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D E C L A R A T I O N
ON PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, DEVELOPMENT, MUTUAL CO-OPERATION
AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Two and a half decades ago, the peoples of the United Nations inscribed in the Charter their desire to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war; to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of the human person, in the equal rights of nations large and small; to establish conditions under which justice and respect for obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom for all. The intervening period has confirmed the historic merit of those visions and aspirations but it has likewise demonstrated that many expectations have not been fulfilled and that numerous problems have not been solved. Today's world is confronted with many contradictions of the present and many uncertainties concerning the future.

Our era is one of the great crossroads of history; with each passing day we are presented with fresh evidence of the exceptional power of the human mind but also of the dangerous sidetracks down which its imperfections may lead. The discovery of atomic energy offers the human race most phantastic possibilities while also engendering the most appalling dangers. The epoch-making scientific and technological revolution has opened up undreamed-of vistas of progress and made us

the contemporaries of pioneering undertakings in the conquest and exploration of Space; at the same time, not only has prosperity failed to become accessible to all but a major section of mankind still lives under conditions unworthy of man. Scientific discoveries and their application to technology have welded the world into an integral whole, reducing the distance between countries and continents to a measure making international co-operation increasingly indispensable and ever more possible, but the states and nations comprising the present international community are still separated by numerous political, economic, spiritual and racial barriers. The most ominous of these divide countries up into the rich and the poor, into those who act from positions of strength, either military or economic, and those who are forced to live in the shadow of permanent danger of ruthless assaults on their independence and security. In spite of the great progressive achievements and aspirations of our generation, neither peace, nor prosperity, nor the right to independence and equality have become the integral, indivisible attribute of all mankind. Our age, while creating gigantic potentials, also generates gigantic problems; it raises the greatest hopes and presents the greatest challenges.

The policy of non-alignment has emerged as the result of natural strivings to realize the legitimate rights of states and peoples, particularly those that are most directly affected by the present conditions in international relations, and also as an irreplaceable component in transcending the perilous contradictions of the contemporary world. By refusing to engage in the cold war, the non-aligned countries narrowed

its geographic and political dimensions; by remaining outside the military-political groupings of the big powers, they demonstrated that such grouping is not a universal and inevitable law of the present times; by defending the right to freedom of action in international relations, they showed that such a position is both practically possible and politically indispensable. At a time when the polarization of the international community on a bloc basis was believed to be a permanent feature of international relations, and the threat of a nuclear conflict between the big powers an ever-present spectre hovering over mankind - the non-aligned countries opened up new prospects for the contemporary world and paved the way for relaxation of international tension.

The growth of non-alignment into a broad international movement is closely linked with significant changes in the structure of the entire international community. This process is the product of the world anti-colonial revolution and of the emergence of a large number of newly-liberated countries which, opting for an independent political orientation and development, have refused to accept the replacement of centuries-old forms of subordination by new ones. At the root of these changes lies the ever more clearly expressed aspiration of peoples for freedom, independence and equality. Thus have the objectives toward which non-aligned policy strives - realization of the legitimate right of all countries to independence and economic development in an international community in which peaceful and democratic relations prevail among nations - come to be identified with the authentic interests and aspirations of all peoples and have, in fact, acquired universal significance.

That has been the substance and meaning of all our strivings and actions; that is a confirmation of the validity of the Declarations of the Belgrade and Cairo conferences.

II

The fact that the immediate danger of a conflict between the superpowers has lessened, that the tendency to negotiate is strengthening in their mutual relations - which is of exceptional importance for maintaining world peace and preventing a nuclear catastrophe - has not, however, contributed to the security of the small, medium-sized and developing countries. Moreover, at times these two processes even flow in opposite directions.

The practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other states, and the recourse to pressure, threats and blackmail, are acquiring alarming proportions and hazardous frequency. Persistent attempts are being made to legalize the right of the stronger to pursue their interests by all available means. The crises and focuses of war in Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, in southern Africa, and in other parts of the world, are the direct consequence of such policies which, ridden with egoism and pursuing imperialist designs, place the lasting values of mankind at stake.

The arms race has equalized the forces of the superpowers on the level of destructive arsenals, but it has not brought tranquility or security; it has created only a relative balance and ostensible stability while remaining a profound source of danger.

Peace today must be peace for all the world's peoples.

The waning of the cold war has also wrought changes in the nature of relations within the developed part of the world. The countries of East and West find that their economic and political interests lie in the gradual process of mutual rapprochement and growing co-operation. This process, acclaimed by the non-aligned countries, is unfolding in the teeth of resistance by forces that oppose it in the attempt to frustrate or retard it.

International relations are growing into a more complex system characterized by mounting interdependence, but also by the need to pursue independent policies. The democratization of international relations is an imperative of our times. As it proceeds, it stands threatened by tendencies on the part of the big powers to monopolize decision-making on vital world issues. The oligarchic system thus coming into being, by its inner logic, disregards the interests of countries which are outside the fold of the big powers. Such tendencies make it incumbent on the non-aligned countries to pursue two courses: to extend support to the process of negotiations among the big powers in the sphere of positive solution of major international problems while at the same time opposing the factual negation of the right of all countries to participate in international relations on a footing of equality.

Peace and security are persistently threatened by imperialism, recourse to force and pressure, and the remnants of colonialism, racialism and apartheid, especially in Africa. Classical colonial-

lism is being replaced by neocolonialism whose external manifestations are not so obvious but no less dangerous in their actual consequences: its tools are economic domination, political pressure and blackmail, subversion, interventions, ideological arguments. These phenomena of the present-day world tend not only to conserve the past but also to undermine the future; they jeopardize the independence and territorial integrity of many countries, above all the non-aligned and developing, hampering their advancement, intensifying tension and giving rise to conflicts.

The gap between the economically developed and the developing countries is growing drastically. The rich part of the world waxes richer, and the poor part - relatively poorer. The policy of non-alignment has succeeded in posing the problem of the poor nations as the primary question of our times, recognized as such by the entire international community. On its solution depends the removal of many sources of concern and the harmonious progress of mankind as an organic whole. Now the privilege of the rich, the technological revolution can in equal measure become the pivotal opportunity of the poor. This problem is one of the acid tests of the conscience and reason of our epoch; world solidarity is not a Platonic appeal but a law of necessity; it is impossible today for some to enjoy an untroubled and comfortable existence at the expense of the poverty and misfortune of others.

The position of the non-aligned and the developing countries is ever more complicated by the fact that they are building new social and political structures and adapting existing institutions, frequently

inherited from the colonial period, to the requirements of modernization and accelerated advancement. These processes, bearing the imprint of individual national features, and being an essential prerequisite for normal development, make it imperative to have peace and security from all external interference.

III

Concerned by this state of affairs in the world, we, the participants in this Conference, agreed on the need for joint action, have decided to unite our efforts.

For us, the participants in the Conference of Non-aligned Countries, the following principles possess special value: the right of peoples who are not yet free to self-determination and independence; the right of all states to the respect of their sovereignty and territorial integrity; the right of all states to a status of equality and active participation in international affairs; the right of all peoples to decide, in sovereignty, on the paths of their internal political, economic, social and cultural development; the right of all peoples to the benefits of economic development and the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution.

Inspired and guided by these principles, the non-aligned countries, in their international activities, staunchly support the achievement of the following objectives: assurance of indivisible world peace; immediate liquidation of remaining colonial strongholds; liberation of peoples from all forms of domination and especially the abolition of the

rule of minority racist regimes over peoples representing the autochthonous majority in their countries, including the right to use force for the attainment of these goals; creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of an effective system of international security which will prevent all forms of aggressive action against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country whatsoever; freeing mankind from the danger deriving from the existence, proliferation and development of nuclear and all other types of weapons; fostering friendly relations and co-operation among states and nations; acceleration of the economic development of countries and regions which find themselves in an unequal position in the world economy and in international economic relations; assurance of conditions in which all peoples will find it possible to put to use the attainments of contemporary science; achievement of the universality and the strengthening of the effectiveness of the United Nations, whose mechanisms, methods and forms of activity should be adjusted to present conditions and the democratic demands of its members; democratization of relations in the international community in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and active and peaceful co-existence among all states.

We, the participants in the Conference, solemnly declare that we shall be consistently governed by these principles in mutual relations and relations with all other states, and that we shall actively invest efforts in the implementation of the aforementioned objectives.

In line with this, we, the responsible representatives of

the non-aligned countries, have agreed on the need to take the following measures:

- to organize and implement joint actions for the establishment of lasting and universal international security; to achieve full mutual solidarity and to initiate international measures against all forces that jeopardize and violate the independence and integrity of the non-aligned and other independent countries. To that end, the non-aligned countries are resolved to co-operate as closely as possible, to hold periodic consultations at the global level and within the framework of various regions;

- to offer determined support to the intensification of the work of all international bodies concerned with problems of disarmament, particularly in the preparations for and implementation of the programme of the Disarmament Decade, as a significant step toward general and complete disarmament. Within that context, the non-aligned countries call upon the nuclear powers to submit to the international community as soon as possible their proposals for measures of nuclear disarmament as an essential element for the successful development of the entire process of restraining the dangerous and explosive arms race;

- to intensify and unite efforts by the developed and developing countries for the carrying out of structural changes in the world economy and for the establishment of such international co-operation and division of labour as will ensure and facilitate the gradual closing of the gap between developed and developing countries. The non-aligned count-

ries are prepared to utilize to the maximum their own human and material potentials and to promote the broadest forms of economic co-operation and mutual integration. In those efforts, the non-aligned countries justifiably anticipate the support and assistance of the international community, especially in the sphere of international financing, world trade and scientific and technological co-operation. The non-aligned countries will strive to give this crucial problem of the present day, on the solution of which hinges general stability in the world, lasting priority in the work and life of the world Organization. They particularly appeal to all the world scientists, to the pioneers and originators of major scientific and technological achievements, to come together and give consideration to ways and means of incorporating developing countries more rapidly and broadly in the utilization of the results of the scientific and technological revolution. In the course of the implementation of the international strategy for the Second Development Decade, the non-aligned countries are determined to strive for the improvement of the mechanism of co-operation, consultations and agreement, within the framework of the Group of 77 developing countries, so as to render its activities as effective as possible;

- to continue joint efforts for the implementation of international actions, including energetic measures by the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and all other measures of political and material support to the liberation movements - for the immediate liquidation of colonialism and racial dis-

crimination whose continuation possess a constant threat to international peace and security;

- to direct the efforts of the non-aligned countries toward strengthening the role and efficiency of the United Nations which, under present conditions, provides the most suitable framework for joint actions aimed at consolidating world peace, preventing military conflicts, promoting co-operation and the economic and social progress of all peoples. The adoption of the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States will not only serve to reaffirm the fundamental principles of the Charter but will also be a major step toward their concretization. The achievement of the universality of the United Nations through the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, and the admission of other countries that are still not members of the world Organization, is one of the basic preconditions for the United Nations to discharge the role with which it has been entrusted. In the entire process of democratizing international relations, the United Nations has an exceptional role; promoting the effectiveness of its work and adapting its structures to contemporary needs is an essential part of that process. Contacts and negotiations between the superpowers, which are particularly significant for peace and security, should represent a component part of the entire process of democratization of international relations, on which they should rely.

In order to secure the maximum possible and continuing

progress in achieving the set objectives, we, the participants in the Conference of Non-aligned Countries, have decided:

- to strengthen steadily, and expand the domain of, our mutual co-operation within world, regional and bilateral frameworks. The promotion of mutual co-operation, development of the spirit of solidarity and understanding in mutual relations, represent a pre-condition not only for the successful solution of a multitude of concrete international and regional problems, but also for the further assertion of the policy of non-alignment in international relations and more effective action by the non-aligned countries at the international level;

- to ensure the continuity of our action by holding regular annual meetings of representatives of our countries at the level of foreign ministers or other high-ranking officials who will give consideration to the directions of our activity, within and without the United Nations, depending on the current international situation and requirements and by convening summit conferences every four years as a rule or, if necessary, even more frequently.

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Our action will help non-alignment realize its political substance and purpose with increasing effectiveness and on a broader scale: in our world and age, it is not only an irreplaceable form for the progressive transformation of international relations but also an essential element of their stability.

The present moment in the life of mankind is fraught with great dangers while simultaneously it opens up unprecedented opportunities; consequently, it also imposes special responsibilities: for the first time in history, the principles of international justice and democracy are acquiring the characteristic of achievable goals, in view of the rapid maturing of objective conditions for their universal application and the impressive growth, on a world-wide scale, of the social and political forces that sustain and champion them.

The inevitable conflict between the forces of progress and the forces of inertia in the world order of relations and norms cannot be resolved by an easy, simple and least of all automatic victory of the former and disappearance of the latter. Such an outcome, so decisive for the future of the human race in a more humane and just world, will require a high degree of consciousness and moral courage, clearly defined goals and unceasing joint action. Therein lies the profound significance and lasting value of non-alignment as a political philosophy and international practice.

Conscious of the universal value of the objectives we have set ourselves, we, the participants in the Conference of Non-aligned Countries, appeal to all peoples, the governments of all states, all peace-minded forces and all movements dedicated to freedom, to all people the world over for co-operation and joint efforts for the implementation of these objectives. At the same time, we declare that we shall support all international actions that are initiated in line with democratic principles and in the interests of the progress of mankind.

Text of the Statement made on July 11, 1969 by the Burmese Delegation
to the Consultative Meeting of the Special Government Representatives
of Non-aligned Countries held in Belgrade from July 8, to 12, 1969.

My delegation has come to this Consultative Meeting with certain ideas about its principal purpose. Our ideas are, of course, based on the information we received about the Meeting.

As we understand it, the principal purpose of this meeting is to have an exchange of views on the world situation, particularly on the changes in the international situation since the last Cairo Conference of non-aligned countries in 1964; to evaluate the significance of these changes and the present world trends; and to give thought to the problems that are likely to arise in the future. As a result of such an exchange of views, some consensus, it is hoped, might emerge as to whether a third Conference of the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries would be useful in the sense that it could make a positive contribution to the improvement of international situation and, if so, when such a Conference might be held with advantage.

My delegation fully appreciates that the final document of this meeting would appropriately contain a reaffirmation of the principles of the policy of non-alignment, an assesment of the world situation in broad terms and a statement of the common view of this meeting as to the desirability or otherwise of holding a third Conference of the Non-aligned countries at some appropriate time.

It is not, however, the understanding of my delegation that this meeting is going to pronounce itself on particular issues of the world. In our view, it is for the third summit conference of non-aligned countries to do so if and when it is held. My delegation regrets it cannot, therefore, subscribe to those parts of the document which deal with such particular issues. We do not, however, wish to stand in the way of those delegations that have a different view. We understand their position. All that we ask is that, this our reservation be reflected in an appropriate manner in the records of this meeting.

Text of the Statement made on July 9, 1969 by the Burmese Delegation
to the Consultative Meeting of the Special Government Representatives
of Non-aligned Countries held in Belgrade from July 8 to 12, 1969.

I wish to set out briefly the views of my Government on the important matters which are on the agenda of the Consultative Meeting, and on which we are having a general exchange of views.

It seems to us that in considering the question of the role of the policy of non-alignment in the present-day world, it is necessary, first of all, to state the nature of that policy as we understand it.

Mr. Chairman, my country has consistently followed a foreign policy which has now come to be known as the policy of non-alignment since it regained its independence in January 1948. It is a policy which has its roots in the whole mental outlook of the Burmese Nation, which outlook has largely been conditioned by the circumstances of Burma and our long struggle for freedom. Naturally, it is also our reaction to the outside world as we found it on regaining independence. This policy has developed as we gain a better appreciation of the fast changing and turbulent world. In this sense, it is an evolving policy, seeking to relate itself to the realities of the changing world situation. However, our fundamental position remains unchanged throughout, namely, that our foreign policy is basically an independent policy. For us, it can only be a policy of acting according to our best judgement in any situation and furthering the principal objectives and ideals that we have as a nation. We strongly feel, Mr. Chairman, that this is the only honourable and right position that we should take.

The fact that we pursue an independent policy in foreign affairs does not, of course, mean that we are averse to meeting with other countries and discussing with them problems of common interest. We do meet and discuss with friendly countries, have some measure of common thinking, and co-operate where possible. We, therefore, welcome, Mr. Chairman, this opportunity to meet with the other non-aligned countries to exchange views with each other about the changes in the international situation since the last Conference of non-aligned countries

in Cairo in 1964, to assess the significance of these changes and the present world trends, and give thought to the problems of the future. Such an exchange of views, needless to say, will be beneficial to everyone of us in that we will have a better understanding and appreciation of each other's positions and attitudes.

Mr. Chairman, it has, however, to be borne in mind that in the actual conduct of its foreign affairs, every government has to deal mostly with particular issues in particular contexts, though within the framework of the principles of international relations. It will be extremely difficult indeed, to find more than a few governments similarly situated with regard to such issues and therefore in a position to take some common or joint action. Moreover, every government has to think primarily in terms of its particular national interest, and there arises the question whether its national interest should or should not be subordinated to supra-national interest in a particular case and, if so, to what extent and in what form. In our view, Mr. Chairman, this difficulty assumes greater dimensions in the case of non-aligned countries which come from different continents with diverse cultural and social backgrounds and differing political and economic conditions. In these circumstances, we are apprehensive that any attempt to launch a programme of common action by non-aligned countries with regard to the issues of the present-day world, would create difficulties for many non-aligned countries. Indeed, there is the danger that such an attempt would tend to accentuate disharmony rather than promote harmony among the non-aligned countries and bring them apart rather than together. We are, therefore, of the opinion that the non-aligned countries would serve themselves and the world better by trying to keep in contact with each other on important issues of the present-day world and to take such co-operative action as the circumstances of each would permit.

Mr. Chairman, I wish also to express the apprehension of my Government that the launching of a process of intensified activity by non-aligned countries, in the present international conditions, would

Sooner or later bring the non-aligned countries as a group into a confrontation with power blocs and organizations. The moment the non-aligned countries are brought into such confrontations, the policy of non-alignment, in our view, would be jeopardised. We, therefore, consider that it is important that the non-aligned countries should not be drawn into such a position if they are to retain what respect and moral influence they have gained through following a straightforward and honest independent policy. It would seem that by upholding their present posture they would be in a better position to exert at the appropriate moment, such moral weight as they have in favour of peace and friendly relations and co-operation among nations.

I think I should make it clear that my Government has never taken kindly to any idea of the non-aligned countries forming some kind of a bloc or the so-called Third Force in the world. It does not favour the system of blocs as such. In particular, my Government does not wish to place itself in a position, where, politically speaking, it is just lined up with a particular group or bound up to it in regard to its future activities in the field of foreign affairs. This would be in conflict with our basic approach to foreign affairs. We are, Mr. Chairman, a young nation, and it is incumbent on us to subject our foreign policy to constant review so that it would serve the changing needs of the world situation. Indeed, it is doubtful whether at the present time even countries with long traditions in foreign affairs have anything which could be called a precise and definite foreign policy, because the world itself is in a fluid condition. In these circumstances, it is difficult to see how non-aligned countries would be able to formulate common views and attitudes quickly enough to meet the changing needs of the world situation and work out a generally accepted common programme of action with regard to the pressing problems of the world, which are of common concern to them.

The idea of non-aligned countries making a more effective contribution to world peace and international co-operation by co-ordinating their views on vital issues of the world and taking joint political action based on a common platform, is, no doubt, an inspiring thought. However, past experience of the practical difficulties, some of which I have outlined above, would indicate that any attempt at the present time to translate this idea into political action might have more detrimental than beneficial effects.

As regards the question of holding another conference of the heads of States and governments of non-aligned countries, we feel, Mr. Chairman, that such a Conference is too important to be without some positive results. It cannot afford to be a failure. In our view, it should be held only in circumstances in which it will not fail to make some positive contribution to the improvement of the international situation. We are afraid that such circumstances do not at present exist.

Dragi Rudi,

Sauet
Yugoslavia
1st Sept 1970.

U prilogu ti šaljem nacrt o kojemu sam ti
govorio po telefonu. To je za ličnu informaciju GS.
Hvala unapred, sretno pod svim i svako dobro.

31.8.1970

Kran