

DOCUMENT S/13184*

Letter dated 21 March 1979 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]
[21 March 1979]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 19 March 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Orhan ERALP
Permanent Representative of Turkey
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 19 March 1979 from Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to refer to the letter dated 15 March 1979 [S/13170] addressed to you by Mr. Andreas V. Mavrommatis, the so-called "Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations", regarding violations by Turkey of the airspace of the Republic of Cyprus.

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Tourism of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus about the military exercises of the Turkish peace force in the north of Cyprus:

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"Military exercises which are now taking place in the territory of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus are the routine exercises of the Turkish peace force and are carried out in accordance with a scheduled programme about which prior notification is always provided to the authorities of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

"The devious Greek Cypriot allegation that the Turkish air force is, for the first time, taking part in such exercises is a lie and does not portray the truth. Such exercises have been taking place, with the consent of the appropriate authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, ever since the coming, in 1974, in compliance with international treaties, of the Turkish peace force to the rescue of the Turkish Cypriots who were in imminent danger of total annihilation by the Greek and Greek Cypriot forces, who had conspired to unite the island with Greece.

"By sending protest notes to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Rolandis thinks that he can still run his writ over the territory of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. He should rather awaken himself to the reality that they are no longer the masters of the whole of Cyprus and, instead, come to terms with the existing reality that the island of Cyprus belongs both to Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities.

"Indulging in propaganda warfare, especially at a time when efforts are being made to bring the two sides to the negotiating table, clearly demonstrates the ill-intentions of the Greek Cypriot side which is trying to find excuses in order to avoid the intercommunal talks."

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

DOCUMENT S/13185*

Letter dated 15 March 1979 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: Arabic/English/French/Spanish]
[21 March 1979]

In accordance with the mandate of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held at Maputo, His Excellency Mr. A. C. Shahul Hameed, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, has instructed me, in my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau, to transmit the final communiqué of that Ministerial Meeting to you.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have this document published and circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka

ANNEX

Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held at Maputo from 26 January to 2 February 1979

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

1. An extraordinary meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries was held at Maputo at the level of

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Foreign Ministers from 26 January to 2 February 1979. The meeting was held pursuant to a decision taken at the Ministerial Meeting of the Bureau held at Havana in May 1978 and endorsed by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade in July 1978.

2. The following members of the Co-ordinating Bureau participated in the meeting: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Chad, Cuba, Guinea, Guyana, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Palestine Liberation Organization, Peru, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

The following members of the non-aligned movement attended as observers: Argentina, Bangladesh, Benin, Congo, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kampuchea, Kenya, Korea (DPR), Laos, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Somalia, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Togo, Tunisia and Yemen (PDR).

The following national liberation movements were invited to attend: African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress, Patriotic Front.

Others invited were: United Nations, United Nations Council for Namibia, Special Committee against Apartheid, Organization of African Unity, OAU Liberation Committee.

3. During its opening session, the Conference had the privilege of hearing an important and inspiring address by His Excellency Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, President of the People's

Republic of Mozambique, the text of which was unanimously adopted as a document of the meeting (NAC/CONF.5/Bur.Sp.1/Doc.6). Emphasizing the importance of the non-aligned movement as a decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, the President affirmed that the successes achieved by the movement were due to its unity, based on its common principles and objectives. Another reason for its growth was that the movement was able to find companions in the struggle against imperialism among other forces for progress and peace. The disappearance of the system of blocs, one of the objectives for which the movement was struggling, would be achieved by the further strengthening and growth of the anti-imperialist movement. He noted that southern Africa was a region in which the fundamental principles of non-alignment, national independence and human equality were still contested and denied to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa struggling to break the chains of colonial and racist domination, oppression and exploitation.

The President stressed the necessity of recognizing the Patriotic Front as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. He equally emphasized the importance of strengthening and increasing support for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. He pointed to the successes of the struggle of the South African people under the leadership of ANC against the Pretoria régime. He expressed his conviction that the people of South Africa would soon overthrow the racist Pretoria régime, which sought to divide them against each other. They would succeed in building a united nation where peoples of all colours and races would join together in a single irresistible force which would effectively make South Africa a truly independent, democratic country. It was also vital that the non-aligned movement should support the front-line States, the immediate strategic rearguard of the struggle for national liberation in southern Africa.

4. The speech was acclaimed by all participants as an important contribution to the deliberations and to the final success of the Conference and as an incisive analysis of the problems of southern Africa as well as of the international measures required to attain the emancipation of the oppressed peoples in the area. The meeting recognized the historic significance of President Machel's speech in the context of strengthening the unity of the non-aligned countries and furthering the struggle they are waging together with all the other progressive and democratic States and forces against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

5. The meeting hailed the firm, principled stand of the People's Republic of Mozambique, which, at the cost of countless sacrifices and in spite of the obstacles imposed by the imperialists and racists, has supported and continues consistently to support the national liberation movements in their just struggle for independence and liberty.

6. At the outset the meeting observed one minute's silence in memory of Presidents Ali Soilih of Comoros, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Houari Boumediene of Algeria. The Bureau expressed its profound condolences to the Government and people of Algeria on the passing away of His Excellency President Houari Boumediene, former Chairman of the non-aligned movement, and placed on record its highest tribute to him for his outstanding contribution to the furtherance of the fundamental principles and objectives of the non-aligned movement and to the cause of the national liberation struggle in Africa and other parts of the world.

I. INTRODUCTION

7. The meeting was held exclusively to consider the situation in southern Africa and to reiterate the collective solidarity and unflinching support of the non-aligned countries to the peoples of southern Africa at this critical and decisive phase in their struggle for freedom from colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and the attainment of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

8. The meeting provided the non-aligned countries with a unique opportunity to focus added attention on solidarity with the national liberation movements in their valiant struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia and with the front-line States facing constant aggression from the racist, colonial

régimes, as well as on complete identification with the struggle being waged in South Africa for the total elimination of *apartheid*, which has been universally recognized as a crime against humanity, and for the rapid establishment of genuine majority rule.

9. The Bureau considered it most appropriate that the Foreign Ministers were meeting at Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, one of the front-line States. The convening of the extraordinary meeting at this frontier of freedom was significant and symbolic. The Bureau expressed its admiration for the perseverance, dedication and ever-growing victories of the freedom fighters in the face of the ever-mounting brutalities perpetrated by the minority régimes in their last-ditch struggle to cling to the rule of terror and tyranny.

10. The Bureau recalled the abiding commitment of and the historic contribution made by the non-aligned countries towards initiating and accelerating the process of decolonization throughout the world. Since their first summit conference at Belgrade in 1961, the non-aligned countries have set themselves as one of their fundamental and priority tasks the emancipation of subjugated peoples from racial discrimination and colonial exploitation. Proceeding from this commitment, the non-aligned countries have taken important initiatives in the United Nations and in other international forums which have significantly contributed to the independence of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Indeed these initiatives inaugurated the era of decolonization, which is now regarded as one of the salient achievements of the United Nations since its inception. It is gratifying to note that all the countries of Africa that have achieved independence since 1961 have become members of the non-aligned movement.

11. The Bureau reviewed the situation in southern Africa in the context of the current international situation and the urgency of bringing the process of decolonization to complete fruition by removing colonialism and *apartheid* from southern Africa. It noted that important results had been achieved in the support and assistance which the non-aligned countries were unremittently rendering to the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and external aggression, interference and exploitation.

12. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the growing role, effectiveness and ever-widening acceptance of the policy of non-alignment in all regions of the world. As an independent global factor, the policy and principles of non-alignment have provided a firm basis for promoting and safeguarding the genuine independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and supporting the efforts of peoples under colonial oppression and in non-self-governing and racist-dominated territories, particularly in southern Africa, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

13. The Bureau considered the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for their self-determination to be inseparable from that of all other peoples in Territories under colonial domination both in Africa and other parts of the world, and reaffirmed its solidarity with and support for the cause of the emancipation of these peoples.

14. The Bureau underlined the inseparable link between the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolution and the growth of non-alignment in the process of the liberation and emancipation of countries and peoples.

15. The Bureau recalled the position taken by the fifth summit at Colombo that the identification of the African continent as a whole with non-alignment was a development of major significance. Through the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, the African countries have unreservedly adhered to the policy of non-alignment. Africa has given numerical and qualitative strength to the movement, thereby contributing to making it a powerful force in the world, and a firm anti-colonial, anti-racist content to the policy of non-alignment. As the continent which has suffered the worst ravages of slavery and colonialism, Africa brings out most sharply the prerequisites of a new international order. The Bureau noted that Africa provided a critical test for the success of international efforts towards the establishment of a new order based on justice, equality and human dignity throughout the world. Africa must, therefore, remain a special concern of the non-aligned movement.

16. The emancipation of Africa, the ending of imperialist exploitation, the elimination from Africa of the rivalries of external powers, the denuclearization of Africa and international co-operation for the economic and social development of Africa should not be merely regional or continental concerns, but the priorities of the non-aligned movement and of the United Nations.

17. In this context, the Bureau also considered it of the utmost importance that all non-aligned countries should maintain strict vigilance in preserving the integrity and identity of the movement and unswerving adherence to all the principles and goals of the policy of non-alignment, as enunciated by the Heads of State and Government at their Summit conferences.

18. The Bureau emphasized that the heroic struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for their liberation and their determination to carry on that struggle was the decisive factor in the elimination of imperialism, colonialism and racism from the soil of southern Africa. The peoples of southern Africa have made every effort to win their freedom and independence through peaceful means and non-violent struggle. They have consistently agreed to participate in negotiations aimed at a peaceful transition to majority rule and independence. The racist régimes have, however, stubbornly refused to respond meaningfully. Neither have they extended genuine co-operation in the negotiations for peaceful transition to independence. They have, on the contrary, intensified their cruel suppression and oppression of the people in brazen defiance of world opinion and have remained impervious to moral force. As a consequence, the freedom fighters have had to intensify their armed struggle. The Bureau expressed its support for the liberation movements of southern Africa in their liberation struggle in all its forms, including both the diplomatic and armed struggles. It further expressed the hope that the liberation movements of southern Africa would combine all these forms of their struggle in the best interests of their peoples.

II. SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

19. The Bureau analyzed the situation in southern Africa in depth. Southern Africa is the region where imperialists, using their last bastions—the colonial, racist and *apartheid* régimes—subject the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to the most vicious forms of aggression, oppression and exploitation in order to safeguard their various interests, including economic interests, in the region. They engage in military and other operations against neighbouring sovereign States, seriously threatening international peace and security.

20. For the survival and development of the big monopoly groups, imperialism continues to intensify its wanton exploitation of the peoples and wealth of southern Africa. As a result, the illegal racist and minority régimes of southern Africa guarantee the political, military and economic hegemony of imperialism in the region, and are reinforced by certain western and other countries through financial, technological, material and political means, with a resultant increase in the aggressive capacity of those régimes.

21. The Bureau considered that the military and technological assistance and the economic, political and diplomatic support that imperialism afforded the racist and minority régimes were the only factors that enabled them to continue their racist, colonialist, *apartheid* policies and that their aggressive actions were a deliberate and flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, the relevant United Nations resolutions and all that the United Nations stood for.

22. In response to this situation, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are struggling to win their inalienable rights to self-determination, total and complete independence, progress and peace and to choose freely their political, social and economic systems.

23. The Bureau noted with satisfaction that the struggle was developing an increasingly favourable momentum owing to the change in the balance of forces in the region in favour of the peoples and their national liberation movements. The Bureau considered that the decisive factor in that change was the military defeat inflicted on Portuguese colonialism by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau after a

hard and prolonged armed national liberation struggle. That defeat was a stimulus for the colonized peoples, instilling in them a renewed confidence in their ability to defeat the powerful colonial armies on the battlefield. On the other hand, with that defeat, the imperialists lost some of their strategic bases. Confronted by the will and determination of the people to fight for their freedom, the imperialists were forced to resort to a new strategy to block the momentum of the struggle and to preserve their interests in the region.

24. The Bureau noted that another major contribution to this change was the victory of the people of Angola over the army of the racist régime of South Africa when it undertook open aggression against them. The victory of the Angolan people was a heavy blow for the imperialist forces in southern Africa, and it encourages the peoples of the region to intensify the onslaught on the remaining outposts of colonialism and racism.

25. The victory of Angola and Mozambique, their achievement of national independence and the establishment in those countries of governments and political systems freely chosen by their peoples has led to greater consolidation of the independence of the States in southern Africa and thus enlarged the secure rearward for the national liberation movements.

26. The Bureau noted that, in tune with the lead taken by the non-aligned countries, the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, the socialist countries and all peace-loving, freedom-loving, democratic countries and forces throughout the world have extended their support and assistance, which has contributed to the victories of the African peoples. The Bureau expressed its appreciation for this active solidarity and highlighted with satisfaction all the forms of assistance, particularly in material, equipment and training facilities, that are being extended by these countries in order to step up the capability of the national liberation movements to wage a successful freedom struggle and to enhance the defence capabilities of all the front-line States to safeguard their true independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

27. The Bureau analysed the attitude of the imperialist forces and particularly that of certain powers that have long been involved with the régimes of South Africa and the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

28. The Bureau noted that the imperialist and colonialist forces were resolutely opposed to real independence in the region, for they considered it a direct threat to their design of perpetuating their unbridled economic plunder and military domination of the subcontinent. Hence the freedom struggle, including the armed struggle, which has been raging in Namibia and Zimbabwe and which is gaining momentum in South Africa itself, is being subverted in order to rob the people of these countries of their inevitable victory.

29. Imperialist forces have resorted to devious manoeuvres like the so-called "internal settlement", setting up puppet groups, creating tribal armies and appointing blacks as direct representatives and agents for creating the delusion of a representative government, while pretending to justify them as being aimed at the removal of the racist régime. In actual fact, they are intended to consolidate their vested interests, perpetuate oppression and exploitation, divide and weaken the united front of the freedom fighters, their solid base with the people and the support and solidarity that their just struggle continues to command from peace-loving, freedom-loving, democratic countries and forces in the international community. These manoeuvres have failed because of the ever-growing strength and the determined will of the liberation movements and the abiding and firm commitment and support which the non-aligned movement has extended.

30. The powers that had been coming forward with proposals and plans for peaceful solutions in Zimbabwe and Namibia had systematically and unilaterally revised their plans when they saw them beginning to take concrete shape to the detriment of the interests of racist minority régimes and the big monopolies. In the repeated shifting of support between internal and international solutions, the imperialist forces are successively using one solution or another so as not to lose the initiative to the liberation forces and to deny the decisive role of the armed struggle for national liberation.

31. The objectives of the racist régimes and the imperialist forces are:

- to force the oppressed masses into abandoning the struggle;
- to consolidate their oppression and exploitation;
- to halt the process of growing international isolation of Salisbury and Pretoria.

32. In its analysis, the Bureau considered that the breaking of that vicious circle depended on the development of the armed liberation struggle led by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and by SWAPO in Namibia. It is that struggle that has progressively reduced the effectiveness of enemy manœuvres and discredited and exposed the puppets.

33. The racist armies, supported by mercenaries and equipment supplied by the imperialist Powers, are increasing their attacks and acts of aggression against the front-line States.

34. The Bureau considered that the persistence of the imperialists in enlarging the military arsenals of the colonialist and *apartheid* régimes in southern Africa and providing the technology and necessary means to develop nuclear weapons was in open defiance of the international community's efforts to eliminate the arms race and extend international détente. The Governments of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Israel have a particular and serious responsibility in that connexion.

35. The Bureau denounced once again the growing political, economic and military collaboration among the racist axis formed by South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel, which has been repeatedly condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It stressed that the Israeli support to South Africa and Rhodesia enabled them to build up their growing aggressive military power and their machinery of oppression and exploitation. The Bureau particularly denounced the nuclear collaboration between the racist régimes of Israel and South Africa, which constituted a serious threat to peace and security in the world.

36. This new type of conspiracy is underscored by the imperialists' use of the veto to block economic sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, thus encouraging the continued presence of the Western multinational corporations, which in turn are being progressively integrated into the Pretoria régime's military programme. The régime's legislation empowering it to coerce foreign companies to manufacture strategic items is one example of the beginning of the process which might lead to direct or indirect military intervention in defence of the Pretoria-Salisbury régime.

37. The Bureau applauded the recent action taken in Iran to impose an oil embargo against the racist régimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel and called upon all oil-exporting countries which had not yet done so to refrain strictly from exporting oil to these régimes.

38. Lastly, the Bureau noted that, despite the aggressiveness of the racist minority régimes, the peoples of southern Africa were increasingly conscious of their growing strength and were courageously intensifying the struggle, defeating the enemy in successive battles.

39. The Bureau condemned the links established by certain Latin American States with the racist régime of South Africa and their intention to develop such links more closely.

40. The Bureau concluded that southern Africa was one of the focal points of tension in international relations and the centre of confrontation between the imperialist forces of aggression and the forces of liberation, progress and peace. The so-called Defence Act, recently promulgated by the Pretoria régime, under which it arrogates to itself the right to intervene in all African countries, is part of this imperialist global strategy, which constitutes a serious threat to the entire African continent and world peace.

41. All members of the non-aligned movement and all peace-loving, freedom-loving and democratic countries and forces throughout the world should provide, as an imperative priority, support commensurate with the needs of the liberation movements and the front-line States, whose struggle, in the final analysis, represents the struggle of all peoples throughout the world for national independence, peace and progress and against exploitation and all forms of foreign domination.

42. Having addressed itself to general observations on the liberation of southern Africa, the Co-ordinating Bureau analysed in detail the present situation in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, with a view to intensifying all forms of support for the armed liberation struggle waged by the Patriotic Front against the illegal racist minority Salisbury régime.

43. The Bureau noted that the Patriotic Front fighters were striking at strategic military and economic targets throughout the entire territory, including Salisbury. In a desperate bid to survive, the illegal minority régime is increasingly resorting to massacres and acts of repression against the broad masses and has ordered general mobilization of all settlers, compulsory military service for blacks and the imposition of martial law throughout the country.

44. Attempts by the Salisbury régime to undermine the people's support for the freedom fighters have not found the expected response from the masses. The Zimbabwean people's determination to achieve genuine independence for their country has brought to naught the so-called internal settlement, thwarted the plans for holding bogus elections and resulted in the intensification of the successful armed struggle being waged by the people's liberation movement—the Patriotic Front.

45. The Bureau noted that the only concrete result of the so-called internal settlement was the integration of some Zimbabwean renegades into the racist régime. As full members of the Smith régime, these traitors have put themselves in direct opposition to the just liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean people, become full partners in the aggression committed against front-line States and revealed themselves to be unequivocal enemies of the Zimbabwean people and of Africa.

46. The Bureau congratulated the Zimbabwean fighters, led by the Patriotic Front, for the great successes they have achieved on the battlefield, which had reduced the enemy's margin of manœuvre and guaranteed the victory of the Zimbabwean people. By virtue of its extension in depth throughout the entire Territory, the liberation struggle has reached an advanced stage, which has weakened the position of imperialism and enables the Patriotic Front to dictate the pace of the advance to genuine independence in Zimbabwe.

47. Recognizing that the Anglo-American proposals on Rhodesia have been overtaken by the progress of the armed liberation struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front and that they have lost relevance and recognizing that, at the present time, the armed struggle being carried out by the Patriotic Front, supported by the sanctions decreed by the international community, is the decisive factor in the liquidation of colonialism, the Bureau appealed to all members of the non-aligned movement and to all peace-loving, freedom-loving and democratic countries and forces throughout the world to increase their political, diplomatic, military and financial support for the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean people, thus contributing to the independence of the Territory and the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

48. The Bureau urged all non-aligned countries to provide the lead to the world community by taking urgent measures, which must consist, *inter alia*, of:

- support for the armed struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front, the sole liberation movement of Zimbabwe, and co-ordinated action aimed at strengthening unity within the Patriotic Front;
- refusal to recognize as legitimate or in any way representative of the people a government which massacres the Zimbabwean people and carries out repeated aggression against sovereign States members of the non-aligned movement; the renegades are an integral part of the rebel régime of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, a régime which must be totally dismantled;
- rejection and condemnation of the so-called "internal settlement" promoted by the illegal racist minority Salisbury régime, concluded on 3 March 1978;
- cessation and immediate condemnation of the recruitment, training, transit and financing of foreign mercenaries for and by the illegal régime, and insistence on their immediate withdrawal from the Territory of Zimbabwe;

—cessation of the supply to Southern Rhodesia of petroleum and related products by certain oil companies and their subsidiaries, whether directly or indirectly with the participation of certain States, in deliberate violation of existing mandatory United Nations sanctions, thereby strengthening the Salisbury régime;

—concerted action by the non-aligned countries, particularly those represented in the Security Council, in support of the resolution adopted at the fifteenth summit of African heads of State, held at Khartoum in July 1978, aimed at the adoption of the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations;

—reaffirmation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on Zimbabwe, in particular General Assembly resolution 33/38, condemning the persistent support given by South Africa, certain Western Governments and Israel to the racist minority Salisbury régime.

49. Military and financial support must concentrate on:

—the provision of equipment, financial assistance and training for the development of the armed struggle for national liberation;

—support for the other training programmes of the Patriotic Front;

—support for reconstruction programmes in the territory of Zimbabwe directly controlled by the Patriotic Front;

—support for the Zimbabwean refugees driven from their homes to neighbouring countries by the brutal barbarism of the oppressive racist régime.

50. The Bureau recommended the admission of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe as a full member of the non-aligned movement. Such a decision would constitute a telling further support for the liberation struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, for the speedy establishment of a free, independent and non-aligned Zimbabwe.

IV. NAMIBIA

51. The Bureau reiterated its support for SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia and welcomed it as a full member of the non-aligned movement.

52. The Bureau considered that the situation in Namibia resulting from its continued illegal occupation by the racist South African régime had reached a particularly critical stage and, with this in view, emphasized the urgent and imperative need for providing increased support at all levels to the national liberation struggle including the armed struggle led by SWAPO to achieve genuine independence for the Territory and to guarantee its territorial integrity.

53. The Bureau noted with grave concern the manoeuvres of the South African *apartheid* régime, with the acquiescence of the forces of imperialism, to dismember the Territory by annexing Walvis Bay, legitimizing the puppets and installing a client neo-colonial régime in Namibia.

54. The Bureau condemned the bogus elections held in Namibia on 4 December 1978 by South Africa. Those so-called elections, which could have been prevented by the Western Powers given their political and economic leverage in South Africa, seriously endangered the international effort. Furthermore, the Bureau is of the opinion that, in associating themselves with the South African régime's communiqué on the bogus elections, the five Western Powers by implication endorsed the South African scheme to deprive the Namibian people of their genuine independence. The Bureau therefore stressed the need for vigilance in thwarting any other attempt to delay the achievement of genuine independence and a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem.

55. The Bureau supports the Security Council efforts deployed in the search for a genuine solution to the Namibian problem by full and fair implementation of the United Nations Secretary-General's final and definitive report, as endorsed in its entirety by Council resolution 435 (1978). In the event that the Pretoria racist régime fails to comply with the implementation of this resolution, the Security Council should impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

56. The Bureau commends the Namibian people and their national liberation movement, SWAPO, for waging a heroic struggle for the liberation of their country and for the preservation of its unity and territorial integrity in the face of the illegal South African occupation and oppression. In particular, the Bureau congratulated the Namibian freedom fighters, led by SWAPO, on their victories in the armed struggle as well as in the political and diplomatic fields against the increased South African repression and manoeuvres.

57. The Bureau calls upon all non-aligned countries to:

(a) Condemn strongly the bogus elections stage-managed by the Pretoria régime which have been declared null and void by both the United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly;

(b) Denounce at all international conferences and gatherings any manoeuvres aimed at establishing a neo-colonial régime in Namibia and legitimizing South Africa's illegal annexation of Walvis Bay; in particular, any role played in such manoeuvres by the Western imperialist Powers traditionally linked to the *apartheid* régime and now presenting themselves as a decisive factor in the liberation struggle must be denounced;

(c) Declare that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and reaffirm support for Security Council resolution 432 (1978);

(d) Reject any proposal for a settlement that seeks to exclude SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, from the political process;

(e) Condemn strongly the acts of aggression by South Africa against Angola and Zambia;

(f) Demand the strict and speedy implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Namibia, in particular General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 1967 and Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 432 (1978) and 435 (1978);

(g) Support materially, militarily and financially the intensification of the armed struggle for national liberation led by SWAPO;

(h) Support programmes of assistance of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other international organizations to Namibians in exile, forced out of their country by the increased massacres and repression committed by the racist régime;

(i) Support the training programmes of the liberation movement;

(j) Support the United Nations Council for Namibia as the sole legal administering authority for Namibia until its independence;

(k) Ensure compliance with Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia for the protection of the natural resources of Namibia;

(l) Support the Nationhood Programme for Namibia.

58. The Bureau calls upon all States to boycott and to block in all international relations recognition and contacts with puppet groups or régimes installed by South Africa as agents of its own internal solution imposed on the people of Namibia contrary to Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

59. The Bureau decides to establish a Special Non-Aligned Fund for SWAPO to meet the exigencies of the situation in Namibia as it develops.

V. SOUTH AFRICA

60. The stepped up momentum of the liberation struggle in South Africa is shaking the foundations of the racist régime. Confronted with the growing strength of the freedom fighters and the solid support they command from the people, the *apartheid* régime, to achieve the sinister objective of undermining the unity of the struggling masses in South Africa, has resorted to increasingly violent repressive measures and has accelerated its programme of tribal fragmentation of the country. The aim of this policy of bantustanization is a typical example of the "divide-and-rule" policy of imperialism. It is designed to rob the vast majority of the people of their inalienable birthright, to create permanent reservoirs of semi-slave labour in these so-called bantustans and to provide them with tribal armies to

serve as buffers against the liberation movement. Accordingly, the Bureau reiterated the non-aligned movement's total rejection of bantustans and similar *apartheid* concoctions, such as the so-called Coloured and Indian councils.

61. The Bureau analysed those manoeuvres and concluded that the objective of the *apartheid* régime, based on institutionalized racism, was in reality a crude effort to diffuse the decisive revolutionary struggle of the people and a futile attempt to avoid being further isolated from the international community.

62. Faced with the ever-growing struggle of the people led by their liberation movement, the racist Pretoria régime has brutally intensified its repression by a veritable wave of arrests, political assassinations and massacres.

63. The Bureau reaffirmed the legitimacy of this struggle, waged by the South African people and its liberation movement, for the overthrow of the *apartheid* system, the seizure of power and the establishment of a democratic State that will guarantee the birthright of all South Africans, regardless of race, colour, sex and belief.

64. At the same time, the *apartheid* régime has strengthened its war potential, which constitutes a threat to the people of South Africa, neighbouring independent States and international peace and security.

65. The Bureau condemned the complicity of the Western Powers and Israel, which are enhancing the military and repressive capability of the South African régime, particularly by extending sophisticated technological and other assistance for the manufacture of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

66. The Bureau noted with equal concern the plans to defend imperialist interests in the southern hemisphere and the Cape route through the establishment of an aggressive military pact, which might include racist South Africa.

67. The Bureau therefore called on all member countries of the non-aligned movement to provide a dynamic lead to the international community, in particular to all peace-loving, freedom-loving, democratic countries and forces throughout the world, to step up quantitatively and qualitatively their concrete support commensurate with the needs of the national liberation struggle in South Africa and, in particular, to:

- support, both materially and financially, the struggle of the people of South Africa, led by their liberation movement;
- support the training programmes of the liberation movement;
- support the programmes of assistance to the people of South Africa who have been driven out of their homes as refugees by the brutal barbarism of the oppressive *apartheid* régime;
- denounce energetically, at the United Nations and in all international forums, the Pretoria régime, the system of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and the divisive tribalist policy of the so-called bantustans;
- reject, pursuant to the resolution of the fifteenth Summit Conference of African Heads of State, held at Khartoum, all contacts with existing bantustans and any others that may be established;
- denounce those countries which collaborate with the *apartheid* régime by giving it political, diplomatic, military, economic, material and financial support, particularly the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Japan, Belgium and Italy, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/35;
- call upon all States to implement strictly and effectively Security Council resolution 418 (1977), imposing an arms embargo against the *apartheid* régime;
- call upon all States to urge the Security Council to impose an oil embargo against that régime;
- demand the rigorous implementation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, and particularly by the Security Council, concerning South Africa.

68. The Bureau recommended that the non-aligned countries should collaborate at the United Nations and consult with all Member States with the aim of adopting, at the thirty-fourth

session of the General Assembly, a declaration of solidarity with the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa, committing Member States not to engage in direct or indirect military intervention in support or defence of the *apartheid* régime.

VI. FRONT-LINE STATES

69. The Bureau considered methods of strengthening all forms of support for the front-line States, with the objective of assisting them to overcome the difficulties arising from their role as secure rear bases for the liberation struggle, flowing from their commitment to the liberation movement, and to support them in countering the systematic aggression by the racist minority régimes of southern Africa.

70. The Bureau noted that the implementation by these countries of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the racist régimes constituted a heavy burden on their nascent economies, in addition to the substantial loss of life and damage to property caused by continuous armed attacks against them by the racist régimes.

71. The Bureau condemned all acts of armed aggression, expansionism and destabilization against Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique. These actions constitute an attempt by the enemy to divert the support given by the front-line States to the liberation struggle. The Bureau reiterated firmly that the front-line States were not and should not be alone in resisting the colonial and racist enemy and inflicting on it a resounding defeat.

72. The Bureau called on all States to intensify, at both the national and international levels, all forms of assistance to the front-line States, particularly in the political, diplomatic, economic, financial, military and material fields.

73. Political and diplomatic support should be given at the United Nations and in all international forums by denouncing the attacks to which those countries are being subjected, the complicity of imperialist forces in those attacks and their attempts to sow the seeds of dissension among countries of the region so as to divert the front-line States from their firm support for the national liberation struggle.

74. Economic, financial and material support should aim essentially at enabling those countries to implement fully and vigorously the sanctions against the racist régimes imposed by the Security Council and to assist the hundreds of thousands of refugees living in their territories who have had to flee from their homes and hearths because of the brutal barbarism of the oppressive racist régimes.

75. Military assistance should be aimed at augmenting the defence capability of the front-line States, enabling them to counter successfully the armed aggression and efforts at destabilization from the racist régimes, thus creating the conditions for promoting the social and economic development of the front-line States in an environment of peace and stability.

76. It is imperative at the same time for all States Members of the United Nations, especially members of the Security Council, to undertake effective measures, taking into consideration all relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular Chapter VII, to deal decisively with the aggressive actions of the racist régimes which threaten peace and security in the region as well as in the rest of the world.

77. The Bureau expressed its complete solidarity with Lesotho in its valiant struggle to overcome the tremendous odds confronting it by virtue of its geographical location and the consequent aggressive, exploitative pressures brought to bear upon it by the surrounding *apartheid* régime.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

78. The Bureau emphasized the need for redoubling the efforts of the non-aligned countries in order to enhance and assist the legitimate struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for their national liberation, inalienable rights to freedom and independence and their right to decide their own future without any foreign interference. It called for further and substantially increased support and assistance to the front-line States to preserve and strengthen their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and alleviate the suffering of their people and the vast damage caused to their economies as a result of the

wanton aggressions and destruction perpetrated against them by the racist minority régimes.

79. The Bureau recommended that the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries should consider with priority the situation in southern Africa and the application of the necessary measures to strengthen and intensify the common action of the non-aligned countries in political and material support and solidarity with the national liberation movements and the front-line States.

80. The Ministers considered that the sixth Summit Conference at Havana, Cuba, would be held at a decisive moment for the liberation struggle in southern Africa and would provide an appropriate forum at the highest level of the non-aligned countries for assessing and implementing the decisions adopted at the extraordinary meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries at the level of Foreign Ministers held at Maputo, Mozambique.

81. The Bureau decided to call on its Chairman, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, to circulate the final communiqué adopted at Maputo as an official document of the United Nations General Assembly and of the Security Council.

82. The Bureau welcomed with deep satisfaction the offer made by India to host the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in 1981 following the sixth Summit Conference.

A luta continua

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION TO THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries,

Expressing its deep gratitude and sincere appreciation to the Government and people of Mozambique for the friendly and generous hospitality accorded to all participants of the meeting and the excellent arrangements made for the efficient conduct of this historic gathering in this frontier of freedom in southern Africa,

Privileged to have the rich experience of observing at first hand the concrete achievements of the successful liberation struggle of Mozambique against Portuguese imperialism under the inspiring leadership of President Samora Machel,

Hailing the victories of the people of Mozambique in building a new, united and free nation, as well as their contribution to the

strengthening of the independence of the free States of southern Africa, and in their role as a secure rearguard for the national liberation movements in the region,

Expressing homage to the martyrs of the liberation struggle,

Paying tribute to the suffering and sacrifices of the people of Mozambique in their arduous fight against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism and to their patriotism, determination, dedication and indomitable commitment to their noble goal under the inspiring guidance of FRELIMO, which played a key role in liberating Mozambique, and to their great leader, President Samora Machel,

1. *Pays tribute to President Samora Machel's unflinching commitment to the principles of non-alignment in the pursuance of Mozambique's foreign policy;*

2. *Notes that, since the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism in Mozambique and the consequent loss of the country to the imperialists, Mozambique has emerged as one of the main factors for peace and stability in the region in partnership with the other front-line States and that President Samora Machel has forged a strong partnership of firm solidarity with those States and the liberation movements against racist régimes;*

3. *Affirms that the People's Republic of Mozambique as well as the other Front-line States are not and never shall be alone in the face of racist aggression, since the non-aligned countries will continue to extend to them their unflinching solidarity and support.*

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE (draft resolution submitted by all the African delegations)

At its special session at the level of Foreign Ministers held at Maputo from 26 January to 2 February 1979, the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries expressed its deepest grief at the demise of the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Houari Boumediene, a former Chairman of the non-aligned movement.

The Bureau paid tribute to the life of that distinguished patriot, tireless and effective fighter in the cause of the liberation of the peoples of Africa and of the whole world, dedicated combatant of the anti-imperialist cause and a shining example and source of inspiration for the non-aligned countries.

The Bureau further expressed its entire sympathy and total solidarity to the bereaved people of Algeria in their hour of sadness.

DOCUMENT S/13186*

Letter dated 22 March 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]
[22 March 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the statement made on 21 March 1979 by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam [annex I] and the note dated 21 March 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China [annex II] and request you to have this letter and its enclosures circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam
to the United Nations

* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/127-S/13186.

ANNEX I

Statement made on 21 March 1979 by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam denouncing the Chinese aggressors for continuing to occupy many areas of Vietnamese territory

On 16 and 17 March 1979, the Peking authorities claimed that their troops had all been withdrawn on 16 March.

This claim is not true. It aims at deceiving the people of China and the world who are closely following their words and actions.

The truth is that up to 18 March 1979 more than 10,000 Chinese aggressor troops still remained in three areas and at 16 points in the provinces of Lang Son, Cao Bang, Ha Tuyen, Hoang Lien Son and Lai Chau. In the areas north and north-west of That Khe (Lang Son Province), two Chinese regiments remained stationed from 10 to 20 kilometres inside Vietnamese territory. In all these areas, Chinese troops continue to commit crimes against the Vietnamese people. In Lang Son, in addition