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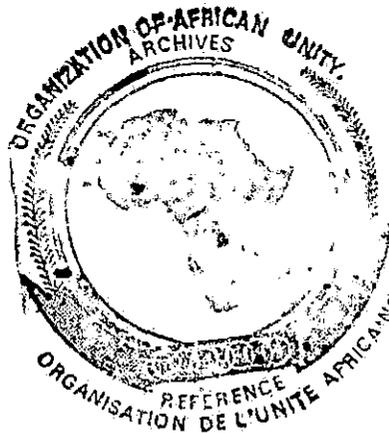
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اديس ابابا * Addis Ababa

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Report of the Administrative Secretary-General on
Decolonization



REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON DECOLONIZATION

1. During the period under review the most notable achievement in the field of Decolonization was the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. After eleven years of protracted, hard and determined struggle by the people of Guinea-Bissau, under the leadership of P.A.I.G.C., Guinea-Bissau was declared a sovereign and independent Republic on 24 September 1973.

2. The proclamation of independence by Guinea-Bissau was warmly welcomed by the international community. By 19th November, 1973, Guinea-Bissau had been accorded full recognition by almost all members of the OAU and admitted as the 42nd member state of the Organization of African Unity. By the time the report was being prepared over 80 countries were known to have accorded full recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

3. Earlier, on 2nd November 1973, the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted resolution 3061 (XXVIII), in which it welcomed "the accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau, thereby creating the sovereign state of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau". Having strongly condemned "the policies of the Government of Portugal in perpetuating its illegal occupation of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the repeated acts of aggression committed by its armed forces against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde," the General Assembly demanded that Portugal "desist forthwith from further violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic

of Guinea-Bissau ... and by immediately withdrawing its armed forces from those territories."

4. Apart from drawing the attention of the Security Council to the critical situation resulting from the illegal presence of Portugal in certain parts of Guinea-Bissau, the General Assembly invited all member states, the Specialized Agencies and other organizations within the U.N. system "to render all necessary assistance to the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its national reconstruction and development programmes". The resolution was adopted by 93 votes for 7 against (United States, United Kingdom, Spain, Brazil, Israel, South Africa and Portugal) and 30 abstentions. For ease of reference the full text of resolution 3061 (XXVIII) is attached as Annex I.

5. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has been admitted as full fledged member of the Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.), by the 17th FAO Conference which took place in Rome between 10 - 29, November 1973. The Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation of International Humanitarian Law applicable in Armed Conflicts, which held its meeting in Geneva from 18 February to 29 March 1974, also admitted the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as a full member. In fact the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was elected a vice president of the Conference.

6. With the agreement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau established a permanent Observer Delegation in New York in March this year. In short, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has scored major diplomatic and political successes since its independence. Despite the possible use of the veto power by Portugal's close friend and ally, the United States, to prevent its admission, the new Republic can now muster the necessary support

by the overwhelming majority of the U.N. member states to enable it to be admitted into the United Nations. With that in view the Council may wish to consider an appropriate strategy for securing the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the full membership of the United Nations during its 29th Session.

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

7. Despite the ever-increasing success of the liberation struggle in Mozambique and Angola, and equally increasing isolation of the Portuguese Government by the international community, Dr. Caetano's Government refused to accept the principle of self-determination for the people in Portugal's colonies in Africa, as laid down in U.N. General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) and subsequent resolutions of the Assembly and of the Security Council on Decolonization. Instead, the Portuguese Government continued to intensify its repressive measures against the freedom seeking people of Angola, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe Islands. Portugal has continued its war of genocide as was proved by the Wiriyamu Massacre. In league with the minority racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, Portugal continued to perpetrate its acts of provocation, subversion and aggression against independent African States neighbouring the territories under its domination.

8. It will be recalled that the 27th Session of the General Assembly, in its resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972, as well as the Security Council, in its resolution 322 (1972), of 22 November 1972 had called upon Portugal to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned (the national liberation movements), with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that exists

in its African colonies, and thereby enabling the peoples concerned to exercise freely their right to self determination and independence in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. However, Portugal persists in its refusal to negotiate with the National Liberation Movements, which have been recognized by the international community as the sole and authentic representatives of their respective peoples and territories. Despite its increasing diplomatic and political isolation, Portugal continues to claim that Angola and Mozambique are its "Overseas Provinces" and as such subject to its continued exploitation and subjugation.

9. In order to shore up its bankrupt colonial policy, the Portuguese Government has been working feverishly on secret deals with the Nixon Administration. One such secret deal concerns the renewal of the Azores Agreement with the United States. It will be recalled that the Azores Agreement, which was due to expire on February 3, 1974, contained provisions which enable Portugal to obtain massive aid from the Government of the United States totalling US\$400 million. It is now public knowledge that during the Israel-Arab conflict in October of last year a secret deal between the United States and the Portuguese Government enabled the Americans to resupply Israel through the Azores Islands with up to 800 tons of war equipment a day. The figure was revealed by the Guardian (London), dated 29th October 1973. Portugal, having realized the important role the Azores Islands had played during the recent Arab-Israeli war, and the strategic importance of the islands to any future United States arms lift to Israel is secretly demanding more U.S. support, political and military, for its colonial policies in Africa. During the 28th Session of the General Assembly, the United States gave Portugal its

political support by threatening to use its power of veto in the Security Council to bar the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in to the United Nations.

10. In the past the United States has made formal, and ostensible, declarations prohibiting Portugal from using American military equipment, provided to her as a NATO ally, in her colonial wars in Africa. But with the increasing importance of the Azores to American military strategy in the Middle East, and especially in view of the refusal by almost all European NATO member states to provide facilities for the transshipment of arms to Israel, it is very likely that the United States Government will accede to Portuguese conditions when the Azores Agreement is renewed. In fact several sources have indicated that the Portuguese Government has made the following demands as a condition of renewing the Azores Agreement.

- A. The United States should pay more royalties for the use of facilities in the Azores.
- B. The United States should allow the Portuguese Government to use, without restriction, the sophisticated arms provided by her, so that Portugal could be enabled to counter-balance the effect of the more modernized weapons used, or to be used, by the National Liberation Movements, and;
- C. To get from the United States a firm political and diplomatic support at the United Nations and at other international forums. In this respect, the use of the American veto power to block the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is one such promised diplomatic support.

11. Consequently, as a follow up of its denunciation of the Azores Agreement, in its last extraordinary session, the Council of Ministers may wish to consider taking appropriate action with a

view to discouraging the U.S. Government from accepting Portuguese conditions, which if acceded to will be detrimental to the fundamental interests of Africa, especially Southern Africa. As the Azores Agreement cannot be signed or come into force without the approval of the American Congress, member states may wish to take appropriate action, collectively and/or individually, to dissuade the U.S. Administration as well as the members of Congress from further aggravating the existing precarious African - United States relations, especially with regard to America's position regarding the decolonization of Southern Africa.

12. The Second secret deal of the United States with Portugal was revealed early this year. According to the Washington Star News of 26 January, the Portuguese Ambassador to Washington declared that the Port of Nacala in Mozambique could be the most important harbour in Africa for the use of the United States Navy. The Ambassador added that Portugal had proved that it was the most reliable ally of the United States by permitting the Americans to use the Azores as a landing and refuelling point in the arms air lift to Israel during the recent Arab-Israeli war. When the Administrative Secretary-General took up the matter with the American Embassy in Addis Ababa, the Embassy merely denied the existence of any such secret deal by stating that "American Naval units have for many years called at East African ports including ports in Mozambique. Such calls are traditional, made on an ad hoc basis, and will continue." (Letter to the Assistant Secretary-General, Political and Decolonization, dated February 20, 1974)

13. In order to hoodwink the international public, the American Government has denied the existence of any secret deals with Portugal regarding Azores and Nacala. But it appears, from several indications that the United States Government has been negotiating secretly with Dr. Caetano's Government with a view to improving its strategic positions

in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. The recent deal of the Americans with the British for obtaining naval facilities at Diego Garcia is a clear indication of the intentions of the United States to bolster its military potentialities in the Indian Ocean, which several countries in the region want to remain a natural and peaceful zone.

14. Western strategic interests in the Indian Ocean and in Southern Africa, and particularly the dominant role played by the United States in that strategy, is a crucial development affecting the decolonization process in the whole of Southern Africa. Britain's withdrawal from "East of Suez" in the late 1960's has been followed by American attempts to move in against what they allege to be increased Soviet Naval activity in the area. It has been repeatedly suggested that the new western naval "confrontation" against the Soviet naval "scare" has been cleverly designed by influential members of the "South African lobby" within the British Conservative Party to justify Britain's pro-South African and Pro-Portuguese policies. Whether that is true or not, it is obvious that Western strategic interests in the Indian Ocean and their concern with the oil routes along the Mozambique Channel and the Cape is reciprocated with the closing of ranks by the colonialist and racist regimes of Southern Africa with the major Western powers.

15. In this regard the earlier scheme of the so-called South Atlantic Treaty Organization, which would draw Portugal and South Africa into a U.S. controlled alliance with Brazil appears to be gaining some momentum. These aggressive strategies are likely to involve closer political, diplomatic and financial support for the minority regimes particularly Portugal and Rhodesia, which are poorer and weaker than South Africa. Of course, with regard to assistance

to Portugal they inevitably involve increased supplies of military hardware, technology and equipment, such as defoliants, helicopters, transport planes, napalm and more modern fighter aircrafts.

16. Meanwhile, in Mozambique and Angola many important military and political victories have been won and the struggle is extending to new areas. In Mozambique, FRELIMO is consolidating its position on the fourth front in Manica and Sofala, which had been penetrated by FRELIMO in late 1972. From Manica/Sofala FRELIMO has spearheaded the liberation struggle eastwards and further down South. For the last few months FRELIMO has been launching successful operations against the railway linking the Port of Beira in Mozambique, with Salisbury through Unitali and connecting with the line leading to the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric complex. When FRELIMO successfully breaks the Beira-Unitali axis, in the near future, it will be in a position to execute the last stage of its plan to liberate the entire of Mozambique.

17. The brilliant successes of FRELIMO has inevitably lowered morale among the Portuguese troops. The settler community has equally become very nervous at the success of FRELIMO and has demanded, through violent demonstrations, more and better protection by the Portuguese troops against punitive measures by the freedom fighters. The South African and Rhodesian authorities are also very much alarmed by the spectacular successes of FRELIMO. Pretoria and Salisbury are thus increasing their military and financial aid to the Portuguese, particularly in Mozambique.

18. Because of the low morale of the Portuguese troops in Mozambique, and the nervousness and fear of the settlers, as well as the increasing alarm in Pretoria and Salisbury at the successes of FRELIMO

in the liberation struggle, Dr. Caetano had to send to Mozambique on January 18, 1974, the Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, to make an on-the-spot investigation and report back to him. Up to the time of his overthrow, Dr. Caetano had not found any solution to his problems in Mozambique. In desperation, the Portuguese Government has simply been constructing more concentration camps (Aldeamentos) and training hundreds of thousands of militias to protect the Aldeamentos.

19. It will be recalled that the former military commander in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Ariaga, had said "the guerrilla moves among the population as the fish moves in the water. If you cannot catch the fish you must remove the water." Hence the reason behind the Aldeamentos - the concentration camps - is to prevent the infiltration of guerrillas and nationalist political awakening among the population. Thus in Northern Mozambique alone the Portuguese have planned to build six hundred large scale Aldeamentos, in which will be detained over seven hundred thousand Africans.

20. As a component part of building more concentration camps (Aldeamentos) the Portuguese authorities are intensifying their scorched earth policy against the liberated areas in particular. Thus more deadly chemical substances, defoliants, herbicides and other forms of chemical warfare are being used against the population of the liberated areas. Despite the condemnation of Portuguese atrocities by the international community, particularly after the revelation of the Wiriyamu Massacre, the colonial authorities still continue to use barbarous methods of repression in Mozambique. The Portuguese secret service (D.G.S.) has been having a free hand in terrorising, torturing and killing African patriots. Missionaries, who have objected

to such massacres and brutalities against civilians, have been detained, imprisoned or expelled from Mozambique. In short, repressive measures have continued to be applied more rigorously in Mozambique against students, missionaries and persons charged with "subversive activities against the state" and with supporting the activities of FRELIMO.

21. Again, in desperation the Portuguese have been attempting to work up the fear of the settler minority in Southern Africa. As a cover up and a convenient justification for their country's continued presence in Africa as a colonial power, they propagate that if Portugal is ousted from Africa, the minority settlers in Zimbabwe and South Africa would be threatened and that would mean the end of white rule in Southern Africa. Thus South African and Rhodesian troops are now carrying out major anti-guerrilla operations in Mozambique, at the request of the Portuguese Government. The South African and Rhodesian troops have committed atrocities, especially in the liberated areas. For example, last August, South African and Rhodesian troops, in a joint terror campaign in the Tete Province, made over 1500 people homeless. The troops used helicopters, war planes and gunboats on the Zambezi River. In April it was reported that Rhodesia sent its paratroopers into Mozambique with orders not to hold any prisoners; that is, to kill all Africans on sight!

22. Despite the war of genocide conducted by the Portuguese and their South African and Rhodesian allies in Mozambique, the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO, continue to score brilliant successes in the military and political fields and in the field of National reconstruction in the liberated areas. Despite the extraordinary efforts of the Portuguese and the South Africans to protect the Cabora-Bassa Dam Project, FRELIMO has succeeded in

making the cost of the construction of the dam higher and the defence of the dam and its auxiliary projects more vulnerable to guerrilla attack and the consequent damage. In his speech to the ruling party, the National Popular Action, in Lisbon, on 16 February, 1974, Dr. Caetano, the then Portuguese Prime Minister, admitted that "the guerrillas come on the scene trying to stop the construction of Cabora-Bassa ... well defended, the construction of Cabora-Bassa is continuing as planned. But the guerrillas have not given up. Skilfully trained, guided in accordance to plans drawn up by an intelligent general staff, the guerrillas infiltrate into our territory, strike unexpected blows here and there and immediately vanish leaving behind them a wake of anxiety and destruction and a naturally undesirable atmosphere of insecurity ..."

23. As in Mozambique, the people of Angola have continued to intensify their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. In Luanda, a wave of strikes and mass demonstrations have been staged by workers, students and the population in general against the oppressive Portuguese colonial rule. During such demonstrations, clashes have occurred between Angolans and the Portuguese security forces, during which many people are reported to have been injured and arrested.

24. In the field of the armed struggle the various liberation movements have continued to intensify their struggle against the Portuguese. They have consolidated their position over liberated areas and are struggling to open new fronts. For instance, in report on its politico-military activities during 1973, released in January, 1974, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola revealed that, as compared to the April - September period, its military successes for the period from October to December had substantially increased.

MPLA reports that it put out of action 900 enemy troops during the year, and that 35% of those casualties were inflicted in the last quarter of the year. Almost half of all the Angolans freed from Portuguese concentration camps (strategic hamlets or Aldeamentos) were freed between October and December, and out of 31 vehicles destroyed 16 were wrecked in the last quarter of 1973. The report added "In the course of 1973, the MPLA found itself obliged to face another enemy - internal counter revolution. A vast plot aimed at the physical elimination of the movement's President and a number of its outstanding leaders and cadres was discovered and neutralized". According to the MPLA report there was a break in activity in the second and third quarters of the year.

25. It was at this time that "there was intensive political activity in our movement in discovering, pursuing and neutralizing all vestiges of enemy subversion in our midst." The report goes on to state: "At the sametime the action of divisive elements led to the partial paralysis of our activities in certain sectors of the Eastern Front". Finally, the report states that MPLA carried out only 89 operations of all types during 1973, as compared to 231 operations during 1972. But the 900 enemy troops put out of action in 1973 was higher by 66 than in 1972. This, according to the MPLA, was mainly due to two factors. First, a qualitative advance was shown in the organization and fighting capacity of MPLA's forces. Secondly, "more powerful and sophisticated weapons were used in attacks on enemy barracks, such as 122 mm rockets". Similarly, the FNLA has been active in the liberation struggle.

26. Meanwhile, according to the Guardian of March 7, 1974, Portugal was reported to have rushed troop reinforcements to the Angolan enclave of Cabinda, to counter-act a guerrilla offensive against American

owned oil installations there, such as those of Gulf Oil. Recently, it has been revealed that Gulf Oil has discovered a major new oil field in Cabinda, which has been labelled as 'another Kuwait'. It will be recalled that oil from Cabinda has been an important factor in Portugal's ability to continue its colonialist war efforts in Africa. Since the recent Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East, Cabinda oil has gained more attention and importance both for Portugal and for the United States. When Portuguese co-operation with the American airlift to Israel brought about the Arab oil embargo against the United States and Portugal, Lisbon and Washington reached an agreement whereby the United States would continue to take heavy crude oil from Cabinda and would in return supply Portugal with what she needed in light crude oil.

27. Despite the positive development of the struggle in Angola, the non-implementation of the MPLA - FNLA reconciliation agreement signed in December 1972, as well as the existing friction among certain members of the MPLA leadership, appear to be adversely affecting the overall development of the liberation struggle in Angola. This unfortunate situation has naturally delighted the Portuguese authorities to such an extent that there are reports that Portuguese troops stationed in Angola are being partially transferred to Mozambique where the liberation struggle continues to score brilliant victories.

28. Anachronistic Portuguese colonialism is not only fought against in Africa, but also in Portugal itself. Attacks and sabotage against colonial military targets have increased in Portugal. Students, workers, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the Portuguese public have come out and condemned the continuation of Portugal's colonial wars of genocide and in support of the granting of self-determination

and independence to the African territories still under Portuguese domination.

29. Surprisingly enough even Portugal's top military leader, General Antonio Spínola, who heads the Military Junta which is now ruling Portugal, recently expressed open opposition to the continuation of Portugal's colonial wars in Africa. In his book entitled Portugal and the Future, published in March, 1974, General Spínola put forward the view that Portugal's African colonies could not be retained by military means and suggested the setting up of a loose federation consisting of Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. General Spínola's proposed political solution through a system of federation should, however, be seen as merely a new manoeuvre to perpetuate Portuguese domination. But the most important point in the book is his admission that Portugal could never solve her African problems by military means. This view is shared by large section of officers and men of Portugal's armed forces who are war-weary and must now welcome the removal of Dr. Caetano and his replacement by more other than General Spínola himself.

30. In any case the political and military crisis, which has culminated in a military government in Portugal is a clear indication of the sharp divisions that have been growing among the social, political and military forces in Portugal. These political events, which many people the world over hope and pray will free the Portuguese people from fascist oppression, could eventually lead to the total liberation of Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe Islands from Portuguese colonialism.

31. Finally, as in the past years, the question of decolonization attracted the serious concern and attention of the 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. As a result 12 resolutions were adopted on questions related to decolonization. Some of these resolutions deal with the problem of the Territories under Portuguese domination. On the recommendation of the 4th Committee the General Assembly adopted resolution 3131 (XXVIII) regarding the Territories under Portuguese domination as well as resolution 3114 (XXVIII) regarding the massacre in Mozambique. In particular, resolution 3113 (XXVIII) recommended, inter alia, 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".

32. Thus the General Assembly rejected Portugal's claim to represent Angola and Mozambique and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has been independent since last September. Moreover, the resolution appealed to all states to refrain from any form of collaboration with Portugal, in pursuance of the human and natural resources of the Portuguese colonies. For ease of reference resolutions 3113 (XXVIII) and 3114 (XXVIII) are attached to this report as Annexes 2 and 3.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3061 (XXVIII): Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic.

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence/^{in accordance} with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Deeply concerned at the explosive situation resulting from the continued illegal occupation by the armed forces of Portugal of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the intensified acts of aggression committed by them against the people of Guinea-Bissau,

Mindful that all States should, in conformity with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or national independence of any State or from taking any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Noting with satisfaction that the State of Guinea-Bissau assumes the sacred duty to expel the forces of aggression of Portuguese colonialism from that part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau which they still occupy and to intensify the struggle in the Cape Verde Islands, which form an integral and inalienable part of the national territory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde,

Aware of the urgent need of the people of the newly established State of Guinea-Bissau for all possible international assistance in its national reconstruction programmes,

1. Welcomes the recent accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau, thereby creating the sovereign State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau;

2. Strongly condemns the policies of the Government of Portugal in perpetuating its illegal occupation of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the repeated acts of aggression committed by its armed forces against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde;

3. Demands that the Government of Portugal desist forthwith from further violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and from all acts of aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde by immediately withdrawing its armed forces from those territories;

4. Draws the attention of the Security Council, in conformity with Article 11, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations, to the critical situation resulting from the illegal presence of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau and to the urgent need for taking, as a matter of priority, all effective steps to restore the territorial integrity of the Republic;

5. Invites all Member States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to render all necessary assistance to the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its national reconstruction and development programmes;

6. Decides to keep the situation under continuous review.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3113(XXVIII): 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 views expressed by the representatives of the national liberation movements of the Territories concerned who participated as observers in the relevant proceedings of the Special Committee,

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

Having heard the statements of the representatives of the Frente Nacional para a Libertacao de Angola and the Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique, who participated in an observer capacity in the Fourth Committee's consideration of the item in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 2139th plenary meeting, on 3 October 1973,

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 domination adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Recalling in particular the provisions of its resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972, and of Security Council resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972 in which the Government of Portugal was called upon, inter alia, to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that exists in the African Territories under its domination and permitting the people of those territories to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence, and deeply deploring the refusal of that Government to comply with those provisions,

Taking into consideration the programme of action adopted by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973,

Bearing in mind the Declaration on Territories under Portuguese Domination, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its tenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in May 1973,

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

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

Condemning any attempt by Portugal to place any of the facilities in the Territories under its domination at the disposal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or any of its members on a bilateral basis for military purposes,

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

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

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

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom being made by the national liberation movements in those Territories, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, particularly in the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique,

Noting also with satisfaction the intention of the Special Committee to send a visiting mission to the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola 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 by all ways and means at their disposal to achieve that right;

2. Reaffirms that the national liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those Territories and recommends that, pending the accession of those Territories to independence, all Governments, the

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

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

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

5. Demands that the Government of Portugal treat the freedom fighters of Angola and Mozambique captured during the struggle for freedom as prisoners of war in accordance with the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949, and in that connection invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to continue to maintain close contact with the liberation

movements as parties to the conflict, to provide reports on conditions in prisoner-of-war camps and on the treatment of prisoners of war detained by Portugal and to make the necessary arrangements to secure the exchange of prisoners of war;

6. Appeals to all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations to render to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other Territories under Portuguese domination, in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories, all the moral, material and economic assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the achievement of their inalienable right to freedom and independence;

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

8. Appeals to all States to refrain from any collaboration with Portugal involving the use of any of the Territories under its domination for military purposes;

9. Calls upon all States to take forthwith all possible measures:

- (a) To put an end to any activities that help to exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein;

- (b) To discourage their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contribute to Portugal's domination over those Territories;
- (c) To exclude Portugal from taking part on behalf of Angola and Mozambique in any bilateral or multilateral treaties or agreements relating particularly to external trade in the products of those Territories;

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

11. Requests the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session;

12. Invites the Secretary-General, bearing in mind the urgent need for mobilizing world public opinion against the criminal war of repression being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peoples of the Territories under its domination, to continue to take effective and concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give wide-spread and continuous publicity to the critical situation obtaining in

those Territories and the heroic struggle of their peoples towards freedom and independence;

13. Decides to keep the situation in these Territories under continuous review and to include in the agenda of its twenty-ninth session an item entitled "Question of Territories under Portuguese domination".

2198th plenary meeting
12 December 1973

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Resolution 3114 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973

The General Assembly,

Deeply disturbed by the reported massacres in Mozambique,

Recalling the consensus adopted on 20 July 1973 by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in which the Special Committee stressed that the Government of Portugal must allow a thorough and impartial investigation of the reported atrocities,

Convinced of the urgent need for such international investigation,

1. Decides to establish a representative Commission of Inquiry on the Reported Massacres in Mozambique, consisting of five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly after due consultation with Member States;
2. Instructs the Commission of Inquiry to carry out an investigation of the reported atrocities, to gather information from all relevant sources, to solicit the co-operation and assistance of the national liberation movement and to report its findings to the General Assembly as soon as possible;
3. Requests the Government of Portugal to co-operate with the Commission of Inquiry and to grant it all necessary facilities to enable it to carry out its mandate.

Adopted at the
2198th plenary meeting

CM/573
Part II

TERRITORIES UNDER FRENCH DOMINATION

TERRITORIES UNDER FRENCH DOMINATION

1. Since the 21st Session of the Council of Ministers there has not been any indication to show that France has changed or modified its colonialist policy regarding the territories under its domination. In fact, the French have merely intensified their manoeuvres and machinations to delay the granting of independence to those territories by dividing the people.

A. THE COMORO ISLANDS

2. Despite the determined struggle of the people of the Comoro Islands for independence, under the leadership of MOLINACO, the French Government chose to continue its political manoeuvres to delay the early accession of the Comoros to independence. On 15 June 1973, the French Government and the leader of a pro-French group in the Comoros, Mr. Ahmed Abdallah, signed a declaration which is designed to postpone independence until after five years. For ease of reference the full text of the Paris Agreement is reproduced hereunder:-

3. Joint Declaration on the Accession of the Comoro Islands to Independence

Following the resolution of 23 December 1972, by which the Chamber of deputies of the Comoros expressed the territory's desire to accede to independence in friendship and co-operation with France, the Government of the French Republic, faithful to its traditions, has affirmed the Comoros' call for independence.

So as to prepare the Comorans for the exercise of the responsibilities inherent to independence, it was agreed between Mr. Bernard Stazi, Minister of the Overseas Territories, and Mr. Ahmed Abdallah, President of the Government of the Comoros and Head of the Comoran delegation, to provide for this accession to independence and the transitional period to precede it in accordance with the following conditions:

Item No. 1

The Accession to Independence

The accession to independence to precede a referendum among the people of the Archipelago at a date to be set within five years at the most of a joint agreement to be reckoned from the date of signing of the present declaration.

The popular referendum, designed to sanction the Territory's independence on the assumption of a favourable response from the Electorate, would result in conferring on the Territory's chamber of deputies functioning on that date the power of a constituent assembly, and on the President of the Government the powers of a Head of State. The Chamber of Deputies would thereupon have to draw up the constitution of the new State which would safeguard the rights and interests of regional entities and which would be submitted to ratification by the people.

Relations between the French Republic and the Comoro Archipelago would then be governed by agreements of co-operation. During the transitional period, meetings would be staged annually alternating between Paris and Moroni, between representatives of the Republic and the Government of the Comoros with a view to working out the

appropriate conditions for applying the arrangements provided for during this period.

Item No. 2

Transfer of Powers

During the transitional period, the powers of the State are exercised by the President of the Council of Government and the Comoran authorities. They are to be exercised in accordance with the following methods, conditional upon those announced in No. 3:

1. Finance

a. Treasury: The Chief Paymaster is appointed in agreement with the President of the Council of Government. The Treasury Department shall turn the transitional period to advantage by individualizing its structure, both at purely accounts level and the level of internal organization and the training of personnel for the appropriate structures which shall eventually result in the Comoran Treasury Department.

The Comoran authorities will decide when to withdraw from the Chief Paymaster who at present exercises them, the power relating to territorial financial supervision. It will thus be up to them to decide when to hand them over to an official chosen by them.

b. External Trade: Programmes to provide the Territory with currency are to be drawn up directly by the territorial authorities. The latter may participate, through a representative, in the final working out of these programmes by the relevant commission of the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

c. Money: The Comoros reaffirm their desire to remain within the Franc Zone. A bank of the Comoros is established. It is headquartered

in Moroni. This institution is particularly concerned with Monetary circulations in the Comoros.

d. Financial Aid: Local liaison of FIDES is delegated to the President of the Government. Half of the annual donation of FIDES constitutes a local division whose employment programmes are drawn up by the Comoran Government.

In addition to the local division, the representative of the Republic, exercises the recognized powers on behalf of aid and co-operation missions of the French Republic for expenses attributable to FAC for half of FIDES.

2. Education

The Head of the educational department has the rank of Vice RECTOR. He is appointed by the head of the council of Government upon submission of a job evaluation list drawn up by the Minister for National Education. In the exercise of his functions he is responsible to the Ministry of Education of the Comoros. He has authority over all primary, secondary and technical institutions.

3. Technical Aid in Civilian and Military Personnel Training

Appointments, transfers and discounts at the disposal of civilian and military personnel of the technical aid are effected under conditions applicable to aid and co-operation missions. This provision does not apply to technical aid volunteers serving Overseas within the framework of the national services law. The Government of the Republic will encourage the initial and permanent training of Comoran cadres.

4. Maintenance of Law and Order

Brigades of mobile units of the Gendarmerie are established to be used under the permanent and direct authority of the President of the Government.

5. Justice

The Administration of the Legal Department, liaison between the State, the Comoro authorities and the various departments are exercised by the Director of the Judiciary Departments. The latter reports to the President of the Government, who appoints him upon the proposal of the keeper of the seals. The Minister for Justice encourages the training of comorans for the exercise of judicial functions by the admission of Comoran trainees in the special refresher course at the national school of the magistracy. He ensures the participation of Comorans in the operation of jurisdictions by the employment of assistant judges, not necessarily with a law degree, in the territorial departments in consultative capacity, and interim Comoran magistrates with law degrees of a minimum age of 25 years in state departments in the Comoros.

Item No. 3

Association with State Powers

During the transitional period, the Comoran Government will be associated with the exercise of State powers under the following conditions:

1. Defence: The President of the Comoran Government shall be informed of the measures taken to ensure the external security of the Archipelago.

2. External Relations: The Government of the Republic will organize training courses in the various departments of the ministry of foreign affairs designed for Comoran deputies preparing for a diplomatic career.

Grants certain Comoran officials access to certain embassies or permanent delegations attached to international bodies. These officials enjoy diplomatic status, are included in French delegations to international conferences, high Comoran dignitaries, responsible, in the event of international negotiations concerning the interests of the Archipelago, for consultation with the Ministry of Overseas department and territories and the Comoro authorities.

3. Nomination of the Representative of the Republic: The representative of the Republic of the Comoros is appointed after consultation with the President of the Government of the Comoros. He is assisted by a deputy, who is alone empowered to deputize for him under ~~the same conditions.~~ The High Commissioner then assumes the name of General Delegate of the Republic.

4. Civil Aviation: The head of the civil aviation is nominated by the Minister for Transport after agreement with the President of the Government. The head of the civil aviation department informs the Comoran Government of the directives and instructions supplied to him by his central administration concerning the entire department for which he is responsible.

The head of the civil aviation Department, under the direct authority of the Government, is responsible for all tasks relating to the local department of civil aviation. Especially that concerning

inter-island liaison. He keeps the Comoran authorities informed of projects and decisions having to do with the department's general policy.

The Comoran Government participates in all negotiations concerning air transport to the Comoros. The Government of the Republic will exert efforts to train Comoran personnel up to international requirements with a view to their ultimately taking over the operation of civil aviation. To this end the Comoran Government will each year appoint four nationals in possession of general training corresponding to the required level.

5. The ORTF: The Director of the local office is appointed by the EDG and the ORTF in agreement with the President of the Government.

Item No. 4

Regionalization

During the transitional period, and in order to confirm the unity of the Archipelago now organized by law No. 12-14 of 22 December, 1961, modified and completed by law No. 68-04 of 3 January, 1968, a policy of regionalization shall be applied to enable regional entities to affirm their rights and interests.

Item No. 5

Honours and Precedence

During his visits to France, the President of the Comoran Government shall be received with the honour due to Heads of Governments. In the Comoros, the President of the Government shall take precedence over the representative of the Republic at official ceremonies.

The legislative and regulatory measures necessary for the implementation of the provisions provided for in item No. 2 and those which follow in the present declaration shall be adopted before the end of 1973.

Done in Paris, 15 June, 1973.

For the Government of the
French Republic.

(Signed) Bernard Stazi
Minister for TOM and DOM

For the Delegation of the
Comoros.

The Head of the Delegation
and President of the Council
of Government.

(Signed) Ahmed Abdallah

4. It is clear that the joint declaration goes against the wishes of the people of the Comoro Islands for early independence, which they pronounced very strongly as early as December 3, 1972. Secondly, the Chief Minister of the Comoros Mr. Ahmed Abdallah was not authorized by the people of the Islands as a whole to sign the Paris Agreement, which in effect has no political and legal validity. Accordingly, on 16 August, 1973, the U.N. Decolonization Committee called on France to take further "necessary measures" to ensure the speedy attainment of freedom and independence by the people of the Comoros.

5. Having failed to out-maneuvre the people of the Comoro Islands and international public opinion with the so-called joint declaration, concocted in Paris without the approval of the people of the Comoro Islands, the French Government sent emissaries of the "coalition government" of the Comoro Islands to negotiate with the MOLINACO leadership "on ways to unify their efforts to enable them to attain their independence speedily." Despite French Manoeuvres, it is quite clear

that the people of the Comoro Islands will continue to press for an early attainment of independence.

6. During the last General Assembly Session, France attempted, without success, to obstruct any move which aimed at bringing up the question of the Comoro Islands for debate. After due consideration of the matter, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the Comoro-Islands which asked France to grant independence to the Territory as early as possible in accordance with the wishes of the people. France refused to participate in the vote for the simple reason that its colonialist views were not accepted by the Assembly. It is clear that unless considerable pressure is applied by the international community against her, France will continue to colonize the Comoro Islands by dividing the people, particularly by playing off the people of one island against the other islands.

B. THE SO-CALLED FRENCH SOMALILAND (DJIBOUTI)

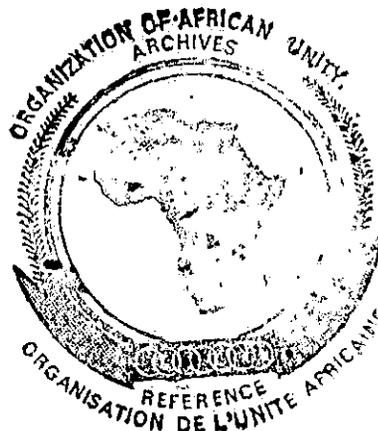
7. The situation in Djibouti (so-called French Somaliland) has not changed favourably either. The French still continue to apply their usual colonialist strategy of divide and rule against the population of the territory. Nevertheless, the people are persisting, under difficult conditions, in their struggle against French colonial rule and for independence.

8. In the general election held last November, the Union and Progress Party, led by Mr. Ali Aref Bourhan won all the forty seats. Mr. Ali Aref's Party platform was not for early independence but for "Unity and Progress within the French ensemble". No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Aref's party "succeeded" in obtaining "a clear majority in

all constituencies." The Union and Progress Party was, in fact, reported to have won 26,857 votes as against the 8,542 votes of the "Legal" opposition party, the People's African League, led by Mr. Hassan Gouled, who complained of irregularities during the elections. It will be recalled that during the 1968 elections out of the 32 seats 30 were held by Mr. Ali Aref's Party and two seats by the opposition.

9. Despite the fact that the FLCS and the LMD had been given OAU Financial assistance to enable them to fight in the elections, the results seem to indicate that the two liberation movements have failed to win the necessary popular support. Nevertheless, the difficult circumstances under which the two movements are trying to operate inside the territory as well as the irregularities in the elections may be partly responsible for the poor results.

10. After his re-election Mr. Aref called on France to give a big economic boost to the territory by encouraging public investment. He was also reported to have stressed the importance of Djibouti to the French Navy, particularly when the Suez Canal is re-opened. What is more serious is that Mr. Ali Aref was reported to have suggested that French troops withdrawn from Diego Suarez should be stationed in Djibouti ostensibly "to make an important economic contribution".



TERRITORIES UNDER BRITISH DOMINATIONZIMBABWE

1. In his New Year message, on 31st December, 1973, the rebel Rhodesian leader, Ian Smith, declared that "1973 will go down in history as one of our most difficult, one of our most controversial years: the greatest drought ever recorded and our most serious terrorist incursions". He added "I must warn of the likelihood of more widespread and aggressive action (by the guerrillas) and sterner tests in the weeks ahead. The danger signs are up. Let us brace ourselves to meet and overthrow them". Clearly, Mr. Smith's statement is an open admission of the successes of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and the failure of his regime to contain that struggle, let alone destroy it as he had repeatedly boasted last year.

2. In a document distributed to white farmers the Smith regime strongly advised the settlers to surround their residences with seven-foot high fences, to clear the approaches to their farms in all directions, to floodlight the area and have the control panel in the bedroom and to install alarms such as tripwires, dogs and geese. The settlers have also been told to "check on the loyalty of your Africans" and that "it is essential that you have good labour relations with your employees". But such instructions do not seem to have reduced panic and nervousness of the white settlers. As a result more white farmers are reported to be emigrating to other countries or settling in the big towns. Because of the intensified guerrilla activities, particularly in the North-East, North and Western parts of Zimbabwe and the tense situation in Salisbury and the other towns, white immigration and tourism

have suffered considerably. For instance, during the first ten months of 1973, the net gain in white immigrants was only 2,030, which was down 74% from the previous year. In September the first negative figure in years was registered. Moreover, the number of tourists fell by 35% during the first nine months of last year. Since then the situation has even worsened further.

3. Because of the increasingly deteriorating security situation in the country the Smith regime has embarked on a campaign to recruit more officers and men. Although the recruitment campaign has attracted some ex-soldiers, the response from younger people has been disappointing for the rebel regime. As a result the regime has launched a large scale campaign to attract immigrants especially from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Apparently, the Smith regime is hopeful that many of the immigrants would be ex-soldiers who would be able to pursue a military career.

4. The Smith regime has called 1974 the year of immigration, during which it hopes to be able to attract one million white immigrants from Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. A lot of money has been set aside to finance the publicity campaign designed to attract white immigrants to Rhodesia. By launching the large scale immigration campaign the Smith regime hopes to achieve the following aims. First, and foremost, through white immigration the settler regime hopes to counter-balance the rapid growth of the African population and thereby increase the chances of "keeping Rhodesia white". Second, as the recruitment of more officers and men and the call up of white reservists has seriously strained the territory's white man power, the Smith regime hopes to acquire additional recruits for the rebel army from among the new immigrants, some of whom are likely to be ex-soldiers. Thus by

increasing the military and security^{forces}, the rebel regime hopes to increase its capacity to confront the ever increasing guerrilla activities of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters in the various parts of the territory.

So far even the thousands of South African troops already fighting alongside the Rhodesian troops against the freedom seeking patriots of Zimbabwe has not been found to be sufficient for the defence of the settler minority. Finally, since the settler minority is itself divided on how to resolve the politico-military crisis in Rhodesia, the Smith regime is hoping to gain the political support of the new immigrants so as to consolidate his position in the political struggle with the white opposition, whether "liberal" or rightwing. In short, the rebel regime's immigration campaigns, if successful can be potentially dangerous because the basic aim is the setting up of another Apartheid regime, similar to that in South Africa, which will aim at the total subjugation of the African majority by the white settler minority. Of course, the Zimbabwe freedom fighters as well as the rank and file of the Zimbabwe patriots would see to it that the immigration plans are aborted. Already activist groups, such as the African National Council, have openly come out against the sinister designs of the rebel regime. But the efforts of the Zimbabwe patriots need to be bolstered by determined political and diplomatic actions by member states of the OAU at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums. In this regard member states may wish to consider taking appropriate diplomatic action in the capitals of certain western and North American countries so that their nationals would not be allowed to emigrate to Rhodesia. After all, the prohibition of immigration to Rhodesia is in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Security Council Sanctions against rebel Rhodesia.

5. Again, in its determined attempt to contain the growth of the African population, the rebel regime is pursuing its recently adopted so-called family planning programme. The programme is designed to reduce the birth rate among the Africans. Thus, it has been reported that an African woman can be permitted to work only if she adheres to the provisions of the family programme which prohibits certain categories of the population to have children. Likewise, an African woman will be immediately sacked from her work if she bears a child. Moreover, other sinister methods are also being applied by the Smith regime to effectively reduce the African population.

By simply denying required medical aid to the Africans hundreds have died from cholera and other types of epidemics. In certain parts of Zimbabwe, the death rate among African children exceeds the birth rate. In short, the Smith regime appears to be contented with the high mortality among the African population by frequent epidemics.

6. Despite U.N. Sanctions against Rhodesia, the Smith regime succeeded in minimising the effects of Sanctions thanks to the activities of the sanctions busters and the direct and indirect assistance and collaboration by Portugal and South Africa. As a result in his New Year message, Ian Smith declared: "on the economic front, the year produced a number of encouraging points At the year end, the indications are that a satisfactory rate of growth, in real terms, possibly some six percent, has once again been achieved. I think the overall performance by commerce and industry under trying circumstances, is a cause for satisfaction, for considerable progress has been made and many new projects have been set in train " He added "Rhodesia is not isolated from international economic trends and we are unlikely to be weaver unscathed the current international economic difficulties. However, you may rest assured that we will continue to manage Rhodesia's

economic affairs in such a manner that any adverse effects will be kept to a minimum To sum up, economic progress was sustained at a rate which exceeds our expectations....."

7. In addition to the Sanctions violating activities of Portugal and South Africa, the United States, through its so called Byrd Amendment, still continues to import chrome from Rhodesia, thereby bolstering the rebel economy. However, on December 18, 1973, the United States Senate decided by 54 votes for and 37 against in favour of the re-imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia. The re-imposition of sanctions will come into effect if and when the House of Representatives supports the Senate's decision. There is no doubt that a renewal of United States compliance with U.N. Sanctions would bring about pressure on the rebel regime forcing it to think seriously about a peaceful transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe. United States violation of sanctions had contributed in weakening pressure on the rebel regime by giving it US\$43 million of precious foreign exchange as well as invaluable political and psychological backing at the time of rebel Rhodesia's almost total isolation.

8. Since last July, there have been attempts to patch up an Anglo-Rhodesian deal. With the aim of warding off pressure from the African, Caribbean and some Asian members of the Commonwealth, the Heath Government sent out, on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference, a top civil servant to Salisbury. Immediately after Ian Smith saw Bishop Muzarewa to discuss the possibility of a settlement of the Rhodesian problem. Having failed to have the support of Bishop Muzarewa and the ANC, Smith told the annual conference of the Rhodesian Front in September that the "settlement" was dead. Subsequently, the Smith regime intensified its acts of repression, mass arrests, execution

of freedom fighters and terrorism against the African population.

- As a result church men, Methodists as well as Roman Catholics publicly condemned the brutality and the continued racial policies of the Smith regime.

9. Early in February, the British Foreign Secretary visited four African countries to re-state his government position on Southern African problems, particularly on the Rhodesian issue. As far as the Rhodesian problem was concerned his main pre-occupation appears to have been the task of persuading those countries not to "interfere" in the British-backed Smith-Muzorewa talks, which are aimed at shelving the principle of "no independence before majority African rule", in Zimbabwe. Now that the Labour Party has come to power in Britain, it is hoped that the Labour Government will not follow the footsteps of the Conservative Government in conducting clandestine talks with the settler regime with the view of preparing for a sell out of the five million Africans in Zimbabwe. It is hoped that the Wilson Government will fulfil the commitments of the Labour Party, namely majority rule in Zimbabwe on the basis of one man one vote.

10. Finally, the 28th Session of the General Assembly of the U.N. considered the question of Southern Rhodesia and, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 3115(XXVIII). Having re-affirmed "the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Zimbabwe and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the genuine political leaders and representatives of the national liberation movements, who are the sole and authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe", resolution 3115(XXVIII) called upon the British Government "to take all effective measures

to terminate the illegal racist minority regime". The resolution also called upon the British Government, as the administering power, "to bring about the conditions necessary to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely and fully their right to self determination and independence, including:

- a. The expulsion of all South African forces from the Territory forthwith;
- b. The unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees;
- c. The repeal of all repressive discriminatory legislation;
- d. The renewal of all restrictions on political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights;
- e. The convening, as soon as possible, of a national constitutional conference where the genuine political representatives of the people of Zimbabwe including the national liberation movements, would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory for subsequent endorsement by the people through free and democratic processes". For ease of reference the full text

of the resolution is appended as Annex 4. Resolution 3116(XXVIII) which deals mainly with the question of Sanctions against Rhodesia is also attached as Annex 5.

SEYCHELLES ISLANDS

1. In a letter dated 20th March, 1974, Mr. James R. Mancham, Chief Minister of the Seychelles Islands and leader of the ruling Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP), informed the Administrative Secretary-General that he has decided to hold general elections in the Seychelles Islands on 25th April, 1974 and that his party has decided to fight the elections "on a platform of independence from Britain".

2. It will be recalled that until now the opposition party, the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP), led by Mr. F.A. Rene, was the only political party in the Seychelles which wanted independence from Britain as early as possible. Because of its stand on independence, its desire for closer unity with independent Africa as against the minority racist regimes of Southern Africa as well as its rejection of foreign bases in the Indian Ocean, the opposition party, the Seychelles People's United Party was recognized by the Liberation Committee and by the Political Organs of the OAU, as one of the national liberation movements. As such, SPUP has been assisted by the OAU, with which it has established close relations. On the other hand, Mr. Mancham's ruling Party, the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) had repeatedly declared "NO to independence", and had stood for closer association with the colonial power, Britain, as well as for closer friendship and association with Apartheid South Africa.

3. When Mr. Mancham, paid^a visit to the General Secretariat last year he was briefed about the provisions of the Charter as well as the various OAU decisions regarding the decolonization of Africa. Having protested at the recognition of SPUP as "gross interference in the internal affairs of Seychelles" Mr. Mancham explained the case of his party

for not supporting independence from Britain. Subsequently, in a letter to the General Secretariat, dated 30th June, 1973, Mr. Mancham stated, inter alia, "self determination was once described as the right of a people to determine their future freely in the way they thought best. It seems that self-determination must now be defined to mean - independence at any cost - and irrespective of the sentiments of the people concerned on the issue."

4. Under the present constitution the earliest date for the next general election should have been early in 1976. But the election date has suddenly been brought forward to April 25, 1974. And strangely enough, the pro-colonial, "NO independence" policy of Mr. Mancham, and his Seychelles Democratic Party has also suddenly been reversed to a policy of independence. So far Mr. Mancham has not clarified on his party's traditional policy of close co-operation with Apartheid South Africa. Whatever are the real intentions or tactical manoeuvres of Mr. Mancham and his SDP, the development of the situation in the Seychelles Islands needs to be watched very carefully and attentively.

5. Whichever party comes to power after the general elections, it is hoped that in view of the wish of the overwhelming majority of the people for self-determination and independence the United Kingdom as the administering power, will grant independence to the Seychelles as early as possible, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and subsequent United Nations resolutions on decolonization in general and the Seychelles Islands in particular. It should be noted that when the 28th Session of the General Assembly adopted resolution 3156 (XXVIII) regarding the granting of independence to the Seychelles Islands and other territories, the United Kingdom, France, United States, Portugal and South Africa voted against the resolution. It is hoped that the new Labour Government

e will reverse the colonialist position of the former Conservative Government of Edward Heath and agree to give independence to the Seychelles as early as possible.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3115 (XXVIII). Question of Southern Rhodesia

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

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,

Having heard the statement of the representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union, who participated in an observer capacity in the Fourth Committee's consideration of the item in accordance with the decision taken by General Assembly at its 2139th plenary meeting, on 3 October 1973,

Having heard the statement of a petitioner,

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 Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Taking into consideration the programme of action adopted by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973,

Bearing in mind that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering power, has the primary responsibility for putting an end to the critical situation in Southern

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) which, as repeatedly affirmed by the Security Council, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

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

Condemning the continued oppression of the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority regime, the arbitrary imprisonment and detention of political leaders and others, and the continued denial of fundamental human rights, including in particular the criminal measures of collective punishment, as well as the establishment of the so-called "tribal trust lands", which creates an apathid State in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

Condemning the continued illegal presence and intensified military intervention of South African forces in the Territory, which assist the racist minority regime and seriously threaten the Sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States,

Strongly deploring the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom to comply with provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee, and in particular its persistent refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the Assembly,

Deeply disturbed at the attitude taken by the United Kingdom authorities in respect of the activities of the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, including the refusal of those authorities to issue passports and travel documents to members of the movements,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure by all means at their disposal the enjoyment of that right as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

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

3. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in the discharge of its primary responsibility as the administering Power, to take all effective measures to terminate the illegal racist minority regime and not under any circumstances to accord to the illegal regime any of the power or attributes of sovereignty, and requests that Government to ensure the country's attainment of independence by a democratic system of government in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population;

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

- (a) The expulsion of all South African forces from the Territory forthwith;
- (b) The unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees;
- (c) The repeal of all repressive discriminatory legislation;
- (d) The removal of all restrictions on political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights;
- (e) The convening, as soon as possible, of a national constitutional conference where the genuine political representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, including the national liberation movements, would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory for subsequent endorsement by the people through free and democratic processes;

5. Further calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to ensure that; in any exercise to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe as to their political future, the procedure to be followed should be in accordance with the principle of universal adult suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of one-man one-vote, without regard to race, colour or educational, property or income considerations;

6. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom, bearing in mind its responsibility as the administering power under Chapter XI of the Charter, to secure the full enjoyment by the African people of Zimbabwe, both within and outside the Territory, of their fundamental human rights, their just treatment and their protection against abuses, including in particular their right to travel freely, and to ensure the full utilization of all available assistance in co-operation, as appropriate, with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;

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

8. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom to remove any obstacles to the effective utilization by the African people of Zimbabwe, both within and outside the Territory, of offers by the States, organizations and programmes referred to in paragraph 7 above of educational and training grants and facilities and, at the same time, to ensure that adequate resources are made available for the education and training of the people of Zimbabwe;

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

10. Invites all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, the United Nations bodies concerned and non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, as well as the Secretary-General, to take steps, as appropriate, to give widespread and continuous publicity through all the media at their disposal to information on the situation in Zimbabwe and the relevant decisions and actions of the United Nations, with particular reference to the application of sanctions against the illegal regime;

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

2198th plenary meeting
12 December 1973

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Resolution 3116 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973
on Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

The General Assembly,

Having examined the critical and deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), which the Security Council, in its resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, reaffirmed as constituting a threat to international peace and security,

Deeply disturbed that measures taken so far have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to an end, owing primarily to the continued and increasing collaboration which certain states, in particular Portugal and South Africa, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, maintain with the illegal regime, thereby seriously impeding the effective application of sanctions against the illegal regime,

Gravely concerned that the Government of the United States of America continues to permit the importation of chrome and nickel into the United States from Southern Rhodesia, in violation of the relevant provisions of the Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May, 277 (1970) of 18 March, 288 (1970) of 17 November 1970, 314 (1972) of 28 February 1972, 318 (1972) of 28 July 1972 and 320 (1972) of 29 September 1972, and in disregard of General Assembly resolutions 2765 (XXVI) of 16 November 1971 and 2946 (XXVII) of 7 December 1972,

Taking into consideration the programme of action adopted by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973,

Deeply disturbed at recent reports of widespread violations of United Nations sanctions, including the regular operation of Southern Rhodesia aircraft for exporting Southern Rhodesian cargo to Europe

and the participation of Southern Rhodesian teams at various sporting events, as well as the continued functioning of information and airline offices of the illegal regime outside Southern Rhodesia,

Bearing in mind the views expressed by the representatives of the Zimbabwe African people's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union and by the petitioners,

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

1. Condemns the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take effective measures in accordance with the relevant decisions of the United Nations to put an end to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and calls upon that Government to take forthwith all effective measures to bring down the rebellious minority regime;
2. Strongly condemns the policies of the Government, particularly those of Portugal and South Africa, which, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and contrary to their specific obligations under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, continue to collaborate with the illegal racist minority regime in its racialist and repressive domination of the people of Zimbabwe, and calls upon those Governments to cease forthwith all such collaboration;
3. Condemns all violations of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, as well as the failure of certain Member States to enforce those sanctions strictly, as being contrary to the obligations assumed by them under Article 25 of the Charter;
4. Condemns the continued importation by the Government of the United States of America of chrome and nickel from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in contravention of the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions and contrary to the specific obligations assumed by that Government under Article 25 of the Charter, and calls upon the Government of the United States to terminate forthwith all such importation and to observe faithfully and without exception the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions;

5. Requests all Governments:

(a) To take stringent enforcement measures to ensure strict compliance by all individuals, associations and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to ensure the complete discontinuance by them of any form of collaboration with the illegal regime;

(b) To take effective steps to prevent or discourage the emigration to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) of any individuals or groups of individuals under their jurisdiction;

6. Further requests all Governments to refrain from taking any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority regime and, in particular, calls upon the Government of the United States to take the necessary steps to put an end to the operation and activities within the United States of Air Rhodesia, the Rhodesian National Tourist Board and the Rhodesian Information Office, or any other activities which contravene the aims and purposes of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council;

7. Considers that, in view of the further deterioration of the situation resulting from the intensified repressive measures taken by the illegal racist minority regime against the people of Zimbabwe and with a view to putting an end to the illegal regime, the scope of sanctions against the regime must be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter, and accordingly invites the Security Council to consider taking the necessary measures in that regard and, in particular, calling upon all States to take effective steps aimed, inter alia, at:

(a) The unconditional confiscation of all shipments to and from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe);

(b) The nullification of all insurance policies covering such shipments;

(c) The invalidation of passports and other documents for travel to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe);

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

9. Appeals to those permanent members of the Security Council whose negative votes on various proposals relating to the question have continued to obstruct the effective and faithful discharge by the Council of its responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter in this regard to reconsider their negative attitude with a view to the elimination forthwith of the threat to international peace and security resulting from the critical situation in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe);

10. Requests the Special Committee to follow the implementation of the present resolution.

Adopted at the
2198th plenary meeting

CM/573 (XXIII)
Part IV

THE SAHARA UNDER SPANISH DOMINATION

THE SAHARA UNDER SPANISH DOMINATION

1. Despite the various resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity requesting Spain to prepare the ground for an early accession to independence by the Sahara under its domination, the Spanish Government appears to be determined to continue exploiting the rich natural resources, particularly phosphate, of the territory as long as possible.
2. During the 28th Session of the General Assembly, the fourth committee considered the question of the decolonization of the Sahara under Spanish domination and adopted a draft resolution, co-sponsored by Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria, which was eventually adopted by the General Assembly.
3. The resolution, while deploring ^{the fact} that the special U.N. mission instituted by previous resolutions has not been able to visit the territory in order to fulfill the tasks entrusted to it, stated that the persistence of the status-quo in the territory was prejudicial to the attainment of stability and harmony in the region of North West Africa. The resolution reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonized Saharawis and expressed its full solidarity with them. It also reiterated the Assembly's earlier resolutions which supported the creation of a favourable political climate to enable the holding of a referendum on a free, democratic and impartial basis, permitting especially the return to the territory of political exiles and allowing U.N. missions to supervise the referendum on the spot, especially to see to it that only the Saharawis will be allowed to take

part in the referendum. For ease of reference, the resolution is attached as Annex 6.

4. As things stand, the only strong weapon which will force Spain to implement the U.N. and OAU resolutions regarding the decolonization of the Sahara under its domination is the united and determined stand of all member states on the immediate decolonization of the territory. In this respect, the role of the interested parties which participated in the June 1972, Rabat Tripartite Summit Conference remains the most crucial and the most decisive in bringing about the desired result.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3162 (XXVIII). Question of Spanish Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having examined 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 Territory of the Spanish Sahara under Spanish domination,

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

Recalling also the relevant provisions of its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Taking into consideration the relevant resolutions adopted by the tenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 27 to 29 May 1973, and by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973,

Having regard to the decisions of the two summit conferences of Heads of State of the countries concerned relating to the Sahara under Spanish administration,

Noting the statement by the representative of Spain in the Fourth Committee in which he renewed the commitment of his Government to respect the right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination,

Deploing however the fact that the special mission provided for in earlier resolutions on the so-called Spanish Sahara has not yet been able to visit the Territory in order to carry out the task entrusted to it,

Further reaffirming its previous resolutions on the so-called Spanish Sahara,

1. Declares that the continued existence of the colonial situation in the Territory is endangering stability and harmony in north-west Africa;

2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples and expresses its full solidarity with the peoples of the Sahara under Spanish administration;

3. Reaffirms its attachment for the principle of self-determination and its concern to see that principle applied within a framework that will guarantee the inhabitants of the Sahara under Spanish domination free and authentic expression of their wishes, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions on the subject ;

4. Repeats its invitation to the administering Power to determine, in consultation with the Government of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedure for the holding of a referendum under United Nations auspices to enable the indigenous population of the Sahara to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence and, to this end, invites the Government of Spain:

(a) To create a favourable political climate for the referendum to be conducted on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis by permitting, inter alia, the return of political exiles to the Territory;

(b) To take all the necessary steps to ensure that only the indigenous inhabitants exercise their right to self-determination and independence, with a view to the decolonization of the Territory;

(c) To receive a United Nations mission and provide it with all the necessary facilities so that it can participate actively in the implementation of measures making it possible to put an end to the colonial situation in the Territory;

5. Invites all States to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly on the activities of foreign economic and financial interests and to refrain from helping to perpetuate the colonial situation in the Territory by means of investments;

6. Reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations in all consultations intended to lead to the free expression of the wishes of the people;

7. Urges the administering Power to respect and to implement scrupulously, under the auspices and guarantee of the United Nations, the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the decolonization of the so-called Spanish Sahara;

8. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering power 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, to appoint the special mission provided for in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 and to expedite its dispatch to the Sahara in order to recommend practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions, and, in particular, to confirm United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum and to submit a report to the Secretary-General for transmission to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session;

9. Calls upon the Special Committee to continue its consideration of the situation in the Territory and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session.

CM/573 (XXIII)
Part V

N A M I B I A

NAMIBIA

1. It is now almost eight years since the United Nations General Assembly by its resolution 2145(XXI) of 27 October, 1966, terminated South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory and its people. Until now South Africa continues to refuse to accept and implement the said U.N. decision and subsequent General Assembly and Security Council decisions calling for its withdrawal from Namibia. It continues to obstruct United Nations efforts to discharge its special responsibilities towards the Territory and people of Namibia, thereby creating a situation which seriously undermines the authority of the world body.

2. In an endeavour to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia the Pretoria regime is increasingly resorting to acts of repression and coercion against the freedom seeking people of Namibia. The notorious policy of Apartheid continues to be imposed by force against the wish of the people of the Territory. Pretoria also continues its policy of Bantustanization, which is aimed at destroying the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. In short, South Africa's policy of colonization in Namibia through acts of repression continues unabated. As recently as January 13, 1974, armed South African police arrested 127 Namibians, who were on their way to a SWAPO organized rally near Windhoek, on trumped-up charges of being without their pass books. Subsequently, the South African police rounded up more Namibians in the African quarters of Windhoek. These were largely SWAPO Youth League members.

3. Despite the new campaign of intimidation and repression by the Pretoria authorities, aimed at stifling the struggle for freedom, the Namibian people have further intensified their struggle against the continued illegal occupation of their country by South Africa.

4. Meanwhile, on 18 December, 1973, the appointment of Mr. Sean McBride as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia was approved by the General Assembly. Mr. McBride, a former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ireland, and a former Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, officially commenced his duty on January 1, 1974. In February, Mr. McBride visited Lusaka, Dar-Es-Salaam as well as Addis Ababa where he held a series of talks with the leaders of Zambia and Tanzania and the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU.

5. During his meeting with Mr. McBride, the Administrative Secretary-General expressed confidence that in view of his rich experience and past achievements the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia would get things moving towards the establishment of a truly independent Namibia. The Secretary-General also expressed his hope to see a concrete programme of action worked out by the Commissioner, which among other things will take into account the following essential points:-

- a. That South Africa, whatever her pretence, should never be accepted as the legitimate authority over Namibia. To this end legislative action should be worked out.
- b. That political action should be taken to break the deadlock with South Africa over Namibia.
- c. That the U.N should take concrete action to end the status quo in Namibia. It is imperative that the U.N. should establish a physical presence in Namibia. This will of course be of

necessity involve an open confrontation with South Africa but the U.N. will be acting within the terms of its mandate over Namibia.

- d. Protection of the rights of the Namibian people including their rights over Natural Resources.

6. In reply, Mr. McBride stated that he concurred with the views and suggestions of the Secretary-General. He further stated that his office already issues passports to Namibians and that he works very closely with SWAPO. With respect to future action Mr. McBride gave the following details:-

1. Programme of Action

He has worked out a number of proposals for a programme of action for submission to the Council for Namibia. In this respect he has had consultations already with the Government of Zambia and Tanzania and SWAPO.

2. Research Institute for Namibia

The institute, apart from research work and information would be engaged in preparing the future administrative cadre for running an independent Namibia. The actual site for the institute has not been decided but it was hoped it would be in an African country not too far from Namibia.

3. Headquarters of U.N. Commission for Namibia

In his view Mr. McBride was of the opinion that his office should have its headquarters in Africa rather than in New York. He is thinking of making the Lusaka office his Headquarters and leaving only a small office in New York mainly to retain contacts with the United Nations and its agencies.

4. Contacts with Governments

The Western Governments the Commissioner for Namibia particularly wanted to tackle were France, West Germany, the U.S.A., U.K. and Scandinavian countries. In this endeavour he wanted to

solicit the continued support of the OAU and individual member States.

7. It is also of interest to note that the Security Council has unanimously decided to terminate the contacts of the United Nations Secretary-General with the Government of South Africa. Now that the Pretoria regime has been isolated more than ever as a result of the said Security Council decision, the Council of Ministers may wish to consider taking appropriate action with the view of ending the illegal occupation of the international territory of Namibia by South Africa.

8. Finally, the 28th Session of the General Assembly adopted resolution 3111(XXVIII) on the question of Namibia, which, inter alia, recognized the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as the "Authentic representative of the Namibian people." It also supported the "efforts of the movement (SWAPO) to strengthen national unity".

The General Assembly also decided to observe 26 August, each year, as Namibia Day. For ease of reference, the full text of resolution 3111 (XXVIII) is attached as Annex 7.

CM/ 573 (XXIII)

B. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR DECOLONIZATION

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3111 (XVIII). Question of Namibia

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Namibia,

Having examined the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia and 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,

Having heard the statement of the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization, who has participated in an Observer capacity in the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia and also, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 2139th plenary meeting on 3 October 1973, in the Fourth Committee's consideration of the item,

Having also heard the statement 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,

Recalling in particular its resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and subsequent resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to the question of Namibia, as well as the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, delivered in response to the request addressed to it by the Council in its resolution 284 (1970) of 29 July 1970,

Taking into consideration the programme of action adopted by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973, the resolutions on Namibia adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-first ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 17 to 24 May 1973, and by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, as well as the Lusaka Declaration adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 14 June 1973,

Reaffirming that the Territory and people of Namibia are the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that the Namibian people must be enabled to attain self-determination and independence within a united Namibia,

Bearing in mind the efforts of the Secretary-General with a view to the implementation of Security Council resolution 323 (1972) of 6 December 1972, and considering that the efforts of the United Nations have been utilized by the South African regime to consolidate its illegal occupation of the Territory,

Strongly deploring South Africa's continued refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its brutal repression of the Namibian people and its persistent violation of their human rights, as well as its efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, and recognizing that this situation cannot continue without danger to international peace and security,

Deploing the policies of those States, which, despite the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, continue to have diplomatic, consular, economic and other relations with South Africa, acting on behalf of or concerning Namibia, which have the effect of supporting or encouraging South Africa in its defiance of the United Nations,

Noting with satisfaction the opposition of the Namibian people to South Africa's illegal presence in the Territory and to its racist and oppressive policies and, in particular, the progress of their struggle for national liberation under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization,

Noting with appreciation the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

Having invited the United Nations Council for Namibia to participate on behalf of Namibia in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Seas,

I

1. Reaffirms the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) and subsequent resolutions, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means against the illegal occupation of their country by South Africa;
2. Recognizes that the national liberation movement of Namibia, the South West Africa people's Organization, is the authentic representative of the Namibian people, and supports the efforts of the movement to strengthen national unity;
3. Strongly condemns South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw from the international Territory of Namibia and for its efforts to consolidate its illegal occupation by intensified repression and by the imposition of its policies of Apartheid and the fragmentation of the Territory into "Bantustans", in total disregard of the wishes of the people of Namibia, the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971;
4. Demands the immediate withdrawal by South Africa of all its military and police forces and its administration from Namibia so as to enable the Namibian people to achieve freedom and independence;
5. Takes note of the efforts of the Secretary-General to implement Security Council resolution 323 (1972);
6. Deplores the abhorrent refusal of the South African regime to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, particularly its refusal to negotiate in good faith for the transfer of power in Namibia;

7. Considers that the contacts between the Secretary-General and the Government of South Africa under the terms of Security Council resolution 323 (1972) should be terminated as being detrimental to the interests of the Namibian people;

8. Invites the Security Council to consider taking effective measures, in accordance with the relevant Chapters of the Charter of the United Nations, to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia;

9. Approves the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, including the recommendations contained therein and the programme of work envisaged for 1974, and decides to make adequate financial provisions for their implementation;

10. Commends the United Nations Council for Namibia for its efforts to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly and requests it to continue to discharge its functions and responsibilities;

11. Calls once again upon all States to comply with the relevant provisions of the resolution of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning Namibia and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, and to refrain all direct or indirect relations, economic or otherwise, with South Africa when it purports to act on behalf of or concerning Namibia;

12. Urges all States to take all possible economic and other measures with a view to compelling South Africa to withdraw immediately from Namibia in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V);

13. Calls upon all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as the non-governmental organizations, to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of its mandate;

14. Requests all States, the Specialized Agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned, to render the Namibian people, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, all moral and material

assistance necessary to continue their struggle for freedom and independence, and to work out, in active co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Organization of African Unity, concrete programmes of assistance to Namibia;

15. Calls upon all States which have consular representation, whether ordinary or honorary, in Namibia to terminate such representation, and calls upon all States which have consuls in South Africa accredited to Namibia to withdraw such accreditation;

16. Requests all States which have agreement with South Africa relating to Namibia to enter into consultations with the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Secretary-General with a view to concluding new agreements, as appropriate, on matters covered by the previous ones;

17. Requests all subsidiary organs of the United Nations, inter-governmental bodies and conferences to ensure that the rights and interests of Namibia are protected and to that end, among other things, to invite the United Nations Council for Namibia to participate in an appropriate capacity whenever such rights and interests are involved;

18. Decides, having regard to paragraph 2 above, to defray the expenses of a representative of the South West African People's Organization when accompanying such missions of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the latter may determine and whenever called for consultation by the Council, and to authorize the Council to utilize the financial resources available, including the United Nations Fund for Namibia, to enable it to give assistance to the Namibian people when in the opinion of the Council such assistance would be required;

19. Requests the Secretary-General:

(a) To continue to provide the necessary assistance and facilities to the United Nations Council for Namibia and to United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for the discharge of their respective duties and functions;

(b) To report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session on the implementation of the present resolution;

II

1. Requests all specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and the member States thereof to take such necessary steps as will enable the United Nations Council for Namibia, as the legal authority for Namibia, to participate fully on behalf of Namibia in the work of those agencies and organizations;
2. Requests all specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, to render, within their respective spheres of competence, all possible assistance to the people of Namibia and their liberation movement;
3. Requests the Secretary-General, in close co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, to review the full and speedy implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session;

III

1. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to intensify the dissemination of information on the question of Namibia and, inter alia:
 - (a) To issue a further series of United Nations commemorative postage stamps on Namibia in order to emphasize the direct responsibility of the United Nations with regard to Namibia through the United Nations Council for Namibia and the legitimate struggle being waged by the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence,
 - (b) To continue to issue the Namibia Bulletin;
 - (c) To continue to explore additional measures for wider dissemination of information concerning the question of Namibia and the activities of the Council;
2. Invites all States, specialized agencies and United Nations bodies concerned, as well as intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations having an interest in the field of decolonization, to co-operate closely with the United Nations Council for Namibia and the

Secretary-General in the dissemination of information on Namibia, and among other things, to consider taking steps to encourage the organization of seminars on the question;

3. Decides to observe 26 August each year as Namibia Day and requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to prepare a programme for such a commemoration.

2198th plenary meeting

12 December 1973

CM/573 (XXIII)
Part VI

APARTHEID - SOUTH AFRICA

APARTHEID - SOUTH AFRICA

1. It will be recalled that the international community has repeatedly condemned Apartheid as a crime against humanity and has recognized the policy of Apartheid as constituting a threat to international peace and security. Despite numerous United Nations resolutions, which ^{have} condemned its policy of Apartheid, the Pretoria regime has not abandoned that inhuman policy. On the contrary, the South African authorities continue to impose the policy of Apartheid by armed repression and terror and have even exported Apartheid to the international territory of Namibia, which they continue to occupy illegally, as well as to rebel Rhodesia, where they are working hard to create another "Apartheid Republic. Through massive economic penetration and armed intervention in Angola and Mozambique, the South African authorities are also working tirelessly to consolidate the oppressive rule by the minority white regimes in Southern Africa. In short, the Pretoria regime continues to play a key role in the consolidation of the status-quo in Southern Africa, where some four million whites are hoping to continue exploiting and subjugating over 30 million Africans in Southern Africa.

2. As in the previous years, the people of South Africa continued ^{in 1973/74} to resist racial oppression and intensified their struggle, in various fields, for national liberation. The workers of South Africa are resorting more and more to the use of strikes for full and equal labour rights, adequate wages and better conditions of work. For instance, in Durban alone two large scale labour strikes took place in

February this year. One strike involved 10,000 African workers in the textile industry; the other strike involved 2,000 African workers employed in the largest automobile assembly plant in Durban. In both cases the African workers resorted to strike action despite the serious difficulties that the exercise of such a right entails under the Apartheid laws of South Africa.

3. The nervousness of the Apartheid regime was again demonstrated to the entire world when that regime perpetrated another "Sharpsville Massacre" at Carletonville. On September 11, 1973; The South African police killed eleven African mine workers and injured 27 others whose only crime was that they dared ask for better wages. The cold blooded shooting of Africans at Carletonville aroused the anger of world public opinion which unreservedly condemned the act as barbarous. Even the African newspaper Die Transvaler wrote: "September 11th will go down as an unhappy day in the annals of South African history. The loss of lives at the Western Deep Levels mine is something that cannot be rectified." The English language Durban newspaper, the Natal Mercury, called the massacre "another symptom of the increasing tensions and frustrations that are being generated in an Apartheid society." The Rand Daily Mail said that the incident was "a warning for the government ... that South Africa dare not live with this kind of risk. We must provide proper trade union machinery for black workers." Nevertheless, despite the strong condemnation by the international community of the Carletonville massacre, the Pretoria regime merely set up a non-independent and a non-judicial tribunal which exonerated the high-handed actions of the armed South African police who shot and killed defenceless African workers.

4. Meanwhile, in solidarity with the oppressed workers of Apartheid South Africa, trade unions all over the world have intensified their actions against the Pretoria regime. In June 1973, an International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid was held in Geneva where 180 million of the world's workers, organized in 200 major trade unions, were represented. Also represented at the Conference were the O.A.U., the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid and other anti-Apartheid organizations. The Conference, after its two days' session, adopted a resolution for action against Apartheid, the full text of which is attached as Annex 8. The resolution has recommended a series of measures, which fall into two general categories, namely, recommended actions by governments and actions by trade unions.

5. The recommended action by governments include:-

- a. Application of economic sanctions voted by the United Nations;
- b. Stopping all military, political, economic, cultural and sporting collaboration with Apartheid South Africa,
- c. Severing of diplomatic and consular relations with Pretoria,
- d. Stopping of public and private investments in South Africa as well as the emigration of whites to that country,
- e. Calling for the exclusion of Apartheid South Africa from the United Nations and all its Specialized Agencies,
- f. Closing of ports and airports to South African ships and planes,

6. The proposed action by Trade Unions consists mainly of the following:-

- a. Strongly opposing emigration of skilled labour to South Africa;
- b. Bringing pressure on economic and financial groups which collaborate with South Africa to cease such collaboration;
- c. Boycotting the loading and unloading of goods to and from South Africa and/or Namibia; and South African ships and planes;

- d. Organizing in co-operation with consumer associations, a boycott of goods imported directly or indirectly from South Africa;
- e. Bringing pressure, through workers employed in companies with branches in South Africa, on such companies to abolish wage discrimination against African workers in those branches;
- f. Boycotting all sporting and cultural activities in which representatives of South Africa take part;
- g. Keeping their members and public opinion regularly informed of the situation in South Africa through all information media;
- h. Insisting on the effective implementation of the resolution concerning Apartheid and the contribution of the ILO to the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 56th Session in 1971, which provides for a long term ILO Programme to eliminate discrimination in employment and restore fundamental human and trade union rights in South Africa;
- i. Establishing at the national level a trade union committee against Apartheid and the racist and colonialist regimes, whose task would be to develop concrete action by workers organizations in that field;
- j. Taking an active part in the decade for action to combat racism and racial discrimination which, in accordance with the decision of the United Nations General Assembly begun on 10 December 1973, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and
- k. Commencing on 10th December 1973 a worldwide week of action against the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa.

9. Subsequently, African workers organizations have formed a co-ordinating committee for trade union action against Apartheid. So far the committee has held two meetings, in Nairobi and in Kinshasa where a programme of action against Apartheid was discussed. A permanent Secretariat has been set up in Banjul, the Gambia, with

Mr. Gilbert Pongault of the People's Republic of the Congo as its Secretary. It is hoped that other Trade Unions in other continents will follow the example of the African Trade Unions in working out concrete programmes of action for the elimination of Apartheid from Southern Africa.

10. Another important landmark which has led to the further isolation of Apartheid South Africa was the adoption by the General Assembly on 30th November 1973, of the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. In adopting the Convention, ^{that} the General Assembly stated that it was convinced/the Convention would be "an important step towards the eradication of the policies and practices of Apartheid". It also appealed to all states to sign and ratify the Convention as soon as possible. The Convention will enter into force as soon as the majority of the U.N. member states ratify it. With a view to accelerating the process of ratification, the Council may wish to consider taking urgent steps to have the Convention ratified by all member states of the OAU as early as possible. There is no doubt that other friendly states in Asia, Latin America, Europe and North America will follow suit. The ratification of the Convention will no doubt isolate even more the Apartheid regime in the various fields of international intercourse. The resolution on the matter, resolution 3068 (XXVIII), as well as the full text of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid are appended as Annex 9 and Annex 10 respectively.
11. Apart from the resolution regarding the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, the 28th Session of the General Assembly also adopted six other

resolutions on the policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa. The six resolutions, contained in resolution 3151 (XXVIII), are attached to this report as Annex 11.

RESOLUTION FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

The International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, meeting in Geneva on 15 - 16 June 1973, at which 380 delegates representing more than 200 trade union organizations from all over the world participated,

DENOUNCES the inhuman policy of apartheid and racial discrimination pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which is a crime against humanity, a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and, as such, a threat to world peace and security;

Notes with profound concern that the Government of South Africa continues to intensify its inhuman and aggressive policy of Apartheid ;

CONSIDERS that the most elementary human and trade union rights continue to be denied to the African workers, and that the vast majority of the workers of South Africa are kept outside the system of collective bargaining and are denied employment opportunities in skilled jobs;

EXPRESSES full support and solidarity with the African workers of South Africa who have courageously taken strike action against their intolerable conditions and have unequivocally condemned the system of works committees which cannot in any way be regarded as a substitute for genuine trade unions;

VIGOROUSLY CONDEMNS the South African white minority racist regime for the annexation and extension of apartheid to the neighbouring territory of Namibia;

FULLY APPROVING paragraph 16 of Resolution 2923E (XXVIII) of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which invites all organizations, institutions and information media to organize in 1973, intensified and co-ordinated campaigns directed towards the elimination of apartheid and the discontinuance of all military, political, economical, economic and cultural collaboration with South Africa; and

RECALLING the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa, unanimously adopted by the International Labour Conference on 8 July 1964, which made an urgent appeal to governments, employers and workers of all States Members of the ILO to combine their efforts and public application all appropriate measures to lead the Republic of South Africa to heed the call of Humanity and renounce its shameful policy of apartheid;

DEPLORING the failure of some United Nations member states to fully implement United Nations resolutions and decisions on South Africa;

CONDEMNS the colonialist racist alliance of Portugal, South Africa and the illegal white minority regime of Salisbury and their drive to maintain colonialism and racism in Africa;

STRESSING that South African and foreign employers and investors have proved to be sources of direct or indirect support for the policy of apartheid; and have collaborated in the exploitation of African labour in South Africa;

STRONGLY EMPHASIZING that white immigration to South Africa can only reinforce the policy of apartheid;

RESOLVES that concreted action must be undertaken to eradicate apartheid in South Africa;

REQUESTS the United Nations to make sanctions against South Africa mandatory;

ALSO REQUESTS all UN Specialized Agencies as well as inter-governmental organizations to initiate and intensify anti-apartheid action and to increase aid to the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for the observance of fundamental human rights, in close co-operation with the African peoples and their organizations and the whole international trade union movement;

DEMANDS: that the South African white minority regime complies with the United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 2145 and the decision of the International Court of Justice, which stated inter alia the South African presence in Namibia is illegal and she is under obligation to withdraw immediately;

URGENTLY APPEALS to all United Nations Member States to strictly adhere to and apply UN decisions and resolutions concerning apartheid;

CALLS ON governments throughout the world to:

- sever political, cultural, commercial and diplomatic relations with the South African Government;
- stop public and private investment in South Africa as well as emigration of their nationals;

INVITES employers' organizations to take measures to sanction their members who maintain relations of any nature with southern Africa; economic and financial groups to renounce their policy of collaboration with the regimes and practices of Southern Africa;

STRONGLY URGES all workers and their trade union organizations, irrespective of international, continental, political or religious affiliations, to give full support to the oppressed workers in South Africa engaged in a legitimate struggle against the racist minority regime of South Africa, by:

- condemning South Africa's continued suppression of fundamental human rights and democratic liberties;
- campaigning for the recognition of African trade unions with full rights to collective bargaining and to strike, the right to organize and freedom of expression and association;
- campaigning for a general amnesty for opponents of apartheid and the lifting of all bans on African and progressive political organizations and trade union and political leaders and militants, both in South Africa and in exile;
- campaigning for an immediate and unconditional release of all trade union and political prisoners and a stop to the rule of police terror and oppression;
- Calling for an end to the notorious system of contract or migrant labour in South Africa, which is a disguised form of modern slavery;

- giving financial, moral and material support to the workers and people of South Africa through their authentic trade union and political organizations;

URGES AND RECOMMENDS all trade union organizations throughout the world to continue and intensify their action and to bring pressure on their governments to:

- initiate or support international action against apartheid and all forms of racism and racial discrimination wherever they exist;
- to ratify immediately the international Conventions defining apartheid as an international crime against humanity;
- to ensure the strict implementation of United Nations decisions and resolutions on apartheid, in particular by:
 - a. refusing to supply arms or any other form of military assistance to South Africa;
 - b. closing their ports and airports to South African ships and planes;
 - c. calling for the exclusion of South Africa from the United Nations and all UN specialized agencies;

CALLS UPON ALL trade union organizations to take all measures within their power to implement these aims and associate all their members in such action, and in particular to:

- strongly oppose emigration of skilled labour to South Africa;
- bring pressure on economic and financial groups which collaborate with South Africa to cease such collaboration;
- boycott the loading and unloading of goods to and from South Africa and/or Namibia, and South African Ships and planes;
- organise, in co-operation with consumers' associations, a boycott of goods imported directly or indirectly from South Africa;
- bring pressure, through workers employed in companies with branches in South Africa, on such companies to abolish wage discrimination against African workers in these branches;

- boycott all sporting and cultural activities in which representatives of South Africa take part;
- keep their members and public opinion regularly informed of the situation in South Africa through all information media;
- insist on the effective implementation of the resolution concerning apartheid and the contribution of the ILO to the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1971, which provides for a long-time ILO programme to eliminate discrimination in employment and restore fundamental human and trade union rights in South Africa;
- to establish at the national level a trade union committee against apartheid and the racist and colonialist regime, whose task would be to develop concrete action by workers' organizations in this field;
- take an active part in the Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which, in accordance with the decision of the UN General Assembly, is to begin on 10 December 1973, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- to commence on 10 December 1973 a world-wide week of action against the discriminatory policy in South Africa;

AND FURTHER WE REQUEST that the United Nations associate the members of the Preparatory Committee of this Conference with the work and action of the Special Committee on Apartheid with a view to including the representatives of the various tendencies of the international and African trade union movements in the application of all measures taken to end apartheid.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3068 (XXVIII). International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid

The General Assembly,

Recalling resolution 2922 (XXVIII) of November 1972, in which it reaffirmed its conviction that apartheid constitutes a total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and is a crime against humanity,

Recognizing the urgent need to take further effective measures with a view to the suppression and punishment of apartheid,

Mindful of the need to conclude, under the auspices of the United Nations, an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid,

Convinced that the Convention would be an important step towards the eradication of the policies and practices of apartheid, and that it should be signed and ratified by states at the earliest possible date and its provisions implemented without delay,

Considering also that the text of the Convention should be made known throughout the world,

1. Adopts and opens for signature and ratification the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution;

2. Appeals to all States to sign and ratify the Convention as soon as possible;

3. Requests all Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to acquaint the public as widely as possible with

the text of the Convention using all the information media at their disposal;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure the urgent and wide dissemination of the Convention and, for that purpose, to publish and circulate its text;

5. Requests the Economic and Social Council to invite the Commission on Human Rights to undertake the functions set out under article X of the Convention.

2185th plenary meeting
30 November 1973

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(An Annex to resolution 3068 (xxviii), 1973)

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT
OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID

The States Parties to the Present Convention,

Recalling the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in which all members pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Considering the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour or national origin,

Considering the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples, in which the General Assembly stated that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in the interests of human dignity, progress and justice, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Observing that, in accordance with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, States particularly condemn racial segregation and apartheid and undertake to prevent, prohibit and eradicate all practices of this nature in territories under their jurisdiction,

Observing that, in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, certain acts which may also be qualified as acts of apartheid constitute a crime under international law,

Observing that, in the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, "inhuman acts resulting from the policy of apartheid" are qualified as crimes against humanity,

Observing that the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions in which the policies and practices of apartheid are condemned as a crime against humanity,

Observing that the Security Council has emphasized that apartheid, its continued intensification and expansion, seriously distrubs and threatens international peace and security,

Convinced that an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid would make it possible to take more effective measures at the international and national levels with a view to the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid,

Having agreed as follows:

Article 1

1. The States Parties to the present Convention declare that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article II of the Convention, and crimes violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security.

2. The States Parties to the present Convention declare criminal those organizations, institutions and individuals committing the crime of apartheid.

Article II

For the purpose of the present Convention, the term "the crimes of apartheid", which shall include similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practised in southern Africa, shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them:

(a) Denial to a member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of persons:

- (i) By murder of members of a racial group or groups;
- (ii) By the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm by the infringement of their freedom or dignity, or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
- (iii) By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;

(b) Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part;

(c) Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a racial group or groups human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized trade unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the right to freedom of movement and residence, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association;

(d) Any measures, including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the

prohibition of mixed marriages among members of various racial groups, the expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial group or groups or to members thereof;

(e) Exploitation of the labour of the members of a racial group or groups, in particular by submitting them to forced labour;

(f) Persecution of organizations and persons, by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms, because they oppose apartheid.

Article III

International criminal responsibility shall apply, irrespective of the motive involved, to individuals, members of organizations and institutions and representatives of the State, whether residing in the territory of the State in which the acts are perpetrated or in some other State, whenever they:

(a) Commit, participate in, directly incite or conspire in the commission of the acts mentioned in article II of the present Convention;

(b) Directly, abet, encourage, or co-operate in the commission of the crime of apartheid.

Article IV

The States Parties to the present Convention undertake:

(a) To adopt any legislative or other measures necessary to suppress as well as to prevent any encouragement of the crime of apartheid and similar segregationist policies or their manifestations and to punish persons guilty of that crime;

(b) To adopt legislative, judicial and administrative measures to prosecute, bring to trial and punish in accordance with their jurisdiction persons responsible for, or accused of, the acts defined in article II of the present Convention, whether or not such persons reside in the territory of the State in which the acts are committed or are nationals of that State or of some other State or are stateless persons.

Article V

Persons charged with the acts enumerated in article II of the present Convention may be tried by a competent tribunal of any State Party to the Convention which may acquire jurisdiction over the persons of the accused or by an international penal tribunal having jurisdiction with respect to those States Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdictions.

Article VI

The States Parties to the Present Convention undertake to accept and carry out in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations the decisions taken by the Security Council aimed at the prevention, suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid, and to co-operate in the implementation of decisions adopted by other competent organs of the United Nations with a view to achieving the purposes of the Convention.

Article VII

1. The States Parties to the present Convention undertake to submit periodic reports to the groups established under article IX on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures that they have adopted and that give effect to the provisions of the convention.

2. Copies of the reports shall be transmitted through the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Special Committee on Apartheid .

Article VIII

Any State Party to the present Convention may call upon any competent organ of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as it considers appropriate for the prevention and suppression of the crime of apartheid.

Article IX

1. The Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights shall appoint a group consisting of three members of the Commission on Human Rights, who are also representatives of States Parties to the present Convention, to consider reports submitted by States Parties in accordance with article VII.

2. If, among the members of the Commission on Human Rights, there are no representatives of States Parties to the present Convention or if there are fewer than three such representatives, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall, after consulting all States Parties to the Convention, designate a representative of the State Party or representatives of the States Parties which are not members of the Commission on Human Rights to take part in the work of the group established in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article, until such time as representatives of the States Parties to the Convention are elected to the Commission on Human Rights.

3. The group may meet for a period of not more than five days, either before the opening or after the closing of the session of the Commission on Human Rights, to consider the reports submitted in accordance with article VII.

Article X

1. The States Parties to the present Convention empower the Commission on Human Rights:

(a) To request United Nations organs, when transmitting copies of petitions under article 15 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to draw its attention to complaints concerning acts which are enumerated in article II of the present Convention;

(b) To prepare, on the basis of reports from competent organs of the United Nations and periodic reports from States Parties to the present Convention, a list of individuals, organizations, institutions and representatives of States which are alleged to be responsible for the crimes enumerated in article II of the Convention, as well as those against whom legal proceedings have been undertaken by States parties to the Convention;

(c) To request information from the competent United Nations organs concerning measures taken by the authorities responsible for the administration of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and all other Territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 applies, with regard to such individuals alleged to be responsible for crimes under article II of the Convention who are believed to be under their territorial and administrative jurisdiction.

2. Pending the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514(XV), the provisions of the present Convention shall in no way limit the right of petition granted to those peoples by other international instruments or by the United Nations and its specialized Agencies.

Article XI

1. Acts enumerated in article II of the present Convention shall not be considered political crimes for the purpose of extradition .

2. The States Parties to the present Convention undertake in such bases to grant extradition in accordance with their legislation and with the treaties in force.

Article XII

Disputes between States Parties arising out of the interpretation, application or implementation of the present Convention which have been settled by negotiation shall, at the request of the States Parties to the dispute, be brought before the International Court of Justice, save where the parties to the dispute have agreed on some other form of settlement.

Article XIII

The present Convention is open for signature by all States. Any State which does not sign the Convention before its entry into force may accede to it.

Article XIV

1. The present Convention is subject to ratification by all States. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XV

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying the present Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

Article XVI

A State Party may denounce the present Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

Article XVII

1. A request for the revision of this Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such requests.

Article XVIII

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States of the following particulars:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions under articles XIII and XIV;
- (b) The date of entry into force of the present convention under article XV;
- (c) Denunciation under article XVI;
- (d) Notifications under article XVII;

Article XIX

1. The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit certified copies of the present Convention to all States.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3151 (XXVIII). Policies of apartheid of the Government
of South Africa

A

Trade union action against apartheid

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 2671 D (XXV) of 8 December 1970, 2775 H (XXVI) of 29 November 1971 and 2923 F (XXVII) of 13 December 1972,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid on the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid,

Strongly convinced of the importance of the participation of the trade union movement in the international campaign against apartheid,

1. Commends the resolution of the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid to the attention of Governments, specialized agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to promote and facilitate the effective participation of the trade union organizations in the observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination;

3. Requests the Special Committee on Apartheid to maintain liaison with the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trade Unions against apartheid with a view to promoting maximum participation by the trade unions at the national and international levels in action against apartheid in South Africa;

4. Requests the Unit on Apartheid and the Office of Public Information of the Secretariat to make special efforts, in co-operation with

the International Labour Organization and in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraph 32 of the report of the Special Committee, to acquaint trade unions all over the world with the situation in South Africa and to publicize the activities of the trade union movement towards the eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

2201st plenary meeting
14 December 1973

B

Programme of work of the Special Committee on Apartheid

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid;

Considering the need to intensify United Nations efforts towards the eradication of apartheid in South Africa and to secure greater co-ordination of such efforts,

1. Requests the Special Committee on Apartheid to intensify its efforts in the discharge of its mandate along the indicated lines in paragraph 289 of its report;
2. Calls upon all United Nations organs to take note of the mandate of the Special Committee constantly to review all aspects of apartheid in South Africa, with a view to avoiding any duplication of work;
3. Authorizes the Special Committee to hold a special session in Europe in 1974;
4. Further authorizes the Special Committee:
 - (a) To send missions to Governments of Member States for consultations on action against apartheid;
 - (b) To send representatives to the Organization of African Unity for consultation on co-operation in action against apartheid;

(c) To participate in conferences concerned with apartheid;

(d) To hold consultations with experts, African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, anti-apartheid movements, trade unions organizations and other non-governmental organizations concerned with the campaign against apartheid, in order to consider ways and means of intensifying international action against apartheid.

2201st plenary meeting
14 December 1973

C.

Dissemination of information on apartheid

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General,

Noting with appreciation the efforts of the Unit on Apartheid and the office of Public Information of the Secretariat for the dissemination of information on apartheid in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2923 D (XXVIII) of 15 November 1972,

Strongly convinced of the need to intensify greatly the efforts to acquaint world public opinion with the imperative need for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa,

1. Requests the Unit on Apartheid and the Office of Public Information of the Secretariat, in consultation with the Special Committee on Apartheid and in the light of the relevant recommendations contained in the Special Committee's report, to step up efforts to publicize as widely as possible:

(a) The evils and dangers of apartheid in South Africa;

(b) The legitimate and just struggle of the people of South Africa for the eradication of apartheid;

(c) The efforts of the United Nations to promote the eradication of apartheid;

(d) Action against apartheid taken by specialized agencies, regional organizations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to produce more films and audio-visual material on apartheid and to promote the widest possible distribution of such material through the production of additional language versions;

3. Invites Governments and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the Unit on apartheid and the Office of Public Information in the production and widest possible dissemination of publications and other information material on apartheid in as many languages as possible;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to make appropriate arrangements to enable the Unit on Apartheid, in co-operation with the Office of Public Information:

(a) To secure the printing and distribution of pamphlets in various languages;

(b) To produce special publications for trade unions, student organizations and other groups as appropriate;

(c) To publicize information on the activities of the United Nations, specialized agencies, Member States and non-governmental organizations against apartheid;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to establish as soon as possible an information centre in an independent African State neighbouring South Africa, at that State's request, taking into consideration the financial difficulties of the host country;

6. Requests and authorizes the Secretary-General to invite voluntary contributions by States and organizations to be used, in consultation with the Special Committee, for the expansion of the activities of the Unit on Apartheid, in particular with regard to:

(a) The production of publications in languages other than the official languages of the United Nations;

(b) Grants to appropriate non-governmental organizations and institutions for the reprinting and redissemination of United Nations information material on apartheid and for the production of audio-visual material on apartheid.

2201st plenary meeting
14 December 1973.

Intensification and co-ordination of United Nations
action against apartheid

The General Assembly,

Having considered the reports of the Special Committee on Apartheid,

Gravely concerned about the explosive situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole,

Determined to promote more effective international action against apartheid as a matter of priority during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,

Considering that greater co-ordination among United Nations bodies and specialized agencies is essential for the development of an international campaign against apartheid under the auspices of the United Nations.

1. Commends the Special Committee on Apartheid for its efforts to promote, in the discharge of its mandate, concerted international action against apartheid;

2. Requests the Special Committee:

(a) To continue to follow, as a matter of priority, the developments concerning the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and the collaboration of States and economic and other interests with the South African regime, and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate;

(b) To submit special reports to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session;

(i) Action against apartheid taken by specialized agencies and other inter-governmental organizations;

(ii) Assistance provided by foreign economic interests to the South African regime in resisting international action against apartheid;

(iii) Assistance provided by Governments and non-governmental organizations to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements;

(iv) Violation of the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council by the South African regime;

(v) Arbitrary laws and regulations enacted and applied by the South African regime to repress the legitimate struggle for freedom;

(c) To promote a world-wide campaign for the release of all those imprisoned or arrested for their opposition to apartheid;

3. Further requests the Special Committee to continue and intensify its co-operation with other United Nations organs concerned with southern Africa, particularly the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations Council for Namibia, especially with respect to:

(a) Representation at national and international conferences;

(b) Missions away from United Nations Headquarters;

(c) Consultations with specialized agencies, the Organization of African Unity and non-Governmental organizations;

(d) Studies concerning the economic and other interests impeding decolonization and the eradication of apartheid in Southern Africa;

(e) Dissemination of information;

(f) The observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and the People of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde;

(g) The holding of joint meeting or the establishment of joint working groups, if necessary, to consider means of co-ordinating their programmes of work;

4. Requests all United Nations organs to consult with the Special Committee on Apartheid before undertaking any studies or investigations relating to apartheid in South Africa in order that duplication may be avoided;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to reinforce the Unit on Apartheid of the Secretariat, so as to enable it to discharge the tasks indicated in paragraph 300 of the report of the Special Committee, and to provide it with the necessary staff and resources.

2201st plenary meeting
14 December 1973

E

Action by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations

The General Assembly,

Conscious that the eradication of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa is in the interests of all humanity,

Considering that it is essential to ensure the participation in the international campaign against apartheid of all specialized agencies and other organizations in the United Nations system, as well as the maximum co-ordination of their efforts,

Further considering that the participation of the public in the campaign against apartheid is of great importance and should be encouraged,

Taking note of the relevant recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid,

Noting with great appreciation the work of the Special Committee in promoting concerted action by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations,

1. Calls upon all Governments to initiate action in the specialized agencies and other governmental organizations, as necessary, to intensify concerted efforts against apartheid and, in particular, to formulate programme of action against apartheid in the light of the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid;

2. Requests the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization;

(a) To expedite the publication and distribution of the educational kit on racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa;

(b) To continue its programme of studies, seminars and conferences on the role of culture in combating colonialism, racism and apartheid and, in particular; to consider convening, in co-operation with the Special Committee, a conference of prominent educators, writers and other intellectuals to discuss their role in the struggle against apartheid;

3. Commends the activities of anti-apartheid movements, trade unions and other non-governmental organizations engaged in campaign for the isolation of the South African racist regime and in support of the liberation movements of the South African people;

4. Invites all organizations, institutions and information media to intensify and develop such campaigns in observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and in co-operation with the Special Committee;

5. Requests the Secretary-General and the Special Committee to take appropriate steps to encourage public action against apartheid;

(a) By facilitating consultative status for organizations actively engaged in support of United Nations resolutions against apartheid;

(b) By publicizing their actions through the Office of Public Information and the Unit on Apartheid of the Secretariat;

(c) By encouraging the establishment of national committees against apartheid where they do not exist, and maintaining the closest liaison with such committees.

F

United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa

The General Assembly,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, to which is annexed the report of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa,

Conscious of the continuing and increasing needs for humanitarian assistance arising from the persecution of persons under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia,

Noting with appreciation the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Committee of Trustees to promote contributions to the Trust Fund,

1. Expresses its appreciation to the Governments, organizations and individuals that have contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa;
2. Again appeals to all States, organizations and individuals for generous annual contributions to the Trust Fund and for direct contributions to the voluntary agencies concerned;
3. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, to submit a report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session on the present needs for humanitarian assistance within the terms of reference of the Trust Fund.

2201st plenary meeting
14 December 1973

G

Situation in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council,

Having considered the reports of the Special Committee on Apartheid,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 2923 (XXVII) of 15 November 1972,

Taking into account the report of the Secretary-General on the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa,

Reaffirming that the practice of apartheid constitute a crime against humanity,

Reaffirming that the policies and actions of the South African regime have created and continue to pose a serious threat to international peace and security,

Emphasizing the collusion between Portuguese colonialism, the apartheid regime and zionism, as exemplified by the political, military and financial aid supplied to each other by Portugal, South Africa and Israel,

1. Condemns the South African regime for its repeated acts of inhumanity and aggression and its continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;
2. Reaffirms that the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa by all available means for the total eradication of apartheid is legitimate and deserves the support of the international community;
3. Reiterates the determination of the United Nations to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity for the intensification of efforts to promote the total eradication of apartheid;
4. Condemns the actions of those States and companies which continue to provide to the South African regime military equipment and supplies, or other forms of military co-operation in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;
5. Condemns, in particular, the unholy alliance between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, zionism and Israeli imperialism;

6. Requests the Security Council to consider urgently the situation in South Africa and the aggressive actions of the South African regime with a view to adopting effective measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to resolve the grave situation in the area and, in particular;

(a) To ensure that all Governments implement fully the arms embargo against South Africa, without any exceptions as to the type of weapons, and prohibit any violations of the arms embargo by companies and all individuals within their jurisdiction;

(b) To call upon the Governments concerned to refrain from importing any military supplies manufactured by, or in collaboration with, South Africa;

(c) To call upon the Governments concerned to terminate any existing military arrangements with the South African regime and to refrain from entering into any such arrangements;

7. Condemns the actions of States which, by their continued political, military, economic and other collaboration with the South African regime, encourage it to persist in its inhuman and criminal policies, and calls upon them urgently to cease all such collaboration with South Africa;

8. Calls upon those States which have not yet done so, as a first step:

(a) To terminate exchanges of military attaches with the South African regime;

(b) To close trade promotion offices in South Africa and to deny facilities for offices of South African trade commissioners;

(c) To terminate all tariff preferences to South Africa;

(d) To refuse any credits for trade with South Africa and any guarantees for investment in South Africa;

(e) To deny facilities to South African immigration offices and to prohibit advertisements for emigration to South Africa;

15. Appeals to all Governments and organizations to provide generous humanitarian, educational, political and other assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements in their struggle for freedom.

2201st plenary meeting

14 December 1973

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR DECOLONIZATION

1. It will be recalled that the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the fifteenth session of the General Assembly (resolution 1514 (XV), of 14 December 1960), recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence. Since that declaration more than 35 African countries attained freedom and independence mainly by peaceful means. However, despite the said United Nations resolution and subsequent U.N. resolutions on decolonization, over 30 million Africans are still languishing under colonialism and racial oppression, particularly in Southern Africa.
2. The adamant refusal by the colonialists and racists to grant self-determination and independence eventually brought about the armed struggle against those evil forces. The international community subsequently recognized the armed liberation struggle as a legitimate struggle and therefore worthy of its moral, political and material assistance. The national liberation movements recognized by the OAU have also been recognized by the international community as the sole and authentic representatives of the true aspirations of their respective peoples. (The latest resolutions in this regard are to be found in operative paragraphs two of resolution 3111 (XXVIII), 3113 (XXVIII) and 3115 (XXVIII)).
3. In fact, African national liberation movements have been accorded observer status at the United Nations and the various specialized agencies such as UNESCO, FAO and ILO, where they can participate effectively in the deliberations of those bodies especially on matters which

concern them. In other words, the international community has either rejected or has seriously questioned the pretensions of colonialist countries, like Portugal, and of Apartheid South Africa to represent the peoples which they subjugate and the territories which they occupy by force.

4. Colonialist Portugal and racist South Africa in particular have been forced to leave several international or intergovernmental bodies as a result of the strong anti-colonial and anti-racist positions adopted by those bodies. In those international or intergovernmental bodies where they are still members, South Africa and Portugal find themselves on the defensive. Similarly, the colonialist and racist regimes have been isolated in other fields of international intercourse, such as sports and cultural activities.

5. As a result of their firm anti-colonial and anti-racist stand many specialized agencies and other international bodies have withheld financial, economic, technical and other assistance from Portugal and South Africa until they abandon their colonialist and racist policies. In short, in almost all the Political organs of the United Nations and other anti-colonialist and anti-racist organizations, colonialist Portugal and racist South Africa are on the retreat. They have been either forced out or are in the process of being forced out of those international bodies. However in certain bodies dealing with technical, financial and scientific questions, such as the IMF, IDA, IBRD, ITU, UPU, ICAO and GATT, Portugal and South Africa are still represented effectively. It is therefore, important that Portugal and South Africa should be forced out of the various technical, scientific and financial bodies. It should be emphasized that so far there has

not been any well planned move on the part of African states and other friendly states from Asia, Latin America and Europe, to force Portugal and South Africa out of those bodies.

Programme of Assistance by U.N. Specialized Agencies

6. It will be recalled that on 14 December 1970, that is, exactly ten years after the adoption of the famous U.N. resolution on Decolonization (resolution 1514(XV), the 25th Session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted resolution 2704 (XXV) regarding the "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the Specialized Agencies and the International Institutions associated with the United Nations." Operative paragraph 5 of the said resolution stated, that the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"Reiterates its urgent appeal to the specialized agencies and the other organizations within the United Nations system to render all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples struggling for their liberation from colonial rule and, in particular, to work out, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for assisting the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those territories;"

7. On the basis of resolution 2704 (XXV) and subsequent resolutions on assistance by the U.N. to the national liberation movements, UNESCO, FAO and WHO have gone a long way in working out or implementing programmes of assistance to the national liberation movements. Other agencies

such as ILO, ICAO and UNICEF are in contact with the OAU and through it with the national liberation movements, with the view to working out programmes of assistance in their respective fields of competence.

8. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was the first to take steps in response to resolution 2704 (XXV). In January 1971, a UNESCO mission, led by the Assistant Director-General for Education, Mr. Amadou Mahtar Mbow, visited the General Secretariat in Addis Ababa where useful discussions were held on UNESCO's assistance to the national liberation movements. The UNESCO Mission then visited Dar-Es-Salaam where it held discussions with the liberation movements. As a result of Mr. Mbow's mission, UNESCO sent experts to Dar-Es-Salaam to work out concrete programmes of assistance, especially in the field of education and training. A programme of assistance, estimated to cost US\$400,000, was worked out and approved by the UNESCO Executive Board. Out of the US\$400,000, US\$40,000 was contributed by UNESCO from its regular programme budget and the rest was to be provided by UNDP.

9. According to UNESCO, US\$40,000 has already been utilized for assistance to the liberation movements (and refugees) in 1971-72 and a further US\$69,000 in 1973-74. Part of these sums have been used to print 60,000 mathematics textbooks for PAIGC, as well as to help education centres such as the Institute of Friendship at Conakry and the FRELIMO Secondary School and teacher training centre at Bagamoyo. The 60,000 text books have been shipped to Conakry for use in the PAIGC schools, both in the Republic of Guinea as well as in the liberated areas of the then Guinea-Bissau, now the Republic of Guinea Bissau. UNESCO is also helping to train teachers for primary schools as well as literacy

workers at Conakry and Bagamoyo.

10. Apart from the direct assistance it has been giving, UNESCO has also co-operated with Sweden and Denmark in a \$700,000 aid programme for the Angola Institute of education, set up at Dolisie, People's Republic of the Congo by the MPLA. UNESCO has also shipped to Africa one million exercise books donated by the USSR to the institutions of learning run by the national liberation movements. Finally, under its programme to give "moral" assistance to African liberation movements, UNESCO is publishing several comprehensive fact finding reports on the situation in Southern Africa. One major study entitled "Portuguese Colonialism: Its effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information" is being prepared by Dr. Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira and will be published soon with an introduction by Basil Davidson.
11. In addition to its assistance outlined above UNESCO also provides teachers and equipment for the Bagamoyo Secondary School, the Institute of Friendship in Conakry and the NKumbi International College, Zambia. Many scholarships and fellowships are also given to cadres of national liberation movements. With regard to the question of Apartheid and racial discrimination, UNESCO has published several studies on the effects of Apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. These studies have contributed to the adverse publicity given to Apartheid and racial oppression in Southern Africa and have therefore made the minority racist regimes in the region more isolated and defensive.
12. The Food and Agricultural Organization followed UNESCO in sending a fact finding mission to the OAU, and through it, to the national liberation movements, to work out a programme of assistance to the movements in compliance with resolution 2704 (XXV). The first FAO-WFP fact

finding mission, led by the FAO Regional Representative in Africa, visited Addis Ababa, Dar-Es-Salaam and Lusaka in September 1971 where detailed discussions took place with the OAU officials, representatives of National Liberation Movements as well as with officials of the host governments, Tanzania and Zambia. The Specific requests made by the OAU and the liberation movements to the FAO mission were the following:

1. Food aid for Freedom Fighters;
2. Food aid for emergency feeding of people in the liberated areas who face frequent famine conditions as a result of massive bombardments against civilian populations and the frequent use of defoliants and herbicides which destroy food crops in the territories under Portuguese domination.
3. Food aid to refugees who have fled to neighbouring independent African countries as a result of repressive action in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.
4. Training in simple agricultural skills which would be used eventually in the liberated areas.
5. Supply of simple agricultural implements, seeds, especially improved varieties, and simple extension literature on agricultural and animal husbandry production, and;
6. Scholarships and fellowships.

13. With respect to FAO's assistance in matters of training a pilot project has been worked out for FRELIMO and it is hoped that the FAO will hasten its implementation. With respect to food aid, the 25th session of the Intergovernmental Committee of the World Food Programme (WFP), which took place in Rome in April 1974, has requested the Executive Director of the WFP to work out an agreement with the Secretary-General of the OAU whereby food aid to the national liberation movements could be channeled through the OAU. The WFP Executive Director has agreed that the food aid to be provided by the WFP on emergency, quasi emergency and on regular basis to the national liberation movements and ^{to} the peoples in liberated areas could be stored and distributed by the OAU, particularly by the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee. The WFP has expressed the wish that the OAU - WFP Agreement should be signed in June, at the latest.

flow of its assistance to the liberated areas.

14. Finally, the 17th FAO General Conference, meeting in Rome from 10 - 29 November, 1973, has approved the participation of African national liberation movements in FAO meetings, seminars, training centres and other relevant activities undertaken or sponsored by the FAO and WFP. On the basis of the above decision, the Director-General of the FAO has sent out invitations, through the OAU, to the recognized liberation movements to attend the 8th FAO Regional Conference for Africa, which will be held in Port Louis, Mauritius, between 1 - 17 August, 1974.

15. The World Health Organization (WHO) was the third specialized agency to send a mission to Addis Ababa, Dar-Es-Salaam and Lusaka in November 1971. The following six major requests were made by the national liberation movements to the WHO Director-General through the OAU:

- a. Assistance for education and training of health personnel, particularly at the middle and auxiliary levels;
- b. Supplies and equipment for the initiation and extension of programmes for the prevention of communicable diseases and medical care and rehabilitation facilities;
- c. Qualified personnel to assist in teaching and rehabilitation services;
- d. Support for the development of health services where no health centres or dispensaries exist;
- e. Fellowships for medical and para medical personnel to receive medical training preferably in existing medical institutions in African countries; and,
- f. Participation of health personnel in training courses, seminars and other technical meetings organized or sponsored by the

World Health Organization.

16. The WHO sent a further mission to work out, in more detail, proposals for its programme of assistance to the national liberation movements. As a result the following main categories of assistance in the medical and health fields have been recommended to the Director-General of the WHO:

Training

- (a) the establishment in each of the two countries of a health centre with hospital and library facilities for training of health auxiliary personnel at all levels; (The two countries are Tanzania and Zambia).
- (b) the provision of equipment and supplies for in-service and on-the-job training;
- (c) the provision of stipends and allowances for the trainees where necessary ;
- (d) the provision of kits for the graduates, to take back with them for use in their respective fields on completion of their courses; for example, physicians' kits, nurses/midwives' kits and other forms of first aid kits;
- (e) the provision of fellowships and scholarships for a limited number of postgraduates and graduate training in traumatic surgery and rehabilitation as well as health services in general;
- (f) the provision of books for use in the training programmes as well as in the rural areas for health campaigns;
- (g) the provision of funds to help in reproduction of teaching guides, manuals and text books in conjunction with existing printing facilities.

Books

- (a) reproduction of teaching materials in collaboration with existing facilities;
- (b) actual provision of books for the teaching of cadres and for work in rural areas.

Mobile service units

- (a) the provision of medical equipment and supplies for mobile service units to serve the population in remote areas where health services are not available, with particular attention to supplies in rural areas for mothers and children who are more vulnerable to diseases and malnutrition;
- (b) the provision of equipment and supplies to serve the entire mass of the population in rural health social services.

Rehabilitation

- (a) the provision of materials for shelter such as tents or prefabricated material;
- (b) the provision of equipment and supplies for surgical rehabilitation and vocational training.

Hospitals

The provision of hospital supplies and equipment for the improvement of existing hospital facilities which are available for the population in the areas concerned; to enhance correct treatment and diagnosis and also to ensure a steady flow of medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothing.

17. The Director-General of the WHO submitted the above proposals to the fifty-third session of the WHO Executive Board for its consideration. The Executive Board in its decision EB 53 R 58, adopted on

- 24 January 1974, endorsed the steps taken by the Director-General and requested him "to pursue consultations with the United Nations Development Programme, UNICEF, and possible sources of voluntary support for the programmes that have been requested, with a view to their early implementation."
- The Executive Board has also recommended "to the 27th World Health Assembly that it consider the representation of African national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity in an appropriate capacity in meetings of the World Health Organization in proceedings relating to their countries."

18. Meanwhile, the Director of the WHO Regional Office for Africa has informed the Secretary-General that he has started discussions on programme of health assistance to the MPLA. The host government, the People's Republic of the Congo, is fully associated at all levels of the discussion between the MPLA and the WHO officials in Brazzaville.

- 19. It is also interesting to note that UNICEF was reported to have put aside a budget of one million dollars to assist the national liberation movements in the field of its competence.

- 20. Towards the end of 1973, the International Labour Organization indicated its willingness to consider possible ILO assistance to the national liberation movements in those areas which fall within its field of competence. Subsequently, the ILO sent a mission to Addis Ababa and Dar-Es-Salaam to discuss in detail the nature of its assistance. The report of the ILO mission has not been transmitted to the Secretary-General.

21. The last ILO governing body, which met in Geneva in June 1973, decided to invite national liberation movements to participate, as observer, in its Conferneces, seminars and African regional conferences. Thus towards the end of the conference the representatives of the PAIGC and FNLA were able to address the conferece. Because the national liberation movements were recognized as "authentic representatives of the aspirations of the indigenous peoples of Angola and Mozambique", the Portuguese tripartite delegation to the annual Conference withdrew from the Conference hall.

22. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) has also offered to train cadres of the national liberation movements in civil aviation specializations. Several liberation movements have indicated their desire to utilize the ICAO offer. Moreover, the office of Technical Co-operation of the U.N. Secretariat has indicated early this year that it is ready to study ways and means by which it could provide assistance to the national liberation movements.

23. As the above brief report indicates, it is clear that the moral, political, diplomatic and material support of the international community for decolonization is increasing. By the same token, colonialist Portugal and Apartheid South Africa are being fiercely attacked and ~~abandoned~~ policies and isolated further. The national liberation movements are also asserting their identity and personality as the sole authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the their respective peoples. The latest victory in this regard was scored at the Diplomatic Conference on International Humanitarian Law applicable in Armed Conflicts, which was held in Geneva from February 20 to 29 March 1974. The national liberation movements were invited by the Diplomatic Conference in their

own right to participate fully in the deliberations of the Conference, without the right to vote. Thus, with the exception of FLCS, LMD, MOLINACO and MLSTP, all the other national liberation movements recognized by the OAU were represented at the Diplomatic Conference.

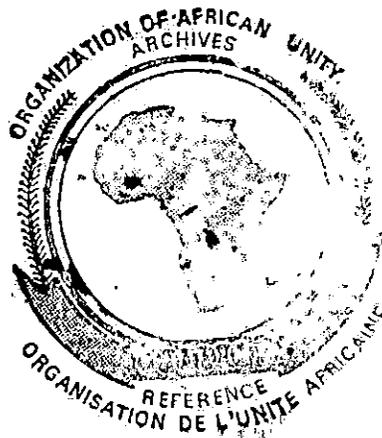
24. Despite the positive measures taken so far by some specialized agencies to render assistance to the national liberation movements, some of the specialized agencies have still to overcome their bureaucratic hurdles and their ostensible legalistic and constitutional constraints. Urgent and short term assistance, especially food aid and emergency medical assistance should not be delayed and obstructed because of the top heavy bureaucracy and other excuses of a legalistic nature which exists in some of those agencies. In order to minimize such negative tendencies, the OAU has been holding regular consultations with the specialized agencies concerned. So far two meetings between the OAU and specialized agencies were held in April 1973, and in June 1973. By mutual agreement at least two such meetings will be held every year.

25. Finally, in formulating and executing the programmes of assistance the national liberation movements as well as the host governments concerned have been associated at all levels. It is hoped that as a result of the regular consultations between the OAU and the Specialized Agencies, the international community will increase the scope of its moral and material assistance to the people striving to liberate themselves from colonialism and racial oppression.

26. Apart from the assistance outlined above many countries in Europe, particularly the Socialist countries and the Scandinavian countries have been rendering material and financial assistance to the

national liberation movements. Such assistance has largely been donated on a bilateral basis to the national liberation movements concerned, particularly to the PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA. Among other non-governmental donors, the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches, have given generous financial assistance to the national liberation movements. Other organizations, such as youth, trade union and university students organizations have also shown their solidarity with the liberation struggle by giving financial assistance. Numerous individuals in all continents have similarly supported the struggle for liberation by giving financial and material assistance to the national liberation movements.

27. In short, the ever-growing support for decolonization has been registered in all fields:- Moral, political, financial and material. The United Nations, the specialized agencies and other bodies within the U.N. System have been actively associated in that endeavour. Many countries in Asia, Europe and the Americas have similarly come out in support of the struggle for liberation by giving moral, diplomatic, political and generous material and financial assistance to the national liberation movements. Non-governmental organizations, religious, youth, workers' and students' organizations are also actively engaged in support of the struggle for decolonization by giving multifarious assistance to the oppressed people of southern Africa. Thus the ever-growing international support for decolonization is very encouraging.



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