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President: Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 131

Solemn observance of the twentieth anniversary of the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call first on the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The General Assembly is commemorating an event of historic importance today. The non-aligned movement, which assumed concrete shape 20 years ago, has been one of the great forces directing the world's political evolution in our age. This meeting is a recognition of the continuing relevance of that movement and of its close and co-operative relationship with the United Nations.

3. Over the years, I have had the privilege of addressing summit conferences of non-aligned countries held at Algiers, Colombo and Havana in September 1973, August 1976 and September 1979, respectively, and also the commemorative meeting at New Delhi last February. To my mind, it has been a striking feature of all these conferences that the dominant concerns which they have reflected are also, by and large, those of the United Nations. This convergence of aims arises not only from the fact that the non-aligned countries constitute a majority of the membership of the Organization; I believe that it also stems from the unchanging commitment of those countries to the strengthening of the Organization as the pivotal element for maintaining international peace with justice.

4. The deep and powerful urge which gave birth to the non-aligned movement was that of asserting the independence and freedom of choice of the majority of nations. Along with this, however, there was also the impelling realization that it is not only the major Powers which can exercise decisive influence in the shaping of international relations. The founders of the movement showed convincingly that the medium and small Powers also could, by joining together, take initiatives for positive international action. The subsequent course of world affairs has amply confirmed this perception.

5. Decolonization, which has been the outstanding achievement of the international community in our time, provides the classic example of the capacity of the United Nations to bring about peaceful change. Evidently, this

accomplishment would not have been possible without the vigorous backing of the non-aligned countries. Thanks to it, we have a world Organization today vastly more representative, in both its membership and its concerns, than what existed 20 years ago.

6. Another important contribution of the non-aligned movement has been in the closely related field of promoting development through greater equity in international economic relations. It is with the support—indeed, on the initiative—of non-aligned countries that this issue has been brought to the forefront of the world's agenda. The United Nations has been able to play a major role in mobilizing world public opinion in favour of establishing a just international economic order. There exists a widespread consciousness today that the lack of balance in economic relations between industrial and developing States is a source of chronic instability which hampers the progress of all.

7. In addition to its part in relation to these goals of far-reaching historic importance, the non-aligned movement has been very helpful in promoting greater dialogue and interchange between States across regions, continents and ideological frontiers.

8. I believe that on this occasion we are entitled to take stock of the significant progress that has been made during the past 20 years. At the same time, however, we have to recognize the manifold perils in the present world situation. I need hardly narrate here the list of our unresolved problems—some of them of the utmost gravity. Explosive conflicts persist in many regions of the world. We witness a world plagued by violence and terrorism. There is a dangerous drift towards mutual suspicion and discord. The process of détente has suffered severe setbacks, and the cause of disarmament is in jeopardy. The world's monetary and economic relations are under increasing strain. The dialogue on economic and development issues has yet to bear fruit in global negotiations.

9. When the non-aligned movement was first launched, there was a polarization of the world into two hostile camps. The founders of the movement rightly perceived that this division entailed incalculable dangers for peace and stability. In advocating non-alignment, however, they also sought a positive approach by the greatest Powers to their mutual relationships. Such an approach is desperately necessary for averting the fearsome possibilities of the arms race going out of control and engulfing the world in dangers which it cannot survive.

10. The picture we see at present is admittedly bleak. In confronting it, however, I believe that our reaction should consist of a fresh resolve to make use of the means we have developed over the years for dealing with our problems through dialogue and preventive diplomacy. We have no reason for despair, but we do have ample reason to pose the question to ourselves whether we are making the most constructive use of the instrument we have forged in the United Nations for overcoming the inevitable stresses and strains of international affairs.

11. No political organization can remain effective if it loses its dynamism or if its engagement in the great issues of our time exerts only a marginal influence. To maintain the effectiveness of the United Nations, as well as the positive role of the non-aligned movement, it is of the utmost importance that Member States resolve to take full advantage of the Organization for achieving solutions of complex and intractable problems. This demands a steadfast application of political will, as well as strict adherence to the principles of the Charter. Furthermore, it requires a renewed effort to overcome the enormous disparity between the affluent nations and the hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America who suffer from poverty, hunger and lack of hope.

12. Those are the real, ultimate tests of the efficacy of our endeavour. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the founders of the non-aligned movement, who helped to intensify an awareness of the urgency of these goals. The names of Nehru, Nasser, Tito, Nkrumah and Sukarno are fresh in our minds. We pay their memory our heartfelt tribute and voice the trust and confidence that the movement will remain determined in its pursuit of the aims they placed before us all. They sought an invigorated world organization which can indeed save humanity from the scourge of war, provide real hope for the weak and the under-privileged and effectively promote the common interests of peoples around the globe. The present occasion should make us rededicate ourselves to this higher aim.

13. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I now call on the representative of Yugoslavia, Mr. Ilija Topaloski.

14. Mr. TOPALOSKI (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): This meeting of the General Assembly is devoted to an event which took place 20 years ago and marked a turning-point in the history of our times. Distinguished statesmen from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe founded the non-aligned movement at that time, thus fulfilling the aspirations of their peoples and creating the necessary conditions for the advent of a new era in international relations. The observance of this anniversary in the United Nations represents an act of recognition for all the countries of the world which adopted as the foundation of their foreign policy the principles stemming from non-alignment. This is a confirmation and an act of recognition which demonstrate not only our satisfaction but also our awareness of the increase of our common responsibility in the face of the extremely complex tasks of our movement.

15. I feel it a particular honour to have the opportunity to stress the great importance which the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia attaches to the decision of the General Assembly to observe the twentieth anniversary of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade. At the same time, I should like to say how honoured and pleased I am to have this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, that is, on behalf of the country which served as host of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as on behalf of the European countries which follow this policy.

16. Attentive historians of political events have noted—quite rightly, incidentally—that we must follow the difficult and arduous path of the birth of the great ideas of non-alignment up to their adoption by a large number of

countries. These ideas were born in the tortured years following the Second World War, when mankind was once again confronted with danger—this time that of a nuclear conflict between the two blocs. It was at that time that the leaders of countries which had won their independence and freedom by wars of national liberation and by their own revolutions against the former socio-economic relations, and the leaders of countries which emerged on the world scene following the destruction of the colonial system, had to face up to a particularly difficult situation—I would even say an historical dilemma: to accept the division of the world into blocs and thus sacrifice the ideals for which they had fought, or to mobilize all their available forces in order to create a movement which would seek solutions of the basic problems of our time on a new basis, that is, outside the structures of existing blocs. The Bandung Conference¹ was the first expression of the readiness of countries to embrace this second option, to reject the idea of a world divided into blocs. It was in those circumstances that the first consultations between Presidents Tito, Nehru and Nasser were held; they aroused great interest and won the support of other Heads of State of countries not belonging to any bloc. After careful preparations which involved a wide-ranging and an in-depth exchange of views, the first conference of non-aligned countries took place at Belgrade. It brought together 25 countries, as well as representatives of liberation movements and progressive parties from various parts of the world.

17. I should like to recall that our movement includes at present some 100 countries, representing approximately two thirds of the membership of the United Nations. However, the impressive record of the movement so far is to be expressed not solely in an increase in numbers but also in the results it has achieved as an irreplaceable, independent and non-bloc factor in the development of international relations, as a force which is making a vast contribution to solving the conflicts in the world today and also to the struggle for safeguarding peace and the democratization of political and economic international relations.

18. The policy of non-alignment is a sound foundation for the freedom and independence not only of the countries which are members of the movement but also of all developing countries; it is a powerful factor in the struggle against imperialism, against trends towards the division of the world, against hegemony and against all other forms of foreign domination. The policy of non-alignment is a faithful and sure ally of the liberation movements in their struggle against slavery, against the last remnants of colonialism, against racism, *apartheid* and exploitation.

19. The non-aligned countries vigorously reject military intervention, threats to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries, interference in internal affairs, any attempt to deny the right of every country to enjoy its own development, and methods of pressure and destabilization. Essentially, the policy of non-alignment is aimed at consistent implementation of the principles and objectives of the United Nations; it is directed against any tendency to diminish the role of the United Nations. The position of non-aligned countries is very clearly expressed in their firm view that the United Nations should be an irreplaceable instrument for peace and international co-operation.

20. On the occasion of the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, the President

of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Sergej Krajer, stressed in particular that:

“The importance, the magnitude and the vitality of the Belgrade Conference are constantly being confirmed. What is undoubtedly most important is the fact that its participants, clearly observing the historical inevitability of the deep national, social, political and economic emancipation of the peoples of the world, made it abundantly clear, in this difficult period of the cold war, that the division of the world into military and political blocs and the confrontation between the great Powers over their spheres of influence and political interests were a threat to the peace and freedom of peoples. They declared that they were convinced of the necessity to oppose this division with a policy of peace and active coexistence of peoples and States, independent of differences in social systems, thus awakening mankind to the hope for a possible course of development different from that which would be burdened by rivalries between blocs and Powers.”

At the end of his statement, President Sergej Krajer said:

“We are profoundly convinced, as we have so often stressed in the past, that the times in which we live, through the laws of social and economic development, open ever-broader fields for the carrying out of the policy of non-alignment, for the ideals and objectives underlying it. If we want to avoid a cataclysm, the world sooner or later will have to take the path of peace, cooperation and development of every kind for the benefit of all peoples and all men.”

21. Because of the solemn nature of this meeting of the General Assembly I cannot, unfortunately, dwell more broadly on concrete aspects of the policy of non-alignment. Nevertheless, I feel that it is worth recalling that our movement was from the very outset exposed to external pressures and violent propaganda campaigns, the purpose of which was to diminish its role and make its potential available to bloc interests. In fact, all the pressure exerted on the non-aligned countries, as well as the gloomy prognostications about the future of the movement, only reflected the more or less veiled desires and aspirations of their protagonists.

22. It is true that the movement has encountered certain difficulties in its development, and we have never tried to deny this. We have witnessed erroneous interpretations of the original principles of non-alignment as well as serious conflicts and even wars among non-aligned countries. That is why it is vitally necessary and more and more urgent to secure the effective commitment of all member countries in order to transcend our present difficulties and to strengthen the unity of action of our movement. The non-aligned countries have always been able to find the necessary strength to solve their own problems, and there is no doubt that they will do the same in the future.

23. I should like to stress the fact that we in Yugoslavia, guided by the great legacy of President Tito, are firmly convinced that our policy of non-alignment is organically linked to our freedom and independence and to the development of our socialist self-managing society. Today, when we are celebrating this anniversary, we recall with pride that the inaugural conference of the non-aligned movement was held in the capital of Yugoslavia, a city often destroyed by invasions and by war but which has always re-emerged as a symbol, in that part of Europe, of the profound desire for freedom and human dig-

nity. Perhaps these words are a little too emotional, but I should like to assure the Assembly that they do express the profound aspirations and the unanimous feelings of all Yugoslavs.

24. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries took place 18 years after the Belgrade meeting. We can say that that meeting reaffirmed the fundamental principles of non-alignment and provided answers to a number of pending questions.

25. President Tito, addressing the representatives of the non-aligned countries meeting in Havana, who paid him on that occasion an exceptional tribute for his inspiring activities as one of the founders of the movement, said:

“The results of the work we have done so far are truly substantial. During the past two decades we have affirmed the lasting value of the authentic principles and goals of non-alignment. We have fought resolutely for peace, security and freedom in the world. We have made a substantial contribution to the development and the success of the anti-colonial revolution. We have codified the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, and we have worked hard to ensure that they have been put into effect. We have opposed the policy of force and foreign interference in all their forms and manifestations. We have embarked on long-term actions to establish the new international economic order. We have contributed to the universality of the United Nations and the enhancement of its role and importance. We have done some remarkable work to bring forward the problem of disarmament. We have engaged in an energetic struggle for decolonization in the fields of technology, information and culture in general. The policy of non-alignment has thus objectively confirmed the fact that it is the most progressive force in the world today. It is destroying the basis of the unjust international relations of our time and is helping to create the conditions for bringing about a world of justice, equality and universal progress. In a word, the period that has elapsed since the Belgrade Conference makes it possible for us to assert that if it had not been for the policy of non-alignment the world would have been entirely different.”

26. At the First Conference, held at Belgrade, an appeal was made to the Presidents of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to embark on negotiations which would guarantee a peaceful solution to contentious issues. Twenty years after that event we cannot fail to note once again, with regret, that we are confronted with even greater and more serious dangers than at that time. Those who are versed in international politics, and many statesmen from different countries, believe that the present disturbances in international relations are vastly more dangerous to world peace than any similar situation in the post-war period. A fear based on the possibility of a new world conflict, a fear sustained by the magnitude of the arms race, is creeping more and more into the awareness of man, thus creating a climate which continues to poison international relations.

27. My country is firmly convinced that this session of the General Assembly will have a positive effect in many ways if the words uttered here are viewed as an appeal for peace and negotiations addressed to all, and primarily to those who, on account of their material, military or other potential, should be playing a special role in that process, because it is the major countries that bear the responsibility for the resumption of constructive efforts to bring

about a just and lasting solution of the important international problems—of course with the participation on an equal footing of the whole international community.

28. Today, as was the case 20 years ago, the voice of the non-aligned countries must be understood as the voice of reason and hope. The times in which we live require that reason and tolerance have absolute priority over the particular interests of any single bloc or any great Power. We must be aware of the fact that peace is the only alternative for today's generations and for those yet to come. The policy of non-alignment, based on these principles, has stood the test of history. The anniversary we are celebrating today unequivocally confirms that profound truth and does so very clearly.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I thank the representative of Yugoslavia, the country that welcomed the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

30. I now call on Mr. Roa Kourí, the representative of Cuba, the country that is the current Chairman of the non-aligned movement.

31. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is sufficient to glance at the composition of the Assembly to obtain a graphic idea of the changes it has undergone, in most cases as a result of the struggle of peoples against colonialism and for independence in the past two decades. From that same struggle for independence there emerged the non-aligned movement, uniting in a single group peoples which also for the most part were emerging into the international arena to reaffirm their recently acquired independence and to promote their development.

32. Instinctively our peoples recognized the need to unite in order to make, on their own, a forceful entry in an appropriate mode on to the complex international scene of the contemporary world. This search for a united identity, based on values which we shared as a result of our similar past experiences—anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-neo-colonialism and anti-racism—along with the cold war and dangerous international tensions, prompted the Heads of State of 25 countries of Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America to decide to meet at Belgrade 20 years ago to form the non-aligned movement.

33. The First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries created, at that historic moment, new possibilities for mutual understanding and co-operation in a politically pluralistic world. From those States that draw their inspiration from the Koran or from Christian traditions in establishing their policies to those of us who profess the Marxist-Leninist ideology, we all established links, drew up a common agenda and decided to embark on the path of international co-operation in order to pave the way to peace in a world beset by conflicts. Ever since, that example and the political successes achieved by the movement, as well as its growing international prestige and influence, have not ceased to attract new members. Thus our ranks have been increased from the 25 founding countries to the present 96, that is to say, two thirds of the membership of the Organization.

34. At a time when all kinds of pressures were being exerted against those countries to join the countless regional pacts which, created in the shadow of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], sought to drag them

into the East-West confrontation, the First Conference clearly indicated that the solution did not lie in joining any of the existing military pacts or in creating a new bloc of countries outside those groupings, but rather in creating a broad movement capable of contributing to the strengthening of international trust and peace. Unambiguously our founders further declared "that peace and stability in the world depend to a considerable extent on the relations between the great Powers". Thus the non-aligned demonstrated their decision to come together in order to carry out independent action in favour of peace and, at the same time, to create an instrument which would make viable the negotiations between the great Powers and the search for mutually acceptable solutions beneficial to that so much discussed peace.

35. Today, after a short but hopeful period in which there appeared to have begun a relaxation of tensions which could and should have been deepened and extended until it encompassed all the regions of the world, dark clouds gather again on the horizon, the language of force and threat prevails, and some are strengthened in the false belief that a solution can be found for the problems facing us in keeping with their interests through the creation of new and more lethal systems of weapons.

36. We are witnessing today what appear to be preparations for a new war, not only from the standpoint of the increase in the arsenals of war material or weapons but also from the psychological standpoint. New and irresponsible pseudo-philosophies and doctrines on the "possibility of waging and winning" a "limited nuclear war" are acquiring aspects of respectability in the most aggressive imperialist circles. In addition to the unbridled arms race, with the production of new weapons of mass destruction, such as the neutron bomb, there is a trend to destroy the boundary between nuclear and conventional war with the secret intention of making more acceptable and even possible the use of nuclear weapons against peoples of the third world. In addition to the obsession to stop any significant dialogue and to negotiate "from positions of strength", there is the intention of declaring entire regions "vital areas" for the national security of a great Power and, while uttering threats of intervention and military blockades, to persist in the outworn policy of spheres of influence. All of that must lead to a confrontation which could in turn lead to a holocaust.

37. The irresponsible policy of increasing deliveries of weapons and military presence in conflict areas can only lead to an aggravation of such conflicts and an escalation of international tension. The irresponsibility is even greater when weapons, together with nuclear technology and extensive financial support, are sent in large amounts to racist and aggressive régimes. Those acts are the consequence of a warlike policy and a philosophy of military supremacy, of an interventionist policy, of a refusal to seek peaceful solutions to conflicts, of provocation against sovereign countries and of threats against various countries of the third world.

38. In the centre of our movement's concerns and action is solidarity with the peoples of Namibia and Palestine in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence, and with the black people of South Africa who seek to establish a just and democratic society and to do away with the opprobrious *apartheid* system; and solidarity for the abandonment of the use of force in international relations, for the setting up of a reign of friendship and co-operation amongst all peoples, and for the

strengthening of the United Nations and the full observance of the high principles and purposes of the Charter.

39. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at Havana in September 1979, reiterated those principles and objectives of the movement and gave new impetus to the independent action of our countries in international affairs and to the influence of the movement in the international community.

40. No one, however great his power, can shape history as he wishes or, even less, take it back to stages that have become truly obsolete. Today's problems have well-known economic roots, and it is in the interest of the whole international community, including the Western developed Powers, to find solutions to them through a new international economic order. "The clashing of weapons, the threatening language and the overbearing behaviour in the international arena must cease." Those were the words spoken from this rostrum at the thirty-fourth session [31st meeting, para. 146] by the Chairman of the non-aligned movement, Commander Fidel Castro. Neutron bombs, missiles or sophisticated bombers can never put an end to ignorance, poverty, hunger, ill health, malnutrition and the lack of education of millions of human beings in the third world, but neither can they stop their struggle for a better future.

41. Twenty years after the first summit conference of the non-aligned movement we address an appeal to reason, in favour of dialogue and international co-operation. We hereby ratify the conviction expressed by President Fidel Castro that:

"We shall save peace if its enemies know that we are ready to die for it rather than submit to blackmail and fear.

"Adventurers, maniacs and madmen cannot decide the fate of mankind.

"We nurture the hope that the world will survive, that clear-thinking men, just criteria, well pondered, intelligent and brave decisions will prevail so that all nations and peoples, present and future generations, may live in peace with security and justice.

"Mankind must survive, and if we are determined to achieve that aim, if we are always conscious of it and behave with courage, it will survive."

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I now call on the representative of Angola, Mr. Elisio de Figueiredo, who will speak on behalf of the group of African States.

43. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): It was in 1955 that a number of African and Asian leaders, the majority of them heads of State or Government of newly independent countries, met at Bandung and in the political and historical realities following the Second World War articulated the third world's aspirations to political independence, economic justice and decolonization. It was 20 years ago that leaders from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe met and gave form to the non-aligned movement, a movement without a charter but with firmly articulated principles whose message was clear: we the peoples of the third world must forge a third path to independence, well-being and survival, and we must not belong to any multilateral military pact which firmly anchors us in one bloc or another. Slowly a number of other concepts emerged, all of them contributing to the growth and strength of the movement. Newly independent countries joined the movement,

and the increasing cohesion allowed the non-aligned group to consult and formulate a common strategy in many areas. Later, with the emergence of the Group of 77 developing countries, though the membership was parallel but not identical, the non-aligned group became the catalyst for action by the Group of 77 in economic affairs. The creation of the Co-ordinating Bureau gave the movement more form and a forum in between ministerial and summit meetings.

44. Today the non-aligned movement is as vital and alive as ever. Its strength lies in its diversity and variety of political, economic and social institutions and different geographical areas. Its members come from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe. Its political systems range from hereditary rule to socialist practice. Yet its basic commitment to decolonization in every sphere—political, economic, social—remains the cement that holds all the members together. No one denies the differences and divisions, all a reflection of the different types of systems encompassed by the movement and an indication of the dynamic of growth and interaction that exists within the movement.

45. The number of United Nations resolutions and international declarations that have been issued on matters of concern to the non-aligned movement—southern Africa, Namibia, Palestine, the Middle East, the new international economic order, the decolonization of information—all bear testimony to the strength and unity of the movement, to its viability as the best possible third world spokesman on third world affairs. And most of all, the concept of non-alignment and the existence of the non-aligned movement have given small and medium-sized countries in the third world the opportunity to remain neutral but committed, on the basis of friendship with one, two or all the big Powers, without being drawn into tensions in which they are not directly involved. And the non-aligned voice can make itself heard all over the globe, when one or two voices would have been inaudible.

46. As far as Africa is concerned, all the member States of the Organization of African Unity are members of the non-aligned movement. Our non-aligned brothers and comrades on other continents have given us ample support on issues that deeply affect Africa: Namibia, South Africa's *apartheid* structure and racism and its military adventurism, as well as the liberation struggles of Africa. Therefore, in my capacity as chairman of the group of African States for this month, I should like to convey our feelings of solidarity and our appreciation of all that the non-aligned movement has done for Africa, and of what it means to Africa, to the current Chairman of the non-aligned movement, Cuba, and to the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries. The non-aligned movement has thrust itself into the forefront of the fight against racism, colonialism and imperialism. It has called for the establishment of the new international economic order, which will result in the decolonization of the international economic system and its transformation into a more just, equitable, viable and humane system. We truly believe that if the concept and practice of non-alignment had not existed, the smaller countries of the third world would have found themselves emerging from one type of colonialism into another. The scramble for our continents would not have ceased and gunboat diplomacy would have continued as the norm rather than the exception.

47. Those who feel threatened by the effectiveness of our movement attack it on feeble grounds. But the more

severe these attacks and attempts at destabilizing the movement, the clearer it is how strong a force it is and is perceived to be in world affairs, a far cry from the days when it was either ignored or made fun of by racists, colonialists and imperialists.

48. Africa lauds the non-aligned movement's initiative in every field of human endeavour, even those that affect the non-aligned group itself, whether it be a war among its members, the status of women or a question of fisheries. In every area, the members of the group strengthen each other's efforts and attempts to contribute to the well-being of the majority of mankind.

49. On behalf of the group of African States, I should like to welcome Belize as a new member of the movement and Ecuador as a full member. Their addition adds to our strength and, we hope, will add to theirs. The need for the non-aligned movement will be there as long as there are wars, divisions or any sort of injustice in the world. It is only when the world turns into a Utopia that there will no longer be any need for our grouping, and that day is surely a long, long way off.

50. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Nepal, Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt, who will speak on behalf of the group of Asian States.

52. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): It is a great honour for me to address this solemn meeting on behalf of the group of Asian States in my capacity as chairman of that regional group for the current month.

53. The non-aligned movement was launched 20 years ago at Belgrade with the objective of promoting a climate of peace and international co-operation. The voluntarily accepted code of keeping away from military alliances and bloc politics gave an historic dimension to the philosophy of non-alignment. That great event at Belgrade 20 years ago, in which my country, Nepal, was one of the 25 participants, symbolized the aspirations of the founding members to live in peace, free from fear or threat or pressure from any quarter. That First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was also an embodiment of the aspiration of the participating countries to develop themselves on the basis of international amity and peaceful coexistence.

54. The movement of non-aligned countries emerged in the midst of the breakdown of the old colonial system. Its basic principles, therefore, naturally embraced the principle of equal rights of nations and the principle of the inherent right to self-determination of peoples. The movement has been an essential factor in and a powerful impetus to the process of decolonization that has led to the achievement of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples. It is indeed a tribute to the dynamism and basic strength of the movement that the majority of the newly independent States in Asia, Africa and Latin America have opted for the philosophy of non-alignment in their international relations.

55. The events of the past two decades have demonstrated beyond any doubt the validity of the principles of non-alignment. The policy of non-alignment, by acting as an independent global factor, represents an important step in mankind's search for freely established peaceful and

equitable relations among nations, irrespective of their size, geographic location, power or social system.

56. The principles of peaceful coexistence, which have been firmly espoused by the non-aligned movement, are the principles that are of abiding and fundamental importance to all mankind. Adherence to these fundamental principles, or violation of them, defines the difference between peace and conflict, freedom and lack of it. These principles, if scrupulously upheld, are the best guarantee of sovereign equality and the democratic rights of each nation.

57. The non-aligned movement has come to represent an irreversible trend in the world of today. Its philosophy has had a distinct bearing on the universal efforts towards disarmament. It has led the efforts within the United Nations for the establishment of the new international economic order. It is in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and all forms of foreign domination. It is actively engaged in the promotion of economic co-operation among nations with a view to achieving collective self-reliance.

58. At this solemn observance of the twentieth anniversary of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, I wish on behalf of the Asian States to pay a tribute to the memory of those great leaders of the movement who are no longer with us—a tribute to their vision and farsightedness and to their total commitment to the cause of humanity. I also express our hope that non-alignment will continue to act as an effective force in the harmonization of conflicting interests on the international scene. The world never needed non-alignment, in the spirit in which its founders conceived it, more than it does now.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I now call upon the representative of Hungary, Mr. Pál Rácz, who will speak on behalf of the group of Eastern European States.

60. Mr. RÁ CZ (Hungary): It is a great honour and privilege for me to speak in my capacity as chairman of the group of Eastern European States at this solemn meeting of the General Assembly, which is being held in observance of the twentieth anniversary of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

61. The First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1961, was an event of historic importance in the development of international politics after the Second World War. The establishment of the movement of non-aligned countries, institutionalizing the concept of non-alignment, marked the birth of a force that has been playing an ever increasing role in the political arena of the world for the past 20 years. Taking into consideration the real interests and genuine aspirations of the peoples they represented, the founding fathers of this movement enunciated the principles of peaceful coexistence, friendly relations and co-operation as the movement's guidelines, thus reaffirming the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

62. Since then the movement has gained both in the number of its members and, accordingly, in strength. Its present membership, which embraces all the regions of the world, represents virtually two thirds of the United Nations. The positions these countries adopt by consensus

and represent in regard to the most important topical international issues constitute an important contribution to the solving of the problems facing mankind.

63. In spite of all the manoeuvres aimed at dividing the movement and diverting it from its original course, the non-aligned countries have maintained their position in favour of preserving world peace, furthering and deepening the process of détente, enhancing the cause of national liberation and supporting the countries that have gained their national independence, and have embarked upon the liquidation of the remnants of their colonial past and the elimination of the neo-colonialist pressure imposed on them in order to achieve the just and democratic transformation of the present world economic order. They have likewise maintained their position in opposition to the arms race and to all kinds of racial discrimination. This has been amply manifested in regard to a series of world political issues in the documents formulated and approved by the conferences of non-aligned countries, most recently at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Havana in 1979, at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, which took place at New Delhi in 1981, and at the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly held at United Nations Headquarters in New York on 25 and 28 September. The general spirit of those documents has met the expectations of progressive mankind.

64. In the two decades that have elapsed since the first summit meeting of the non-aligned countries, these nations have contributed significantly to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. The policy of non-alignment and the movement of non-aligned countries have in the course of this period played a positive part in the development of international relations on the basis of peaceful co-operation among nations, in the promotion and strengthening of international peace and security, disarmament and decolonization and in the endeavours to solve a series of burning problems of our times. The peace-loving forces of the world have established understanding and active solidarity with the members of the non-aligned movement, and the maintenance of that co-operation in a constructive spirit will serve to benefit the whole of mankind.

65. Our socialist countries in Eastern Europe have from the very beginning considered the movement of non-aligned countries to be a positive factor of great potential in international politics. We have always whole-heartedly supported the progressive anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist stand taken by that group of nations.

66. We hope that in preserving their unity the members of the non-aligned movement will fully recognize the dangers caused by the intensified aggressive endeavours of imperialism and that, faithful to their best traditions, they will properly respond to these attempts, which threaten world peace, international security and détente. We are confident that the non-aligned countries will, as they have from the very outset of their activities, contribute further to the success of the international struggle for social progress and to solving the burning problems facing mankind. It is the firm determination of our countries to continue to support those noble goals of the movement of non-aligned countries.

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call upon the representative of Spain, Mr. Jaime de Piniés,

who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

68. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my privilege to address this meeting for the solemn observance of the twentieth anniversary of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

69. The non-aligned movement is undoubtedly an important element in international relations. The growing number of countries which have joined it since it first started with 25 members is a clear indication of the relevance of the movement in the world today.

70. I speak today on behalf of a regional group only one of whose members belongs to the non-aligned movement, a group not all of whose components necessarily share the purposes and objectives of non-alignment. We believe and sincerely trust, however, that that important group of countries will exert its unquestioned influence on world events in such a manner as to make it possible for an improvement to occur in the prevailing climate in international relations.

71. It is within the context of these sentiments that the group of Western European and other States is honoured to associate itself with this solemn observance.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call on Sir Egerton Richardson, representative of Jamaica, who will speak on behalf of the group of Latin American States.

73. Sir Egerton RICHARDSON (Jamaica): On behalf of the 13 countries which are full members of the group of Latin American States, I take this opportunity to address this historic meeting of the General Assembly to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the 1961 Belgrade Conference. Of the 11 countries which participate in the non-aligned movement in the capacity of observers, 10 are Latin American countries, and someone else will speak this afternoon in the name of the observer delegations.

74. Approximately 18 years ago, when a Jamaican delegation first participated in a summit meeting of the non-aligned countries, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the President of Egypt, was our host; Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, had just left the scene; and Marshal Tito, Kwame Nkrumah and Sukarno were then leaders of the movement. It was their responsibility to explain the spirit of Bandung, to explain to the rest of the world the vital necessity for the non-aligned movement, the reasons which had prompted them to bring it into being and the differences between mere neutrality and non-alignment.

75. I remember that in those days there was uncertainty in many parts of the world as to whether non-alignment was not in itself slightly immoral, or at least not quite respectable. It was widely believed that men, like nations, had a responsibility to stand up and be counted, and those who found it difficult to understand the urgency of the situation at the time were inclined to see it as a retreat from responsibility, as unwillingness to take a stand when it was essential that stands be taken.

76. A little less than one month ago, on 23 September 1981, two Latin American countries became full-fledged members of the non-aligned movement on the same day. Those States were Ecuador and Belize. Belize was also

admitted to the United Nations, on 25 September. Ecuador had had observer status in the movement ever since its earliest years, and only last month it acquired full membership.

77. In the years between 1964 and 1981 an increasing number of Latin American States have joined and are actively participating in the movement of non-aligned countries. The recent admission of Belize and Ecuador to full membership is symbolic of both the faith and the hope that is placed in the noble ideals and principles of our movement by ever-increasing numbers of the peoples of our region. It is also testimony to the growing relevance of the policy of non-alignment. It demonstrates that Latin America as a region is now more than ever prepared to respond more meaningfully to the manifold challenges of international activity with the requisite maturity and responsibility.

78. During the years since the movement began, it has weathered many challenges both from within and from outside. It has learnt to reject the view that any one super-Power might be our permanent natural ally. It has learnt to resist the purists from within who would exclude from membership every nation that has entered into a bilateral treaty of support with a greater Power. But it has also had other triumphs. The Latin American countries have managed to bring into being perhaps the most successful effort to create a nuclear-free zone of peace, the zone created by the Treaty of Tlatelolco.² This was done by first excluding the great Powers until the Treaty had been established and then demanding that they respect its provisions once those provisions were in existence. We recommend that other attempts to create zones of peace in other parts of the world might take an example from the Treaty of Tlatelolco and the manner of its coming into being.

79. The Latin American countries members of the non-aligned movement are gravely concerned that the situation which prompted the founders of the movement to bring the movement into being is once more re-emerging. Once more it is possible to see the great Powers inexorably moving towards a nuclear holocaust; once more it is possible to see the grave danger they pose not only to themselves but to the rest of mankind; once more it is our duty to call attention to the fact that we have no desire to be drawn by the one or the other into opposing blocs, into defensive or offensive alliances, and that therefore they have an obligation to themselves, as well as to us, to pause, to think again and to take a step back from disaster.

80. We feel equally threatened by great Powers that make horrendous statements concerning their defensive and offensive plans before they have made the plans. We feel equally threatened by other great Powers that continually speak about their desire for peace and their desire for détente while piling up their nuclear armaments.

81. In the third decade of the life of the movement, on which we are now about to embark, we consider that the members of the non-aligned movement have an obligation to themselves as well as to the rest of the world to ensure that nuclear disarmament is pursued by the great Powers, that nuclear self-denial is pursued by the lesser Powers and that members of the movement itself settle their disputes among themselves always by peaceful means.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237

(XXIX) of 22 November 1974, I call on the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] to the United Nations, who will speak on behalf of the national liberation movements of the non-aligned movement.

83. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The date 1 September 1961 is an historic one. History was made. Great men, men made great by the support and love of their respective peoples, became even greater by their joint and collective contributions to achieving peace through the stronger forces at the disposal of mankind for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations. Those men affirmed their belief and knowledge that constructive and positive achievements conducive to peace can be secured and guaranteed by relying on the will of the people to prevent war. The vast majority of people were becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity.

84. In their first communiqué those great men underscored the great successes achieved in the struggle of many peoples for national independence and equality. They also noted that imperialism was weakening and that colonial empires and other forms of foreign oppression of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America were gradually disappearing from the stage of history. This is definitely a result of the struggle of peoples for liberation and national independence.

85. A basic principle was adopted in the first declaration: that the non-aligned countries should provide encouragement and support to all peoples fighting for their independence and equality. Those great men solemnly reaffirmed their support of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*].

86. A noble cause was endorsed, and that was the determination of the great founding fathers of the movement to combat racism and their resolve to condemn the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa. From the very first moment the movement made its policies clear: it demanded the immediate termination of all colonial occupation and the restoration of territorial integrity to the rightful people in countries in which it had been violated in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. And, to be specific, the question of Palestine was—as it still is—a main concern of the movement.

87. Heroes in the cause of peace and national liberation such as—and I shall name a few—Josip Broz Tito, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sukarno and Nehru took the initiative of inviting Archbishop Makarios, King Hassan II of Morocco, Habib Bourguiba and many others. Twenty-five countries were represented then, and the number now is almost 100. This growing number is encouraging and should be viewed as being of great significance.

88. In 1961 the founding fathers declared their support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. Only a few days ago the movement reaffirmed that the question of Palestine is at the core of the problem of the Middle East and called upon all States to assist and facilitate actions and movements by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to pursue its struggle to achieve and attain its inalienable rights. The movement—keeping great vigil—was carefully noting that some attempts were being made

to negate those rights and undermine the legitimate struggle. But, faithful to its principles and policies, the movement acted immediately and condemned all such attempts.

89. My people are grateful and thankful for this unequivocal support. The support of the movement for the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people is neither more nor less than its support for the struggle of peoples in various parts of the world for national liberation and independence.

90. On this solemn occasion—the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the movement—I am honoured today to be addressing this Assembly on behalf of those peoples struggling under the leadership of their respective national liberation movements to attain national independence and equality.

91. Representatives of many national liberation movements were invited to the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964 and hosted by our beloved brother the late Gamal Abdel Nasser. We, the national liberation movements, were invited to participate in drawing up the Programme for Peace and International Co-operation and to lay the foundation for concerted action for the liberation of still dependent countries and for the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

92. The Second Conference made it clear that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that colonized peoples may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determination and independence as long as the colonial Powers persist in opposing their national aspirations. The movement solemnly undertook to support us, the national liberation movements, by all means necessary, whether moral, political or material. That is a commitment we appreciate, a commitment that has borne fruit. It is thanks to the support that many peoples have received from the movement that we find an increasing number of independent States represented here today. Naturally, this support bore fruit because it added to the determination of the peoples to attain their national independence.

93. As I have mentioned earlier, the movement of the non-aligned countries has dealt with specific issues. It has reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, under the leadership of their representative, the South West Africa People's Organization, and has also called for action against the racist régime in South Africa.

94. The movement of the non-aligned countries goes forward, gaining strength and moral support. Its policies prove to be "a menace and a threat"—if I may be allowed to use that expression—to the designs of the enemies of humanity and mankind and to the merchants of death. Imperialism rushes to rescue its agents and the continued and continuing illegal acquisition of our natural resources.

95. The old subtle practice of all-out and full support for racist régimes is no longer discreet and subtle; it is being converted into aggressive strategic alliances: a rapid deployment force has been made available to participate in—or, much more correctly, to initiate—action against national-minded patriotic Governments and national liberation movements. Pax Americana is labelled "strategic consensus". The Security Council of the United Nations

has been rendered helpless and immobilized by the negative vote—the veto—of the United States Administration when the acts of aggression of the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv are to be condemned, and the application of the provisions of the Charter is undermined.

96. The movement has decided to dedicate its concrete support to the cause of peace. But peace cannot be attained while the forces of evil, the racist régimes and the capitalist exploiters, still refuse to respect and implement the resolutions of the United Nations, the will of the international community.

97. Peace can be attained when the Namibian people is free and independent in Namibia; when the South Africans exercise their right to a free and democratic society in their own homeland; when they enjoy and freely exercise their rights as citizens with equal rights—the colour of their skin notwithstanding. Peace can be attained when the Palestinians return to their homes and live in peace and the Palestinian people exercises its inalienable right to self-determination in its own homeland—in Palestine.

98. The national liberation movements assure this Assembly that our commitment to the policies of non-alignment is as firm as our commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

99. We vow to continue our struggle until we attain our rights in support of those principles.

100. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call on the representative of Mexico, Mr. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, who will speak on behalf of the observer delegations to the non-aligned movement.

101. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to extend to you, Sir, my cordial congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly and to wish you every success in your work. Not only are your diplomatic qualities acknowledged by all, but your country, Iraq, embodies the aspirations of the third world and is an example of our peoples' struggle for development.

102. May I also extend to the Republic of Cuba, and to Mr. Raúl Roa Kourí, my fraternal gratitude for his leadership of the non-aligned movement and for his contribution to the best causes of the Organization.

103. The Mexican delegation is honoured to have been invited to deliver this message on the occasion of the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the non-aligned movement. It is a particular honour to do so on behalf of those countries which have participated in its work as observers.

104. The roots of non-alignment go back to the earliest struggles for national emancipation in the third world and to the refusal of newly independent States to fall once again under the domination of colonial Powers. Non-alignment is identified with the developing countries' struggles for full economic sovereignty and with their decision not to become involved in the policy of blocs or in the military alliances that those entail.

105. Mexico was an active partisan of the policy of non-alignment even before that movement came formally into being. When our country was defending its territorial integrity against attempts at neo-colonial domination, or

when it decreed and exercised national sovereignty over its natural resources—for which it was isolated and opposed—it was laying the foundations for the claims which are now shared by the non-aligned countries.

106. As President López Portillo has said, quite rightly, Mexico's international policy is non-aligned and non-alienated. Thus, we have never accepted the establishment of military bases on our territory, nor have we belonged to any offensive or defensive alliances, nor do we accept the division of the world into blocs, nor do we countenance any sort of world or regional hegemonism. On the contrary, we have committed all our energies to the defence of peace, to the battle for decolonization and to the achievement of a new international economic order.

107. From the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at Belgrade, it was clear to Mexico, as, indeed, to many other countries, that we fully shared the goals of the non-aligned movement. From that time on we decided to take an active part as observers at their meetings, and we saw with profound satisfaction that the causes for which the movement was fighting, as well as its tactics and strategy, were very similar, if not identical, to those of our own country in the conduct of its foreign policy.

108. As was stated by the Secretary of State for External Relations of Mexico, Jorge Castañeda, at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, we fully share the goals and purposes of non-alignment "because it departs from the concept of a world divided into spheres of influence and because it entails the rejection of the subordination of one State to another; because it involves the realization that a world in which abuse, disorder and violence continue to characterize international relations must finally disappear".

109. When an overall view is taken of history, we shall know how powerfully non-alignment has contributed, as its founders expected it would, to the preservation of peace and the creation of contemporary international society. Born in the dangerous context of the cold war, when the super-Powers seemed determined to redraw to their own advantage the political map of the world, the firmness of distinguished statesmen and their peoples, which refused to be towed in the wake of hegemonism, gradually brought about international détente and facilitated the attainment of independence by many peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

110. The non-aligned movement from its beginning has been an irreplaceable driving force in international politics, both in East-West terms and in North-South terms. But, while in the former context non-alignment presupposes the creation of an authentic third position, free from great-Power ambitions, in the latter context, it fully embodies one of the two poles: that of the countries of the third world. Thus it has been in the vanguard of the struggle for economic decolonization, for the defence of the interests of developing countries and for the building of a more just economic order.

111. The two axes of the policy of non-alignment are consistent ideologically and strategically. In creating a viable alternative distinct from bloc confrontation and in rejecting the importation of East-West confrontation into the third world and the concomitant distortion of its struggles for independence and progress, non-alignment has made its greatest contribution to the principle of the self-

determination of peoples and has created conditions for the autonomous development of countries in a climate of peace and respect.

112. Furthermore, in committing itself to a continuation of the North-South dialogue and in proposing the only comprehensive and interrelated solutions capable of revitalizing the world economy, given the interrelationship of the problems of our time, it is making a most valuable contribution to political détente, because it is seeking viable solutions to the crisis, solutions which attack structural problems and cannot conceive of peace as long as neo-colonialism, exploitation and hopeless misery exist.

113. Non-alignment has become a huge movement and has gained solid prestige recognized by all. It is perhaps the most significant international political factor which has emerged in the last few decades and represents the most powerful multilateral front for the defence of the developing countries. Its capacity for action and the reason behind its proposals and goals allow us hope for the future.

114. Non-alignment today expresses the most profound sentiments of the majority of States Members of the United Nations, particularly with regard to the need to make international society more democratic, to reduce tension and to find genuine solutions to conflicts. To this extent, non-alignment is the best guardian of the Charter of the United Nations.

115. Tension between the super-Powers has always been dangerous, but most recently, it has become alarming. Hence, the most urgent task today is to find a more rational balance of power making it possible to reduce the arms race until we can realize the objective stemming from the very essence of the United Nations: complete and general disarmament.

116. The arms race is the physical expression of the will to dominate; it is the most consummate evidence that mankind has not succeeded, in spite of distressing experiences, in finding a better way to maintain peace than by the threat of war. As this has become historically impossible, this kind of balance is an act of folly in our time.

117. The arms race concentrates and freezes the best intellectual and material resources accumulated over generations and is tantamount in effect to a negation of the loftiest human goals. The arms race is the primary obstacle to the development of peoples, and its elimination must be the primary objective of the non-aligned and all those who share their principles.

118. On this anniversary the delegation of Mexico wishes to confirm its fraternal greetings of solidarity with the States members of the non-aligned movement. We wish to express our best wishes that they may maintain its unity within the pluralism which enriches them, that they may co-ordinate their actions ever more firmly with many other countries whose ideas and goals are similar and that they may very soon make non-alignment the touchstone of a new peaceful, democratic and just world order.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call on the representative of Austria, Mr. Thomas Klestil, who will speak on behalf of the countries invited as guests to the meetings of the non-aligned movement.

120. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): It is indeed most appropriate that the General Assembly should devote its first

substantive meeting to commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the non-aligned movement, a movement which was born in September 1961 from the convictions and ideals of outstanding statesmen such as Tito, Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser, Sukarno and Makarios, in an attempt to articulate and shape an alternative for a better order in world affairs and which now, 20 years later, includes almost 100 States as its members. On behalf of the countries invited as guests of the non-aligned movement, it is my privilege to express a few thoughts on this occasion.

121. The founding of the non-aligned movement did not only respond to the deeply felt need of the many newly independent States to strengthen their independence and to re-establish and fortify their mutual contacts and relations, which had been broken or disrupted during the colonial period. It went far beyond that. It aimed at a fundamental change of the world order of the post-war period and developed solidarity and new forms of relations between all States.

122. To interpret the phenomenon of non-alignment only as a foreign policy doctrine—a doctrine of a very special kind which aims, through an equal distance from the two power blocs, at constructive relations with both of them—would, however, in our view touch upon only part of it and not do justice to the movement. We see it also as a political philosophy which, by transcending the individual aims and goals of the member States, creates an alternative model for the traditional systems of State relations.

123. On the basis of this philosophy, the non-aligned movement has sought to release international relations from the spirit of competition prevailing between the great Powers. In articulating the shared aspirations of the majority of nations, the non-aligned movement has shaped world politics and given new impetus to the ideas and spirit enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

124. The non-aligned movement has formulated a position on all aspects of international peace and security, on the burning issues of disarmament and the threat of nuclear war and on colonialism and foreign domination in their various forms. It has given equal consideration to the questions of economic and social development. In all this, it has been guided by the conviction that the political and economic frailty of the single State can be overcome only through unity.

125. We share the strong belief that an active policy for peace is imperative for our survival and that a constructive world-wide policy of détente is the prerequisite for a world order in which the interests of everyone are balanced and harmonized. Over the past year, for instance, this constructive approach has gained new strength and importance at the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Madrid.

126. Although today the international community has almost reached the end of the struggle against colonialism, other objectives of the non-aligned movement and, indeed, of the United Nations are not yet ensured. We still witness foreign occupation, military invasions and interference in the internal affairs of States, and the goal of non-use of force in international relations has not been achieved. Progress in the field of economic and social development has been very limited, and violations of human rights still occur in all the regions of the world.

127. In addition to that, the international community is faced with a deterioration of international relations, which, combined with a new escalation of the arms race, results in a world-wide feeling of insecurity and in a political climate marked by distrust and pessimism.

128. In the political climate of today the non-aligned movement has a particularly important role to play. It will have to intensify and re-emphasize its internal strength and coherence and bring the collective weight of its member States to bear in halting the arms race and reducing global tensions. It will have to concentrate more and more on its role of mediator in regional conflicts to reduce the possibilities of interference by the super-Powers, and it will have consciously to renew and strengthen the commitment that the founders of the movement 20 years ago undertook.

129. At this twentieth anniversary, speaking on behalf of the countries invited as guests of the non-aligned movement, we express our confidence that the movement will continue the constructive and stabilizing role in world affairs that it has assumed, and we renew our offer of co-operation in reaching the goals and objectives that we share.

130. The PRESIDENT: At the conclusion of this solemn observance by the General Assembly of the twentieth anniversary of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, it is both pertinent and fitting for the President of the Assembly to emphasize first of all the close parallel between the principles and objectives of the non-aligned movement as enunciated over the years and those of the United Nations, as well as the consistent support that the movement has given to the United Nations and to the Assembly in particular.

131. To demonstrate this, I should like to quote a few excerpts from the declarations adopted at various conferences of heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries. The first, adopted at the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at Belgrade in September 1961, stated the following: "The non-aligned countries represented at this Conference do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot constitute a bloc."³ Indeed, as most representatives know, to this day the non-aligned movement does not have a secretariat or a single full-time employee.

132. At the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964, the following was stated:

"It is essential for the effective functioning of the United Nations that all nations should observe its fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence, co-operation, renunciation of the threat or the use of force . . .

"The Conference recognizes the paramount importance of the United Nations and the necessity of enabling it to carry out the functions entrusted to it to preserve international co-operation among States.

" . . .

"The Conference recommends to the States Members of the United Nations to respect the resolutions of the United Nations and to render all assistance necessary for the Organization to fulfil its role in maintaining international peace and security."⁴

133. At the preparatory meeting of non-aligned countries held at Dar es Salaam in April 1970 the following was stated:

“The participants stressed the need for strengthening the United Nations and its specialized agencies so that it can more effectively play its role to promote world peace and security. In this respect, they noted with concern the increasing tendency to disregard UN resolutions, resulting in the failure to apply the provisions of the Charter specifically designed to ensure compliance with UN decisions and the application of enforcement measures. The participants called for concerted action by the non-aligned States in the United Nations and specifically for the co-ordination of their activities at the United Nations and other forums . . .”⁵

134. At the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government held at Lusaka in September 1970, the following statement was issued:

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

“2. The United Nations has a vital role to play in safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of the non-aligned nations. It also provides the most suitable forum for co-operative action by the non-aligned countries and to facilitate the democratization of international relations.

“3. . . . The non-aligned heads of State or Government are resolved to take such measures as will make the United Nations more effective,

“5. . . . The non-aligned countries have made the most significant contribution to the various United Nations peace-keeping operations so far.

“8. . . . the non-aligned countries participating in the Conference are determined to co-operate among themselves, and with other countries, to strengthen the functions of the United Nations for the purpose of strengthening peace, consolidating independence, promoting development and bringing about greater co-operation on the basis of equality of all States.”⁶

135. At the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973, the following political declaration was issued:

“The Conference recalls the Declaration on the United Nations adopted by the Third Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and reaffirms its devotion to the principles and purposes of the Charter. It considers that the United Nations could be an effective instrument among States for fostering international peace and security, increasing co-operation and safeguarding fundamental rights and freedoms.

“ . . . current operational conditions in the Organization are not always in line with the new realities of international life and do not fully permit it to perform its mission of peace and development.

“Disregard for United Nations decisions and the tendency of great Powers to monopolize the Organization’s

activities, to render it inactive or to divert it to their own private interests, contradict the universal nature of the Organization and reduce its standing and prestige.”⁷

136. At the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, in August 1976, the following was stated in its political declaration:

“The Conference recognized the importance of the United Nations as an effective instrument for promoting international peace and security, developing co-operation and establishing equitable economic relations between States, and promoting fundamental rights and freedoms. The Conference therefore reaffirmed the adherence of the non-aligned countries to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

“The Conference . . . expressed the determination of the non-aligned movement to employ [its] strength for the promotion of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. More particularly the Conference urged the full application of the Charter provisions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and also the effective discharge of the functions of the Security Council through the implementation of its decisions.”⁸

At the Colombo conference a special resolution also was adopted, the operative part of which reads, in part, as follows:

“The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,

“Express their readiness to continue with their efforts to further the role and strength and effectiveness of the United Nations in world affairs. They are convinced that the United Nations should be universally supported as the principal democratic instrument of equitable and peaceful co-operation among States and call on all States to contribute to that end;

“Resolutely oppose the organized campaigns and various forms of pressure and threats aimed at discrediting the whole system of the United Nations as well as tendencies and attempts to bypass or limit the participation of the United Nations in solving international problems of concern to all countries;

“Stressing the importance of the further strengthening of the role of the General Assembly, they believe that the General Assembly should become even more a forum for the determination of the basic principles and methods of settling vital international problems.”⁹

137. Finally, at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979:

“The Conference recognized the importance of the United Nations as an effective instrument for promoting international peace and security and for the solution of all important international problems. It also stressed the great importance of the United Nations in the implementation of the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment and action programmes of the non-aligned countries, in achieving general and complete disarmament; in developing co-operation and establishing equitable economic relations among States . . . It stressed the increased importance of the United Nations

in the efforts to achieve international economic development and establish equitable economic relations among countries. It reaffirmed the non-aligned countries' adherence to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

"The Conference noted with satisfaction the growing strength and decisive role the non-aligned countries were playing in the United Nations and reiterated the non-aligned movement's decision to continue working to promote and achieve the principles and purposes set forth in the Charter. The Conference also urged that the provisions of the Charter concerning the maintenance of international peace and security should be fully implemented and that the functions of the General Assembly and the Security Council should be effectively discharged and their decisions implemented.

"The Conference reaffirmed the primary role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, emphasized the need for constant action on the part of non-aligned countries to make efforts for increasing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations and accordingly decided that the non-aligned countries should make every effort to ensure that they act in a united, consistent and dynamic manner within the United Nations."¹⁰

138. Those who still measure non-alignment by the simplistic yardstick of equidistance between the East and the West are echoing the philosophy of the dark days of the cold war, when there was no role for the non-aligned countries except as an appendage, or at best, a reaction to the two blocs. Indeed, one can recall today statements by prominent leaders of those days to the effect that neutrality between the two camps, as they put it, was immoral.

139. The non-aligned movement was never a simple negative reaction or a refusal to take sides in the cold war. Its concept and philosophy were from the beginning much broader. The objectives of the movement are and always have been nothing less than the transformation of the totality of international relations and the creation of a new political and economic system in a world free from colonialism, racism, exploitation or domination of any kind or in any form. The founders of the movement realized that the road to those objectives was going to be hard and long. Looking back over the past 20 years it is easy to see how far the movement and the world community have already travelled over that long road. The First Conference was attended by 25 countries; now almost two thirds of the total membership of the United Nations are non-aligned countries, almost twice the number of the original members of the Organization.

140. The non-aligned countries are in the forefront of the search for a comprehensive, more equitable system of international relations. The movement relentlessly identifies and elaborates the fundamental pillars of the new order and places them high on the agenda of the international community, both here at the United Nations and elsewhere, with all the urgency and importance they deserve. No country, or other group of countries, no matter how powerful, can play that essential role. Perhaps more than anything else that simple fact indicates and signifies the inner strength of the movement, its strength, its dynamism and its relevance in contemporary international life and, more importantly, for a better future.

141. The honour of hosting the seventh summit conference of the movement has fallen upon my country, Iraq, a founding member of the movement. In that connection I have received the following message from President Saddam Hussein of the Republic of Iraq:

"Mr. President of the General Assembly, it gives us great pleasure to convey to you warmest congratulations on the solemn observance of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the non-aligned movement, which is considered the genuine spokesman of the peoples of the third world who are striving for their freedom and independence.

"The non-aligned movement, which has lent considerable support to all peoples of the world towards their liberation and the reinforcement of their national independence, has grown rapidly in number and in strength. It has played a role with increasing effectiveness in the political, economic and social fields, in order to mobilize efforts which would enable our world to have new international relations characterized by justice, equality and equity. It is a role which continues to increase in importance, 20 years after the founding of the movement, now that it is fully committed to struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, expansion based on aggression, the use of force, *apartheid* and all forms of foreign hegemony, domination and exploitation. As a result of those circumstances, Iraq has affirmed many times and on all occasions the importance of strict adherence to the principles of the movement, of unswerving action to spare the movement from the dangers that threaten it and of preserving its genuine character and lofty principles in order to realize the hopes of peoples for independence. Only in that way can we promote our solidarity, unite our efforts and reinforce our movement and the role it should play in the world in order to confront all the designs and pressures that seek to link the movement to one of the super-Powers in the international arena. We seek, through all possible means, to develop the concept of non-alignment and to advance the movement so as to demonstrate to the world that the movement is able to contribute to lessening international tension and to eliminating the spectre of a destructive world war. We are sure that the political, economic and social objectives of the non-aligned movement will enable it to play an effective role in achieving a world where justice, equality and equity prevail. It gives me special pleasure that Iraq celebrates with the non-aligned peoples and countries the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the movement, and I wish to inform you that my country will spare no effort to provide the necessary requirements, both technical and material, to welcome the fraternal Heads of State or Government to the seventh summit of the non-aligned movement, to be held next September in Iraq. The people and Government of Iraq look forward to the fraternal meeting of the leaders of the movement at Baghdad. We all hope that the Baghdad summit will achieve new victories for the peace-loving non-aligned States and peoples."*

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

* Quoted in Arabic by the speaker.

NOTES

¹ Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung from 18-24 April 1955.

² Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 283.

³ See *Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1973*, Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council, Belgrade 1973, p. 16.

⁴ See A/5763.

⁵ See *Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1973*, Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council, Belgrade 1973, p. 59.

⁶ See NAC/CONF.3/Res.12.

⁷ See A/9330, paras. 77, 80 and 81.

⁸ See A/31/197, annex I, paras. 150 and 152.

⁹ *Ibid.*, annex IV, NAC/CONF.5/S/Res.13.

¹⁰ See A/34/542, sect. I, paras. 234, 237 and 240.