

RESOLUTIONS  
OF THE  
THIRD CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED STATES

Lusaka  
September 1970

With Selected Conference Statements and Comments

The South African Institute of International Affairs  
Jan Smuts House  
P.O. Box 31596  
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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Third Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States was held in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September, 1970. (The first Non-Aligned Conference was held in Belgrade in 1961 and the second in Cairo in 1964.) The following fifty-five States participated in the Conference, and approximately half were represented by Heads of State or Government:<sup>1</sup>

Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo People's Republic, Congo (DR), Cuba, Cyprus, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somali, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Tanzania, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, UAR, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

The following States and organisations had Observer status at the Conference:

Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, Organisation of African Unity, "Provisional Revolutionary Government" of South Vietnam.

It was reported that the following organisations were present in Lusaka, but their status at the Conference is not clear:

Angolan Liberation Movement (MPLA), South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), National Movement for the Liberation of the Comoros Islands, Movement for the Liberation of French Somaliland (FLCS), Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)

There were also two rival Cambodian delegations, one representing the Government of General Lon Nol, and the other representing the deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

A meeting of Foreign Ministers beforehand prepared a number of draft resolutions which were considered by the Summit Conference. A series of resolutions (some in the form of declarations or statements) was issued after the Conference, and the texts of most of these resolutions are reproduced in full in this paper in section A. It is, however, not clear as to how these resolutions were adopted, as there was no formal voting on them by the Conference as a whole. The final drafting was left to a

committee, and they were then issued to the Press. They cover a variety of subjects, and it appears from press reports that they did not all meet with the full approval of all participating States. Probably the most that can be said is that these resolutions express the views of the majority of Governments represented at the Conference.

Section B of this paper gives summaries of and extracts from a few of the general statements made at the Conference, illustrating the attitudes of leading participants towards "non-alignment", as well as towards Southern African questions. South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories received a good deal of attention at the Conference, both in statements and in the resolutions.

In Section C a few selected comments on the Conference, mainly by press organs in various countries, are given.

One matter which received considerable press attention in South Africa and elsewhere, and which tended to overshadow the proceedings of the Conference itself, was the detention by the Zambian authorities of eight foreign journalists who were covering the Conference, and the questioning of eight others. Most of those detained represented British or American newspapers or agencies, and were based in South Africa. The detained journalists were released after a brief period, but one of them was then declared a prohibited immigrant and two others had their Conference accreditation withdrawn.

In response to the widespread criticism of this action, the Zambian High Commission in London issued a statement to the effect that the detention and questioning of the journalists had nothing to do with their being based in South Africa or Rhodesia. The statement said: "Police were justifiably concerned with the behaviour of these 16 newsmen, and it was deemed right and necessary that these pressmen should be asked to exercise some control and moderation of their civil activities."<sup>2</sup> The allegations in the statement were denied by some of the journalists. The correspondent of The Times (London) who was one of those detained, said, inter alia, that "the statement must relate to some other set of events of which I have no knowledge".<sup>3</sup>

This paper has been prepared for information and reference purposes, and it does not contain an analysis of or commentary on the Conference proceedings and resolutions adopted. The main intention is to make available to members of the Institute, as well as other interested persons, the texts of the resolutions. But, as with all conferences, the significance of the Lusaka Conference cannot be assessed from the resolutions alone. It is, therefore, useful to read some of the more important statements which were made at the Conference, on the question of "non-alignment" in today's world, and on Southern African problems. It should be noted,

however, that the selection of statements reproduced in this paper has to some extent been determined by what is available in the way of material on the Conference. The selection of four statements is not, as a result, necessarily representative of all views expressed during the debates. A similar reservation applies to the few comments reproduced at the end of this paper.

JOHN BARRATT  
DIRECTOR, S.A.I.I.A.

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1. The list of states and organisations present at the Conference is as given by the Yugoslav News Agency and reproduced in Africa Research Bulletin, Vol. 7 No. 9, pages 1877 and 1878. (The document issued by the Zambian Information Services, from which the Conference resolutions are reproduced in Section A below, does not give the list of participating States.)
2. The Times (London), 10 September, 1970.
3. Ibid.

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RES. 1:

Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations

After giving the dates and venue of the Conference, as well as a list of countries participating and of observers and guests,<sup>+</sup> the Declaration continues as follows:

They exchanged views on the significance and the role of non-aligned countries in the present-day world with particular reference to safeguarding and strengthening world peace and security, ensuring national independence and full sovereignty of all nations on a basis of equality, on the need to realize the fundamental right of all peoples to self-determination, as well as democratization of international relations, promoting the rapid economic growth of the developing countries and considering possibilities for greater consultation and co-operation among the non-aligned countries and strengthening the United Nations.

2. Two and a half decades ago, the peoples of the United Nations inscribed in the Charter their desire to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war; to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of the human person, in the equal rights of nations, large and small; to establish conditions under which justice and respect for obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom for all. The intervening period has confirmed the historic merit of those ideals and aspirations, but it has likewise demonstrated that many expectations have not been fulfilled and many problems have not been solved, notwithstanding the efforts of the non-aligned countries.

3. The policy of non-alignment has emerged as the result of the determination of independent countries to safeguard their nations' independence and the legitimate rights of their peoples. The growth of non-alignment into a broad international movement cutting across racial, regional and other barriers, is an integral part of significant changes in the structure of the entire international community. This is the product of the world anti-colonial revolution and of the emergence of a large number of newly-liberated countries which, opting for an independent political orientation and development, have refused to accept the replacement of centuries-old forms of subordination by new ones. At the root of these changes lies the very more clearly expressed aspiration of nations for freedom, independence and equality, and their determination to resist all forms of oppression and exploitation. This has been the substance and meaning of our strivings and actions; this is a confirmation of the validity of the Belgrade and Cairo Declarations. At a time when the polarization of the international community on a bloc basis was believed to be a permanent feature of international relations, and the threat of nuclear conflict between the big powers an ever-present spectre hovering

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<sup>+</sup>See Introduction above.

over mankind, the non-aligned countries opened up new prospects for the contemporary world and paved the way for relaxation of international tension.

4. Our era is at the crossroads of history; with each passing day we are presented with fresh evidence of the exceptional power of the human mind and also of the dangerous paths down which its imperfections may lead. The epoch-making scientific and technological revolution has opened up unlimited vistas of progress; at the same time, prosperity has failed to become accessible to all and a major section of mankind still lives under conditions unworthy of man. Scientific discoveries and their application to technology have the possibility of welding the world into an integral whole, reducing the distance between countries and continents, a measure making international co-operation increasingly indispensable and ever more possible: yet the states and nations comprising the present international community are still separated by political, economic and racial barriers. These barriers divide countries into the developed and the developing, the oppressors and the oppressed, the aggressors and the victims of aggression, into those who act from positions of strength, either military or economic, and those who are forced to live in the shadow of permanent danger of covert and overt assaults on their independence and security. In spite of the great progressive achievements and aspirations of our generation, neither peace, nor prosperity, nor the right to independence and equality, have yet become the integral, indivisible attribute of all mankind. Our age, however, raises the greatest hopes and also presents the greatest challenges.

5. The immediate danger of a conflict between the superpowers has lessened, because their tendency to negotiate in their mutual relations is strengthening. However, it has not yet contributed to the security of the small, medium-sized and developing countries, or prevented the danger of local wars.

6. The practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other states, and the recourse to political and economic pressure, threats of force and subversion are acquiring alarming proportions and dangerous frequency. Wars of aggression are raging in the Middle East and in Indo-China and being prolonged in South Vietnam and extended to Cambodia and the presence of foreign forces in Korea is posing a threat to national independence and international peace and security. The continued oppression and subjugation of the African Peoples in southern Africa by the racist and colonial minority regimes, apart from being a blot on the conscience of mankind, poses a serious threat to international peace and security. This situation is becoming dangerously explosive as a result of the collusion between certain developed countries of the West and the racist minority regimes in that part of the world. The continuing arms race is causing alarm and concern and rendering nuclear détente extremely precarious and serves as a spur to limited wars. The balance of terror between the superpowers has not brought peace and security to the rest of the world. There are welcome signs of a growing détente between the power blocs but the abatement of the cold war has not yet resulted in the disintegration of the military blocs formed in the context of great power conflicts.

7. International relations are entering a phase characterized by increasing interdependence and also by the desire of States to pursue independent policies. The democratization of international relations is therefore an imperative necessity of our times. But there is an unfortunate tendency on the part of some of the big powers to monopolize decision-making on world issues which are of vital concern to all countries.

8. The forces of racism, apartheid, colonialism and imperialism continue to bedevil world peace. At the same time classical colonialism is trying to perpetuate itself in the garb of neo-colonialism - a less obvious, but in no way a less dangerous, means of economic and political domination over the developing countries. These phenomena of the present day world tend not only to perpetuate the evils of the past, but also to undermine the future; they retard the liberation of many countries still under colonial domination and jeopardize the independence and territorial integrity of many countries, above all of the non-aligned and developing countries, hampering their advancement, intensifying tension and giving rise to conflicts.

9. The economic gap between the developed and the developing countries is increasingly widening - the rich growing richer and the poor remaining poor. The developing countries are being denied their right to equality and to effective participation in international progress. The technological revolution, which is now the monopoly of the rich, should constitute one of the main opportunities for progress of developing countries. World solidarity is not only a just appeal, but an overriding necessity; it is intolerable today for some to enjoy an untroubled and comfortable existence at the expense of the poverty and misfortune of others.

10. Concerned by this state of affairs in the world, the participants in this Conference have agreed to take joint action, and to unite their efforts towards that end.

11. The participants in the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries reaffirm and attach special importance to the following principles: the right of the peoples who are not yet free to freedom, self-determination and independence; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States; the right of all States to equality and active participation in international affairs; the right of all sovereign nations to determine, in full freedom, the paths of their internal political, economic, social and cultural development; the right of all peoples to the benefits of economic development and the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution; refraining from the threat or use of force; and the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes.

12. The Conference declares that the following continue to be the basic aims of non-alignment: the pursuit of world peace and peaceful co-existence by strengthening the role of non-aligned countries within the United Nations so that it will be a more effective obstacle against all forms of aggressive action and the threat or use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country; the fight against colonialism and racialism which are a negation of human

equality and dignity; the settlement of disputes by peaceful means; the ending of the arms race followed by universal disarmament; opposition to the establishment of foreign military bases and foreign troops on the soil of other nations in the context of great power conflicts and colonial and racist suppression; the universality of and the strengthening of the efficacy of the United Nations; and the struggle for economic independence and mutual co-operation on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. What is needed is not redefinition of non-alignment, but a rededication by all non-aligned nations to its central aims and objectives.

13. The participants in the Conference solemnly declare that they shall consistently adhere to these principles in their mutual relations and in their relations with other States. They have accordingly agreed to take the following measures:

- (a) To achieve full solidarity and to initiate effective and concrete measures against all forces that jeopardize and violate the independence and territorial integrity of the non-aligned countries and for this purpose to co-operate with and consult each other as and when necessary.
- (b) To continue their efforts to bring about the dissolution of great power military alliances in the interest of promoting peace and relaxing international tensions, under circumstances ensuring the security of all states and peoples; to safeguard international peace and security through the development of social, economic, political and military strength of each country.
- (c) To assert the right of all countries to participate in international relations on an equal footing which is imperative for the democratization of international relations.
- (d) To offer determined support to the intensification of the work of all international bodies concerned with problems of disarmament, particularly in the preparations for and implementation of the programme of the Disarmament Decade as an integral part of general and complete disarmament.
- (e) To intensify and unite efforts among the developing countries and between them and the developed countries for the carrying out of urgent structural changes in the world economy and for the establishment of such international co-operation as will reduce the gap between developed and developing countries.
- (f) To intensify joint efforts for the liquidation of colonialism and racial discrimination; to this end to pledge their utmost possible moral, political and material support to national liberation movements and to ensure implementation of international decisions, including measures by the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

(g) To continue their efforts toward strengthening the role and efficacy of the United Nations, to promote the achievement of the universality of the United Nations and the urgent need for giving the Peoples Republic of China her rightful place in the organization and the admission of other countries.

Nigeria - "To examine the modalities of enabling all countries outside the United Nations including those which are still divided to participate in the activities of the Organization and its Agencies." +

(h) To strengthen steadily, and expand the domain of mutual co-operation within the international, regional and bilateral frameworks.

(i) To ensure the continuity of action by holding periodic consultations of representatives of non-aligned countries at different levels and by convening summit conferences more frequently depending on the prevailing international situation.

14. The Heads of State or Government and leaders of participating countries resolve that this Declaration as well as the statements and resolution issued by this Conference shall be forwarded to the United Nations and brought to the attention of all the member States of the world organization. The present Declaration shall also be forwarded to all other states.

15. The participants in the Conference appeal to all nations and governments, all peace and freedom-loving forces and to all people the world over for co-operation and joint efforts for the implementation of these objectives. At the same time, they declare that they shall support all international actions that are initiated in the interests of the progress of mankind.

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\* This insertion in the text of the declaration is presumably an alternative wording of sub-para. (g) proposed by Nigeria, about which the Conference did not reach agreement.

RES. 2:

Apartheid and Racial Discrimination

The Third Non-Aligned Summit Conference meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8-10 September, 1970,

Recalling the O.A.U. Resolution CM/Res. 232 (XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session, the Belgrade and Cairo Declarations, and the Lusaka Declarations on Southern Africa;

Noting with profound concern that South Africa arrogantly continues to pursue the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid in flagrant violation of various UN resolutions on Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, including the policies of racial discrimination and apartheid;

Determined to institute effective measures with a view to restoring the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the non-white and oppressed people of South Africa;

1. FULLY ENDORSE the O.A.U. Resolution CM/Res. 232 (XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session;
2. RE-AFFIRMS the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policy of Apartheid and racial discrimination in order to realise their human rights and fundamental freedoms;
3. CONDEMNS any and every practice of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of so-called "prisoners" and detainees in South African prisons;
4. ALSO CONDEMNS the continued presence of South African forces in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe which poses a further and continuing threat to the human rights and fundamental freedom and demands their immediate and unconditional withdrawal;
5. FURTHER CONDEMNS Sections 10 and 29 of the General Law Amendment Act, 1969, concerning the Bureau of State Security (B.O.S.S.) which not only constitutes one of the most sinister documents in history but also contributes decisively towards making South Africa a complete police state and violates Article 11 (1) of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights;
6. CONDEMNS those countries, in particular the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan, which, by their political, economic, and military collaboration with the Government of South Africa, encourage and incite that Government to persist in its racist policy;
7. DEPLORES the activities of the principal trading partners of South Africa, who, in defiance of appeals made by the OAU and the UN, have intensified their trade with, and increased their investments in South Africa, thus entrenching apartheid;

8. STRONGLY CONDEMNS those States which continue to sell military equipment to South Africa, or to help it produce arms and ammunitions, in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN, and, in this regard, strongly deplores the declared intention of the UK Government to resume the sale of arms to South Africa;

9. STRONGLY URGES the UK Government to reconsider forthwith its declared intention to resume the sale of arms of any description to the racist regime of South Africa;

10. DENOUNCES South Africa's so-called "outward" looking foreign policy whose objective is to create by means of economic and financial pressures a buffer zone of puppet States on its borders in order to defend and entrench Apartheid and White Supremacy in Southern Africa;

11. RECOMMENDS to all Non-aligned countries to refrain from entering into diplomatic, economic or relations of any other nature with South Africa, and recommends to all such non-aligned countries as may be maintaining such relations with South Africa to break them forthwith;

12. SOLEMNLY AFFIRMS the need for effective international action to bring an end to Apartheid, and thereby avoid the turning of this part of the continent into a blood-soaked battlefield, with incalculable consequences for international peace and security;

13. EXPRESSES full support for and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa struggling for freedom and calls upon all countries to extend their moral and material assistance to this struggle for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

14. CALLS UPON all non-aligned countries to contribute financially and materially to assist the peoples fighting against colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid in Africa, through the Liberation Committee of the OAU;

15. INVITES other States of the world to contribute to this cause.

RES. 3:

The Portuguese Colonies (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau)

The Third Non-Aligned Nations Summit Conference meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 - 10 September, 1970;

Recalling the OAU Resolution CM/Res 234(XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session;

Recalling the Declaration on the granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December, 1960;

Recalling also all the relevant resolutions concerning the Territories under Portuguese domination adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

Deeply concerned at the critical and explosive situation which is threatening international peace and security owing to the methods of oppression and repression which continue to be used against the African peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination;

Noting once more with deep concern that the activities of the foreign economic and financial interests in these Territories are being pursued as intensively as ever and continue to impede the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples;

Noting further with deep concern that Portugal is waging the colonial war of suppression in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau with NATO arms;

FULLY ENDORSES the OAU Resolution CM/Res.234(XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session;

2. REAFFIRMS the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right by all means at their disposal;

3. EXPRESSES solidarity with the struggling people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and calls upon member states to give increased moral and material assistance to them in order to render their struggle more effective;

4. STRONGLY CONDEMNS the negative attitude of Portugal and its obstinate refusal to implement the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

5. FURTHER CONDEMNS the activities of the financial interests operating in the Territories under Portuguese domination which exploit the human and material resources of the Territories and impede the progress of their people towards freedom and independence;



6. CALLS upon all states to refrain from participating in the financing and construction of the Cabora Bassa Hydro-Electric Scheme;

7. FURTHER CALLS upon all states, particularly the military allies of Portugal in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to take the following measures:

(a) to desist forthwith from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance which enables it to continue its repression of African people in the Territories under its domination;

(b) to take all necessary measures to prevent any sale or supply of weapons and military equipment to the Portuguese Government; and

(c) to stop the sale or shipment to the Portuguese Government of equipment and materials for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition.

RES. 4:

Zimbabwe

The Third Non-Aligned Nation Summit Conference meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 - 10 September, 1970;

Recalling the OAU Resolution CM/Res.235(XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session;

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

Recalling further all subsequent UN resolutions concerning the situation in Zimbabwe and particularly UN Security Council Resolutions 232 (1966) of 16 December, 1966; 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, and 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, in which the Council determined that the situation in Zimbabwe constituted a threat to international peace and security;

Noting with Grave Concern:

(a) that the measures so far taken or recommended have failed to bring the rebellion in Zimbabwe to an end;

(b) that some States, contrary to resolution 232 and 253 of the UN Security Council and to their obligations under Article 25 of the UN Charter, have not only failed to stop trading with the illegal regime of Zimbabwe, but have also increased their trade with the regime;

(c) that the Governments of South Africa and Portugal have continued to give assistance to the illegal regime of Zimbabwe, thus diminishing further the effects of the measures decided upon by the Security Council; and

(d) that the situation in Zimbabwe continues to deteriorate as a result of the continued presence of South African forces in the Territory and the introduction by the illegal racist minority regime of new measures aimed at entrenching itself as well as repressing the African people in Zimbabwe, in violation of the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

1. FULLY ENDORSES the OAU resolution CM/Res. 235 (XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session;

2. CONDEMNS the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering power, to take effective measures, including the use of force, to bring down the illegal racist minority regime and to restore the rights of the people of Zimbabwe;

3. FURTHER CONDEMNS Britain's connivance at South Africa's armed intervention in Zimbabwe, which intervention is an act of aggression against the people and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe;

4. AFFIRMS that the future of Zimbabwe cannot be negotiated with an illegal regime;

5. AFFIRMS FURTHER the inalienable right of the African people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their armed struggle to attain that right;

6. EXPRESSES SOLIDARITY with the people of Zimbabwe and calls upon Member States to provide increased moral and material assistance to them in order to render their armed struggle more effective;

7. URGES all Member States to work for the maximum isolation of the rebel minority racist regime in Zimbabwe, and, in view of the armed conflict in the Territory and the inhuman treatment of prisoners, to ensure the application to that situation of the Geneva Convention of 1950 relating to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and of the Geneva Convention of 1949 relating to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

RES. 5:

Indo-China

The Third Summit Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-aligned countries meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 - 10 September, 1970;

Deeply concerned at the continuation and the escalation of the war caused by the presence of foreign armed forces especially those of the United States of America in Indo-China, resulting in untold suffering, loss of human life and property to the peoples of the region;

Pointing to the grave consequences of extension of foreign intervention to Cambodia which, as a staunch follower of peace and non alignment had successfully defended its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity;

Reaffirming their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Declarations of the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences of the Non-aligned Nations;

Considering that it is only through negotiations between the parties concerned that a just and peaceful solution can be found in conformity with the General Accords of 1954 and 1962;

Reaffirming their full adherence to the fundamental principles of peaceful international relations, in accordance with which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, great and small, are inviolable and must be respected;

Determined to oppose any attempts to compromise sovereignty and territorial integrity of any State;

PLEDGES support for the right of all peoples to adopt without any outside interference the form of Government they consider best suited to their development;

AFFIRMS its full support for the heroic struggle which the people of the Indo-China states continue to wage for freedom and independence;

EXPRESSES the hope that the Paris Talks will lead as quickly as possible to a lasting settlement which will enable the people of Vietnam to decide their destiny by themselves, and also help in a peaceful solution of the problems of Laos and Cambodia;

CALLS for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam to enable the Vietnamese people to exercise their right of self-determination without foreign interference;

APPEALS for a peaceful solution of the problems of Laos and Cambodia ensuring their independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, neutrality and unity.

RES. 6:

General Resolution on Decolonization

The Third Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 - 10 September, 1970;

Recalling the UN Declaration on Decolonization and the relevant UN General Assembly resolution on the rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence;

Deeply concerned over the continuing rule of regimes of oppression and colonial and racist exploitation and over the serious human, political and moral consequences which could ensue from the misdeeds;

Strongly convinced of the serious threats to international peace and security posed by the activities of colonial and racist powers;

Considering that the multi-form political, moral, diplomatic, economic, financial and military assistance granted to the Portuguese Government, to the illegal authorities in power in Salisbury and to the fascist and criminal government of Pretoria by their friends and allies, which enables them to pursue their oppressive and exploiting activities to the detriment of African peoples and Governments;

1. MAKES AN URGENT APPEAL to France and Spain to permit in the shortest possible time that the peoples of their colonies can exert freely and under the control of the UN and the OAU their right to self-determination;

2. DECIDES as far as Portugal, South Africa and Zimbabwe are concerned, to take the following measures as long as they will not conform to the UN decision on decolonization and racial discrimination:-

(a) To impose an embargo on trade with these three countries;

(b) To sever diplomatic relations with Portugal and South Africa;

(c) To deny landing rights and all facilities to any aircraft and vessel coming from or heading to South Africa, Portugal or Zimbabwe;

(d) To make substantial contributions to the Special Fund of the OAU Liberation Committee;

(e) To increase support and material aid to liberation movements through OAU;

3. ENTRUSTS its Chairman with the important mission of undertaking all appropriate actions and initiatives with the trading and military partners of the colonial and racist oppressive regimes without detriment to any form of concerted action by non-aligned countries at all levels with a view to putting an end to this assistance in accordance with the numerous resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council as well as those of the non-aligned States and the Organization of African Unity;

4.3: REQUESTS the Chairman of the Conference of non-aligned countries, within the framework of this important mission, to contact in the most appropriate manner the NATO countries and particularly the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Western Germany, Italy as well as Switzerland and specially Japan to ask them to put an immediate end to their assistance which directly or indirectly strengthens the regimes of colonial and racist oppression.

RES. 7:

Expression of Thanks to the Host Government

Note: This resolution expressed appreciation to the Government of Zambia, President Kenneth Kaunda, the Mayor of Lusaka and others responsible for the organisation of the Conference. It also recorded the admiration of the participants "for the friendly people of Zambia who are in the vanguard of the struggle against racialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and expressed their solidarity with them and with the oppressed people of Southern Africa."

RES. 8:

The Middle East

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries:

Reaffirm previous resolutions adopted by non-aligned countries which have drawn attention to the dangerous situation in the Middle East as well as to the fact that continued Israeli occupation of the territories of three non-aligned countries constitutes a violation of United Nations principles, a challenge to the aims of non-alignment and a grave threat to peace;

Consider it impermissible for Israel to keep the territories of three sovereign and non-aligned countries under occupation and continually to pursue the policy of flagrant use of force and to use the occupation of these territories as a means of pressure for imposing solutions;

Reiterate the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force and call for the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied after the 5th of June, 1967;

Declare that full respect for the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is a prerequisite to peace in the Middle East;

Call for the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in their usurped homeland and reaffirm their support in their struggle for national liberation and against colonialism and racism;

Reiterate the necessity of abiding by and implementing UN resolutions adopted in this regard;

Express their support to the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to implement the Security Council resolution of 22 November, 1967;

Deplore Israel's obstruction of these efforts aimed at establishing peace based on justice and, in particular, its interruption of the talks undertaken by the United Nations Special Representative in carrying out the task entrusted to him by the Security Council resolution;

Recommend to the UN to take adequate measures against Israel if it continues to disregard UN efforts to establish peace based on justice in accordance with the Security Council resolution of 22 November, 1967.

RES. 9:

The Question of the Illegal Arrest and Detention of Two Algerian Citizens by Israel Authorities

Note: This resolution inter alia condemned "the illegal arrest and detention" in Israel, of two Algerian passengers travelling on a BOAC plane, and "demands" their "immediate and unconditional release". It expressed "solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Algeria in its demand for the release of its two nationals". The resolution also called on the United Kingdom "to fulfill its international obligations and to take all steps in order to secure the release", as BOAC is an airline under the British flag.

RES. 10:

Declaration of Disarmament  
(Summary, with extracts)

This Declaration reaffirms the conviction expressed at the Belgrade and Cairo Summit Conference "that general and complete disarmament under effective international control is the most imperative and urgent need of the international community today".

It further expressed the opinion that the following "general order of priorities" should be followed in drawing up a comprehensive programme of disarmament:

"(i) Measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, such as a cut-off in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes and its transfer to peaceful uses, a stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons, a comprehensive test ban, reduction and destruction of stock-piles of nuclear weapons;

(ii) Other measures of priority in the disarmament field; an agreement prohibiting the development, production and stock-piling of Chemical and Biological (Bacteriological) weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of all nations, etc;

(iii) Non-armament or confidence-building measures, such as a convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons, demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond an agreed limit, the establishment of nuclear free zones, etc."

The Declaration gives support to the idea of a World Disarmament Conference, and advocates an international agreement committing all countries "not to resort to force and not to intervene in any manner whatsoever and under no circumstances in the internal affairs of other States". (Para. 4.)

It expresses the intention that the benefits of the technology of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be available to all States without any discrimination.

The final paragraph of the Declaration refers to the use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

RES. 11:

Statement on the Seabed  
(Summary, with extracts)

This statement expresses the hope that the United Nations General Assembly will adopt a Declaration on the use of the seabed which should inter alia reflect the following basic principles:

"(1) The seabed and the ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, as well as the resources of the area, are the common heritage of mankind.

- (2) The area shall not be subject to national appropriation by any means. No State shall exercise or claim sovereign right over any part of it. Nor shall any State or person claim, exercise or acquire rights with respect to the area or its resources incompatible with these basic principles and the international regime to be established.
- (3) The area shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.
- (4) The exploration of the area and the exploitation of its resources shall be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, irrespective of the geographical location of States, whether land-locked or coastal, and taking into account the special needs and interests of the developing countries.
- (5) On the basis of these principles, an international regime including appropriate international machinery to give effect to its provisions, should be established by an international treaty. The regime should provide for the orderly development and rational management of the area and its resources and ensure the equitable sharing by the international community in the benefits derived therefrom. It should also make adequate provisions to minimise fluctuation of prices of land minerals and raw materials that may result from such activities."

The statement also supports the convening at an early date of a conference on the Law of the Sea to deal with various related questions.

RES. 12:

Statement on the United Nations

The Heads of State or Government and the Leaders of delegations participating in the Conference re-dedicate themselves to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their deep conviction that the United Nations provides the most effective means to maintain and promote international peace and security, strengthen freedom, and harmonize relations between States.

2. The United Nations has a vital role to play in safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of the non-aligned nations. It also provides the most suitable forum for co-operative action by the non-aligned countries and to facilitate the democratization of international relations. While exhorting the permanent members to faithfully discharge their obligations under the Charter, the Conference records its concern at the



tendency of the great powers to subordinate the work of the organizations to their own interests and requirements and to bypass the world organization in the solution of international problems of crucial importance. The Conference is convinced that if all the members of the United Nations were involved in finding solutions to world problems, this would foster a spirit of partnership and give a sense of commitment to any decision that may be arrived at. The non-aligned countries are conscious that in the exercise of their influence on vital international problems they would gain strength through unity and well-defined ends and objectives.

3. The Conference is of the firm conviction that, if the United Nations has not been very successful in some of its various endeavours, it is not only because of any inherent defect of the Charter but also because of the unwillingness of some member States to fully observe the principles of Charter. The non-aligned Heads of State or Government are resolved to take such measures as will make the United Nations more effective and to this end agree to participate in the forthcoming commemorative session and call upon all member States to examine proposals for improving the procedures and working methods of the United Nations.

4. The Heads of State or Government declare that for the United Nations to be more effective member States must recognize and accept the principle of universality in terms of its membership. In this regard they stressed the urgent need of restoring to the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the organization. It is also imperative for the United Nations to examine the modalities of enabling all countries which are still outside the United Nations, including those which are divided, to participate in the activities of the organization and its agencies.

5. The peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations needs to be strengthened in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The non-aligned countries have made the most significant contribution to the various United Nations peace-keeping operations so far. The Conference urges a speedy resolution of differences on the initiation, control and financing of United Nations peace-keeping operation to enable the United Nations to play a more effective role in preserving peace. The participating countries pledge their support for the realization of this end and to consider the desirability of offering standby forces for future United Nations peace-keeping operations. The Conference is convinced that it would be difficult to assure peace and security unless the countries agree with the peaceful implementation of the United Nations resolutions and in particular decisions of the Security Council which member States have agreed to accept and carry out in accordance with the Charter.

6. The Conference is convinced that special attention should be paid to improving the capability of the United Nations to play an effective role in the economic and social fields with a view to ensure that the world organization gives due priority to the questions of development. The participating countries urge that further efforts be made to ensure equitable geographical representation in the various organs of the United Nations as in the specialized agencies.

7. With growing inter-dependence in the world brought about by economic and technological factors, regional co-operation has become a significant factor in international relations. The Conference is of the view that it is essential that regional co-operation should be developed in fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

8. On the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations, the non-aligned countries participating in the Conference are determined to co-operate among themselves, and with other countries, to strengthen the functions of the United Nations for the purpose of strengthening peace, consolidating independence, promoting development and bringing about greater co-operation on the basis of equality of all States. With this end in view, the participating countries agree to specifically exert efforts on the following issues during the current session:

(1) Adoption of the Declaration on Principles Governing Friendly Relations among States as approved by the 1970 Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. The Conference urges all countries to co-operate actively with a view to ensuring that the General Assembly adopts this Declaration at its commemorative session.

(2) Adoption of a Declaration on strengthening international peace and security. This Declaration would be based on a scrupulous respect for the observance in practice of the Principles of the Charter, of peaceful co-existence and friendly relations among the States, and would particularly emphasize renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-intervention in the internal affairs of any State, inviolability of the established frontiers, prohibition of aggression and non-recognition of territorial acquisition by conquest, respect for the sovereign equality of nations, peaceful settlement of disputes, disarmament including nuclear disarmament, and the promotion of economic and social development in particular of developing countries. The Conference noted with interest the discussion that has been taking place in the United Nations on this subject and would expect efforts to continue to formulate comprehensive measures for strengthening international peace and security.

(3) Adoption of the document on international development and strategy for the second development decade, in accordance with the guidelines for action contained in the statement on economic co-operation and development issued by the Conference.

(4) Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; an action programme for its speedy and complete implementation, and for the mobilization of international public opinion towards this

end. The United Nations can take legitimate pride in bringing about freedom and independence to millions of people under colonial bondage, However, on the eve of the 10th Anniversary of the Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial peoples, the non-aligned nations are acutely conscious that over 28 million people and 45 dependent territories have yet to exercise their right of self-determination in the vast areas of Southern Africa and else-where and that this constitutes a violation not only of the above referred to Declaration but also of the United Nations Charter. The Conference is determined to take joint action in this regard in line with the statement on Southern Africa, colonialism and apartheid adopted by the Conference.

(5) Adoption of a programme for the Disarmament Decade along the lines laid down in the statement on Disarmament issued by the Conference.

(6) The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Adoption of a Declaration calling upon all States to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace from which great power rivalries and competition, either army, navy or air force bases, are excluded. The area should also be free of nuclear weapons.

(7) Adoption of Declaration of Principles on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the exploration and exploitation of these resources on the lines of the statement issued on the subject by the Conference.

9. The participants in the Conference are convinced that they should establish close and continuing co-operation on all questions considered in the United Nations in an endeavour to assure that the principles of non-alignment proclaimed at the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences and again here at Lusaka are properly reflected in actions undertaken in the World Body.

RES. 13:

The Strengthening of the Role of the Non-Aligned Countries

The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at its third regular session at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September, 1970,

Considering that the strengthening of the international role of the non-aligned countries with a view to the solution of the problems, difficulties,

and concerns common to all peoples and Governments of the international community constitutes one of the major objectives of this Conference,

Considering the numerous statements of Heads of State and delegations during the general debate at the present session, urging the pressing need to ensure the continuity and increase the effectiveness of the role of the non-aligned countries by ensuring the implementation, through appropriate machinery, of the decisions, resolutions and directives of the conferences of non-aligned countries,

Considering more particularly, in this connection, the pertinent statement of His Excellency President Kenneth KAUNDA in his opening address at the present Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries:

"A call for action is not enough unless there exists an adequate machinery to carry it out. Perhaps this is the one factor to which not much attention was given in the past. ... It is for this reason that we genuinely need the machinery for maintaining contact among us to ensure continuity in the development of the non-aligned movement and the implementation of our decisions."

Considering that the foregoing makes clear the need for appropriate implementation machinery of a flexible character while at the same time having no financial implications, to provide for continuity, maintain contacts between member States and ensure the implementation of the decisions of the conferences of non-aligned countries;

1. ENTRUSTS its Chairman, with the function of taking all necessary steps to maintain contacts among member States, ensure continuity, and carry into effect the decisions, resolutions and directives of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries;
2. REQUESTS all representatives of the non-aligned countries in the United Nations and its specialized agencies and in all international bodies to co-ordinate and harmonize their efforts and to take all necessary steps to ensure the appropriate implementation of the resolutions, decisions and directives of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

RES. 14:

Lusaka Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, united by common political and economic aspirations,

Expressing the determination of the non-aligned countries to achieve economic emancipation, to strengthen their independence and to make their contribution to world peace and to economic and social progress for the benefit of all mankind;

Reviewing the lack of progress in the implementation by the international community of the policies and objectives declared by them at Belgrade and Cairo, and those enshrined in the Charter of Algiers;

Disturbed by the rapidly widening gap between the economies of the rich and the poor nations, which constitutes a threat to the independence of developing countries and to international peace and security;

Noting with concern the negative trends which exclude developing countries in particular from the mainstream of world economic life despite their endeavour to participate in contemporary progress;

Noting in particular the decline in the share of developing countries in world export trade from one third in 1950 to 1/6th in 1969;

Noting further with regret the decline in financial flows in terms of percentage of GNP from developed to developing countries and the increase in financial flows from developing to developed countries by way of payments on account of debts, dividends, and royalties, and financial and commercial services;

Believing that the poverty of developing nations and their economic dependence on those in affluent circumstances constitute a structural weakness in the present world economic order;

Convinced that the persistence of an inequitable world economic system inherited from the colonial past and continued through present neo-colonialism poses insurmountable difficulties in breaking the bondage of poverty and shackles of economic dependence;

Realizing that the occupation of parts of territories of non-aligned developing countries and dependent nations by aggressors or minority governments deprives these groups of their natural resources and constitutes a hindrance to their development;

Considering that the gap in science and technology between the developing and developed countries is widening and the need for preventing the emergence of technological colonialism is pressing;

Recognizing that the massive investments in the economic and social progress of mankind can be made if agreements are reached to reduce expenditure on armaments;

Conscious of the increase since the meeting in Belgrade, in the capability of non-aligned countries to plan, organise, and manage their own economic development, both individually and within a multi-national co-operative framework, and the progress made by them during the sixties;

Convinced that the second United Nations Development Decade provides an opportunity to bring about structural changes in the world economic system so as to meet the pressing needs of poor nations, to strengthen their independence, and to provide for a more rapid and better balanced expansion of the world economy;

HEREBY

A. PLEDGE THEMSELVES

(i) to cultivate the spirit of self-reliance and to this end to adopt a firm policy of organising their own socio-economic progress and to raise it to the level of a priority action programme;

(ii) to exercise fully their right and fulfil their duty so as to secure optimal utilisation of the natural resources on their territories and in adjacent seas for the development and welfare of their Peoples;

(iii) to develop their technology and scientific capability to maximise production and improve productivity;

(iv) to promote social changes to provide increasing opportunity to each individual for developing his worth, maintaining his dignity, making his contribution to the process of growth and for sharing fully in its fruits;

(v) to promote social justice and efficiency of production, to raise the level of employment and to expand and improve facilities for education health, nutrition, housing and social welfare;

(vi) to ensure that external components of the developmental process further national objectives and conform to national needs; and in particular to adopt so far as practicable a common approach to problems and possibilities of investment of private capital in developing countries;

(viii) to broaden and diversify economic relationships with other nations so as to promote true inter-dependence;

B. DECIDE

to foster mutual co-operation among developing countries so as to impart strength to their national endeavour to fortify their independence;

to contribute to each other's economic and social progress by an effective utilization of the complementarities between their respective resources and requirements;

to intensify and broaden to the maximum extent practicable, the movement for co-operation and integration among developing countries at sub-regional and inter-regional levels for accelerating their economic growth and social development taking into account the necessary measures required to guarantee that the peoples of developing countries concerned receive the benefit of the integration and not the foreign companies operating within the integrated area;

and to this end, to adopt the following Programme of Action in the field of:-

I. Planning and Projection

(a) to identify products and countries in which production can be stimulated and expand with a view to increasing existing income and trade exchange;

(b) to identify projects and programmes for which import requirements capable of being met from developing countries are likely to arise; and

(c) to define as closely as possible financing and technological requirements to secure increases in production and to support expansion of trade flows amongst developing countries.

II. Trade, Co-operation and Development

(a) to organise exchange of information in regard to products of export interest to developing countries;

(b) to provide adequate access to products of export interest to other developing countries, especially by preferential reduction of import duties;

(c) to negotiate long-term purchases and sale agreements in respect of industrial raw materials and to orient policies of official procurement organisations in favour of developing countries;

(d) to evolve payment arrangement to support expansion of trade exchanges amongst developing countries;

(e) to facilitate transit traffic for the diversification and the expansion of the external trade of landlocked countries;

(f) to facilitate international traffic across overland transit highways crossing international borders amongst developing countries; and

(g) to encourage travel and tourism amongst developing countries.

III. Industrial, Mineral, Agricultural and Marine Production

(a) to exchange information on needs and resources of different developing countries in respect of technical know-how, research, consultancy services, experts and training facilities;

(b) to institute and intensify programmes of co-operation at bilateral, regional and inter-regional levels to combine needs and resources of developing countries for furthering one another's production programmes and projects; and

(c) to co-ordinate through policies and measures for the utilization in their national interest their mineral and marine resources and for the protection of the maritime environment;

#### IV. Development of Infrastructure

(a) to facilitate mutual co-operation in preparing pre-investment surveys and in executing projects for the development of one another's infrastructure in the field of road and rail communication, irrigation and power; and

(b) to concert measures for transforming the prevailing systems of communications, transport and commercial services previously designed to link metropolitan countries to their dependent territories so as to promote direct commerce, contact and co-operation amongst developing countries.

#### V. Application of Science and Technology

(a) to organize means and measures to share one another's experience in the application of science and technology to processes of economic and social development;

(b) to institute schemes of co-operation for the acquisition of skills relevant to their situation and in particular to promote exchange of trainees and experts and thus provide for optimum use and efficiency of their specialised technological and scientific institutions; and

(c) to devise programmes for adoption of technology to the special needs of countries in different stages of development, and to provide for its widest possible diffusion to developing countries and for the conservation of their technical skills and personnel in consonance with their needs and conditions.

#### VI. Mechanism

to facilitate contact, exchange of information, co-ordination and consultations among Governments and concerned organizations and institutions to further mutual co-operation and integration for implementing the programmes of action.

#### C. URGE THE UNITED NATIONS

to fulfil the objectives enshrined in the Charter "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom";

to employ international machinery to bring about a rapid transformation of the world economic system, particularly in the field of trade, finance and technology, so that economic domination yields to economic co-operation and economic strength is used for the benefit of the world community;



to view the developmental process in a global context and to adopt a programme of international action for utilization of world resources in men and materials, science and technology, benefiting developed and developing countries alike;

to adopt at their Commemorative Meeting a Declaration on the international strategy, providing for the following:

I. Goals and Objectives

(a) International co-operation for economic development is not a one sided process of donor-donee relationship; the development of developing countries is a benefit to the whole world, including the more advanced nations;

(b) The aim of international economic co-operation should be to provide a dynamic combination of the world's productions, market and technological factors to promote a rational division of labour and humane sharing of its fruits; international co-operation should strengthen the capability of developing countries to exercise fully their sovereignty over their natural resources;

(c) A rapid transformation of the world economic system should be achieved through the adoption of convergent and concomitant policies and measures so that the developing and developed countries become partners, on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, in a common endeavour for peace, progress and prosperity;

(d) The essential purpose of development is to provide equal opportunity for a better life to everyone; the aim should, therefore, be to accelerate significantly the growth of gross product per head so that it is possible to secure for everyone a minimum standard of life consistent with human dignity;

II. Policies and Measures

(a) Since primary commodities constitute a preponderant source of foreign income for most developing countries, provision should be made for maximising their consumption, diversifying their utilization, securing for producers a fair and equitable return, organising their production on the basis of endowment factors, and securing for developing countries action to conclude commodity agreements which should be completed by 1972;

(b) International action should be taken to promote processing of primary products in areas of production and to provide access to consuming markets of processed products, free from all tariff and non-tariff barriers;

- (c) The scheme of non-discriminatory non-reciprocal preferences in favour of products of developing countries be implemented without further delay;
- (d) Other measures should be undertaken to secure for developing countries an increasing share of international trade in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, especially through adjustment of production structures in developed countries;
- (e) A distinction should be made between transfer of resources intended to promote development of developing countries and commercially motivated investments;
- (f) The new flow of financial transfers from developed to developing countries should correspond, by 1972, to a minimum of 1 per cent of the GNP of each developed country,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of which should be from official sources;
- (g) Financial transfer for development should be untied and provided on terms and conditions compatible with the efficiency of the developmental progress;
- (h) Appropriate measures should be adopted to alleviate the burden of debts on developing countries;
- (i) A link between Special Drawing Rights and development finance should be established by 1972;
- (j) Steps should be taken to enable developing countries to extend their merchant marines, to develop their ship-building industries, and to improve and modernize their ports. Urgent action is needed to restrain the alarming increase in freight rates and to eliminate discriminatory and restrictive elements from it. Consultation machinery for the solution of difficulties of shippers from developing countries needs to be improved to increase its efficiency;
- (k) Concerted measures should be undertaken to bridge the widening gap in the technological skills between developing and developed countries, to facilitate diffusion of technology, patented and non-patented, on reasonable terms and conditions, and to ensure that transfers of technology are free from illegitimate restraints. An appropriate international mechanism should be devised to implement these measures;
- (l) Provision should be made to expand research and development on materials with which developing countries are endowed. Arrangements should also be made for their nationals and institutions to build up scientific capabilities;
- (m) Within the framework of international development strategy, special measures should be taken to improve the productive

capacities and develop the infra-structure of least developed, including land-locked, countries so as to enable them to derive full benefit from convergent and concomitant measures; and

(n) Mutual contact and co-operation amongst developing countries is an indispensable element in the global strategy. The developed countries should support the initiatives of developing countries in this regard and pay special attention to concrete proposals that may be put forward by them to this end;

D. DECLARE THEIR DETERMINATION

(a) to undertake sustained and continuous endeavours within the United Nations system to secure faithful implementation of international development policies and programmes;

(b) to further the unity and solidarity of the Group of 77<sup>+</sup> at all levels including the convening of a ministerial meeting to prepare for UNCTAD 3;

(c) to review and appraise periodically the progress of mutual co-operation in the field of development in pursuance of the programme of action;

(d) to seek ways and means for strengthening the capabilities of the United Nations system, to fulfil its commitments to social and economic progress.

<sup>+</sup>The group of "developing" or Third World countries in the U.N. Conference on Development and Trade (UNCTAD).

RES. 15:

Cyprus

The Heads of State or Government reaffirm their conviction that the Cyprus problem should be solved peacefully, without any outside interference or intervention, on the basis of the respect of Cyprus' unrestricted sovereignty and independence and the internationally accepted democratic principles including the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the Cypriot Turkish community and the criteria laid down in their Declaration of 9th October, 1964, in Cairo, and in conformity with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

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Note: The above texts are reproduced from Background, No. 82/70, issued by the Information Services (Press Section) of the Republic of Zambia.

B. S T A T E M E N T S

As the texts or summaries of only a few of the statements made at the Conference are at this stage available to us, it is not possible to present here a representative selection. The ones given below were, however, among the more important statements, and they are relevant to the problems of Southern Africa (the first two in particular) and to the question of "non-alignment".

1. Dr. K.D. Kaunda, President of Zambia.

In opening the Conference Dr. Kaunda said inter alia that he believed it was appropriate that the Conference should be held in Zambia for five reasons. Firstly, Zambia was a young country and, secondly, a developing country. Thirdly, Zambia was landlocked but still determined to preserve and defend its independence and further its objectives. Fourthly, he stated: "Our geographical proximity to countries under colonial rule and oppression by minority regimes has given us special experience in nation-building". In the fifth place Dr. Kaunda referred to Zambia's commitment to the principles and ideals of non-alignment and world peace.

Dr. Kaunda referred to the need for action to achieve the objectives set out in the Declarations adopted at the previous Conferences. He then continued: "Non-alignment was a natural and immediate response to the tensions generated by the ideological conflict in the bipolar world. In the hey-day of the Cold War the need for another independent, impartial but positive voice became necessary and urgent to save the world from the scourge of war. There was a need to assert the voice of many millions of people and nations who did not believe that alliances were inevitable and indispensable for national security, nor that bipolarity was a universal and inevitable law for the establishment of a decent and secure world order.

"The reduction of tension and the establishment of a tripolar world have not rendered unnecessary the non-aligned movement. The principles underlying our movement remain valid despite the changes in the immediate circumstances which gave it birth. We still need independence, freedom, justice, peace, balanced economic development and social justice. The urge for non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations, the urge for peaceful coexistence and for the pursuit of independent policies, the eradication of the causes of international tension and the elimination of force in the settlement of international disputes, remain fundamental. Furthermore, the danger of weak nations being bullied by the more powerful ones still exists. The hydra of military invasions of one country by another, which characterised international relations before the Second World War, still rears its head in the second half of this century. Nearer home, the minority regimes in rebel Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese Colonies in Africa have, with Western support, defied Africa and world opinion. These regimes continue with their inhuman policies with impunity. Threats of economic strangulation are a political instrument for furthering the aims and objectives of the strong at the expense of the weak nations.

"The objectives of non-alignment are intended to give effect to our desire to remain free, independent in peace and justice, to make us less vulnerable to outside pressures and less susceptible to international bullying.

"Our non-aligned movement has a very important role to play in the future of not only the developing countries but of the world as a whole. It subsists on a genuine belief among the majority of the people that, in the context of the current international situation, their legitimate interests are not secure and their rights and hopes not possible of realisation unless the perilous contradictions, which prevail, are resolved. The right to participate in the resolution of these contradictions is not a monopoly of the powerful States in the world. Non-aligned countries feel the urge to intensify their search for an international system which guarantees peace and security and provides protection for their independence and maximum freedom to develop their economic and social systems. There is, therefore, nothing irrational about the advocates of non-alignment. The actions of non-aligned countries are natural and justified.

"One of the most important characteristics of non-alignment is UNITY IN DIVERSITY. Many countries represented in this Assembly have different economic, social and political systems as well as cultural backgrounds. We respect the differences in our policies. We do not separately or collectively seek to impose our will on any one country. Respect for the independence and sovereignty of other independent nations and non-interference in their internal affairs are fundamental to the future of the non-aligned movement. It is not a national type of unity which we expect to achieve. Geography, history, economic and political factors make this a mere catch-penny dream. What we want and what we shall strive to achieve is a common front to create an atmosphere of independent behaviour in international affairs as well as real freedom in our respective countries without outside interference.

"Our critics, both in the Western and the Eastern countries, will probably continue to feel that we are pursuing a policy in which the weak countries are able to play off one power against the other. On the contrary, it is not the non-aligned countries who, at the present moment, are playing off one big power against another. Strangely enough, it is the powerful States who are attempting to do this, to divide us and to destroy our unity. It is they who assume the right to subvert any nation whom they decide is aligned to the opposing bloc, capitalising on any differences in the internal political development. But that the policy of non-alignment is appreciated can be seen from the struggle of the aligned to become less aligned to gain greater freedom of action within the conventional pacts.

"The achievements of the First and Second Conferences of the non-aligned nations have generated new patterns in the international system, the principles of which transcend ideological and military interests. We are part of the changing world. We have a commitment to the world; we are committed to the maintenance of peace and security vital for the unfettered enjoyment of our rights as independent nations."

Dr. Kaunda then commented that while a third world war had been avoided and the major powers had attained "an armed peace for themselves", they had "unfortunately, been at the root of the violence in the rest of the world". He then referred to the crisis in the Middle East, the problems confronting South East Asia and to Latin America.

Turning to Africa, he said that the turbulent events in the first decade of African Independence had shaken many countries, and that for a time a dark shadow of doubt had been cast over the future of the continent. He hoped, however, that the 1970's would show a complete return to stability and confidence which should provide an atmosphere conducive to economic and social advancement. He continued: "In Southern Africa in particular, imperialism, colonialism and racial oppression and exploitation still reign. The indifference of major powers and the overt political, economic and military support given by the Western nations to the regimes in South Africa, Portugal and rebel Rhodesia, have given a stamp of recognition and encouragement to the dominance exercised by the minorities over the majority. In the new situation, South Africa has strengthened her hold over the indigenous majority; the Vorster regime is able to extend its tentacles of political, economic and military power and influence in support of colonial minority regimes in Angola, Mozambique and rebel Rhodesia. The Portuguese position in Guinea Bissau has also been strengthened.

"In recent years, the Western countries have added a new element to their indifference over issues concerning Southern Africa. The growth of their investment in the sale of arms to South Africa has strengthened the hand of apartheid and enabled it to extend the boundaries of its influence. South Africa has defied the United Nations over the illegal presence of her security forces in Rhodesia. Britain, on the other hand, has not even protested about this illegal act. South Africa has further defied world opinion and the United Nations over her continued illegal administration of Namibia. There are, indeed, countries who today appear prepared to support South Africa's case on this matter in order to preserve their own selfish interests. The South African influence in Angola and Mozambique has complicated the process of decolonisation in those areas. Some member states of the United Nations would, we know, prefer to ignore this fact. They find greater security for their interests in the status quo than in change which confirms to the Charter of the United Nations.

"We in Zambia have pointed out the dangers of strengthening the military position of South Africa:

First:

Apartheid is, as we know, a diabolical system which gives political, economic and military power exclusively to a racist minority. At present, three million white people have taken over control of eighty-seven per cent of the land, leaving only thirteen per cent for the majority - almost fourteen million - to depend on for their livelihood. South Africa's propaganda would have us believe that the thirteen per cent allocated to the African people is the most fertile land in that country.

Second:

The object of the Bantustans is not to build nation states in South Africa, but to establish a system under which ethnic conflicts can be provoked if necessary, and the foundation for unity among African people completely destroyed. A system which concentrates black populations in specific areas also makes South Africa's military operations against the majority of the people more practical and effective without risking loss of life among the whites.

Third:

Namibia will be more difficult for the United Nations to take over and administer as South Africa's newly-acquired military strength is geared to the defence of her illegal presence in that area.

Fourth:

South Africa's commitment in Angola, Mozambique and rebel Rhodesia grows daily with her capability to extend military support to those areas. The object of South Africa's military involvement is to protect her economic and financial interests and to give effect to her political intentions.

Fifth:

South Africa is committed not only to the expansion of the so-called 'area of co-prosperity' but also to the extension of her influence in independent countries north of the Zambezi. Her objective is to undermine the liberation movement and the independence of African countries.

"The negative response of the major western countries over the question of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese position in Africa has greatly contributed to the crisis which is developing in this region. They have the capacity to help bring about peaceful changes and the realisation of self-determination for the majority of the people. Their refusal to participate in effective actions designed to end colonial and racial domination in Southern Africa and in Guinea Bissau is responsible for the expanding commitment of South Africa in the area, for the arms race in Africa and for the dangers inherent in the escalation of the conflict. This is why the continued sale of arms to South Africa and Portugal is the greatest blunder major western countries have made over this question.

"We welcome the decision of the Organisation of African Unity to send a delegation to the countries now selling arms or intending to sell arms to South Africa. I hope western countries can heed our warning that those who delay the discharge of justice, those who stand in the way of peaceful change towards majority rule, make violence inevitable."



Dr. Kaunda then referred to the need to strengthen the United Nations and criticised the exclusion of the People's Republic of China, because "as long as this world body is not universal in terms of representation, our efforts will not be very effective". In this connection he said that the failure to resolve the problem of divided States such as Korea, Vietnam and Germany, was due to the involvement of the great powers.

The acceptance of the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations allowed for exploitation of the economically weak by the strong, said Dr. Kaunda, and the UNCTAD Conferences, as well as the first United Nations Development Decade, had failed to achieve their objectives.

Referring to the problems of developing countries during the coming decade, Dr. Kaunda said: "For some developing countries this decade is likely to be a trying one. The internal reorganisation of our social and economic systems is an imperative necessity. The effects of such change will bear very heavily on political developments. Yet if we are to succeed in defending our independence we have no choice but to take control of and improve the instruments for national reconstruction - economic, social and military - together with other elements of national strength. Economic self-reliance supported by the acquisition of sufficient technical know-how is a sine qua non of a successful national development effort. The developing countries, as a group of nations committed to a common cause and collective action, have a primary responsibility for their own development and defence. Developed countries may help, but the developing nations, in the final analysis, have to shoulder the responsibility for their success or failure."

Dr. Kaunda stated that more was required of the non-aligned countries than reaffirmation and pledges of their faith in non-alignment and the United Nations Charter. They must agree on common action to give substance to the movement not only in the political field, but in economic and technological fields. For this action adequate machinery would be necessary. Furthermore he said it was essential for non-aligned and developing countries to seek an effective strategy for their own development. This strategy must be centered around economic, financial and technical co-operation. The intention was not to replace altogether the help from and co-operation with developed countries. "They are, after all, part and parcel of the growing international community. Our poverty affects them just as they benefit from our economic strength. Our main goal in the common strategy must be to reduce our dependence on those powerful nations who, for their own interests, expect political and ideological support in return for economic, financial and technical assistance."

Dr. Kaunda then continued: "We do not seek to dictate changes in the pattern of international relations. What we seek is unity through economic and technical co-operation to prevent the stronger nations from imposing their will on us separately or collectively. We seek a place of honour and respect in the world. This is not an unreasonable demand; it is natural and fundamental to a people engaged in a genuine search for a better world order. It is, therefore, essential that the leaders of the non-aligned world examine the existing potential

for co-operation within their regions. Trade among non-aligned countries is almost insignificant. Economic and technical co-operation exists mostly between the developed and developing countries. The extension of economic, financial and technical co-operation is essential to the success of non-alignment; it will bring about better understanding among us and also help accelerate economic growth.

"Since localised conflicts are likely to continue in the developing countries, we clearly will be the victims of stagnation, destruction and hardship arising out of the violence which may occur. Only we can avoid our being made victims of the local conflicts. Only we can bring about peace and stability in our regions through effective action. We need economic strength to make our countries less vulnerable to the powerful pressures from outside.

"It is for this reason that we genuinely need the machinery for maintaining contact among us to ensure continuity in the development of the non-aligned movement and the implementation of our decisions.

"The pursuit of our objectives and the call for collective action should not be a source of concern to any nation not represented in this Assembly. We have no large armies; nor is common defence in our programme of action. We threaten no power and have nothing against the powerful States. All we want is to make sure that our political freedom, economic and social progress are secure in our hands and are not subject to manipulation to benefit other nations against our interests."

(Extracts from text of Dr. Kaunda's address as published in full by the Government Printer, Lusaka.)

2. Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana.

Sir Seretse Khama said that one objective Botswana had in common with all non-aligned states was "our desire to choose our own path to development". To achieve this freedom of choice it was essential that African countries should develop their own guiding ideologies, which were rooted in their own experience and responsive to their own needs. "Therefore Africa must avoid all external ideological entanglements and the dangers of military involvement which such entanglements bring in their train" ... Cold War involvements in African Affairs, he continued, "can only complicate the many problems that face us, and in particular the racial tensions which already threaten the peace and security not only of Southern Africa but also of Africa as a whole."

"Hence", declared the President, "we must condemn those powers, like France, which continue to sell or supply arms to South Africa and express our opposition to any departure on the part of the new British Government from

its predecessor's policy of respecting the United Nations embargo. For there can be no doubt at all that an arms race in Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean and the accompanying dangers of cold war involvement would threaten the freedom of individual African countries to pursue their own policies. Such an arms race would present a real and growing threat to the stability of the area. Increased Western involvement in the minority regimes of Southern Africa makes such an arms race more likely. The strategic arguments advanced by the British Government in support of their decision to resume arms supplies to South Africa pose the same threat since they assert that the security of Britain and the West depends on military co-operation with a Government which denies freedom and dignity on grounds of race and colour.

"It is for the non-aligned to point out to the rival power blocs who both claim to act in the course of freedom, that we can only give credence to their claims if their policies do not ride rough-shod over the values they profess to uphold and defend. Thus the delivery of arms to South Africa and the involvement of the country in Western security arrangements are not consistent with claims to defend freedom, just as the invasion of Czechoslovakia invalidated similar claims on the part of the Soviet Union.

"Thus principle and a concern for stable progress in our region both oblige us to condemn all who sell or supply arms to the minority regimes of Southern Africa."

Sir Seretse referred to President Nyerere's address to the Preparatory Meeting of Non-Aligned States in Dar-es-Salaam in March in which he suggested that the Conference should concern itself with the task of devising positive and practical programmes of co-operation among non-aligned states. He strongly supported President Nyerere's suggestion and stressed the relevance of such co-operation to the problems of Southern Africa. "The less powerful and more vulnerable states of the Southern African region have begun to explore among themselves the possibilities for mutual co-operation." It was apparent that considerable scope existed for further action. In bilateral discussions with Zambia and in joint consultation with Lesotho and Swaziland on trade, communications, higher education, training and customs and monetary matters, considerable progress had been made towards the realisation of common goals. The objective was to achieve a greater degree of economic independence by reducing reliance on more powerful neighbours.

The President explained that greater economic independence not only protected and extended the political independence of these countries, but enabled them to develop into effective examples of non-racial democracy on the borders of states whose policies and ideologies threatened the peace of the region.

"Botswana", he said, "can make a real contribution to the solution of the problems of Southern Africa by demonstrating that there are viable alternatives to the courses which the minority regimes have chosen." Botswana had dedicated itself to this task, but its efforts and the efforts of the poorer states of the region needed wider support. "Important as it is that we should win the understanding and moral support

of other non-aligned countries outside the immediate Southern African region for our policies and objectives, understanding and respect by themselves will fail to bring about the changes which we all desire ... To achieve more rapid evolutionary change in Southern Africa, practical co-operation among all the non-aligned states is necessary. New initiatives, concrete proposals - rather than indignation or repeated condemnation - are urgently required."

The President went on to suggest four areas in which the non-aligned states could assist the majority-ruled countries of Southern Africa and at the same time assert their own collective self-reliance. These were mutual technical assistance, the development of regional communications systems, the mobilisation of finance for development, and concerted action in favour of changes in international institutions and systems which would benefit the less developed countries. He argued against establishing new formal machinery to maintain contacts and serve as a clearing house. "There are already", he said, "numerous regional and international organisations which perform similar functions or which could be used to achieve our objectives. What is needed is not another international bureaucracy, but a greater awareness of needs and opportunities, a stronger determination to assist each other, and a clearer understanding of the problems and dangers of continued reliance on metropolitan powers or developed nations."

"Already", he continued, "we share certain common principles which we should seek to develop. In our diversity we are bound together by our desire to preserve our independence, to shape our own destinies without interference and without intimidation. These aims are worthy of reaffirmation. But we cannot in changing times rest content with restating our formal commitment to non-alignment. We must now consider how best to build on the bonds which already exist between us. We must give thought to practical methods of co-operation. I am convinced that by joint effort there is much that can be achieved. And I am confident that we all stand to benefit from a programme of mutual self-help."

The President concluded: "Certainly we in Southern Africa have a particularly keen interest in forging out of this association of non-aligned states some positive means of safeguarding our freedom and some practical tools for the advancement of ourselves and our brothers. I hope this conference will prompt all of us to develop the new initiatives which we need to strengthen our independence and survive."

(Based on summary in Botswana Daily News, No. 173, 10 Sept. 1970.)

### 3. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

Emperor Haile Selassie called on the non-aligned nations to use their collective efforts and resources to seek solutions to the "tragic situation" in the Middle East and South-East Asia. The Emperor also stressed the developing nations' concern with economic problems and said that they should be able to combine their skills and talents to achieve "maximum growth in the shortest possible time".

He praised the organisation of the third Non-Aligned Summit and called President Kaunda a "wise and foresighted leader". He said that the conference should find "new and salutary solutions" to the world's prevailing problems. The Emperor spoke to the assembly of his "deep concern" over such matters as the great economic disparity between countries, the waste on armaments, and also the problem of eradicating racialism.

The Emperor proposed measures in connection with Southern African problems and the conflicts in the Middle East and Indochina.

On Portuguese "colonialism" and on "apartheid" he proposed a trade embargo; breaching diplomatic relations with the countries concerned; refusal of landing-rights and port facilities to those countries; a contribution to a special fund for the victims of apartheid; and moral, material, and financial aid to the liberation movements.

Regarding the Middle East, the Emperor stressed the need to apply the Security Council resolution of November 22nd, 1967. He also said that the American peace plan proposed by Secretary of State William Rogers "brings hope for optimism in this matter". He urged that the United Nations Security Council resolution should be implemented with the assistance of United Nations special representative Gunnar Jarring.

The Emperor proposed a four-point plan to end the Vietnam war: reconvene the Geneva Conference, withdraw all foreign troops, allow the peoples of the countries concerned to exercise their right to self-determination, and that territorial integrity and neutrality should be respected by all States.

Stressing Africa's role within the non-aligned group, he recalled that the African Heads of State, during their meeting in Addis Ababa, had adopted a unanimous position on all problems concerning colonialism in Africa, the sale of arms to South Africa, and disarmament. He said he hoped that this unanimity "will be our contribution not only to cement the co-operation between Africa and the non-aligned countries but will also help to carry out our common task". The Emperor concluded: "If we can adopt a common strategy on the problems that we have underlined and are able to build a moral force, it will be because of Africa's stand."

(Based on summary in Africa Research Bulletin, Vol. 7  
No. 9, page 1879.)

4. Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore.

The Prime Minister of Singapore drew attention to the changing relationship between the non-aligned countries and the "super powers". Non-alignment", he said, "was formulated in the late 1950s. It obtained growing support in the early 1960s. It was a method by which the new countries could ensure their security and make economic progress without military commitment or involvement with one of the two contending cold-war blocs. At that time, the two super powers and their principal allies were in a period of ideological evangelism. They considered it in their respective interests to increase and expand their political support among the new countries. So they were prepared to accord economic aid, technological assistance, and arms, in this competition for support. Thus it was possible for some underdeveloped countries to play one super power against another, getting aid from both blocs, sometimes more from one than the other, and with the minimum of constraints.

"Before the end of the 1960s the situation had altered. The monolithic communist world movement was showing signs of splintering. The anti-communist crusade of Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State in the 1950s, was losing its relevance. The two super powers had started a direct dialogue to resolve or lessen unnecessary tension or conflict between them. It has led to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and the SALT talks on limitation of nuclear missiles. How much the emergence of China as a growing power, soon with a credible nuclear capability, helped to bring this about, we may never know. But the American-Russian dialogue, and their loss of interest in winning converts to their different systems, has changed the context against which non-alignment must work. Neither super power actively seeks more political or military allegiance, except where they consider crucial strategic interests to be at stake. On the contrary, the American Congress is reported as wanting to cut down and even write off their military commitments in South-East Asia. They are also reported as wanting to reduce their troops in Western Europe, committed to NATO. They appear preoccupied with America's own economic and social ills, and not with the US global role. Polycentralism in the communist world, the independent policies of General de Gaulle, the re-emergence of an industrially strong Germany and Japan, each pursuing its own economic and political goals, these have changed prevailing moods and attitudes.

"Russian enthusiasms for investment in high dams, engineering projects, and arming of new countries, have showed a similar decline. They are interested only in areas which fit into their global strategy. An application for association with the Warsaw Pact from a revolutionary government in the American hemisphere was viewed with a jaundiced eye.

"Neither the Americans, nor Russians, nor Japanese, nor West Europeans have yet found it necessary to actively compete in winning the support of black African countries, and helping the African liberation movements to overthrow the white minority regimes in Southern Africa. Only China, still in the evangelistic phase, is interested in African liberation movements in Southern Africa. When China appears likely to develop political and economic influence as a result of her active role in urging and helping insurgency, then competition will start. Then pressure will be exerted

in earnest on the white African regimes in Southern Africa. We can feel the anguish and anger of the African peoples at this cynical approach to their problems. In a strange way, this is not without its benefits for Africa. The animosities and hatreds against the evil apartheid policies of the white government of South Africa have, but for some odd exceptions, united all African States.

"The problems which have bedevilled South-East Asia are not quite the same. There has not been the same unity amongst South-East Asian and South Asian countries in their reactions to the horrors of the war in Indochina. Perhaps it is because neighbouring countries do not see this as a straightforward fight against colonialism, either British, French or Dutch. Nor do they see it as simple American neo-colonialism. The issues are clouded by competing ideologies within the countries. And more to the point, victory for one side may pose dangers of contagion and the spread of revolutionary guerrilla insurgencies in adjacent countries. If the Indochinese people are to exercise their right to self-determination, then all interventionist forces must withdraw from South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

"There is need to redefine the needs and problems of new countries in search of security and development. We must find a new relevance for non-alignment, a new validity in altered circumstances. In several ways, this conference underlines the dilemma we are placed in. We were able to get to Lusaka to attend this conference because of the transportation technology of the developed States, either America, Western Europe, or Russia. Nobody else builds commercial jet aircraft that could have taken us from our far-flung countries to Lusaka. We are able for a few days to reawaken the conscience of mankind to the iniquities taking place in Southern Africa, the sufferings of the people in the Middle East and of South-East Asia, because of the communications technology of the developed countries. At the opening session I was reminded vividly of our dependence on this communications technology as I watched not only cameras and cine-cameras made by the developed countries but also the personnel who manned them. More important, I remembered the communications satellites which were to enable the speeches made and the pictures taken here to be transmitted swiftly to all the main centres of population in this world.....

"The galloping pace of technological change confronts us with an acute challenge. Twenty-five years ago, the Germans and Japanese were prostrate, their industries in ruins after the Second World War. Today their GNPs are third and fourth in the world. It is a spectacular recovery, made possible first by their infrastructure of knowledge and skills, and second by the rapid transfer by way of American loans and investments, of capital equipment and new expertise under patents and licensing. It had little to do with ideology. And in the case of Japan, it was a miracle accomplished with no basic material resources like iron or oil. It had a great deal to do with human resources, a hard-working and disciplined people with high skills, technological competence, managerial ability, and marketing know-how. In Lusaka, as in Singapore, the Japanese motor-cycles and West German cars have made themselves inescapably seen and heard.

"We too have it in ourselves to make the grade. Economic progress amongst the less developed countries may be uneven. It will vary with the level of education and skills which our peoples have reached or can acquire. But given vigorous leadership, our peoples can be stirred to action and their enthusiasm and energies mobilised for economic and social advance.....For the time being, the major powers see no urgency in seeking the support of the new and under-developed countries except in certain strategic areas. In fact, they are learning to do away with the commodities that plantation economies produce by synthetic substitutes, creating problems for the commodity producers. It may be, as one distinguished delegate has pointed out, that the countries represented here own more than half the world's natural resources. But natural resources often require capital equipment of high technology and considerable expertise before they are extracted from the bowels of the earth. Next, having extracted and refined them, the commodity is used mainly by the developed countries.

"Super powers and major powers make hard-headed assessments of a less-developed country's position today and compare it against what it was yesterday. They then make tough-minded projections of what it will be in the next ten, twenty, thirty years. If we can leave them with the clear impression that we shall develop, and rapidly, that we have the determination, stamina, and organisational ability to make the most of our own natural and human resources, then they will take us seriously! In fact they will immediately react on the assumption that sooner rather than later we shall be developed. Then, even before we are fully developed, they will cease to deal with us as if we shall never develop.

"This conference may temporarily reawaken the conscience of the people in the developed countries. Their advanced development had been achieved, in part, at the expense of the peoples in the colonies they exploited. But moral obligations and human considerations are not compulsions to positive action. We must create the organisations and institutions to enable more effective, realistic, and practical co-ordination amongst us, the less-developed. More and more, the advanced countries will compete against each other in exporting their older technology and skills. Our co-ordination can turn this natural rivalry to better advantage. The ending of colonialism does not in itself result in social and economic progress. It provides the opportunities for it. We must learn to make better use of them."

(Africa Research Bulletin, Vol. 7 No. 9, pages 1879 and 1880).



C.

C O M M E N T

A few selected comments on the Non-Aligned Summit Conference published in various countries are given below.

1. The Times (London)

In an editorial on 9 September, 1970, The Times commented on the detention of western correspondents in Lusaka (see Introduction above), including the correspondent of The Times. It said this action was "silly and self-contradictory". There was no professional reason why the correspondents should not report the Conference equally objectively wherever their point of departure might be. "But perhaps objective reporting is not what is expected of them or any other correspondents present. A conference of this sort is for many of those present primarily an occasion for propaganda, and putting journalists in gaol makes more obvious propaganda than letting them report debates."

On the Conference itself, The Times said:

"In the positive sense non-alignment is intended to mean freedom of political action, without regard to the wishes of the great powers, but even this is an elastic qualification. Cuba, with close links with the Soviet Union, is admitted. All the Arab League powers are admitted, in spite of strong Soviet influence on some of its members, while Israel is excluded.

"A meeting of this kind has two tasks. The first is to register objection to actions and policies, upon which there is substantially unanimous feeling. Most of the participants represent former colonies or dependent territories, and any resolution against colonialism and imperialism is bound to be welcomed. Equally any motion against racial discrimination will be supported wholeheartedly. As at the Organization of African Unity's summit meeting last week, South Africa is a prime target in Lusaka, but the non-aligned conference is perhaps less well organized to initiate action than the more cohesive O.A.U. with its well-established secretariat and its funds for guerrilla movements.

"The second task of the conference is to forge new ties, particularly of trade, cutting across those determined by an old colonial past. The conference represents half the membership of the United Nations, but includes many of the poorest members. Despite tremendous efforts by individuals in the richest countries, there is little sign that the richer governments will enlarge international aid programmes to a scale that will make sense to the non-aligned. If through discussions such as those at Lusaka the poorer countries can find practical ways of helping each other directly, they could turn non-alignment into a more rewarding status."

2. The New York Times

The following editorial appeared in The New York Times of 13 September, 1970:

"The first question a disinterested observer might raise about the summit conference of 'non-aligned' nations just concluded in Zambia is: What do they mean by non-alignment? On their performance at Lusaka it is clearer than ever that they do not mean to signify a neutral or evenhanded stand on some of the world's most complicated problems.

"As expected, the 'non-aligned' leaders lined up decisively with the Arab side in the Middle East conflict. Their resolutions contained no censure of Palestinian guerrillas for hijacking aircraft and holding innocent humans as hostages; but they demanded the removal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territory and United Nations action against Israel for 'obstructing' Middle East peace negotiations.

"Their approach to the South African problem was equally one-sided. They condemned Britain for its intention to resume arms sales to South Africa but deleted a specific censure of France for selling arms to Pretoria for years in violation of United Nations resolutions. This represented a successful lobbying effort by France's 'independent' African colonies.

"Evidently it did no violence to the conference's 'non-aligned' principles to give the floor and its greatest ovation to the Foreign Minister of the Vietcong regime in South Vietnam. Though calling for withdrawal of 'all foreign forces' from South Vietnam, one resolution blamed the American armed forces exclusively for the suffering and deaths in that country. There was no resolution condemning the Soviet Army's occupation of Czechoslovakia.

"President Kaunda, the conference host, implored the departing 'soldiers of non-alignment' to fight for freedom and justice, but his Government had done violence to both by arresting sixteen reporters for Western news organizations because some of them were based in South Africa and Rhodesia.

"When the first of these meetings was held in Yugoslavia in 1961, it seemed to make sense to bring non-aligned leaders together for common objectives, including efforts to ease relations between the power blocs led by the United States and Russia. Today it is no longer clear what non-alignment really means, if anything, or what shared goals the self-styled 'non-aligned' can best pursue collectively."

### 3. Swiss Review of World Affairs

In the October, 1970, issue of Swiss Review of World Affairs, a Correspondent commented on the Lusaka Conference as follows: (The article is not quoted in full.)

"Non-alignment is so vague, and indeed negative a term, that the participants at the 1970 Lusaka meeting were hard put to it to find subjects that would offer a consensus, given their highly variegated standpoints. Consequently, attention centred on contrasts between the 'Third World' and the 'evolved' countries, i.e. those which already possess the things the developing countries would like to have but have not yet attained. So a common denominator was provided by condemnation of what the conference members regarded as errors committed by the industrialised countries, and as non-aligned States are not necessarily neutral ones and their impetus is largely derived from frustration and feelings of inferiority, this more or less automatically led to a pronounced leftward bias. After all, their Communist patrons have long been using the technique of exploiting dissatisfaction as the driving force for their policies.

"Perhaps the clearest example of progressivist bias was the wordy debate about the absolute need to prevent 'intervention'; with everyone heatedly condemning American presence in Vietnam and not a word about the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia."

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"As the non-aligned club has so few points of common ground, it vehemently attacks existing military alliances and demands - to the address, unmistakably, of NATO - that they be dissolved in the interests of international détente. At the same time, the weak economic States or statelike organisations of the 'Third World' offer their co-operation in solving international problems and severely criticize the lack of democracy in international bodies, demanding to be granted equality on everything going on in the world. In particular, they hope to make an important contribution in the field of international disarmament, bringing in their meritoriously idealistic thinking a minimum of understanding to the realities of political, economic and military power.

"Happily disregarding historical evolution and psychological, and even climatic, facts, they demand, with a sort of corporate wishful thinking, the rapid bridging of the gap so deplorably existing between the industrialised countries and their less advanced contemporaries in the Third World.

"In one matter, the conference was successful in going beyond mere rhetoric and achieving concrete results. The opportunity arose during the debate on 'freedom fighters', the term applied to the Black African movements which have taken it upon themselves to bring by force of arms to those countries in southern Africa not yet decolonised, i.e. governed by White minorities, the benefits of Black majority government and freedom from their White masters. Hitherto, at OAU meetings, as many words have been spent on criticising the ineffectiveness, disunity and money-wasting of the 'freedom fighters' as on appeals to support them. But at the Lusaka Conference, a step of astonishing importance and great significance for the future was taken. Guyana's Prime Minister Forbes Burnham levelled the fraternal accusation at his colleagues that they confined themselves to verbal support. He himself offered an example of practical aid; with an impressive flourish he presented President Nyerere of Tanzania with his Government's cheque for 25 million US

dollars to hand to the 'Liberation Committee' at Dar-es-Salaam, whose host the Tanzanian nation has the honour to be. For outsiders the interesting question, in view of Guayana's foreign currency position, is where the hard currency cover for this cheque is to come from."

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In connection with the cost of the Conference, the Correspondent pointed out that the Zambian Government had provided a Conference village, including a conference hall for 1,500 delegates, specially built for the occasion. The cost, he said, was approximately \$15 million, not including the 62 villas for heads of delegations and auxiliary buildings and infrastructure. He continued: "Zambia does of course derive considerable income from its copper industry. But it is feared that this may fall off during coming years, for copper prices have been crumbling on world markets. So the Kaunda government may one day rue the cost of this prestige project, realised at a time when Zambian currency reserves were diminishing anyway and money was short for essential development tasks. The total expended on the non-aligned conference amounts to almost one third of total government expenditure on development projects for the current financial year."

#### 4. Radio Australia

In a comment on the Conference over Radio Australia, Mr. Geoffrey Hutton said on 14 September that the Conference had a strongly African flavour both in its agenda and in its attitudes. "When the loose association was formed, largely at the instigation of President Tito and the late Mr. Nehru, the Cold War in Europe was at its height and there appeared a danger that it would lead to a third world war. Nations which refused to align themselves with either the Western or the Communist power blocs were attempting to assert themselves as a third force in the world. Non-aligned was to be a positive creed, not merely a policy of negation.

"The world situation has changed radically in the past decade, but the non-aligned nations have not shifted their sights. Much of the conference's time at Lusaka was taken up with the discussion of decolonisation which was once a wide-ranging subject, but has now shrunk mainly to a campaign against the European-ruled states of Southern Africa - South Africa itself, the unconstitutional regime in Rhodesia, and the two Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. President Kaunda of Zambia was charged with the task of contacting countries which gave direct, or indirect, aid to the white Southern African regimes. Britain, as usual, was denounced for failing to overthrow the Smith regime in Rhodesia by all means, including the use of force, and its new Government was urged not to go ahead with its intention to sell selected arms to South Africa.

"In other fields the resolutions of the conference were equally predictable. It decided to take measures to reassert non-alignment as a world force and to bring about the dissolution of the world's great power blocs. The slogans of the conference were peace and development, freedom and justice.

"It was the voice of a strangely assorted group of more than sixty nations, some large like India and Indonesia, some small like the minor African states or the island of Cyprus. In politics they range from the far right to the far left. Their official bond is their refusal to join any of the World's military or security alliances, but their stronger bond lies in their need for economic development. As an African spokesman said, it was an association of the have-not nations to demand a greater share in the world's wealth from the more highly developed countries.

"The next platform for the non-aligned nations will be the twenty-fifth meeting of the general assembly of the United Nations in New York. By their very nature, non-aligned nations cannot align themselves into a voting bloc, but an active lobby is at work at the United Nations trying to influence their votes. As the New York Times says, the non-aligned nations were neither neutral nor even-handed in their stand on some of the world's most complicated problems. They are reported to have lined up decisively on the Arab side in the Middle East, passing resolutions attacking Israel and offering no censure of the Palestinian guerillas for hi-jacking aircraft and holding passengers to ransom. They condemned Britain for its intention to sell arms to South Africa, but a censure of France, which is already doing so, was deleted under pressure from the former French African states. In the present world it is difficult to be completely non-aligned."

(Radio Australia News Commentaries, 14-18 September, 1970.)

5. People's Daily (Peking)

The Communist Chinese press hailed the Lusaka Conference as showing the determination of non-aligned countries to escape the influence of the "super powers". An editorial in the People's Daily stressed the "historic significance" of the "irresistible current" represented by non-alignment and welcomed the development of "the revolutionary storm in the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the entire world".

It welcomed in particular the non-aligned countries' intention of "maintaining their national independence", and added: "Provided they rely on their own strength, dare to fight and strengthen their solidarity, they will certainly be able to demolish the super powers' aggression and intervention plot, free themselves of their control, and keep their destinies in their own hands."

(Africa Research Bulletin, Vol. 7 No. 9, p. 1882.)

6. Tass (Soviet Union)

On September 11th, the Soviet News Agency Tass praised the Lusaka Conference for its "anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist" line, and particularly for its "energetic denunciation of Israeli expansionist policies". Tass commented further that the Conference was more representative than the previous non-aligned conferences.

(Africa Research Bulletin, Vol. 7 No. 9, p. 1882.)

7. The Pioneer (Ghana)

On September 10th, the Pioneer praised the Lusaka Conference for its proposals against the white regimes in Southern Africa. It said that any country which professed to see the justice of the cause of Black Africa against the white minority regimes should accept the Conference plan in its totality and not in convenient fragments. The Pioneer expressed the belief that if even a fraction of the non-aligned states from outside Africa refused to trade with South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, severed diplomatic relations with them, and refused them aircraft landing rights and port facilities, "these callous minority governments could not but have a healthy change of outlook".

(Africa Research Bulletin, Vol. 7 No. 9, p. 1882-1883.)

8. President Banda of Malawi

On 12 September Dr. Hastings Banda, President of Malawi, commented that the proposals of the Lusaka Conference showed aligned attitudes and not an unaligned position. The proposals showed an aligned position against Western powers - the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and France - as opposed to Russia and China. This was not non-aligned. Russia and Communist China were selling arms to Africa, too, and the murder of Africans was happening in the Sudan, but not a word was said about this in Lusaka. The President said that the conference in Lusaka was not non-aligned but was in fact aligned against the West. The President said that he rejected certain resolutions from Lusaka as being malicious and untrue. He said people outside Africa should not be misled by the nonsense passed as resolutions at the conference.

(Africa Research Bulletin, Vol. 7 No. 9, p. 1868.)