

Front that the enemy can be overcome, the dynamic energy of the people mobilized and the Smith régime and the British colonialism he represents, defeated. There cannot be any dynamic and purposeful unity in Zimbabwe unless that unity were to promote an effective armed struggle. It was on this basis that ZANU and ZAPU in 1975 brought about the formation of the joint military command out of the ZAPU and ZANU military wings which eventually became the Zimbabwe People's Army, ZIPA, which is our military arm to defeat Smith on the battlefield.

With the intensification of the war, on the one hand, and the increase of acts of genocide by the enemy on the other, thousands of students, old people and children have been rendered homeless and have been forced to flee to neighbouring countries. Well over seventy thousand Zimbabweans have been made refugees, the bulk of whom are in Mozambique.

All these people lack the basics for human survival: they need food, clothes, medicines, educational facilities and equipment and cultural entertainments. The Patriotic Front therefore calls upon the United Nations agencies such as WHO, UNHCR, UNESCO, FAO, UNICEF, etc. to intensify their assistance to the Zimbabwe refugees and to the Patriotic Front.

This Conference will have failed in its international duty and responsibility if it ended without denouncing the human carnage in Zimbabwe, in particular the genocide at Dambwa Kraal, Ndanga District, carried out by the fascist troops of Ian Smith on 6 May. This Conference must also condemn the continued massacre, incarceration and deportation of innocent missionaries by the Smith régime in an attempt to silence them from championing the cause of the struggling masses of Zimbabwe and the continued herding of innocent villagers into concentration camps. In this connection, the recent herding of 250,000 villagers in the Honde Valley concentration camp must be noted.

Last, but not least, this Conference must denounce the racists for the mass arrests, restrictions and detention of Zimbabweans without trial and also the continued hanging of valiant patriots and freedom fighters in Zimbabwe.

On South Africa, the Conference should condemn the fascist and racist régime of Johannes Vorster for assisting the rebel régime of Ian Smith economically and militarily, for the continued massacre of innocent schoolchildren in Soweto, Langa, Guguletu and other places in the fascist and racist ruled territory and for attempting to create a Bantustan state in Namibia through the so-called Turnhalle Conference.

Britain must be condemned by this Conference for its vacillation and indecision in taking necessary concrete steps to bring about a just and democratic system in Zimbabwe.

The Conference should also denounce those Western countries that continue to violate flagrantly UN sanctions against the Smith régime and allow their countries to be used as recruitment centres for mercenaries for the Smith régime under the pretext of freedom of movement of people. In particular, this Conference

must condemn the French for collaborating with the South African Government in the training of racist pilots in the use of French Mirage planes in the Transvaal, South Africa.

Finally this Conference must unreservedly condemn the Western oil monopolies for grossly violating United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia by supplying the illegal régime with fuel oil.

This Conference should, while condemning the callous genocide committed by the fascist régimes and the shoddy activities of some Western countries and oil monopoly companies, hail the positive role played by the United Nations Decolonization Committee, the Council for Namibia, the OAU, the Arab League, the Socialist and progressive organizations and countries in the West for exposing the racist régimes in southern Africa and for rendering assistance to National Liberation Movements in southern Africa.

Finally, we hail and pay tribute to FRELIMO, the Government and the people of Mozambique and other frontline states for rendering concrete material, political and diplomatic support to the struggle in Zimbabwe as prosecuted by the Patriotic Front.

A Luta Continua!  
Pamberi ne Chimurenga!  
Forward with the Zimbabwe Revolution!  
Forward with African Unity!  
Forward with Progressive Forces of the World!  
Down with Ian Smith and down with Vorster!

Speech by Mr. Aaron Mutiti  
Representative of the African National Council of Zimbabwe

The delegation of the African National Council of Zimbabwe wishes to thank on behalf of the struggling masses of our country, the United Nations Committee on Decolonization and the Council for Namibia for co-sponsorship of this International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Our delegation would like to thank FRELIMO and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique in whose country the Conference is taking place. We would like to thank the delegates for the efforts they made to travel long distances in order to attend this Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Time flies Mr. President, and great events take place that alter the destinies of nations. It would appear, Mr. President, that it was only yesterday when this town was known as Lourenço Marques under the Portuguese colonialists. Yet today it is Maputo under the rule of the Mozambican people. It is not long ago that a Portuguese colonial representative once said at the height of the war of resistance that "Portuguese rule would be here forever".

The Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO struggled against colonialism and imperialism and finally defeated it. If Vietnam was not enough to show the imperialists the futility of struggling against the people, the victories of the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola outflanked imperialist strategists in Africa and greatly encouraged the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in their struggle against fascist white minority oppression. After Soweto, South Africa will never be the same again and a situation is fast arising whereby the people will do everything possible to bring down the oppressive régime of the architects of apartheid. The world knows that all men are born free and equal both in dignity and rights. This universally proclaimed democratic principle stands in jeopardy whenever political, economic and cultural inequalities affect human relations. A particularly striking obstacle to the recognition of equal dignity for all is racism. Racism continues to haunt the world. As a major social phenomenon it requires the attention of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces. Racism is the ideology of imperialism and enemy of social progress. It is a reactionary social phenomenon.

Mr. President, the enemy as represented by the imperialist forces group within the NATO enclave has not been sleeping. The enemy is plotting day and night to deprive the people of the fruits of their struggle. Thus in Namibia, we are witnessing the farce of the Turnhalle Conference whose main objective is to undermine the oneness and indivisibility of the Namibian people. The ANC led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa condemns the Turnhalle Conference as a reactionary move on the part of the South African fascist régime aimed at installing an undemocratic government in Namibia.

In Zimbabwe, where the whole people are locked up in a life and death struggle against the fascist racist Smith régime, the enemy is coming time after time with so-called proposals for a peaceful solution of the problem, not

realizing that the time for a peaceful solution is long past and that as far as the people of Zimbabwe are concerned now is the time for the Smith régime to surrender to the Zimbabwe people.

The people of Zimbabwe have already found the solution to the Zimbabwe problem - that solution is their armed resistance against the illegal Smith régime.

So far all the proposals that the enemy brought forward have floundered on the fundamental issue of power to the masses. It is our conviction that the present moves will fail once more if the question of power to the people is not the target.

Mr. President, what the people of Zimbabwe are struggling for is the liberation of their country. The people of Zimbabwe are not struggling in order to find a mechanism to stop the war of national liberation. All the so-called peace initiatives from the Victoria Falls Bridge to Geneva have failed and the enemy is merely and desperately seeking for a mechanism to stop the war. Our President, Bishop Muzorewa stated in a document issued at the Geneva Conference on Rhodesia and I quote: "It is the height of folly for anyone to think that when our people are engaged in a struggle whose victory is now inevitable - that they should be expected to compromise with an enemy who is already doomed. The armed struggle will continue until Zimbabweans are in total control of their country."

The ANC-Z has a clear line politically and this was voiced by our President Abel Muzorewa when he was recently interviewed in ITV's "Weekend World" and I quote: "Until Smith sits down and agrees to the transfer of power" our President said and I quote: "We cannot take him seriously". There is no sense in talking when Smith is intending to proceed only on a Kissinger-type of deal which would buy time for himself with empty promises and relatively minor internal cosmetics. Smith has not changed his nature, as has been proved by his hanging recently of eight ANC members. He is as cruel and devious as ever. Nor will he ever change his nature and so the war must be intensified. The people of Zimbabwe must resist all attempts to divide them and fight on. There will be no victory at the negotiating table until there is victory on the battlefield. Our record is clean and clear on the question of armed struggle. In all the negotiations or conferences that took place, the African National Council of Zimbabwe has always consulted with its followers and the neighbouring States.

We strongly deplore the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to discharge its primary responsibility as the administering Power and in conformity with the United Nations to put an end to the critical situation in Zimbabwe which, as repeatedly affirmed by the Security Council, constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

On 6 June 1968 representatives of 59 member states of the United Nations

asked the President of the Security Council to convene an urgent meeting to consider the "serious situation" in Southern Rhodesia and to take "more energetic measures" within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter so that the people of the Territory may exercise their right to self-determination. The British Government had already announced to the world that Britain would not use force if the régime declared Rhodesia an independent state. This remark by Britain encouraged the Smith régime to take a further and deplorable step in the wrong direction for Zimbabwe, for Africa and for the world.

When Smith and his cabinet were dismissed from the Government and were regarded as private persons, the British Government did not appoint a body which would act as a provisional Government until such a time when general elections could be held based on the principle of one man, one vote. Because of her failure to appoint this body, the state organs were left without an authoritative body from which they could get instructions. The instructions from the British Governor that all civil servants should remain loyal to the Queen and should not do anything to help the illegal régime were not backed by action. The British Government allowed a situation whereby the state organs had no choice but to obey the Smith régime as the effective government of the country. The British Government should have arrested the whole cabinet for taking law into their hands and while these gangsters were under arrest a provisional government could have been formed. It is very clear that it was never the intention of the British Government that there should be majority rule in Zimbabwe.

The British Government having declared Smith and his cabinet private persons, the same British Government invited the illegal régime for talks on the question of U.D.I.. This was a de facto recognition of the Smith régime. The British Government raised the matter in the Security Council, not because she felt it was the right thing to do, but that if she did not do so other countries could have done so, because there was a strong move in the United Nations from the independent African States to bring down the Smith régime by force of arms and the British considered that economic sanctions would be far preferable to military force.

At the same time, Mr. Wilson said that as far as he could see, the present list (suggested by the United Nations) of sanctions would not be extended unless some action by the Rhodesian régime made it necessary. It is clear that Britain's intention was to avoid a move by the United Nations which could make sanctions strong enough to bring down the illegal régime in Zimbabwe.

The Commonwealth has put forward a number of suggestions and none of these suggestions have been carried out by Britain.

The primary responsibility for putting an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and transferring effective power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule rests with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as the administering Power.

At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in September 1966, the majority of the Prime Ministers urged the United Kingdom to declare categorically that

independence would not be granted to Southern Rhodesia before majority rule was established on the basis of a universal adult franchise and stated that the United Kingdom should refuse to negotiate with the illegal régime. Soon after these recommendations, Britain had talks with the illegal régime - such as the Tiger Talks and the Fearless Talks to which no Africans were invited and all of which failed. The Victoria Falls talks failed and the Geneva Constitutional Conference which started on 28 October 1976 also failed.

Those who have followed the history of the anti-colonial struggle in Zimbabwe know that negotiations with the enemy who occupy our country have always failed. They have failed not because our people do not want peace but because the Zimbabwe colonial situation does not permit half solutions. Either the people take power completely or the people's armed struggle continues.

We object to a system that allows detention and restriction without trial: there are thousands of people who have been deprived of their liberty unjustly because of oppressive actions of the enemy which are aimed at nationalists seeking freedom and independence for their country. There are people at present under sentence of death because of legislation imposing a mandatory death sentence.

A well-known citizen of the country, Dr. Edison Sithole, disappeared over a year ago and the Smith régime claims that it has no knowledge of his whereabouts. We have irrefutable evidence of an eyewitness who saw Dr. Sithole being whisked away in a security truck of the Rhodesian police. He was also later seen by a black member of the Smith's armed forces at an army base.

Can we allow a system which condones violence and torture, where under the pretext of the Law and Order Maintenance Act, Africans have been locked up in the so-called "protected villages" where many of them die from poor sanitation and disease, where Gestapo-like methods of interrogation of suspects are used? There are cases of persons who have undergone continuous interrogation for 24 hours without sleep or rest until they collapsed. People are beaten up with rubber tubing or a whip made of hippo skin. The so-called security forces employed to carry out these diabolical activities take shifts to do their dirty job. People are forced to give evidence in order to extricate themselves from torture. For torture the régime uses an "electric snake". This particular method is used on people susceptible to violent intimidation and acute nervousness. Some of these methods of torture include the pulling and pressing of the private parts of African men and women using a pair of pliers.

Some of our people are being beaten to death as a result of this savagery. The most notorious and oldest method employed by the Rhodesian Front régime's torture squad is what I may call the "water drum and pulley system". A naked person is suspended from the ankles with the head down and with the hands cuffed behind the back. The victim is then lowered gradually by a pulley chain system until the head is immersed in a drum of ice cold water. The process is repeated

several times. Some people have been pricked between the finger nails and the flesh with a needle, or scorched on the lips with a burning cigarette. Bedbugs are sometimes bred and set onto victims.

The Rhodesian security forces continue to impound the cattle, sheep and goats of the African people in the war zones. There is indiscriminate maiming, killing and massacring of civilians. The cold-blooded murder of over 675 refugees of the Nhazonia Camp in Mozambique is a good example.

Christian missionaries of various denominations continue to be harrassed and deported. Almost daily, we hear of men and women who are shot dead for allegedly breaking the so-called curfew regulations. The régime's security forces and farmers are given orders to "shoot anything that moves after 5 pm". For example, a pregnant African woman was brutally shot down while collecting firewood two hours earlier than the curfew deadline.

For years, the people of Zimbabwe have demanded majority rule based on one man, one vote - a universally accepted democratic principle, but this has been persistently denied us. The armed struggle will continue until Zimbabweans are in control of their country. Armed struggle in the case of the Smith régime refusing to transfer power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe is the only answer.

Thank you, Mr. President.

#### IV. TEXTS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

##### MAPUTO DECLARATION IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE a/

###### A. Declaration on the liberation of Zimbabwe

The Conference solemnly proclaims its full support for the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle for independence. It reaffirms that there should be no independence before majority rule and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the people of Zimbabwe represented by their national liberation movement, which includes all the progressive forces actively engaged in the struggle, and in accordance with their true aspirations. The Conference affirms the principle of the rights of individual citizens, regardless of race or colour, and rejects any notion of special rights and privileges for, or discrimination against, any ethnic group.

The Conference reaffirms the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as the administering Power for Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The international accountability which the administering Power assumed under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations cannot be compromised. It is imperative that the solemn obligation accepted as a sacred trust by the administering Power should not be relinquished under any circumstances until the objectives of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have been fully implemented.

The Conference strongly condemns the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. It denounces the régime's brutal and repressive measures against the people of Zimbabwe. The illegal racist minority régime has forcibly moved thousands of villagers into concentration camps. Numerous acts of brutality have been committed by the illegal régime against the people of Zimbabwe and foreign missionaries. There has been beating, torture and killing of innocent villagers and the application of criminal and arbitrary measures of collective punishment. Ruthless repression has escalated into genocide, as shown in the massacre of hundreds of people in the Nyadzonya refugee camp. The illegal régime is recruiting mercenaries to carry out its brutal repression of the people of Zimbabwe. It is clear that all the actions taken by the illegal racist minority régime are designed to consolidate its illegal rule of the Territory. Recent manoeuvres such as the amendment of the Land Tenure Act and the appointment of puppet chiefs to so-called ministerial posts are futile attempts to perpetuate the status quo. The international community should act forthwith to put an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

Over the years, efforts have been made to achieve a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. These efforts were particularly intensified in the wake of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the consequent extension of the frontiers of freedom in southern Africa through the emergence of liberated Mozambique and Angola, as well as the development of the struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia. These

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a/ Reproduced from document A/32/109 (Part II), S/12344 (Part II)

efforts were undertaken by the national liberation movements supported by the front-line States and the Organization of African Unity. This support was clearly reflected in the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa adopted by the Organization of African Unity in 1975. b/

Painstaking attempts were made last year to reach a negotiated settlement culminating in the Geneva Conference on Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). However, so far, all reasonable and meaningful proposals which would have secured a negotiated settlement for an independent Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule have been totally rejected by the illegal racist minority régime. Confronted with the intransigence of that régime, the freedom fighters have intensified the armed struggle.

Furthermore, the fighting forces have forged ahead in their drive towards unity. Positive steps have been taken towards the unity of Zimbabweans and the development of the liberation struggle. The Conference stresses the importance of the unity of all the patriotic forces in their struggle against the illegal racist minority régime.

The development of the armed struggle and the concerted efforts of the international community are creating positive conditions for a negotiated settlement based on majority rule.

The international community should endeavour to intensify these efforts so that the illegal racist minority régime is brought to a speedy end. In this regard, the Conference takes note of the efforts of the United Kingdom, the administering Power, to achieve a negotiated settlement with the objective of securing independence for Zimbabwe under majority rule in 1978.

The Conference considers that the strict enforcement of existing mandatory sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime is an important element in the collective effort of the international community to promote a settlement of the conflict in Zimbabwe. In this regard, the actions taken by the Governments of Mozambique and Zambia in closing their borders with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and imposing total sanctions against the illegal minority régime constitute a major contribution in support of the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and towards the maximum isolation of the illegal minority régime, in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations.

The Conference deplores the fact that some States continue to violate sanctions with the result that sanctions have had only a limited effect on the economy of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The principal violator of sanctions is South Africa. In addition, some Western and other States have not implemented the mandatory sanctions. The need to ensure that the mandatory sanctions are scrupulously enforced is more urgent than ever. Any breaches or evasions of obligations under the Charter must not be tolerated. At the same time, there is an urgent need to widen the scope of sanctions to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter.

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b/ Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its twelfth ordinary session, held at Kampala in July 1975 (A/10297).

The Conference strongly condemns South Africa for its support of the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). It is South Africa's support which sustains that régime. The United Nations should examine all possibilities to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions on Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

The Conference strongly condemns the persistent acts of aggression committed by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. These acts of aggression have resulted in an enormous loss of life and in the destruction of property. The international community should give the utmost assistance to those States in order to deter armed attacks by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Through those acts the illegal minority régime seeks to achieve a dual objective: on the one hand, to intimidate the front-line States which are acting as strategic rear bases for the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe in accordance with United Nations objectives and, on the other hand, to internationalize this conflict.

The Conference solemnly declares that the natural resources of Zimbabwe are the birth-right of the people of Zimbabwe. The exploitation of these resources by the illegal racist minority régime in association with foreign economic interests is in violation of the principles of the Charter and of all pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. The exploitation of these resources by the illegal minority régime brings no benefit to the people of Zimbabwe and contributes to maintaining in power the illegal minority régime. The activities of foreign economic interests engaged in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) should be the object of systematic denunciation so that their actions, which are detrimental to the people of Zimbabwe, will be exposed to the full scrutiny of and condemnation by the international community.

The Conference solemnly appeals to all States Members of the United Nations and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify their assistance to the national liberation movement representing the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for independence. It commends the international community for the invaluable moral, political and material assistance given by it to the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe. It further commends all non-governmental organizations which have given their solidarity and support to the cause of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. The front-line States in Africa which have taken a firm stand against the illegal racist minority régime, in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, should be given all necessary economic and other assistance by all freedom-loving countries and peoples. The Conference urges that all Governments, organizations and peoples join in concerted international action in support of the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe in this crucial and final stage of the total emancipation of Africa.

B. Declaration on the liberation of Namibia

The Conference solemnly proclaims its full support for the struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of their sole and authentic liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. It recognizes that the Namibian people have been forced to resort to armed struggle after many years of arduous attempts to achieve those objectives by peaceful means. It reaffirms the right of the people of Namibia to decide on the means of their struggle, in the light of the conditions in the Territory. The development of the armed struggle and continued efforts of the international community have created positive conditions for a negotiated settlement. It is encouraging and inspiring to see the unity and solidarity of the Namibian people in their efforts to fulfil their true aspirations and legitimate interests under the leadership of their liberation movement. Despite a ferocious oppressor, the determination, competence and heroism of Namibian patriots have gained for them the respect and admiration of the international community. It is imperative that all freedom-loving forces in the international community give maximum support to the South West Africa People's Organization to ensure the victory of the people of Namibia in their struggle against the forces of colonialism and racism.

The Conference strongly condemns the colonial and illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, which constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and against the United Nations, in defiance of repeated demands for its withdrawal by the Security Council and the General Assembly. The policies of the illegal South African administration are a systematic violation of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal authority to administer that Territory until independence has the responsibility to assist the Namibian people in their struggle against South African aggression and occupation. It is therefore imperative that appropriate measures be formulated and implemented to counter decisively South Africa's continued defiance of the authority of the United Nations.

The Conference strongly condemns the policies of apartheid and homelands which the Pretoria régime has extended to Namibia. In order to perpetuate its exploitation of the people and natural resources of the Territory, the illegal South African administration in Namibia follows a policy of brutal institutionalized terrorism against the Namibian people. Many Namibian patriots have perished under this régime. The illegal administration in Namibia imprisons and tortures men and women under its violently repressive racist system. It carries out massive transfers of population, thus causing untold suffering to thousands of innocent men, women and children. In this respect, the Conference invites all States to implement the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Dakar Conference on Namibia and Human Rights. c/ The Conference considers furthermore that all possible pressure should be brought to bear upon the Pretoria régime to cease its barbaric repression of the Namibian people in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

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c/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/31/24), vol. II, annex II, paras. 51 and 52.

The Conference recognizes Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia and rejects the attempts of South Africa to separate it from the rest of Namibia with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, historical, economic, cultural and ethnic bonds. All States should endeavour to dissuade South Africa from pursuing its efforts to separate Walvis Bay from Namibia.

The Conference strongly condemns the increasing militarization of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime. In its increasingly aggressive posture, South Africa has expanded its military apparatus in Namibia in order to give itself the capability to attack neighbouring African countries, in a policy of continuous intimidation. It enacted the Defence Amendment Act in 1976 in order to carry out aggression far beyond its borders. Therefore, the sale or supply of any arms or military material, the transfer of technology and the provision of the means to produce weapons, as well as any nuclear collaboration with South Africa, ultimately support the acts of aggression by South Africa against the Namibian people and the United Nations. It is therefore imperative that all States cease and desist from any form of direct or indirect military consultation, co-operation or collaboration with South Africa. In order to meet the continuous threat of the minority régime to international peace and security in southern Africa, the Security Council should be called upon to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

The Conference strongly denounces the Turnhalle tribal talks as a South African stratagem to perpetuate its ruthless colonial and racist policies and practices under false pretences. South Africa has brought together in the Turnhalle tribal talks the fanatical racist promoters of apartheid and tribal puppets to prepare a so-called charter for the purpose of misleading the international community on its true intentions in Namibia. The so-called charter is to be the basis for a provisional government fabricated by South Africa, which would pretend to be an advance towards a pseudo-independent Namibia. The international community, especially all States Members of the United Nations, should act to frustrate South Africa's tactics of political deception. No recognition should be accorded to any group which the illegal South African administration may install as a consequence of the current fraudulent constitutional talks or any other manoeuvres in Namibia. Any independence talks regarding Namibia must be between the representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization and South Africa under the auspices of the United Nations for the sole purpose of discussing the modalities for the transfer of power to the Namibian people.

The Conference reaffirms that, in order that the people of Namibia shall be enabled freely to determine their own future, free elections should be held urgently under the supervision and control of the United Nations in the whole of Namibia as one political entity. However, prior to such elections, conditions for a negotiated settlement should be created in Namibia in accordance with all relevant decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and, in particular, Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976.

The Conference solemnly reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia until the Territory attains full independence. The General Assembly has declared that Namibia is a direct responsibility of the United Nations and has entrusted the United Nations Council for Namibia with the exercise of de jure internal and external sovereignty over Namibia. Therefore, the Council is empowered to protect the rights and to represent the interests of the Namibian people, with the full participation of the South West Africa People's Organization.

The Conference recognizes the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until independence, an indispensable role which it is fulfilling. It is imperative that the international community strengthen its support for the Council in its efforts to promote the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. The Conference calls upon all Member States to implement the provisions contained in United Nations resolutions granting full participation of the United Nations Council for Namibia in all conferences, specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system.

The Conference solemnly proclaims its support for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia contained in General Assembly resolution 31/153 of 20 December 1976. The Council received from the General Assembly at its thirty-first session the mandate to elaborate, in consultation with the South West Africa People's Organization, the guidelines and policies for such a programme and to direct and co-ordinate the implementation of the Programme. The Nationhood Programme shall cover the present period of struggle for independence and the initial years of the independence of Namibia. It is imperative that the international community ensure the success of the Nationhood Programme by taking measures to increase the programmes of concrete assistance to the people of Namibia through their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization.

The Conference solemnly declares that the natural resources of Namibia are the birth-right of the Namibian people. The exploitation of those resources by foreign economic interests, under the protection of the repressive racist colonial administration and in violation of all principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, is illegal and contributes to the maintenance of the illegal occupation régime. The rapid depletion of the natural resources of the Territory due to the reckless plunder in which foreign economic interests engage in collusion with the illegal South African administration is a grave threat to the integrity and prosperity of an independent Namibia. It is imperative that the activities of foreign economic interests engaged in Namibia should be the object of systematic denunciation so that their actions, which are detrimental to the Namibian people, will be exposed to the full scrutiny and condemnation of the international community.

The Conference welcomes the report and recommendations of the mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations with headquarters in Europe. In this regard, it urges all specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations to give all possible concrete assistance within their spheres of competence to the Council in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it, so as to expedite the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on Namibia, in particular resolution 31/153 on the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. The Conference calls upon those specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations in which South Africa still illegally purports to represent Namibia to terminate such relationships forthwith and to grant full membership to the United Nations Council for Namibia as the Administering Authority of Namibia until independence.

The Conference commends the international community for the invaluable moral, political and material assistance it is giving to the South West Africa People's Organization. It further commends all non-governmental organizations which are giving their solidarity and support to the cause of the liberation of Namibia from illegal South African occupation. The Conference solemnly appeals to all States Members of the United Nations and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify their assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization in this crucial and final stage in the emancipation of Africa.

#### C. General: Zimbabwe and Namibia

The Conference notes with appreciation the programmes of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and institutions which are providing educational, training and humanitarian assistance to Zimbabweans and Namibians, notably the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the United Nations Institute for Namibia, the Trust Fund for South Africa and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. It appeals to States, organizations and individuals to give generous assistance to all such programmes designed to assist Zimbabweans and Namibians.

The Conference appeals to the mass media to join in the campaign in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Conference considers it necessary for the United Nations to strengthen and intensify the dissemination of information on the struggle for self-determination and independence in Zimbabwe and Namibia, particularly through the network of the United Nations information centres all over the world. In this regard, the Conference requests the General Assembly to allocate the necessary resources to intensify public information action, especially through the United Nations information centres.

#### D. South Africa

The Conference recognizes that the South African apartheid régime has been the bastion of racism and colonialism in southern Africa and the main opponent of the efforts of the United Nations and the international community to promote self-determination and independence in southern Africa.

Although fully conscious of the need for vigorous and effective international action to thwart the manoeuvres of the apartheid régime, the Conference decided to concentrate its programme of action on specific measures with respect to Zimbabwe and Namibia, taking into account that further action against apartheid will be considered at the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, to be held at Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE LIBERATION OF  
ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA d/

A. Measures in support of the national liberation movements

The Conference calls upon Governments:

(a) To give the greatest possible political and moral support to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and their national liberation movements in their struggle to attain self-determination and national independence;

(b) To provide and increase material and financial support to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and their national liberation movements, in consultation and co-operation with the Organization of African Unity;

(c) To encourage the activities of non-governmental organizations engaged in providing political and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia;

(d) To increase their contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia in order to ensure the success of the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka as well as the formulation and implementation of additional projects in support of the Namibian people;

(e) To extend travel facilities and educational and employment opportunities to Namibians;

(f) To participate in the Week of Solidarity with the Namibian People which is to be organized each year during the week following 27 October, the anniversary of the ending of the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia, particularly by setting up committees of assistance for Namibia.

The Conference urges all Member States, specialized agencies, programmes and other institutions within the United Nations system, as well as other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to extend, as a matter of priority, material and economic assistance to the front-line States in order to enable them to implement more effectively the United Nations resolutions supporting the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Conference further urges that special assistance should be rendered to the States bordering Zimbabwe and Namibia to enable them to provide for the increasing number of refugees from those Territories.

The Conference calls upon the United Nations:

(a) To increase further its contribution to the United Nations Fund for Namibia;

(b) To increase its support for the United Nations Council for Namibia in its efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence for the people of Namibia;

(c) To consider the possibility of establishing a university of Namibia. With regard to this initiative, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization should be invited to assist the United Nations Council for Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organization, in the formulation of its guiding plan.

The Conference calls upon the specialized agencies and other institutions within the United Nations system to give high priority to the formulation, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, of programmes and projects of assistance to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and their national liberation movements. In the case of Namibia, such assistance should be extended in consultation with the United Nations Council for Namibia.

The Conference urges other intergovernmental organizations to extend political and material support to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The Conference appeals to all non-governmental organizations:

(a) To intensify their campaigns in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and their national liberation movements in their struggle to attain self-determination and independence;

(b) To intensify their campaigns in support of the South West Africa People's Organization to prevent any action in favour of South Africa's policies in Namibia and to increase financial contributions to SWAPO.

The Conference appeals to all solidarity organizations and groups to establish effective national committees in their respective countries in support of the South West Africa People's Organization and the struggle of the people of Namibia to prevent any action in favour of South Africa's policies and practices in the Territory in contravention of United Nations resolutions and decisions on Namibia.

The Conference calls upon all trade unions to intensify their campaign in support of the just struggle of the people of Namibia by boycotting and otherwise refusing to handle vessels, aircraft or any other vehicles carrying Namibian goods, in accordance with Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974. e/

B. Measures against the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

The Conference calls upon Governments:

(a) To refrain from any co-operation or collaboration with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe);

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e/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No.24A (A/9624/Add.1), para. 84. The Decree has been issued in final form in Namibia Gazette No.1.

(b) To observe strictly the arms embargo against the illegal racist minority régime;

(c) To enact legislation declaring the recruitment, assembly, financing and training of mercenaries in their territories to be punishable as a criminal act and to do their utmost to discourage and prohibit their nationals from serving as mercenaries;

(d) To take measures against corporations and trade interests which operate in or have subsidiaries operating in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), in violation of sanctions imposed by the Security Council;

(e) To prevent oil companies registered in their territories from supplying oil, directly or indirectly, to the illegal racist minority régime;

(f) To take stringent enforcement measures to ensure strict compliance by all individuals, associations and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to prohibit any form of collaboration by them with the illegal racist minority régime;

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

(h) To discontinue any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority régime by forbidding, inter alia, the operation and activities of Air Rhodesia, the Rhodesian National Tourist Board and the Rhodesian Information Office, or any other activities which contravene the aims and purposes of sanctions;

(i) To invalidate passports and other documents for travel to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe);

(j) To prohibit the use of Southern Rhodesian aircraft for international passenger or cargo traffic;

(k) To deny landing rights in their respective territories to flights, the route schedules of which include stopovers in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), for the purpose of loading or unloading passengers and/or goods to and from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

The Conference calls upon the United Nations:

(a) To reiterate its conviction that the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime must be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations; the Conference also requests the Security Council to consider, as a matter of urgency, taking the necessary measures in that regard;

(b) To extend sanctions to marine and air insurance in order to prevent ships, aircraft carrying passengers or cargo destined to or coming from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) from being insured.

The Conference calls upon the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take all necessary measures, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to withhold any financial, economic, technical or other assistance from the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), to discontinue all support to it and to refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of the domination of the Territory by that régime.

The Conference draws the attention of other intergovernmental organizations to the urgent need to adopt measures for the complete isolation of the illegal racist minority régime from the international community.

C. Measures against the illegal South African administration in Namibia

The Conference calls upon Governments:

(a) To reject categorically and denounce all manoeuvres such as tribal talks by which the South African régime may seek to impose its will upon the Namibian people;

(b) To reject decisively all attempts by South Africa to dismember the Territory of Namibia and especially the design to annex Walvis Bay;

(c) To refrain from according any recognition to or co-operating with any authority or régime which South Africa may install in Namibia;

(d) To enact the necessary legislation consistent with Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia of the United Nations Council for Namibia;

(e) To respect fully the terms of Security Council resolutions 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970 and 310 (1972) of 4 February 1972 and thereby ensure an end to foreign economic activities, and to terminate any consular representation in or concerning Namibia;

(f) To implement the arms embargo against South Africa without exceptions or reservations.

The Conference calls upon the Security Council to impose, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa as an important step to ensure South Africa's compliance with United Nations resolutions and decisions on Namibia.

The Conference calls upon the General Assembly to convene a special session on the question of Namibia, bearing in mind the evolution of the situation in the Territory.

The Conference calls upon the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to take all necessary measures to withhold any financial, economic, technical and other assistance from the Government of South Africa; to discontinue all support to it, as such support impedes the realization of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, and to refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

The Conference draws the attention of other intergovernmental organizations to the urgent need to deny any co-operation with the South African Government as long as it persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia and in enforcing in the Territory the policies of apartheid and homelands.

The Conference appeals to all non-governmental organizations to intensify their campaigns against the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and against the application of its policies of apartheid and homelands to the Territory.

The Conference, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/150 of 20 December 1976, calls upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to prepare, in consultation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, a detailed map of Namibia reflecting its territorial integrity.

The Conference supports the decision of the General Assembly directing the Secretary-General to make adequate provision for the setting up of a United Nations radio transmitter and recommends to the Secretary-General its early establishment in accordance with Assembly resolution 3295 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974.

ANNEX

A. Participants

1. Member States

Afghanistan	Madagascar
Algeria	Malawi
Angola	Malaysia
Australia	Mali
Austria	Mauritania
Belgium	Mauritius
Benin	Mexico
Botswana	Mongolia
Brazil	Mozambique
Bulgaria	Netherlands
Burundi	Niger
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	Nigeria
Canada	Norway
Cape Verde	Pakistan
China	Panama
Colombia	Peru
Congo	Philippines
Cuba	Poland
Cyprus	Portugal
Czechoslovakia	Romania
Denmark	São Tomé and Príncipe
Egypt	Senegal
Ethiopia	Sierra Leone
Fiji	Somalia
Finland	Spain
France	Sri Lanka
German Democratic Republic	Sudan
Germany, Federal Republic of	Swaziland
Ghana	Sweden
Greece	Syrian Arab Republic
Guinea	Togo
Guinea-Bissau	Trinidad and Tobago
Guyana	Tunisia
Haiti	Turkey
Hungary	Uganda
India	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Indonesia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Iran	United Arab Emirates
Iraq	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Italy	United Republic of Tanzania
Ivory Coast	United States of America
Jamaica	Venezuela
Japan	Yugoslavia
Kenya	Zaire
Lesotho	Zambia
Liberia	
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	

2. United Nations bodies

Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

United Nations Council for Namibia  
Special Committee against Apartheid

3. Organization of African Unity (OAU)

4. National liberation movements

South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)  
Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe)  
African National Council of Zimbabwe [ANC (Zimbabwe)]  
African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)  
Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)

B. Observers

1. Member States

Brazil

2. Non-member States

Democratic People's Republic of Korea  
Holy See  
Republic of Korea  
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
Switzerland

3. Organizations

Commonwealth Secretariat  
European Economic Community (EEC)  
League of Arab States (LAS)  
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

4. Specialized agencies and other international institutions and organizations associated with the United Nations

International Labour Organisation (ILO)  
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)  
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)  
World Health Organization (WHO)  
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)  
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)  
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

5. Non-governmental organizations

African-American Institute  
Afro-Asian People's Organization (AAPSO)  
All Africa Conference on Churches  
American Committee on Africa  
Amnesty International  
Centro de Estudios Africanos  
Clergy Committee against Mercenaries in Africa  
International Committee of the Red Cross  
International Defence and Aid Fund  
International University Exchange Fund  
Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee  
Lutheran World Federation  
Organization of African Trade Union Unity  
Pan African Women's Organization  
Patrice Lumumba Coalition  
Portuguese National Committee for the World Conference against Apartheid  
Racism and Colonialism in southern Africa  
Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee  
The Washington Office on Africa