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**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1392nd
MEETING**

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Chairman: Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO
(Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 57

Question of South West Africa (A/5238, chap. IX; A/C.4/572-576, 578, 579; A/C.4/L.754/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Corr.1) (continued):

- (a) Report of the United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa (A/5212 and Add.1-3);
- (b) Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa: report of the Secretary-General (A/5234 and Add.1)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.4/L.754/REV.1 AND REV.1/CORR.1) (concluded)

1. Mr. RATSIMAMAO RAFIRINGA (Madagascar) explained that had his delegation been present at the 1389th meeting it would have voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/L.754/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Corr.1.
2. The CHAIRMAN said that the Madagascar representative's explanation would appear in the record.

AGENDA ITEM 54

Non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV): report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1) (continued)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Luis Ranque Franque, representative of the Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda (MLEC), took a place at the Committee table.

3. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda), continuing the statement he had begun at the previous meeting, read out the provisions of the treaty signed by Portugal and the Princes and Chiefs of Cabinda on 1 February 1885, under which Cabinda had become a protectorate of Portugal. He felt that the Committee should give careful attention to such treaties.

4. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) asked the petitioner what Cabinda's population was according to the latest census figures and how many refugees there were in the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Leopoldville).

5. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that according to the 1958 census the population of Cabinda had been 60,000. There were approximately 40,000 refugees in the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Leopoldville).

6. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) observed that in that case the population of Cabinda had been reduced to 20,000. That was a very important matter.

7. In his statement at the previous meeting the petitioner had drawn a parallel between the status of Monaco and a possible status for Cabinda. As the petitioner was no doubt aware, Monaco was a semi-sovereign State. He asked the petitioner whether he thought that Cabinda might enter into some form of association with the Congo (Brazzaville), the Congo (Leopoldville) or Angola.

8. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that he had referred to Monaco and San Marino to show that Cabinda might exist as a small State in Africa just as there were small States in Europe. He could not go further and speculate on which of the three States mentioned by the Bolivian representative Cabinda might wish to join.

9. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) pointed out that the petitioner's party would have to consider that problem in due course. The General Assembly had in the past adopted a very liberal attitude when assessing a territory's capacity for independent existence. Without wanting to prejudice the issue, he had doubts whether Cabinda could be regarded as a potential sovereign State.

10. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) asked the petitioner whether Portugal had taken any emergency measures or increased its garrison in Cabinda, as it had done in Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea in connexion with the colonial war it had been waging in Angola.

11. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that whereas there had been a very few troops in the enclave prior to the request for independence, the strength of the garrison had now been raised to 8,000-10,000

Portuguese troops. Some of those soldiers were not Portuguese, but he was unwilling to say from which countries they came.

12. Mr. FOTIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that certain petitioners, particularly those from so-called Portuguese Guinea, had informed the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration that the Portuguese authorities were using soldiers provided by Spain under its alliance with Portugal. He asked the petitioner whether there were any Spanish troops in the mixed units serving in Cabinda.

13. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that as the president of a political party, he was unwilling to go so far as to say that Spain had sent troops to Cabinda. What he could say was that the Portuguese units stationed in Cabinda included soldiers who spoke a European language which was not Portuguese.

14. Mr. BIYOU DI (Congo, Brazzaville) asked the petitioner whether the exodus of Cabindans from their country had begun before or after the Portuguese had started bombing villages in the enclave. He was also not clear about the size of Cabinda's population.

15. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that people had been leaving Cabinda even before the request for independence, because of the unsatisfactory living conditions there, and that the exodus had since been accelerated.

16. He could not state for a fact that the 1958 census figure of 60,000 was correct. The census in the villages had been carried out by the customary chiefs and their returns had not been seriously checked by the Portuguese authorities.

17. Mr. BIYOU DI (Congo, Brazzaville) asked the petitioner whether the commemorative holiday celebrated on 1 February was confined to Cabinda or whether it was celebrated also in Angola, since Cabinda was an administrative district of that territory.

18. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that it was only for administrative convenience that Cabinda was treated as a district of Angola: the enclave was too small to warrant the appointment of a Governor-General. In article 1 of the Portuguese Constitution it was treated as a territory separate from Angola. The commemorative celebration of 1 February was confined to Cabinda.

19. Mr. BIYOU DI (Congo, Brazzaville) asked the petitioner whether Portugal had respected the clauses of the protectorate treaty in which it had undertaken to respect the authority of the local chiefs and the local laws and customs. He would also like to know what had been the fate of the descendants of the signatories to the treaty.

20. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that the treaty was being violated in Cabinda. Freedom of expression was non-existent. Fifty persons had been deported and their whereabouts were unknown. News had reached him from Angola that fifteen persons had been liquidated.

21. Mr. BIYOU DI (Congo, Brazzaville) noted that fifty descendants of Baron Puna and other signatories to

the protectorate treaty had been killed or sent to an unknown destination.

22. In his statement the petitioner had said that in Cabinda women were asked to do unpaid work for the Administration. He asked the petitioner how many times a year they were called upon to perform those duties and for how long.

23. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that women were employed as unpaid cleaners and on other domestic duties for one or two months at a time. They were recruited by the customary chiefs upon the orders of the Portuguese authorities. When one batch was sent home, others were recruited in another village, and so on throughout the year.

24. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) asked how long it was since the petitioner had been in Cabinda and why he had left the territory.

25. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that he had left Cabinda in 1958. He had been obliged to leave because of his political activities. As he had said in his statement, the signatories to the memorandum of 1960 had all been arrested and deported and he would have suffered the same fate had he still been in the territory.

26. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) asked whether the petitioner had left in the normal way or whether he had been obliged to flee.

27. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that he had obtained the permission of the authorities to make a journey outside the territory but had not told them that he did not intend to return.

28. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) asked what was the percentage of illiterates in Cabinda.

29. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that the proportion of illiterates was 90 per cent.

30. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) asked whether among the remaining 10 per cent there were any indigenous lawyers, doctors, engineers or other professional men.

31. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that the Portuguese had trained no indigenous lawyers, doctors, engineers or other professional men. A certain number had been trained in other countries, but Portugal had done nothing in that respect.

32. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) recalled that the USSR representative had referred to allegations by certain petitioners that there were Spanish troops in Cabinda. He asked the petitioner whether the Spanish soldiers in question belonged to the regular army, or were volunteers or simply mercenaries.

33. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that it was difficult to reply to that question. He knew that Portugal had obtained troops by arrangement with its European allies. All he could say for certain was that the troops in the territory were not all Portuguese.

34. Mr. GONZALEZ CALVO (Guatemala) observed that the petitioner could not state categorically that the troops in question were of Spanish nationality; they might be from any European country.

35. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) asked whether the Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda had been established before or after the petitioner's departure from the territory in 1958, whether its statutes had been published, how many members there were and what influence the movement exerted in the territory.
36. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that the movement had been established in 1958. Its statutes had not been published in Cabinda, since no political activities were allowed in Portuguese territories except in support of the Government. The party had over 30,000 members in Cabinda and there were branches in Congo (Brazzaville) and Congo (Leopoldville). The leaders who had remained in the territory had been arrested and imprisoned, while he had continued his political activities abroad.
37. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) asked whether the laws promulgated by Portugal which were intended to grant the indigenous inhabitants of Portuguese territories equal rights with their Portuguese fellow-citizens had actually been implemented.
38. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that the reforms had not been implemented, at least not in Cabinda.
39. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) asked whether in the petitioner's opinion the non-implementation of the reforms had been due to practical difficulties or whether Portugal had never intended to carry them out.
40. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that in his opinion the failure to carry out the reforms had been due to bad faith on the part of the Portuguese Government.
41. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) asked whether, in the event of the reforms being put into effect, the petitioner's party would wish Cabinda to be independent or whether they would be satisfied to have equal rights with the Portuguese inhabitants and to be regarded as Portuguese citizens.
42. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that his party was no longer satisfied to wait for the implementation of the reforms or for the granting of equal rights with the Portuguese. It now demanded immediate and unconditional independence so that the people could decide their own future.
43. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) observed that there had been references to the possibility of the Portuguese overseas territories joining a Portuguese commonwealth after they had become independent. He asked whether Mr. Ranque Franque would favour such a commonwealth union with Portugal.
44. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that his party had asked the Portuguese Government to open negotiations with a view to the establishment of a commonwealth on the lines of the British Commonwealth, but the request had been ignored and the people's patience was now exhausted.
45. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) reiterated his question whether the petitioner would consider joining a Portuguese commonwealth after Cabinda had become independent.
46. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) pointed out that the Portuguese Government had not drawn up a statute for the overseas territories. His party had offered to negotiate with the Portuguese Government with a view to drawing up such a statute but the offer had not been accepted and his party now demanded complete independence.
47. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus) observed that the petitioner's reply was not satisfactory. He reserved the right to revert to the question at a later meeting.
48. Mr. MARSH (Jamaica) observed that he had understood the petitioner to say in his statement that no portion of Africa could be ceded to a so-called multi-racial nation. That statement was open to interpretation and he asked whether the petitioner would expand or clarify it.
49. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that Africa belonged to the Africans and that no part of it could be a province of Portugal. Portugal had no place in Africa and the Africans could not tolerate any part of the continent becoming a multiracial society.
50. Mr. MARSH (Jamaica) said that it was not clear whether the petitioner was opposed to parts of Africa being regarded as overseas provinces of Portugal or whether he was against multiracial societies in general.
51. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that he was opposed to the existence of Portuguese provinces in Africa.
52. With regard to multiracial societies, African countries must be governed by Africans and not by people who came from outside and claimed to be administering the countries in the interest of the inhabitants. It was not true that there was equality between the Portuguese and the Africans, or that the Portuguese were on good terms with the Africans.
53. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) asked the petitioner what was the difference in the wages paid to a Portuguese worker and to an indigenous worker in Cabinda.
54. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that, as he had already stated, an indigenous worker was paid from 10 to 17 escudos a day, part of which he was obliged to take in kind. There were no Portuguese manual workers in Cabinda. There were Portuguese drivers, shopkeepers and so forth; their earnings ranged from 3,000 to 5,000 escudos a month.
55. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) asked whether the petitioner had been able to discover what fate had befallen the Cabindan patriots who had been arrested.
56. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that he had no information beyond what he had given in his original statement. In particular, he had mentioned a number of political prisoners who had been deported and subsequently put to death.
57. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) noted that the petitioner had spoken of the use of corporal punishment in Cabinda. He would like to know whether such punish-

ment was used for those arrested for social crimes, or for political prisoners.

58. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that people arrested on political charges were never kept in Cabinda but were deported, either to Angola or to some unknown destination. In the social sphere, there were Africans who objected to working for the Portuguese administrators for periods of six months without pay, and such people might receive ten to twelve strokes with the "palmatório".

59. Mr. DELISLE (Canada) said that, in reply to a question from the Jamaican representative, the petitioner had given the impression that he was opposed to the notion of a multiracial society in Cabinda. He wondered whether that meant that, if Cabinda obtained independence, his party would favour the expulsion of non-Africans.

60. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that his party did not contemplate the expulsion of the Portuguese after accession to independence. Europeans would naturally be free to work in an independent Cabinda, just as Africans could work in Europe. The concern of his movement was merely that Africans should take over the government of their country from the Portuguese, who were ruling Cabinda in a manner incompatible with their treaty obligations.

61. Mr. DELISLE (Canada) asked whether there were any public information media in Cabinda.

62. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that there were no Cabindan newspapers; the only newspapers came from Angola and could be obtained only by subscription. There had previously been a Cabinda radio station, but when the petition for Cabinda's independence had been addressed to the Portuguese Government its broadcasts had been stopped and the organizers arrested and deported.

63. When news of events in Cabinda reached the refugee groups in the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Leopoldville), it was broadcast by the radio stations of those two countries.

64. Mr. SATO (Central African Republic) said that he had understood from one of the petitioner's replies that there were indigenous people in Cabinda who had been able to obtain professional training outside their country. He would like to know whether that was correct.

65. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) explained that the qualified Cabindans of whom he had spoken were not living in Cabinda but were in exile. As far as doctors were concerned, for example, there were no indigenous doctors in Cabinda; there was a European doctor, a mulatto male nurse from Luanda and an African from Malanja, Angola.

66. Mr. JUARBE Y JUARBE (Cuba) asked what was the revenue from taxation in Cabinda, and what share was borne by Cabindans and what share by Portuguese.

67. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that according to the figures published by Portugal for 1958, annual tax revenue from Cabinda amounted to 200 million escudos. The indigenous people paid from 250 to 350 escudos a year in taxes. The Portuguese were taxed

according to their earnings and might pay between 600 and 1,000 escudos a year.

68. Mr. JUABRE Y JUABRE (Cuba) asked what proportion of Cabinda's external trade was with Portugal and what proportion with other countries.

69. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that all Cabinda's trade was with Portugal; the only traders in Cabinda were Portuguese.

70. Mr. SAULNEROND (Gabon) asked the petitioner whether the "assimilados" supported his liberation movement and whether there was any discord between his movement and the Angolan nationalist movements.

71. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that the "assimilados" were not against the liberation movement. Many Cabindan intellectuals had been arrested and deported on account of their nationalist activities; the patriots whom he had mentioned in his statement as having been liquidated were "assimilados".

72. There was no discord between his movement and the Angolan nationalist groups, there was no reason why difficulties should arise since they defended the interests of different territories. The Cabindan nationalists sometimes co-operated with the Angolans— for example, in addressing joint appeals to Portugal for negotiations.

73. Mr. SAULNEROND (Gabon) said that the petitioner had stated that his movement had about 30,000 followers. He wondered what were the political views of the remainder of the 60,000 inhabitants of Cabinda.

74. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) said that, although the movement had only 30,000 card-carrying members, that did not mean that the remainder of the population did not sympathize with its goals. As the sale of party cards was forbidden, it had to be done in secret and the fact that the leaders were outside the country added to the difficulties of reaching all the population.

75. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) asked to what extent the indigenous people participated in the public administration in Cabinda, after seventy-seven years of Portuguese rule.

76. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that the indigenous people played no part in the administration of their country. All indigenous officials in the public service had been transferred to other territories.

77. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria) said that he had understood that the Portuguese trained a certain number of indigenous people as administrative officers.

78. Mr. RANQUE FRANQUE (Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda) replied that Portugal had not followed that policy in Cabinda. The only education provided in Cabinda was a four-year primary course, and in rural areas the course was reduced to two years. There were Cabindans ready to take over the administration of their country, but they had received their training in neighbouring countries and were living in those countries.

Mr. Luis Ranque Franque, representative of the Mouvement pour la libération de l'enclave de Cabinda (MLEC), withdrew.

79. In reply to a question from Mr. ALLOUNI (Syria), Mr. KUNST (Secretary of the Committee) said that the

maps which were to be issued as annex IV of the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (A/5160 and Corr.1) were being prepared and he would ensure that they were circulated as soon as possible. Meanwhile, he would

see whether a large map could be displayed in the conference room in order to facilitate the Committee's discussions.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.