#### CHAPTER V

### TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

During 1969, various aspects of the situation in the Portuguese-administered territories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Archipelago, Sao Tome and Principe, Macau and dependencies, and Timor and dependencies were discussed in the Security Council (see pp. 135-45), the General Assembly, and the Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council.

# CONSIDERATION BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples discussed the question of the territories under Portuguese administration at meetings held between 5 and 23 May, and between 5 June and 1 July 1969.

The Committee had before it a number of written petitions and heard the following 11 petitioners: Holden Roberto, Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE); Emmanuel Tulengana and G. Kiala, Cartel dos Nacionalistas Angolanos (CNA); Antoine Kiaku and François Kuta, Parti Démocrate Nto-Bako Angola; Carlos Rocha, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA); Paul J. Gumane, Comité Revolucionario de Mozambique (COREMO); David Samwimbila, União Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA); and Uria T. Simango, Joaquim Chissano and Marcelino dos Santos, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO).

During its meetings held in Africa in May, the Special Committee considered the question on the basis of developments since 1968 and of statements made by petitioners.

While in Africa, several members of the Special Committee, at the invitation of the

Gouvernement revolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE), visited a reception camp for refugees from Angola at Franquetti—near Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo—and some members visited a GRAE training camp also near Kinshasa. The Committee also received invitations from FRELIMO to visit the liberated areas under its control in Mozambique.

Most of the petitioners reported that Portugal was continuing to escalate its war efforts against the African peoples and was receiving both military aid from its allies and economic and financial assistance from interests whose objective was to support the control of southern Africa by the white minority regimes. The petitioners urged the United Nations to take action to ensure that such aid to Portugal was withdrawn and requested more direct assistance to the liberation movements, many of which had liberated and administered considerable areas of their own territories.

Most of the representatives who took part in the debate expressed grave concern over the intensification by Portugal of its colonial wars against the liberation forces. In particular, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, the USSR and Yugoslavia stressed that the question of the Portuguese-administered territories had to be considered as part of the problem of southern Africa as a whole. Several of them considered that the growing military and financial role of South Africa not only increased the danger of a race conflict in the region but also threatened the independent African States. Ethiopia considered that the tripartite alliance between Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, which was designed to perpetuate their rule, constituted an act of aggression against Africa.

Afghanistan, Iran and Syria noted that the new Government in Portugal had not introduced any changes in its overseas policy in keeping with the hopes expressed in 1968, which had led to the adoption on 29 November 1968 of General Assembly resolution 2395

(XXIII). Yugoslavia pointed out that if Portugal were to be guided by the interests of its own people and were to decide to accelerate the decolonization of its territories on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the 1960 Declaration on the granting of independence, it would have the support of the United Nations, world public opinion, and its own people. He recalled that the liberation movements had always expressed their readiness to contribute to a peaceful solution based on the provisions of the Charter.

There was general consensus that, without the aid it received from its allies and through its membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Portugal alone would not be able to continue its colonial wars in Africa. India noted, in addition, that the petitioners' statements showed that NATO arms were not only being used in the Portuguese-administered territories but were finding their way into other parts of southern Africa.

Bulgaria, Poland and the USSR asserted that Portugal received economic and military aid from several countries either directly or through NATO. The USSR noted especially that the weapons of mass destruction used by the Portuguese troops, including napalm and flame throwers, were made in the United States. In the view of these representatives, the responsibility for the continuing war rested not only on the alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, but also on the Western powers, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Concern was also expressed by many speakers over the growing foreign economic interests in the Portuguese-administered territories and in particular in the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique. The investments and economic aid provided by South Africa, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western powers, it was said, were a chief obstacle to the liberation of the territories. The United Nations should therefore take steps to secure the withdrawal of such foreign economic assistance.

Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Poland, Syria, the USSR and Yugoslavia all agreed that more support should be given to the liberation movements. Several of them supported a proposal put forward by FRELIMO for the establishment of a Mozambique development fund to provide assistance to the liberated areas, and they urged that further consideration be given to the proposal. Ethiopia suggested that such a fund should also apply to Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, and the other territories in southern Africa.

On 24 June 1969, the Special Committee adopted a resolution whereby it reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the territories to achieve freedom and independence and recognized the legitimacy of their struggle. It condemned, as a crime against humanity, the colonial wars being waged by Portugal against the peoples of the territories under its domination—wars which constituted a threat to international peace and security.

The Special Committee also condemned the intensified activities of the financial interests which exploited the human and material resources of the territories and impeded the progress of their peoples towards freedom and independence, and condemned any form of military assistance given directly or indirectly by any State to the Portuguese Government. It called on Portugal to apply without delay the principle of self-determination to the peoples of the territories under its domination and: (a) to cease forwith all repressive activities and military operations against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, and to withdraw all military and other forces; and (b) to proclaim an unconditional political amnesty and to transfer all powers to freely elected institutions representative of the indigenous peoples, in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 (containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples).<sup>2</sup>

The Special Committee also called upon Portugal to apply to the territories the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See Y.U.N., 1968, pp. 803-4, text of resolution 2395 (XXIII).

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  See Y.U.Ń., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

of Prisoners of War. All States, particularly Portugal's military allies in NATO, were called upon to withhold from Portugal all means of military assistance, including the supply of arms, the training of military personnel, the sale of weapons, military equipment and materiel, including aircraft, helicopters and vehicles, as well as supplies for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition. These States were called upon to put an end to the activities of the financial interests impeding the freedom and independence of the territories.

The Special Committee drew the urgent attention of the Security Council to the further deterioration of the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration, which constituted a threat to international peace and security, and to the serious consequences of the assistance provided by Portugal through those territories to Southern Rhodesia in defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. It further drew the Council's attention to the urgent need for adopting the necessary measures to make mandatory the provisions of its resolutions and the General Assembly's resolutions on this question.

The Special Committee urged all States to grant the peoples of the territories the moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights, and reiterated its appeals to all specialized agencies—in particular to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund—to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance as long as Portugal failed to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations were asked by the Special Committee—in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and through it with national liberation movements—to increase assistance to the refugees from the territories under Portuguese domination. The Special Committee also decided to study—in co-operation with the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies—the possibility of granting further assistance to

the liberation movements in keeping with previous Assembly decisions relating to the development and expansion of the United Nations training programme for the territories under Portuguese administration, in order to meet the needs of those territories for cadres of civil servants and technical and professional personnel.

The Special Committee's decisions to this effect were based on a proposal by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia, and embodied in a resolution which was adopted by a roll-call vote of 16 to 2, with 3 abstentions.

The United Kingdom representative said he had hoped for a more constructive approach to the problem and for a more realistic text. His Government, he said, wished to see the renewal of a dialogue between Portugal and the African States, and the resolution, as drafted, could not have a practical influence in Portugal. He also found unacceptable various allegations against NATO and the assumption that foreign investments were necessarily prejudicial to the peoples of the territories. In his view, it was not the function of the Special Committee to employ the language of Chapter VII of the Charter<sup>3</sup> without the authority of the Security Council.

The United States representative regretted the lack of consultations on the text of the draft resolution, and reaffirmed his Government's objections to some of the provisions in the text. He considered that, in order to be meaningful, a resolution had to have the support of those it called upon to implement it.

The Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted the text of the resolution to the President of the Security Council on 24 June 1969.

In another decision—in connexion with the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence—the Special Committee, among other things, noted the new plans to build the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique and concluded that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For text of Chapter VII of the Charter, see

foreign interests involved in the project were openly helping Portugal to retain its control over the people of Mozambique; South Africa, as the principal contractor to purchase power, would thenceforth steadily extend its influence in the territory. (For details, see pp. 641-45.)

The Special Committee also—in considering the question of military activities and arrangements by colonial powers in territories under their administration which might impede the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence—noted, inter alia, that Portugal continued to receive arms from its NATO allies and that Portugal alone, without the aid of its allies, would be incapable of holding Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, for so long. (For details, see pp. 629-30.)

## ACTION BY HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

#### DECISIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

At its twenty-fifth session, held at United Nations Headquarters, New York, from 17 February to 21 March 1969, the Commission on Human Rights adopted several resolutions in connexion with its annual consideration—• initiated in 1967—of the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories.

In particular, the Human Rights Commission, by a resolution adopted on 19 March 1969, welcomed the observations, conclusions and recommendations of its Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the African territories under Portuguese administration. It decided among other things that the mandate of the Ad Hoc Working Group should be extended to include: an inquiry into the question of capital punishment in southern Africa; an inquiry into the treatment meted out to political prisoners, as well as to captured freedom fighters, in southern Africa; and a further investigation of grave manifestations of colonialism and racial discrimination present in the situation in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), resulting from the actions of the illegal South African regime in Namibia, the illegal minority regime in Southern Rhodesia and the colonialist Portuguese regime in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). (For details, see pp. 502-9.)

In another decision, on 27 February 1969, the Human Rights Commission asked its Special Rapporteur for, among other things, a survey of the policies and practices of racial discrimination **in the** African territories under Portuguese domination. (See also page 496.)

## DECISIONS OF ECONOMIC

#### AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

At its forty-sixth session, held from 12 May to 6 June 1969, the Economic and Social Council adopted a series of resolutions on 6 June relating to the policy of apartheid and situations arising therefrom in southern Africa.

By the terms of resolution 1414(XLVI), the Council, recognizing the need to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations in the United Nations system and of its organs with respect to apartheid and racial segregation in southern Africa, requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report to the Council containing: the terms of reference of the different United Nations organs and their subsidiary bodies dealing with violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in southern Africa; a brief survey of activities so far undertaken by the various organs designed to bring about respect for human rights in southern Africa; and a statement of the activities so far undertaken by the specialized agencies, particularly the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in the same field. (For details, see page 499.)

In a resolution (1412(XLVI)) concerning trade union rights in southern Africa, the Council among other things requested ILO to prepare and forward to the Council a comprehensive report on the position concerning the infringements of trade union rights in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, for possible future consideration by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts. (For details, see pp. 546-48).

The Council also adopted resolution 1424 (XLVI), by which it reiterated its condemnation of every practice of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, detainees and freedom fighters perpetrated in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese administration, and postponed, for lack of time, detailed consideration of the various recommendations of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on the treatment of political prisoners in southern Africa. (See also pages 502-9.)

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

#### GENERAL ASPECTS

At its twenty-fourth session later in 1969, the General Assembly referred the question of the territories under Portuguese administration to its Fourth Committee. In addition to the report of the Special Committee on this question, the Fourth Committee also had before it a report of the Secretary-General submitted in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of 29 November 1968 (2395(XXIII)).

In the course of the general debate the Fourth Committee heard the following petitioners on the territories under Portuguese administration: Albert Bonaparte Nank; and Sharfudine Mohamed Khan, representative, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO)

On 14 November 1969, the Fourth Committee approved by a roll-call vote of 88 to 3, with 16 abstentions, a draft resolution by the preambular paragraphs of which the General Assembly would:

- (a) recall its relevant past resolutions, as well as those of the Special Committee and the Security Council;
- (b) express its deep concern over Portugal's persistent refusal to recognize the right of the peoples under its domination to self-determination and freedom and to co-operate with the United Nations;
- (e) indicate that it was deeply disturbed by the intensified activities of foreign economic interests which were impeding the self-determination and independence of the African peoples of the territories;
  - (d) deplore the aid which Portugal continued

to receive from its allies in NATO and from other countries, which enabled it to pursue its military operations against the peoples of the territories; and

(e) recall the Manifesto of the OAU on southern Africa (see pp. 147-52).

By the operative paragraphs of the text, the General Assembly would:

- (1) reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence;
- (2) reaffirm the legitimacy of their struggle for their independence and freedom;
- (3) condemn Portugal's persistent refusal to implement the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 (on the granting of independence) and other relevant United Nations resolutions:
- (4) condemn Portugal's use of the territories for violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States;
- (5) condemn the colonial war waged by Portugal against the peoples of the territories;
- (6) condemn the collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia which aimed at perpetuating colonialism in Africa;
- (7) condemn the intervention of South African forces against the peoples of the territories under Portuguese domination;
- (8) deplore Portugal's policy, which violated the economic and political rights of the indigenous population by the arbitrary eviction of Africans and the settlement of immigrants in the territories, and call upon the Government to stop these practices immediately;
- (9) deplore the activities of financial interests which obstructed the rights of the peoples of the territories to self-determination and freedom, and which strengthened the military efforts of Portugal;
- (10) call upon Portugal to adopt immediate measures for implementation of the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 (1514(XV)) in the territories under its domination;
- (11) call upon all States, the specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned to increase, in co-operation with OAU,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>See footnote 1.

their moral and material assistance to the peoples of the territories who were struggling for their freedom and independence;

- (12) recommend that the Security Council, with a view to the immediate implementation of the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 in the territories under Portuguese administration, should take effective steps in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter;
- (13) urge all States, in particular the members of NATO, to withhold further military and other assistance to Portugal which would enable it to pursue the colonial wars;
- (14) invite the Secretary-General, in consultation with the specialized agencies and host Governments, to develop and expand training programmes for the peoples of the territories;
- (15) request the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of this resolution and to report to the Assembly at its twenty-fifth (1970) session; and
- (16) request the Special Committee to keep the situation in these territories under review.

The draft text to this effect was based on a proposal in the Fourth Committee by the following 44 Members: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The recommendation of the Fourth Committee was approved by the General Assembly on 21 November 1969, when it adopted resolution 2507(XXIV) by a roll-call vote of 97 to 2, with 18 abstentions. The Secretary-General transmitted the text of the resolution to the President of the Security Council on 21 November 1969. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

During the debate in the Fourth Committee, nearly all the speakers expressed a feeling of disillusionment and frustration over the lack of progress in the decolonization of the territories in southern Africa. Most of them drew attention to the continuing deterioration of the situation in this region, where minority Governments were increasingly resorting to the use of force in the denial of human dignity and of the right of the local population to self-determination and independence.

Many Members regretted that in spite of the hopes expressed at the Assembly's twenty-third (1968) session, and in spite of the encouragement implied by the resolution (2395 (XXIII)) the General Assembly had adopted, the new Portuguese Government had not yet introduced any changes in its overseas policy.

A number of Members—including Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian SSR, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Kenya, Libya, Romania, Sierra Leone, the USSR, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia—considered that without the help of the Western powers, especially the members of NATO, Portugal by itself would not have been able to continue its wars against the liberation movements. In the view of many of these representatives, NATO members and all countries which provided material and economic help to Portugal shared the responsibility for the situation.

Many speakers also drew attention to the dangers created by the close military and economic alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which aimed at consolidating colonialism and discrimination in the region. Algeria and the USSR, among others, cited the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique, being financed with South Africa's help, as a means to further European colonization. Senegal and Tunisia warned that the continued determination of the three Governments to retain their hold in southern Africa could lead to a wider conflict.

While there was general agreement that a solution to the problem of the territories under Portuguese administration required the concerted efforts of the international community, different approaches were suggested. Canada, Israel, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, among others, hoped that the Manifesto on Southern Africa (see pp. 147-52) could provide the basis

for a peaceful solution to the question of the territories under Portuguese administration.

Other Members, including the Central African Republic and Ethiopia, for instance, stressed that the Manifesto had made it clear that Africa's hostility to colonialism and racial discrimination was based on its commitment to human dignity. It was on this basis, therefore, that African States appealed to the Western powers to change their policies.

Many speakers considered that the United Nations should take stronger measures as envisaged in the United Nations Charter to ensure the full implementation by Member States of the resolutions relating to this question. Algeria, the Central African Republic, Morocco, Sudan, the USSR and Yugoslavia, among others, shared these views and also proposed that the United Nations and the specialized agencies should provide more assistance to the liberation movements in their struggle for independence.

Replying to the charges made during the Fourth Committee's debate, the representative of Portugal noted that, significantly, some representatives had admitted that the problem in the Portuguese territories was not a racial one. He denied that there existed any alliance between South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and his country. The good relations his country maintained between its territories and the adjoining countries reflected its general policy and it welcomed co-operation with other African countries.

Portugal's policy, he continued, was to encourage all investments, domestic or foreign, which helped to promote the well-being of the people. Foreign investments, however, did not imply interference in Portugal's internal affairs. He denied that any arms supplied to Portugal as a member of NATO were being used outside the geographical limits of that alliance and challenged anyone to prove the contrary. He stressed that Portugal's defensive action against attacks from the outside had been successful because of the collaboration and loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the populations of its territories. In response to such loyalty it was therefore Portugal's duty to defend their lives and property against armed infiltration and to help the territories to develop and progress in the conviction that all men were equal and had equal rights to dignity and to respect of the human person, without distinction as to colour, race, creed or sex.

In another decision bearing on the question of the territories under Portuguese administration, the General Assembly on 11 December 1969 adopted a resolution (2548(XXIV)) on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By this, among other things, the Assembly deplored the refusal of the colonial powers, especially Portugal and South Africa, to implement the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on the question of colonialism, particularly those relating to the territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

The Assembly also declared that the continuation of colonial rule threatened international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination constituted a crime against humanity. It reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, noted progress made in the colonial territories by the national liberation movements and urged States to provide moral and material assistance to them.

The Assembly also condemned the policies, pursued by certain colonial powers in the territories under their domination, of imposing non-representative regimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants while evicting, displacing and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas.

The Assembly asked 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 continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all territories which had not yet attained independence, and to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism.

The Special Committee was also asked by

the Assembly to make concrete suggestions which might assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter regarding developments in colonial territories which were likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommended that the Council take such suggestions fully into consideration.

The Special Committee was also asked to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to the territories under Portuguese domination, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, and to report thereon to the Assembly at its twenty-fifth (1970) session.

(For further details, see pp. 648-50.)

#### FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

On 12 December 1969, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2554 (XXIV) on the activities of foreign and other economic interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and territories under Portuguese domination and in other territories under colonial domination, and impeding efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

By this resolution the Assembly, among other things, expressed its conviction that any economic or other activity which impeded the implementation of its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence, and which obstructed efforts aimed at the elimination of colonialism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in southern Africa and other colonial territories, violated the political, economic and social rights and interests of the people in those territories and was therefore incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Assembly also reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the dependent territories to self-determination and independence and to the natural resources of their territories, as well as their right to dispose of those resources in their best interest; and affirmed that foreign economic and other interests operating in colo-

nial territories which were exploiting those territories constituted a major obstacle to political independence, as well as to the enjoyment of the natural resources of the territories by the indigenous inhabitants.

Further, the Assembly declared that any administering power, by depriving the colonial peoples of the exercise of their rights or by subordinating them to foreign economic and financial interests, violated the obligations it had assumed under the Charter and impeded the implementation of resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence. It deplored the attitude of the colonial powers and States concerned which had not taken any action to implement the relevant Assembly resolutions.

The Assembly also requested the administering powers and States concerned whose companies and nationals were so engaged to take immediate measures to put an end to all practices which exploited the territories and peoples under colonial rule, in conformity with relevant Assembly resolutions, in particular by preventing new investments—particularly in southern Africa—which ran counter to the objectives of those resolutions. The Assembly requested all States to take effective measures to cease forthwith the supply of funds or other forms of economic and technical assistance to colonial powers which used such assistance to repress the national liberation movements.

Finally, the Assembly asked 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 continue to study the question and report to the Assembly at its twenty-fifth (1970) session.

(For further details, see pp. 653-54.)

#### MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

On 20 November 1969, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2505 (XXIV)) noting that it had received the Manifesto on Southern Africa adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its sixth ordinary session in September 1969.

By the resolution, the General Assembly, convinced of the need for intensifying international

efforts for the elimination of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in order that peace and security in southern Africa be assured: (1) welcomed the Manifesto on Southern Africa and recommended it to the attention of all States and all peoples; and (2) expressed the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the grave situation in southern Africa.

(For further details, see pp. 147-52.)

#### CO-OPERATION OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

On 12 December 1969, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2555 (XXIV) on 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.

By this resolution, the General Assembly among other things reiterated its appeal to the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the international institutions associated with the United Nations to extend their full co-operation to the United Nations in the achievement of the objectives and provisions of Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence, and other relevant resolutions.

The Assembly also recommended that the specialized agencies and the international institutions concerned, as well as the various programmes within the United Nations system, should give all possible assistance to the peoples struggling to liberate themselves from colonial rule and in particular to work out, within the scope of their respective activities and in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity and, through it, with the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for assisting the oppressed peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the territories under Portuguese administration.

It was also recommended by the Assembly that all the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations—particularly the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the Universal Postal Union and the Inter-Governmental Maritime

Consultative Organization—should work out, within the scope of their respective activities, measures aimed at discontinuing any collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as with the illegal and racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia. (For further details, see pp. 652-53.)

## MEASURES TO COMBAT AND ELIMINATE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, Apartheid AND SEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

On 11 December 1969, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2547 A (XXIV) on measures for effectively combating racial discrimination and the policies of apartheid and segregation in southern Africa. (For details, see pp. 508-9.)

By this, the Assembly among other things reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle by the opponents of apartheid, racial discrimination and Portuguese colonialism in southern Africa to realize their human rights and fundamental freedoms. It condemned Portugal for its inhuman and degrading treatment and torture of the political prisoners, detainees and captured freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Sao Tome, and called upon Portugal to observe the terms of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, both dated 12 August 1949.

Also by this resolution, the General Assembly asked the Secretary-General to establish, maintain and publicize an up-to-date register of persons subjected to imprisonment, detention, banishment and other restrictions, and of persons who had been victims of brutality, for their opposition to apartheid and racial discrimination, as well as of captured freedom fighters held in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories in Africa. It also asked the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Committee of Trustees of the

UnitedNationsTrustFundforSouthAfrica, to make a detailed study of the possibility of enlarging the scope of the Trust Fund to cover all affected persons who were victims of Portuguese colonial practices in Africa. (See also pp. 110-12.)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

Under the consolidated United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, established by the General Assembly in 1967,<sup>5</sup> 151 applications from territories under Portuguese administration were received during the period from 1 October 1968 to 30 September 1969. Eighty-five new awards were made and

another 75 awards were extended. At the end of September 1969, there were a total of 160 scholarship holders from Portuguese territories studying abroad in 12 countries.

(For additional information about the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, see pp. 646-48.)

<sup>5</sup> See Y.U.N., 1967, pp. 649-50, text of resolution 2349(XXII).

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## CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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A/7694. Report of Secretary-General.

A/C.4/720 and Add.1. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/L.938 and Add.1,2. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, as orally amended, approved by Fourth Committee on 14 November 1969. meeting 1847, by roll-call vote of 88 to 3, with 16 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad,

Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of Congo, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, Spain.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cuba, France, Greece, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, United Kingdom, United States.

A/C.4/L.939. Administrative and financial implications of draft resolution A/C.4/L.938. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/7768. Report of Fourth Committee.

RESOLUTION 2507 (xxiv), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/7768, adopted by Assembly on 21 November 1969, meeting 1816, by roll-call vote of 97 to 2, with 18 abstentions, as follows:

favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of Congo, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia. Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore,

Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cuba, Dominican Republic, France, Gabon, Italy, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Territories under Portuguese domination,

Having heard the statements of the petitioners,

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

Recalling also all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, as well as those adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and by the Security Council on the question,

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

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

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

Recalling the Manifesto on Southern Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth ordinary session,

- 1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and of other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);
- 2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle by the peoples of those Territories for their independence and freedom;
- 3. Condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement resolution 1514(XV) and all other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council;
- 4. Condemns Portugal's policy of using the Territories under its domination for violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States, as in the recent case in the Republic of Guinea;

- 5. Condemns the colonial war which is being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peoples of the Territories under its domination;
- 6. Condemns the collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, which is designed to perpetuate colonialism and oppression in southern Africa;
- 7. Condemns the intervention of South African forces against the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination;
- 8. Deplores the policy of the Government of Portugal, which violates the economic and political rights of the indigenous population by the arbitrary eviction of the African population and the settlement of immigrants in the Territories, and calls upon Portugal to cease those practices immediately;
- 9. Deplores the activities of the financial interests which obstruct the struggle of the peoples under Portuguese domination for self-determination, freedom and independence and which strengthen the military efforts of Portugal;

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

- 11. Calls upon all States, the specialized agencies and all the international organizations concerned to increase, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, their moral and material assistance to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination who are struggling for their freedom and independence;
- 12. Recommends that the Security Council, with a view to the immediate implementation of resolution 1514(XV) in the Territories under Portuguese domination, should take effective steps in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and in view of the determination of the international community to put an end to colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa;
- 13. Urges all States, and particularly the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to withhold or desist from giving further military and other assistance to Portugal which enables it to pursue the colonial war in the Territories under its domination.
- 14. Invites the Secretary-General, in the light of General Assembly resolution 2431 (XXIII) of 18 December 1968 and in consultation with the specialized agencies and the host Governments, to develop and expand training programmes for the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese domination, taking into account their needs for qualified administrative, technical and professional personnel to assume responsibility for the public administration and the economic and social development of their own countries:
- 15. Requests the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session;
- 16. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Decla-

## OTHER OUESTIONS RELATING TO NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to keep the situation in the

Territories under review. OTHER DOCUMENTS S/9279. Letter of 24 June 1969 from Chairman of

Special Committee (transmitting extracts of reso-

lution adopted by Special Committee on 25 June

1969, meeting 701).

S/9476 and Corr.1. Letter of 13 October 1969 from Portugal. S/9509. Letter of 21 November 1969 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council (transmit-

ting text of resolution 2507(XXIV) adopted by

General Assembly on 21 November 1969, meet-

ing 1816).