

## DOCUMENTATION

### *Statements by Heads of Delegations from Southeast Asian Countries at the Plenary Meeting of the Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi, India, on 7-11 March 1983*

*Statement by HE Prof Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, personal representative of The President of the Republic of Indonesia and Minister for Foreign Affairs*

Madam Chairman,  
Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates,

It is a privilege and a distinct pleasure for me and for the Indonesian Delegation to be here in New Delhi to attend this Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. Indonesia, like all other members of our Movement, is truly grateful for India's readiness to host this momentous Summit at such short notice, just as we are greatly appreciative of Iraq's understanding and co-operation with regard to the change in venue for this Conference. We believe that the satisfactory resolution of this question has served to demonstrate, once again, the innate strength of mutual solidarity and common purpose within our Movement.

In convening this Conference in New Delhi, we are paying tribute indeed to the outstanding role played by India since the founding of our Movement, and to its impressive record in the defence and promotion of the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment. But our profound satisfaction at having our Conference here today derives from many more reasons.

The friendship between India and Indonesia and the bonds of cultural affinity linking our two nations have their roots in the far distant past. After independence, those bonds have been strengthened and nurtured by close co-operation and mutual support on a variety of issues of common concern. We recall with gratitude, that it was Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who sponsored the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in March 1947 and the Conference on Indonesia in January 1949 in order to mobilize international support for Indonesia's fight for independence. Since then, throughout the

process of birth of the concept of non-alignment, from Bandung to Belgrade and beyond, our two nations have always struggled together in seeking to realize the shared vision of a new world order based on independence, peace, equality and justice.

It is with great pleasure, therefore, that I extend to you, Madam Prime Minister, Indonesia's sincere congratulations on your election to the chairmanship of this Conference and of our Movement for the next three years. A heavy, yet exalted responsibility is now being entrusted to you and to India. Indonesia is fully confident that under your inspired leadership our Movement will be guided towards ever greater heights of achievement and stature, as a truly independent force for global peace and justice. At the same time, I wish to give expression to my Delegation's gratitude for the warmth of the welcome you have extended to us, as reflected in your generous hospitality and the excellent arrangements of this Conference.

I should also like to take this opportunity to convey our sincere appreciation to His Excellency President Fidel Castro of Cuba for having provided our Movement with dedicated and dynamic leadership during the past three and a half years.

Madam Chairman, it is a matter of genuine regret to President Suharto that he is unable to be personally present in New Delhi at this time. Constitutional duties, especially in connection with the presidential elections now taking place in Indonesia require his presence at home. In entrusting me with the honour to be his personal representative, President Suharto has requested me to emphasize to this Assembly that his inability to participate in person at our deliberations here shall not in the least detract from my Delegation's commitment and determination to exert all efforts in contributing to the complete success of this Seventh Summit Conference.

Madam Chairman, it gives me particular satisfaction to note that as we meet today our ranks are again being strengthened by the entry of new members in our midst. The Indonesian Delegation extends its warm welcome to the Delegations of Bahamas, Barbados, Colombia and Vanuatu. We are also pleased to welcome Belize, Ecuador and Saint Lucia, who joined our Movement after the Havana Summit. The steady increase in membership is indeed a clear indication of the vitality of our Movement and the continuing validity of its aims and principles.

It is undeniable that since Belgrade, twenty-two years ago, the Non-Aligned Movement has constantly grown in size, in strength and in influence. As far as its actual achievements are concerned, there can also be no doubt as to the positive contributions it has made to a more peaceful and just world.

The catalytic force and unrelenting drive it has imparted on the entire decolonization process has transformed the shape and substance of post-World War II international society. While it is true that vestiges of colonialism still afflict some regions of the world, notably in Southern Africa and the Pacific, the struggle against colonialism is inexorably moving towards its final and total victory.

In actively seeking to provide a positive alternative to bloc politics, great

power competition and the policies of force, domination and exploitation, non-alignment has undeniably contributed towards ameliorating the sharp polarization of the world into two hostile, armed camps.

It may not be possible to quantify the direct influence which the non-aligned concept of peaceful co-existence may have had on the policies of *détente* subsequently embarked upon by the superpowers. Neither can there be satisfaction over the progress made so far in efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, first called for by the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade in 1961 and consistently pursued ever since. It cannot be denied, however, that today there is far greater dialogue between states across regions, continents and ideological frontiers, and there exists wider recognition of the right of the smaller and medium powers to participate in deciding on the global issues of peace and security. In the process, the international community has been made aware that there can be valid, alternative perspectives from which to assess international problems apart from the bloc approach, and that there is justification for the democratization of international relations.

Another major contribution has been the Non-Aligned Movement's persistent efforts to raise global awareness and to demand redress of the glaring inequities in the international economic system, as epitomized in the call for the New International Economic Order.

Thus, the manifold contributions of our Movement into the matrix of world politics are, indeed, substantial and are recognized by all. Yet, with all of these achievements we continue to face a world torn by political conflict and economic disorder and gripped by a pervasive sense of insecurity and common vulnerability.

Colonialism, in its original form is nearing its final eclipse but neo-colonialism and imperialism, in new guises and manifestations, continue to despoil the fabric of international relations. Formal independence has been secured for most of the countries of the developing world. But individually and collectively and in all regions of the world, our countries continue to face external pressures and challenges to their integrity and independence, whether through acts of political destabilization, economic coercion or downright subversion and intervention. Economic domination and unequal dependence relationships persist, as do the technological and scientific disparities between North and South. Meanwhile, new threats to global peace and security resulting from an intensified arms race and heightened great power rivalries, from increased recourse to the use or threat of force, aggression and foreign intervention, as well as from the alarming aggravation in the international economic situation, have brought about a sharp deterioration in the international climate as a whole.

No less disturbing, Madam Chairman, has been the rising incidence of strains, divisions and fragmentation within our own ranks, a trend which outside powers have only too readily seized upon to disparage our image and our potential. We could, with some justification, assign blame for this to the legacy of colonialism, or to the machinations of the competing power blocs

or to the pressures engendered by a progressively worsening global crisis. But my Delegation believes that we should also have the courage to engage in sober introspection and assess to what extent we ourselves may have been responsible for this state of affairs.

Within our Movement, diversity in ideological orientation and in political and economic systems has always been a characteristic feature. That this diversity has sometimes led to disagreements among us, or even to more serious disputes, should come as no surprise to anyone. But what we have to prevent is that these internal differences affect the unity and solidarity of the Movement as a whole, which are the principal sources of our collective strength and our achievements. We must especially guard against any attempt to draw our Movement into conflict situations primarily induced by or reflective of great power rivalry and contention, and make every effort to preserve our authentic, non-bloc character.

In the view of my Delegation, there is an objective need for us to develop more effective guidelines and mechanisms for internal conflict resolution, which have to be fully consonant with the basic principles of our Movement. We should reassert our traditional way of overcoming differences through democratic dialogue and a balanced approach rather than through the adoption of partisan or confrontative positions. Let us refrain from taking up essentially bilateral issues, which as experience has shown, have a far better chance of being resolved through direct negotiation or regional mediation.

Madam Chairman, instead of allowing our vision to be blurred and our purposes deflected by internal dissension, let us rededicate our efforts to our principal objectives, which are still far from being attained.

The nuclear arms race, far from abating, is continuing to escalate to the point of complete irrationality. But neither should we minimize the alarming proliferation and sophistication of conventional armaments. The constant expansion of the arsenals of both types of weapons, in terms of quantity as well as quality, has vastly increased the danger of world-wide nuclear holocaust. To curb and reverse the arms race, especially in nuclear arms, as a first step towards the long-term goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, remains the paramount issue before the world community.

We have on many occasions before expressed our deep regret over the failure of the Second UNGA [United Nations General Assembly] Special Session on Disarmament to achieve any substantive results. The Non-Aligned Movement, however, cannot afford to be discouraged just because the superpowers are unwilling or unable to act. We must keep up the pressure and create the necessary preconditions so as to ensure that the priority measures on disarmament continue to be negotiated under the aegis of the United Nations and specifically within the framework of the Committee on Disarmament, the single multilateral negotiating body in this field.

But at this perilous juncture in world developments we should do more than catalogue our anxieties and grievances. For the past 35 years, the inter-

national community has failed to evolve alternative concepts to such doctrines as nuclear deterrence and the balance of terror, concepts which would take into account the common security of all states, nuclear and non-nuclear alike. Instead, what have been developed are rationalisations which provided, at best, a partial solution to the problems posed by the advent of nuclear weapons and, at worst, legitimization of the status of nuclear-weapon states. Meanwhile, three-fourths of all global expenditures continue to be channelled to armaments and the war industry, thus further detracting from the already limited resources for global economic development. Ironically, the result of all this has been *less* security for every one of us.

Indeed, what is at stake is an unprecedented threat to human survival, and the world community is in dire need of a new vision and a new approach towards disarmament. My Delegation believes that it would be timely for this Summit Conference to solemnly call on world leaders, and especially those of the nuclear powers, to heed our appeal and our considered views on the present trinity of global challenges: PEACE, DISARMAMENT and DEVELOPMENT.

Madam Chairman, Indonesia has always emphasized the importance of the regional approach to security, *inter alia* through the establishment of zones of peace, nuclear weapon-free zones and of regional co-operative security arrangements. We do so not only for their significant contribution towards global security but also because we believe regional arrangements may prove essential in bolstering the collective resilience of the smaller powers *vis-à-vis* the pulls and pressures of the major powers.

The ASEAN states have since 1971 called for a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality [ZOPFAN] in Southeast Asia. In the context of this proposed zone, provision is, in fact, made for all states in the region to establish, by mutual agreement, a nuclear weapon-free zone. On this occasion my Delegation would like to reiterate the suggestion we made at the Second Special Session on Disarmament to seriously consider the feasibility of such a nuclear weapon-free zone in Southeast Asia, as an essential component in the realization of the ZOPFAN.

Madam Chairman, while the zone of peace as a concept has obtained almost universal endorsement, the elements for its implementation continue to meet with the resistance of the great powers. This holds true particularly with regard to the Indian Ocean region, which instead of being transformed into a region of peace continues to be the scene of steady military buildup and strategic competition by the great powers. The non-aligned countries have long maintained that the appropriate forum for negotiations would be the International Conference on the Indian Ocean, where the complex set of issues could be discussed in a comprehensive way. Thus, in addition to implementing the 1971 Declaration and the Principles of Agreement of 1979 adopted by the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States, the Conference should also address existing or perceived threats to regional security and stability. This constitutes the only realistic approach to gain the concurrence of all sides to convene the International Conference according to schedule.

Madam Chairman, colonialism and racism are on the retreat, but in making their final, desperate stand, in Africa and elsewhere, they remain the major adversaries of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Over the past five years, South Africa has used every dilatory manoeuvre to obstruct and thwart efforts to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 and to realize the independence of Namibia. Indeed, the Pretoria regime has intensified its repressive policies, launching large-scale military operations against SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the front-line states and installing a puppet regime in Namibia. Most recently, Lesotho and Mozambique have been the targets of these brazen acts of aggression which resulted in numerous civilian deaths and extensive destruction.

Compounding these developments have been attempts to link extraneous issues to the independence of Namibia and to impose unacceptable electoral formulas.

Indonesia is in full accord with the Final Communique of the Lusaka Summit of the Frontline States held in September 1982. We urge all members of the Movement to participate actively in the International Conference in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for independence, to be held in Paris this year. We would also stress that, irrespective of the efforts being made by the so-called Western contact group, implementation of Resolution 435 is the responsibility of the Security Council and we call upon it to fulfill that responsibility and to exercise its authority established under the U.N. Charter.

Time and again, our Movement has condemned the inhuman system of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria regime. Guided by the important decisions adopted at the 1981 Paris Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Indonesia urges the international community to continue the drive to isolate the racist Pretoria regime in all spheres of international relations by reinforcing the mandatory arms embargo and implementing all other sanctions that have been agreed upon.

Madam Chairman, since the last Summit, we have witnessed the mounting escalation of tensions in the Middle East caused by Israel's aggressive and expansionist policies. The more recent manifestations of those policies, such as the annexation of the Golan Heights, the unprovoked bombing of Iraq's peaceful nuclear installation, the expansion of the brutal settlements policy in the West Bank, and the continued oppression and violation of human rights of the Arab people in the occupied territories, have evoked universal indignation and condemnation. The world was particularly horrified by the massive Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon, the wanton mass killings of civilians and notably the massacres perpetrated against the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. All of these heinous acts have brought untold tragedy to the Palestinian people and to Lebanon, have sharply increased the danger of world-wide conflagration and have brought neither peace nor greater security to Israel. On the contrary, it has rallied the Arab nation towards even greater unity of purpose and determination, and the

Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, today stands stronger, more united and universally respected than ever before.

The Government and people of Indonesia remain steadfast in their full support and solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab nation to regain its usurped rights and territories occupied since 1967. The question of Palestine remains at the heart of the Middle East conflict. A comprehensive, just and lasting solution, therefore, can only be achieved through the restoration to the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence and to the establishment of their own sovereign state. Moreover, no solution can be regarded as either comprehensive or just unless the PLO fully participates in its elaboration and implementation. Finally, peace and security in the region can only be based on Israel's total withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

With regard to Lebanon, Indonesia reiterates its stand in calling for the immediate and total withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). We extend our sympathetic support to the efforts of the Lebanese Government to re-establish its full authority throughout the country and to begin the arduous task of economic and social rehabilitation and stabilization.

In the Middle East, my Government has consistently supported all Arab initiatives in the search for a just and durable peace. Accordingly, we have endorsed the decisions adopted by the 12th Arab Summit held at Fez in September last year, as they provide a significant contribution and a major momentum to that search.

Madam Chairman, another source of exacerbated tension is the situation in Afghanistan, which continues to affect the peace and stability of the Southwest Asian region but also impacts negatively on the resolution of other issues of world-wide concern. Indonesia reaffirms its support for a comprehensive political solution on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and the safe return of Afghan refugees to their homes. We renew our appeal to all states to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

My Government has on earlier occasions expressed its appreciation for the initiative and efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General of the U.N. to find a negotiated solution to the problem. We have been encouraged by the indications of progress so far made and we believe that our Movement should lend its full weight of support to these endeavours.

In Southeast Asia, peace and stability continue to elude us because of the unresolved problem of Kampuchea. Foreign forces are still in that country despite successive resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly calling for their total withdrawal. The Kampuchean people are still being denied their inherent right to determine their own future and to pursue their own political and economic system, free from external interference. And it is a matter of particular regret to my Delegation that this problem has also become a contentious issue among ourselves, and that for lack of consensus

the Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk cannot be invited to resume its legitimate seat within our Movement, of which earlier it has been unjustifiably deprived.

Indonesia firmly believes that it is in the interest of all the parties concerned to seek a comprehensive political solution, through negotiation rather than confrontation. We remain convinced that the International Conference on Kampuchea (ICK) provides the best framework within which to devise such a solution. It offers an equitable approach aimed at ensuring the emergence of a peaceful, independent and non-aligned Kampuchea. It fully takes into account the legitimate interests and security concerns of all countries of Southeast Asia. A solution to the Kampuchean problem is urgent not only for the sake of the long-suffering people of Kampuchea but also for the opportunity it will create to finally transform Southeast Asia into a region of peace, stability and mutual co-operation, free from great power contention and intervention.

Latin America and the Caribbean have in the past years been the scene both of encouraging developments as well as disconcertingly negative trends. Indonesia sincerely welcomes the greatly expanded presence and role of non-aligned countries in the region. On the other hand, we cannot but observe with acute concern the intermittent strife and the emergence of new flash-points of tension and conflict, especially in Central America and the South Atlantic. The crisis situation in the region cannot be viewed in isolation from the adverse developments in the global context, characterized by heightened great power confrontation, but at the same time there has been further aggravation due to the intensification of external interference, pressures and attempts at destabilization exerted against the established governments in the area.

As regards the conflict in the South Atlantic, my Government reiterates its support to Argentina in its efforts to regain her sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and urges that negotiations with the United Kingdom be reopened with the participation and good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Madam Chairman, it is a truism to say that peace, security and development are inextricably linked as there can be no lasting and durable peace as long as inequities and inequalities persist. The serious imbalances afflicting the international economic system have further hampered the prospect for overcoming the disparities between nations.

The convulsions through which the world economy is passing today reconfirms the close interdependence among nations and the imperative need for restructuring the international economic relations on the basis of justice, equality and genuine interdependence. A crisis of contraction is occurring in many fields. Persistent inflation in a setting of continuing recession, coupled with high unemployment and high interest rates have led to mounting protectionism and dramatic current account deficits. These developments have adversely affected all countries and have in particular damaged the growth and development prospects of the developing countries.



The accelerated arms race, especially in nuclear arms, has further aggravated the crisis as vast human and national resources have been diverted from contributing to global economic development.

Against such a background we should do a thorough rethinking of our struggle to establish the New International Economic Order. In this context, we should reaffirm our determination to set in motion the global negotiations which offer a comprehensive and integral framework for a true and lasting solution to the structural problems underlying the current world economic crisis. While we must persist in our efforts to restructure the world economy, we also see the urgent need for immediate measures in the fields that are of critical importance for the developing countries, namely, commodities, money and finance, and trade.

The desperate situation in the international commodity market should get our priority attention. The disastrously low level to which commodity prices have fallen is not only adversely affecting the development efforts of most developing countries, but is also imposing a tremendous burden on the hundreds of millions of their peoples. The task ahead therefore is to adopt as soon as possible measures needed to bring about a significant improvement in commodity prices and earnings.

Arresting and reversing the tide of protectionism and improving market access for products of the developing countries are actions that we should also urgently press on the developed countries in order to create a healthier international trading system.

The inability of the present monetary and financial system to cope effectively with the balance of payments difficulties have further exacerbated the economic recession and practically nullified the development efforts of the developing countries. Our urgent efforts should be devoted to seeking ways and means to reverse decisively the critical trends which currently characterize developments in the international monetary and financial fields. A set of measures is required to speedily enlarge the liquidity and financing availability to developing countries with a view to simultaneously overcoming the balance of payment difficulties and maintaining the momentum of their development.

We are of course aware of the recent decision of the IMF [International Monetary Fund] to increase its quotas and its general arrangements for borrowing. But these measures by themselves are still far from meeting the liquidity gap that is presently threatening the momentum of development. Considering the steep reduction in concessional bilateral and multilateral flows, one immediate measure recommends itself for serious consideration, namely, a substantial increase of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) which should be distributed on a basis closely reflecting the needs of the developing countries. Furthermore, to alleviate the mounting debt burden a new regime of debt rescheduling has become imperative.

However, we believe that the monetary and financial crisis cannot be overcome unless we also address ourselves to a reform of the institutional framework. In this regard, we see merit in the proposal which you have

underlined in your inaugural address, Madam Chairman, for convening an international conference on money and finance for development, with universal participation, to bring about a comprehensive reform of the existing iniquitous and outdated international monetary and financial system.

While highlighting the present economic crisis and the search for possible remedial measures for its complex and difficult problems, it would be most appropriate for us to emphasize that we should not lose sight of the plight of the most unfortunate among us, namely the least developed countries which deserve the particular attention of the international community. UNCTAD VI provides an opportunity to deal decisively with all those important issues I have just mentioned.

Madam Chairman, Indonesia has always believed in the strategic value and importance of economic co-operation among developing countries (ECDC) in promoting the New International Economic Order. Intensified South-South co-operation would play a major role in the efforts by the developing countries to increase their collective self-reliance and countervailing power based on unity and solidarity. Action oriented programmes which have been successfully drawn up in ECDC meetings offer workable frameworks to channel our common aspirations and political will into concrete measures. We trust that all of us will set these frameworks in motion and make them operational as effective instruments for development.

Indonesia also attaches great importance to technical co-operation among developing countries (TCDC). Despite its limited capacities, Indonesia has made significant progress and gained valuable experience in implementing TCDC. We have extended TCDC programmes to more than twenty countries both within as well as outside our region of which the least developed countries are given high priority. This progress and experience, even if still limited, have led us to the conclusion that TCDC is not only a viable concept, but indeed a mutually reinforcing programme for developing countries engaged at different stages of development.

Madam Chairman, from many points of view it is quite obvious that the future of the international economy points to the need for renewed political determination to urgently redirect its present dangerous course. Looking at the situation in the context of interdependence, we are of the view that our strategy to reverse the present alarming trends should include the following elements:

*First*, the pursuit of simultaneous and integrated approaches to effect the reversal of the downward spiral, the recovery of the world economy, and the restructuring of the existing international economic system.

*Second*, the implementation of urgent appropriate actions in the areas of critical importance to the developing countries, such as commodities, money and finance, and trade.

*Third*, the revival of the spirit of global co-operation and the reinforcement of multilateralism in international economic co-operation.

*Fourth*, the acceleration of the growing role of the developing countries

as an engine of growth for the overall world economy, while ensuring their full participation in international decision making.

*Fifth*, the adoption of urgent disarmament measures that will release substantial resources for the development needs of the developing countries, thereby contributing to the revitalization of the world economy.

Madam Chairman, my Delegation has followed with particular satisfaction the progress that is being made in our mutual co-operation in the fields of information and mass communication. Here again, our Movement has taken the lead in contributing new concepts which would ensure a freer flow and a more balanced dissemination of information through the international media, leading to a more equitable and effective world information and communication order. It is gratifying to note that the world community has now also embraced these ideas as a desirable and agreed objective to strive for.

Indonesia has always believed that our efforts to realize a new World Information and Communication Order cannot but be the logical corollary to our struggle to establish the New International Economic Order. It is to these two aspects of the same struggle and to the development of a new vision and approach to world disarmament that our Non-Aligned Movement should dedicate itself, now and in the years to come. For only by doing so will our Movement maintain its pioneering role in providing the strategic concepts as well as the broad operational guidelines for global action to secure a new world order based on common security, common prosperity and justice for all.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

SOURCE: Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia.

*Statement by the Honourable Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia*

Madame Chairman,

May I, on behalf of my Delegation and my own behalf, congratulate you on your unanimous election as Chairman of this important Conference. My Delegation is confident that under your distinguished chairmanship, this Summit Conference would be able to achieve results. My Delegation pledges full co-operation with you and hopes to contribute constructively to the deliberations to ensure that the 7th Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries will be another milestone in the development of our Non-Aligned Movement. In extending my congratulations to you, Madame Chairman, I would also like to offer my Delegation's,

as well as my own felicitations, to the Deputy Chairmen and other officials of the Conference Bureau on their well-deserved elections.

My Delegation notes with profound satisfaction the presence of 97 countries and organizations at this gathering today as against only 25 countries at the First Summit Conference held in Belgrade in 1961. This expanding membership is indeed a testimony to the hope and faith that peoples and nations of diverse governmental systems have in the Movement as a force for peace and stability in a world threatened by conflicts between two confronting camps. This hope and faith in the Movement must not remain mere ideals but must be translated into effective action to free the world from domination by the strong over the weak in all fields.

The Non-Aligned Movement is all the more necessary now when the big powers are involved in the game of a balance of terror. Already some countries have been made theatres of war for the practical testing of increasingly lethal weapon systems. Without the Non-Aligned Movement, more of us will be fighting each other as pawns or proxies of the committed powers. It is therefore incumbent upon us to sustain this Movement and to uphold its ideals and principles, in particular the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of states, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of nations, peaceful co-existence and non-use of force in resolving inter-state disputes. The observation and respect for these cardinal principles of international relations are indispensable for the preservation of world peace and stability, for the promotion of greater co-operation, cohesion and trust among member countries, and for the overall credibility of the Movement.

The occupation and rape of several nations that we are witnessing today stem, in the main, from the flagrant disregard, indeed total disrespect, for these vital principles which everyone claims to cherish. The territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea, or of Afghanistan and Lebanon, have been blatantly violated and trampled upon, in utter contempt for the values and principles which constitute the very existence of our Movement. We, who are committed to these ideals and principles cannot accept, much less endorse, these high-handed actions. We cannot shrug our shoulders merely because the perpetrators of these dastardly acts want us to accept them as *fait accompli*. Whether we are friendly or otherwise with these unprincipled countries, we must condemn them for their misdeeds and we must do all within our means to undo the damage. While violence is not a part of our creed, there are other weapons that will serve us just as well.

The situation in Kampuchea, arising from the Vietnamese military invasion and continued occupation of that country, directly threatens regional peace and stability, encourages big power involvement in Southeast Asia, impedes efforts to hasten the realization of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in Southeast Asia and inhibits the development of beneficial co-operation between the countries of ASEAN and Indochina. In this regard, the past four sessions of the U.N. General Assembly and also the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981 had unequivocally called

for a comprehensive political solution on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Kampuchean people, free from foreign interference and coercion. The Non-Aligned Movement, too, had on several occasions expressed its concern over this blatant interference, and warned of the danger of the Kampuchean conflict escalating over a wider area. Unfortunately, all these calls have been ignored by the perpetrators and their powerful mentors and also by some others who are members of this Movement for reasons which cannot withstand examination.

The problem that besets Kampuchea is simple — it is being occupied by some 200,000 foreign troops. Explanations as to the reason why is irrelevant. The fact is that the Vietnamese forces in irresistible strength marched into Kampuchea and installed a puppet regime. And having done so the Vietnamese army stayed on to prop up that regime. Obviously the people of Kampuchea do not support that regime, or why else is it necessary to have an occupation force. That a lot of Kampucheans have left their own country is further testimony that they do not support that regime or the occupation forces. That the Kampuchean refugees are willing to join up with the Coalition Government led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk proves beyond any reasonable doubt that they do not want the Heng Samrin regime or his Vietnamese backers. Yet Vietnam and some countries have preferred to ignore that Kampuchean independence is being violated, that all the principles that have been espoused by the Non-Aligned Movement have been violated. Such is the fate of Kampuchea and its leader, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, one of the founders of the Movement who sat with the late Nasser and the late Nehru in Bandung.

At this juncture, my Delegation would like to express our profound regret over the enforced absence of Democratic Kampuchea from this Conference. We are all aware of the controversial decision by a few members of this Movement to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its rightful seat, in blatant disregard for the views of the majority. Already one very prominent member — Burma — had left the Movement in disenchantment in Havana. We cannot allow this trend to continue merely because some members and their powerful friends are bent on having their way regardless of the consequences. The legitimacy of Democratic Kampuchea to represent Kampuchea here and elsewhere should not be disputed since the U.N. General Assembly has repeatedly and with increasing majority affirmed and recognized the legitimacy of Democratic Kampuchea. The continued denial of Democratic Kampuchea's participation in our Conference is indeed unjust and needs to be remedied to ensure that we stand steadfastly in favour of non-alignment. In this connection, my Delegation would like to see this Conference take the necessary steps towards restoring Democratic Kampuchea to its rightful seat. This is a matter of vital importance which my Delegation would urge this Conference to act upon.

The region of Southeast Asia has been a cockpit of big-power rivalries since the early days of colonialism. The effects of such rivalries have created a

psychological division of the region into pockets of varying political orientations from which we have never completely recovered. Such division and orientations continue to characterize the politics of the region today, bolstered by serious ideological differences which make it difficult for nations in the region to pursue the path of peaceful co-existence and co-operation. The events taking place in Kampuchea, which is a manifestation of the various psychological and political orientations, represent a stumbling block to the establishment of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in Southeast Asia, a concept that is completely in accord with the hallowed principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. It is my hope, and a hope that is shared by all the ASEAN members, that the conflict in Kampuchea be politically resolved so that peace and stability can be restored in Southeast Asia.

Madame Chairman, Kampuchea is not the only country that has become the victim of foreign aggression. In 1979, the Soviet Union unleashed its military might on its puny neighbour, Afghanistan. Once again we see a repetition of the disregard for principles that has been so blatantly demonstrated in Kampuchea. The Soviet Union claims to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed, but it had no hesitation about marching into Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular regime. There is only a transparent attempt to hide behind a proxy — but the fact is that Afghanistan is occupied by Soviet troops.

The pattern is clear for all to see. If a neighbour is strong, then the possibility of being occupied is very real. Might is right. If this Movement fails to condemn the Soviet Union, then fear will stalk the little nations situated next to predatory neighbours. Since the end of World War II many of us have gained independence. Many of us have of course been independent a long time. But for how long will we remain independent if we condone the piecemeal snuffing out of little states by big neighbours?

Madame Chairman, it may be that the Soviet Union has bitten off more than it can chew. It may be that they are in a dilemma. But the Soviet Union is big enough to be magnanimous. Afghanistan under whatever regime is no threat to the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union can live with the People's Republic of China as a sworn enemy, surely it can live with all its Central Asian neighbours without resorting to military occupation.

The people of Afghanistan have suffered enough. In the history of Asia they stand out as the only country that successfully resisted the colonizing Europeans. They are an inspiration to all of us. But now they have lost their independence. Now they have to seek refuge outside their borders. Equipped only with obsolete arms, now they have to fight a superpower. Surely these great people deserve better than the fate that has befallen them.

Madame Chairman, I would appeal to the Soviet Union to cease and desist from this dishonourable act. They must be magnanimous. Their friends and indeed the world would honour and respect them if they withdraw their forces from Afghanistan and allow the Afghans to determine their own fate. The United Nations and the Islamic Conference have called for a political solution. We endorse this call wholeheartedly. This Movement can

do no less than to call a halt to Soviet occupation and to let the Afghans have their independence once again.

Madame Chairman, West Asia is another area of serious concern to us. The situation in West Asia remains explosive because of the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories and her premeditated violation of the fundamental principles of the U.N. Charter. The Israeli invasion and occupation of Southern Lebanon and Beirut, and the forced evacuation of the Palestinian freedom fighters from there, is but another manifestation of Israeli intransigence. The massacres at Sabra and Shatila, committed by the Phalangists, with the knowledge and blessing of the Israeli military leaders, shall be remembered in history alongside the horrors of Auschwitz, Dachau, Belsen, and other Nazi concentration camps during the Second World War. It proves that there is no basic difference between the Nazis and the Israelis. If the Israelis had ruled Germany and the Nazis were a minority, the camps of Dachau, Belsen and others would have been filled with different people. As it is, the Palestinians who had nothing to do with the Nazis or Belsen have to pay the price again and again, each time more bloody than before.

The framework for a comprehensive political settlement has been clearly stipulated in the various U.N. resolutions pertaining to Palestine. It is obvious that the key to the solution lies with Israel. Until they withdraw completely and unconditionally from occupied Arab territories including Jerusalem, and until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and exercise self-determination are restored, there will always be instability and wars in West Asia. The initiative taken by the Arab leaders in Fez last year embodies all these key elements and could have provided the necessary impetus for finding a political solution to the problem. Unfortunately, the Israelis chose to reject the proposals outright, reflecting once again their intransigence and total disregard for justice and human rights.

There is no doubt that the mentors of Israel have an obligation to ensure that Israel does not persist with her negative and irresponsible attitudes. These countries have a moral duty to compel Israel to cease and desist from further acts of aggression and violence, and prevail upon her to return to sanity and the ways of civilization. We in the Non-Aligned Movement must continue our perseverance and tenacity until the just cause of the Palestinians is finally attained.

A free and sovereign Palestinian state must be created. To this end the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] cannot be expected to compromise on basic rights and dignity of the people it rightly represents, nor be excluded from any peace process.

My Delegation welcomes the final communiqué of the recently held 16th Session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers in its entirety. May I also take this occasion to offer the sincerest congratulations of the Government and people of Malaysia to Chairman Yasser Arafat on his re-election to the office of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

To Abu Ammar, let me renew the pledge of full support of the Government and people of Malaysia for the just struggle of the people of Palestine.

It is also disconcerting to Malaysia that the war between Iran and Iraq, two members of this Movement, with whom we enjoy close and cordial relations, continues unabated. The conflict has brought untold misery to millions of people and incalculable damage to properties on both sides of the border. Efforts by this Movement to seek a mutually acceptable solution have so far been without success. To avert further loss of lives, Malaysia would like to urge that the mediation efforts be reactivated by this Movement so that a peaceful solution to the conflict could be found.

In the southern tip of the continent of Africa, the inhuman policy of apartheid is still being followed by the whites of South Africa. There is no country that flouts all human values with such arrogance as South Africa. The continued existence of the white regime is an insult to the whole human race. Malaysia abhors the policy of apartheid, and is fully committed to the just cause of the oppressed people in South Africa, in their struggle for equality, justice and dignity. Today, we witness an intensification of armed struggle in that part of the world as the freedom fighters of South Africa seek to free themselves from the shackles of apartheid and oppression. In this regard, my Delegation wishes to pay homage to the valiant fighters for their outstanding qualities of fortitude, patriotism and courage in their just struggle to restore their inalienable rights.

In Namibia, efforts to seek a peaceful settlement in accordance with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 have been frustrated by the Pretoria regime. The present impasse is undeniably caused by South Africa's intransigence and its total lack of commitment to a negotiated settlement, to ensure that the people of Namibia have their full rights to self-determination and independence. My Government has followed the developments taking place in Namibia with great interest, and in this connection, we have publicly stated our willingness to participate in a U.N. peace-keeping force in Namibia should the need arise. In the meantime, it is the duty of us all to support, with renewed vigour, the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO against the Pretoria regime's continued illegal annexation of a trust territory.

Madame Chairman, apart from the oppressive actions that I have mentioned, the situation of the world is being further aggravated by the arms race between the superpowers. Words cannot describe the dangers that the world faces with the accumulation of colossal nuclear arms by both sides. It needs but one madman or one mistake or one bout of nervousness by one man to literally blow up this planet. Yet the race to build up even more destructive weapons continues. Sanity has completely forsaken the leaders of the contending camps. To date, all efforts by the international community to stop this madness have been futile. Even the current disarmament talks between the superpowers have not come to any meaningful conclusion. Malaysia cannot accept the notion that peace and security can be sustained only by a precarious balance of terror. Such a notion denies the premise that



man is a thinking animal. We in the Non-Aligned Movement must not take sides but must urge the rivals in this horrendous game to return to the negotiation table and cease the build-up of nuclear arms.

Madame Chairman, like the oceans and the sea-bed beyond the national jurisdiction of countries, Antarctica, the last undeveloped continent on earth, should be regarded as a common heritage of mankind and not just the exclusive preserve of a few nations that have access to it. It is specifically with this interest in mind that I have urged the United Nations during the 37th General Assembly Session to focus its attention on Antarctica. To us, that distant continent, yet unsettled by man, can, and must, pave the way for genuine international co-operation for the exploitation of its resources to ensure that the benefits would be equitably shared among all nations of the world. Such an international co-operation would also ensure that Antarctica continues to be used for peaceful purposes and not degenerate into a new hot-bed of tension and discord.

My Delegation is aware of existing arrangements on Antarctica which call for the continued demilitarization of Antarctica and a moratorium on all claims. This arrangement, however, is limited in its scope and participation as to be exclusive. In view of this, we need to re-examine the whole question of Antarctica with a view to ensure that we could have an equitable arrangement which will include all the essential elements that I have just mentioned so that we may have a truly universal co-operation on Antarctica under the umbrella of the United Nations similar to the Convention on the Law of the Sea. The U.N. must, therefore, address itself to the issue and re-examine the potentials for a more universal framework of international co-operation on Antarctica, an area that is bigger than China, the U.S. and Mexico put together. In this regard, the support and backing of Non-Aligned Countries is vital if we wish to translate this concept into reality.

Lately, the world economy has been going through a most difficult phase. It has slipped into a state of deep recession, causing absolute despair to developing countries. Among other things, we are confronted today with high interest rates, growing inflation, rising unemployment, mounting protectionism, tumbling commodity prices and a tight squeeze in financial flows. In an age of instant communication, unlimited wealth and inspired application of man and material, we seem incapable of solving even the most simple of economic problems. Indeed we seem to be completely mesmerized, quite unable to extricate ourselves from the quagmire of our own making. For that is what this recession is. It is a man-made recession, cooked up in the capitals of some powerful industrialized countries.

High interest rates, protectionism, the deliberate manipulation of commodity prices through outdated marketing systems and the release of stock-piles, disregard for GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade], refusal to implement the shipping code, the grouping of already powerful nations into exclusive economic blocs, the unilateral changes in the rules are anything but acts of God. They are mere decisions made by men, principally the powerful men in powerful countries. There is no doubt that these

decisions are wrong, that they have led to the economic crisis that we face today.

The industrialized countries should by now have discerned the folly of their policies. I would urge them to reverse these and bring back some order and stability to the limping world economy. I need not stress the desperate need to prevent a total collapse of the world economy. I remain convinced that what man has created, he can surely undo. History will honour those men who are big enough to admit their mistakes and to make amends for them.

Madame Chairman, the North-South Dialogue is no longer the hope of the developing countries. We know now that we cannot squeeze blood from stone. The North is not about to abdicate their role as the aristocrats of the world economies. For as long as the poor economies are incapable of striking back, we are not going to have one bit of concession from them. Therefore let us stop deluding ourselves.

The only real solution to this problem of economic inequality and oppression is to build up our own resilience. If we are poor let us be frugal, let us conserve every little strength and resource that we have so that our needs do not exceed our means. If we are weak, let us unite ourselves into regional or world groups, aiding and trading with each other to the extent that we are capable. If we lack the skills let us acquire them from whatever source available. The process is going to be slow and painful. But it is better that we fall back on our own resources than to place our hopes on understanding and help from the unfeeling North.

Malaysia intends to do this. We have tightened our belts. We intend to live within our means. We co-operate with our neighbours. And we are going further afield, to the South Pacific and to Africa in order to seek meaningful South-South co-operation. Whatever little we have or we know, if we can afford them, we will extend to those who need them. It is our hope that others too will adopt this attitude so that we will not only survive but, God willing, we will one day be free from the economic and technological oppression of an insensitive North.

Madame Chairman, to conclude, may I once again emphasize the need for us, the Non-Aligned Countries, to be more vigilant and introspective, bearing in mind the various external pressures which are brought to bear on our Movement. To strengthen the Movement — to restore our credibility, unity and solidarity — we have no choice, but to reinforce and adhere faithfully to the ideals and principles to which all of us have given our commitment, particularly the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of states, peaceful co-existence and the rejection of the use of force in resolving inter-state disputes. The choice before us is clear. Either we maintain a posture of genuine independence, and work for the strengthening of our Movement, or, we can deviate from this and pursue the role prescribed for us by the superpowers, which would then tear us apart and make a mockery of the ideals and principles that our Movement stands for. This is a

problem that concerns all of us, and we have to be clear now, and agree as to the direction we wish our Movement to follow, and the credibility and strength we desire the Movement to enjoy. I am convinced that this concern is shared by many in this distinguished gathering, and it is solely with the view to strengthen the Movement that I have ventured to make comments, and put forward proposals and ideas which I thought would, as a whole, benefit the Movement.

Thank you.

SOURCE: Prime Minister's Office, Government of Malaysia.

*Statement by Mr S. Rajaratnam, Second Deputy Prime Minister (Foreign Affairs), Republic of Singapore*

It is said that the ancient Mongol Court had a rather disconcerting way of dealing with bearers of unpleasant tidings. The emissary, so we are told, was given a respectful and even attentive hearing after which he was ceremoniously escorted out of the audience chamber by armed guards and then summarily and expeditiously executed. The thinking behind this somewhat unusual conduct was that while stout-hearted rulers could be relied upon to maintain their composure and wits in the face of provocatively unpleasant truths these could well prove fatal to their less robustly constituted subjects. Hence the necessity of promptly eradicating the danger at source and thus ensuring that their people were kept in that state of eternal bliss that only creative ignorance could provide.

Madam Chairman, I thought it prudent to mention this possibly apocryphal Mongol folklore before I respond to your invitation that we should discuss freely and frankly the past performance and future prospects of the Non-Aligned Movement.

I think it would be best to state my conclusions first and then get on with my address for the benefit of those interested in the thought processes that led to my possibly disputable conclusions.

I shall state my assessment of the Non-Aligned Movement in three short sentences. Its past is one of which we can be justly proud. Its present condition however does it no credit. And finally if it persists in its present course, its future will be one of shameful oblivion.

These are my conclusions honestly and regretfully arrived at. I could have, as we have been inclined to in the past, indulged in the self-congratulatory pieties that our protocol demands but I think these pieties even if brought up to date no longer fool us and most certainly not our people or outsiders who quite frankly have given up trying to reconcile our admirable ideals with our less admirable conduct.

The peoples of the world will view this Summit as merely a foregathering of leaders whose pronouncements and rhetoric will not put one extra grain of rice into their near empty rice bowls or a roof over their heads or provide jobs to prop up their fading sense of dignity as human beings. Many of our peoples live off soup kitchens provided largely by some wealthy countries who, some members insist, should be castigated for showing up the parsimoniousness of equally well-to-do but extremely talkative countries. And most important of all this Summit, many people believe, will bring no relief to hundreds of thousands of human beings caught in the tragedies and horrors of fratricidal wars largely fought between non-aligned members.

Nor are the great powers, who once took the Non-Aligned Movement seriously enough to denounce non-alignment as impractical and immoral, today concerned with what we say or do. They find our growing impotency and disarray reassuring and if they are at all interested in us, it is how to exploit our disarray to advantage. At least one of the superpowers is interested in the Movement primarily because of its possible usefulness as a battering ram with which to beat down its rivals. I shall elaborate on this aspect in a little while.

Before I go on to expound in some detail the sorry plight in which the Movement now finds itself, let me also assert that if we as members can summon the necessary will, courage and wisdom the Movement can recover the vigour and sense of purpose it manifested in the early days. None of the dismal prospects I shall outline need happen, if we who really believe in non-alignment can summon the necessary sense of resoluteness and of realism.

To be able to do this we must cease pretending that the Movement is brimming over with vitality and purposefulness and face up boldly to certain developments which presage disaster but from which we avert our gaze lest we give offence to others. Once a movement fuels itself with self-delusions it is, Madam Chairman, a terminal case.

The sickness that afflicts the Movement has economic and political roots. Both are equally important since they are really two sides of the single coin we call "crisis". For a complete understanding of the crisis, both its economic and political aspects should be fully explored.

However, having regard to time constraints I shall concentrate only on the political aspects which if not dealt with promptly and boldly could either destroy the Movement or, what is more probable, lead to its enslavement by one or the other of the great powers who may find other effective but less honourable uses for it.

With your permission, Madam Chairman, I should like to deal with the threat of the possible enslavement of the Movement by one of the superpowers. This threat is neither fanciful nor exaggerated. The destruction or the enslavement of the Non-Aligned Movement had always been the objective of both the superpowers.

It is a fact that when the idea of a Non-Aligned Group was first announced in Bandung in 1955 and then officially launched in Belgrade in 1961, both superpowers angrily denounced the doctrine of non-alignment as

impractical and immoral. The real reason why the two superpowers were hostile to the concept was that the creation of a third group of neutral developing nations not only put severe restraints on great power rivalries but also made these rivalries extremely dangerous for them. The two superpowers had always been aware that an armed conflict between nuclear powers was unthinkable because it meant mutual annihilation. Military technology had deprived war of its traditional and only justifiable goal — the winning of wars. In a nuclear war nobody wins. So the great powers had to develop a new technique of waging and winning wars without the risk of mutual destruction. An obvious way in which great power rivalries could be pursued without unacceptable risks was for both superpowers to elaborate and refine to near perfection the ancient technique of proxy wars.

I shall have more to say on proxy wars in a little while because an understanding of them is crucial to the future of our Movement.

The reason why the two superpowers denounced and tried to destroy the Non-Aligned Movement was that it drastically reduced the available pool of potential proxies. The fewer the number of proxies through whom to wage great power conflicts, the greater the probabilities of direct conflict between superpowers.

But as the membership of the Non-Aligned Movement gradually expanded from about 25 at Belgrade to its present membership of over 100 the objective of destroying the Movement became an increasingly unattainable goal — and it occurred to the great powers a wasteful one as well. Why not, instead, capture it from within and in one fell swoop the victor would have coralled some 100 or more potential proxies. I believe that some time in the seventies the great powers ceased denouncing the Movement as immoral and instead showered it with guarded praise simply because the objective was to capture it alive from within.

To cut a long story short, the United States lost the take-over bid primarily because, I suspect, the Americans are not, unlike their more experienced and dedicated Soviet rivals, particularly good at political conspiracy. This may be because, unlike Soviet conspirators, American conspirators tend to talk too much. In totalitarian systems, we are told, even citizens who do not normally conspire tend to be secretive and uncommunicative, while in Western democracies even conspiracy has to be open. So, in the seventies the Soviets were particularly careful to make the necessary genuflections before the Non-Aligned altar. In fact, Soviet professions of esteem and even awe before the Non-Aligned Movement assumed embarrassing dimensions. If there was censure it was more in the spirit of a fond husband rebuking his spouse for casting covetous glances in the direction of obscenely affluent capitalist-imperialist rivals.

But the high regard the Soviets outwardly manifested for the Movement was in fact akin to the gesture of an atheistic politician in a Catholic country taking care to ostentatiously and noisily kiss the Pope's ring.

The fulsome praise and regard the Soviets have shown does not stem from a genuine respect for and belief in non-alignment but springs from an

understandable concern to preserve the good name of an establishment they intend to take over.

What authority have I for asserting that the Soviets do not, in fact, believe in non-alignment and that they contemplate, if they can, its hijacking.

My authorities are impeccable. They are *Pravda* and the Soviet journal, *New Times*. Even Soviet conspirators can occasionally talk too much.

Let me quote an extract from a *Pravda* editorial of 8 February 1981. The *Pravda* is not a frivolous or a privately owned paper reflecting the idiosyncratic views of its irrelevant proprietors. It is an establishment paper reflecting the considered views and aims of a powerful Soviet ruling class.

This is what it says:

Sanctimonious ideas have been imposed on the non-aligned countries such as that the non-aligned movement should keep an equal distance from the two opposing social systems — imperialism and socialism — and that instead of opposing imperialism and colonialism, resistance to the policy or alignment should be given top consideration.

The Soviet leaders clearly regard non-alignment as “sanctimonious” delusion. They also claim that this bit of “sanctimony” was imposed. Since, as far as I know, the belief in non-alignment preceded the formation of the Movement itself, I do not see how non-alignment could have been imposed on it, unless it was self-imposed.

A *New Times* article which appeared two days earlier made even more interesting disclosures as to the inner thinking of the Soviet establishment about the Non-Aligned Movement and how the Soviet leaders proposed to harness it to serve their foreign policy interests.

After describing as “untenable” the non-aligned doctrine of keeping an equal distance between “the Warsaw Pact Organisation and Nato” it disclosed how this “sanctimonious” idea of non-involvement in great power rivalries was being rectified from within the Movement. It revealed that “those countries taking the progressive direction are the true motor of the non-aligned movement . . . . Though they are a small number they are playing an important role”.

I think, Madam Chairman, we are getting closer to one of the major sources of the disarray within the Movement which sorely troubled you, as it does many of us and which you requested we should explore frankly and sincerely.

The two journals which faithfully mirror the thinking of Soviet leaders and one of which provides guidelines for Soviet disciples abroad throw light on certain trends within the Movement which might have escaped the notice of some of us.

Both journals make clear the following facts.

*Fact Number One:* The Soviet Union considers non-alignment a “sanctimonious” self-delusion.

*Fact Number Two:* That resistance by some of us (fortunately at present

the vast majority) to alignment with the Soviet Union is a bit of political tomfoolery that should be corrected.

*Fact Number Three:* Towards this end there is within the Movement a “motor” which has been programmed to take it in a “progressive” direction — that is towards a redeeming alliance with the Soviet Union.

*Fact Number Four:* The motor, at the moment, is small but nevertheless, we are assured by the *New Times*, it is playing an “important role”.

In other words, Madam Chairman, we are witnesses to our own slow-motion hijacking and if we do not wake up to this fact and do something to abort it then the ship of non-alignment and all those who sail in it may wake up one day to find that they have docked in a Soviet port.

In picking on the Soviet Union, I am not exonerating the other superpower from entertaining equally hostile attitudes and ambitions towards the Movement. But as of now I see no evidence of a United States bid to hijack the Movement. As far as I know nobody has been bold enough or mad enough to float the counter idea of the United States as the “natural ally” of the Non-Aligned Movement.

How, it may be asked, can a minority take over a movement of 101 members, the vast majority of whom are against the movement aligning itself with any great power? History has shown repeatedly that a determined minority can take over the reins from an acquiescent majority. I am not saying it will happen. All I am saying is that it could happen.

In two instances in recent times this minority has thwarted the wishes of the majority in the Movement.

The first instance related to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Non-Aligned Movement has so far been more evasive than even the United Nations in its judgement of the armed intervention by a superpower in the affairs of a member of this Movement. It is a tribute to the incredible horsepower the small motor implanted within the Non-Aligned Movement could generate. So the *New Times* was not indulging in idle boasting when it claimed that a minority was the “true motor” of our Movement.

The other instance relates to Kampuchea. I do not propose to deal at length with the problem of Kampuchea except to point out that what some members insist on treating as the so-called Havana decision, if left unreversed, could pave the way for a smooth and trouble-free hijacking of the Movement by a minority on behalf of its benefactor.

The technique employed in Havana was incredibly smooth, swift and simple. One member, in this instance the outraged aggressor, raised objection to the presence at the Sixth Summit of its victim, Democratic Kampuchea, which before the invasion had not only attended all non-aligned meetings but its leader, the unlovable Pol Pot, had been the recipient of many valedictory fraternal greetings from the aggressor.

The aggressor, incidentally, is a believer in the doctrine that the Soviet Union is the “natural ally” of non-alignment.

The victim, unfortunately for it, was of a contrary persuasion.

In the face of this predictable objection, the host government, without

seeking a consensus from members, obliged by declaring the seat vacant.

The host government, coincidentally, also subscribes to the thesis that the Soviet Union is the "natural ally" of non-alignment.

The evicted member was not called upon to show cause why he should not be flung out presumably because the chairman decided that an objection in itself was sufficient proof of the unworthiness of the objectee to be a member.

So with one swift blow, a victim who did not have the foresight to belong to what the *New Times* described as the progressive camp was conveniently disposed of.

There is no hope on earth of Democratic Kampuchea ever regaining its seat simply because, according to the previous chairman, though a consensus is not required for unseating it is indispensable for the reseating of a member.

So if the Havana decision is given the status of a precedent then a determined minority with the aid of co-operative hosts could purge the Movement of troublesome unbelievers and, as *New Times* and *Pravda* demand, steer the Non-Aligned Movement in an aligned direction. There would be no need to purge the Movement of all believers in non-alignment. Enough of them should remain to give the captured movement respectability, provided they remain an acquiescent majority.

Once the Non-Aligned Movement has been captured, new vistas open for proliferation of proxy wars fought to the last Third World soldier.

Admittedly, proxy wars are rarely engineered by great powers. They merely convert wars which rise spontaneously and independently into proxy wars. Today, any and all conflicts between small nations can be and will be converted into proxy wars. It is my belief that the Third World War will not be a cataclysmic, single encounter between the great powers. The probabilities of that happening are very small because the great nuclear powers know that such a clash would entail mutual annihilation.

The Third World War will, in fact, be a protracted series of proxy wars fought by small nations with arms sold or supplied as gifts on behalf of great powers.

If this is correct then the Third World War has already begun. It began long ago. It has been estimated that since 1945 some 135 wars of varying intensity and duration have been fought. They involved more than 85 countries and are responsible for casualties that far exceeded those of World War II. All these wars without exception have been fought outside the Western world and outside the major industrial countries. In fact, the European nations have for the first time in their violent history seen nearly four decades pass without one European war.

With the exception of the wars in Korea, Vietnam and now in Afghanistan, all the wars since 1945 have been between Third World countries. The wounded, the dead, the sick and the refugees are all from the Third World. As of now there are some 29 recent and ongoing disputes ranging from confrontations which could degenerate into wars to armed conflicts between Third World countries. The percentage increase in arms



expenditure is rising faster in Third World countries than in developed countries. All these wars are fought with weapons bought largely from half a dozen or so industrial nations which manufacture these sophisticated weapons. Most of the arms sold are weapons which had become obsolete and which, in a more peaceful world, the major powers would have thrown into the sea or allowed to rust away in military dumps.

Let us frankly face up to the fact that most Third World countries today live not in fear, as current mythology has it, of a return of Western imperialism but in fear of Third World neighbours, near and far away, with military ambitions. Rectification of real and imagined frontiers, the resurrection of vanished empires whether actual or invented, the righting of ancient wrongs and the avenging of still more ancient defeats, the lust for loot and domination over weaker peoples or simply the need to distract the populace from growing domestic discontents are among the many and varied causes which fuel Third World Wars and which provide opportunities for great powers to launch proxy wars.

Though the Third World is by and large poor it spent US\$80 billion on arms in 1981. Some of it was for normal defence purposes but steep increase in arms expenditure was largely prompted by fear of Third World aggressions launched either on their own behalf or on behalf of their financiers.

So if the Non-Aligned Movement is to maintain its integrity and fulfill the great role the founding fathers assigned to it then one of our major responsibilities is to consider ways and means of preventing proliferation of armed conflicts in the Third World. Prevention of such wars is clearly not an easy task but the alternative is our eventual enslavement as proxies for great powers. Once you become a proxy you become a willing or unwilling mercenary. You fight your wars on borrowed strength. Without a steady flow of extremely sophisticated and increasingly expensive weapons from great powers the proxy is bereft of strength to carry on his war. The great power can regulate the course of war, increase or decrease its intensity, and prolong or terminate it at will by controlling the flow of arms.

The converse is also true. Without Third World conflicts, there can be no proxies for great powers to recruit and manipulate. There can be no great power conflicts either.

But clearly, every Third World country must be assured of security. I have no easy answer as to how this can be achieved cheaply and without our being trapped into becoming great power proxies.

One possibly controversial solution is for those Third World countries genuinely concerned only with their defence to call upon great powers to collectively guarantee their security and territorial integrity. This is not as far-fetched as it may seem because the United States as well as the Soviet Union had at various times proposed such collective security arrangements, but unfortunately always in the context of great-power rivalry. There has even been bilateral defence arrangements such as that between the United States and Japan and Treaties of Friendship and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and individual countries, both communist and non-

communist. I see many practical and political difficulties but it is a solution worth exploring.

The alternative is to attempt military self-sufficiency which for poor Third World countries is in practice unattainable, and the attempt to achieve it must mean economic ruin and the start of a disastrous arms race in the Third World. Military technology is changing so fast and becoming so expensive and sophisticated that keeping up-to-date by ceaseless purchase of even obsolete second- and third-generation weapons must mean economic ruin for the overwhelming majority of Third World countries.

The question of peace in the Third World is primarily a matter for Third World countries to resolve. But not wholly. We need the co-operation and support of the great powers who can by virtue of their wealth, power and monopoly of military technology magnify Third World conflicts into ruinous proxy wars or abort them into brief relatively harmless encounters.

I would suggest the following guidelines for our Movement:

(a) In any aggression, the aggressor must be presumed to be guilty unless he can prove beyond all reasonable doubt that he had justification for his warlike act. This is not always the case in our Movement.

(b) In the case of such an aggression, our verdict on it must not be coloured by some gratifying back-door deal made with the aggressor or his wealthy patron or both.

(c) We should start off with the proposition that the legal frontiers of any country are those that obtained when the member was admitted into the United Nations and that any attempt to rectify them by force of arms merits automatic censure.

(d) No member of this organization is justified committing aggression just because it feels an irresistible impulse to liberate other people from real or imaginary oppression, barbarities or from presumed neo-colonialism. These are matters best left to the people of that country.

(e) The clear repudiation by this Movement that any superpower is the natural ally of non-alignment.

The guidelines could be lengthened but if our Movement could adhere strictly to these five, then a start towards peace would have been made.

The proposals I have put forward, I will concede, are possibly impractical and naive. But the day one of us becomes the victim of aggression, on that day the practicality and relevance of these guidelines would become self-evident truths — but a revelation too late if not enshrined as fundamental laws of our Movement.

SOURCE: Singapore Government Press Release, Information Division, Ministry of Culture, Government of Singapore.

*Address by Pham Van Dong, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*

Madam Chairman,  
Distinguished Heads of State or Government, Excellencies,

It is indeed a great honour for us all that this historic gathering should take place in New Delhi, capital of the great Republic of India. In this city, as early as 1947, upon Jawaharlal Nehru's initiative, nearly 20 countries from all over the Asian continent met to express their militant solidarity round the cause of national independence and voice their dream of a world of peace, friendship and co-operation. With the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955, followed in 1961 by the first conference of the Non-Aligned Movement convened in Belgrade and later by the summit conferences in Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo, Havana and today once again in New Delhi, successive milestones on the movement's course of growth were laid in close connection with developments that altogether altered the face of the Asian, African and Latin American continents.

In this very city of New Delhi, in 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, this great son of the Indian people, announced far- and deep-reaching concepts regarding non-alignment that until now have proved relevant to the trend of the movement. Jawaharlal Nehru stressed that "our foreign policy of non-alignment has this positive aspect of peace" and pointed out that the other positive aspects are the "replacement of colonialism by free and independent countries and a larger degree of cooperation among nations".

Jawaharlal Nehru added that we, the non-aligned countries "are not committed to the military blocs". This means that we are prepared to welcome new horizons in keeping with the will and aspirations of the people of our countries and the evolution of history.

Cradle of a culture that has given birth to noble spiritual values and marvellous works of art, crucible of the Mahabarata and Ramayana epics and of laborious and valiant workers, homeland of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore, India is a country that has made important contributions to the nations' peace, independence and freedom on this continent and in the world. India is steadily developing her economy and culture and solving many highly difficult problems that face a large country. The green revolution in India has allowed a fast growth in the productivity and the production of food grain, thus for the essential putting an end to the age-old food shortage. India's industry with a potential and with achievements ranking tenth in the world has attained an advanced level in a number of important sectors and is steadily making headway. India has obtained results of international stature in a few modern scientific and technical branches, and recorded significant cultural and artistic achievements. To us, developing countries, this represents a cause for rejoicing.

We hold in high consideration the extraordinary efforts exerted by India that made thorough preparations for this conference within but a short time.

On behalf of the people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of

Vietnam, I would like to convey warm greetings to President Zail Singh and to the Government and the great people of India. Our wishes of best success go to the new chairlady of the Non-Aligned Movement in the discharge of her noble mission.

As everyone knows, in the recent past, international reactionaries have spared no efforts to undermine the Non-Aligned Movement and attack the country chairing the movement. This is quite easy to understand. The resolutions of the Sixth Summit Conference in Havana provided a correct and comprehensive expression of the Movement's objectives. The Republic of Cuba did not disappoint us in the trust we placed in this heroic country. Faithful to the resolutions of the Sixth Summit Conference, resolutely preserving the internal unity of the Movement, and showing full consideration for the aspirations and respect for the opinions of member states, Cuba and President Fidel Castro have, in the last three years, successfully taken the Non-Aligned Movement through a most critical phase and ensured its continued growth. It is during that period precisely that on the strength of its fine tradition the Non-Aligned Movement passed resolutions severely condemning the forces of aggression, strongly defending national independence and national liberation, and making an active contribution to the solution of the great problems of our times. In her position as chairman of the movement, Cuba mobilized the non-aligned countries in the endeavour to rise out of poverty and backwardness and make constant progress on the path of economic and cultural development, and evolution towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

We express cordial appreciation to President Fidel Castro for his highly responsible activities in his capacity as Chairman of our Movement over the last three years and for the important contributions made by glorious Cuba.

Madam Chairman, in the history of mankind, from the middle of the sixteenth century, through hundreds of years down to the twentieth, took place the conquest and exploitation by Western capitalist countries of colonies everywhere from the old to the "new world".

In the course of this conquest and exploitation, they constantly resorted to most evil manoeuvres and perpetrated countless bloody crimes.

For several centuries, the oppressed peoples have successively stood up in struggle, determined to reconquer and defend their independence and freedom, thereby writing glorious pages of history and setting shining examples of bravery, staunch will and indomitability. In the early years of the twentieth century, with the success of the Russian October Revolution, mankind's history underwent extremely significant developments. The national liberation movement broadened and after the Second World War swelled up tremendously on all continents: over a hundred countries regained their independence, leading to the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Since its foundation, the Non-Aligned Movement experienced a fast growth and gradually became a force endowed with a major position, significance and impact on the whole development of mankind.

The world situation today demonstrates imperialism's decline and

deepening engulfment in an all-embracing political, economic, cultural and spiritual crisis whereas our Non-Aligned Movement represents the mounting forces and embodies the necessary trend of history.

At present, we are on the whole poor, some of us very poor, countries. At the same time, we are backward in the field of economy, science and technology. This is an abnormal situation, the very cause of which we have to expose so as to draw relevant conclusions for our activities.

From this forum, we expose the deep root and the direct cause of this state of affairs as being precisely the many century-long oppression and exploitation by colonialism and imperialism as well as the continuing neo-colonialist policy that is being carried out thanks to pernicious manoeuvres. Right in Western societies, this truth is acknowledged by clear-sighted people, people with a conscience; progressive mankind stands by our side against the former and present policy of subjugation and exploitation that widens further the economic, scientific and technological gap between us and the developed capitalist countries.

The need arises here to restore a historical truth. Many countries among us have been from ancient times the cradle of brilliant civilizations and the source of great contributions to the development of mankind. Our own research workers as well as those from the West continue discovering new features in the ancient cultural patrimony of many of our countries.

In today's world we are developing countries in the finest and most positive sense of this concept. The Non-Aligned Movement as a whole, as well as each one of our countries, are looking ahead with the determination to reconquer and preserve national independence. On this basis we are vigorously moving forward in the political, economic, cultural and social fields.

Our history of long arduous fight and construction proves that we are nations generously endowed with courage, intelligence, creative talent and also abundant manpower and rich resources. By relying on the forces of each respective country as well as the aggregate forces of the whole movement, while at the same time promoting co-operation with the socialist countries, the international organizations and the progressive circles within Western countries, we are certain to succeed in the task of consolidating our national independence, overcoming our poverty and eliminating our economic, scientific and technological underdevelopment, and of building ours into prosperous countries with a comfortable and happy life for the people and creating a truly civilized way of life and fine human relations. This many countries in our movement are doing and most of us will be doing.

In the context of imperialism's decline and deep engulfment in the crisis contrasting with the constant growth of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and progress in the world, the imperialist powers are resorting to manoeuvres both subtler and more pernicious with a view to intensifying their arms race, war preparations, intervention and aggression, stepping up their economic exploitation and coercion, thus confronting our movement and the whole mankind with extremely serious challenges. Such a situation requires that we prove all the more steadfast and clear-sighted,

determined to strive perseveringly for the realization of the highly topical overall objectives of the whole Movement as well as of each country among us, which are the defence of peace, the safeguard of national independence and the establishment of a new, fair and reasonable international economic order. The whole Movement and each of our countries have to show a full awareness and staunch will and take appropriate measures with a view to making our greatest possible contribution to the solution of these most crucial and pressing problems.

Together with the peace forces of the world, our Movement actively supports all initiatives aimed at putting an end to the arms race, achieving disarmament, defending world peace and *détente*, against the adventurist, warlike policy of U.S. imperialism and international reactionary forces that is creating dangers of war in many regions and confronting mankind with the catastrophe of nuclear war.

With the close co-ordination existing within our ranks, side by side with the other democratic and progressive forces, our Movement firmly supports the struggle for self-determination and the defence of the nations' independence and sovereignty against all manoeuvres of neo-colonialism aimed at maintaining their domination and exploitation of many countries.

Our Movement is broadening South-South co-operation in the fields of economy and science and technology. South-South co-operation is a great cause of our Movement, a cause of pressing topical significance. All of our countries have to strive perseveringly toward a multiform co-operation through effective measures, covering many areas and aiming at realistic objectives. On the basis of a strengthened South-South co-operation, we shall proceed towards initiating global negotiations on North-South relations focused on pressing issues, i.e. how to develop the production of food, grain and energy, ensure equitable terms of trade, increase sources of investment capital for the developing countries, thus paving the way for the establishment of a new international economic order, against the designs of U.S. imperialism and imperialist countries to continue imposing unequal relations, plundering our national resources and exerting economic coercion on us. [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 1430 GMT on 8 March carries a version of this address that here adds the following sentence: "These tasks, which we can fulfill, have been and are being carried out by the majority of our countries."] At this point, I would like to recall Madagascar's proposals that were welcomed by the Sixth Summit in Havana.

In order to fulfill these highly significant tasks what imports most and demands our foremost and constant concern is that our Non-Aligned Movement should strengthen its solidarity and unity. We are all fully aware of the acts of division carried out by imperialist powers and international reactionaries according to their traditional motto of "divide and rule".

Naturally, due to the fact that our Movement encompasses a very large number of countries differing in many aspects, there exist inevitable divergences and even disputes round a few problems within the Movement as well as a few international issues. However, these divergences and disputes

are but minor compared with the common interests of our countries in the face of the challenges that imperialism is posing to the whole Movement. It is entirely within our capability and indeed a duty for us to resolve together our internal problems through negotiations so as to reach an agreement or an acceptable settlement. Our customary approach consists in reaching a consensus over issues inscribed in the agenda of our various organizations. This is a clear-sighted and tested way of proceeding that helps safeguard the unity of the Movement. Let all of us close ranks in unity, help one another and coordinate our efforts in the struggle for the common objectives, not allowing the Movement to deviate from its orientation and interests.

Looking back over the twenty-two-year span since the foundation of the Movement, we feel all the more confident in our victory. The Non-Aligned Movement and each of our countries in particular, have grown at the same pace with mankind, and are animated by the invincible strength of history on the rise as it advances on the path of national, social and individual liberation. Just like India, Cuba, Algeria and many other countries, Vietnam is striving along this direction and we are convinced that all countries within the Movement do so, too.

The Vietnamese people have gone through decades of endeavours and sacrifices in order to liberate their country and build a new life. President Ho Chi Minh has stated: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom". This is a manifestation of the Vietnamese people's most powerful and deepest resolve, in accordance with the earnest aspiration of all peoples in the world and with the truth of our times. Imperialists and international reactionaries are seeking by all means to encircle and undermine Vietnam so as to "bleed" her. They are trying by all means to tarnish Vietnam's image in the mind of mankind. Our Vietnamese people show all the more determination in doing their utmost to foil all schemes and acts of the enemy, to overcome all obstacles, firmly defend their independence, freedom and territorial integrity, successfully carry out their economic and cultural development tasks and shoulder to shoulder with the other members of the Non-Aligned Movement struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress throughout the world.

Madam Chairman, at present, peace is the most important and urgent need of each of us and of the whole mankind. Therefore the struggle for peace represents our foremost and most topical task.

The successive peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the proposals put forward by Sweden, India and the non-aligned countries regarding disarmament and the relaxation of tension in international relations all arise from an attitude of high responsibility towards the destiny of mankind. We wholly endorse the peace initiatives of the conference of the Warsaw Pact Countries' Political Consultative Committee held in Prague.

We support the aspirations of the countries who wish to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and demand that the U.S. dismantle its military bases in the Indian Ocean. We back Mauritius in its demand for the retrieval of its sovereignty over the Chagos archipelago among which is Diego Garcia.

We stand consistently and resolutely on the side of Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against the subjugation, domination and exploitation by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism, hegemonism, racial discrimination and all other forms of oppression.

It is with utmost indignation that we condemn the most barbarous crimes committed by the Israeli aggressors against the Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab peoples. U.S. imperialism which supplies the Zionists with weapons and planned the aggression, must bear responsibility for these awful crimes. The just cause of the Palestinian people whose sole legitimate representative is the PLO, along with that of the other Arab peoples, is weathering major difficulties and making progress. It will certainly wrest final victory.

We extend our resolute support to the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], to the struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress against the brutal domination of colonialism and apartheid. The South African aggressors must put an immediate end to their attacks and policies of hostility and aggression towards Mozambique, Angola and the other front-line states. We support the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic under the leadership of the Polisario front in the struggle for the realization of their fundamental national rights.

U.S. imperialism's policy of intervention and threat of aggression represents the cause of the situation of tension and a menace to the independence and revolution of the Central American and Caribbean countries. We resolutely demand that the U.S. terminate its policy of hostility directed against Cuba and return to the latter the Guantanamo base. We give full support to the heroic struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Surinam, Panama, Guyana, Argentina and the fraternal countries in Latin America for national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, and social progress.

Our determined support goes to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the heroic Afghan people who, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, are fighting against the undeclared war waged by imperialism and international reaction, for the safeguard of the April revolution gains. We sternly demand that the U.S. withdraw its troops from South Korea and put an immediate end to its intervention and subversion directed against other Asian countries.

Madam Chairman, through the past few decades, the three Indochinese countries have united closely, staunchly striving and wresting glorious victory in the reconquest of their independence and freedom and in building their countries in keeping with each respective country's characteristics. At present, the expansionists and hegemonists within the Chinese ruling circles acting in collusion with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces, are carrying on their policy of hostility and their multi-faceted acts of sabotage against the three Indochinese countries, the most serious being directed specially against Kampuchea.



In the face of such a situation, recently the Laos-Kampuchea-Vietnam summit conference was held in Vientiane with a view to strengthening the solidarity and co-operation among these three countries in their national construction and defence. With regard to the situation in Kampuchea, the conference underscored the need to eliminate all danger of interference from outside so that the Kampuchean people may pursue their revival and proceed towards a normal life, and the volunteers from the Vietnamese army may totally withdraw on the basis of the treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation signed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The statements of the conference constitute an important contribution to peace in Southeast Asia, a manifestation of the Indo-chinese countries' goodwill, of their desire to establish relations of peace, friendship and co-operation with the ASEAN countries, to normalize relations with China and to maintain permanent and sincere friendship ties with the Chinese people. We are convinced that with the goodwill and endeavour of all parties, peace and stability will finally be restored in the Southeast Asian region.

Once again, allow me on behalf of the Government and People of Vietnam to convey our sincere thanks to all brothers and friends within the Non-Aligned Movement and over the five continents for the support they have granted to our just cause.

Madam Chairman, let all our delegations join efforts in striving for the fine success of this summit conference thus paving the way for new victories of the Non-Aligned Movement. We all express our respect and our thanks to Cuba and President Fidel Castro for the brilliant discharge of their mandate. All of us warmly welcome and voice full confidence in India and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in their capacity as new chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

May our Seventh Summit mark a new growth of the Movement on the basis of our strengthened solidarity and endeavour to achieve the major objectives which are peace, national independence and the setting up of a new international economic order.

Through several decades, then from Havana to New Delhi and for the years to come, the torch of the Non-Aligned Movement has been, is and will be continuously burning bright, illuminating and energizing billions of men resolved as one in the endeavour to change their own lives with all the broad and deep significance that this implies, thus contributing to the renewal of the lives of the world people, i.e., men's emergence from the life of slaves to that of masters of their own fate. Thank you, Madam Chairman and all of your excellencies for your attention.