct and indirect, military, economic, financial, political and diplomatic support to Portugal which continues to enable her to conduct her colonial wars of genocide, which has passed its 10th year.

The Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury Axis

59. Another pillar for Portuguese colonialism in Africa, and perhaps more significant in terms of military strategy, is the growing military and economic support which the white supremacist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury give to Portugal. With Portugal these minority racist regimes have formed an unholy alliance. This unholy alliance involves tremendous and vital

economic, military and intelligence co-operation, South Africa, which is the richest and the most powerful of the three militarily, has tied its own security very closely to that of Angola, Mozambique and Rebel Rhodesia. As has been pointed out earlier in the report, there are huge South African investments in Angola and Mozambique. South Africa and Portugal have jointly launched the construction of two major dams and hydroelectric schemes of Cabora Bassa in the east and the Cunene in the west. Both schemes are clearly designed to consolidate white domination of Southern Africa by setting one and a half to two million Portuguese and European immigrants. South Africa and rebel Rhodesia are determined to help maintain Portuguese colonialism in Southern Africa. If colonial rule is eliminated in Angola and Mozambique, South Africa and rebel Rhodesia will have an impossible task in defending an over extended border against the national liberation movements. Thus, while the three racist regimes keep silent about the extent of their multi-faceted military co-operation, it is now well known that South African air - planes and helicopters have been frequently involved in anti-guerrilla operations in Angola and Mozambique. Some of these South African operations involved the use of napalm and defoliants. No less than 4,000 to 5,000 South African troops and police equipped with armoured cars and helicopters are currently fighting along with Rhodesian forces against the Zimbabwe freedom fighters. South African ground and air forces work very closely with the Portuguese along the border areas of Southern Angola, where South Africa has heavily fortified bases and military air bases in the Caprivi Strip, in the illegally occupied international territory of Namibia. Numerous battalions of South African forces are also involved in the defence of the Cabora Bassa Dam Project against Frelimo. Even white South African "Volunteer" support groups, such as the "Mozambique Angola Soldiers Comfort Fund" are involved, by supplying ambulance airplanes, portable radios, ambulances and even food to the Portuguese soldiers in Angola and Mozambique. Top level security

Chiefs of the three countries meet regularly to exchange intelligence and plan on anti-guerrilla operations. As is known, South African economic aid literally kept Ian Smith's rebel Rhodesia alive after U.D.I. and the imposition of U.N. Sanctions.

60. Apart from regular routine consultations at a lower level, among officials of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, there are also high-level constant contacts and consultations. Last October, Mr. Ian Smith of rebel Rhodesia had talks with Dr. Caetano in Lisbon. Since the beginning of 1972, Rhodesian has been assisting Portugal in Mozambique militarily and has also handed over Africans fleeing as refugees to Rhodesia.

61. However, many observers have noted Ian Smith's grave concern at the lack of Portuguese success in containing Frelimo's military victories in the Tete and the expansion of the liberation war further south. It will be recalled that in November, Caetano publicly criticized Ian Smith ^{for} expressing his alarm about the military situation in Mozambique. During Ian Smith's visit to Lisbon, Portugal and Rhodesia discussed the problem arising out of the on slaught of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. According to the London Guardian of October 14, 1972, Caetano and Smith reached an agreement. The agreement "Concerns the strategy for resisting guerrillas in Southern Africa and tactics dealing with the United Nations Sanctions." The Johannesburg Star of October 28, 1972, pointed out that previous meetings between Portuguese and Rhodesian Officials had taken place during Smith's "rugby match" visits to South Africa. However, according to the paper, what made Smith's agreement with Portugal more significant militarily was Portugal's recent association with European Common Market and her long-standing alliance with Britain. Finally in their nervousness about the intensification and effectiveness of the national liberation struggle in Southern Africa, the members of the unholy alliance are stepping up their campaign of subversion,

and aggression against independent African states such as Zambia, Tanzania, Congo and Zaire.

The Portuguese Colonies and the United Nations

62. As in the past few years, last year's U.N. General Assembly Session was dominated by African Questions, especially Decolonization and the elimination of Apartheid and racial discrimination in Africa. But the 27th Session of the General Assembly has gone a step further in achieving political and diplomatic victories for the cause of national liberation in Africa, especially, in the African territories under Portuguese domination. The United Nations General Assembly has now recognized the OAU liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau as "the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of their peoples", and has called on Portugal to withdraw all its forces from its African colonies to enable the peoples of these territories "to attain self-determination and independence." The Assembly has recommended further that, pending the accession of those territories to independence, all governments, the United Nations Specialized Agencies and other Organizations within the U.N. system, and the U.N. bodies concerned should ensure the representation of those territories by the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies concerned. Thus the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies have now attained the Status of Observer at the United Nations. The change of status of the liberation movements from "petitioner" to that of "Observer" is indeed a political victory. The United Nations has further called upon Portugal to negotiate with the National Liberation Movements and to cease its colonial wars and acts of repression in Africa. The resolution appealed to governments and U.N Specialized Agencies to give moral and material assistance to liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies and called on states, especially, NATO member-states,

to withdraw any assistance to Portugal, especially, supplies of arms and military equipment and to discourage their nationals and corporations from operating in the territories. The resolution, 2918(XXVII), was adopted by 103 votes for, 5 against (the United States, Brazil, Costa Rica, Spain and Britain) and 11 abstentions. Following the adoption of the said resolution, Portugal's Premier, Marcello Caetano attacked the United Nations for what he called interference in the country's internal affairs and restated his policy of non-negotiation with the liberation movements. For ease of reference the full text of the U.N. resolution 2918(XXVII) is annexed to this report.

63. On November 15, 1972, the U.N. Security Council took up the questions of the territories under Portuguese domination in Africa. The Security Council had considered the question as early as 1961. Thus, by resolution 163 (1961) the Security Council had called upon Portugal to implement General Assembly resolutions 1514(XV) and 1603(XV). Again in 1963, the Security Council considered the situation in those territories and by its resolution 180(1963) affirmed that Portugal's claims that its African colonies were its "Overseas Provinces" and integral parts of metropolitan Portugal were contrary to the principle of the charter. The Security Council also requested all states to refrain from giving any assistance to Portugal which would enable it to continue its acts of repression on the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands. This position was repeated in Security Council resolution 218(1965) in 1965. Finally, in 1972 the Security Council adopted resolution 312 (1972) which, among other things, called on "all states to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the people of the Territories under its administration and to take all the necessary measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government for this purpose including the sale and

shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of armours and ammunitions to be used in the Territories under Portuguese administration." Of course, Portugal and its allies have consistently flouted the decision of the Security Council. As a result, the November 1972 Session of the Security Council was called upon to take effective steps.

64. During the one week Session of the Security Council, apart from the members of the Security Council, the Foreign Ministers of Liberia and Sierra Leone as well as numerous representatives of African countries participated in the debates. The representative of PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA also spoke on behalf of the liberation movements of Portuguese colonies.

On November 22, 1972, the Security Council adopted an important resolution which reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands to determine their own future and as such invited Portugal to enter into negotiations with the Parties concerned, namely the National Liberation Movements of the territories. The resolution also called upon Portugal to immediately stop all its military operations and acts of repression directed against the peoples of those territories. The said resolution was adopted unanimously. Since this is the first time that the Security Council has adopted such a resolution without a single dissenting vote, the resolution can be called historic. The full text of the resolution is attached to this report.

MPLA - FNLA AGREEMENT

PREAMBLE:

Considering:

- (a) that our people are one, and our organizations have the same objectives;
- (b) the grave necessity to wage a more effective revolutionary armed struggle, for the attainment of that objective;
- (c) the current phase of the mass resistance of our people to the settler machinery of oppression;

Determined to give effect to the Brazzaville Declaration of 8th June, 1972, and the decision of the 9th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (AHG/80 (IX) held at Rabat in June, 1972.

We, the leaders of MPLA and FNLA hereby agree as follows:

- A -

SUPREME COUNCIL FOR THE LIBERATION
OF ANGOLA (S.C.L.A.)

1. A council shall be created to be known as "The Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola" whose duties shall be to co-ordinate at a high level the policies of both the U.M.C. and the P.C.A.
2. The membership of the S.C.L.A. shall consist of:
 - (i) Chairman to be provided by FNLA
 - (ii) Vice Chairman to be provided by MPLA
 - (iii) All the Members of the U.M.C.
 - (iv) All the Members of the P.C.A.

3. The S.C.L.A. will also meet at least twice a year.
4. The S.C.L.A. will also give directions of a general nature on the question of dealings with the outside world.
5. The Decisions of S.C.L.A, shall be by simple majority vote and that the Chairman shall have no casting vote unless this is agreed to specifically by the Chairman of both the U.M.C. and the P.C.A.
6. Before a decision is taken, the Chairman must ensure that both movements are equally represented. Should some members of the one movement be absent, then the leader of such a movement will have the right to nominate any of the members of his movement to fill their places.
7. The Vice Chairman of the S.C.L.A. shall also perform the duties of the Secretary to the Council.
8. The S.C.L.A. may reverse the decisions of the UMC and of the PCA if such a decision for reversal is adopted by two thirds (2/3) majority.

- B -

UNIFIED MILITARY COMMAND (UMC)

1. That a Unified Military Command be created.
2. The areas of joint action of the UMC shall be among other things:
 - (i) Recruitment and Training
 - (ii) Logistics and Supplies
 - (iii) Operations
 - (iv) Military Intelligence and Information

3. The Unified Military Command shall consist of:

- (i) Chairman to be provided by MPLA
- (ii) Vice Chairman to be provided by FNLA
- (iii) Six Military Officers selected by MPLA
- (iv) Six Military Officers selected by FNLA

4. The U.M.C. shall :

- (i) be responsible for planning and conducting the Liberation war in all its military aspects.
- (ii) take decision by simple majority vote.

5. The U.M.C. shall work out/as possible programme for familiarization, recruitment, training, deployment, assessment of means of the struggle and joint operations.

- C -

POLITICAL COUNCIL OF ANGOLA

1. That a Political Council of Angola be created.

2. The P.C.A. shall be responsible for among other things:

- (i) Propaganda, mobilization and diplomatic activities.
- (ii) Welfare of the civilian population.
- (iii) Administration and consolidation of the liberated areas.

3. The P.C.A. shall consist of:

- (i) Chairman to be provided by FNLA
- (ii) Vice Chairman to be provided by MPLA
- (iii) Six members to be provided by FNLA
- (iv) Six members to be provided by MPLA

4. Decisions of the P.C.A. shall be taken by simple majority vote.
5. The P.C.A. shall also work out a programme of political integration.

- D -

The seat of the S.C.L.A., U.M.C. and P.C.A. shall be situated in the Republic of Zaire.

- E -

M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. have agreed on:

- (i) The establishment of an atmosphere of peace and fraternity among their forces.
- (ii) The immediate cessations of all acts of hostility or attacks in the press, the radio and other mass media.
- (iii) The fact that from now onwards, in order to gradually achieve unity, their Press Releases and all propaganda work shall give emphasis on the newly created bodies (SCLA, UMC, and PCA) so that to make them know to the people of Angola.
- (iv) The implementation of this agreement.

- F -

1. That Commission of Arbitration composed of representatives of the Peoples Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Zaire be established under the auspices of the O.A.U.
2. The Commission shall see to it that Commitments undertaken are respected, and shall arbitrate on any possible difference that may from time to time arise.

This agreement was signed under our hands this thirteenth day of December in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy two.

Dr. Agostino NETO
REPRESENTATIVE OF M.P.L.A.

Mr. Holden Roberto
REPRESENTATIVE OF F.N.L.A.

In the presence of the OAU Commission of Reconciliation consisting of:

1. Hon. Henri LOPES
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Peoples Republic of Congo

Hon. J.S. MALECELA
Minister of Foreign Affairs
United Republic of Tanzania

3. Hon. E.H.K. MUDENDA
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Zambia

Hon. Nguza Karl I BOND
State Commissioner incharge
of Foreign Affairs and
International Co-operation,
Political Commissioner,
Republic of Zaire.

Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda
Assistant Secretary-General
Organization of African Unity

RESOLUTION 322 (1972)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1677th meeting
on 22 November 1972

The Security Council,

Having examined the situation in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique,

Recalling its resolution 312 (1972) of 4 February 1972,

Also recalling General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972 on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration,

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

Considering that the Organization of African Unity recognizes the liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique as the legitimate representatives of the peoples of those Territories,

Having heard statements of the representatives of Member States and of Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Mr. Gil Fernandes and Mr. Manue Jorge, who were invited under rule 39 of the rules of procedure to participate in the consideration of the question,

Conscious of the urgent need to avert further human suffering and material losses by the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and to achieve a negotiated solution to the armed confrontation that exists in those Territories,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique to self-determination and independence as recognized by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the legitimacy of the struggle by those to achieve that right;

2. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith its military operations and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique;

3. Calls upon the Government of Portugal, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that exists in the Territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and permitting the peoples of those Territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to follow developments in the situation and to report periodically to the Security Council;

5. Decides to remain actively seized of this matter.

RESOLUTION 321 (1972)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1669th meeting
on 23 October 1972

The Security Council,

Considering the complaint of the Republic of Senegal against Portugal contained in document S/10807,

Having heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal,

Taking note of the letter of the representative of Portugal contained in document S/10810,

Considering its resolution 178 (1963) of 24 April 1963, 204 (1965) of 19 May 1965, 273 (1969) of 9 December 1969, 302 (1971) of 24 November 1971 and the report of 2 February 1971 (E/CN.4/1050) of the Working Group of Experts of the Commission on Human Rights concerning Portuguese acts of violence in Senegalese territory,

Deeply disturbed by the attitude of Portugal, which persistently refuses to comply with the relevant Security Council resolutions,

Deeply concerned about the multiplication of incidents which entail the risk of a threat to international peace and security,

Reaffirming that only complete respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal and all the African States bordering the territories of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, and for the principle of self-determination and independence defined in particular in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), will make it possible to eliminate the causes of tension in those regions of the African continent and create a climate of confidence, peace and security,

1. Condemns the frontier violation and attack on the Senegalese post at Nianao committed by regular forces of the Portuguese army on 12 October 1972;

2. Recalls its resolution 294 (1971) condemning the acts of violence and destruction committed by the Portuguese forces against the people and villages of Senegal since 1963;

3. Demands that the Government of Portugal should stop immediately and definitively any acts of violence and destruction directed against Senegalese territory and scrupulously respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of that State and all other independent African States;

4. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to respect the principle of self-determination and independence defined in particular in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to take immediately all necessary steps to apply that principle;

5. Declares that if Portugal does not comply with the provisions of the present resolution the Security Council will meet to consider other steps;

6. Decides to remain seized of the question

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
[On the report of the Fourth Committee (A/8889)]
2918 (XXVII). Question of Territories under
Portuguese administration

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having examined the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples, including in particular the report of the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau),

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General concerning the present item,

Having invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, representatives of the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of these Territories, and having heard the statements of Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, and Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of the Frente de Libertação de Mocambique,

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, and its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, as well as all other resolutions relating to the question of Territories under Portuguese administration adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Condemning the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to comply with the relevant provisions of the aforementioned resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, the continuation by Portuguese military forces of the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, the wholesale destruction of villages and property and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, as well as the continued violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States neighbouring Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique which seriously disturb international peace and security,

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

Taking note with appreciation of the concrete programmes of assistance to the national liberation movements of those Territories initiated by several Governments and by organizations within the United Nations system, as well as a number of non-governmental organizations,

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in those Territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, particularly in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde,

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

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

3. Deems it imperative that negotiations should be initiated at an early date between the Government of Portugal and the national liberation movements referred to above with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, particularly in order to bring about the following as a matter of priority:

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

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

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

5. Requests all Governments, particularly those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which continue to render assistance to Portugal, to withdraw any assistance that enables Portugal to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, and to prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material to the Government of Portugal, as well as all supplies, equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition that it uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa;

6. Calls upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures to put an end to any activities that help to exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein and to discourage their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contribute to Portugal's domination over those Territories and impede the implementation of the Declaration with respect to them;

7. Recommends that, in the event of the non-compliance by the Government of Portugal with the provisions of paragraph 3 above, the Security Council should urgently consider taking all effective steps with a view to securing the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and of the related decisions of the Council;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution, in particular to provide such assistance as may be necessary with respect to the negotiations referred to in paragraph 3 above, and to report thereon, as appropriate, to the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

9. Commends the Special Committee for the work it has accomplished during the year, particularly through the dispatch of the Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau), and requests it to continue to seek the best ways and means of effectively assisting in the achievement by the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination of the goals set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Charter of the United Nations.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[without reference to a Main Committee (A/L.678 and Add.1 and 2)]
2909 (XXVIII). Dissemination of information on
decolonization

The General Assembly,

Having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples ... relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Recalling further its resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization,

Conscious of the urgent need to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting effectively the people of the colonial Territories to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence and, in particular, to intensify widespread and continuous dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa guided by their national liberation movements,

Taking into account the suggestions of the Special Committee as well as the views of the Office of Public Information on the implementation of these suggestions, as reflected in the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee,

Recognizing the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration and the need for the Office of Public Information to intensify its efforts to acquaint world public opinion with all aspects of the problems of decolonization,

Bearing in mind the important role being played in the widespread dissemination of relevant information by a number of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization,

Noting with satisfaction the arrangements made by the Special Committee with a view to assisting the Office of Public Information in the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee relating to the dissemination of information on decolonization,

1. Approves the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization;

2. Reaffirms the vital importance of urgently effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, in particular the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa, as well as the efforts being made by the international community to assist in the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms;

3. Requests the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the Special Committee, to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples and, inter alia:

(a) To intensify the activities of all information centres, particularly those located in Western Europe, and also to establish additional information centres where appropriate, especially in Southern Africa;

(b) To maintain a close working relationship with the Organization of African Unity by holding periodic consultations and a systematic exchange of the relevant information with that organization;

(c) To enlist, from the non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council and from those non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, support in the dissemination of the relevant information;

(d) To continue to push, in consultation with the Special Committee, selected issues of the periodical Objective: Justice and the bulletin "United Nations and Southern Africa" in languages other than English and French;

4. Requests Member States, in particular the administering Powers, to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to him under paragraph 3 above;

5. Invites all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, as well as other non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, to undertake or intensify, competence, large-scale dissemination of the information referred to in paragraph 2 above;

6. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to collect and prepare on a continuous basis, for redissemination by the Office of Public Information, basic material, studies and articles relating to various aspects of the problems of decolonization;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of the present resolution;

8. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the effective dissemination or information on decolonization and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Without reference to a Main Committee (A/L.680 and Add.1-3) 7
2911 (XXVII). Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of
Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape
Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and
Equal Rights

The General Assembly,

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

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in the colonial Territories of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes,

Conscious of the need of the peoples and the national liberation movements of those Territories for assistance and support in their struggle to achieve freedom and independence,

1. Appeals to the Governments and peoples of the world to hold annually a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights and proposes that the Week should begin on 25 May, Africa Liberation Day;

2. Recommends that, on the occasion of the Week, meetings should be held, appropriate materials should be published in the press and broadcast on radio and television and public campaigns should be conducted with a view to obtaining contributions to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid established by the Organization of African Unity.

2078 plenary meeting

2 November 1972

Bearing in mind the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Mission of the Special Committee which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April 1972,

Mindful of the views and suggestions put forward by the representatives of the Organization of African Unity and the national liberation movements concerned during the meetings of the Security Council and the Special Committee held in Africa in 1972, in particular their request for assistance from the specialized agencies and other international institutions,

Conscious of the urgent and pressing need of the peoples in all colonial Territories, particularly of the national liberation movements and the populations in the liberated areas of some of those Territories, for assistance from the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, especially in the fields of education, training, health and nutrition,

Having invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the Territories concerned, and having heard the statements of the leaders of those liberation movements relating, in particular, to the reconstruction programmes being undertaken by their organizations in the liberated areas of the Territories,

Recognizing the urgent need for further and more effective measures for the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee by all the organizations of the United Nations system within their respective spheres of competence,

Noting with growing concern, that, while several of the specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system have provided considerable assistance to refugees from the colonial Territories in Africa, many of them have not extended their full co-operation to the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions relating to providing assistance to the national liberation movements and discontinuing all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia,

Noting with appreciation that some of the organizations have taken or are taking steps to formulate in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, concrete programmes for providing assistance, within their spheres or competence, to the peoples of the colonial Territories in Africa striving to liberate themselves from colonial domination,

Taking into account the views expressed by the Organization of African Unity on the question of procedures for the participation of representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa in conferences, seminars and other regional meetings convened by the specialized agencies,

Mindful of the necessity to keep under continuous review the activities of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in the implementation of the various United Nations decisions relating to decolonization,

1. Approves the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the item;

2. Reaffirms that the recognition by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence entails, as a corollary, the extension by the United Nations system of organizations of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories, including especially the liberated areas of those Territories;

3. Expresses its appreciation to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and to those other specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system which have been co-operating in varying degrees with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

4. Reiterates its urgent appeal to all specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to all States to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples in Africa struggling for their liberation from colonial rule, to initiate or broaden contacts and co-operation with them in consultation with the Organization of African

Unity and, in particular, to work out and implement, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for such assistance to the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, including in particular the peoples in the liberated areas of those Territories and their national liberation movements;

5. Reiterates its urgent request that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, including in particular the United Nations Development Programme and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, should take measures within their respective spheres of competence, to increase the scope of their assistance to refugees from colonial Territories, including assistance to the Governments concerned in the preparation and execution of projects beneficial to those refugees, and, in that connexion, to introduce the greatest possible measure of flexibility in their relevant procedures;

6. Urges once again the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to take all necessary measures to withhold any financial, economic, technical and other assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and to discontinue all collaboration with them until they renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression;

7. Requests the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to ensure the representation of the colonial Territories in Africa by the national liberation movements concerned, in an appropriate capacity, when dealing with matters pertaining to those Territories;

8. Recommends that all Governments should intensify their efforts in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members to ensure the full and effective implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and in that connexion should accord priority to the question of providing assistance, on an emergency basis, to peoples in the colonial Territories and to their national liberation movements;

9. Recommends that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, with a view to facilitating the implementation of paragraph 8 above, should request their executive heads to formulate and submit to their respective governing bodies or legislative organs, as a matter of priority and with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, concrete proposals for specific programmes of all possible assistance to the peoples in colonial Territories and their national liberation movements, together with a comprehensive analysis of the problems, if any, confronted by these agencies and organizations;

10. Requests the Economic and Social Council to consider, in consultation with the Special Committee, appropriate measures for co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in implementing the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

11. Requests the Secretary-General;

(a) To prepare for submission to the relevant bodies concerned with related aspects of the present item, with the assistance of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, a report on the action taken since the circulation of his previous report in implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including the present resolution;

(b) To continue to assist the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in working out appropriate measures for implementing the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session;

12. Requests the Special Committee to continue to examine the question and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
On the report of the Fourth Committee (A/8959) 7

2980 (XXVII). Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations",

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

Taking into account with appreciation the reports submitted on the item by the Secretary-General, the economic and Social Council and the special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

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