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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION

Letter dated 6 July 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the following documents of the
Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held
at Colombo from 4 to 9 June 1979:

Final communiqué (annex I);

Implementation of the Colombo Action Programme for Economic Co-operation
among Non-Aligned and other developing countries: reports of the
co-ordinating countries (annex II);

Resolution of thanks to the Government and people of Sri Lanka as the
host country (annex III);

Keynote address by His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, President of the
Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, made at the inaugural session
of the Meeting (annex IV).

I would be grateful if you would kindly have these documents published and
circulated as a document of the General Assembly under items 12, 14, 18, 21, 22,
24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 68, 69, 70,
71, 73, 75, 80, 82, 86, 87, 91, 92, 94 and 116 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO
Permanent Representative
Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau
of Non-Aligned Countries

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DOCUMENTS OF THE MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE CO-ORDINATING
BUREAU OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Held at Colombo from 4 to 9 June 1979

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I. POLITICAL MATTERS

A INTRODUCTION

1. The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries met at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Colombo, Sri Lanka from 4 to 9 June 1979. The Bureau assessed the implementation of the decisions and Action Programme for Economic Co-operation among Non-Aligned Countries adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government and reviewed the international situation and the role played by the policy of non-alignment and the Movement of non-aligned countries. It also considered the preparations for the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government to be held in Havana, Cuba in September 1979.

2. The following members of the Bureau participated:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Cuba, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Palestine Liberation Organization, Peru, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

3. The following full members of the Non-Aligned Movement also participated in accordance with the Decision of the Colombo Conference of Heads of State or Government: Argentina, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Burma, Cape Verde, Congo, Cyprus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kampuchea, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Oman, Panama, Qatar, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Yemen. During the meeting the Chairman made the following statement in Plenary:

"With regard to the participation of Kampuchea in this meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau consultations have been conducted and are still proceeding without having reached a consensus as yet.

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Therefore as long as this consensus is not reached and without setting a precedent nor prejudging the definite decision on this matter neither this question nor any other related to Kampuchea will be raised at the Plenary or at any of the committees."

4. The following liberation movements, Observers in the Non-Aligned Movement, attended the Meeting on invitation:

Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, African National Congress.

The following Observers and Guests in the Non-Aligned Movement also attended the Meeting:

Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Arab League, Islamic Conference, Grenada, Mexico, Organization of African Unity, Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, United Nations (Observers); Austria, Committee on the Exercise of Inalienable Rights of Palestinian People, Special Committee of Twenty-Four, Finland, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Special Committee against Apartheid, Sweden, Switzerland, United Nations Council for Namibia (Guests).

5. At the Inaugural Session, His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka delivered the keynote Inaugural Address. It was the unanimous decision of the Bureau that the text of this inspiring and thought-provoking Address should be included in the records of the Ministerial Meeting. The Address was acknowledged as an important and valuable statement on the Role and Policy of Non-Alignment viewed in a historical perspective and through a philosophical prism. It was agreed that the Bureau derived invaluable guidance from this in its deliberations ensuring the successful results of the Ministerial Meeting.

6. The Bureau paid tribute to the outstanding and innovative career of President J.R. Jayewardene as a national and international statesman and noted in particular that his principled and enlightened involvement in the field of international affairs had extended over a period of three decades and was characterized by a dedication to the cause of peace, the non-violent settlement of disputes and the development of higher standards of living internationally. The Bureau recalled the deep humanism of President Jayewardene in the post World War II reconstruction of the International Order, his pioneer work in the forums of UNCTAD for the cause of international interdependence and economic development and his passionate concern for the cause of disarmament in the interest of achieving a peaceful and equitable international society.

7. The Bureau welcomed President Jayawardene's perceptive analysis of the mainsprings of Non-Alignment and his lucid restatement of the fundamental principles and achievements of the Non-Aligned Movement in his capacity as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. His call for the unity of the Movement and a commitment to specific goals and objectives constituted an articulation of the thoughts and aspirations of the peoples of Non-Aligned Countries which provide the Movement with its innate dynamism and undisputed influence in the international community.
8. The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau considered and recommended the applications of Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Pakistan and Suriname for full membership of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Bureau noted that the desire of these countries to join the Non-Aligned Movement was indicative of the growing relevance of the Movement to contemporary international relations and the trend reflecting the distinctive independent and non-bloc role of the Non-Aligned Countries in their endeavour to create a new and democratic system of political and economic relations.
9. The Bureau took note of the desire of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to co-operate with the Non-Aligned Movement in all matters relating to policies and principles of non-alignment. The Bureau further recalled that the Organization of the Islamic Conference attends meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement in the capacity of Observer.
10. The ministers also stressed their satisfaction that this further confirms the ever-widening acceptance of the policy of non-alignment in all regions of the world, as the broadest and firmest support and base of their free social and national development.
11. The Bureau reaffirmed the fundamental conviction of non-aligned countries that military pacts concluded in the context of great Power rivalries are a source of tension in international affairs and seriously undermine the independence and sovereignty of nations and expressed the hope that the positive trend towards the dismantling of military alliances would be accelerated loosening the links within blocs and strengthening the non-aligned assertion of States. In this context, the Bureau welcomed the dismantling of certain multilateral military alliances such as CENTO and SEATO. At the same time the Bureau recognized the need to guard against new arrangements and interlocking alliances which could serve the same purpose as the military pacts of the cold war era.
12. The Bureau agreed that despite the many challenges facing the Non-Aligned Movement, the non-aligned countries had responded positively to the developments in the international situation and achieved notable results on the basis of the principles, goals and objectives as well as on the basis of the decisions and resolutions of previous non-aligned gatherings especially the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries

The Non-Aligned Movement therefore continues to assert its unique and independent role maintaining its undisputed influence on the course of international events, on the basis of its unity and autonomy.

13. The Bureau asserted that while there had been wars of aggression, outbreaks of violence, repression, violations of human rights and other events disrupting international peace and stability in various regions, the main thrust of international developments since the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade had been to strengthen the struggle against imperialism, expansionism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism including zionism, exploitation, power politics and all forms and manifestations of foreign occupation, domination and hegemony. There had been an increasing realization of the need to democratize decision-making in international relations and to diffuse political and economic power so as to realize the unfettered development of the genuine independence of States and create the conditions necessary for a new international order where peace, justice, equality and international co-operation will prevail.

14. The Bureau noted that the non-aligned countries had played a significant role at the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly emphasizing their united commitment to the principles of non-alignment and a dedication to the progressive implementation of non-aligned policies with regard to the issues confronting the international community particularly in the field of decolonization, for the elimination of hotbeds of crises, in disarmament and international security and for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The achievement of the non-aligned countries in ensuring the adoption of resolutions which endorsed basic postulates and principles of non-alignment was welcomed as a concrete expression of non-aligned unity. The Bureau noted in particular the role of the non-aligned countries in the United Nations Security Council. It also recognized the effective role of non-aligned countries in the adoption of resolutions on the establishment of a new international information order and further strengthening of national information and mass media systems.

15. Through its meetings held in the United Nations in New York at the level of Permanent Representatives, the Bureau had assiduously fulfilled its task of co-ordinating the joint activities of the non-aligned countries aimed at implementing the decisions and programmes of the Non-Aligned Movement within the framework of the Decision Regarding the Composition and Mandate of the Co-ordinating Bureau adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

16. The increased activities of the Bureau and the expansion of its range of concerns within the framework of its Mandate reflected the growing importance of the Non-Aligned Movement and the leading role it was called upon to play in international affairs. It was also noted that the increased participation of non-members of the Bureau at Bureau meetings, represented a welcome interest in the work of the Bureau and demonstrated co-operative effort to ensure the effective discharge of the responsibilities of the Bureau based on genuine consensus.

17. The Bureau also welcomed the increasing frequency of and active participation in plenary meetings of Non-Aligned countries at United Nations Headquarters, which testified to the readiness of the Non-Aligned countries to contribute fully to the implementation of the decisions of the Movement.

18. The Bureau expressed its appreciation for the dedication, efficacy and strict adherence to the principles of non-alignment with which Sri Lanka has been co-ordinating the work of the Bureau and the Movement.

B. POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF ITS ROLE

19. The Bureau reviewed and assessed the implementation of the policy of Non-Alignment as formulated at previous Summit Conferences, Ministerial Conferences and Meetings and other Non-Aligned gatherings, particularly at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo and thereafter, at the Belgrade Conference. It reaffirms that the quintessence of non-alignment, in accordance with its original principles and essential character, involved the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, including zionism exploitation, great Power and bloc policies, and all forms of foreign occupation, domination and hegemony - in other words, the rejection of any form of subjugation, dependence, intervention and interference, direct or indirect or pressure be it economic, political, military or cultural in international relations.

20. Genuine non-alignment as an independent non-bloc global factor in international relations free from great Power and bloc rivalries and influences, represents a significant development in mankind's persistent quest for freely established, peaceful and equitable relations among nations irrespective of size, location or power and a determined rejection of dependent or unequal relationships of all kinds whether political, military, economic or cultural.

21. The Bureau reiterated its faith in one of the cardinal principles and objectives of non-alignment, namely, the non-membership of military alliances and the refusal of Non-Aligned countries to participate, directly or indirectly, in any military or hostile arrangements or interlocking or regional military alliances conceived by great Powers.

22. The Bureau was convinced that Non-Aligned countries would safeguard their independent judgement and action on international issues only through the faithful adherence to these principles and objectives focusing on the struggle for national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, free social and economic development of all countries, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States and self-determination of all peoples under colonial and alien domination.

23. The Bureau emphasized that in order to maintain the role and influence of the Movement and to continue to achieve success, the members of the Non-Aligned Movement are under a special obligation to be vigilant, individually and collectively, against all attempts, covert and overt, to undermine, subvert or dilute the principles of the Movement. Respect for all the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and faithful adherence to them was required as an indispensable safeguard for strengthening the policy of genuine non-alignment.

24. In this context the unity and solidarity of non-aligned countries was acknowledged as being fundamental in defending the independence and strength of the Movement as also its achievements and in forging toward their further consolidation. The Bureau stressed that the fundamental principles of non-alignment had, for almost two decades, gathered together an expanding group of nations despite their ideological, political, economic, social and cultural diversity. These nations have always been able to strengthen their role through democratic dialogue, the search for the common denominator and through the promotion of mutual co-operation, concentration on common goals and interests, thereby underlining the universal necessity of the application of these principles in the context of the contemporary world situation. The durable links forged by non-aligned principles have helped to transcend differences in the past and should continue to do so, resisting outside pressures

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and influence from whatever quarter. In this context any attempts to raise divisive issues and to exploit the Movement for narrow national objectives, jeopardizing the unity and solidarity of the Movement must be resisted.

C. REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

25. The Bureau reviewed the current international situation and felt that there were some positive ~~developments~~ such as the intensified struggle of peoples and countries for national independence, free development, equal participation in international life, independence, peace and security and the rights of peoples and countries to free choice of social and economic systems. The Bureau considered that despite these developments there has been a deterioration in the climate of international security, as a consequence of a setback in the process of the relaxation of international tensions. While noting the progress made in the US-USSR negotiations on the limitation of armaments, the Bureau expressed grave concern over the intensification of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race. The Bureau deplored the growing threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Non-Aligned countries arising out of increased efforts by the great powers to seek to enlarge their spheres of influence. The Bureau reiterated the well-known position of the Non-Aligned countries that the relaxation of international tensions, if it is to be stable and durable, must not be limited to relations between power blocs but become universal and encompass all spheres of international relations with the participation of all countries.

26. The Bureau reaffirmed its total commitment to the achievement of genuine decolonization in non self-governing territories throughout the world. It deplored the fact that the welcome trend towards the peaceful transfer of power to the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia has been abruptly reversed by those who want to cling to the discredited and inhuman system of racism and apartheid through the encouragement of vested interests seeking to perpetuate the status quo.

27. There has been little progress towards resolving the crises in different parts of the world which pose a serious threat to international peace and security.

28. The Bureau regarded it as a matter of particular gratification for the future strength of the Non-Aligned Movement that more and more Non-Aligned and developing countries have asserted their permanent sovereignty over their natural resources and have achieved notable success in the struggle for peace, independence, equal rights and progress. At the same time it noted that the deliberations of the recently concluded UNCTAD V demonstrated that the developed countries persisted in their stubborn refusal to accept the legitimate aspirations and demands of the developing countries and resisted every effort aimed at the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

29. The Bureau then examined specific issues of concern to Non-Aligned Countries in the light of decisions reached at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government.

D. SOUTHERN AFRICA

30. The Bureau recalled that an Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau was held in Maputo from 26 January to 2 February 1979 exclusively to consider the situation in southern Africa, and to reiterate the collective solidarity, and unwavering support of the Non-Aligned Movement for the liberation struggle of the people of southern Africa and the front-line States.

31. The Bureau reaffirmed the definitive recommendations contained in the Maputo Final Communiqué for achieving the objectives of the liberation struggle in southern Africa, and declared these to be in consonance with the highest ideals and principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. It further expressed its appreciation to Mozambique, one of the last frontiers of freedom in southern Africa and a member of the front-line States, which had suffered great hardship and sacrifice in the course of promoting the just cause of the liberation movements, for hosting the extraordinary Ministerial Meeting.

32. Recalling the continued identification of the African continent with non-alignment, reaffirmed at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government and noting the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity which enshrined

adherence to the policy of non-alignment, the Bureau reasserted the special concern of the Non-Aligned Movement for the liberation of southern Africa was a priority consideration. In this context it noted the significance of the admission of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to full membership of the Non-Aligned Movement at the Extraordinary Meeting of Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers held in New York on 2 October 1978. This event was viewed as symbolic of the Non-Aligned Movement's long and successful crusade against colonialism and a herald of the final elimination of this scourge from Namibia in particular and from Africa and the world in general.

33. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the resolute action taken by Non-Aligned countries in the United Nations pursuant to the Maputo Meeting. It regretted, however, that the pace of change in southern Africa had remained slow due mainly to the immutable racism of the illegal white minority regimes in southern Africa. The Bureau noted that the people of southern Africa, led by their national liberation movements, had consistently shown their readiness to negotiate for a peaceful transition towards freedom and independence, and warned that the perverse refusal of the racist minority regimes to yield their illegally obtained power and privilege, with the tacit connivance of their imperialist supporters left the liberation movements no option but to intensify their armed struggle for the attainment of freedom and independence of their countries. The Bureau therefore, expressed its full support for the legitimate armed struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to achieve their goal.

34. The freedom of the peoples of southern Africa represents the final phase of the decolonization process in which the Non-Aligned Movement had played a crucial role. Entrenched in their last bastions, the forces of imperialism and colonialism supported by those with heavy investments in the status quo, have proved to be brutal in their repression, ruthless in their aggression and devious in their diplomacy. The military, technological, economic and diplomatic support given to the illegal minority racist regimes by major Western Powers encourages them in their defiance of world opinion leading to the reneging of carefully negotiated agreements, with apparent impunity.

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35. The Bureau, having noted with concern the alarming increase in the sympathy and support given to the minority racist regimes in southern Africa, denounced, in particular, the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Japan, Belgium and Italy for collaborating with the regimes by giving them political, diplomatic, military, economic, material and financial support and for providing South Africa with the technology to develop nuclear weapons, thus perpetuating the systems of oppression in these countries. In the face of these manoeuvres the Bureau emphasized that now, more than ever, there was a vital need for the Non-Aligned Countries to maintain the closest possible unity with one another. To this end Non-Aligned Countries are continuously taking the lead in promoting equitable co-operation with all peace-loving, freedom-loving, progressive and democratic forces throughout the world, thereby successfully strengthening their capacity to combat the desperate efforts of imperialism to recover the ground it has lost in recent years. In this context the Bureau welcomed the decision by Iran to impose an oil embargo on the racist regimes and expressed the conviction that this action, together with the consistent moral and material support of the non-aligned countries, would be a source of encouragement to the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for freedom.

36. The Bureau examined the situation in Southern Rhodesia in the light of the formation of an illegal regime by Ian Smith-Bishop Abel Muzorewa as a result of the sham elections of April 1979. The Bureau condemned this manoeuvre, designed to perpetuate white racist minority rule disguised as a black majority-ruled government. It reaffirmed the position that the formation of the Smith-Muzorewa regime notwithstanding, Rhodesia remained a British colony under an illegal and racist regime, and stated categorically that this facade cannot contribute to the real solution of the problem of Rhodesia. The Bureau called upon all States to refrain from according any recognition to the Smith-Muzorewa regime, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. The Bureau expressed serious concern over the reported moves by the British Government and the United States Senate towards the recognition of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia and unilaterally lifting sanctions imposed against the rebel colony.

37. The Bureau reaffirmed the identity of views between the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement on the ways and means of meeting the challenges posed by imperialism in southern Africa, recalled that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in southern Africa is a consequence of the process of decolonization which the Non-Aligned Movement had helped to promote world-wide from its very inception, concluded that the installation of the puppet Muzorewa regime in Zimbabwe was a direct provocation and an affront to the Non-Aligned Movement and called upon all the members of the Movement to take all necessary economic and diplomatic measures, both individually and collectively to discourage any attempt to accord any form of legitimacy to the regime and unilaterally lift economic sanctions. It stressed the imperative necessity of taking this action both as a means of enhancing the credibility of the Movement, and also in order to make imperialism pay an unacceptably high price for its malefactions and adventurism in southern Africa.

38. The Bureau reaffirmed its total support for the Patriotic Front which is waging a heroic struggle for the true liberation and genuine independence of Zimbabwe. It commended the Patriotic Front for the positive steps it had taken to consolidate the unity of their liberation movement which, it was convinced, was essential for the more effective prosecution of the armed struggle against the Smith-Muzorewa regime. The Bureau pledged the continuing support of the Non-Aligned Movement for the Patriotic Front and appealed to all peace- and freedom-loving countries of the world to offer and increase their material assistance, political, moral and diplomatic support for the intensification of the armed struggle in Rhodesia in accordance with the Maputo Final Communiqué

39. The Bureau reaffirmed its recommendation at the Maputo Meeting that the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe should be admitted to full membership of the Non-Aligned Movement as an expression of support for the liberation struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe led by the Patriotic Front, and for the speedy establishment of a free, independent, united and non-aligned Zimbabwe.

E. NAMIBIA

40. The Bureau considered the question of Namibia against the background of the resumed thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, recently held in New York, at which the critical situation in Namibia was most seriously and thoroughly examined. The Bureau strongly endorsed the determination by the General Assembly that South Africa had been deceitful during the protracted negotiations for the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control, and that it was seeking to destroy SWAPO and impose a puppet regime in Namibia in contravention of United Nations resolutions; in particular, Security Council resolutions 345 (1976) and 435 (1978).

41. The Bureau strongly condemned South Africa for the establishment of a fraudulent and illegal "national assembly" in Namibia designed to achieve recognition for its puppets, through whom it intends to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibian territory as well as its exploitation of the natural resources of the territory. The Bureau also strongly condemned South Africa for the recent arbitrary arrests and detentions of SWAPO leaders and members in its desperate attempt to wipe out the liberation movement and frustrate the aspirations of the Namibian people for freedom and genuine national independence.

42. In accordance with the Maputo Final Communiqué and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, the Bureau calls upon all States to refrain from according any recognition to, or co-operation with, the illegal "national assembly" or any regime which racist South Africa may impose upon the Namibian people. The Bureau reaffirms its solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia by all means at its disposal. Having regard to the need for intensified armed struggle, in view of South Africa's frustration of efforts at a negotiated settlement, the Bureau calls upon the international community to render increased and sustained material, financial and military support to SWAPO. The Bureau furthermore strongly endorses the call made on the Security Council by the General Assembly at its resumed Session on Namibia to convene urgently for the purpose of taking enforcement measures against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, in order to ensure its compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on Namibia.

43. The system of apartheid in South Africa was viewed with disgust by the Bureau as being a gross violation of human dignity and denial of the inalienable political rights of the people of South Africa. The policy of bantustans was rejected as a manoeuvre designed to perpetuate apartheid and to create illegal, artificial entities that are inimical to the basic interests and rights of the people.

44. The Bureau viewed as revolting the announcement by the racist South African regime of plans to establish the so-called Constellation of Southern African States under its direction. The Bureau condemned this racist manoeuvre through which the Pretoria regime intended to continue to perpetuate its domination of the region, create instability and continue to wage wars of aggression from Namibian and Rhodesian territories against independent African countries in defence of the vicious and repugnant system of apartheid.

45. The Bureau pledged its full support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa under their national liberation movement. The Bureau was confident that no manoeuvre by South Africa will prevent the people of that country from achieving their goal of destroying the system of apartheid and asserting their inalienable rights. The Bureau called on all States to strictly implement the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977).

46. The Bureau pledged unflinching and continued support to the front-line States in recognition of the tremendous sacrifices they have made, and the hardship they continue to endure as a result of the savage aggression on them by the racist minority regimes in southern Africa. The Bureau condemned this act of aggression and called on all States to increase the defensive capability of the front-line States in accordance with Security Council resolution 411 and to continue to extend to them all other necessary material support. The Bureau recalled Security Council resolution 445 (1979) and reiterated the indignation of the non-aligned countries over the armed invasions launched by the Smith regime on Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. The attacks by the Pretoria regime were also condemned, especially the bombing of Cahama in the People's Republic of Angola on 14 March 1979 and the continuing acts of aggression against the front-line States.

F. MAYOTTE

47. Regarding the problem concerning the island of Mayotte, which continues to be illegally occupied by France, the Bureau expressed active solidarity with the Republic of Comoros in its legitimate struggle for the freedom of this island and for safeguarding its independence, its national unity and territorial integrity.

G. WESTERN SAHARA AND OTHER COLONIAL ISSUES

48. The Bureau recalled the decision adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government in Colombo and at ~~the~~ Belgrade Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries as well as the resolutions adopted by the last OAU Summit and the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Western Sahara. It then expressed its satisfaction that ~~the~~ OAU, taking into account United Nations General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), had established an ad hoc committee which is currently actively seized of the matter and hopes to assist in finding a just and permanent solution to the question with a view to ensuring the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their right to self-determination.

H. SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

49. The Bureau examined the situation in the Middle East, and in particular the developments in the area since the Belgrade Ministerial Conference (July 1978). It noted that the situation in the Middle East continues to pose an alarming threat to international peace and security, to the extent that it may lead to a new armed conflict, as a result of Israel's continued policy of aggression and colonial expansion, and its refusal to implement the United Nations resolutions calling for total withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

50. The Bureau deems it necessary to reaffirm the principles and decisions adopted by the non-aligned conferences with regard to the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem, particularly since the Israeli aggression in June 1967. It asserts, in particular that the only solution to the question of Palestine and the Middle East lies in the application of all of the following

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principles jointly and without exception:

- (a) The question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict;
- (b) There is an intrinsic interrelationship between the problem of the Middle East and the question of Palestine constitutes an integral whole both in its consideration and in seeking its solution. Consequently the solution to the latter cannot be partial, or made applicable to some parties to the conflict or restricted to only some causes of the conflict - likewise it will be impossible to achieve partial peace - since peace must be comprehensive and include all parties, be just, and eliminate all causes of the conflict.
- (c) A just peace in the region can only be achieved on the basis of total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and restoration to the Palestinian people of their national, inalienable rights, including the right to return and to self-determination and statehood.
- (d) The Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and is solely entitled to represent this people and have full and equal participation in all the international conferences, activities and fora concerned with the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict, with a view to realizing the national, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. No solution shall be considered as comprehensive and just unless the Palestine Liberation Organization participates in its formulation and as an independent party accepts it on equal footing with the other parties concerned.
- (e) All measures, installations, settlements, modifications or changes made by Israel in the political, cultural, religious, natural, geographical and demographic conditions and features and which tend to change the political and legal status of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories are considered null, void and illegal.

- (f) The Israeli practice of establishing settlements in the occupied territories is considered as an obstacle to peace and should be rescinded forthwith. All such settlements are illegal and should be removed.
- (g) The Arab City of Jerusalem should be restored to Arab Sovereignty."

51. The Bureau reiterated the demand made by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to all member States, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, that the relevant sanctions should be applied to the State of Israel and it regretted that this objective had still not been achieved although the Bureau had called on member States of the Movement to ensure their total application.

52. The Bureau also condemned the sale of arms by Israel to South Africa, as well as the increased military and economic links between the two countries following upon Israel's policy of hostility towards Arab and African peoples. It noted with concern Israel's sales of arms to other countries, such as those to the deposed regime in Iran and, at present, the dictatorship of Somoza in Nicaragua, thus strengthening the armaments industry in Israel.

53. It also denounced the attitude of the Government of the United States of America which provided repressive regimes with arms and military equipment through the intermediary of Israel, thereby proving the hypocrisy of its so-called human rights policy.

54. The Bureau noted that United States policy had played, and continues to play an important role in aggravating the situation in the Middle East, and that the United States has persisted in its hostile attitude towards the rights of the Palestinian people and the total withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, a policy contrary to United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East. This attitude has become an obstacle to the establishment of a just peace in the region. The Bureau, therefore, condemns the policies which the United States seeks to impose on the region, to the detriment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the total liberation of occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.

55. The Bureau noted that certain countries, particularly the United States of America, continue to supply Israel with weapons and various forms of assistance. This has helped Israel to continue its occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories, its denial of the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and to defy the will of the international community. Such military and financial support by the United States of America has recently increased reaching an alarming magnitude, and constituting one of the main factors responsible for the continued dangerous and potentially explosive situation in the region.

56. The Bureau reiterated its support for the unity of Lebanon both its people and its territory and for its independence and sovereignty. It strongly condemned Israel for its delay in withdrawing from certain areas still under its occupation and for its continued and repeated aggression against Lebanon, especially in the southern peaceful towns and villages, thus inflicting severe casualties among innocent women, old people and children as well as heavy damage to property, resulting in the evacuation of scores of thousands of peaceful people from their homes in the area. It also condemned attempts by Israel to perpetuate its occupation of Southern Lebanon through its agents with the objective of undermining the unity of Lebanon and the Lebanese people and their sovereignty over their homeland. The Bureau called upon the Security Council to implement its resolutions on this question, especially resolutions 425 and 426, and to take such measures against Israel as are provided in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter with a view to putting an end to its aggression against Lebanon and preventing further deterioration of the situation in the region.

57. The Bureau considered that non-aligned principles and objectives required that non-aligned countries support the Arab States in order to liberate their territories, and support the Palestinian people to restore its inalienable rights. That support should be reflected in practical and effective measures and attitudes by all member States.

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58. In this context the Bureau emphasized the need for continued implementation of the decisions by the Colombo Conference of Heads of State or Government (August 1976) and the Belgrade Ministerial Conference (July 1978) on the severing by non-aligned countries of all types of political, diplomatic, consular, economic, cultural, sport and tourist relations and of all forms of communications, and other links with Israel at all formal and non-formal levels. The Bureau called upon non-aligned States which have not done so to sever all such relations. It also reaffirmed the decision by the Belgrade Ministerial Conference which called on non-aligned countries to join in the Arab boycott of Israel and to co-ordinate their efforts in this area with all other Third World countries in order to implement the boycott against all racist regimes, particularly those in Palestine and southern Africa.

59. The Bureau noted once again that statements are made from time to time by colonialist and imperialist circles which threaten to resort to the use of force against oil-producing countries especially those in the Arab region, expressed its deep concern over their implications, and condemned them as a disrupting and destabilizing element in international relations.

60. The Bureau reiterated the provisions of the Belgrade Declaration which state that attempts and endeavours by the United States of America to liquidate the Palestine issue and its assistance to Israel in realizing its expansionist, imperialistic and racist policy in occupied Palestine, through encouragement of bilateral and partial solutions, would not lead to a just solution of the problem. Therefore, the Bureau condemned such policies, attempts and endeavours and called for resistance to them. The Bureau also stressed the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to reject all forms of settlements, projects and solutions aiming at the liquidation of the Palestine question and denying the national rights of the Palestinian people.

61. The Bureau was of the opinion that the Camp David Accords and the Peace Treaty of 26 March 1979 violated the Decisions and Resolutions of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations and appealed to all Non-Aligned Members not to extend any recognition to these Accords and Treaty.

62. In the course of the consideration of the Middle East and Palestine questions, the Meeting had before it a proposal for the temporary suspension of Egypt from the Membership of the Non-Aligned Movement. During the consultations the Bureau Members felt that it was beyond their competence to deal with this matter. Accordingly, the Bureau left the proposal for the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

I. QUESTION OF PALESTINE

63. The Bureau considered it important in the present context to emphasize that the question of Palestine is the core of the present conflict in the Middle East, and denounced all policies of the United States of America that aim at ignoring the legitimate, national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the non-recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as being the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine people, and imposing partial or bilateral solutions.

64. The Ministerial Meeting endorsed the Co-ordinating Bureau's Communiqués of 7 March and 3 April 1979, issued at the United Nations on this question and reiterated that a solution to the Palestine question must be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and on the basis of United Nations resolutions and non-aligned decisions.

65. The Bureau recalled that the Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Belgrade, 25-30 July 1978, condemned the policies of the United States of America and its attempts and endeavours to liquidate the question of Palestine through encouragement of bilateral agreements and partial solutions. The Bureau condemns all parties to such agreements and stresses the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to reject all forms of settlements, projects and solutions aiming at the liquidation of the question of Palestine and the denial of the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

66. The Bureau recalled that the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 33/28 declared: that the validity of agreements purporting to solve the problem of Palestine requires that they be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and its resolutions on the basis of the full attainment and exercise

of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

67. The Bureau declares all agreements which do not meet the said requirements as null and void, and calls upon all members to support the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its struggle, in all military and political forms, by all means, against the Zionist racist occupation of Palestine until it fully attains and exercises its national inalienable rights, a prerequisite to the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

68. The Bureau notes with grave concern that particularly since the agreement on the Camp David Accords among Egypt, Israel and the United States of America in September 1978, Israel has intensified the implementation of its policy of annexing occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and establishing paramilitary Zionist settlements thereon, thus introducing new elements which will exacerbate the already explosive situation and further threaten international peace and security.

69. The Bureau condemns Israel and demands an immediate halt to this policy and the dismantling of existing settlements.

70. The Bureau expresses very serious concern over the fact that significantly since the conclusion of the Israel-Egypt treaty in March 1979, Israel has escalated its continuous criminal attacks on Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon with the aim of eliminating them - a virtual genocide of the Palestinian people. These acts of aggression by air, sea and land, utilizing the most sophisticated weaponry supplied by the Government of the United States resulted in the death of hundreds of innocent Palestinian and Lebanese civilians and the dispersion of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.

71. The Bureau calls upon all member States to condemn Israel and to demand that the Security Council take measures against Israel in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and in particular, measures provided for in Chapter VII.

72. The Bureau notes with regret that the Security Council has failed to consider and take a decision on the recommendations of the United Nations General Assembly concerning the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as stipulated by General Assembly resolution 33/28A (paras. 8 and 9). The Bureau urges the Security Council to consider those recommendations as soon as possible. In this context the Bureau recalls the decisions of the Ministerial Conference in Belgrade calling for the convening of a Special Session to consider the question of Palestine, with a view to adopting measures leading to the implementation of United Nations resolutions relevant to the withdrawal of Israel from the illegal occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the realization of the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

73. It welcomes the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to authorize and request the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, to consider the situation and to make the suggestions it deems appropriate.

74. The Bureau deplored the decision of the Government of Canada to instal its embassy in Jerusalem, and considered this decision as a flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council.

J. CYPRUS

75. The Bureau welcomed the 10 points agreement reached on 19 May 1979 between the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, and the Leader of the Turkish Cypriot Community, Mr. Denktas, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, and expressed the hope that the intercommunal talks to be resumed on 15 June 1979, on the basis of the aforementioned agreement, will be meaningful and constructive and will lead soon to a mutually acceptable solution in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. At the same time the Bureau expressed its grave concern that part of Cyprus remains still under foreign military occupation and called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and every other foreign military presence and stressed the urgent need for the safe return of all refugees to their homes, respect for the human rights of all Cypriots, including the tracing and accounting for those missing, and non-interference in the demographic structure of the Republic of Cyprus. The Bureau

called upon all States to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and Non-Alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and in this context reaffirmed the right of the Republic and the people of Cyprus to full and effective sovereignty and control over the occupied territory and its natural and other resources.

76. The Bureau reaffirmed the Declarations adopted so far by the Non-Aligned gatherings on the question of Cyprus and in particular the Belgrade Declaration of July 1978. In this regard, the Bureau called for the immediate implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and more particularly resolution 3212(XXIX) unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

77. The proposal of the President of Cyprus for the total demilitarization and disarmament of Cyprus was welcomed as a significant contribution to the search for a solution in Cyprus. The Bureau decided that the Contact Group of Non-Aligned Countries should continue to keep the situation under review so as to facilitate the continuing search for a solution.

K. EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

78. The Bureau expressed its deep regret at the continuing tension in the region. It called for the removal of the causes for the crisis situations and the elimination of outside interference as well as the reduction of tension and armed forces in the region. The Bureau re-emphasized that the security of Europe, the Middle East and the Mediterranean are interrelated and it was therefore, imperative to find just and lasting solutions to the conflicts in the area.

79. The Bureau reiterated its support for the transformation of the area into a Zone of Peace and Co-operation. In this context the Bureau applauded the courageous action of Malta in eliminating foreign military bases from Malta with effect from 31 March 1979 in the full exercise of its sovereignty, and pledged the support of the Non-Aligned countries to Malta. In particular the Bureau recommends to member States from whom Malta has requested economic, financial and political guarantees, in order to preserve its sovereignty and non-aligned status after 31 March 1979, to take the necessary decisions without further delay and to provide such guarantees

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as are being requested so that Malta's political independence and its continued commitment to peace and stability in the Mediterranean will be assured.

80. The Bureau stressed the need to ~~strengthen co-operation among the~~ Mediterranean countries. In this connexion the Bureau ~~recommends that a~~ meeting be called during **1980 between the Mediterranean States of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Mediterranean States** participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to launch projects of co-operation and to prepare for the Madrid Meeting of the Conference.

81. The Bureau reiterated its conviction that the efforts to normalize relations and consolidate the foundations of equal co-operation, transcend divisions between blocs and military pacts and broaden detente in Europe, cannot yield durable results, unless they are extended to other regions. The Bureau notes with satisfaction the fruitful co-operation and joint efforts of the non-aligned and neutral countries of Europe within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Bureau expresses its conviction that the continued co-operation of these countries will contribute to the successful preparations and results of the forthcoming Madrid Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, so that it ensures a greater contribution of European countries to the just settlement of global problems, particularly those of developing countries decolonization, disarmament and other.

L.. INDIAN OCEAN

82. The Bureau deplored the reported decision by the United States to establish a Fifth Fleet and the strengthening of existing military bases such as Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. It also noted with deep concern the deployment of United States naval units in the Arabian sea in connexion with the recent developments in the area. These and other similar acts of coercion, provocation and manoeuvres as well as the escalation of the repeated United States threats against oil-producing countries especially in the Arab Gulf constitute a direct threat to the independence, security and stability of the littoral and hinterland States. The objectives of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1971 were to free this region of great power rivalries and competition for influence which resulted in increasing military presence threatening the peace and stability of the area.

83. The Bureau therefore affirmed that the presence in the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions of foreign bases, military installations and logistical supply facilities, nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great Power military presence conceived in the context of great Power rivalries constituted a flagrant violation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The Bureau expressed satisfaction that certain littoral and hinterland States have withdrawn from membership in military alliances and pacts conceived in the context of great Power rivalries.

84. It is a cause of great regret that, despite the expressed wishes of the littoral and hinterland States, great Power military presence in the Indian Ocean instead of decreasing, has actually increased over the years. Most recent developments indicate that the great Powers intend to intensify their rivalry in the area and to station military and naval forces on a permanent basis. These unfortunate developments correspond to a setback in the relaxation of international tensions and to the intensification of the arms race between the great Powers. Consequently, contrary to the principles of peaceful co-existence, the great Powers continue to seek and enlarge their respective spheres of influence.

85. The Bureau noted with satisfaction that the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean had made preparations for a Meeting of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean to be convened in New York in July 1979 as the next step towards the convening of a Conference on the Indian Ocean. The hope was expressed that all the States concerned would actively participate in the deliberations and would contribute significantly towards harmonizing the common position to be taken by the littoral and hinterland States and the early convening of an international conference. The Bureau deplored the lack of response from the great Powers. At the same time it noted that the United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics talks on the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean despite their limited scope had been halted. The Bureau called upon the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to forthwith resume talks which must be based on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

The Bureau also expressed the hope that the great Powers and the major maritime users would co-operate effectively with the Ad Hoc Committee to implement United Nations General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI).

M. SITUATION IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

86. The Bureau noted with grave concern the rising tensions and conflicts that have occurred recently in South East Asia which jeopardize peace and stability in the region.

87. The Bureau expressed the hope that the earnest aspirations of the countries of the region for peace and stability would be ~~realized~~ on the basis of the Non-Aligned principles of respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force and non-aggression.

88. The Bureau expressed the hope that the countries in South East Asia would continue the consultations on the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South East Asia.

N. LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES:

89. The Bureau reaffirmed its solidarity with the continuing struggle of the peoples of Latin America against political and economic aggression and expressed its unconditional support for peoples struggling to safeguard their national sovereignty, recover control of their natural resources and change the political, economic and social structure of their countries for the benefit of the people of these countries. It noted with satisfaction the application of the three Latin American countries Bolivia, Grenada and Suriname to be admitted as full members of the Non-Aligned Movement and welcomed this as an important advance of the policy of non-alignment in the region.

90. The Bureau condemned the continuation of the blockade imposed on Cuba by the United States and called upon the latter to lift the blockade and to put an end to its continuing efforts to destroy the Cuban revolution. In addition, it supported the right of the Cuban people to be compensated for the considerable material losses brought about by the aggression and the blockade.

91. The Bureau also condemned the continued United States occupation of the territory containing the Guantanamo naval base and called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal by the United States from this territory, which it occupied against the will of the people and Government of Cuba, and its return to the Cuban people. The Bureau expressed its solidarity with the Cuban Government and people on this question.

92. The Bureau condemned the continued existence in Latin America of territories still subject to colonial domination, once again called on the United Nations Committee on Decolonization to ensure immediate application by the colonizing powers of resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly and reiterated its solidarity with the peoples of these territories in their just struggle for self-determination and independence. Furthermore, it also condemned the continued attempts to impose neo-colonialist structures which constituted a threat to peace and security in the region.

93. In the special and particular case of the Malvinas Islands, the Ministers firmly support the just aspirations of Argentina for the restoration of that territory to Argentine sovereignty and urge that the negotiations to this end be accelerated.

94. The Co-ordinating Bureau duly acknowledged the concern of the Panamanian nation for the full implementation of the Treaties on the operation and neutrality of the Panama Canal, signed in 1977, which must ensure the effective exercise of sovereignty by Panama over its entire national territory. The Bureau accordingly expressed its deep concern over the introduction in the United States Congress of proposed legislation, which, if passed, would violate the letter and the spirit of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, and thus constitute an obstacle to the successful completion of the peaceful settlement of the Panama Canal question in accordance with the wishes of the international community. The Bureau consequently arranged to keep constant vigilance over the process of implementation of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties and reiterated its firm support to Panama in securing the full and consistent implementation of these Treaties.

95. The Bureau reaffirmed the position previously adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries concerning the situation in Puerto Rico and confirmed the inalienable right of the people to self-determination and independence, in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly and other relevant resolutions of the Committee on Decolonization.

96. The Bureau reaffirmed its unconditional support of the inalienable right of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity.

97. It expressed its grave concern at the continuing threats and pressures on the territorial integrity of Belize, which constituted the principal obstacle to the independence of that country.

98. The Bureau reaffirmed its unequivocal support of the policy of the Government of Belize directed towards ensuring rapid and secure independence and it emphasized that this could only be achieved through negotiated agreement acceptable to people of that territory.

99. The Bureau noted the special responsibility devolving on Great Britain to ensure that Belize attains a secure independence.

100. The Bureau reaffirmed its solidarity with the struggle of the people of Chile and condemned the continued violations of the people's rights. It also reaffirmed its support for the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The Bureau called upon all States, in particular those of the Non-Aligned Movement, to adopt measures to facilitate the speedy restitution of democratic rights in Chile.

101. The Bureau voiced its concern over events in Central America, particularly the serious situation in Nicaragua which threatens the peace and security of the region, and expressed its solidarity with the peoples subjected to repression and violence that have already caused so much suffering and death, particularly among the Nicaraguan people.

102. The Bureau urged the international community as a whole and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in particular to further practical measures leading to the isolation of the Somoza tyranny and contributing effectively to the cause of the Nicaraguan people, so that they may

freely choose their own destiny, without any form of outside interference, and enjoy freedom, peace and stability.

103. The Bureau drew attention to the importance for these purposes of the Declaration signed in Cartagena, Colombia, on 28 May 1979, by the Presidents of the Andean countries.

104. The Bureau affirmed its solidarity with the new Government of Grenada, which represented the legitimate interests of the people.

105. The Bureau noted with serious concern the attempts made by the Government of South Africa to increase political, economic and military links with certain Latin American countries and it called upon Latin American Governments to resist such attempts, which reinforced the support given to this racist régime.

106. The Bureau likewise condemned the continued presence of foreign military bases in the area, such as those in Cuba and Puerto Rico. It reiterated the demand made to colonialist powers by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries that they should immediately return the occupied territories to national sovereignty and should dismantle their military bases, which had been installed against the will of the people and which constituted a serious threat to peace and security in the area.

O. NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES

107. The Bureau recalled that the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States had been a deep concern of non-aligned conferences and reiterated the importance of this principle. It viewed with grave concern the increasing number of violations of this principle which lies at the heart of non-alignment, and without which international anarchy could be let loose. These violations ranged from infiltration, subversion, undisguised aggression, foreign military intervention and open incitement to subtler forms of subversion and destabilization. It is of paramount importance that the Non-Aligned countries, most of whom had acquired independence from colonial rule in recent years, should not be hindered by any form of outside interference from pursuing their policies aimed at national integration and reconstruction. In this context the Bureau considered it necessary to reaffirm the inalienable sovereign right of every State to determine the political, economic and social system it would adopt, manage its domestic affairs and conduct freely and without interference its relations with other States.

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108. The Bureau recalled the position taken at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State of the Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo which resolutely rejected any attempts to justify foreign interference under any pretext whatsoever from any source. The Bureau called on all Non-Aligned Countries to resolutely resist any threat of foreign pressure, subversion, domination and interference.

109. The Bureau noted resolution 33/74 of the United Nations General Assembly and, convinced that the time was opportune for a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States, called on all States especially the Non-Aligned to work for the speedy adoption of this Declaration. The special role of the non-aligned countries because of their consistent stand against the politics of pressure and their deep commitment to peaceful co-existence was regarded as crucial in achieving respect for the principle of non-interference in internal affairs within the Non-Aligned group and outside.

P. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

110. The Bureau reaffirmed the close connexion between international security, disarmament and economic development and called for the extension of the process of relaxation of tensions to all regions of the world and to cover all spheres of international relations.

111. The Bureau once again called for a halt to competition for influence between the great Powers and others which has led to an aggravation of tension in the world. It also stressed that relaxation of international tension could not be secured through the policy of balance of powers, spheres of influence, rivalry between great Powers, military alliances and the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

112. The Bureau noted with special concern the negative phenomena in international relations with grave consequences for the security of non-aligned and other developing countries. It expressed the need to work towards finding ways to establish equal, genuine and lasting security for all States without exception. Once again it was underlined that such security is feasible only as part of the efforts to change the unequal international relations, which presupposes the resolution of the essential problems of the contemporary world.

113. The Bureau emphasized that peace and security cannot be built through the accumulation of weapons, by military alliances or by a balance of terror and reiterated that peace can only come through effective implementation of the security system provided for in the United Nations Charter and called for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament. The Bureau particularly expressed its dismay over the increasing tendency of nuclear-weapon States to blindly follow their own narrow security perceptions without any regard to the survival of mankind. It called upon the Security Council to fulfill its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security and to effectively discharge its functions through the implementation of its decisions.

114. The Bureau once again expressed its determination to work towards the democratization of international relations and expressed the hope that all countries would have the right to equal participation in resolving key international issues. Particular reference was made to the right of States to participate on an equal footing in those negotiations which have a direct bearing on their national security.

115. The Bureau reiterated its adherence to the aim of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It reaffirmed that the final document of the Tenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament convened on the initiative of the Non-Aligned countries, constituted a solid basis towards the realization of the objective to deliver mankind from the scourge of war and to remove the growing threat to man's survival.

116. In this context, the Bureau called for urgent and time-bound implementation of the Programme of Action, particularly of the nuclear disarmament measures envisaged therein. The Bureau called for the immediate cessation of the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, a halt in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes and of all nuclear weapons, and a reduction of nuclear weapons stockpiles ultimately leading to their elimination. Pending the elimination of nuclear weapons, the nuclear-weapon States are called upon to renounce the use of nuclear weapons and to cease the testing of nuclear weapons.

117. While noting the progress made by the United States and Soviet Union towards the conclusion of a second SALT Agreement, the Bureau expressed the hope that these bilateral negotiations would lead expeditiously to genuine disarmament measures and that they would not be utilized for a further qualitative and quantitative escalation of the nuclear arms race. In this context, the Bureau reiterated the primary role of the United Nations in disarmament negotiations and deliberations.

118. The realization of the central role and increased influence of the United Nations is imperative and an essential condition for the realization of the goals of real and comprehensive disarmament. It noted with satisfaction the increasingly active role of Non-Aligned countries in the machinery created by the Special Session for disarmament. In this connexion, Non-Aligned countries attach importance to the meaningful and efficient work of the United Nations Commission on Disarmament. They also attribute particular importance and underline the responsibility of the Disarmament Committee to complete negotiations first of all on the comprehensive ban of nuclear tests and chemical weapons, as well as the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament to be submitted to the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on Disarmament. The Bureau calls on the Non-Aligned countries to make their contribution to both the work of the Commission on Disarmament and to the Disarmament Committee as well as to exert efforts in order to assure the best possible preparations for the success of the Eleventh Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on Disarmament.

119. The Bureau referred with regret to the mounting and wasteful expenditure on armaments which has significantly reduced the availability of vital resources for development purposes and called for the immediate reduction in armament expenditure especially by the nuclear-weapon States and other allies in order to ensure that not only is the arms race halted but also that the savings accrued are released for development. The Bureau also declared that the arms race is inconsistent with efforts aimed at achieving the New International Economic Order.

120. The Bureau reiterated the urgent need to adopt effective measures leading to the convening of the proposed World Disarmament Conference with universal participation and adequate preparation.

Q. NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES

121. Following the principles laid down in paragraphs 151 and 152 of the Belgrade Declaration, the Bureau reaffirmed the exceptional importance of international co-operation among the Non-Aligned countries in the field of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This co-operation is of special significance in fields in which a high degree of self-reliance is feasible in utilizing nuclear energy for the purpose of the development of these countries.

122. To this end, the Bureau reaffirmed the inalienable right of developing countries to acquire and develop nuclear technology, equipment and materials for peaceful purposes in conformity with their economic priorities, interests and needs.

123. The Bureau regretted the maintenance of national and international monopolistic policies and practices of some nuclear suppliers, and stressed the necessity for observance of the principles of unhindered and non-discriminatory international co-operation for the promotion of the transfer and utilization of nuclear technology for economic and social development.

R. LAW OF THE SEA

124. The Bureau expressed concern over the slow progress in the negotiations on the Law of the Sea which affects the rights of all developing countries including the Non-Aligned countries. It also stressed the need to provide for the interest of landlocked and geographically-disadvantaged States and others with special problems imposed by geographical and geological factors. The Bureau deplored the threats by some countries to take unilateral action for undertaking deep sea mining operations and expressed the view that a spirit of understanding and accommodation on the part of these countries would better serve to achieve a just and durable Convention which will truly serve "the common heritage" principle. The Bureau expressed the hope that the Eighth Resumed Session of the Law of Sea Conference scheduled to be held in July 1979, would be able to resolve satisfactorily the outstanding issues coming in the way of the successful conclusion of the Conference.

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S. UNITED NATIONS

125. The Bureau recognized the positive role played by the United Nations in recent years and expressed its satisfaction over the fact that the United Nations has contributed in no small measure towards the maintenance of global peace and security and to the development of co-operation in many areas of international relations.

126. The Bureau reaffirmed its faith in the United Nations and called once again for the strengthening of the United Nations as an effective instrument for promoting international peace and security, and the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism, racial discrimination and apartheid. The Bureau emphasized the importance of the United Nations in the development of international economic co-operation and the establishment of equitable economic relations between States. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the useful role played by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as its central forum in international economic negotiations.

127. The Bureau stressed the need for settlement in accordance with the United Nations Charter, of matters of concern and relevance to the Non-Aligned and developing countries. In this context, it particularly stressed the need to reorient the policies and activities of the United Nations system in the social and economic sectors in order to accomplish the objectives of the New International Economic Order.

128. The Bureau expressed its concern at the continuing tendency of some great Powers to bypass the United Nations in seeking solutions to problems of crucial importance to the international community, stressed its determination to work towards the democratization of the United Nations and expressed the conviction that all countries have a right to equal participation in resolving key issues through the United Nations.

129. It reemphasized the urgency of transforming the United Nations into an effective and dynamic instrument for safeguarding international peace and security and for promoting international co-operation and development. Disputes among nations should be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The Bureau also stressed the importance of increasing the representation of Non-Aligned countries in the United Nations and its specialized agencies and particularly in the Security Council.

130. The Bureau drew attention to the need for ensuring a better representation in the International Court of Justice of the main forms of civilisation and the principal legal systems of the world.

131. The Bureau re-emphasized the need for regular consultations and unity of action by the Non-Aligned countries in various United Nations forums.

132. The Bureau greeted the celebration in 1979 of the International Year of the Child, proclaimed by the United Nations in view of the growing poverty, hunger and illiteracy, lack of health and rising mortality rates that face millions of children in the world, particularly in the developing countries and especially those that are victims of foreign aggression and occupation, and it expressed the hope that this year would help to promote an improvement in the living conditions and life expectancy of this sizable sector of the population.

133. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the decision adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 32/174 of 1977 to hold a Special General Assembly on International Economic Matters in 1980 to boost the New International Economic Order.

134. The Bureau greeted the calling of a United Nations world conference on women on the basis of the principles of equality, development and peace.

T. HUMAN RIGHTS

135. The Bureau reiterated the need for strict respect for human rights as a matter of great significance for ensuring the dignity of the individual and peace, security and international co-operation on the basis of equality. The Bureau pointed out that the issue of human rights cannot be isolated from its national, economic and social context, that the freedom of the individual is inseparable from the rights of the people and that human rights and the fundamental freedoms of the individual and of the people are inalienable.

The comprehensive ensuring of human rights is an integral part of the struggle for change in international relations as a whole and should not be exploited as a political instrument of the great Powers in the competition between social systems or for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. The Bureau pointed out that in considering human rights questions priority attention should be accorded to the search for solutions to the mass and flagrant violations of human rights of peoples and persons affected by situations such as those resulting from apartheid, from all forms of racial discrimination, from colonialism foreign

domination and occupation, from aggression and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity as well as from the refusal to recognize the fundamental right of peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination, and that of every nation to the exercise of full sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources. The Bureau also reiterated the need for strict respect for the rights of national ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities as well as those of migrant workers. The Bureau pointed to the need for close co-operation among Non-Aligned countries in the United Nations in the implementation of resolution 32/130 on the basis of the **concepts** enumerated in that resolution.

U. PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AMONG MEMBER STATES OF THE
NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

136. The Bureau noted with concern the danger of the weakening of the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement by the growing escalation of bilateral disputes into armed conflicts. It approved the need to try to find peaceful solutions to their disputes on the basis of the principles of Non-Alignment and the Charter of the United Nations. The problem of bilateral disputes had reached alarming proportions leading to the danger of great Power involvement directly or indirectly and at times to the return of formal colonial powers thereby undermining the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the countries concerned.

137. The Bureau recognized that a solution to the problem of bilateral disputes had engaged the attention of the Non-Aligned Movement for some time and noted that the Belgrade Conference of Foreign Ministers had examined the possibility of establishing informal ad hoc groups for providing good offices when the parties to a dispute so require and recommended that this proposal be studied further in preparation for the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

138. In this connexion the Bureau noted with satisfaction the recent efforts of the OAU to reactivate its Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. The Bureau also took note of the information concerning the proposal of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, current Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau, for the establishment of a Commission for the Settlement of Border Disputes within the Non-Aligned Movement, and was convinced that the proposal merited serious and careful consideration as a contribution to the discussion on the role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the solution of disputes among its members. The Bureau decided to refer the matter to Member States for consideration.

V. REPORT OF THE PLENARY CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ON
AGENDA ITEM XV OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

139. In terms of paragraph 174 of the Belgrade Declaration the Bureau considered the Report and Recommendations submitted to the Plenary Conference on Non-Aligned Countries held in New York on agenda item XV of the Belgrade Conference and noted the recommendations of the Working Group indicated at the end of the Communiqué. In respect of those proposals on which no consensus could be reached, it was agreed that an open-ended Working Group, consisting of Cuba, Iraq, Nigeria, Singapore, Sri Lanka, and Yugoslavia, would continue its work and report to the Plenary of Non-Aligned Countries in New York which, in turn, will report to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government in Havana, through the Co-ordinating Bureau in its capacity as Preparatory Committee for the Conference.

W. PREPARATIONS FOR THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT
OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

140. The Bureau expressed its conviction that the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, to be held in Havana in September 1979 would be a significant landmark in the history of the Non-Aligned Movement. The fact that the venue of the Conference was in Latin America was considered a tribute to the contribution made by that continent to the Non-Aligned Movement and an expression of solidarity and support for the struggle of the Latin American people against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of foreign exploitation and domination. The Bureau looked forward to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries maintaining and developing the fundamental principles of Non-Alignment consistently developed by successive Summits which have chartered an inexorable course aimed at consolidating

the unity and strengthening the action of Non-Aligned countries as an independent global factor in international relations striving for a fundamental restructuring of the world political and economic order where peace, justice and freedom will prevail. The Bureau stressed the importance of achieving the broadest participation of all Non-Aligned countries in the preparation for the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana to ensure its fullest success.

141. The Bureau considered the Draft Agenda for the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries and recommended its adoption as a comprehensive basis for discussion of the international political and economic situation at Havana. The Bureau also noted that the host country of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries would circulate a draft final document by the first week of July 1979 and called upon countries members of the Movement to submit their observations by the first week of August 1979. The Bureau recalled the decisions of the Belgrade Conference to entrust the Co-ordinating Bureau in New York with the task of co-ordinating the necessary preparations for the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries in closest co-operation with Cuba as the host country and Sri Lanka as the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. In accordance with the decisions of the Fifth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries on the composition and the Mandate of the Co-ordinating Bureau, the Bureau in New York would function as the Preparatory Committee for the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

142. The Bureau noted the recommendation to the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to accept the offer of Iraq to host the Seventh Conference of Heads of State in 1982 and that of India, at Maputo, to host the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries in 1981.

X. CO-OPERATION AMONG NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES IN THE FIELD OF MASS MEDIA

143. The Bureau underlined the importance of the role of Non-Aligned countries in restructuring the present international order in the field of information. The decolonization of information was reiterated as an integral aspect of the broad struggle of Non-Aligned countries to create a new international order based on peaceful and equal relations among all nations. The Bureau noted the growing participation of Non-Aligned countries in the field of information and

mass media and the mutually beneficial co-operation developing among these countries particularly with regard to technological aspects. The Bureau agreed that the diversification of sources of information and the abolition of inequalities in the international flow of information was essential for the growth of international dialogue and understanding.

144. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the following reports on the activities of the Non-Aligned countries and their co-operation in the field of information and mass media:

- (a) The Report of Tunisia as Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Council for Co-operation in the field of information and mass media.
- (b) The Report by India as Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool.
- (c) The report of Yugoslavia, Chairman of Committee for Co-operation among Broadcasting organizations of the Non-Aligned Movement.

145. The Bureau noted the contribution made by the Director-General of UNESCO and the successful outcome of the Twentieth Session of the General Conference of UNESCO which resulted in a Declaration of fundamental principles concerning the contribution of mass media to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, the promotion of human rights and countering of racialism apartheid and incitement to war. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the development of regional news agencies networks and their efforts to correct the imbalance in the flow of information and expressed the support of the Non-Aligned countries for their endeavour. The Bureau noted especially the decisions being made by some Non-Aligned countries to reduce the high level of telecommunication tariffs as a means of combating unfair advantages enjoyed by press organizations belonging to developed countries and urged other Non-Aligned countries to follow this course as a prerequisite to correct the imbalance in the exchange of information.

146. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the positive results, achieved at the thirty-third United Nations General Assembly in the field of information, which had led the international community to endorse clearly and unequivocally the need for a more just and effective new information order.

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147. The Bureau considered that the achievements in the field of information by the Non-Aligned countries both at the United Nations and UNESCO constituted an outstanding success and called upon member countries to make increased efforts to realize their common objectives within the United Nations Committee on review of United Nations policies and activities in the information field and also at the forthcoming UNESCO intergovernmental planning conference with a view to promoting the acceptance of their common objectives.

148. The Bureau acknowledged with satisfaction the resolution on the co-operation and activities of Non-Aligned countries in the field of information, adopted at the third meeting of the Inter-Governmental Co-ordinating Council of Non-Aligned Countries for Information, held in Lome (Togo), stating the principles of co-operation and programme of action which constitutes the concrete contribution of Non-Aligned countries and correct the imbalance in the existing international system of information and communications as part of their efforts for the establishment of equal and democratic relations in this field.

149. It also strongly supported the recommendation of the Council to the effect that the information media of Member States should seek to support the liberation movements, especially in southern Africa, by correcting the misinformation and propaganda now being circulated.

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Y. RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO THE PREPARATION AND CONDUCT OF MEETINGS;
THE CO-ORDINATING BUREAU; DECISION-MAKING BY CONSENSUS
AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS

150. Recommendations relating to the preparation and conduct of meetings

- (a) It is recommended that participating countries at all meetings and conferences of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries and Summits should circulate draft document resolutions and working papers for adequate joint preparatory consideration in the Bureau and the Group of Non-Aligned Countries..This does not preclude the possibility and does not infringe the right of any country to submit a resolution at the meeting itself if a special situation warrants it;
- (b) It is further recommended that as far as possible the practice be avoided in future of adopting separate resolutions on subjects which are dealt with in the Final Documents;
- (c) It is recommended that the practice be adopted of brief annotations, whenever feasible, referring to the positions adopted at previous meetings of Non-Aligned countries. positions supported by the Non-Aligned countries in the United Nations General Assembly and other international conferences on different topics under consideration;
- (d) It is recommended that the Meetings of Foreign Ministers immediately preceding Summit Conferences should be authorized to set up the Political and Economic Committees, so that they may begin consideration of Final Documents. This would give additional time needed for consideration of the drafts presented. The same practice should be applied in the preparation of all other meetings and conferences of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries;

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- (e) It is recommended that the practice in existence be continued of holding Ministerial Meetings of the Co-ordinating Bureau and/or of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries as a whole at the level of Foreign Ministers at the beginning of the General Assembly of the United Nations. These meetings are held in order to determine priorities and set up working groups for action by Non-Aligned Countries during the session of the General Assembly;
- (f) It is recommended that plenary meetings of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries as a whole be held in New York at the level of Permanent Representatives to the United Nations at regular intervals, at least once in two months, or frequently whenever necessary;
- (g) It is recommended that the Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, the Chairman of the Bureaux of the Summits, of the Ministerial Conferences and of the Ministerial meetings of the Co-ordinating Bureau should play an active role both in conducting the meetings and in initiating and assisting consultations on all the important issues under consideration, especially with regard to controversial issues, with a view to achieving consensus;
- (h) It is recommended that the Bureau at every meeting or conference of Non-Aligned Countries, should propose the organization of work and allocate items for consideration in accordance with a tentative timetable;
- (i) It is recommended that no proposals for the establishment of new organs, mechanisms or programmes should be considered by the Summit unless their feasibility and productivity have been carefully studied at expert level and reviewed by the Co-ordinating Bureau, but that enough room should be left for initiatives and actions provided they are within the framework of summit declarations and Ministerial declarations and communiques;

- (j) It is recommended that no conference should be convened, nor mechanism created, in the name of the Non-Aligned Group unless it has been considered and approved by the Co-ordinating Bureau and/or the Group of the whole;
- (k) It is recommended that the host country should continue to bear responsibility for the accuracy of adopted Final Documents of Meetings and conferences of Non-Aligned Countries, but that all countries should be invited to communicate at the earliest possible time their observations to the host country for correction of accidental omissions in printing and for the issue of a second corrected edition. In this connection, the proposed Documentation Centre in Colombo, Sri Lanka, could fulfil a useful purpose in serving as a depository for such authenticated texts of Final Documents;
- (l) It is recommended that governments of participating Non-Aligned and developing countries consider the feasibility of providing adequate technical and political representation at meetings of the Economic Co-ordinator Groups entrusted with the Implementation of the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation.

151. Recommendations relating to the Co-ordinating Bureau

- (a) It is recommended that the role (and mandate) of the Bureau shall continue to be as indicated in section I (1) of the Colombo Decision on the Bureau. (See also (d) to (j) for additional functions);
- (b) It is recommended that the Bureau continue to be composed of representatives to be chosen by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government, taking into consideration the principles of balanced geographical distribution, continuity and rotation;
- (c) It is recommended that the provisions of section I (3) of the Colombo Decision continue to be followed in respect of the level and frequency of Meetings;

- (d) It is recommended that the functions of the Bureau, outlined under I (4) of the Colombo Decision, continue to be considered as valid. However, some delegations have commented on various aspects relating to the issue of communiques/releases (section I (4) (vi) of the Colombo Decision);
- (e) It is recommended that the Bureau should review and facilitate the harmonization of the work of the growing number of organs, Economic Co-ordinator Groups, Working Groups etc.
- (f) It is recommended that the Bureau should consider concrete and practical measures to ensure steady and organised dissemination of information to the public and the media regarding the principles, positions and activities of the Non-Aligned;
- (g) While the Co-ordinating Bureau functions at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, it is recommended that consideration be given to ensuring concerted Non-Aligned action in specialised fields by Economic Co-ordinator Groups at international conferences;
- (h) It is recommended that the Bureau should encourage Non-Aligned countries to co-ordinate their activities and positions within the Group of 77 and UNCTAD, so as to ensure that the Movement could exercise the catalytic role envisaged for it since the Algiers Summit;
- (i) It is recommended that the Bureau should assist in the peaceful settlements of disputes among Non-Aligned countries, if and when the parties involved so request it.
- (j) It is recommended that as a general rule, communiques should be issued in New York at the level of Permanent Representatives at Plenary Meetings. However, the Bureau may issue communiques at its open-ended meetings on its own behalf in exceptional circumstances where there are practical problems about the urgent issue of a communique by a Plenary Meeting. Provision should be made for reservations, which could be circulated to all members by the Chairman, although these should not be incorporated in the text of the communique;

- (k) It is recommended that the traditional practice be continued, whereby the country that hosted the immediately preceding Summit serves as Chairman until the next Summit
- (l) It is recommended that the present practice relating to the convening of meetings, as indicated in section I (6) of the Colombo Decision, be continued;
- (m) It is recommended that the practice of notifying all members of the Movement individually about the convening of Bureau meetings and their agenda should continue;
- (n) It is recommended, in view of the complexity of the question of supporting services as well as its importance, that Ministers set up a small Working Group to function in New York, which could examine in detail the necessity and feasibility of establishing such a unit as discussed below and report comprehensively on all aspects of the question to the (Co-ordinating Bureau at Ministerial Level) (the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government);
Despite the increased function of co-ordination necessitated as a result of the growth in the number of subsidiary Working Groups, Co-ordinator Groups and other Committees, as well as the increased frequency of meetings at all levels, the Permanent Mission of the presiding country, Sri Lanka, has borne the responsibility for providing all secretarial services and facilities, including the preparation, reproduction and circulation of all documents, notification and organising of meetings, and other facilities required for the daily functioning of the Movement's many activities;
Ministers may consider, in view of the proposals made, the necessity and feasibility of establishing an administrative unit to assist the Bureau and its Chairman in the discharge of its growing tasks. Careful consideration should be given to the question of such a unit, including matters relating to its tenure, its functions, its staff, its financing, its location, and its relation to the Mission of the presiding country.

152. Recommendations relating to decision-making by consensus

- (a) It is recommended that the practice of adopting decisions of the Non-Aligned countries by consensus be continued;
- (b) It is recommended that in clarifying the concept of consensus the following elements be taken into account:

Consensus is.

- (a) a general convergence and harmonization of views reflecting the broadest consent of the conference or meeting,
 - (b) both a process and a final compromise formula,
 - (c) shaped by prior consultations, discussions and negotiations into a generally agreed position.
- (c) It is recommended that since no contrary views were expressed, the practice of allowing reservations on decisions adopted at Meetings and Conferences of Non-Aligned Countries be continued. However, reservations should be avoided as far as possible because they tend to weaken the consensus;

The instrument of reservations enables the maintenance of the democratic character of the Movement and sovereignty of every one of its members. It is also generally agreed that reservations cannot block or veto a consensus;

- (d) It is recommended that the following guidelines be applied when the extent of disagreement indicates the absence of consensus:-
 - (a) Open confrontations between opposing views threatening to disrupt the Movement should be avoided, but discussion of issues may be necessary in order to overcome differences.
 - (b) The Chairman and/or the Bureau of the Conference or the meeting concerned, and the Chairman of the Movement and/or other interested delegations, should render assistance whenever such assistance would help resolve differences.
 - (c) Prior informal consultations and negotiations among members should be held on all issues.
 - (d) Ad Hoc open-ended Working Groups could be set up to assist in the promotion of consensus.

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- (e) Where there are a number of members who by virtue of their geographical location have a special interest in a particular issue, consultations among these members, open to other delegations, could take place in the effort to find a consensus.
- (f) The results of the consultations as indicated in (d) and (e) above, should be submitted together with any recommendations to the Plenary of the meeting or conference concerned for discussion and approval.
- (g) When all the above methods as well as any other efforts at promoting consensus have been exhausted without success, and any further deferment of a decision on a controversial issue is not possible due to the closing of the Conference and a delegation/group of delegations continues to express reservations on any decision, it is recommended that the following method be utilised to reflect the reservations in the body of the text of the communique/declaration, an asterisk would be placed at the head of any paragraph/section on which reservations have been expressed, with a corresponding foot-note indicating the delegation expressing the reservation. The full text of the reservation will be reproduced in an annex. If a delegation should so desire it, a reservation may also be made without it being entered in the records.

153. Recommendations relating to the implementation of decisions.

- (a) In view of the continuously grave situation prevailing in the Middle East and in Southern Africa and the continued denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, special efforts should be made to implement non-aligned decisions on these issues in solidarity with the Palestinian people and Arab States, and the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa and the frontline States;

- (b) In the context of the struggle against colonialism, it is recommended that the Non-Aligned countries should continue to support and increase practical assistance to national liberation movements;
- (c) It is recommended that Non-Aligned countries should consider the feasibility of convening Extraordinary Ministerial Meetings of the Bureau or the Plenary, such as that held in Maputo, on issues that are of particular interest and concern to the Movement in order to promote Non-Aligned solidarity;
- (d) It is recommended that the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau in Colombo make provision for a review of the progress in the implementation of the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation and make practical recommendations to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to ensure its implementation, identifying where possible areas of priority;
- (e) In this context, it is recommended that each Co-ordinator Group organizes meetings in respect of its particular field on a regular basis with appropriate expert and political representation;
- (f) It is recommended that Ministerial Meetings of the Bureau and the Plenary devote sufficient time and attention to the consideration of reports of Economic Co-ordinator Groups in order to take, where necessary, effective steps to ensure practical follow-up action in the implementation of the Economic Action Programme.

II. ECONOMIC MATTERS

1. The Bureau reviewed the evolution of the international economic situation and reiterated the statement of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at their Meeting in Colombo in August 1976 that "the crisis of the world economic system continues to assume ever-growing proportions" and that it has retarded further the prospects for the development of developing countries, the narrowing of the ever-widening gap between developed and developing countries and the eradication of poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy in the developing countries. The Bureau expressed grave concern that the negotiations with the developed countries undertaken since the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries have not yielded the expected results so far, and that no significant progress has been achieved in the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly owing to the lack of political will on the part of most of the developed countries.

2. The Bureau recognized that the economic malaise in the international economic system is not a phenomenon of a cyclical nature but a symptom of underlying structural maladjustment characterized, inter alia, by increasing imbalances and iniquities that operate inexorably to the detriment of the developing countries. This has made it imperative for the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to intensify their struggle to ensure the early establishment of the New International Economic Order and their efforts to achieve collective self-reliance.

3. The Bureau noted that for the elimination of the current malaise afflicting the world economy there must be a recognition by the developed countries of the interrelationship between structural changes in their economics consistent with the implementation of the New International Economic Order and measures designed to generate growth in aggregate demand and production capacities in the developing countries.

These structural changes cover shifts in the pattern of production, consumption and trade in the world economy;

of effective national control over the use of national resources; and restructuring of the international institutional framework, including the creation of new institutional arrangements, if necessary, through which the developing countries would have full and effective participation on the international decision-making process.

4. Bearing in mind the existing situation in the world economy and international economic relations, the position of Non-Aligned and other developing countries and in particular, the intransigent position of developed countries opposing the need for structural changes aimed at the early establishment of the New International Economic Order as was apparent during the recently concluded UNCTAD V, the Bureau reaffirmed that economic co-operation among Non-Aligned and other developing countries had become an imperative for them all.

The Bureau further recognized increased economic co-operation among Non-Aligned and other developing countries as one of the key elements in the restructuring of the present international economic order and for accelerating the growth of the developing countries and re-emphasized the need to intensify efforts based on the principle of the consolidation of their national economies and collective self-reliance, to strengthen and develop trade and economic links between these countries.

The Bureau stressed that the establishment of the New International Economic Order implied a fundamental restructuring of the world economy and in the light of past evidence rejected the claim that such a restructuring could be achieved simply through the free interplay of market forces. The Bureau, therefore, called upon developed countries to accept global consultations within the United Nations on their economic policies in view of the major impact of these policies on the world economy and in order to achieve consistency between their short-term and long-term policies in a manner which would be conducive to the implementation of the New International Economic Order.

5. The Bureau reiterated that the struggle to eliminate the injustices of the existing international economic system and to establish the New International Economic Order is an integral part of the struggle of peoples for the elimination of foreign aggression, foreign occupation,

racial discrimination, zionism, apartheid, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and all other forms of dependence and subjugation, interference in internal affairs, domination and exploitation. These condemned practices constitute major obstacles to the development of the developing world as a whole and the greatest threat to world peace and security. Their elimination is, therefore, a prerequisite for the promotion of development and international economic co-operation.

Review of the International Economic Situation
and the Prospects for the Developing Countries

6. The Bureau noted that the failure by the developed countries to take the measures necessary to achieve structural changes in the international economy has had repercussions on the economies of the developing countries. The inability of the developed market economy countries to control their chronic balance-of-payments imbalances, high levels of inflation and unemployment have been used as a pretext for postponing the adoption of measures in favour of the developing countries. This has given rise to new concerns for the developing countries and has thrown a disproportionately large share of the burden of adjustment in the world economy on the economies of the developing countries.

7. The Bureau expressed deep dissatisfaction over the protectionist measures introduced by developed countries in recent years in sectors where the comparative advantage had shifted in favour of the developing countries with potential for growth of their industries and reaffirmed its conviction that the proper solution is to be found in world industrial restructuring which should be linked, inter alia, with the target of 25 per cent share in world production of manufacturers for developing countries by the year 2000. The Bureau reiterated that developed countries should phase out the existing protectionist and other barriers, refrain from raising new barriers and evolve policies and make the necessary adjustments and accommodation to achieve the Lima target. In pursuance of this goal, they should not impose upon developing countries any sectoral agreements which seek to restrict the trade of developing countries. Such agreements already in existence should be progressively phased out to provide for unlimited access for the products of developing countries.

8. The Bureau expressed its regret that the developed countries have failed in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations to respond to the interests and concerns of the developing countries, including the least developed countries. The negotiations did not cover many issues of importance to these countries and the lists of exceptions proposed included items of principal export interest to these countries. Contrary to the commitments made by the developed countries in the Tokyo Declaration, there was no real attempt in the negotiations to provide special and differential treatment for the developing countries. The Bureau therefore called upon the developed countries to initiate a new round of negotiations with the developing countries early in the coming decade geared to the specific problems of developing countries including, inter alia, the need for differential and special treatment in favour of the developing countries and explicit recognition of the principle of non-reciprocity.

9. The Bureau regretted the deficiencies in the functioning of the Generalized System of Preferences and recommended that it be improved and given a legal character, and that its operational date be extended beyond 1981. The Bureau reiterated that the system should be generalized, non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory and should cease being used as an instrument for political and economic coercion or retaliation.

10. The Bureau noted that agreement had been reached on the fundamental elements at the Negotiating Conference on the Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities, and urged the early convening of the Interim Committee to draft the Articles of Agreement for ratification before the end of the year. The Bureau recalled that although the proposed Common Fund fell short of its original expectations, it did, however, provide a basis for initiating international action in the field of Commodities. The Bureau, therefore, called upon all States members of UNCTAD, particularly the developed countries, as well as international organizations, that had not done so to urgently announce their pledges to the "second window" of the Fund.

11. The Bureau noted with regret the lack of progress in action on Individual Commodity Agreements under the Integrated Programme for Commodities and urged governments concerned to move from the stage of commitment to that of action and implementation. The Bureau further requested that Negotiating Conferences on Commodities on which the technical stage of problem identification has made enough progress be concluded within the extended time-frame of the Integrated Programme for Commodities and urged that preparatory meetings on the remaining commodities be convened as soon as possible, so that concrete aspects can be identified with a view to holding Negotiating Conferences on these products..

12. The Bureau noted that, at UNCTAD V, a commitment had been taken for the establishment of a comprehensive framework for international co-operation for expanding in developing countries the processing of primary commodities and the export of processed goods and also noted the commitment for the establishment of a framework for international co-operation in the field of marketing and distribution of primary commodities with a view to increasing the participation of the developing countries in these activities.

13. The Bureau reaffirmed the importance that Producers' Associations have as mechanisms for the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to exercise their legitimate rights to obtain just and remunerative prices for their raw materials and primary commodities and to improve their bargaining position in international trade. The Bureau urged the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to strengthen the existing Producers' Associations and establish new ones. In this connexion, the Bureau underlined the significance of the initiatives taken by the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to establish a Council of Producers' and Exporters' Associations.

14. The Bureau noted that a major proportion of the balance-of-payments disequilibria of developing countries has been caused by external factors due to fundamental disequilibria in the developed countries leading to prolonged world recession, high rates of inflation imported from developed countries, increased protectionism and the accelerated deterioration in the

terms of trade of the developing countries which has compelled developing countries to curtail their development programmes and imposed upon them a crushing burden of debt and debt-servicing. Given the structure of the international monetary system, the burden of exchange rate adjustments has fallen disproportionately on developing countries with the concomitant adverse impact on their development programmes. These adverse effects have been further compounded by the rigid system of conditionality applied by international monetary institutions. In this context the Bureau recalled the urgency for a fundamental and thoroughgoing reform of the International Monetary System consistent with the liquidity and development needs of the developing countries including the establishment of a link between the creation of SDRs and the provision of additional development finance. The Bureau emphasized that an essential feature of the reformed monetary system must include full and effective participation of the developing countries in the decision-making process.

15. The Bureau stressed the importance of finding appropriate and effective measures to combat inflation exported to Non-Aligned and other developing countries by developed countries. The Bureau noted with appreciation the initiative of the Government of Iraq in submitting a proposal to establish an International Fund in order to help developing countries alleviate the adverse effects of inflation.

The Bureau recognizing that this proposal merits serious study, recommends that an Inter-Governmental Co-ordinating Group be requested to study the details and implications of this proposal and to present a report on it to the forthcoming Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to be held in Havana for decision.

16. The Bureau noted with deep concern the decline in the net flow of real resources to developing countries to only 0.30 per cent and the worsening conditions of resource transfers from developed to developing countries, and called upon those developed countries that had not yet reached the target of 0.7 per cent for O.D.A flows to do so within a stipulated time-frame to be agreed upon within the framework of the

new International Development Strategy. The Bureau also recognized with appreciation the efforts of some developed countries in taking steps to alleviate the O.D.A. debts of some developing countries and urged other developed countries, which had not done so, to take as early as possible the necessary steps to fully implement resolution 165(S-IX) to benefit all the poorer developing countries covered by the resolution without discrimination and the completion of negotiations on detailed features of future debt operations in the light of the basic concepts contained in resolution 165(S-IX).

17. The Bureau deplored the lack of results at UNCTAD V on an International Code of Conduct for the Transfer of Technology and urged the developed market economy countries to show evidence of a more co-operative spirit, so as to resolve the outstanding fundamental issues at the forthcoming Negotiating Conference. In this context the Bureau reaffirmed that the Code of Conduct should be legally binding.

18. The Bureau noted with appreciation the decision taken at UNCTAD V to launch a comprehensive and substantially expanded programme in the form of an Immediate Action Programme (1979-1981) and a Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s in favour of the Least Developed Countries. The Bureau urged the immediate implementation of these programmes and urged all developed countries who entered reservations thereon to withdraw them.

19. The Bureau also stressed the need for financial and technical assistance from the developed countries and the international agencies as a means to help the efforts of the countries concerned to alleviate the common transit and transport problems relating to land-locked developing countries and, as appropriate their neighbours. The Bureau urged specific actions related to the particular needs and problems of island developing countries as contained in the relevant United Nations resolutions.

20. The Bureau recognizing the evolving role of UNCTAD, reaffirmed its clear recognition of UNCTAD as the principal instrument of the General Assembly for international economic negotiations on international trade and related problems of economic development, particularly in the context of negotiations on the establishment of the New International Economic Order and its role as one of the major instruments for review and follow-up of international economic developments, with due regard to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 1995 (XIX) and Conference resolution 90 (IV). The Bureau also reiterated that the strengthening of UNCTAD should be seen as one of the key elements in the ongoing process of the restructuring of the social and economic sectors of the United Nations. In this connexion the Bureau urged all countries to provide full support to the implementation of the resolution adopted at UNCTAD V on institutional issues with respect to the work of UNCTAD.

21. The Bureau welcomed the successful conclusion of the negotiations on the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency. The Bureau urged all countries to take appropriate steps to ratify the agreement to convert UNIDO into a specialized agency before the Third General Conference of UNIDO and expressed the hope that UNIDO would be instrumental in achieving the target of 25 per cent share in world production in manufacturing by developing countries by the year 2000.

22. The Bureau reaffirmed the point of view expressed by the Conference of Labour Ministers of Non-Aligned and other developing countries (Tunis - April 1978) that the objective of satisfying basic human needs and the eradication of mass poverty can only be durably achieved through a fundamental change in the World Economic system, in accordance with the decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. In this context the Bureau therefore, expressed deep concern at the introduction of concepts, norms and principles such as access to supplies, graduation, selectivity, the utilization of the so-called "Strategy of basic needs" and the concept of differentiation in order to shift the focus of the international community away from the negotiations on the New International Economic Order, to distort national development priorities or to attempt to breach the unity of the developing countries.

23. The Bureau noted that the guidelines on the formulation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade given at the Ministerial Meeting at Havana and endorsed by the conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade have been broadly reflected in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session on the preparation for a New International Development Strategy.

24. The Bureau reaffirmed that the main objective of the new strategy should be to accelerate the development of the developing countries and to ensure the early establishment of the New International Economic Order through an appropriate and concerted restructuring of the World Order.

25. The Bureau called upon the Non-Aligned and other developing countries represented in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy to make every effort to see that the guidelines for the formulation of the new strategy laid down in the General Assembly resolution 33/193 are fully reflected during the process of the detailed formulation of the Strategy. The Bureau requested the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to participate effectively in the formulation of the Strategy and work towards its completion in time for adoption by the Special Session of the General Assembly to be held in 1980.

26. As a vast undertaking involving the entire international community, the New Strategy, inter alia should:

- within the framework of viable, consistent, specific and both qualitative and quantitative goals and objectives, define the role and agreed commitment of all countries expressed in quantified terms and in an agreed time-frame for the adoption and implementation of policy measures to achieve the goals and objectives of the Strategy;
- establish an average rate of growth for developing countries as a group during the Decade at a level commensurate with the need to reduce to half the present income gap between developed and developing countries by the end of the century, which will warrant the establishment of a target for over-all growth of developing countries at a level higher than that for the Second United Nations Development Decade;

- seek to achieve a breakthrough in the resolution of major issues which are subjects of negotiation in the context of the efforts for the establishment of the New International Economic Order;
- incorporate the Comprehensive New Programme of Action for the least developed among developing countries adopted at UNCTAD V.

27. The Bureau in a preliminary assessment of negotiations at UNCTAD V expressed grave concern at the unsatisfactory outcome. In this context, taking account of the large number of issues referred back to the permanent machinery of UNCTAD as well as of the lack of support of developed countries for proposals elaborated jointly with the developing countries, as expressed through voting or reservations on the part of the former on consensus texts, the Bureau deplored in particular that full agreement was only reached on a small number of issues many of which were of a formal character or of limited scope. It therefore, urged developed countries to reconsider their attitude on the substantial matters which are now to be discussed in the appropriate UNCTAD machinery and to withdraw their reservations in order to broaden the area of agreement. It further urged the developed countries to demonstrate a political will to resume negotiations in a more meaningful manner.

28. The Bureau observed that the world food situation continued to be critical, particularly for food-deficient developing countries and reaffirmed the full force of the decisions adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries and condemned the threat to use food as a weapon against developing countries.

29. The Bureau reaffirmed the view expressed by Non-Aligned countries that account should be taken of the situation faced by countries whose territories remained under colonial domination or foreign occupation, with a view to considering measures to support their just cause for national liberation and the defence of their natural resources, and also reaffirmed the right of these peoples to compensation for the losses suffered during the period of struggle against colonial occupation, zionism, discrimination and apartheid.

30. The Bureau also reiterated the inalienable right of the developing countries to exercise their legitimate rights for the effective and permanent sovereignty and control over their natural and all other resources, such as their ownership, the utilization of such resources, and right to nationalize them in accordance with their national legislation.

31. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to convene an International Conference on new and renewable sources of energy in 1981. The Bureau recommended, in view of the urgency of this matter, pending the convening of this Conference, urgent steps should be taken in the United Nations system for placing greater emphasis on provision of assistance to the developing countries for undertaking research in the development of new and renewable sources of energy, for ensuring access of the developing countries to latest technologies and developments in this vital area of interest to them and for mobilizing resources for the above purposes.

32. The Bureau considered that in the light of the results of the negotiations of UNCTAD V and other recent negotiations between the developed and developing countries, it had become imperative for Non-Aligned and other developing countries to undertake an assessment of the way in which these negotiations had proceeded in order to adopt appropriate measures to ensure more significant results. In this respect, the Bureau urged the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to take steps to achieve an effective co-ordination of their policies in regard to the negotiations with developed countries and also to ensure the early implementation of the programme of economic co-operation among developing countries, based on the principle of collective self-reliance with the view to accelerating their own development as well as to strengthen the necessary countervailing power to sustain their bargaining position.

33. The Bureau condemned the attempts of some developed countries to break the unity of the Group of 77 by introducing the subject of energy in the negotiations at UNCTAD V. The Bureau considered that this matter should properly be discussed in the broader context of the global negotiations envisaged in paragraph 38 hereunder.

34. The Bureau recognized the necessity for the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to reinforce their mutual assistance and solidarity in the context of the principle of collective self-reliance. It accordingly decided that a consultative group of Non-Aligned countries should meet at an early date with a view to elaborating proposals concerning suitable arrangements aimed at achieving this objective and submit a report to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries for decision.

35. The Bureau welcomed the proposal of the Government of Guyana to host this meeting.

36. The Bureau assessed the methods applied in the negotiations on international economic co-operation between developed and developing countries taking into account the very limited results achieved so far. In this connexion it was of the opinion that the approach for future negotiations should have the following characteristics:

- be action oriented
- allow for an integrated approach to issues
- proceed simultaneously on different planes
- be open to universal participation.

37. It was felt that this might require some shift from traditional approaches to the present organization of the debate in the concerned economic forums of the United Nations in order to provide the required political impulse for a forthcoming round of global and sustained negotiations.

38. The Bureau therefore recommended to the Non-Aligned countries to examine the methods to be applied in the negotiations between developed and developing countries on the basis of the above and other proposals if any to this end, while also taking into account the provisions of paragraph 32 above in order to take a final decision thereon at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

39. The Bureau further recommended that, if a positive decision were to be taken by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries on this global round of negotiations, a decision would likewise be taken concerning the convening of a preparatory meeting of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to examine the different components of the negotiations prior to the launching of this global round.

40. The Bureau considered that the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly to be convened in 1980, should be devoted to a review of the implementation of the New International Economic Order and for concluding the negotiations for adopting a New International Development Strategy. The Special Session should, in particular, provide the appropriate political forum for resolving the outstanding issues relating to the New International Development Strategy in the context of the need for restructuring of the world economy. It should also establish priorities and lay down a time-table for negotiations, within the framework of the New Strategy, during the 1980s on new issues.

41. The Bureau called upon the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to make a concerted effort to ensure the success of the Special Session. For this purpose, a meeting of the Group of 77 should be convened prior to the Special Session in order to establish the common position of the developing countries in respect of the major issues to be discussed and negotiated during this session.

42. The Bureau stressed that it was necessary for the Non-Aligned countries to sustain the initiative as regards policies of international economic co-operation bearing in mind the limited results of the negotiations between the developed and developing countries since the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly.

43. The Bureau therefore emphasized the role of the Non-Aligned Movement as the central forum for the elaboration and adoption of policy decisions of developing countries relating to international co-operation.

44. The Bureau further reaffirmed that so far as non-aligned action at the level of United Nations economic fora is concerned the Group of 77 is a most valuable instrument for the co-ordinated implementation of such policy decisions through negotiations with developed countries.

45. The Bureau considered that the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries should take a position on the possibility or otherwise of creating a technical support machinery for the developing countries in the light of all available reports on the subject of international economic co-operation.

46. The Bureau also recalled in this connexion the decisions taken by the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade calling on Non-Aligned countries to continue to play their pivotal and crucial role within the Group of 77 thereby not only strengthening the common front of all developing countries in their negotiations on the New International Economic Order but also the implementation of programmes of co-operation among developing countries for the promotion of their collective self-reliance and for mutual benefit.

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ANNEX II

Implementation of the Colombo Action Programme for
Economic Co-operation among Non-aligned and other
Developing Countries: reports of the co-ordinating
countries

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COLOMBO ACTION PROGRAMME
FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AMONG NON-ALIGNED
AND OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: REPORTS OF
THE CO-ORDINATING COUNTRIES

1. The Bureau reviewed the implementation of the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation adopted in Colombo and noted that insufficient progress had been achieved towards the implementation of the decisions taken at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.
2. The Bureau recognized the need for establishing priorities and target dates for the various proposals contained in the Action Programme. The Bureau recalled the decision of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned countries at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo to review annually the implementation of the Action Programme and decided to convene for this purpose a meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau in New York, to consider proposals from the Co-ordinating Countries before the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to be held in Havana. The Bureau also decided that the Co-ordinating Bureau in New York should review annually the progress in the implementation of the Action Programme and take appropriate measures to accelerate the implementation of the Programme.
3. The Bureau reiterated the urgency for the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to increasingly co-operate with one another to further their national and collective self-reliance as an important element of their strategy for international development co-operation aimed at the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

A. RAW MATERIALS

4. The Bureau recalled that the Statute relating to the establishment of a Council of Associations of Developing Countries Producers-Exporters of Raw Materials, had been adopted and urged all Non-Aligned and other developing countries to ensure that their concerned Producers-Exporters Associations speedily acceded to the Council with a view to making it operational as soon as possible.

B. TRADE

5. The Bureau noted that the report on the study on fullest use of complementarities in terms of resource endowments and industrial and technological capacities would be ready for submission by India to all the Non-Aligned countries in July 1979 and noted that this would make it possible for the forthcoming Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to consider taking follow-up action in this respect. The Bureau recalled that the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau held in New Delhi in April 1977, had commissioned this study.

6. The Bureau recalled the decision, taken at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries as also the subsequent reiteration of this by the Arusha Meeting of the Group of 77 regarding the urgency to undertake negotiations with a view to establishing, at an early date, a Global System of Trade Preferences among developing countries. The need for this had assumed even greater urgency in the light of the absence of progress in the negotiations between developed and developing countries in the field of international economic co-operation. In this connexion, the Bureau noted the announcement by some delegations of developing countries, on this subject at UNCTAD V and expressed the view that this provided a good point of departure for negotiations.

7. The Bureau also took note of the work being done in this sector by the APEC TTI project in Georgetown with special reference to the publication of a quarterly review of commodity trade and activities of producers' associations of developing countries and the preparation of a study on trade flows among developing countries based on a select list of export products.

C. FINANCIAL AND MONETARY CO-OPERATION

8. The Bureau noted the delay in the preparation of studies by the concerned co-ordinating countries in the field of monetary and financial co-operation and called upon them to urgently finalize the studies with a view to submitting them to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries for decision.

9. The Bureau welcomed the decision to hold the meeting of Ministers of Finance of the Group of 77 on the eve of the Annual Meeting of the World Bank in Belgrade and recommended to the Group of 24, which has been charged with the task to prepare for this meeting. The Ministerial meeting should take into account the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries relevant to the co-operation in monetary and financial fields and in turn identify specific actions with a view to ensuring the successful implementation of these decisions.

D. THE SOLIDARITY FUND FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

10. The Bureau noted that all the formal legal requirements for the commencement of the operation of the Solidarity Fund for Economic and Social Development of Non-Aligned Countries have not been met as yet and that notwithstanding the endeavours made so far, the number of countries which acceded to the Fund is not sufficient.

11. The Bureau recalled that the Belgrade Conference had urged all Non-Aligned countries who had not yet done so to accede to the Statute of the Fund as soon as possible, in view of its economic and political significance.

12. Taking into account the urgency for the Solidarity Fund to become operational if possible, prior to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, the Bureau recommended to the co-ordinator countries and to the Government of Kuwait, the country hosting the Fund, to intensify consultations to that effect and, to take all measures so that the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries could, by its decisions, make possible the commencement of the operation of the Fund.

E. INDUSTRIALIZATION

13. The Bureau noted with appreciation the work done in this sector by the APEC TTI Secretariat in Georgetown, particularly in relation to the implementation of the Interregional Project on Pharmaceuticals. It also took note of the ongoing work on fertilizers, pesticides, sugar derivatives and food processing.

F. FISHERIES

14. The Bureau expressed its satisfaction with the results obtained at the First Meeting of the Co-ordinating Countries in this sector which was successfully held in Rome from 18 to 20 April 1979, to assess and analyse the possibilities for implementation of the recommendations adopted by the first and second meetings of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries interested in this sector of co-operation. In this connexion, the Bureau decided:

- (i) To urge the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to communicate to the co-ordinating countries, as soon as possible their interest regarding collaboration in fisheries as well as of the possibilities in assisting in the sphere of collaboration as requested in the questionnaire prepared to this effect ;
- (ii) To express satisfaction to the FAO for its collaboration in these working programme and in particular for its help in facilitating the work which will bring up-to-date the situation of the fishing resources of the Non-Aligned Countries in order that, together with the interests of these countries and their disposition to collaborate, it serves as a complement for the elaboration of future projects of collaboration in this sector;
- (iii) That it is necessary to call for a meeting of the co-ordinating countries in this sector prior to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries to analyse the work undertaken and the aspects to be considered for the preparation of the report to this Conference of Heads of State or Government. In this connexion the Bureau expressed the desire that one of the co-ordinating countries offers itself as host country for this meeting.

15. The Bureau expressed satisfaction at the steps being taken for the rapid implementation of co-operation activities in this sphere.

G. TRANSPORT

16. The Bureau noted the intention at the APEC/TTI Secretariat in Georgetown to embark, subject to the availability of funds, of a work programme in this sector designed to:

- (i) investigate the transport problems and means to improve the existing situation for commodities delivered by the existing producers association and those which will be covered by new producers association;
- (ii) to study the trade rates, costs and forms of shipment for those commodities identified in the study on trade plans among developing countries;
- (iii) study the transport aspects of these problems of those industrial sectors that are covered in the industry sector of the APEC/TTI project.

H. TELECOMMUNICATIONS

17. The Bureau also took note of the recommendations of the meeting of the Telecommunications Administrators of Non-Aligned countries in Yaounde from 7th to 10 May, 1979 and endorsed the recommendations of that meeting.

18. The Bureau welcomed the constitution of an ad hoc group of experts to examine in full all the documents in order to evolve a joint stand to be taken by the Non-Aligned countries at the World Administration Radio Conference (WARC) in 1979.

19. The Bureau noted the programme of action submitted by the United Republic of Cameroon with a view to strengthening co-operation among Non-Aligned Countries in the field of telecommunications. In view of the importance and interest of this Programme, the Bureau invited the Non-Aligned Countries to study the proposals contained therein, which would be submitted to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries for consideration and adoption.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

20. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the successful activities of the International Centre for Public Enterprises Ljubljana, Yugoslavia. Assessing its work as a concrete and significant contribution to the promotion of co-operation among Non-Aligned and other developing countries in the implementation of the principle of collective self-reliance, the Bureau expressed its hope that with the active support and participation of Non-Aligned and other developing countries the Centre will continue to pursue its very useful activities.

21. In this regard, the Bureau called upon all Non-Aligned and other developing countries which have not done so as yet to accede to the Centre and, by their active contribution to make possible its even more successful functioning.

J. HEALTH

22. The Bureau noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in this field of co-operation, as well as the work undertaken, following the adoption of the Programme of Action, in order to implement the Programme in accordance with the principal objectives, which were of urgency and importance to Non-Aligned countries as contained in the recommendations of the Meeting of Experts on Health, held in Havana in March 1979 and subsequently approved by the Third Meeting of Ministers and/or Representatives of Health of Non-Aligned and other developing countries, held in Geneva in May 1979.

23. The Bureau noted the decisions taken by the Third Meeting of Ministers and/or Representatives of Health and referred them for consideration to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, which will be held in Havana, Cuba in September 1979.

24. The Bureau reiterated the recommendation adopted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, at their meeting held in Belgrade in July 1978, that an annual meeting of Ministers of Health of Non-Aligned and other interested developing countries should continue to be held during the World Health Assembly in Geneva.

K. TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION AND CONSULTANCY SERVICE

25. The Bureau welcomed the announcement by India that in pursuance of the decision taken at the Bureau meeting held in New Delhi, a meeting of experts from leading consultancy organizations in developing countries is to be held in New Delhi from 18 to 20 July, 1979 to consider the feasibility of setting up a Project Development Facility (PDF). The Bureau expressed the hope that all Non-Aligned and other developing countries would ensure participation in the proposed meeting with a view to making a recommendation on the feasibility or otherwise of the project and if feasible to formulate a definitive proposal for establishing a Project Development Facility to be presented to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

L. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

26. The Bureau noted with satisfaction that steps were being taken by India to ensure that the Plenipotentiary Conference to adopt the Statutes of the proposed Non-Aligned Centre for Science and Technology in India would be convened in the near future.

27. The Bureau welcomed the initiative taken by the Group of 77 in preparing a draft plan of action to serve as the basis of discussion at the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Science and Technology and Development in Vienna and called upon all Non-Aligned countries to continue to play a vital and catalytic role within the Group of 77, in particular, in meetings of the Group prior to the Vienna Conference, so as to ensure the successful conclusion of the Conference.

28. With respect to the Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology, the Bureau considered that it would be necessary for the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to hold a meeting prior to the resumption of the Plenipotentiaries Conference scheduled to take place in the last quarter of 1979 in order to harmonise their positions on this crucial matter. In this connexion the Bureau welcomed the offer of the Government of India to host this meeting.

M. TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

29. The Bureau noted that as of end March 1979, 21 countries have signed the Statutes of the Information Centre on Transnational Corporations and four of these countries have ratified it so far. The Bureau, therefore, called upon all Non-Aligned countries to sign and ratify the Statutes so that the Centre could commence operations at an early date.

30. The Bureau took note with satisfaction of the agreement reached in New York to authorize the Government of Cuba to begin the preliminary work of the Information Centre of Transnationals.

N. RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SYSTEM

31. The Bureau took note of the Final Report of the First Meeting of the Research and Information System of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries held in Belgrade from 23-25 January, 1979.

32. The Bureau appreciated the progress made by the Research and Information System in this regard, especially in view of the fact that activities which will be encompassed under this Research and Information System should be helpful in the following areas:

- (i) in negotiations of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries within the framework of discussions on an International Strategy for the Third Development Decade;
- (ii) in negotiations between those countries and the developed States in the context of efforts to establish the New International Economic Order;
- (iii) in negotiations of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries in international organizations and the United Nations Agencies;
- (iv) as an analytical basis for documents on economic development to be reviewed by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana, in 1979 ;
- (v) in all other cases indicated by the Non-Aligned countries Co-ordinating Bureau at ministerial level.

33. The Bureau noted that almost all the countries members of the Research and Information System have nominated the National Institutions and Experts which will be participating in the system of linkages.

34. The Bureau endorsed the agreed programme of work in particular the preparation of analytical papers and background documentation for:

- (i) the International Development Strategy for the Third Development Decade, which should be drafted by the International Centre for Economic Investigations, Havana (Cuba), the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi (India), the Centre for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World, Mexico City (Mexico), and the Consortium of Seven Institutes (Yugoslavia);
- (ii) on relevant issues of the New International Economic Order which should assist the developing countries in the process of preparation of the Special Session of the General Assembly on the New International Economic Order in 1980. The papers should be prepared by members of the System from Mexico, Yugoslavia and probably also from Cuba and Tunisia. Contributions from all other interested institutions in this effort would also be welcome.

35. The Bureau noted that Sri Lanka's proposal related to Primary Commodities has been accepted for inclusion in the programme of work of the Research and Information System, with the provision that there should be a methodology to mention the trends in the production of primary products which are of significance for the developing countries exports.

36. The Bureau also strongly supported the decision of the first meeting of the System that all Non-Aligned and other developing countries should be invited to participate in the System and nominate appropriate national institutions in their country for that purpose.

37. The Bureau took note with great satisfaction that the next meeting of the Group of Experts of the System would be organized as early as possible in 1980 and that India's offer to consider the possibility of hosting the meeting was supported wholeheartedly.

0. ROLE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

38. The Bureau took note with satisfaction that the Conference of Non-Aligned and other developing countries on the Role of Women in Development was held in Baghdad from 6 to 13 May 1979. The Bureau took note of the report presented by the host country, Iraq, and expressed the view that the Conference had made important recommendations which would go a long way in furthering international co-operation and the adoption of strategies for enhancing the role of women in development. The Bureau felt that the Conference had played a positive role in the process of sharing of valuable national experiences of developing countries on the role of women in development and had clearly highlighted the need for more bilateral, regional and international co-operation in this field. The Bureau endorsed the report of the Conference and recommended that the concrete proposals made by the Conference should serve as an essential input into the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Women to be held in Copenhagen in 1980.

39. The Bureau further recommended that the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries endorse the report of the Conference which would serve as a basis for future co-operation among Non-Aligned and other developing countries to further the role of women in development.

P. TOURISM

40. The Bureau took note that the co-ordinating countries had circulated the Action Programme for co-operation in Tourism among Non-Aligned and other developing countries in July 1978.

41. The Bureau renewed its invitation to interested Non-Aligned countries to offer to host the Meeting of the Group of Governmental Experts. As it has not been able to have this Meeting of the Experts before the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries as scheduled earlier, the Bureau urges the importance of holding it as early as possible after the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

Q. PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

42. The Bureau is happy to note the work done by the Group of Non-Aligned Co-ordinating Countries on peaceful uses of nuclear energy at their First Preparatory Meeting held in Belgrade in December 1978. The Bureau reiterates the importance of the implementation of decisions taken at the Preparatory Meeting. The main decisions were as follows:

- (i) The Non-Aligned countries should have a co-ordinated approach in the IAEA which will strengthen the role of the Group of 77 in the Association;
- (ii) The necessity to convene an international conference on the use of nuclear energy for economic and social development;

43. The Bureau reiterated its recommendation to all Non-Aligned countries to support the holding of an international conference on peaceful uses of nuclear energy for economic and social development/General Assembly resolution 32/50 adopted by consensus and to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of their support.

44. It expressed concern at the obstacles imposed by the developed countries on the transfer of technology relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy through setting terms and conditions incompatible with their national sovereignty and with the criteria of financial viability.

45. The Bureau emphasised the necessity in particular under these circumstances for developing countries to strengthen their co-operation in this field and decided that the group of co-ordinators on nuclear energy should make concrete proposals on the framework and contents of such co-operation.

R. SPORTS

46. The Bureau studied the report submitted by the Co-ordinating countries and noted with satisfaction the progress made in the formulation of principles and plans for democratization, encouragement and co-operation in this field.

47. The Bureau considered that the recommendations adopted at the Ministerial Meeting in Belgrade concerning the need to support the Plan of Action in this field should be implemented, in order to achieve the objectives set out therein, to strengthen collaboration and exchange among Non-Aligned and other developing countries, as well as the preparations of sports meetings between them.

48. The Bureau called upon international organizations, in particular, UNESCO, to provide the necessary support in order to ensure that the Plan of Action was implemented. In this connexion, the Bureau decided to support the work of the UNESCO ~~Inter-Governmental~~ Committee for Physical Education and Sport and to co-ordinate the activities of Non-Aligned Countries within that Committee.

49. The Bureau decided to encourage Non-Aligned and other interested developing countries to participate in appropriate activities contained in the Programme of Action and to support the principles set out in the Sports Declaration during the sports meetings and international conferences in which they participate.

ANNEX III

Resolution of thanks to the Government and people of Sri Lanka

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Resolution of Thanks to the Government and People of Sri Lanka
as the Host Country

The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo, Sri Lanka from June 4 - 9, 1979,

Noting with great satisfaction the excellent facilities and the meticulous arrangements provided by the Host Government and the traditionally warm hospitality and spontaneous friendliness of the people of Sri Lanka which provided a congenial atmosphere conducive to the success of this Meeting as in previous conferences held in Colombo;

Encouraged by the presence at the Meeting and the inspiring inaugural address of His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, in which he described Non-Alignment as a golden thread running through the Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka where the Colombo Conference 25 years ago led directly to the concept of Afro-Asian solidarity and the policy of Non-Alignment;

Expresses its satisfaction and pays tribute to His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene for his leadership as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement in this decisive stage;

Conveys its appreciation and deep thanks to the people and Government of Sri Lanka for the consistent role of the country in nurturing and developing the principles of Non-Alignment both nationally and internationally particularly during the period of its incumbency as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement;

Commends the efficient and patient steering of the Meeting by its Chairman, His Excellency Mr A.C.S. Hameed, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka ensuring the successful outcome of its deliberations and for the skilful manner in which he co-ordinated our Movement in this period.

ANNEX IV

Statement by His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, President
of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, made
at the inaugural session of the Meeting

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YOUR EXCELLENCIES,
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES AND
FRIENDS,

I consider it a privilege to be able to inaugurate this Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned countries, preparatory to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries in Havana in September 1979.

It is interesting to remember that the first idea of a meeting of Afro-Asian nations, which later led to the first meeting of Non-Aligned nations, originated in Colombo at the Colombo Powers Conference held here in April/May 1954.

U Nu of Burma; Sir John Kotalawela of Ceylon (Sri Lanka); Jawaharlal Nehru of India; Mohamed Ali of Pakistan; and Ali Sastreamidjojo of Indonesia, attended as the Prime Ministers of their respective countries.

As Leader of the House of Representatives, together with Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the Leader of the Senate, I was one of the members of the Ceylon Delegation.

Among other decisions we unanimously declared our faith in democracy and democratic institutions, and our unshakable determination to resist interference in the affairs of our countries. We also discussed the desirability of holding a conference of Afro-Asian Nations and favoured a proposal that the Prime Minister of Indonesia might explore the possibility of such a conference.

It was at the Colombo Conference that Jawaharlal Nehru in his opening address on 28 April 1954 said, "The main problem in the World was the continuing problem of the 'Cold War' between two blocs of big powerful countries. Most of the countries represented at the Conference had attempted to follow a policy of non-alignment with these great power blocs and to live their own lives according to their notions without dictation or compulsion from abroad".

As far as I am aware, this was the first public occasion and conference where the word "Non-Aligned" was used.

The Colombo Powers met again at Bogor, in Indonesia, in December 1954. The main object of the meeting was to consider matters concerning an Afro-Asian Conference first suggested at the meeting in Colombo in April. The purpose of the Afro-Asian Conference was -

- (a) To promote goodwill and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa; to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations.
- (b) To consider social, economic, and cultural problems and and relations of the countries represented.
- (c) To consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples-- for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism.
- (d) To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the World of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of World peace and co-operation.

The following 25 countries were to be invited: Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Central African Federation, People's Republic of China, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Gold Coast; Persia, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Siam, Turkey, North and South Vietnam, and the Yemen.

This Afro-Asian Conference met in Bandung, Indonesia, from 18 to 25 April 1955. It was attended by delegates from 29 countries with a total population of about 1,400 million people. An astonishing range and diversity of race and opinion was represented at the Bandung Conference. The variety of religions and doctrines included, as was observed by Dr. Soekarno in his opening address, "Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and Marhaenism, Socialism, Capitalism and Communism". This was the first major conference of the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa.

This diverse assembly had certain bonds which bound them together. The spirit of independence and nationalism, and the common

feeling of anti-colonialism. The whole of Africa and the whole of Asia, except Japan, had been under the rule or dominance of the Western Powers. They were now free. They felt that they were not adequately recognised by the rest of the world as an independent force in international affairs. Throughout their declarations, firstly at Colombo, and later at Bogor and at Bandung, they were not only talking of economic development but trying to stretch their hands out to be able to take a leading part in the shaping of world events. They also feared that the powerful nations may again seek to dominate them, if not territorially, but in some other ways.

The speeches made by some of the delegates showed the fear some of them had of the use of atomic weapons in the possession of the USA and USSR at that time, and the possibility that the World could gang up behind one or other of these countries. There were also many countries which had not aligned themselves to one bloc or another and refused to be camp followers of one or more of the Bigger Powers.

In addition to adopting several resolutions on International Affairs, political, economic, social, etc., the Bandung Conference also recommended that the five sponsoring countries consisting of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan consider the convening of the next meeting of the Conference, in consultation with the participating countries.

Six years later in September 1961 and on a broader geographical basis, a group of countries now calling themselves Non-Aligned countries met at Belgrade. This was the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of this Movement. Thus the idea conceived in Colombo in 1954; nurtured in Bandung in 1955, was born in Belgrade in 1961.

This was a time during which the Cold War polarised the World into two antagonistic blocs. Non-Alignment with either of the two Super Powers constituted and still constitutes the fundamental tenet of the group.

The history of the Non-Aligned Movement is the history of the evolution of an important aspect of international relations during the last twenty-five years. It began as an alternative to the military alliances of the Super Powers. It now represents the most comprehensive political coalition outside these alliances. Eighty-six countries and two organisations today identify themselves with this Movement, beginning

with 25 members at the Belgrade Summit in 1961; 47 members at the Cairo Summit in 1964; 53 members at the Lusaka Summit in 1970; 75 members at the Algiers Summit in 1973; and 86 members at the Colombo Summit in 1976. The observers and guests have also increased from 3 at Belgrade to 19 observers and 7 guests at Colombo.

This is an opportune moment for reflection. As the Non-Aligned Movement approaches another Summit meeting, we have to consider the resolutions and declarations which will guide our Movement over the next few years. Debates within the Movement are dynamic and vibrant. That dynamism must be preceded by a thoughtful examination of where we are today; whither we are going; and how we are trying to get there.

It is argued that the bi-polar World does not exist any longer and that Non-Alignment as a middle course between two contending power blocs is no longer relevant. The end of bi-polarity as the dominant feature of international relations makes Non-Alignment to my mind even more relevant than before, because the existence of different centres of power makes it all the more necessary that the Non-Aligned countries pursue evenhanded relationships with all of them, without getting drawn into any of their conflicts.

Some of the new centres of power are economic, not political. Our countries must deal with them, while pursuing our own interests, and without turning ourselves into economic appendages of any particular economic power. Other centres of power continue to remain political. We have to deal with them, too, carefully avoiding the risk of potential alignment in the context of rivalry between powers. How to achieve this state of balance is ~~something~~ that your deliberations will have to take into account.

Your agenda shows that many of the issues that worried us in the past have been solved, some exist in different forms and some remain unresolved. That should not deter us. History proves to us that in affairs between nations there are no quick answers to difficult problems. We in Asia have always believed that time is a dimension that has to be taken into account as a vital element of any discussion or negotiation.

It will take time to resolve the problems that you discuss. But time alone will not suffice. There must be determination too - determination in terms of commitment to achieve specific goals and objectives; determination in terms of the desire and sincerity to remain united and strong.

Your presence here gives continuity to a historic tradition of important meetings being held, and far-reaching decisions being taken, in our capital.

In 1951 the Colombo Plan was born here.

The decision to draw the emergent nations of Asia and Africa that had newly regained their freedom to a Conference was taken here in 1954.

The word "Non-Aligned" as far as I am aware was first used here.

The Fifth Summit Meeting of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries was held here in 1976.

The proposal to make the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace and the creation of a World Disarmament Authority, both now under consideration by the United Nations are Sri Lanka's initiatives.

Today we meet to prepare for the Havana Summit Conference.

Several international organisations have also met here to plan strategies aimed at improving relations among peoples, and among governments in what has turned out to be a rather trying age. Colombo has thus earned a reputation as an international "conference city" and Sri Lanka as a Non-Aligned and neutral nation. For that reason alone your presence here is appropriate and welcome.

Sri Lanka has therefore a commitment to the policy of Non-Alignment and has contributed to the growth of the Movement. Non-Alignment runs like a golden thread through the fabric of our country's Foreign Policy, though changes may take place in the quality, colour and shape of that fabric from time to time. At no stage has our country deviated from that policy. At no stage I make bold to say, ~~will it do so in the future~~.

The post-Second World War years have brought about substantial changes in the living conditions of people in the less developed nations. In Sri Lanka, for instance, there has been a steady rise in standards of health, in literacy and, overall, in the physical quality of life. Similar achievements have been recorded in many other countries. Yet, millions of people in the Third World go to bed hungry every night.

Is there no hope for them? That is the question which the Non-Aligned Movement should ponder because the prosperity and health of every citizen is what we must seek to establish in all our countries.

Technicians and other experts see these situations against a background of statistics and theories. We must look at them differently. We are talking about people not figures. Governments, of whatever persuasion, are formed to so organise society that human suffering is at least reduced if not eliminated. This is an exacting task. It is also a vital task. It is a task involving a combination of many factors from social policy to international trade. If we remain united, and if we use that unity to turn men's minds away from destruction and domination towards creativity and friendship, then there is some hope that in our lifetime we will at least lay the foundation for a better tomorrow.

It has to be tomorrow of peace. That is why we must strive as Non-Aligned countries for such goals as Disarmament and the peaceful settlement of disputes. A better tomorrow must also be a tomorrow of economic justice, within our countries as well as in international relations. We must endeavour to bring about a successful completion of negotiations, such as those set in motion at UNCTAD, whose objective is not charity but justice. Above all, we must ceaselessly remember that our primary aim is to enrich the various aspects of human activity which add up to the sum total of human life, avoiding violence of speech and action but seeking by peaceful means to achieve prosperity for those whose need is greater.

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES
AND FRIENDS,

I spoke to you as the Chairman of the Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries. I speak to you now and welcome you on behalf of the Government and the people of Sri Lanka. I hope you will have the opportunity during your stay to get better acquainted with Sri Lanka and its people. They will give you a warm welcome.

I wish to speak to you a few words about my own country, and in doing so my thanks and our thanks are due to the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, Hon. A.C.S. Hameed, for the patience, care and dedication with which he has performed the tasks entrusted to him of presiding over the meetings of the Non-Aligned Countries.

There are political, philosophical and geographical reasons for Sri Lanka's adherence to a policy of Non-Alignment throughout its period as an independent nation. Freedom came to us soon after the Second World War had ended. The Big Powers seemed ready to embark on a new type of confrontation, which has since come to be known as the Cold War. A new nation, just learning the art of standing on its own, cannot afford the "luxury" of any form of war. Thus, while in the earliest phase of independence we looked to our friends abroad for assurances of support in the event of our having to defend ourselves against any external threat, we scrupulously avoided alignment with one power bloc or another. Friendship with all and the enemy of none was our policy and it so remains.

Almost all the great religions of the world are found in our Island home. Of these, Buddhism has played a dominant part in shaping our destiny, and continues to occupy a position of veneration and influence throughout the country. Buddhism has been a source of personal inspiration to me, as it has been to the majority of the people of Sri Lanka. It is historically demonstrable that Buddhism is the only world religion over which no wars have been fought, and whose followers have not felt the urge or the need to impose their beliefs on others. That gives our policy of Non-Alignment a firm philosophical base which, in turn, affects the nature of our policy, making it unshakable under any circumstances and under all forms of pressure.

Geographically we are lucky that the Indian Ocean surrounds us on all sides and makes us an emerald isle set in a silver sea; it protects us and helps us in various other ways.

We adopted a new Constitution last year which combines the Presidential form of Government and the Parliamentary system of Government. The President who is the Head of the State and the Head of the Government is elected once in every six years by the whole country. He chooses his Prime Minister and Cabinet of Ministers from the Members of Parliament and presides over their deliberations. They constitute the Executive authority of the State.

The Parliament is elected once in every six years by universal franchise but the elections are not contemporaneous with the Presidential elections. It is the supreme legislative authority. It considers and has to approve all laws and by-laws.

The Judiciary once appointed, some by the President and others by the Judicial Services Commission, functions as an independent authority. The rights of minorities; religious, racial and social, are included among the fundamental rights and are justiciable. So are the other fundamental rights, such as Freedom of Speech, Writing, Assembly and the Right to Vote.

Emergency powers cannot be assumed by the Government without the sanction of the Legislature. After three months of such assumption a two-thirds majority in the Parliament is necessary to continue it. Any decision to extend the term of office of the President, or the life of Parliament, beyond six years must be approved by a Referendum. The sovereignty of the people is thus preserved.

It is a Constitution that seeks to combine the best features of Freedom and Justice contained in the British, American and French Constitutional systems.

The Parliamentary and Local Government elections are conducted according to the system of Proportional Representation. Local Government elections were held recently after 11 years, under this system.

The right to practise the religion of one's choice is guaranteed under the Constitution. Every citizen is treated alike irrespective of his race, religion or social status. The Cabinet of Ministers today has been chosen and functions on that basis.

We have enjoyed Universal franchise since 1931. Men and women over 18 years now have the right to vote. General elections on that basis have been held since then and governments changed by the vote on several occasions. We are accustomed to the ballot and not the bullet to change Presidents, Prime Ministers, Governments and elected Members.

You are therefore in a land which can call itself one of the Free and Democratic Nations of the World.

We are also Socialist. Sixty per cent of our means of production, distribution and exchange are owned by the State on behalf of the people. They will remain so and we hope under more efficient and honest management than in the past.

It is because of the Democratic Freedoms we enjoy, and the Socialist system and philosophy of equal opportunity for education, jobs, health and housing which prevail, that we called our country, "The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka",

You have a heavy agenda before you. I express the hope that your deliberations will be guided by the thought that righteousness must ultimately triumph. Keep for ever in mind the futility of force and the sanctity of life. May the thoughts I have left with you today lead you along the Path that culminates in right livelihood and right understanding for us all.
