

DECOLONIZATION

SI PSCA(05)
D3



A publication
of the United Nations Department of Political Affairs,
Trusteeship and Decolonization

No. 8

July 1977

II ISSUE ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	2
I. SPEECHES AT THE OPENING SESSION	4
Speech by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim	4
Speech by Mr. Samora Machel, President	7
Speech by the OAU Administrative Secretary-General	14
II. STATEMENTS BY SPECIAL GUESTS	22
Statement by Prime Minister Michael Manley	22
Statement by Mr. Olof Palme, Secretary-General of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party and Prime Minister of Sweden (1969-76)	31
III. STATEMENTS BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE	40
Statement by Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South- West People's Organization (SWAPO)	40
Statement by Mr. Robert Mugabe, Co-leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front	48
Statement by Mr. Aaron Mutiti, representative of the African National Council of Zimbabwe	57
IV. TEXTS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE	62
Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia	62
Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia	69
ANNEX: List of countries and organizations which participated in the Conference	74

INTRODUCTION

At its twenty-first session the General Assembly, acting on a recommendation from the Special Committee on Decolonization, decided 1/ to hold an International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in the course of 1977 for the purpose of mobilizing world-wide support for and assistance to the people of those Territories in their struggle for self-determination and independence. The organization of the Conference was entrusted to the Secretary-General acting in co-operation with the Special Committee on Decolonization 2/ and the Council for Namibia 3/ and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity.

Both the Special Committee and the Council agreed that the Conference should seek to accomplish the following tasks:

- a) Review the existing situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe with a view to promoting world-wide support for the peoples of those Territories in their struggle for self-determination and independence.
- b) Propose action to be taken in various fields by Member States, the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, other governmental bodies and by non-governmental organizations, to assist in the liberation struggle in those Territories.

The Conference, which was held at Maputo, Mozambique, from 16 to 21 May 1977, was attended by approximately 500 persons including delegations from 92 Member States, 5 Observer States, 5 national liberation movements and 27 intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations 4/. The interest shown by the international newsmedia is attested by the fact that 107 newsmen were accredited to cover the Conference.

1/ Resolution 31/145.

2/ The Special Committee on Decolonization is the body entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly in December 1960. For a study of the work of the Special Committee, see "Decolonization" No.6.

3/ The United Nations Council for Namibia was established by the General Assembly in 1967 to administer Namibia until independence following the termination by the General Assembly of South Africa's Mandate over the Territory.

4/ For a complete list of the States and Organizations represented in the Conference, see Annex I.

The Conference was declared open by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. In addition to the Secretary-General, the opening session was addressed by President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique and by the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua. The full text of these statements is reproduced in section I below.

Amongst the special guests invited to address the Conference in their individual capacity were Mr. Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica and Mr. Olof Palme, Secretary-General of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party and Prime Minister of Sweden, 1969-1976. The full text of their statements is reproduced in section II below.

The Conference also heard statements by representatives of the National Liberation Movements of Namibia and Zimbabwe, the texts of which are reproduced in section III.

Summaries of the views expressed during the general debate can be found in the Report of the Conference 5/.

At its closing session, the Conference adopted by consensus a Declaration and a Programme of Action which are reproduced in section IV below.

I. SPEECHES AT THE OPENING SESSION

Speech by the United Nations Secretary-General

In opening this international Conference, I extend a warm welcome to all delegates who have assembled here to manifest their solidarity with the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The issues to which the Conference will address itself are ones which are fundamental not only for the realization of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa, but for the preservation of international peace and security.

I know that I speak for all participants when I express to His Excellency President Samora Machel our deep gratitude for the gracious gesture of the Government and people of Mozambique in hosting this important Conference and for the assistance given in its preparation.

I wish to extend a special welcome to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Hon. Michael Manley, who despite the heavy responsibilities of his office has come to join us here today.

I am also pleased that we will be able to benefit from the views of the Organization of African Unity which has been so helpful in the preparation of the Conference and which has over the years devoted considerable time and effort in the search for just solutions to the problems before us. It is my privilege to welcome the distinguished Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua.

I am most gratified to see represented here more than 80 Governments and also a large number of inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. Your presence here is, in itself, a most encouraging demonstration of the concern felt by the international community for the plight of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and an expression of solidarity with them in their efforts to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

It is most appropriate that this Conference should be held in Mozambique which, under the courageous leadership of President Samora Machel, freed itself only two years ago from colonialism after a long and determined struggle. Its independence brought about a radical transformation in the balance of forces in southern Africa and has decisively advanced the prospect of majority rule and true independence for both Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Notwithstanding the challenges inherent in the building of a new state, the Government of Mozambique, at great economic sacrifice, did not hesitate soon after independence to close its borders and apply sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Government and people of Mozambique for fulfilling their commitment to the United Nations and to the fundamental principles of justice, equal rights and self-determination for which our Organization stands.

I am encouraged by the fact that there is universal recognition of the need for resolute and firm action. Unless we accelerate efforts to find just and peaceful solutions to end the unacceptable situation in Zimbabwe and Namibia, I fear that a disaster of grave dimensions will occur which will have repercussions far beyond this region. I have on numerous occasions warned of this real danger and I do so again in the hope that those concerned will redouble their efforts to find a way out of the current impasse.

This Conference has two major purposes: first, to review the present situation in the two Territories with a view to promoting world-wide support for their peoples in attaining self-determination and independence; and second, to formulate a concrete programme of action to help them achieve this goal.

On the question of Zimbabwe, the basic position of the United Nations is that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, has the primary responsibility of re-establishing constitutional government based on the principle of majority rule. I am glad to note that the United Kingdom has renewed its efforts to accomplish this. I should also like to emphasize the importance of the continued endeavours of the African leaders, in particular those of the front-line States, and of other intermediaries in search of an acceptable solution.

It is regrettable that over the past two years each attempt to find a solution has been frustrated by the illegal régime and its refusal to accept reality. Instead, it has escalated repressive policies leading to senseless killings and forcing the people of Zimbabwe to intensify their struggle.

The threat to international peace and security has been aggravated by repeated acts of aggression committed by the Smith régime against the territories of neighbouring African States. In the past year, its armed forces have violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, causing severe loss of life and property. As a consequence, these countries have been forced to divert scarce resources from their fragile and over-burdened economies to meet increased security needs. This situation has been compounded by the financial strain already imposed on the economies of these developing countries by the application of United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

The situation in Namibia is an unparalleled challenge to the authority of the United Nations. It will be recalled that early in 1976 the Security Council set a deadline for South Africa to declare by August of that year that it would hold free elections under United Nations supervision and control for the whole of Namibia as one political entity. In addition, South Africa was asked to give an assurance that it would comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. No acceptable reply has been received from South Africa.

The position of the United Nations on Namibia is clear and unequivocal. It has been stated time and again by the United Nations that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal and that it is obliged to withdraw its administration and terminate its occupation of the Territory. The United Nations will not acquiesce in any move by South Africa which would compromise

the unity and integrity of the Territory. To this end South Africa must terminate forthwith its policy of Bantustans and the so-called "homelands". With regard to the political process, it is required that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity; that all Namibian political prisoners be released; that the application in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically repressive laws and practices be abolished; and that all Namibians currently in exile for political reasons be accorded, unconditionally, full facilities to return to their country without risk of arrest or intimidation.

Given its direct responsibility for Namibia, the United Nations has a particular obligation towards its people to facilitate their accession to genuine independence. In this respect, the Council for Namibia continues to play an important role in discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly. The United Nations also recognizes the special role of SWAPO in the political processes necessary for bringing the Territory to independence. The observer status which SWAPO enjoys in the General Assembly ensures that until independence is achieved, the voice of Namibia will be heard in all United Nations sponsored conferences and meetings affecting the interests of the Namibian people.

I have previously stated my conviction that only a speedy transfer of power to the African majority in Zimbabwe and the immediate end of South African occupation of Namibia can lead to a lasting peace in these Territories. The international community, by increasing its support to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their efforts to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, will help to bring the decolonization process in Africa to a successful conclusion. The presence here of so many delegates attests to the international commitment to achieve this.

I cannot conclude without paying tribute to the outstanding work of the Committee of 24 and the Council for Namibia for the initiatives which they have taken in bringing about this Conference. Under the imaginative leadership of their two Chairmen - Ambassador Salim A. Salim of Tanzania and Ambassador Dunstan Kamana of Zambia - they have been successful not only in generating international interest in the issues at stake, but in mobilizing support for the Conference. In this regard I should also like to thank those States and organizations who responded so generously to my appeal, thus making our meeting here possible.

Speech by Mr. Samora Machel,
President of the People's Republic of Mozambique*

On behalf of the Mozambican People and the Government of the PRM, we warmly welcome the distinguished delegates and observers. We welcome you to Maputo, a trench in the battle between freedom and colonial oppression, on the confrontation line between democracy, human dignity and the monstrosity of racism. We welcome you to Mozambique, a border between human rights and fascism.

After the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, Humanity was able to extend her liberated zone to the doors of South Africa, a colonial and oppressive stronghold. This is a victory of our people's just liberation war, this is a victory of the cause of the United Nations, a victory of the action of the Committee of 24, a victory of your political and diplomatic battle for the implementation of the historical resolution 1514 (XV).

Freedom and Peace are indivisible, the security of Nations and human rights are inseparable, they are in the same compartment. The existence of an atmosphere of war in southern Africa, the growing tension in this region which threatens to involve the whole of humanity, is the direct result of colonialism and racism which still exist here. No country or man can remain indifferent to the Soweto massacres, to the death camps, to the beheadings and hangings in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Confronted by the masses' continuous revolt, the colonialists and racists are striving to extend their internal conflicts to all neighbouring countries, in order to deflect attention from the essence of the conflict. We therefore witness a multiplication of subversive acts, border violations, provocations and aggression. The colonialists and racists intensify the arms race and lately try to step up into the stage of the atomic arms race.

Wishing to maintain the broad masses in a sub-human condition, so that a handful can live in a situation of incomparable privilege, the colonialists and racists are trying to provoke a generalised conflict, to transform their internal conflicts into clashes between great powers.

Your presence here, the holding of this meeting is a concrete affirmation that we are all determined not to allow the extension of the conflict, to define it with precision. The situation in Zimbabwe, the situation in Namibia are colonial situations. Colonialism is condemned by the whole of Humanity, by all member countries of the United Nations Organization, it constitutes the most serious form of violation of the people's right to choose their destiny, it represents the most violent form of aggression against the rights of man.

*Original in Portuguese. English text furnished by the Mozambique delegation.

We are meeting so that together we may find the fastest and most efficient means of definitely liquidating colonialism in Zimbabwe and Namibia. We are meeting in order to find the fastest and most efficient means of totally transferring all powers of sovereignty and their exercise to the only legitimate owners of those powers: the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The United Nations Charter and the Resolutions which guide us are clear, our mission is to liquidate colonialism and racism. In order to find the just solutions we must clarify some fundamental points.

Over and above specific historical aspects, in Zimbabwe and Namibia we are faced with typical colonial situations. In Zimbabwe and Namibia colonial domination and oppression led the people to take up arms for their liberation. This was the only alternative left to them. The people had to choose between dying as a consequence of colonial oppression and taking up arms in order to live in freedom and dignity.

We feel it is wrong to talk of peaceful solutions when there already is war. We must realistically seek the means to put an end to the war. To put an end to a war means to eliminate the causes of the war. Practical experience has demonstrated that a colonial war can only end in one of two ways: the military defeat of the colonial forces or the colonial forces' acceptance of the people's right to their total and complete independence.

The successes of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia, combined with the political and diplomatic action of the international community and particularly the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity have made the colonialists aware of the inevitability of their defeat in Zimbabwe and Namibia. This has created favourable conditions for a negotiated settlement of the existing wars. To be successful a negotiated settlement demands that the representations of the colonial forces fully accept the right to total and complete independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia in full territorial integrity. Some positive steps have been taken in this direction. Nevertheless important obstacles still exist.

Of late, we see with apprehension that certain forces, although declaring their acceptance of the principle of independence, are trying to annul it through guarantees to be conceded to minorities. Trying to understand the nature of these minorities, we find that we are not dealing with any national minorities. In fact what is happening is a subtle manoeuvre: to define minorities exclusively on the basis of skin colour, the minorities being presented as whites.

In almost all United Nations Member States there are citizens of the most varied ethnic origins. We find millions of citizens who belong to ethnic and racial groups different from the majority of the population. Nevertheless they are citizens like everyone else and they are not treated as a minority. The appearance in those countries of citizens of different races and colours results from the historical evolution and from the economic and social development of those countries.

In all African, Asian, Latin American countries, in all countries which have been subjected to colonial domination, settlers existed. Settlers are the direct result of colonial domination. They are foreigners, who for different

reasons related to the colonial phenomenon, came to inhabit the dominated territory. They are settlers and not a national minority, they are foreigners who live in the territory. With the accession to independence of the dominated territory, some of these foreigners, some of these settlers, wishing to be integrated in the new country became national citizens. They are not a minority, they are citizens like the others, without any privileges or discrimination. This is the historical experience of all colonised countries.

We see no reason why the settlers of Rhodesia or Namibia should be treated otherwise. To do so is an attempt to preserve colonialism. To do so is to maintain in the country a category of citizens, very small in number but with sufficient power to block a decision of the vast majority of the population. To propose such a solution to a country which has just lived through the horrors and hatreds of a colonial war is to sow the seeds of a serious conflict in the first hours of independence. Our preoccupation is that all, regardless of race or colour, be citizens equal in rights and duties, citizens capable of being integrated in the community and strengthen national unity.

The experience of negotiations in all countries which were colonised is that negotiations take place between the representatives of the patriotic forces and the colonial power. The colonial power represents the interests of the settlers and the patriotic forces represent the interests of the masses.

We see in the negotiations which have been taking place both on Zimbabwe and on Namibia, a violation of this principle, a violation which has led the negotiations to failure.

In Zimbabwe the settlers refuse to be represented by the colonial power and wish to present themselves as a third force, since they cannot claim to represent the interests of the masses which they massacre and the patriotic forces which they fight. These are the settlers, whose numbers decrease daily, according to statistics, these are the settlers whose vast majority has a second nationality, who effectively behave as foreigners and, as in the experience of all colonial countries they leave the country after independence, these are the settlers who have repeatedly been responsible for the failure of all negotiations. The mistake is to regard them as the fundamental and decisive interlocutor, the mistake is to allow a tiny group of privileged foreigners the power to create obstacles to the implementations of the interests of the majority.

In Namibia we are surprised to see talks of settlers' parties and their puppets. Everybody knows who is fighting for Namibia's independence. Everybody knows who is imprisoned, deported, murdered in Namibia for demanding independence. Because the sacrifice of the black people of Namibia, the struggle of the oppressed and humiliated of Namibia forced South African colonialists to accept the principle of independence, today, the privileged whites of Namibia use their parties, which maintained colonial domination, to be represented as an interested party in the liberation of the country, when in fact they represent the force which hinders the liberation of the country. This state of affairs prevents a fruitful discussion between the patriotic forces represented by SWAPO and colonialism.

We are told that in Namibia the main stumbling block to a negotiated solution is the existence of only one nationalist movement - SWAPO - and we are told that

one movement alone cannot claim to represent the interests of all the people. Simultaneously we are told that in Zimbabwe the lack of unity creates an obstacle to the discussions, the difficulty is the existence of many nationalist movements.

It would be convenient to use some logic to know the real obstacle to national independence. The only obstacle to national independence is colonialism.

The manoeuvres preventing the success of negotiated solutions to the colonial wars in Rhodesia and Namibia have been given decisive support by some Western circles and powers.

The United Nations have repeatedly denounced and condemned foreign investments in colonial territories. At Great Britain's request the United Nations' Security Council decreed sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

These sanctions have been fully implemented by the People's Republic of Mozambique, by the Republic of Zambia and by many other countries, with heavy sacrifices to their economy. We nevertheless see that they are openly and systematically broken by other United Nations Member States including Western members of the Security Council. Many arguments are presented in defence of these violations.

We are told that the paralysation of economic activities would be detrimental mainly to the black population. We are told that the pursuit of those economic activities in no way contributes towards the pursuit of the colonial wars. These same countries which violate sanctions, during the Second World War took drastic measures to isolate completely the fascist powers; they dealt heavy reprisals against companies which dared to trade with the fascist powers, they confiscated those companies' assets, arrested, tried and condemned those who were responsible. In the defence and in the name of freedom those countries rightly built up a legal arsenal of repression against those who dared collaborate with the fascist oppressors. If today those same countries refuse to undertake severe measures against those who collaborate to strengthen the potential of the fascists, colonialists and racists of southern Africa, it is surely because sordid interests have made them join sides with the inhuman camp against which they formerly fought.

It equally surprises us that citizens of Western countries members of the United Nations, citizens of Western countries members of the Security Council, are freely recruited as mercenaries for the rebel forces of Rhodesia. Once again the argument is in defence of liberty and the right to travel. However, we believe that in no country is the right to treason, the right to crime taken to be part of the democratic rights of citizens. The countries which allow the recruitment of mercenaries to Rhodesia, even today contain in their legislation extremely severe dispositions against citizens who commit crimes of treason and who collaborate with forces hostile to the country. The non-implementation of those principles can only mean that the fascist, racist and colonialist system has become an ally.

A special responsibility for prolonging the conflict falls upon those who supply the military means which enable the colonialists to continue with the policy of internal repression and colonial war and extend armed aggression to other countries. Although the United Nations clearly forbid the sale of weapons

to southern Africa's colonialists and racists, we see a continuous reinforcement of Pretoria's and Salisbury's arsenal. We are sure that any responsible state has ample means at its disposal to prevent transactions of weapons which are contrary to its interests. Therefore the supply of weapons, the supply of patents for manufacture, the establishment of arms industries, the establishment of industries which can lead to the nuclear armament of colonial and racist régimes can only be interpreted as active support for the systems condemned by the United Nations.

The evolution of the Zimbabwe situation is favourable. The armed struggle for national liberation has inflicted serious drawbacks upon the rebel, minority régime. The patriots' victories galvanise the enthusiasm of the masses and bring about their increasing organization and mobilization to eliminate the rebels. The sanctions decreed by the United Nations and applied by many countries including the People's Republic of Mozambique have seriously affected the already shaken economy of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. The entire international community unanimously condemns Salisbury's cruel régime, condemns its criminal policies, condemns its massacres.

The creation of the Patriotic Front constitutes a decisive step in the unity of the people, in the efficiency of their struggle. The Patriotic Front provides for the broad masses of Zimbabwe the instrument to deal increasingly heavy blows against an odious and isolated régime.

Britain's initiatives can constitute a positive factor in the liquidation of the colonial, racist system in Rhodesia, so long as these initiatives have as a sincere objective the complete independence of Zimbabwe. They will fail if they aim to legalise colonialism; they will fail if rather than a total transfer of power to the people they aim only at allowing some black puppets to have a share of colonial, racist power. They will fail if their aim is to institutionalise privileges based on skin colour, if their objective is to preserve the interests of the so-called minorities and not of the overwhelming majority.

On Namibia, the United Nations have often held debates and proposed the just way for the solution of the conflict. Resolution 385 of the Security Council taken in its whole constitutes such a platform.

The recent initiatives by the five Western members of the Security Council, if based on this context, will contribute to the acceleration of the resolution of the conflict. If, however, once again they are aimed at safeguarding interests which are alien to the people and privileges for the settlers, if they contribute to the divisions of the territory and the appearance of puppets as pretentious valid interlocutors, then the initiatives will only serve to uselessly lengthening the conflict.

The question of Walvis Bay is an artificial one, an inheritance from Anglo-German rivalries during the Berlin Conference of 1885. In Africa we respect inherited borders even if they are not just, but an attempt to include the enclave of Walvis Bay in this context is only an attempt to sabotage the independence of Namibia in its territorial whole. There are no citizens of Walvis Bay and citizens of Namibia. It is the men of Namibia, it is the sweat of Namibian workers which account for the existence of Walvis Bay: when we talk of the territorial integrity of Namibia, we logically talk of the integration of Walvis Bay.

It is with SWAPO, recognized by the United Nations and by the Organization of African Unity that the South African government must discuss the process of the transfer of its powers to Namibia.

As in the past, the People's Republic of Mozambique carries out her internationalist duty in relation to the liberation struggle of all peoples and in particular the peoples of southern Africa. She supports the armed liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia. She will continue to apply full sanctions decreed by the United Nations.

Like all peace-loving countries, like all countries which have lived through the devastating experience of war we are ardent defenders of peace, we support peaceful solutions in all regions in which the conflict has not yet reached the armed stage, we try to find negotiated solutions to the existing wars. This was our experience.

When the Portuguese government recognized our right to independence, accepted a date for our independence and agreed with us on the mechanism of transferring power, it was logical and easy to establish a cease-fire and re-establish peace.

We believe peace can be re-established in Zimbabwe once there has been agreement on the mechanism leading to independence, since the colonial power has recognized the right to independence and has agreed with the patriotic forces on the ceiling date for the independence of the Territory. We believe that the people of Zimbabwe, the people in concentration camps, the men killed in the streets for not carrying a pass, the men arrested arbitrarily, the men massacred in their peaceful villages, the men who, underground and in the guerrilla war, build the independence of their country, have the right to demand immediate and complete independence. All the other territories of the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland are independent, they have all celebrated more than 10 years of independence. To demand immediate independence is not an act of extremism when independence should have taken place already more than 10 years ago, when a tiny handful of foreign rebels supported by imperialism has for almost 12 years kept the country under the most fierce, cruel and barbarous form of oppression.

Our Conference in support of the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe and Namibia must decide on measures which politically, diplomatically and materially strengthen the liberation struggle. It must adopt measures to isolate the colonial and racist régimes because by isolating them we force them to negotiate. Our Conference must aim for measures to be taken against any economic and commercial investment or collaboration with the colonial and racist régimes. It must equally propose that the international community reinforce the economic capacity of the front-line countries to enable them to better support the southern African people's liberation struggle.

The presence of His Excellency Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, is an encouragement and a stimulus for our Conference, it is a clear demonstration that free men feel close to the men submitted to the brutality of colonialism. Thousands of kilometers, oceans and mountains lie between Mozambique and Jamaica, between Jamaica and southern Africa. However, Jamaica is present in the fight for liberation. Welcome, Welcome free men of Jamaica who participate in the struggle to extend freedom. Our people, the peoples of southern Africa are encouraged by Jamaica's fraternal solidarity.

We are also encouraged by the friendly presence of the Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim. In the difficult hours of our struggle he supported us with all the prestige of his post and the firmness of his democratic and anti-colonialist principles. In the delicate moments of the negotiations with the colonial power, while manoeuvres were going on to isolate FRELIMO and empty of their content the victories won by the people's sacrifices, the Secretary-General was on our side. The Secretary-General understood and assumed our position and defended it with decision and elegance. He contributed towards the success of the negotiations. The attention with which he follows the question of Zimbabwe and Namibia is a guarantee against the manoeuvres which are going on to the detriment of the people's interests and the United Nations' position.

I renew our warmest welcome to this country which was liberated by our sacrifices and your solidarity.

Your presence in this frontier of freedom is a powerful stimulus to the tens of millions of men who a few kilometers away from the city of Maputo live under the fiercest oppression. The radio transmits your words to them, they await attentively and anxiously your message of solidarity, they await your affirmation that the whole of humanity resolutely participates in the struggle for the dignity of man. Above all they hope that your words will be affirmed by acts of support, that your words will be transformed into concrete actions leading to the liquidation of oppression.

Our wish is that in the city of Maputo the flag of peace, freedom and dignity, the flag of the United Nations, the flag which is a flame of hope, be raised very high.

We wish you success in your work.

A luta continua.

Speech by the Administrative Secretary-General
of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua

At a time when all our energies are being mobilized with a view to completing our inexorable advance towards the liberation of our continent, that is to say, with a view to bringing down the last bastions of colonialism and infamy in the southern part of the African continent, the fact that this Conference - an exceptional and exemplary event in more ways than one - is being held in Mozambique, the country of FRELIMO, a country which has given proof of its uncompromising fidelity to the principles and objectives of the total liberation of the continent with dignity, is both a symbol and a good omen.

The presence here of a broad spectrum of delegations and of so many eminent persons in authority lends credence to the common belief that today's debate is about human dignity, not self-esteem, and that no organization or Government, on any pretext whatever, can watch with indifference as human rights are withheld from the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, the innocent victims of man's inhumanity to man. We must all once again devote our energies to uprooting these evils and getting rid of their manifestations.

The organizers of this International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia - to whom I express my sincere congratulations and my profound gratitude for their significant contribution - could not have chosen a more appropriate venue than Maputo. At a time when Africa is facing dramas, challenges and humiliations, FRELIMO's example and that of its leaders and militants must surely inspire us as we organize the struggles still to be waged and consider the principles by which we should be guided in the search for solutions to the grave problems confronting Africa. These past few years of our quest to liberate Africa have demonstrated that unless our approach to the problems of liberation is based on clear and strict principles we shall surely arrive at an impasse, in other words at solutions which profoundly divide Africa and which, in accordance with the wishes of Africa's enemies, diminish the effectiveness of the action of the freedom-fighters, detract from the credit of our organization and undermine its influence.

These principles have always emerged clearly in the framework of the unceasing efforts of the OAU Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa to define an appropriate strategy at each new stage of the liberation struggle.

It is perhaps worthwhile to restate these principles. They are:

1. The primary responsibility of the peoples who are struggling to free their own countries. This implies full freedom in the choice of strategies, the sole condition being that the supreme goal, namely liberation, is considered non-negotiable.
2. Unity of the people in the liberation struggle - a condition on which depends not only the effectiveness of action but also, and more especially, the national unity of the community to be liberated.

3. The clear notion of the purpose of the struggle, namely the emancipation of the people, which excludes deviationist initiatives based on individual ambition.

4. The clear notion that the liberation struggle must be placed in a global perspective and viewed not only as a struggle for the complete liberation of the continent but also as a struggle for justice, peace and progress, thus implying the solidarity of the peace-loving and progressive peoples who have been liberated with the cause of those who have still to be liberated and likewise special solidarity between peoples who are struggling for their liberation.

5. Clear identification of the enemy, so as to avoid profane and unnatural alliances.

The fourth and fifth principles illustrate the militant commitment of the Government and people of Mozambique to the liberation of southern Africa and lend this Conference of solidarity all its import and all its ethical significance.

During and after the struggle to wrest independence from Portuguese colonialism, Mozambique never once strayed from the path of freedom. Thus, FRELIMO has remained a liberation movement which comes to the assistance of progressive forces in the struggle for the total and unconditional liberation of the rest of the continent. Simply as a result of historical and geographical circumstances, Mozambique, as a front-line State, is called upon to play a leading role in this battle. I am glad to say that it has lived up to our expectations, won our admiration and deserves our support. Very few countries would have had the courage to do what Mozambique did in March 1976, namely immediately after independence to close its frontiers to rebel Rhodesia, as prescribed by the United Nations resolutions on sanctions; very few countries would have had the courage to make an open offer of facilities to the liberation movements which are struggling against the racist minority régimes. This is not a struggle which affects Mozambique alone; nor does it simply concern threatened Zambia, harrassed Botswana or Angola, the victim of aggression; it represents a collective international responsibility.

Is there any need to remind you that the Organization of African Unity has assigned itself the sacred duty of doing its utmost to free the last peoples under racist domination - those of southern Africa.

Here, as elsewhere, we believed that our legitimate struggle had a real trump-card in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the United Nations. Here, as elsewhere, we sustained the hope that, in accordance with that historic document, the international community, and more especially the great Powers, would truly commit themselves to supporting Africa's efforts and sacrifices to free the last of its sons from the colonial yoke.

In fact, we must admit that the United Nations has accomplished a very con-

siderable normative task, and if the resolutions, recommendations and other appeals had had the force and impact of a cannon-ball, there can be no doubt that the benighted régimes engaged in arrogant and oppressive racism would have already been toppled.

The efforts and goodwill of the members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Special Committee on Decolonization and the United Nations Council for Namibia clearly deserve to be recorded among the great ethical achievements of the United Nations.

And yet, when all is said and done, Africa is discovering that several hundred resolutions and an imposing number of conferences, councils, symposia, seminars and committees have been virtually unable to improve the situation of the peoples subjected to shameful racial discrimination. Africa is discovering that despite the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, and especially the will to peace which it proclaimed in the Lusaka Manifesto, the unrepentant partisans of apartheid have not seen fit to make any concession in order that the principles of freedom, equality and dignity contained in the United Nations Charter might be applied to all the African peoples.

What is disturbing is the fact that the Western Powers, in the name of the "defence of Western civilization" and the "struggle against Communism", appear to accept de facto solidarity with South Africa and Rhodesia. What is disturbing and alarming is the fact that despite the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and so many formal resolutions against racism and apartheid, certain Powers continue to increase their assistance to régimes which persist in these odious practices.

Who would deny that the aid given by the great Powers to the minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia contributes more than anything else to strengthening the oppression of, and use of repressive methods against, the peoples of southern Africa?

Despite the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and OAU calling for a halt in the sale of arms to South Africa or for economic measures against Rhodesia, the régimes of these countries see their military capacity and their economic support from the great Powers growing steadily.

Neither commercial profits nor bilateral commitments, which are thought to be justifiable under the rules and principles of laissez-faire economics, appear to us to be valid reasons for justifying this flagrant increase in trade and in the technical and technological assistance which Europe and America continue to provide to the minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and the specific and decisive encouragement which together they offer to perpetuate foreign domination and racial discrimination in this part of our continent.

Undoubtedly other motives will be found for the attitude of these Powers,

and other, more deep-rooted reasons sought for this flagrant violation of the moral principles upon which the United Nations is founded. The time has come for the large and small Powers allied to the torturers of Africans to state their position regarding the legitimate struggle of the peoples of our continent clearly and unequivocally.

In view of the widespread apathy and shameless complicity with respect to the situation in Africa, a clear debate generating a new trend in the action of the international community and the great Powers regarding the tragedy of racial discrimination and apartheid should be one of the immediate objectives of this Conference, assuming that there is a genuine desire that the international community should go beyond the normative stage, that of declarations of principle, and advance resolutely to the action stage.

The success of this Conference will consist in launching a movement which will put an end to the contradictions between principles and action. Operational action should take precedence over, if not replace, the normative framework.

Both in Zimbabwe and in Namibia the objective is simple and clear: the immediate and unconditional accession to power of the black majority. There can be no compromise on or any other solution to this question. This has always been our position and it has not changed. Initially it was our hope that the administering Power would bring the rebel régime to accept the constitutional process leading to the establishment of majority rule. Unfortunately that hope was disappointed. Eleven years have now passed since Ian Smith proclaimed his Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965, and no decisive step has been taken in the negotiations. That is one of the reasons why OAU supports the armed struggle in Zimbabwe aimed at bringing down the Government of Ian Smith and his clique.

The British initiatives for a negotiated settlement have produced no tangible results, as the constitutional talks in Geneva in 1976 proved. Once again Ian Smith was given an opportunity to assert his authority at the expense of the liberation struggle. The current initiatives of Great Britain, supported by the United States, if intended only to prepare institutions for independent Zimbabwe which are acceptable to the West, are doomed to failure because it is for the Zimbabwe nationalists who are fighting today to establish the black majority to determine the nature of their régime.

In any case, these initiatives can only serve as a pretext to prevent this Conference from accepting the consequences of its own logic and taking appropriate steps to support the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people.

OAU, for its part, remains firm and unswerving in its support of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. That is our responsibility and we are determined to play our role until final victory. We urge the friends of OAU, the friends of the people of Zimbabwe, the friends of the national liberation struggle and the oppressed working masses of Zimbabwe to co-ordinate their efforts to put an end once and for all to the domination of Zimbabwe by a racist minority rebel clique.

The problem here is to ascertain whether, in the case of Zimbabwe, the distinguished participants in this Conference are determined to go beyond the stage of declarations of principles and advance to the stage of concrete action.

In other words, is it not time for the Security Council, and especially its five permanent members, to try to use their extensive influence, their mutual relations and their economic and military might, to ensure more effectively than in the past the implementation of resolutions - especially the rigorous application of sanctions and pressures of every sort - to bring down Ian Smith and his racist clique?

Or, since the only language which Ian Smith understands is force, is the international community prepared to give the Zimbabwe liberation movements all the necessary material support to strengthen its liberation struggle?

We recall that in 1972, during the special session of the Security Council in Addis Ababa, President Ould Daddah, then Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of OAU, declared that "Africa proposes the establishment at the United Nations level of an international fund for aid to the liberation movements and peoples who are still struggling against racial discrimination".

The problem is still urgent; this Conference might reflect on this constructive proposal.

The problem of Namibia, like that of Zimbabwe, is too familiar for a detailed analysis to be necessary. In illegally occupied Namibia, the aim is to install a black majority Government under the auspices of SWAPO, which has been recognized by the international community as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. To that end, the first important task is to put an end to the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, a presence which continues in defiance of the injunctions of the United Nations and condemnation on the part of world public opinion. South Africa's contempt for the United Nations and international public opinion is without precedent in modern history.

While we talk of putting an end to the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, what is South Africa offering? The Turnhalle "Constitutional Conference". Those who, despite everything, have elected to defend or champion the South African cause must answer to the conscience of all mankind. The sole aim of the Turnhalle "Constitutional Conference" is the bantustanization of Namibia. OAU will not recognize any puppet régime emerging from the Turnhalle talks.

OAU has always made it clear that, if South Africa is sincere with respect to the independence of Namibia, it must agree to negotiate directly with SWAPO. Free elections must be organized under United Nations supervision. South Africa must liberate all political prisoners and detainees in South Africa and Namibia; it must withdraw its occupying forces from Namibia and refrain from using the territory of that country to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring African

countries. Those are some of the conditions which South Africa must fulfil if its position is to be credible. This must also be understood by the friends and defenders of South Africa.

I am aware that Western nations have a vast economic stake in Namibia, where they exploit the natural resources at the expense of the Namibian people. This must stop. It is these monopoly interests that provide South Africa with support and encouragement. It is these economic interests, which derive exceptionally high profits from the exploitation of black workers, that support South Africa. Whatever happens, the Namibian people, under the SWAPO flag, will fight to the last man to liberate their country. In this task, they can count on the support of OAU and of all progressive forces in the world.

The five members of the Security Council, which in fact hold the key to the problem, have approached Vorster, and this move must be welcomed as an encouraging initiative, but it should also be pointed out that Vorster's stubbornness and arrogance might make it necessary to exert greater pressure and undertake more effective coercive measures.

Here, as in the case of the Anglo-American initiative concerning Zimbabwe, not only is it for SWAPO to evaluate the real significance of the new move, but the latter must in no way hinder initiatives taken at this Conference on specific measures concerning Namibia.

The international community must be called upon to apply rigorously, the political, economic and military sanctions which might become necessary, given the ill-will of the Pretoria racists.

But if all the planned initiatives come to nothing, we for our part can see no more coercive or meaningful measure, apart from the intensification of the armed struggle, than the application of the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the South African Government for the latter's consistent refusal to restore the administration of Namibia to the legitimate authorities. We are aware of the difficulties involved in the implementation of the provisions of Chapter VII, but South Africa's current challenge to the international community may destroy the basis of our Charter and represents a real threat to international peace and security.

Permit me to say a few words about the United Nations Institute for Namibia, officially opened at Lusaka on 26 August 1976. I had the privilege of visiting this Institute on 21 April 1977 and addressing the staff. The Institute provides a unique example of specific action taken by the United Nations. The work of the Institute is remarkable in that it prepares Namibians for the responsibilities they will have to assume when Namibia eventually becomes independent. It is no secret that, at the dawn of their independence, young countries have faced enormous problems, one of which is a critical lack of skilled manpower. The United Nations

Institute for Namibia will try to close the gap to some extent. I should like to pay a tribute to all those who have contributed to this noble project, to those who have made the project operational, and to the Government of Zambia for hosting the Institute and for providing it with facilities. I should like to make an urgent appeal to the international community to provide the Institute with all the assistance necessary for the accomplishment of its task.

If it is to achieve all its goals, this Conference must deal with the problem of South Africa, the bastion of apartheid and the embodiment of oppression in southern Africa. Once again, OAU reaffirms its determination to fight to the end against the régime of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa. It is South Africa which has sustained the Ian Smith régime until now. However, we welcome the fact that, despite an unprecedented arms race and despite the sophistication of the machinery of oppression, the black and oppressed peoples of South Africa are better prepared than ever before to free themselves from the inhuman South African régime. They are ready to give their lives. And that is an encouraging sign. Victory is on their side.

Given the intransigence of the minority racist régime, we have no choice but to resort to armed struggle, whatever the price. Once again, we make an urgent appeal to the international community to understand the problem and to play its role in trying to restore justice to Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The racist minority régime of Rhodesia has no right to exist; the racist apartheid régime of South Africa has no right to exist, nor has it any right to be in Namibia. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa have accepted the fact that the liberation of their respective countries is primarily and above all their own responsibility. But the international community cannot escape its responsibility to help these people to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence. The holding of this Conference in the historic town of Maputo shows that the international community, within the framework of the United Nations, is aware of its responsibilities with respect to providing aid to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, so that the latter may exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

For Africans and their friends everywhere in the world, as well as for all men who desire justice and peace and who respect the principles of human equality and dignity, the debate beginning today is, as far as decolonization is concerned, a crucial test of the political and moral authority of the United Nations in general and of the will of the great Powers in particular. Never before has the conscience of the international community been faced with such a clear-cut situation.

May you enjoy the committed co-operation of all in opening up a new chapter in the process of ridding the African continent of the train of humiliations,

sufferings and injustices inherent in racial oppression.

Speaking on behalf of OAU, I most fervently wish and hope that this historic meeting will achieve total success and promote the common interests and solidarity of Africa and the international community.

Long live the freedom of all peoples.

Long live international solidarity.

II. STATEMENTS BY SPECIAL GUESTS

Statement by the Hon. Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica

It is a great honour to the Government of Jamaica and to me personally to be invited to address this International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. I am particularly honoured to be on African soil and in this great country, Mozambique, which is already covered in glory for her part in the struggle for African liberation. Yet even now, geography and history combine to place her in the forefront of the struggle.

Your country, Mr. President, along with its sister countries of Guinea-Bissau and Angola, has played a pivotal role in the Liberation Movement of this continent through the protracted and courageous war which you waged against colonialism and imperialism. The victories against the former Portuguese régime have set an example for those still suffering under the yoke of colonialism, racism and apartheid in Africa. The determination of your people, their total commitment to the freedom of their country and of their continent, have reinspired the forces of freedom and justice in Africa and the world.

Furthermore, the independence gained by Mozambique did not extinguish the passion of your commitment to international causes. At the very moment of your great national victory, your people took the heroic stand to close their border with Rhodesia, to further assist the overthrow of the illegal racist régime, and promote the liberation of our brothers in Zimbabwe. This was a shining example of the unity and inter-dependence which we need to display in this great struggle to attain full and final freedom for our brothers and sisters in Africa.

I do not need to recount the gravity of the situation in southern Africa. Nor do I propose to dwell upon the background of centuries of colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and their offspring racism, which has scarred African history in modern times. The very fact that this Conference has convened here is evidence that the entire world, grown familiar with the problem, is now impatient for an immediate and final solution.

We, in Jamaica, for whom the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia has the utmost significance, have been deeply impressed by the firmness of purpose and the sacrifices of those who have fought and continued to fight for their freedom, and by the dedication and unstinting support of the frontline States and their leaders. I also wish to pay tribute to the United Nations Organization, to the distinguished Secretary-General, to the Council for Namibia and the Committee on Decolonization which have struggled for long years on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Our present anxiety is that these efforts should not fail.

This Conference takes place at a critical juncture. Repeated efforts, which have been made to get the illegal racist Smith régime to hand over power, have all come to nothing. The Rhodesian racists have made one thing clear: they will not yield to moral suasion nor even to partial pressure. Unless there is a dramatic change in world response, we must conclude that armed struggle provides the only realistic path to a solution.

In Namibia, years of defiance by Pretoria have only recently been modified to the extent of a promise of some sort of elections under some unspecified international supervision and United Nations observation. Once again there is

nothing to suggest that even this limited undertaking will be honoured. It is more likely that each succeeding promise from Salisbury and Pretoria is made to buy time. And each promise will be broken because those who urge negotiation are, as yet, unwilling to exert the kind of pressure which could force a lasting solution by peaceful means. And meantime while the world fiddles with Zimbabwe and Namibia, the ultimate villain in the piece, South Africa, remains largely unscathed.

Throughout the world today, there are millions of people who sincerely want to believe that the international community has the capacity to deal fairly and equitably with the basic issues of peace and justice. They listen each day to the latest rhetoric about equality and dignity. And, they ask, why can we not solve even this most glaring, most obvious, most vicious example of injustice in southern Africa? Many of those who claim to hate injustice say they also love peace. So in the name of peace they counsel patience and call for more talks, and another conference. But as each conference fails, the people of the world are left to conclude that the talking does not take us nearer to the goal of justice. Hence it was to armed struggle that our brothers and sisters turned and it is that struggle which we must increasingly support.

Mr. President, your victory in Mozambique created a watershed in African history. Even more importantly, it represented a turning point in world history. For centuries African history was made in the capitals of Europe. Now at last European history is being made on African soil. Europe conquered Africa and much else of the world and created economic empires upon the surpluses of the imperialist system. Because the whole process turned on exploitation, the empires which were built were wracked by internal and external contradictions. The wealth created from colonial exploitation could mask the problem and defer the time when the internal contradictions had to be faced - but it could not postpone it forever.

More importantly, the external contradictions grew even as the empires grew; for the empires denied the enduring impulses of man - impulses to be free, equal and secure. The empires were built at the expense of all those conditions and so they could not last. The victory of FRELIMO marked an occasion when both the internal and external contradictions of one such empire came to a time of reckoning.

But although they cannot last the empires yield ground slowly and defend their territory with infinite cunning. Thus in the generation between 1945 and 1970 it was the political territory that was conceded; sometimes on the battleground as with FRELIMO, sometimes without war and even with apparent grace. But the economic territory was held firmly through a world system of trading arrangements, financial institutions, transnational corporations and by the control of capital and technology.

Where political sovereignty has been conceded but economic power remains untouched, equality remains a myth, social justice proves unattainable and even freedom becomes an ambiguous phenomenon. Thus, even as we meet today to summon the conscience of mankind to a new appraisal of this ultimate affront to justice throughout southern Africa, we must insist upon the recognition of the global context. Without this we can fall into the trap of seeing southern Africa as an isolated phenomenon and may more easily succumb to the deceptive voices that seek always to delay and stall.

Some might wonder why our delegation from Jamaica would travel nearly 10,000 miles to be here today. Some might think that it is because we wish, in our own small way, to express our solidarity with our black brothers. They would remember that our people came from Africa, among the earliest victims of the empires; and they would be right on both scores. We are expressing our solidarity and we were among the earliest victims. We still inhabit a world where no black man or woman can vote in Zimbabwe. We remember as well that each year thousands of poor children in the Caribbean are not getting the opportunity to go to school; and we remember that millions died of hunger throughout the world last year! So we are still victims!

We are also here because we in Jamaica remember that our great Marcus Garvey summoned us all, the black people of the world, to the rediscovery of our proud and equal humanity. George Padmore of Trinidad and Tobago saw that political freedom for the black man must begin at the beginning, in Africa. But both bespoke a larger cause - the cause of universal justice. And it is because we believe that justice is universal - or it is nothing - that it is indivisible - or it is a sham - that we are here.

Against that background, Mr. President, it is our view that, at the root, the issue before this Conference is a moral one. Indeed all lasting human progress occurs when mankind harnesses the political process to moral purposes. Hence, we have welcomed, and sincerely, the summons of the world's attention to human rights by the United States this year. Essentially, this is a call for moral criteria as the basis for the conduct of human affairs.

We of the non-aligned movement are gratified, because this has been our case for more than twenty years. Our founding fathers looked with horror and dismay at the Cold War. They urged an alternative view, and contended that only through the search for moral answers could mankind hope to survive, much less progress.

But even as we welcome the attention to human rights, we must insist that the concept be completely understood and fully applied. Human rights do not begin with the right to dissent in safety. The process may end there - but it begins in the stomach of man. Human rights are to do with children and what economic conditions they can take for granted; to do with families and whether they are part of an economy which can provide a home even at the furthest horizon of hope. Human rights are to do with majority rule, and the end of apartheid.

Certainly, I dare to suggest that none of us has the right to speak of rights at all if we are not certain that we are prepared to go all the way, as may lie in our power, to end the state of affairs in southern Africa now.

And because the issues are indivisible and urgent, even as we urge action here, we must not forget the other issues that press their claims upon world attention.

In this connexion, Mr. President, we must be mindful of the search for peace in the Middle East, with the increasing acknowledgement of the rights of the Palestinian people to a just settlement of their demand for a homeland.

In our hemisphere there is considerable pressure from the dispossessed masses for social and economic reform. There we struggle to break the stranglehold of powerful and privileged classes on the wealth and resources of the region. And yet the attempts by the Governments of some States in the region to bring about reform have upon occasions been tragically and even brutally frustrated. So we have the phenomenon of Cuba, which is widely recognized in the international community as being in the very forefront of those States which are bringing about social and economic justice for their people, being still subjected to political economic pressure by means of a trade embargo.

But South Africa, that pariah of the international community, is left virtually free to reap the benefits of economic and political relationships with the industrialized countries of the west.

Mr. President, in the field of economic relations among States, we approach at this very moment a most critical point in the discussions and negotiations regarding the question of global economic justice and the establishment of the new international economic order.

The establishment and implementation of the new order requires conceptual changes to the current model of global development; it requires a considerable closing of the gap which exists between the developed countries and the third world, and not merely reducing the level of poverty which exists within the third world; it requires a restructuring of the economic and political relationships which exist between States.

In summary, it requires a reordering of the philosophy which underlies the present economic relationships between the developed and the developing countries. We cannot tell any country how to organize its internal economy. But experience tells us all that the workings of the market economy system of international capitalism as between nations, can only deepen the present contradictions in the world. Only the political management of the international economic process, based upon moral perceptions and principles, can hope to resolve the crisis of poverty affecting two-thirds of mankind.

The Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation which is part of the process of establishing and implementing the new order, reaches its final moment in a fortnight. It comes in the wake of the London summit of the major industrialized nations. We shall see whether the world will move purposefully towards the use of its resources to establish justice and to eradicate poverty, or toward inevitable, and ultimately disastrous, confrontation between rich and poor countries.

There are critical issues which must be faced. The international monetary system and the operation of the IMF must be more responsive to the social aspirations and the economic needs of developing countries. A common fund must be established for the stabilization of commodity prices. The role of commodity producer associations must be fully recognized. And the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources must be universally accepted. These are the issues which will help determine how many people go hungry in the 1980s. They will also determine how the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia fare, and what kind of world we will all inhabit, when independence and freedom are finally won.

In the meantime, however, the immediate issues in southern Africa are so stark and constitute so grave a threat to international peace and security that they must continue to head the agenda for international political action.

It is not in my place to tell this conference how the liberation struggle should be waged. We recognize that this is primarily the struggle of the people immediately concerned. It is the role of the rest of us to give support, not instructions. It is your people who have died and it is the duty of us all to ensure that they have not died in vain. We fully recognize that the future of Zimbabwe and that of Namibia must be decided by the people of Zimbabwe and by the people of Namibia. But we also fully recognize that armed struggle will be decisive in shaping that future.

It is the recognition of the role of armed struggle which led me, at the Algiers Non-Aligned Summit in 1973, to offer, on behalf of Guyana and Jamaica, to send volunteers to fight alongside the liberation forces.

It was later pointed out, and rightly, that the fighting should be done by those directly involved; so the volunteers never came. But the commitment which led us to make the offer remains. We give, and will continue to give, direct aid to the freedom fighters in ways that are acceptable to THEM and within our means.

Mr. President, it is the duty of all of us not directly involved to keep the issues of the conflict in sharp focus so that our support is relevant. South Africa is the foundation of the cancerous system of racist domination in southern Africa. As part of the overall strategy to liberate Zimbabwe and Namibia, therefore, the power and influence of Pretoria obviously cannot be ignored. However, we repudiate as dangerous, shortsighted and ultimately counter-productive all attempts at tactical accommodations with South Africa. We believe profoundly that the tactics of the struggle for majority rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia must reflect the strategy of the struggle to overthrow apartheid in South Africa. Both processes must be understood to be inseparable.

Much of the past approach of certain members of the international community to the problem of Zimbabwe, suffered from failures in the basic analysis of the situation. There has been a tendency to view that situation in terms of three variable factors that are accorded weight and recognition. Firstly, attention is given to the Smith régime and what it may or may not do. Secondly, attention is given to what may or may not happen in Zimbabwe following independence on a basis of majority rule. And, of course, thirdly, due attention is given to the principles that underlie and justify the claim of the Zimbabwean people for independence and majority rule.

The problem is that the view which is taken of the question of principle is qualified by assessments of possible action by the Smith régime and judgements about the post-independence future. And here, I suggest, lies the error.

Any assessment concerning the position of the Smith régime accords to that régime a legitimacy to which it cannot be entitled. Equally, any judgement concerning the course of events after independence involves an interference, by anticipation, in the internal affairs of an independent State.

Careful reflection, I suggest, will lead us to the conclusion that there is the danger of complicating a simple situation by these two preoccupations. What is needed, therefore, is to isolate the only principle which is clear and unequivocal, and concentrate all our efforts upon the attainment of that principle. Whether it comes through armed struggle or through international pressure, or through a combination of the two, Smith must be toppled because the régime is both illegal and immoral. Zimbabwe's freedom, Zimbabwe's freedom now, is non-negotiable!

Mr. President, I now turn to Namibia where South Africa's illegal and colonial occupation constitutes one of the most naked acts of aggression against a people whose freedom and independence has been repeatedly demanded by the forces of morality and justice in the international community. Now, in the wake of continuing pressure from SWAPO, the organization recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate political and moral voice of the people of Namibia, and the resoluteness of the freedom fighters, we note that some quarters are urging reason and commonsense on the Pretoria racists.

However, while we note that Vorster has apparently decided that he has no alternative but to disregard the Turnhalle fraud that would maintain racist dominance over Namibia, the struggle continues. In our view, the issue is very simple. South Africa has no legal or moral claim to any decision about the future of Namibia. The legitimacy that the United Nations accords to SWAPO must be given explicit recognition in any formula which may be devised for bringing about real independence. Anything short of this would constitute a betrayal of those freedom fighters who have made the ultimate sacrifice. This means elections supervised only by the United Nations; immediate withdrawal of all South African troops; and the immediate release of all Namibian political prisoners held either in the territory or in South Africa itself so that they can participate fully in the political process leading to self-determination and independence.

Mr. President, may I summarize. The world community understands that a process of negotiation must precede a settlement. However, world opinion will not accept another experience in which talks defer rather than promote an outcome. The world is fully conscious now that past discussions have served only to relax those pressures which are the precondition of success.

Any settlement must rest squarely and uncompromisingly upon the principle of one man one vote, and of universal, adult suffrage. Any settlement must place squarely and irrevocably in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia the full and unqualified control of their respective nations and the full and unqualified control of the processes by which permanent constitutional forms are determined.

To ensure the speed and stability of this settlement, what action can this Conference justly require of the world community?

(1) We demand nothing less that the full implementation in letter and spirit of the recommendations, resolutions and guidelines on Zimbabwe and Namibia of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the highest political forum in the world.