

Reflections on the Non-aligned Movement by World Leaders (Excerpts from Speeches/Messages)

BANDUNG CONFERENCE, 1955

Excerpts from Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation:

"Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangement of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats or aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

"The Asian-African Conference declared its conviction that friendly co-operation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, while co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all."

Panchsheel:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Mutual non-aggression.
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's affairs.
4. Equality and mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful co-existence.

President Josip Broz Tito, President Gamal Abdal Nasser and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, at Brioni, Yugoslavia, July 20, 1956:

"Peace has to be sought not through divisions, but by aiming at collective security on a world basis and by enlarging the sphere of freedom and the ending of the domination of one country over another."

FIRST NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, BELGRADE, 1961**President Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia:**

"As a result of the experience acquired in the post-war period, when groupings of individual states began to emerge, all the countries outside these groupings have become profoundly convinced that increasing tensions in the world have been, and are still arising precisely from this division of the world. This conviction is also shared by the broadest masses of people. Such division has demonstrated that outstanding international problems cannot be solved from positions of strength. Actually constant efforts are being exerted for the purpose of achieving superiority in order to attain specific goals from positions of strength, that is to say, to solve outstanding questions in one's own favour. In this precisely lies the greatest danger of an outbreak of armed conflict and of a new catastrophe for the entire world. The recent past has shown clearly that the grouping of states into blocs usually leads to a settling of accounts by the force of the arms."

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, India:

"We call ourselves non-aligned countries. The word "non-aligned" may be differently interpreted, but basically it was coined and used with the meaning of being non-aligned with the great power blocs of the world. "Non-aligned" has a negative meaning. But if we give it a positive connotation it means nations which object to lining up for war purposes, to military blocs, to military alliances and the like. We keep away from such an approach and we want to throw our weight in favour of peace. In effect, therefore, when there is a crisis involving the possibility of war, the very fact that we are unaligned should stir us to feel that more than ever it is up to us to do whatever we can to prevent such a calamity coming down upon us."

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"Some six, seven or eight years ago, non-alignment was a rare phenomenon. The whole course of history of the last few years has shown a growing opinion spread in favour of the concept of non-alignment. Why? Because it was in tune with the course of events; it was in tune with the thinking of the vast numbers of people, whether the country concerned was non-aligned or not, because they hungered passionately for peace and did not like this massing up of vast armies and nuclear bombs on either side.

Therefore, their minds turned to those countries who refused to line up."

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"We have to build in our own countries societies where freedom is real. Freedom is essential, because freedom will give us strength and enable us to build prosperous societies. These are for us basic problems. When we think in terms of these basic problems, war becomes an even greater folly than ever. If we cannot prevent war, all our problems suffer and we cannot deal with them. But if we can prevent war, we can go ahead in solving our other problems. We can help to liberate the parts of the world under colonial and imperial rule and we can build up our own free, prosperous societies in our respective countries. That is positive work for us to do. Therefore, I venture to submit to this assembly that we must lay the greatest stress on the removal of this major danger of war today. Not only is this incumbent on us but if we do this we shall be in line with the thinking of millions and millions of people. Non-alignment has received strength from the fact that millions of people are not aligned and that they do not want war."

President Ahmad Soekarno, Indonesia:

"Every nation without exception, basically desires such a policy, knows that it could help preserve world peace by the adoption of such a policy. The adoption of policy does not depend on desire alone for reasons of history, national interest, geographical position, and so on, as many states do not feel free, or have the capacity to follow such a policy.... Only fully independent countries, on certain satisfactory conditions only, are following the policy of Non-alignment"

SECOND NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, CAIRO, 1964**Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, India:**

"It is indeed a unique gathering that we have here. What unites us and brings us together is not any pact, not any alliance, not even a common allegiance to any particular dogma or doctrine. By being non-aligned we have asserted and proclaimed the right to think for ourselves and to speak for ourselves. Our voice is not an echo. It is the authentic voice of the people we represent and for whom we speak. And we and our people share and agree upon certain ideals and certain objectives. First and foremost, we believe in peace, in the

settlement of all disputes through peaceful means, in the abolition of war, and more particularly, nuclear war. Secondly, we believe in freedom, freedom for the people of each country to follow their destiny without external interference. And, above all, we believe in the dignity of man as an individual, whatever his race, colour or creed, and in his right to a better, fuller and richer life.

"The non-aligned nations have the supreme task of chalking out, in the light of the latest developments in the world, a programme of action which should be followed in pursuit of their common objectives. The time has now come to formulate a positive programme in the furtherance of peace. The main elements in the programme, in our view, should be the following five points: (1) nuclear disarmament; (2) peaceful settlement of border disputes; (3) freedom from foreign domination, aggression, subversion and racial discrimination; (4) acceleration of economic development through international cooperation; and (5) full support for the United Nations and its programmes for peace and development."

President Gamal Abdal Nasser, Arab Republic of Egypt:

"We don't want the division of the world into West bloc and East bloc to be replaced by that of poor and rich countries."

THIRD NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, LUSAKA, 1970

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, India:

"The big powers had never accepted the validity of Non-Alignment. Neither colonialism nor racialism had vanished and the old comes back in new guise. There are subtle intrigues to undermine our self-confidence and to sow dissension and mutual distrust among us. Powerful vested interests, domestic and foreign, are combining to erect new structures of neo-colonialism. These dangers could be combatted by being united in the adherence to the basic principles of Non-Alignment."

"There was greater complementarity amongst our economies than between the economies of the developed countries. The potential of trade and economic cooperation amongst us has been left virtually unexplored. By meeting each other's needs we would diversify our trade, safeguard it against caprices of international commerce, and reduce our dependence on middlemen and brokers.... We can now

make the first attempts to discover areas of cooperation in many fields of development — generation of power, development of agriculture, improvement of roadways, railways and telecommunications, the expansion of higher education and training in science and technology. If we decide — and I hope we shall — to make a beginning with this, India will be glad to play her modest part."

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"We must determine to help ourselves to sacrifice, to pool our resources, knowledge and initiative, we must work together on bilateral, regional and multi-lateral basis."

FOURTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, ALGIERS, 1973

President Julius Nyerere, Tanzania:

"We must have economic development or we have no political stability; we have no political independence either, but become play-things of any other nation which desires to intervene in our affairs."

FIFTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, COLOMBO, 1976

Prime Minister Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka:

"Our strength lies in our steadfast adherence to our principles and in our unity. It constitutes a moral force which has to be taken into account by those who have, until recently, been accustomed to wielding unchallenged power over the destinies of nations."

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"Our strength will increase, not decrease, with every new adherent to our principles, for it is our firm and abiding commitment to principle that has won for our Movement, even in this era of detente, the foremost position among those who stand against injustice and oppression."

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"In the economic sphere, the Third World nations have found a new strength to challenge old concepts of colonialist and unequal relations, to assert their right to fair prices for their commodities and assert, as well, their sovereignty over their natural resources."

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"Non-Alignment stands for unity in diversity and independence in inter-dependence."

President Kenneth D. Kaunda, Zambia:

"On the economic plane, Mr. Chairman, the traumatic events in the world economy must more than ever before increase our awareness of the need for collective self-reliance through unity of action. We must make serious investigations into ways and means of sharing technology amongst ourselves. The sharing of technology and knowledge in many fields of developmental activity will remain an essential ingredient in forging, reinforcing and extending sub-regional and regional economic groupings amongst ourselves. We must devise, Mr. Chairman, policies, instruments and institutions for joint action."

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, India:

"In the 1950s, and 1960s, the rallying cry of deprived peoples was independence. Today it should be self-reliance. As we seek a rightful place for ourselves in the contemporary world and are occupied in building our economies with the help of new knowledge, our development is impeded by the disparities and frustrations of the old order.... The world must evolve a new equilibrium of equitable interdependence in which the political independence and economic self-reliance of the weakest and smallest nations are fully protected. It implies the creation of a degree of mutual dependence which is of mutual benefit, without loss of identity or sovereignty."

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"As non-aligned developing countries we should promote greater economic cooperation between developed and developing countries, and discourage ideas of economic confrontation. The community of nations should jointly and peacefully achieve that elusive equation between global production and consumption which yields the right share for each nation."

"We are confronted with challenge and opportunity. The challenge despite tremendous pressures, to reinforce our basic unity and integrity, to rededicate ourselves to the principles that have served us so well. The opportunity — through collective power and united will, to achieve enduring peace and freedom for all — peace through detente, disarmament and co-operation, and freedom through development, maintaining our distinctive personalities."

President Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia:

"The non-aligned and other developing countries have already begun to make use of their immense potentials and possibilities for mutual cooperation.... That cooperation, which is constantly being extended to new fields — ranging from the economy, upto cooperation in the application of nuclear energy to peaceful purposes — is of essential importance to their economic and social development, as well as to international economic relations in general."

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"Along with these efforts, the non-aligned and other developing countries, aware of interdependence of all of us, are endeavouring to establish constructive cooperation with all other countries, with a view to establishing a new structure of economic relations, in the interest of the entire international community, and particularly of the more rapid advance of the developing countries."

SIXTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, HAVANA, 1976

President Fidel Castro Ruz, Cuba:

"The struggle for peace and for a just economic order and a workable solution to the pressing problems that weigh on our peoples is, in our opinion, increasingly becoming the main question posed to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries."

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"More and more statesmen and leaders in our Movement are stating the need to place this matter [of economic issues] at the centre of our concerns. You are statesmen who wrestle every day with the knotty economic questions of your countries. You know full well what the great difficulties are: the constantly rising foreign debt, a shortage of foreign currency, the soaring prices of fuel and other import products, unequal terms of trade, low prices on the foreign market that constantly and increasingly rob us of the products that are the fruit of our peoples' labour, inflation, the rise of domestic prices and all the social conflicts that arise from this state of affairs."

"Progressive governments that are making a noble effort to develop and increase the well-being of their countries are overwhelmed and may even be wiped out by economic difficulties and unfair, unpopular conditions imposed by the international credit agencies."

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"I am not asking you to sacrifice your legitimate interests; I am not asking you to stop all-out efforts to develop and raise the well-being of your own peoples.... No money can purchase the future because the future lies in justice, in our consciences and in the honest and fraternal solidarity of our peoples. The solution to the economic problems faced by our countries requires a tremendous, responsible, conscious and serious effort of a world nature.

"Those of us meeting here represent the vast majority of the peoples of the world. Let us close ranks and unite the growing forces of our vigorous Movement in the United Nations and in all other international forums to demand economic justice for our peoples and an end to foreign control over our resources and the theft of our labour. Let us close ranks in demanding respect for our right to development, to life and to the future."

SEVENTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, NEW DELHI, 1983

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, India:

"Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and the avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations and the democratisation of international relations, economic and political. It wants global co-operation for development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of world's diversity."

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"The Non-Aligned Movement has stood firmly for a thorough going restructuring of international economic relations. We are against exploitation. We are for each nation's right to its resources and policies. We want an equal voice in the operation of international institutions. We reiterate our commitment to the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equality.... At this summit can we more forward to make collective self-reliance a reality?"

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"In the last few years some areas of cooperation have been identified. Effective co-operation in agriculture, irrigation, research in plant varieties, public health, technical training and small industries will reduce our dependence on the high cost economies of the affluent and on business corporations which profit from us. Lack of communication is a major constriction. We just do not know enough

about one another, or what we are capable of giving and receiving. Information is a vital input for development. Our economists and scientists should study and take a holistic view of problems relating to co-operation amongst ourselves in planning, development and economic exchanges. The economic experience and theories of industrialized countries are not necessarily valid in our circumstances."

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"The paradox of our age is that while weapons become increasingly sophisticated, minds remain imprisoned in ideas of simpler times. Technically, the colonial age has ended. But the wish to dominate persists. Neo-colonialism comes wrapped in all types of packages - in technology and communications, commerce and culture. It takes boldness and integrity to resist it. There are intense political and economic pressures. The limited economic viability, indeed the very survival of many of the non-aligned, especially those with small populations, is threatened through artificial barriers in trade, technology transfer and access to resources. It should be within our ability to devise measures to help these small nations to maintain their independence and non-alignment."

EIGHTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, HARARE, 1986

Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Zimbabwe:

"We have resolved to increase mutual assistance and technical cooperation among Non-Aligned and developing countries in the spirit of collective self-reliance with the aim of accelerating the economic development of our countries. Besides, South-South cooperation is an integral part of our endeavour to establish the New International Economic Order.

"Despite the mischievous insinuations of detractors, our Movement should be justifiably proud of its record. Our policies, vision and efforts have resulted in the attainment of freedom by the vast majority of humanity. We have worked assiduously against racism, apartheid and zionism, as well as against all forms of oppression and foreign domination.

"The Movement is not only an expression of our felt need to safeguard the sovereignty and national independence of our membership, but also an important vehicle for securing those ends. The ultimate evidence of our success is the appeal the policy of

Non-Alignment now enjoys as reflected in the growth of the Movement and in the espousal of policies of Non-Alignment even by individual citizens and groups from countries belonging to political-military blocs."

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, India:

"Non-Alignment is, in essence, the assertion of our right as independent countries to make up our minds on international issues free from the pre-occupations and prejudices of the poor blocs. We believe in a democracy of nations. Each of us, irrespective of the size or wealth or military strength, is the equal of every other nation. We speak with an equal voice and are heard with equal respect. The Non-Aligned Movement has shown the world the alternative to disastrous confrontation and destructive rivalry. Because we have kept out of the scramble for allies, the balance of terror has not yet tipped towards death. Just by being ourselves — Non-Aligned — we have probably preserved the peace of the world."

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"Why then has progress in mutual cooperation among developing countries been so slow? Perhaps it is because we still know so little about each other. At no professional level be it engineers or doctors, architects or townplanners, industrialists or traders, economists or administrators — is there any widespread knowledge of what other developing countries are doing or what they can contribute. Our information antennae are oriented to the Occident. We should organise an effective information grid along which information about ourselves flows quickly and efficiently.

"And while the information grid is being put in place, let us form groups of countries with pronounced complementarities to demonstrate the feasibility and advantages of cooperation among ourselves. This might set the pace and act as an example for the hesitant North. Meaningful economic cooperation among developing countries would also impart greater significance to multilateral schemes of cooperations such as the Global System of Trade Preferences (GSTP). Finally, strengthened cooperation among ourselves would strengthen our negotiating power in parleys with the North."

NINTH NON-ALIGNMENT SUMMIT, BELGRADE, 1989

President Janez Drnovsek, Yugoslavia

"As economic problems have an ever more decisive impact on the life of the international community, we attach the greatest importance to them. In this respect, priority should be accorded to the creation of conditions for a more balanced economic and technological development of all countries. The accelerated development of developing countries coupled with a maximum mobilization of their internal forces, also calls for the assistance of the international community, primarily of the most developed countries. The untenability of the current position of developing countries and the deficiencies of the system of international economic relations are most directly reflected in the debt crisis, which has been draining the economy and society of a large number of developing countries for almost a decade."

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"...I deem it necessary to stress once again the irreplaceable role of the United Nations as centre of co-operation and activity of all countries. The United Nations system is of crucial importance to the realization of the tasks and objectives of our movement in all spheres. Moreover, I would say that the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the United Nation are compatible and that on many issues, they are even identical."

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, India:

"We need a strong multilateral trading system to ensure global economic stability and accelerated development. The developing countries can only have confidence in a system which responds to their special needs and facilitates the integration of their economies with the world economy. The present international trading system is seriously skewed. The Uruguay Round offers the international community the opportunity of addressing itself of these distortions, establishing a rational framework of international trade, and strengthening the multilateral trading system. We have entered the negotiations in good faith, in the confidence that global interdependence and the long term interests of all will prevail over economic exclusivisms and narrow vested interests."

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"The major economic powers are determined to perpetuate their dominance over the global economy. That is not acceptable to us."

We fought colonial power without becoming colonialists ourselves. We fought military power without becoming militarists ourselves. Let us fight economic power without becoming exploiters ourselves. Let us concert our efforts. Let us present to the world a united front.

"We do not want confrontation. We want dialogue. Decisions regarding the world economy would not be taken unilaterally by a small group of countries however rich or militarily powerful. We, the developing countries, constitute much the larger segment of the world community. It is we who suffer most the deleterious consequences of the structural imbalances which afflict the world economy. We must be party, therefore, to decisions which affect the world economy."

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Chairman, South Commission:

"...There is need to complement the North-South dialogue by South-South co-operation.

"The developing countries have sensibly augmented their economic capacities and capabilities. This accretion of self-reliance and internal strength, and the associated diversification of economic activity have created opportunities for cooperation which were virtually inconceivable a few decades ago but are palpable now."

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"Expanded cooperation among ourselves will accelerate our development. It will enhance our cohesiveness and therefore, our credibility in world forums. It will increase our collective bargaining power in the international community.

"South-South cooperation will strengthen our independence. It will significantly contribute to safeguarding our economic sovereignty. It will make us less vulnerable to the dictates of others and the consequences of their unilateral actions."

Message of President George Bush, USA:

"When the first summit meeting of the non-alignment countries was held in Belgrade in 1961, President John F. Kennedy sent a message to the conference, noting the commitment of the peoples represented there to achieving 'a world of peace in which nations have the freedom to choose their own political and economic systems, and to live their own way of life.' The United States has

always held to that commitment, and so hopes that the participants in the 1989 Summit will direct their energies towards those ends in a spirit of genuine nonalignment."

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"The United States will follow with interest the summit's response to the new challenges of this changing world. And we will welcome realistic, concrete proposals that could provide the basis for future cooperation in promoting a secure peace and economic and social progress."

Message of President Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR:

"The non-aligned states have largely contributed to the strengthened confidence and optimism with which mankind is entering the last decade of the 20th century."

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"We share the adherence of non-aligned countries to the idea of building a new international order that would be based on the primacy of law and unconditional respect for the sovereignty and freedom of choice, and would ensure a worthy place in the world community for all nations."

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"In the person of the Soviet Union, the Non-Aligned Movement has a reliable partner in the campaign against the environmental threat which is looming large over our civilisation."

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL SUMMIT, NEW YORK, JANUARY 31, 1992

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, India:

"Lasting peace and security necessarily require comparable levels of human happiness across the globe. It is impossible to think of a United Nations functioning usefully or harmoniously while humankind continues to be riddled with ever increasing disparities and while the world's natural resources - land, water and air - which are really humanity's common heritage are getting fast depleted by thoughtless acts of over-exploitation and environmental degradation."

**ON THE EVE OF THE TENTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT, JAKARTA,
SEPTEMBER 1992**

President , Suharto, Indonesia
(In a pre-Independence Day speech to
Parliament in Jakarta):

"The relevance of the Non-Alignment Movement is not lost altogether in a post-cold war era. Members of the movement should intensify their exchanges of experience, mutual help and cooperation in order to enhance their strength for development."

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"The movement can play a constructive role in the North-South dialogue. It must not be haunted by a confrontative atmosphere but with a spirit to build a more advanced, prosperous and equitable world for all nations and individuals."

STATISTICAL PROFILE

Select Macro-Economic Indicators
of Developing Countries: 1989