

**Speeches
of
Heads of the Nepalese Delegation to the
Non-Aligned Movement (1961-2009)**



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Phone 977-1-4266954
977-1-4266955
Fax 977-1-4266956
E-mail ifa@mail.com.np
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Preface

I am pleased to know that the Institute of Foreign Affairs has come up with yet another publication on Nepal's role and position in the Non Aligned Movement as reflected in the statements of the heads of Nepal's delegations to this body covering a period of almost half a century. Considering the paucity of important and necessary documents in every sphere including Nepal's interactions with the regional and international bodies, it is quite pertinent to start the process of recovering older documents and preserve them in the form of published books as well as digital format. This book forms a part of a series of such works taken up by the Institute lately. I am confident that this work, as others, will go a long way for the benefit of academicians, students, foreign relations experts and the general public. One of the mandates taken up by IFA is to build it as a repository of important information on Nepal's policies and actions in the conduct of foreign relations.

The Non Aligned Movement essentially characterizes the will of the majority of this world to ensure "national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security" without being aligned to any one country. Also it struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony". Havana Declaration has clearly spelt out the political ideals of the NAM. This body has been led and guided by diverse figures from the likes of Suharto of Indonesia to Mandela of South Africa. Nevertheless, the NAM is unified by its commitment to world peace and security. Nam has also made a lasting contribution to the issue of multilateralism and currently on sustainable development, South-South Cooperation, Cultural Diversity and Human Rights.

Nepal, NAM is as relevant today as it was during its inception in 1961. At the 16th NAM ministerial meeting Nepal's foreign secretary Mr. Madan Kumar Bhattarai who also led Nepal's delegation, said "The world has changed much. However, the relevance of the movement continues to remain as high as ever. It is more relevant today as we face numerous challenges of global proportions in the twenty-first century of globalization and global interdependence". Nepal has been playing an active role continuously in the NAM always supporting the cause of self-determination for people under occupation. Nepal's non-aligned policy is deeply rooted in the message of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founder of Nepal, when he said that Nepal thrives in peace by maintaining realistic, balanced and friendly relations with both neighbors.

I wish to thank all those who helped IFA to bring this publication forward. I am grateful to the staff of IFA for their cooperation and support. Mr. Sanu Raja Puri deserves special mention for his untiring effort in making this publication a reality.

Tika Jung Thapa
(Executive Director)
5 June 2011

Address by
His Majesty Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, First NAM Summit, 1-6 September 1961, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Mr. Chairman and Friends

At the very outset I wish to express my profound sense of gratitude and appreciation to the government and the people of Yugoslavia for the generous hospitality with which we have been received in this country. Arrangements made for our accommodation, our convenience and comfort are so complete even to the last detail that it speaks volumes not only about the efficiency of the authorities concerned but also about their sincerity.

I would also take the opportunity to express, on behalf of the people of Nepal, our sincere greetings to President Tito and the government and the people of Yugoslavia.

It is but appropriate that this historic Conference on which the eyes of the world are turned today is being held at this beautiful city of Belgrade — a city, whose history recalls the struggle of its patriots for the preservation of the country's sacred freedom through the ages. The struggle of the people of Yugoslavia through the last war and after has been most inspiring to all the lovers of freedom in all parts of the world. So far as we in Nepal are concerned, this ancient city embodies a message that is specially significant for the Conference and for the world at large. And the message, as we see it, is that whatever be the heavy odds set against us, so long as our actions are properly geared to a noble cause, so long as we are honest to ourselves, so long as we do not want to lapse into mental and physical inertia, and so long as we set our foot firmly on reality, we can hold our own and, what is more, in the end we shall not be alone.

We have come to this Conference with some international questions plaguing us for some time—the prospect of the intensification of the cold war and the mounting race of armament.

We are meeting today under the shadow of the crisis over Berlin and Germany between the West and the Communist powers. Deep passions, strong sentiments, firmly held beliefs and, above all, the question of prestige between the two power blocs in relation to their respective positions are involved in this issue. The problem, therefore, is extremely complicated and involved. But one thing is clear on the question of Berlin and Germany, that is, the present arrangement is unsatisfactory to all the parties concerned. Nevertheless, unsatisfactory as the present arrangement is, any attempt to change the *status quo* by means other than peaceful negotiations between the parties concerned, is, in our view, infinitely worse. Therefore, Nepal is very much concerned over the attitude of threats and counterthreats and the alerting of the NATO and Warsaw forces, thereby creating a situation which is eminently risky. In our humble opinion, the present really war-like propaganda will lead the world nowhere and, therefore, we suggest that all the interested parties to the question of Berlin and Germany so conduct themselves in their actions and speeches as to help them come together rather than drift apart.

This threatening international outlook, when viewed against the background of the unprecedented advance of Science as the hand-maiden of defence preparation, as unexemplified in the recent spectacular flights into the space, appears all the more terrifying; and no effort will be fitting and appropriate at this juncture than one directed towards the lessening of the existing tension. In our opinion, the purpose of the present Conference is the relaxation of tension.

My own country of Nepal, lying in the lap of the great Himalayas and overlooked and guarded by its majestic peaks, seems a little remote when called to mind from this part of Europe. Here the pace of life is much quicker than it is in my part of the world. And the reason is not far to seek. During the last four or five centuries Europe has moved much faster than any other continent in many respects and, particularly, in science and technology. For this reason, Europe came to develop a dynamic economic and political system with a certain scale of human values, which, with some formal differences, became the norm for the whole of Europe and a model and a pattern for many other countries and continents which were fascinated, or even dazzled, by the splendours of Europe. On account of the momentum given to it by fundamental economic changes, European civilisation, as it developed during this fruitful period, acquired an excessively extrovert character, to use a modern psychological expression, making it in the process push outwards. Some West European countries aggressively pushed outwards during the period as torchbearers of European civilisation, initiating in its trail an extremely painful process, which

has become known as colonialism and imperialism. Asian civilisation, on the other hand, is on the whole an introvert civilisation and is, therefore, at its best when it looks inwards, and is at its worst when it seeks to push its elbows outwards.

This natural trait of the Asian civilisation, as expressed in its contemplative bent and its disposition to encourage one to keep to oneself, was reinforced when it came into direct encounter with the West European colonialism. Asia shrank closer into its own narrow, individualistic “empire”, illumined by its egoism only, while some West European powers, such as Great Britain, France, Netherlands, Portugal *etcetera* enslaved humanity into extensive empires, over which, so far as the colonial peoples were concerned, the sun never rose.

However, as we look at the world today, we find that the most significant phenomenon in the international situation is not colonialism but anti-colonialism struggles of the people of Asia and Africa. After a long and bitter struggle, anti-colonial movement in Asia has almost come to its fulfilment. Almost all the countries of Asia, which were once colonies, have won their independence with only a few exceptions, such as Goa and West Irian. Not only have these countries won their political independence but they have already gone a long way to win their economic independence.

Success of anti-colonial movement in Asia and the powerful support given by the newly-independent Asian countries have combined to give a great impetus to the African fight for independence. Some of the countries of Africa have won their independence in recent years and, speaking of the continent as a whole, there is a tremendous upsurge of the masses for liberation in all African countries.

Nepal is firmly on the side of the forces of revolution. We believe that colonialism is an unmixed evil. Social and political order involving such relationships between man and man is not acceptable. Anti-colonial revolution, wherever it takes place and in whatever form, must be supported. And Nepal has always taken this uncompromising stand on this question. If the colonial powers say that we do not appreciate their intentions and understand their problems, we reply to them that they do not understand our feelings.

While taking this uncompromising stand against colonialism, we do recognise that some colonial powers have acted with more grace, and with greater statesmanship and imagination in reacting to the challenge of time than others. A colonial power like the United Kingdom, having grasped the fact that the days of colonialism are numbered, has acted on the whole in such

a manner as to get the approbation of many countries. Having taken lead in enslaving large masses of people, she has also taken lead in freeing them. But it may be observed at this stage that we shall be misled, and misled utterly, if we believe on this ground that anti-colonial struggle is all over. On the other hand, we should still be ready and prepared for a hard and protracted struggle before the liquidation of colonialism is complete. In Algeria bitter fight has gone on relentlessly and without break for more than seven years against the French colonialism. If the French record in Algeria belies her own great liberal tradition, the Algerian record has simply been inspiring. The people of Nepal have regarded the courage and bravery of the great Algerian people with unbounded admiration and respect. We are particularly happy that the representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government have come here to participate in this Conference. Portuguese colonialism, as is well known, has caused unspeakable agony to the people of Angola and Mozambique. In Kenya the people are still waiting to be free.

It is in Africa again that some disturbing signs of new colonialism are visible. Recent events in Bizerta go to prove that colonialism dies hard and it needs costly fight to remove the last remnants of colonialism. Again, had it not been for the new colonial design of Belgium, the Congo would have been quiet long ago. Both in the Congo and in the United Nations all the attempts directed towards the solution of the Congolese problems failed in the past not because some have supported one faction and others another, but because Belgium has definite neo-colonial ambitions in the uranium-rich Congo.

Neo-colonialism aims at the economic domination of the former colonies and is an even subtler form of exploitation in many ways. Nepal has made it clear in the United Nations and outside that she is opposed to all domination over any country by any other.

Anti-colonial movement is a part of the wider movement for peace. Another factor that is equally important for peace and security is disarmament and drastic reduction of all arms. The importance of disarmament cannot be too strongly emphasized. In the first place, ever-mounting piles of armaments that are being made and stocked by rival power-blocs are a constant source of danger, because, if history is any guide, armaments that have been piled up have always been used. Therefore, armament increases the sense of insecurity. Secondly, armament race is extremely expensive and consumes resources that could be used for raising living standard of the people. Low living standard generates tension within the community. Finally, the basic source of tension among the nations, in our opinion, is not ideology but economic disparity between individuals and nations, and the basic cure is

not armament but economic development. Armament, therefore, creates a vicious circle, in so far as it withdraws a large part of the resources that could be used for economic development. And this has the effect of retarding economic development and perpetuating the basic source of tension.

We are no experts on the question of disarmament, and we believe that it is a matter which should essentially be settled between the two parties directly involved. It is for this reason that we have always supported any step that is likely, in our view, to bring the two parties together. Our representative at the United Nations worked in this spirit when he participated in the Disarmament Commission. My government held the same view when supporting the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee and had expected much more from that Committee than what actually is achieved. The course of disarmament negotiations has been far from smooth and there has been a wide range of ebb and flow in our expectations. The course of negotiations on the ban of nuclear tests has been equally tenuous, though more progress has been made in this field than in other fields. We believe the Conference must make it clear that non-aligned countries are unitedly in favour of the complete banning of nuclear tests.

But the goal is as distant as ever. We must remember, however, that in spite of the great debate over the question of whether disarmament before control or control before disarmament, we have a feeling that the Western and the Soviet positions are not so fundamentally opposed as they are made out to be. And given the will and determination, it should still be possible to come to an agreement. It is very disturbing to find that the Vienna meeting between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev should have actually resulted in increased tension, when our hopes and expectations were so different. As matters stand today, we seem to be heading towards a world of more threats, more incrimination and more tension. For this reason, the Conference we are holding is confronted with a challenging task—the task of doing something concrete in the direction of lessening the tension at the present moment.

The principle of peaceful co-existence, belief in which is the common factor among all of us present here, is the principle which has grown out of the recognition of the realities of the international situation. It is for this reason that peaceful coexistence is being accepted by ever-increasing number of states in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America. The principle of peaceful co-existence when used negatively in the sense of military non-involvement becomes one of non-alignment. Belief in the policy of non-alignment implies in our opinion rejection of the theory that the challenge of the modern world is a military challenge.

Western countries have achieved their economic emancipation within a certain social and political system and the Soviet Union has achieved hers in a different political system. They achieved their difficult targets at great sacrifice and after sustained hard work. But the problem collectively facing the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America today is far more difficult and demands greater sacrifice and harder work. Exacting nature of the problems, the drastic character of the disease, requires drastic remedy.

In Nepal, as elsewhere, we are passing through a great revolution. The central purpose of the revolution is the raising of the standard of the people through economic development, and an essential measure of its success is the actual achievement of economic developments. This is a great and exacting task. Therefore, Nepal has striven to achieve this rapid economic development through institutions and organisations which are in keeping with her national genius and tradition, and which are competent enough to effect speedy development. We are fortified in our belief by the examples of our friends in the different parts of the world. Deeply rooted in her spiritual and religious traditions, Nepal cannot be galvanised into action by a purely materialistic view of life. Handicapped by extremely undeveloped, monolithic economy, based on agriculture, she cannot solve her problems by the method of trial and error, implicit in the capitalist system of production. A middle way seems to be destined for Nepal—a way, which combines human and spiritual values of life, with adequate rate of economic growth. In so doing, we must develop institutions, that sell to the people, that strike roots among the people and, above all, that are geared to action rather than talk.

As we are absorbed completely in this national development, we want to keep away from all sorts of military alliances and, so far as bloc formation is concerned, we are not in favour of forming even a neutral bloc. It is only in the last ten years that we have started to achieve contacts with international community, and in this short period we have done all we could to strengthen the forces of peace.

But this does not mean that we should not work collectively for the world peace and for the economic development of the underdeveloped countries. We must strive to achieve unity amongst ourselves by developing positive points of contact, cultural and economic, entirely different in quality from those that are usually fostered between big and small powers.

The best form of cooperation is of course the economic cooperation, and a substantial measure of economic cooperation is possible even among non-aligned countries. In political field also, cooperation has always been found

possible and, in our opinion, the Conference could help to make political cooperation even more purposeful and effective specially in the United Nations. There are a number of questions facing the United Nations which still divide the non-aligned nations and on which agreement could be possible if more effective means of consultation could be devised.

One of the matters likely to engage the attention of the non-aligned countries for some time is the question of the structure of the United Nations. It is generally believed that the structure as provided for in the Charter does not reflect the present political realities in Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe and that the Secretariat too as at present constituted is weighted far too much in favour of Western Europe and North America. The interesting suggestion made by the Soviet Union that the office of the Secretary General be replaced by a triumvirate, composed of the representatives of Western Powers, communist powers and neutral countries, seems to us clearly unworkable, and the solution of this question will have to be found, perhaps, in a fairer representation of the countries.

Another difficulty in the United Nations is on the question of proper representation of China. It has been our view that by refusing to accept China in the United Nations the World Organisation has lost much of its effectiveness. Whether in the United Nations or outside, China remains a world power. And not to have this power in the United Nations is harmful to it, and irritating to China.

Nepal regards the United Nations as a guardian of freedom of the small nations and would like it to grow in such a manner as would inspire the confidence of such nations. This Conference could, in our opinion, give lead in this direction.

I have just outlined very briefly Nepal's attitude to some of the more important international problems. As the agenda before us is very long and fairly complicated, reflecting as it does compromise between various points of view, I feel that we must confine ourselves to a discussion of general issues rather than specific ones. When the idea of the Conference of Heads of States of non-aligned countries was first suggested, Nepal readily accepted the idea, and has worked to the best of her ability to make the Conference a success. In our view, success of the Conference lies in the work we do rather than in the words we use. We still believe that when this Conference is over, it would have served a useful purpose. At this time I can do no better than add my voice to call for peace for which purpose we have gathered here. Peace is possible when complete non-interference in the affairs of other nations is, not only

preached but scrupulously practiced. We are also happy that this Conference has provided opportunity for us to develop personal contacts with some of the leading personalities in the world. In making this appeal for peace, I feel inspired by the Message of Peace which Lord Buddha of Nepal preached to mankind more than two thousand years ago.

Thank You.

Address by

His Majesty Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Second NAM Summit, 5-10 October 1964, Cairo, Egypt.

Mr. Chairman and Friends

1. First of all, I would like to extend my heart-felt thanks to the people and the Government of the United Arab Republic, and to President Nasser in particular, for the warm hospitality that has been extended to us and the excellent arrangements made for the Conference in this ancient and historic city. I am happy to record that while in Cairo I have come to feel the greatness of the Egyptian people both in the past and the present. The United Arab Republic, under the leadership of President Nasser, not only epitomises the progressive forces opposed to colonialism, imperialism and war but also is equally dedicated to the cause of social, economic and political development and peace. In view of the important role that the United Arab Republic has played in the pursuit of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, it is but appropriate that the Preparatory Meeting for the second non-aligned conference held in Colombo has unanimously selected Cairo as the second venue for this conference.
2. We may also note that the second conference of the non-aligned Heads of States and Governments is taking place in the continent of Africa—a continent which has declared itself almost entirely for non-alignment and for which, even more than for other continents, non-alignment as an anti-colonial progressive independent policy is a living, growing reality.
3. We may recall, Mr. Chairman, that the first Conference of the non-aligned countries held in Belgrade was a landmark in the history of the world-wide movement for peace. It is our belief that the Belgrade spirit expressed so vividly in that Conference has informed later developments also in the world and the Resolution on War and Peace passed by that Conference was not only a commentary on the frightening international situation that prevailed then but also a collective moral expression of the universal

human urge for peace. There is no doubt that the Belgrade spirit is one of the contributing factors in the generally improved international climate of today, which is freer, however slightly, from the cold war tensions than before. The first Conference was successful because its spirit was not parochial and was not dominated by the particular interests of any country or continent. Indeed the degree of accommodation shown by many of the representatives in the Belgrade Conference on regional issues in the interest of larger issues was remarkable. I express the hope that the same spirit will permeate the present Conference also.

4. The first Conference itself was fairly representative as statesmen from countries in four continents participated in it. It is a fitting tribute to the dynamic nature of the Belgrade spirit and Declaration that the present Conference should reassemble here today, fairly soon after the first, in such enlarged form. The eyes of the world are focussed on this great Conference though it is saddening to recall that Mr. Nehru who was one of the leading pillars of non-alignment is no more. The entire world has deplored the untimely removal from this world of another stalwart fighter for Peace, John F. Kennedy, the late President of the United States of America.
5. My delegation welcomes the distinguished representatives from those countries which had not been able to participate, for one reason or another, in the first Conference and which have happily found it possible to participate in this Conference today. I am particularly happy to welcome representatives from the Provisional Government of Angola in this family of nations. I need hardly add that this expansion of membership has given great strength and vitality to the present Conference.
6. It may be appropriate here to review, Mr. Chairman, some of the important events that have taken place since the Belgrade Conference which will indicate, in an outstanding manner, the role of non-alignment as a factor for peace in the international affairs. Not only a substantial relaxation of international tension but also a positive climate for peace is discernible today between the United States of America and the Soviet Union and we in Nepal welcome all these healthy developments. The Moscow Treaty on the partial ban of the nuclear tests is one of the consequences of the prevailing relaxation of tension and has been welcomed by an overwhelming number of countries. And it is our belief that the international tension will be further reduced if those countries which have not yet signed the Treaty could find it possible to do so and if the ban, as the result of a new understanding among powers interested in it,

were extended to underground testing also. Then again, that a statesman of a non-aligned country should be chosen to be the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation is a further tribute to the forces of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. During the Cuban crisis of October 1963, when the world was brought so dangerously close to war, our representatives in the United Nations took necessary initiative in exploring ways of averting the war, thereby exerting their moral influence in favour of peace. It is our belief that Cuba and such other countries in any part of the world should be left alone to develop their own political and economic systems without interference from outside in any manner.

7. We have particular cause to be happy that progressive decolonisation has continued with the result that many countries like Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika-Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Zambia and others have attained independence. The continent of Africa is nearly free from colonialism and we in Nepal welcome not only the progressive evolution of Africa into independence but also the new positive moves for African unity. United Africa, dedicated to the ideals of the United Nations and to the policy and principles of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment as proclaimed in the African Charter, will be an unmixed blessing for the world because, in our view, it will be a force for peace, stability and progress.
8. These are some positive political developments to which the Belgrade decisions, in our opinion, directly or indirectly made important contributions.
9. It was again realized, during the Belgrade Conference, that the battle for universal peace is essentially connected with the battle for progress and development. Progress and peace are inseparable. While political independence is important, economic independence is even more essential. Colonialism has left behind it great poverty and forced backwardness among two-thirds of the world's population; and therefore, resulting economic colonialism needs to be fought with even greater determination.
10. We in Nepal are actively engaged in diversifying our products and our trade by setting up industries so that our economy which is essentially based on agriculture may become more balanced. We, therefore, attached particular importance to the recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva - a Conference inspired by the Belgrade Declaration; and we are of the opinion that the Conference,

though unable to produce immediate practical benefits, was successful in giving to members a new depth of understanding of the developing countries' problems of trade and development including those of the land-locked states, in relation to the developed nations. The issue posed by the Conference should, in our opinion, be pursued in the interest of humanity as a whole so that a solution beneficial to everybody concerned may be found. So far as we are concerned, we hold the view that the Conference should formulate new principles of trade, recognising the intimate connection between trade and development and finally create an institutional framework capable of translating these principles into practice either amongst ourselves or through the United Nations.

11. Economic independence, as political independence, can be won more easily if there is unity among those who are struggling for it; and it was heartening to find that the developing countries in the Conference at Geneva, did, on the whole, maintain necessary basic unity by trying to understand problems not only between them and the developed countries but also among themselves.
12. The Belgrade Conference, judged in the perspective of three years, therefore, had many dimensions of success.
13. But there is no reason to believe, Mr. Chairman, that the battle for peace and peaceful co-existence and against colonialism and imperialism, whether political or economic, has been finally won. Portuguese policy of colonialism is as obstinate and as unrepentant as it was ever before. All possible moral force has been mobilised in the United Nations and outside against Portugal's continuing policy of colonialism. She, however, remains not only unresponsive to this unanimous world opinion but actually defies it. It is possible to find reasons behind Portugal's intransigence; the Western powers have not carried their moral denunciation of colonialism to its practical and logical conclusion. While dealing with colonialism, I have in mind, besides Mozambique, such colonies as Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese controlled Guinea, British Guinea, and South West Africa and others. But it would be a real disaster for humanity if the anti-colonial forces of the world, in the face of the Portuguese defiance, were compelled to decide that there was no alternative to violence to end colonialism. Nepal expresses her full support and sympathy to the heroic people of Angola and Mozambique in their brave struggle against colonialism, as she does to all people fighting colonialism everywhere. It is our considered opinion that the United Nations Resolution on colonialism should be respected in the spirit in which it was passed by all Powers who still continue to possess colonies.

14. This Conference which is meeting today in the form of such an enlarged family, due to the great extension of the zone of non-commitment will, I hope, be an even more effective instrument for world peace, security and progress than its predecessor. For this purpose, it is necessary that the representatives of more than 50 countries assembled here reaffirm once again their faith in non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. It is our firm belief that even in the international situation caused by the improvement in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, a firm collective reaffirmation of our adherence to peaceful co-existence will be useful if only to foster and strengthen these healthy trends. But in the world made uneasy by such regional tensions as those of South-East Asia and the Middle East where powerful interests are at play, such reaffirmation will be even more useful and timely.
15. We are much concerned over recent developments in Vietnam. That Vietnam has continued divided for so many years is bad enough but the intensification of tension in the area as a result of the intrusion of powerful extraneous forces is even worse. Divided Vietnam must one day unite just as all divided nations whether in Asia, Africa or Europe must do one day. But still Vietnam was divided not as a result of the desire of the Vietnamese people, not even as a result of the regional tension but as a result of the fearful division of the world into two powerful blocs, armed to the teeth. The way towards the unification, peace and happiness of the Vietnamese people, in our opinion, lies through relaxation and not intensification of tension. The Gulf of Tonkin incident tended to intensify this tension. The first major recognition of the fact that reduction rather than intensification of tension was the need of the hour was embodied in the Geneva Agreement of 1954. And if the present Conference of the non-aligned countries could find some way of relaxing the tension in the area and establishing peace in this unhappy land by extending the area of non-alignment to this sensitive region and by eliminating all possible external intervention, it would have made a real contribution to peace.
16. All these disputes, whether of South-East Asia or of the Middle East as in Cyprus and elsewhere or of Congo, should be solved in the interest of the people concerned and in line with the United Nations' decisions wherever possible, without pressure from external interests and in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter, and by negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, if necessary. No doubt, there is such a solution to each of the problems; and in view of the fact that the Big Powers blinded by the immense power which they possess are too

ready and too quick to give a threat or an exhibition of their monstrous might, it has become incumbent on countries pursuing a policy of peace and peaceful co-existence not only to dissociate from such attitudes, not only to refrain from cold and hot war postures but also to foster and develop relationships among nations and particularly among themselves on the basis of new values of life calculated to promote peace, justice, tolerance and respect for each man and for each nation, great and small.

17. It is a matter of satisfaction that this attitude has generally guided our approach to international issues such as world peace, disarmament, peaceful co-existence, racial equality, freedom of dependent peoples. The validity of this approach is being widely recognised and the non-aligned countries are being increasingly associated in high counsels affecting war and peace. The recent adjournment of the United Nations 17-member Disarmament Conference at Geneva without being able to come to any agreement was unfortunate; but I should like to add that the failure to arrive at an agreement was not due to the lack of efforts on the part of the representatives of non-aligned countries. This as well as the continuation of apartheid and racialism and colonialism in defiance of the overwhelming world opinion against it is a rather sad commentary on the state of the world today in which the Big Powers possess such monopoly of power as to defy world opinion.
18. This only proves, Mr. Chairman, that the world is not yet safe from the recurring threats of war. Apartheid and racialism constitute a denial of fundamental human values and so long as the atrocities based on these false policies and values persist in the African Continent and elsewhere, real peace will be out of man's grasp. It is for this reason that Nepal fully endorses the resolution passed by the African Summit Conference held recently in Cairo, and shares with them the views on the boycott of South Africa. Moreover, the wasteful expenditure running into astronomical figures made on the futile and suicidal race for armaments between the two groups of powers when the money and the skill so wasted could be easily used—and used well—for relieving humanity of poverty, disease and ignorance, will look like a cynical gamble and trade on human suffering. As a result of this pile-up of armaments, dangerous military theories are being enunciated, theories of military vacuum in this ocean and that, in one country or the other, theories of limited wars and so on, creating an atmosphere of insecurity. Such theories have chain reactions. Owing to the urgency of the problem of disarmament, we

have supported and shall continue to support any move whether within the United Nations or without, leading towards general and complete disarmament under an effective international control.

19. I would now like to say, Mr. Chairman, a few words about the United Nations. We firmly believe in the ideals and the principles of the United Nations which, in our opinion, represents mankind's best hope for the future. Specially for smaller and weaker nations, the United Nations is a source of strength, a sentinel of peace. Needless to say that it is becoming a supreme forum of the international community and a guarantor of equal rights of all the peoples and the countries. While the role played by the United Nations in the lessening of international tension and preservation of peace has been conspicuous, the service rendered by it and its specialized agencies in the economic, social, humanitarian and cultural fields is not inconsiderable. It is a pity that such a fine organisation should often be bogged down and made ineffective as, for example, on the important question of proper representation of China, by the rivalries of Big Powers. Nepal believes that in the interest of world peace which is the primary concern of the United Nations, the People's Republic of China must be ensured its rightful place in it.
20. The United Nations Organisation was set up in 1945 by about fifty founding members who were aware of their joint responsibilities to restore peace and peaceful conditions out of the chaos of War. The membership of the United Nations today has increased to 113 and happily continues to increase. Moreover, we think it necessary to revise the Charter of the United Nations here and there, so as to enable the newly emerged nations to participate more fully in the Security Council, the Secretariat and the ECOSOC etc.
21. Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit that my Government attaches great importance to this Conference of Non-Aligned countries as it did to its predecessor. It provides for a thorough exchange of views on international issues among representatives of countries following basically similar policies; it is a useful meeting of minds, a sharing of experiences which is bound to stand in good stead in the difficult times ahead. The Conference, as we understand it, is essentially a movement for peace, a moral movement for peace, a moral movement dedicated to the creation of world public opinion in favour of peace. As I have already suggested, the countries represented here do follow similar policies on most of the issues of the world. But they don't constitute a bloc in the military sense. They have deliberately dissociated themselves

from collective military pacts dominated by the United States or the Soviet Union; and as they believe that there is no military solution to the ideological conflict between the two Power-groups, they concentrate their entire energy on the promotion of peaceful co-existence.

22. Non-alignment, in our view, is essentially a product of a country's desire to preserve its freedom and independence from powerful external forces and contains, within it, the essential principle of non-interference in the affairs of others. World peace is in constant danger because the Big Powers have persuaded themselves to interfere, in many direct and subtle ways, in the internal affairs of small countries. If the present Conference could exert itself to evolve a useful code of conduct not only to govern the relations between them, on the one hand, and the Big Powers, on the other but also among themselves, embodying all the essential principles of peaceful co-existence, then I may venture to suggest that it may have done a really useful and practical work in the direction of peace and peaceful co-existence.

Thank You.

Adderss by

His Majesty Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Third NAM Summit, 8-10 September 1970, Lusaka, Zambia.

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates

I wish to associate myself with the sentiments of those who have spoken before me in expressing appreciation and gratitude for the warm hospitality extended to us by the government and people of Zambia. We have been greatly impressed by every detail of arrangement made for our accommodation and comfort. President Kaunda has given his own personal attention in the matter and we are happy to say that deep feelings of friendship and goodwill exuded all around have been matters of special satisfaction for us.

How appropriate is the fact that this historic conference, this Third Conference of the Non-Aligned Heads of State and government, should be held in Zambia, a land-locked country in the heart of Africa. It is important for us also to remember that of the three such conferences two have been held in Africa underlining the continuing relevance of this great continent to the problems of the third world and what is non-alignment, properly understood, except an exercise in humanism, an exercise to rise above the feeling of exclusiveness firmly entrenched in bloc politics which characterised and continues to characterize the international scene today? Therefore, it is in the fitness of things, all the more, that the country of our choice for this conference is Zambia where the leadership is so profoundly and so explicitly committed to the cause of humanism.

Zambia, indeed, provides a unique vantage point for the identification and broad survey of our problems. While the great Zambezi with its world famous falls and international waters seems to symbolize unity, progress and prosperity in an eloquent manner, it is an irony of fate that Zambia, which is trying so hard to create a decent life for all its citizens and residents irrespective of colour and race, should itself be surrounded right up to this moment on three sides, by neighbours where the tragedy of what man has made of

man is being ruthlessly enacted. Angola to the west and Mozambique to the east continue to smart under the oppressive wheels of Portuguese colonialism which defies with impunity the collective conscience of the civilized world expressed in the United Nations resolution. It is clear that our struggle against colonialism is not yet over. We must ask ourselves in this conference why after two decades of anti-colonial liberation movement our mission in Angola and Mozambique and also in some other parts of the world remains incomplete. My government, in the United Nations and elsewhere in the international conferences, has given its full support to the African countries and to the anticolonial liberation movement of Angola and Mozambique in their efforts to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism from their continent. Any complacency in the anticolonial struggle will be misplaced. It is my belief that this conference would give urgent thought to evolving practical measures for the realization of the objective.

Again, if we look out from Lusaka towards the south across the Zambian borders, we see another menace threatening the peaceful development of humanity. This is the menace of apartheid, a negative retrograde doctrine, embodying the denial of all basic human values. It seeks to perpetuate man's injustice against man by creating a permanent wall between race and race, man and man, on the basis of the colour of the skin. The cynicism implicit in apartheid has led the white minority in Rhodesia to usurp power illegally and use it against the majority who are the children of the soil. The British government's seeming helplessness in discharging its solemn responsibilities towards the majority of the people of Rhodesia is in contrast to what it is doing elsewhere and is incompatible with the best in the British character that has stamped the world in some of the finest moments of history. Indeed, we are seriously concerned in Nepal that the new British government, far from correcting the failure of the predecessor Labour government to discharge its solemn trust which it had willingly undertaken at the time of its agreement with the British South Africa Company, has decided to slide down the cynical road still further. I only express the hope - hope perhaps against hope - that at this crucial moment in the history of Africa the best in the British character will still prevail and a fateful stone for and edifice of the peaceful development of Africa will be laid.

This unsatisfactory state of affairs in Rhodesia, which shows no signs of abatement, reinforced by the aggressive policies of the South African government based on racialism and apartheid in which it has persisted in defiance of world public opinion is a matter of grave concern to all lovers of peace. Human family is a multi-racial family and a refusal to accept a

multi-racial society within a state in which two or more races live is an invitation to disaster. Policies based on discrimination and injustice are ultimately doomed to failure for all the appearance of their immediate success. I need not remind this distinguished audience that Nepal has been active enough in our common struggle against apartheid and racialism within the terms of its resources and capabilities in the United Nations. Again it is disturbing that two major western European powers seem to be vying with each other in their bid to sell arms to South Africa which will only have the effect of strengthening apartheid to which both the powers have expressed their explicit opposition.

I earnestly hope that the conference will direct its thoughts to these serious problems.

The explosive situation of the Middle East continues to plague this continent north of the Sahara and a considerable portion of West Asia. This region has not experienced a single moment of real peace for the last twenty years. What are the basic elements of the solution at which we must aim to reestablish peace in the area? First, war must be rejected as a solution not merely because it has caused so much distress to the people but also because it is likely to escalate into another global war, Secondly, all the countries in the region should feel that there are conditions for them to live in peace and even in cooperation. Thirdly, no solution of the Middle East problem is possible unless we take into account the question of over one million Arab refugees. Finally, the United Nations must make special provision by setting up some machinery or by appointing a representative to take care of the painstaking progress towards any restoration of peace.

We supported the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 on Arab-Israeli conflict because we believed it provided an honourable and practical basis for the establishment of peace in the region on these lines. While it rejected the idea of Israel having the right to enlarge its area by conquest, it also insisted on the right of that state to exist securely and in peace within its boundary before conquest. Developments in the region have been most tenuous after the Resolution; and, in fact, during the year a most explosive situation has brewed. In this complicated situation Nepal has done in the Security Council all it could to emphasize the relevance of the above resolution to the developing crisis. I am satisfied that if no progress has been made towards the implementation of the resolution, it is not for lack of effort on our part to discharge our responsibility in the Security Council. So great is our concern for peace in the area that, though we believe that the United Nations itself should receive such support from members as would make it

effective to restore peace, we have wished success to the efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the four big powers together when they tried their hand outside the United Nations. The situation, however, becoming more explosive than ever, led to the growing concern and anxiety of the world reflected in increased activities in the major capitals of the world. I wish to mention in this connection the recent proposals of the United States the acceptance of which by the United Arab Republic and Jordan and Israel has resulted in a ceasefire which is certainly a positive development. But we have not turned the corner yet. I hope that this conference, while wishing well to all these efforts and particularly to the peace efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States, will emphasize the basic elements of the solution embodied in the Security Council Resolution.

Another agony that has been the lot of the third world to suffer for a long time rather farther off from this continent has been the agony of Vietnam and in fact of the whole of Indo-China. The Vietnamese, the Laotians and the Cambodians want to determine their future themselves without any interference from outside. This principle of self-determination has been universally accepted and is embodied in the United Nations Charter. The cautious hope raised in the world by the phased withdrawal of the U.S. troops and by the agreement to hold talks in Paris between parties concerned received a serious setback recently with the sudden escalation of the conflict into Cambodia. External military activities in Laos have been escalated also. Since the situation in Indo-China cannot normalize except on the basis of self-determination, injection of external forces further complicates the already complicated situation and prolongs the agony of the people. In spite of all the claims made to the contrary, the situation in Indo-China is more complicated today than ever before. The area of instability in the region has been enlarged, thereby introducing a qualitative and quantitative change in the character of the prevailing regional instability; it is a matter of serious concern to all those who are really interested in the stability of the continent. I hope that this conference will apply its mind to the dangerous situation of South East Asia which is getting increasingly complicated and make its position clear against any external interference in Indo-China and in favour of all the three nations being left free to decide for themselves.

Over and above all of these; there is the continually expanding arms race, both nuclear and conventional, that hangs over the head of mankind. In the interest of peace, Nepal has gone to the farthest limit, even in the absence of matching obligations from nuclear powers, to express its commitment to a world free from the threat of nuclear annihilation. Strategic arms

limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union underline the continuing welcome *détente* between them but the lack of progress in general disarmament is still frustrating. Vast sums of money that could be used for promoting the welfare of mankind particularly in the underdeveloped parts of the world are spent today on piles of mutually destructive weapons. Reason and a charitable sense have been overwhelmed by distrust and suspicion.

Yet, a state of comparative *détente* between the United States and the Soviet Union is a reality and has had a series of healthy chain reactions. The present delicate dialogue between the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany and those of the German Democratic Republic is a positive development of this kind. We wish success to this dialogue. The new treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany renouncing the use of force is a notable achievement in the direction of the cause for which we have been working. We feel considerable satisfaction over this development. Another equally important outcome of the *détente* welcome to the non-aligned world is the unmistakable erosion in the rigidity of alliances on both sides. Partners of alliance have started to fret over its limitations and reach directly to the other side. The change in attitude toward alliance among the third world partners has been equally remarkable. I naturally hope that our conference will give a purposeful look at the meaning of this change and reflect it fully in its deliberations and decisions.

All these problems and many others can be solved only against the background of a United Nations that is strong, purposeful and universal. Nepal has worked towards this end. It is for this reason that my government has always believed that the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is essential apart from the fact that no solution of major political and military problems in the world and particularly in Asia is possible without the cooperation of China. Our own experience shows, for whatever it is worth, that China wishes to participate positively through economic and technical cooperation in the creation and building up of a progressive international community in the same way in which other countries similarly situated are ready to do. This is an important point. This conference, it seems to me, should leave no doubt about its views on China's position in the United Nations and if it can devise ways of having China in for the Silver Jubilee session of the world body, it would be a worthy contribution to a world cause.

As in the political field, Zambia typifies the problems of the third world in the economic field also. Like Zambia, many of the developing countries depend on one major commodity or at least a few primary products for their export. The problem that faces them is the problem of effectively diversifying their

respective economies. For this, a spirit of understanding and cooperation on the part of the developed world is essential. The experience of the two UNCTAD conferences shows that the majority of developed countries are far from willing to re-adjust their tariff and trade policies to meet the just needs of the developing countries. When the present lack of enthusiasm shown by the developed countries in extending economic and technical cooperation, following relaxation in the cold war tension, is added to their lack of interest in evolving liberal trade policies vis-à-vis the developing world, we cannot help feeling that the economic outlook for the third world is very far from promising. But still we have to persevere. The growing gap between the rich and poor nations needs to be narrowed. Again, developed members of the international community have made a commitment in the United Nations to increase transfers of external financial assistance to the developing countries until they are equivalent to at least one percent of their own gross national product. Except in a few cases, this commitment remains still unfulfilled.

In these circumstances, we must make a call to the developed countries in this second development decade to adopt liberal trade and aid policies, not because we want them to be charitable but because we want them to be just. This is a problem that faces the developing world as a whole: it is here that we must continue to offer a kind of united front.

The struggle against the growing disparity between the rich and the poor is certain to be long and arduous. In these circumstances, it is essential that we pull out heads together. The developing world itself is not an equal and homogeneous community; and therefore, it is important that a just relationship based on understanding and a spirit of cooperation is fostered and developed among these countries themselves. This gives a cogency to our case. There are many problems amongst us that can be so solved. The land-locked countries, for example, are additionally handicapped in their development and it should not be difficult even for developing transit countries to ensure that the effects of the handicap are minimized and full and unrestricted transit rights granted. Again, even among the developing countries are some which are less developed and which stand in need of more liberal and preferential trade policies from their more developed neighbours. Such problems require a great deal of accommodation and understanding among ourselves. I hope the present conference in Zambia, itself a land-locked country, will have no difficulty in putting these issues as well as many other common problems of the developing world into proper focus.

In about two weeks' time we are taking part in different ways in the Silver Jubilee session of the United Nations at New York. Twenty five years is a

significant milestone for the world organization. Most of us are only as old as that in terms of our active participation in the life of the international community. And what richness of experience these years have brought for us. It is time that we look back at the achievements and failure of the world body and make a new pledge together to make it into a more effective instrument of peace.

When the developed world has already succeeded in reaching the moon, the developing countries have to make efforts to reach one another. They have to re-build their own societies. I hope this momentous conference will give a firm guide-line to reach to the hearts of the problems that confront us in our march to progress.

Finally I wish the conference all success.

Thank You.

Address by

His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Fourth NAM Summit, 5-9 September 1973, Republic of Algeria.

**Mr. President
Your Majesties
Excellencies and
Distinguished Delegates**

1. To the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, represented by Heads of State of and Heads of Government of peoples across the world, I bring from the country of the summit of the world, Mount Everest, message of greetings and peace. I also wish to associate myself with the distinguished speakers preceding me in extending our grateful thanks to President Boumediene, the Government and people of Algeria for the excellent arrangements made for this Conference and also for the warm hospitality accorded to us. We shall cherish pleasant memories of our visit to this great country and the kindness and courtesy of the Government and people of Algeria.
2. Mr. President, my delegation is greatly impressed and inspired by the analytical review of the international situation presented to this Conference by the distinguished coordinator, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. His country's role in reinforcing the great principles of non alignment is deeply appreciated by Nepal, which, remains steadfast in its commitments to the spirit of the Lusaka Declaration.
3. Since the formulation of the Lusaka Declaration, many changes have taken place in the international scene. If the world which we see from Algiers today is different from what it was three years ago, even greater are the changes which have occurred in the twelve years between the First Summit of Non-aligned Countries in Belgrade and now. Whether

the direction of international events, with all their complexities and ramifications has been beneficial to the Non-aligned Movement is a matter not easy to define. What can be said with confidence and conviction is that the principles of non-alignment are as valid today as they were twelve years ago.

4. The Non-aligned countries have always believed in independence with interdependence. At Belgrade, we agreed upon the pursuit of a policy of independence and considered that an independent foreign policy was cherished principle of Non-Alignment. But we attached as much importance to a policy of coexistence of states with different political and social systems as to the policy of independence. The prospects for peace are brightened and become greater when conditions exist which allow every country of the world to take an independent stand on issues of concern and participate on the basis of full equality in all international decisions which have a global bearing. But we live in one world, so a constructive structure of international relations assumes the need for cooperation between different states. If cooperation is not possible, coexistence becomes a vital necessity.
5. These principles which we have advocated ceaselessly, relentlessly over the last twelve years have been recognised as valid by a increasingly larger number of countries. In Europe, climate of understanding has set in. The problems of two German States now seem to have been resolved. States formerly glaring at each other across enemy lines are discussing a continental structure of security and cooperation through reduction of forces. Europe after suffering two devastating wars, now lives in peace and benefits from prosperity.
6. The *détente* between the Big Powers, particularly noticeable in the last few years, has expanded and intensified. Non-alignment with its advocacy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems has indirectly or directly contributed to this new structure of Big Power relations. For countries in the Asian Continent, the process of normalization between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China undoubtedly occupies an important place. Nearly for quarter of a century, misunderstand and hostility to each other characterized the policies of these two great countries. To a certain extent these were responsible in increasing tension in the Far East and South East Asia. The improvement of relations between two major powers, we hope, will contribute to the establishment of peace in Asia.

7. The change in the international atmosphere along with the heroic resistance of the people of Vietnam could be said to have contributed at long last, in bringing the tragic and unjust war in Vietnam to an end. However, the suffering and sacrifices of the millions of Vietnamese demand that the provisions of Paris Peace Agreement are scrupulously observed by all sides and the legitimate aspirations of the people to live in peace are honoured. We were hoping that the Paris Peace Agreement on Vietnam would eventually be helpful in bringing peace to the whole of Indo-China, including Cambodia. This, we believe, is possible only with the withdrawal of all foreign interference so that the people of Cambodia may freely decide their own destiny and live in peace.
8. Elsewhere, in the Asian Continent, there continues to be tension also the borders between the Soviet Union and China. We pray and hope that differences in ideological matters will not hinder the eventual emergence of peaceful relations between them. Further south in the Asian Continent, the recent accord between India and Pakistan sets in motion positive trends, which will ensure for our friendly neighbor, Bangladesh its rightful place in the comity of nations.
9. Mr. President, if in certain parts of Asia and Europe, a structure of international relations is emerging along the lines advocated by the proponents of non-alignment, the struggle of oppressed people stares us from the continent of Africa.
10. Now standing on the soil of Algeria, a part of Africa which is proud and free, I cannot but reflect on the anguish and anger of the millions who suffer the humiliation and hatred, discrimination and domination and the hands of racist, colonialist regimes on the southern side of this very continent.
11. The racist regime in South Africa, with its policy of apartheid and continued occupation of the United Nations territory of Namibia, Portuguese colonialism in its exploitation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and the minority regime in Southern Rhodesia practise a policy of repression and discrimination against the majority populations which continues to prick the conscience of the civilized world. Blind to the realities of the day, relying on the bullet as solution to every problem, the South African racists, the Portuguese colonialists, and the illegal Rhodesian regime have defined all norms of civilized behavior and wish to turn the clock of history back to the dark and dismal era of colonialism which mankind has discarded for once and for all. In so doing, they have

created a situation in Southern Africa, which has become explosive. If fear of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Southern Africa leads the cruel racists and colonialists to wage inhuman war, a conflagration may ensue, which will wipe out of existence the last remnants of colonialism.

12. Nepal assumes its full responsibility as a Non-aligned country to constantly support national liberation movements. We renew this pledge in this beautiful city of Algiers, which with its magnificent beaches and boulevards, only a decade ago, was a fierce battle-ground against colonial deprivation. Nearly a million brave souls laid down their lives so that their country, their compatriots could live in freedom and dignity. When we look around the Algerian society today, we can proudly say that their sacrifices have not been in vain.
13. Mr. President, my Government watches with great concern the ever-explosive situation in the Middle East. There is no doubt that the continued occupation of neighboring Arab territories by Israel since the 1967 war has been responsible in increasing tension in the region. The violation of territorial integrity of a state under any pretext is unacceptable to us. It is against the pronounced policy of my Government and against the norms of international law. While demanding the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied lands, we also support the right of all nations in the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. In our view, the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, provides a sound basis for the settlement of just and lasting peace in the region. Regrettably, the Resolution remains still unimplemented. Settlement within its accepted framework seems us to be the only way to restore peace in the Middle East.
14. Twelve years ago in Belgrade, we pledged ourselves against military alliances whether they be multilateral, bilateral or regional. It was a far-sighted policy based on progress, sanity and peace. From the womb of these far-reaching decisions, we hope, will emerge the radiance of world peace. In this wholesome spirit, my country, Nepal welcomes the idea of creation of peace zones and their further extension.
15. In extension of the same desire for peace, Nepal supports the Declaration of Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace by the 26th General Assembly. The decision is in accordance with the desire of the Non-Aligned countries as expressed in the Lusaka Declaration. Keeping the vast expanse of Indian Ocean free of naval rivalry will considerably help to strengthen

the conditions of peace in this sensitive part of the world. In consultation with coastal and hinterland states of the region, we should continue to coordinate our efforts to implement the Declaration as early as possible.

16. It is our view, Mr. President, that the advocacy of zones of peace being established in one region, and extending therefrom to other parts of the world, will represent reinforcement of the principles of non-alignment. In the absence of clearly demarcated peace zones, accepted as such by every country in the world, countries with smaller size and populations are bound to feel insecure. In such a world as we live in, which is still dominated by power politics, it is our carefully considered opinion that Non-Aligned countries require safeguards against outside interference aggression.
17. Mr. President, many speakers before me have voiced the deep and widespread urge for peace. Nepal has welcomed the Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement, the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Partial Test Ban Treaty and Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as steps in the direction of world peace. Nevertheless, nuclear testing continues in the atmosphere and underground, and agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons is yet to be reached, and a moratorium on all nuclear testing has not come about. My Government notes with disquiet that arms building is not limited to the big powers alone. Middle power countries as well as some developing countries are spending valuable resources in acquiring sophisticated arms. The solution to all these problems seems to us to lie in general and complete disarmament. To this end, my Government supports the proposal to convene the World Disarmament Conference as soon as possible.
18. The Non-Aligned countries should continue to coordinate their efforts to speed up the process of disarmament so as to channelize to peaceful uses billions of dollars now waited in accumulating weapons of destruction.
19. The Non-Aligned nations do not only share similar outlook on major international issues but also suffer from similar economic disadvantages. All of us gathered here from the developing regions of the world. We are committed to accelerate the process of development as much as we are committed to the cause of peace. For us there cannot be peace without development.
20. The efforts to narrow the gap between the developed and developing nations have not been successful so far. Programmes for global partnership

launched within the framework of United Nations Development Decade First and Second have been behind the target. What worries us more is the fact that the annual rate of growth of developing nations has declined in the first two years of the Second Development Decade.

21. My Government is disappointed to note the continued reluctance of the developed nations to extend liberal aid, trade and tariff terms to the developing countries. Many developed countries have not fulfilled their pledge to transfer one per cent of their Gross National Product to the developing regions. Past three United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development have failed to persuade the developed countries in this regard. It is now clear that they will not give us the tremendous advantages they enjoy over their less developed counterparts. Therefore, the Non-Aligned countries should coordinate their trade policies and continue to bargain through the Group of "77", within the framework of the Lima Declaration.
22. In Lusaka, the Non-Aligned countries were able to emphasize the economic aspect of the Movement by adopting a far-reaching "Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Development". As a follow-up, the Non-aligned Foreign Minister's Meeting in Georgetown has adopted an "Action Programme for Economic Coordination". This action Programme provides the basis for increasing economic cooperation and coordination between the Non-aligned nations and also between all developing countries. It will make the developing countries more self-reliant vis-à-vis the developed nations.
23. There are further related problems concerning the landlocked and least developed among the developing countries which have an insufficient physical and social infrastructure to benefit from such trade and other concessions. Nepal which falls in this category is painfully aware of the difficulties and frustrations these countries have to face while preparing infrastructure for development inside and diversifying the trade outside the country. In view of such severe limitations, it is very difficult for the landlocked developing countries to speed up the pace of progress and participate in the global campaign to establish better social and economic order.
24. My country in cooperation with other landlocked countries has been calling the attention of the world to this unhappy situation. The international community is now beginning to recognize the depth of the problem. The Third UNCTAD has recommended some special measures needed in favour of such countries.

Similarly, the United Nations General Assembly last year had adopted a resolution inviting the international organizations and other developed countries to provide technical and financial assistance to the landlocked countries for feasibility studies and investment. As recommended by the UN General Assembly, we would like to see the establishment of special fund to subsidize the additional transport cost of landlocked developing countries as soon as possible. These measures though commendable are not enough to overcome the difficulties and disadvantages felt by landlocked developing countries. They would need substantial amount of technical and financial assistance even to complete the basic structure of development. Such assistance in our view should be made available in grant basis and if this may not be possible, long-term interest free loan should be extended.

25. The United Nations initiative to codify the Law of the Sea on the basis of new realities and new possibilities to explore and exploit resources of the seabed, ocean-floor and the sub-soil thereof is, indeed, bold and imaginative approach. We welcome and endorse the proposal to establish an international regime and appropriate international machinery to ensure equitable sharing of such resources lying beyond the limits of national jurisdiction for the benefit of all mankind. However, it will be very difficult for the landlocked developing countries to share the benefits in any meaningful manner without necessary transit and port facilities. Therefore, we urge the coastal countries to give sympathetic consideration to make specific provisions guaranteeing the right of landlocked countries to free and unrestricted access to and from the sea in the Convention. We hope that we shall have the full support of the Non-aligned group in this most legitimate and just demand.
26. Mr. President, international relations are fluid and their pattern is incessantly changing. In the era of the decline and fall of colonialism, new builders of empire may appear. Countries which yesterday were the victims of aggression could transform themselves to masters of domination. Hitherto poor countries which succeed in realizing their economic potential may practice a policy of exploitation. In this context, the relevance and meaning of non-alignment and, indeed of such Conferences as we are participating in, are often questioned. Our view is that the principles of non-alignment are as valid today, as they were yesterday and will be tomorrow, in defending the advocates of peace against war-mongers, in protecting the weak from the strong, and in freeing the poor from the rich. As long as there continue to exist political

domination, racial discrimination, economic disparities and military or ideological involvement in affairs of other countries, non-alignment will continue to appeal. Here, in Algeria, which has been the venue for the historic meeting that drafted the Charter of Algiers, we drew inspiration for a more positive action programme of non-alignment which will bind us together in our quest for peace with cooperation and accelerated development.

27. Our earliest meetings wished to further the prospects of peace. In this task, we have to be as vigilant as ever, promoting *détente*, removing misunderstanding and encouraging friendly exchanges and mutual cooperation. Traveling along the road of non-alignment in quest of peace, we have discovered that peace, however compelling a necessity, is a delicate proposition demanding at all times sanity, wisdom and maturity rising above whims, fancies and suspicions. Those with power must realize that only when nations feel secure can peace be enduring. Wherever there is insecurity there is at best fragile structure liable to be upset and unbalanced at any time and for any cause over the course of the last few years, the urgency of yet another dimension of a durable structure of world order, that of development, has become clear. Let us, all of us gathered here, pledge to remove the obstacles in the long search for peace. Let us pledge to replace insecurity with security and under-development with accelerated development. Nepal is already engaged in contributing her humble share to this realization. We shall dedicate ourselves with greater vigour assured that the majority of mankind, represented in this Summit of Non-aligned Countries extends full cooperation in this the greatest of endeavours, the greatest challenge to contemporary Man building a world of peace, security and development.

Thank You.

Address by

His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Fifth NAM Summit, 16-19 August 1976, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Madam President

Your Excellencies and Distinguished Delegates

1. Some two thousand and two hundred years ago, here in this beautiful island country of Sri Lanka was brought a message which had its origin in a land on the lap of the Himalayas where the Buddha was born. It was a message of peace and Buddha takes a pride of place in the annals of the history of Nepal. My journey to Colombo this time evokes a memory from the past and it ties not only Sri Lanka and Nepal, but the vast majority of mankind represented at this historic gathering, united in a common cause to peace, freedom and dignity for the whole of mankind. In the name of my people and on my own behalf, I have the honour and the pleasure to convey greetings to all the distinguished delegates assembled at this conference. To the President, Government and people of Sri Lanka, I should like to express the grateful thanks of my Delegation for the warmth of the reception accorded to us for the excellence of the arrangements made for the conference.
2. Since we met in Algiers three years ago, profound changes have taken place. Imperialism is in retreat and decolonizations virtually the order of the day. Some hopeful signs of *détente* have appeared in Europe. The continent of Africa which till yesterday bore the brunt of centuries of colonialism now breathes the air of freedom except for some colonial and racist regimes still entrenched in southern Africa. As a result of the fall of the Portuguese colonialism, these colonial vestiges have been dealt severe blow. We have no doubt that they will so crumble under the pressure of the people's just struggle. Our support for the national liberation movements arises out of our commitment to non-alignment, to the fulfillment of whose goals, we as members, are bound. Countries of Latin America have become increasingly aware that their destiny lies in their own hands, and they continue to carry on their struggle for greater freedom.

3. In my continent, Asia, the developments in Indo-China have been among the most significant events in contemporary history. After years of protracted fighting, the peoples of Indo-China have won victories against heavy odds. We hail these victories not only because of our steadfast support for the cause of national independence but also because these events serve as a warning to any new or potential regressive forces that their attempt to revive a new form of colonialism shall not succeed.
4. Fifteen years ago in Belgrade, we committed ourselves to common faith and common ideals which enjoined on us to observe certain norms that qualified us to be members of the Non-aligned community. We shared a common belief that every nation, big or small, should have the right to choose its own destiny—political, social or economic, without hindrance or imposition from any external forces.
5. The developments since the Summit Conference in Belgrade have demonstrated the validity of this concept. From a bipolar world divided into distinct camps or blocs, the world is clearly moving into a multiplier flux. Today, each nation not only rejects the doctrinaire approach to political ideologies but also refuses to tie itself to a power bloc or group. Indeed, the impulse to chart one's own course has become so strong that the present age may fittingly be called the age of national emancipation. Prosperity or security of nation no longer depends upon living within the umbrella of a powerful nation. On the contrary, only when a nation is allowed to blossom of its own accord, can it enrich the lives of its people and contribute to the peace and happiness of others. Nevertheless, there are moves and furtive stratagems, when a poor nation is made a hapless object of subjugation. It is ironic that some countries which themselves achieved independence out of long and bitter struggles should embark upon a course against the current of their own history.
6. Madam President, it is our view that, under no pretext and under no circumstances should the independence of any country be tampered with. Each nation is dear to its people and dearer to them is the spirit of freedom. While empires rise and empires fall, in the relentless march of history, it is our bounden duty to ensure that the wrong trends of history which brought about domination and enslavement must not be repeated, even in an impressive garb. Unfortunately, when we look at some contemporary events, we become aware that many countries are prevented from exercising the freedom of action which is their natural right. In Lebanon, we witness the anguish and suffering of people engulfed in an internecine war. Lebanon has suffered much and suffered

terribly and she should, at all costs, be left free to pursue independently her own course to stable peace. Similarly, the situation in Cyprus calls for a climate of peace where communal harmony should be restored through constructive dialogue between the two Cypriot communities. Such a state of affairs, we believe, is possible only when every nation honours and respects the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the Non-Aligned status of Cyprus. On the questions of Korea, it is our view that North Korea and South Korea should be left to themselves to sort out their problem of reunification of their own accord and choice. Outside interference hinders this process and may lead to instability and insecurity of the region as a whole.

7. Madam President, a world where all countries pursue independent policies and each country practices a way of life best suited to itself requires the acceptance of coexistence by each state, if regional or world peace is not to be disturbed for this reason, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence will continue to form, as in the past, the basis of Nepal's relations with other countries. We shall neither impose ourselves on others, nor shall we allow others to impose themselves on us, directly or indirectly.
8. Acquisition of territories by means of force removes a basic condition for peaceful coexistence. It is our view that, in the Middle East, the situation is becoming explosive because of Israel's continued occupation of the Arab lands. Various resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have drawn the framework for a durable and just peace in this region. Nepal has supported these resolutions. In our view, a just and lasting Middle East settlement requires immediate and complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to nationhood, and recognition of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in the area and their right to live within secure and recognized boundaries.
9. The challenge to peace on the Middle East as also the challenge to contemporary Man is whether he looks upon annihilation as his inexorable destiny or whether he is still capable of rising above rash impulses and destructive instincts and follow the dictates of reason and conscience. This leads me, inevitably, to the question of the limitless pursuit of arms, as the arms race proceeds at a fantastic pace, both quantitatively and qualitatively. A few measures of limited arms control have been taken, but in recent years the enthusiasm for general and

complete disarmament has, in point of flagged. There is, on the contrary, a definite tendency among nuclear-weapon powers and also among middle powers even within the fold of the Non-Aligned Movement to seek security, superiority and prestige in sophisticated arms buildup. My country feels that to revitalise our interest in this urgent world problem, it is essential that this Conference issue a call for a World Disarmament Conference under the United Nations auspices.

10. The Non-Aligned Movement must see that our success, however modest on political front, should be increasingly matched by a corresponding or greater progress towards the evolution of a New International Economic Order. The United Nations General Assembly has both provided basic guidelines and formulated specific measures designed to establish the new economic order. Negotiations at the recent UNCTAD-IV have shown that the path towards this objective is long and arduous, and beset with difficulties. The concept of the New International Economic Order is, however, irreversible, and within the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, we must tenaciously pursue our goal.
11. The problem of economic imbalance between the developed and the developing countries is an acute world problem. But no less acute seems the problem of the imbalances which prevail in the ranks of the developing countries themselves. As I have mentioned earlier, various Non-Aligned Conferences in recent years have adopted important action programmes, decisions and measures. Some of them on the economic front have been or are being implemented. We have supported these decisions and are in favour of implementing them. But we have feeling that most of our decisions, though constructive and conceived in terms of general benefit, have not been sufficiently weighted in favour of the least developed among the Non-Aligned countries.
12. Like the majority of least developed countries, Nepal suffers from the handicap of being landlocked. In fact, the landlocked nature of our country is, to an extent, responsible in placing us among the least developed countries in the world. This organic handicap coupled with the difficulties of our natural terrain has rendered the building of infrastructure for development an arduous task and we are unable to benefit fully from whatever trade and other advantages may be accruing from international cooperation. Partly as compensation for this natural limitation, we had urged in Algiers a programme of substantial technical and economic cooperation to help the basic structure of development in landlocked countries. We have also called for the speedy establishment,

as recommended by the General Assembly, of a Special Fund to subsidize their additional transport costs. The degree of failure on the part of the international community, including the Non-Aligned, to recognize the urgency and depth of the problem of landlocked countries is demonstrated by the lack of any substantial forward moves in these directions.

13. We have, however, faith in the basic unity of the Non-Aligned Movement, which is essentially the movement of the Third World. We are also confident that this Movement can become an effective instrument in achieving a just and equitable system of international economic relations. One such area in which fruitful cooperation is possible is the new and comprehensive law of the sea, now under negotiation. The countries of the Third World can ensure that the landlocked countries get not only their right of free access to and from the sea but also their fair share in the living and non-living resources of the sea. In that way, we shall be creating a new regime of the sea to which all nations will contribute because all nations, coastal or landlocked, will have a stake in the preservation of such a regime.
14. Even among ourselves, the Non-Aligned countries, we possess vast resources and opportunities for economic development and social justice through cooperation and collective self-reliance. Almost unlimited natural and human resources await exploitation and development at our hands. Non-Aligned countries among themselves also possess considerable financial and industrial resources as well as scientific and technological know-how. For these reasons, it would appear that increased cooperation among ourselves is as important as the help of the affluent world to solve the pressing economic problems of the day. The first step in such an endeavour must be genuine cooperation in strengthening the economic and social fabric of the weaker sectors in the Third World. Non-Alignment will lose its value and relevance if the stronger sectors among us get bogged down in the acquisition of greater wealth while the weaker ones are left alone to fend for themselves.
15. In our view, non-alignment assumes, on the one hand a rejection of involvement in military alliances or defense pacts. On the other, this movement also reflects our aspirations for a structure of peace built on the ideas and resources of all nations with universal participation. It is, therefore, only right that we continue to strengthen the United Nations as an effective instrument for peace, justice and progress. It is difficult to conceive of non-alignment except in the context of the ideals of the United Nations.

16. The integrity and relevance of the Non-aligned Movement depend on our success to evolve balanced on international problems based on equity for the common benefit of man. The pre-eminent Non-aligned role lies in the judicious but forceful use of our authority to stimulate creative actions tending to the achievement of our aims—strengthening of peace, independence and cooperation, and dissolution or elimination of divisive armed blocs and foreign military bases.
17. In this regard, it is only fitting that the first ever Non-aligned Summit Conference held in Asia should be taking place in the capital of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's contribution to the principles of non-alignment lies more in the policy of her Government, a truly peace policy which aims at finding security not in military alliances but in peaceful coexistence and cooperation. It is a policy from which the concept of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace comes as a logical corollary. My Government fully supports any policy or proposal which, we feel, contributes to the reduction of tension. In this spirit, we also express our support for the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality for the ASEAN countries. Indeed, whenever and where ever a step is taken towards the goal of peace, Nepal pledges its support in the genuine belief that peace is a *sine qua non* for a fullsome development of a man, for growth of his latent faculties—physical, intellectual, moral and aesthetic.
18. In February last year, I made the proposition that Nepal be declared a Zone of Peace. This proposition implies a desire, on our part, to look for a permanence of our country's destiny when free from turmoil or turbulence, we can work out our future in peace and freedom. For a country, placed in geo-political situation that Nepal is, there is nothing unnatural to harbour a desire for peace. Nepal wants no situation, either for the present or in perpetuity, that gives room for tension, fear of anxiety of instability. It is, therefore, only natural that she should wish to follow the principles on non-alignment scrupulously. In the whirlwind of time, when the fierce wind of change blows with fury, there is no guarantee that the flickering light of peace may not blow off a nation. This is not to suggest that the Nepalese have misgiving about other countries. Far from it, we have relations of peace, friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world, particularly with our neighbours, and our efforts to develop these relations further on the basis cooperation and understanding continue. For the moment, we are wholly committed to an orderly and uninterrupted economic development for our people. Being a small landlocked country we hardly can afford to waste our resources on presumptions, on the contrary exigencies demand that we continue

to intensify our efforts at economic development. Hence the Zone of Peace proposition which in our view gives substance to our faith in the principles of both the United Nations and non-alignment. You yourself, Madame President, have said : “By definition every Non-Aligned country is a Zone of Peace, not only because it has shut its doors to the import of the hostilities and the confrontation of others, but because that policy also permits (the Non-Aligned) countries to strengthen their own internal foundations for peace and to extend the atmosphere of peace into ever wider areas through regional and inter-regional understanding and cooperation.” What we have proposed for Nepal is to institutionalize this ideal into a basic fact of our international life.

19. In the last analysis, my proposition for a Peace Zone in Nepal stems from the fact that non-alignment itself stands for a new order of international relations. While striving towards a better world, this movement considers the conventional approach to peace through weapons as a dangerous and negative pursuit. But while I say this, the hysteria to acquire newer weapons in a bid for more and more power goes on. If, on the one hand, the Super Powers feverishly stockpile increasingly destructive weapons it would seem, as though, Middle Powers in a craze to join hands for the elephantiasis of power have also caused deep concern, internationally and regionally. One wonders at these developments which somehow disturb the foundation of world peace. The development of weapon-technology has also been responsible in polluting our atmosphere, as it has contaminated the land and the sea. Man and his biosphere are both disturbed shaking the very edifice of human civilization. We would, therefore, urge the Non-Aligned nations to impress upon all powers to heed to these dangers. Innumerable studies have shown that a new era will dawn for the world, if the billions spent on arms are diverted, even on a long range basis, toward the solution of the problem of poverty plaguing the majority of mankind. If a world—where the mighty and the not-so-mighty are piling up weapons of destruction—presents a grim prospect, a world where countries are genuinely cooperating with each other, opens a vista of unparalleled fulfillment for man. Contributing each in our own way to realize the potential which genuine peace affords, it is our considered opinion that we should engage, the Non-Aligned countries collectively, in the pursuit of building a world of peace, order and human fulfillment.

Thank You.

Address by

His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Sixth NAM Summit, 3-7 September 1979, Havana, Cuba

Mr. President

Your Excellencies

Distinguished Delegates

1. Please allow me to convey to all the distinguished delegates assembled here at this Conference warm felicitations and greetings on behalf of the people, the Government and the delegation from Nepal which I have the honour and the pleasure to represent and lead here at this august gathering. I also wish to express our heartfelt thanks to the President, the Government and the friendly people of Cuba for the warm reception and the generous hospitality extended to us. Our appreciation is also justly due to Sri Lanka for the integrity of purpose with which she has guided the Non-Aligned Movement for the past three years.
2. Hung like a graceful ornament at the heart of the Caribbean sea, Cuba is known to the Nepalese people not only for the export of good cigars and sugar but more for its people - gay, proud, industrious and determined to remain free. The call of the Cuban Leader, Fidel Castro, for the progress and dignity of man has struck a sympathetic cord in us, and although we differ, fundamentally, in our approach to problems that beset contemporary man, with Cuba as with all other truly Non-aligned nations we have made a common cause in our condemnation of colonialism, big power chauvinism, racism, apartheid and all those designs that seek the exploitation of one nation by another nation. Since Cuba is the only Latin American founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, it is only appropriate that she should have been the first to host this Conference in this beautiful city of Havana.
3. Mr. President, I have traveled half around the world, across many lands and seas, to come to Cuba and for my own satisfaction I have often asked myself about the need and the rationale for the Non-Alignment

Movement in our times. Eighteen years ago, when my august Father, the late King Mahendra, attended the first Conference in Belgrade, the participation then was limited to only twenty five countries. From Belgrade to Havana Summit, through Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo, all of which without exception were attended by Nepal at the level of Head of State, the membership of the Movement has swelled to more than ninety, not counting many observers and guests. The Non-Alignment Movement, therefore, has proved to be an irreversible trend in the world of today representing man's cherished desire to freedom and national independence. This is a sufficient vindication for the presence of many world leaders at this Conference and this should also justify the slogan of the non-alignment being raised from the Himalayas to Havana. Whether a country is landlocked or seelocked, the cause of peace and justice is so noble that a reiteration of the principles of non-alignment at the highest level cannot be ignored as futile or frequent.

4. Nepal's policy of non-alignment is born of her way of life. It is an extension of her domestic outlook on world affairs. As an independent Kingdom in the Himalayas, we are small united nation where people, still undivided by ideological rifts of factions, have pursued the goal of ultimately creating a society free from exploitation of man by man. The Nepalese people believe in tolerance, in showing respect for opinions and views other than their own. They prize the basic values of individual freedom and an attitude of non-interference in the lives of others. As a nation with a varied topography and many local customs and traditions, the Nepalese people disapprove of a doctrinaire approach to life rejecting fanaticism and chauvinism of all kinds. In a word, non-alignment is innate to the culture of Nepal. It provides me with further proof to declare why Nepal justly feels Non-Aligned, even among the Non-Aligned nations.
5. While I take stock of these values, they are not an exclusive heritage of Nepal. Instead, they are universal in character and valued by man in all realms and ages. The replacement of a bipolar world by the centrifugal centres of power provides the best proof of the universality of the principle of non-alignment which, if upheld, guarantees sovereign equality and democratic right to each nation.
6. Evaluation of recent events will also prove that non-alignment has been a strength to the small countries against the domineering influence of the big powers. Besides, the movement has given an impetus to the

upsurge of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Newly emerged as independent state, I am happy to note that they have mostly opted for non-alignment in their international relations. The movement now includes almost two-third of the nationals of the world. The voluntarily accepted code of keeping away from bloc politics has attracted new members, including members of the erstwhile military alliance. In this context, I would, on behalf of my countrymen, take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to the new members of the Movement - Pakistan, Iran, Bolivia, Grenada, Surinam, Nicaragua and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. I am hopeful that their admission will impart new vigour into the movement and, together with them, we will all contribute to the cause of international peace and security.

7. I am also happy to observe that the philosophy of non-alignment has had its bearing on the universal efforts towards disarmament and to the creation of a new world order based on peaceful coexistence and cooperation. The non-alignment ethos, moreover, has generate a condition whereby each nation in its quest can find an identity for itself in a world threatened by alien cultures. It is, therefore, Mr. President, our sacred duty to maintain this noble inheritance. History has left to our trust something precious to save. The question is how to go about it. Since non-alignment has travelled through eighteen years, there is now a need to translate it from an agreeable principle to the realm of realism and utility.
8. Today, we cannot ignore the grim facts of life in the Third World of which the majority is represented at this Summit. The least developed countries call for our compulsive attention. Mr. President, the ever-exploding population, the massive unemployment on an unprecedented scale, the continual depletion of exhaustible natural resources, the omnipresent dearth of basic technical skills and poor management have made the developing countries the poorer forcing them to move from the economy of subsistence to lower than the present level. The spectre of such ignoble poverty becomes the more grim when we think of countries that by virtue of being landlocked have been struggling to build their infrastructure for development. Being away from sea, being denied of facilities to modernize their economies, their problem becomes the more complex when they are made to pay the ever-exorbitant hike in the price of oil. Indeed, if this has caused some genuine difficulties to some advanced countries, the hardship it has caused to the least developed nations is awesome and critically burdensome. I feel it, therefore, my

duty to call upon our friends in the OPEC countries to come out with concrete measures to help the situation from worsening.

9. Each country, it is my conviction, Mr President, is gifted with something unique to itself and the Non-Aligned nations will do well if it unites to help develop the latent potential of each country. My own country Nepal, for instance, is endowed with river systems which, if thoughtfully exploited, can help not only our own country but also the countries of our region. But this requires capital funding, as it does development of manpower resources together with stability and a good understanding reached among our neighbours, our relations with whom have improved steadily over the past years.
10. As a developing country of the Third World, Nepal is painfully aware of the two fold reality of international economic order – the aggravating problems of development and the failure hitherto of finding a just and effective solution. A situation in which more than half the population of the world exists in absolute poverty can under no circumstances be considered conducive to peace. While the industrialized world is reluctant to fulfil its moral obligations for the establishment of a New International Economic Order, the imbalance within the fold of resource-rich and resource-poor developing countries calls for greater attention. It is the reason why we continue to urge that any restructuring of existing economic order must sufficiently take into account the special problems of the least developed countries. In this connection, the continuing law-of-the-sea negotiations could prove fruitful if it were universally recognized that the entire resources of the sea belong to man and that these resources form a common heritage of all nations providing for the right of landlocked countries to free access to and from the sea. It is our conviction that while all nations are entitled to share the common riches of the earth, this Movement will do well if it recommends concrete proposals in that direction. The edifice of peace cannot be built on the instinct of monopoly. It has to stand upon the foundations of give and take, of independence and interdependence.
11. For, Mr. President, there is no substitute to interdependence and cooperation. The era in history is certainly coming to a close when man in any part of the world could be subjugated or enslaved in flagrant violation of basic Rights of Man. It is pity that in countries of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, a policy of repression, racial discrimination and minority rule have continued to this day in total defiance of world public opinion and against the conscience of man.

12. My Government continues to watch with concern the continuing problem in the Middle East. It is difficult to see justification for Israeli occupation of the Arab territories, much less for the continued occupation for over twelve years and the actions of the occupying power to change the legal and demographic character of those lands. Ample basis for the just and comprehensive solution of the problem can be found in the resolutions of the United Nations and our own resolution. At any rate, we firmly believe that alien occupation must end completely. For a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, we also consider it essential that the right to a separate state of the Palestinian people as well as the right of all states of the area to exist and lie in peace within secured and well-defined boundaries must be recognized. It is to this end that all peace efforts must be directed. In our opinion, the Camp David Accords and the Egypt-Israeli Treaty constitute partial step which, we hope, will not prejudice larger interest of peace and justice. The Palestinian people form an important element in the situation in the Middle East, and we believe that no structure of lasting peace can be built without their participation.
13. The tragic situation of Lebanon caused by the repeated violations of its territorial integrity has added an unfortunate dimension to the problem of the Middle East. Nepal has made its humble contribution to peace in that war-torn country by putting at the disposal of the United Nations a small contingent in the interim force wishing to see the restoration of territorial integrity of Lebanon.
14. The dramatic developments in South East Asia in recent months have caused us concern specially at a time when the countries of the region were engaged in reconstruction following a protracted fight in the cause for which our Movement as a whole stands. The world will long feel the negative impact of these developments not only because they have disturbed the socio-economic fabric of neighbouring countries but also because they represent a violation of the canons of peace and justice. The Non-aligned countries, including my own, have always upheld the principle that more powerful countries should on no account interfere in the internal affairs of less powerful ones. It is unfortunate that the countries of Indo-China have been subject to this fate. While we wish the restoration of peace in the region through, if possible, a sincere pursuit of the principles of non-alignment, we will be happy to see the peoples of Indo-China engaged in their efforts at all-round development and the reconstruction of their motherland.

15. Whether it is the Middle East, South East Asia or Africa, my country for one, shall never accept either interference or occupation as a *fait accompli*.
16. On the Korean question, we continue to hold the view that the aspirations of the Korean people for national reunification should be fulfilled peacefully without foreign interference of any sort. Similarly, the situation in Cyprus calls for the honour and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. Continued foreign occupation in Cyprus cannot be justified.
17. Nepal welcomes any step which aims at the general relaxation of international tension. We have welcomed SALT II as a step towards the strengthening of the process of *détente*. However, the fact remains that arms race cannot provide for the security of any country and that world peace cannot be maintained for ever by the precarious balance of nuclear warheads. Additionally, it is a wasteful economy. When one ponders over all the wonders of science and technology of this century, one is at pains to realize that the greatest contributions of our times can be nullified by developments that pose the greatest threat to man – his own extinction. While big powers have been proud to show upon humanity, the ever impending Damoclean sword of nuclear weapons, it is unfortunate that this value system should have allured even countries of our ranks at the expense of their own peace and development for the region and the world.
18. Nepal, in concert with other Non-aligned countries, has opted to work for universal peace and for total and general disarmament. For, it is our conviction, Mr. President, that it is in an atmosphere of peace alone that we can hope for the optimum growth of our latent faculties. With this in mind, Nepal has supported the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We have also extended support to the ASEAN proposal for peace, freedom and neutrality and the proposal of peace zone for the Mediterranean. Any initiative for peace will further not only the cause of non-alignment but also help create an ethos to improve the quality of life.
19. It is such a consideration that has inspired me to propose that my country, Nepal, be declared a Zone of Peace. The proposition is rooted in our historical and cultural heritage in as much as it is based also on the reality of our situation. It reflects, moreover, our age-old longing to be free from strife and hostilities. For a small and developing country like Nepal, nothing is more natural than a deep-rooted aspiration for peace and development. We cannot afford to be embroiled in tension,

fear, anxiety or instability, regional or international, at a time when our greatest task is that of economic development for our people. By thus institutionalizing peace we wish to cement the excellent state of relations which we maintain with all our friends.

20. In conclusion, Mr. President, as I stand at the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations to reiterate Nepal's commitment to the fundamental principles of non-alignment, a vision that one comes across in my country inspires me. It is a vision where hundreds of the peaks in the Himalayas rise in grandeur and soar up into the skies. These peaks – they stand high, they stand firm and they stand alone and yet, they have for long watched the drama of human civilization. Mr President, Excellencies and Distinguished Delegates, I would, if I may, urge you all to draw inspiration from this vision and contribute to ensure the continuity of man making him ever-ascendant in the glory and the grandeur of a universal order of peace and security, progress and prosperity.

Thank You.

Address by

His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Seventh NAM Summit 7-12 March 1983, New Delhi, India.

Mr. President

**Your Excellencies and
Distinguished Delegates**

It was, indeed, with a sense of satisfaction that we received the news that Delhi had been unanimously chosen as venue for the Seventh Non-aligned Summit. At a time of uncertainty and at so short a notice, no other country could, perhaps, have ventured to host a meeting of this magnitude and no other city could have been more appropriate. It shows not only the esteem in which India is held by member countries, but also her own commitment to the cause of the Movement.

This capital city of India has played host to a number of international conferences in the past - the most significant being the first Asian Relations Conference in 1947 which set the tone for the first Afro-Asian Meeting at Bandung in 1955 and finally, for the emergence of the Non-aligned Movement in Belgrade in 1961. Indeed, Delhi has had a memorable past, its history going back to almost timeless antiquity. Poised delicately between tradition and modernity, this historic city of India epitomizes what man in his long journey has always aspired for freedom, knowledge and peace.

Centuries ago, men of the east looked for the ultimate deliverance of man from all shackles of sufferings and pains. They sought for knowledge and the way to find harmony, peace and truth. Nepal and India made a common cause in this quest. They looked inward into the recess of the human soul and found that true liberation can be sought within. These sages and seers in search of a soul cared more for the transcendental territory of the inner spirit than for the new world frontiers such as those discovered by explorers like Columbus or Magellan. They relied upon the freedom of the human spirit, his conscience and conduct based on values and individual dignity. They believed in tolerance, in peace and, above all, in a human approach to all roads leading

to the same truth. It was in this ethos that multiple beliefs rose, heterogeneous ideas were born and people believed that one could enjoy freedom only by granting the same to others. All this resulted in the birth of a society that was truly heterogeneous but cohesive, and yet humane.

From time to time, no doubt, there were clashes and conflicts but the welter was woven into a whole by accepting to live under a common umbrella that catered to the need of individual identity and uniqueness of each. In this way, plurality within a certain symbol of unity became an accepted mode and norm of life. Viewed from this stand point, it looked as though we were a united nation before the United Nations was actually born. In short, Mr. President we have always been many people, cultures, languages and civilizations bound together in a common cause of peace, freedom and the unity of man.

Yet peace has not always lasted in Asia and the world. Numerous adventures, conquerors and men of ambition have threatened the peace and harmony of our region. Delhi, especially through its history, has been a witness to these upheavals, brutalities, pillage and plunder that man in any age can inflict upon man. She has lived through subjugations and knows not only the pangs of colonialism but also the value of freedom and independence. But the desire to be the undisputed master of the world still burns strong in the hearts of men. Equipped with deadly weapons and drunk with a desire to dominate, the Titans of our times seem to have become increasingly dogmatic in their pursuits that their ideology or way of thinking alone must sway supreme across the countries and continents. In the name of liberation they have tried to impose themselves in many countries, in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

I need not narrate to this august gathering the harrowing tales of misfortune that people have been subjected to in the Third World. Vast number of populations have been decimated as if to impress upon the world about the might of a modern fanatic or that of an ideologue. Multitudes of men, women and children have been wounded, slain, poisoned and gassed. Yet the question keeps ringing in our ears as to who really started it all? Was it the power rivalry? Was it the war for a dogma or self interests? Was it the conflict of ideology? Or who was it that destabilized and then made the Kampucheans fight against Kampucheans? Who was it that made an Afghan kill another Afghan, his own brother and kinsman? Peace had reigned supreme in the mountains of Afghanistan and peace in South East Asia had widespread through the centuries. Yet the world has had many monomaniacs who refused to tolerate the solemn peace of Angkor Wat.

There are still those dreamers who consider that they alone should monopolize our conduct and beliefs. These demagogues often in the name of democracy

kill the every spirit of democracy and deny man of his inalienable rights of freedom. It is this still disturbing tendency of the strong to dominate the weak, of the powerful to subjugate the meek that make us strive for a new world order based on freedom, justice and peace.

Peaceful coexistence, sovereign equality among nations, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and rejection of force in international relations are time tested principles of non-alignment. To be sure, there could be no better means of guaranteeing international security other than adherence to these principles. No nation, however powerful, should have the right to impinge upon the sovereign integrity of another country or people. We hold the right of a country to choose its own system sacred and inviolable for all time. It was this trust that led us to ask the people of Nepal and the polity they considered best for the country. Accordingly, nearly three years ago we have had a referendum. We cannot and will not brook interference from any quarter or country. Our friends and neighbours, fortunately understand this and have gained the appreciation of the Nepalese people.

In fact, whenever intervention has taken place, be it in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, occupied Arab territories or Cyprus, Nepal has never failed to raise her voice of protest against such moves. It is our firm conviction that each nation has a right to find its own destiny. The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independent statehood has always won our support. The slaughters in Lebanon have caused us deep anguish. We believe that the territorial integrity and Non-Aligned character of Cyprus must be respected. We are also convinced that time will throw away the racist regime of South Africa. We similarly hope that the people of Namibia will gain their national independence. The struggle against racism, apartheid, colonization, decolonization, intervention and the pursuit for development not only bind us together in solidarity but also provide us with an unflinching source of strength.

Mr. President, it is the plague of our times that the political chaos in the world should have been matched by an equally fitful economic turmoil which seems puzzling even to the laureates of world economy. This sickness becomes apparent when one realizes the colossal magnitude of world's wealth flowing into the purchase of weapons. This deal unfortunately is not confined to a mere deal. It leads to turning a sane man into a perfidious bedlam. Besides, what this wealth can buy is at best a non-guaranteed sense of security which in our judgment can neither be lasting nor invulnerable. It is precisely this consideration that has made us tenacious in our plea for the diversification of world's resources to constructive ends. This august assembly will bear with

me that our endeavour should be to build a world of peace, tolerance and cooperation where those who are handicapped by land-locked geography or a least developed economy may also feel a sense of partnership in the global efforts of development for man.

We believe in creation rather than destruction, in evolution rather than dissolution, in development rather than in decay. Having fallen behind times in economic development, we, in Nepal wish to build roads, construct bridges, set up industries and utilize our abundant water resources for power, irrigation, waterway and a host of other things. We intend to establish hospitals, build schools, found academies, create parks, carve our stadia, beautify cities and renovate temples. We wish to plant trees, preserve our forest and, above all, develop agriculture together with industries in such a way that we would be able to provide for our people the basic needs of life - food, clothes, shelter, education and health.

Our priorities on these lines have engaged our attention over the years. But these things cannot be accomplished without peace, without cooperation, in the absence of technology or without the knowledge of management. This is why we have consistently supported the ideals and objectives of the New International Economic Order together with the South-South Dialogue and the Concept of Regional Cooperation. We endorse them even more because rather than compete in the arts of war we believe to compete in the creative works of peace. Wish to participate in the triumphs of productive technology and consider that rivalry in creative innovation can be the best means to channel man's energy into fruitful endeavors.

In Nepal, we have lived a life of seclusion and peace through the ages. Among the mountains, in the river banks or under the groves of trees close by a forest, our sages and seers have taught us to seek peace. Over two thousand and five hundred years ago, it was from Nepal that Prince Siddhartha Gautam, who later became known as Buddha, set out looking for ways to peace and ultimate deliverance for man. Since his ideals have found an echo in the hearts of people throughout the world. In an age, when the culture of arms is threatening the very survival of man, the foundation of peace can be laid step by step, brick by brick. This consideration has prompted us to welcome and support the initiatives to have different parts of the world established as Zone of Peace. It was along this road that we proposed Nepal is to be declared a Zone of Peace.

Only a few decades ago, Mahatma Gandhi taught the world to persist on the right cause no matter the price one has to pay for it. Would anyone deny that

he was not the voice of ageless wisdom of India? The Mahatma pitted himself against violence and man's inhumanity to man. But above all, he opposed the principle of force. As a country which also shares his lofty thoughts, our desire to see Nepal a Zone of Peace will be a contribution to the cause of those ideals. Heir to a culture that response confidence in the ultimate goodness of man, Nepal looks for a world of mutual understanding, trust and tolerance. We believe in friendship, goodwill and prosperity for all and seek a world of order and stability, balance and harmony, peace and concord. Only then in such a world, could man attain the highest goal of his life - deliverance from all bondage.

Thank You.

Address by
His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Eighth NAM Summit, 1-6 September 1986 Harare, Zimbabwe.

**Mr. Chairman
Your Majesties
Excellencies and
Distinguished Delegates**

May I begin by congratulating you, Mr. Chairman, on your election as the Chairman of the Eighth Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned countries. I wish also to convey on behalf of the people and Government of Nepal our warm greetings and good wishes to the people and government of Zimbabwe. We would also like to thank His Excellency the President, the Government and people of Zimbabwe for the thoughtful arrangements made for this Conference no less than for the warm hospitality accorded to us. We shall cherish the memories of our visit to your beautiful country and the kindness and courtesies of the Government and people of Zimbabwe.

My delegation is impressed by the care with which the friendly people and government of Zimbabwe have been able to handle over a hundred delegations representing two-thirds of humanity that span through the four continents. It is also worth noting that the present Summit which marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement is being held in a country which after a protracted struggle against colonialism gained independence and freedom for her people in recent history. It is, indeed, a fitting tribute to the leadership of Prime Minister Mr. Robert Mugabe no less than to the dedication of the people of Zimbabwe to the cause of justice, freedom and equality.

Mr. Chairman, quarter of a century ago nearly twenty five statesmen representing twenty-five states and government assembled at Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia. They included, among others, eminent leaders like Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Gamal Abdul

Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia and Nkrumah of Ghana. Nepal was then represented by my august father, the late king Mahendra. Together they shared a common vision of peace along with a conviction that the refusal to align oneself with any Power bloc can only further the cause of peace, freedom and independence of nations. Those stalwarts who pioneered a new movement in history deserve tributes from all of us who are assembled here to follow in their footsteps.

It is sad that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who guided the last Summit in New Delhi so successfully is no more with us. While we remember her with gratitude we feel happy that Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had ably filled in the void for the Non-Aligned Movement. Indeed, the Movement itself has undergone changes including a transition when the torch now passes onto a new generation.

In the twenty five years since 1961 when the principle of non-alignment took the form of a Movement, certain trends have emerged. A free people such as the People's Republic of China has demonstrated that its liberty to choose what it considers best in its national interests is no less important than an alliance based on ideological rigidity. While we praise the renewed attempts to improve Sino-Soviet relations as a positive step, we also feel that the desire to assert national identity and aspirations is, indeed, real. The crack in the armour seen in various other alliances forged with strategic, ideological or various interests in mind in different parts of the world substantiate this reality even further. This is true even in the case of countries within the spheres of influence where in spite of economic cooperation to bring about an improvement in the living standards there is a fondness to return to one's values, heritage and culture leading to one's identity.

Almost a somewhat similar feeling haunts the people on the other side of the camp in Western Europe or in the Pacific. There is a lurking fear that it is neither wise nor safe to stoke up the fire of Cold War conflict beyond a limit. This could prove fatal to survival especially when in the event of a nuclear war they are the ones having to take the first blow. They see, on the contrary, an advantage in being able to exploit geographical proximity and seek thereby gains through the cultivation of ties in areas like trade and economy. It is a trend which shows that no Berlin Wall - like the Great Wall of China in the past - can divide humanity permanently. In short, what prompts them, as it does to all of us, is national interests, national security and, above all, a need survival.

This brings me to the heart of the matter which the founders of the Non-aligned Movement were trying to grapple with. Meeting as they did under the darkening shadows of the Berlin crisis, the danger to the security of nations was real. They had witnessed the painful partitioning of Korea and feared that the Cold War rivalry could only take the world to the brink of a precipice. Therefore, they sent out appeals both to the NATO and Warsaw forces to refrain from all provocative acts and help to heal wounds that had already been inflicted. Luckily, and at least temporarily, it worked.

Unlike in the past, great powers in the modern world have the capability to contribute vastly to the welfare of the people across the world and indeed they have done so. But they also have their ways of winning friends. Based in their historical experiences they are equipped with not merely deadly weapons but also ready-made ideas and ideals that few can dispute or deny easily. With their grip on the media and their power to influence people they can stir up the forces of destabilization in countries where known institutions have helped to maintain order and unity for their peoples. It is common knowledge that people have been divided over the competing ideologies in many countries. The Cypriots are divided among themselves. The Palestinians seek and struggle for a homeland of their own. A strange fury of hatred and war goes on to consume the people of Iraq and Iran. The Lebanese wish to be left alone to keep their house in order. The Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Caribbean regions continue to be subjected to increased pressures of rivalry and conflict.

I need hardly recount the story of civil wars in Indo-China where millions of people have lost their lives. Could there be a greater irony than that the innocent people of Kampuchea should meet the same fate as their perpetrators were subjected to not long ago? History can neither forget these wounds nor the scars and miseries of the people of Indo-China. The mountains and men of Afghanistan still long for peace and they know that it is only possible when peoples and government outside their borders do not meddle with their internal affairs. Unfortunately, the same is true with Nicaragua and many countries in the Americas, Africa or elsewhere in other continents. As though this were not enough, even the outer space is being militarized giving evidence that political ideology is but a deceptive mask to seek for spheres of influence in order to fulfill a dream for domination.

While Nepal supports the complete and general disarmament under effective international control, she opposes military intervention and interference of all kinds, in all forms, everywhere and at all times. It is an article of faith with us that the rights of all nations to live in freedom and independence must be

respected at all costs. It is in this spirit that I have proposed my country, Nepal, to be a Zone of Peace. My government and people are grateful for the support we have received from seventy eight countries and their governments around the world. While we are thankful to them, we hope and urge that the rest of the governments will cooperate with us through their support for a cause which is at the heart of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Mr. Chairman, it is regrettable that we live in a world that is yet to free itself from the vestiges of colonialism, racism, hunger and war. Africa is a living testimony to the grim saga of subjugation in its worst form slavery which was imposed upon her innocent people for centuries in the past. The extortion and plunder of Africa have adorned the civilization of many a nation but has left her in a debilitating state of hunger and malnutrition on a colossal scale. It is sad that the scourge of racism continues to this day and age in an institutionalized form to inflict insult on man and his sense of decency. No wonder that Southern Africa should dominate the agenda of our discussions. Pretoria's refusal to negotiate a transition to a multi-racial society and the continued occupation of Namibia in total defiance of the United Nations mandate have justly called for universal concern and reproach. Let us hope that South Africa will finally learn to show respect to world public opinion before the situation gets out of hand.

Mr. Chairman, as the twentieth century draws to a close, one would like to leave behind it not only the era of colonialism and apartheid but also the spectacle of hunger and poverty with threats of famine and starvation which the people have continued to suffer from. It is precisely with this view in mind that we in Nepal have set for ourselves the goal of fulfilling the basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, health, education and security for our people by the year 2000 A.D. Considering the gravity of the problem, there is an urgent need to mount on a massive scale some kind of time bound "Basic Needs Programme" for least developed countries. Given the necessary support from the international community there is no reason why such a programme committed to promote the welfare of the people at the lowest rung of the social ladder should not succeed.

With vast resources in hand, man and material, we would like to see Africa take her rightful place among the developed countries in the world. A number of countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia are not merely landlocked but are also subject to the arbitrary impositions of countries unfriendly to them. Added to the geographical handicap, the problem becomes more acute if the country in question has to bear the burden of a least developed economy also. It was with a view to seek relief from such a situation that on behalf of the nine Least

Developed Countries of Asia and the Pacific, I made a plea at the United Nations Conference in Paris in September 1981 for Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980's. Although we are halfway through the launching of the International Development Strategy for the UN. Third Development Decade, it is regrettable that not much has been done to implement them. I fear that a situation of apathy could weaken the fragile structure of peace and thus help to pose danger to the freedom, stability and security of nations.

I am happy to note that over the years cooperation among developing countries has began to gain some momentum even in our part of the world. The historic decision on the part of seven countries of South Asia to establish an organization called SAARC is a tangible manifestation of their desire to cooperate regionally with a view to finding viable solution to the problems they face in common seeking thereby an order based on the principles of interdependence, peaceful co-existence and mutual prosperity. We have made a beginning but the task ahead is enormous.

The current global economy is characterized by exploitation of a new kind. It is engendered by the scientific and technological superiority of a few advanced countries which relegates the poor countries into becoming their passive recipient markets. The situation adversely affects the terms and balance of trade of these poor countries. Worse still, while it makes the rich richer, it leaves the poor even poorer in defiance of their goal to seek improvements in their economy. Thus the gap between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots grows on a wider scale. It was in the light of these development that the Non-Aligned Movement after the Summit at Algiers sought to evolve a common strategy to rectify the economic imbalances between nations by seeking to promote a just International Economic Order. But the resolution has become a projection more of pious intentions than of actual implementation. Which is why a viable alternative to the United Nations seems to be an even more effective United Nations, a body that accommodates all shades of opinions and ideas making this organ a true instrument of peace. So long as the Non-Aligned Movement remains an assembly of peoples that genuinely and sincerely are committed to the Principles of Non-Alignment and so long as unity and solidarity bind us together with a singleness of purpose we will be able to play a role that will be valued for reason and prudence, sobriety and justice.

Mr. Chairman, the technological civilization which began roughly four hundred years ago gave birth to an order that, despite exploitation, deprivation and drudgery, has helped humanity to move forward. Ignorance has been largely dispelled. Many mysteries about life, nature and the universe have been

explained. More and more, the riddles of Creation are being fathomed. Set on voyage of the unknown, man has, indeed, stolen a march over all other living beings. He can control many aspects of poverty such as famine and starvation. He can also cure many diseases. When challenged, he is capable of solving the many ills that have plagued humanity for centuries. But as I stand here before this august assembly, I am reminded of how pitifully our world is divided.

A great wall of pride and prejudices of colour, class, creed and ethnic differences stands in the way between one people and another, sometimes giving rise to misunderstanding, hatred, insanity and war. Weary with these developments, the world, therefore, seeks today the birth of a new civilization or a value system that will not only bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, the developed and the less developed but also transcend the barriers that divide humanity. Though some efforts to bridge this gap are in the offing, we only hope that they are sincere and genuine. It is the search for this new dawn that I wish this Summit in Harare to address itself to. Let us pledge to make a beginning when man seeks not merely knowledge but also wisdom in the realization that the primitive man has made a long journey to rediscover the roots of his true heritage in the fellowship of man through love and peace, amity and understanding.

Thank You.

Address by

His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

King of Nepal, Ninth NAM Summit, 4-7 September 1989, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Mr. Chairman

Your Majesties

Excellencies

Distinguished Delegates

It was for us a matter of deep satisfaction that Belgrade was the unanimous choice for the Ninth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Nations. Being the birthplace of the Non-Aligned Movement, no other city could perhaps enjoy the distinction of hosting the present Conference in the way that this city does with such felicity and care. Standing on a landbridge between East and West, Belgrade, indeed, has become a synonym for the Non-Aligned Movement.

May I, therefore, begin by felicitating Your Excellency, Mr President, on your election as the Chairman of this Conference. I wish also to convey on behalf of the Government and the people of Nepal our warm greetings to the distinguished Delegates assembled here at this gathering. I should also like to express the grateful thanks of my delegation to the Government and the people of Yugoslavia for the warmth of reception accorded us. Finally, I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to thank His Excellency, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe who did everything he could to guide this Movement to its goals through his pragmatic approach and by seeking greater cohesion among us during the past three years of his leadership.

Mr. Chairman, twenty eight years ago, it was here in Belgrade that the Founding Fathers of our Movement had come together to give expression to a shared vision of Non-Alignment signifying peace, freedom, independence and human dignity. Today, as we gather here to complete a circle in time keeping in view all the developments from the past to the present, I think we have reasons to feel that the contributions made by our Movement have proved beneficial to the cause of peace and amity among nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement was launched when a long shadow of divisions and conflicts seemed to engulf humanity. The superpowers locked in a balance of terror and frightful of mutual annihilation avoided direct clashes, but they were ready to fight either a war of nerves or a war by proxy which meant weaker nations being used as their pawns in the international chess board. Indeed, many countries feel victims to these designs. I need hardly remind the distinguished Delegates about the fate of those numerous countries that bore the brunt of these conflicts with such tragic consequences, be they in East Asia, the Middle East, Africa or elsewhere. Millions got maimed or killed with many more millions to become homeless refugees in their own homeland.

Indeed, in the hills and valleys of Afghanistan war still rages on with all its fury killing the innocent people. The long-drawn hostilities in Lebanon continue unabated while normalcy and peace are yet to return to Cambodia. There are people who doubt whether the real inhabitants in each of these countries are fighting their own wars. Oftentimes, they have been made to fight for causes that are not their own making with their countries as the testing ground for weapons that again are not of their own creations. Had our Movement been as effective as we wish it were, the world could have been spared of the enormous sufferings that countless number of innocent people have been and are still being subjected to in this day and time.

There are nonetheless some discernible signs in favour of our Movement that indicate how the principles of Non-Alignment might increasingly become the norms of the future. It is not only the countries of the South or of the Third World whose membership into our ranks has swelled but countries that clearly toed the line of one or the other camp are also showing signs of increasingly Non-Aligned stance, as it were, without necessarily joining our Movement. How can one explain the changes otherwise in countries bound in alliances that seem inclined to take a more independent road seeking greater autonomy than we have hitherto seen them doing.

At any rate, it seems both in the East and the West an increasing number of countries appear keen to maintain their independence and their national identities, values we as Non-Aligned countries have always cherished as a matter of principle.

No doubt, it is a trend which more and more countries could find appealing as they realize the bipolar world in adjusting to a multipolar world has to seek balance with a number of actors influencing the global developments with their newly acquired strength in economy and technology. But this does not in any way alter the relevance at the Non-Aligned Movement for the countries

of the Third World still struggling for freedom from want and poverty or from colonialism and neo-colonialism. There is no doubt that we all stand for non-interference in our internal affairs with the freedom of choice seeking distinct identity for each and every nation among us irrespective of size, population or strength.

Indeed, the principles of Non-Alignment are appealing precisely because morally they assist a country to remain independent and be free from subjugation. Non-Alignment also gives each nation a certain edge in maintaining one's character without having to disappear into anonymity. To many across the world, the Non-Aligned Movement offers a hope for freedom from the tyranny of racism and apartheid, suppression or pressures. It also gives them the freedom to choose what they think best for their countries from the world. But, above all, it gives a nation an opportunity to avoid conflict and survive in peace with the rest of the world.

In a word, Non-Alignment implies the right of each nation to live in freedom without having to lose its sovereign integrity. These principles are as valid today as they were yesterday and they will remain so despite the changes that time brings in the lives of peoples and nations. In our view, therefore, the values of Non-Alignment rests upon these time tested principles which must be respected if we are to make the world a safer place to live in.

Today, we should not ignore the fact that the majority of the members of our Movement may be described as small states. Of the 102 members represented in our Movement, I am told, as many as 37 fall into the category of the Least Developed Countries as classified by the United Nations. Of these, 19 countries are land-locked while a number of them are geographically locked by the seas facing a permanently handicapped situation in achieving a transformation from subsistence to a sustainable economy. Poor in natural endowments and in communication infrastructures, they can even be poorer in terms of human resources. If they happen to be Land-locked Countries with no access to the sea, their attempts at industrialization can be formidable.

Indeed the Least Developed Countries, especially the land-locked among them, are poorer today than they were a decade ago despite the Substantial New Programme of Action for the eighties. Under the circumstances one wonders if without meaningful international cooperation on a predictable basis, these countries can sufficiently develop their economy to be able to stand on their own feet and survive. In fact, the small and the weaker nations among us even in our times stand still exposed not merely to under-development but also to the threats in security and stability. They are susceptible to many

forces beyond their control, be it an onslaught of mass communication or the threat of gun-boat diplomacy. While the strong ones can pursue the goals of economic, technological and military prowess, the weaker and the vulnerable countries have to constantly struggle for bare survival. Which is why we feel their voices should be heard, their identity should be maintained and their survival secured.

It is true that the primary responsibility for security rests with the countries themselves. But recent trends around the world have clearly demonstrated that there is a distinct need for a more effective mechanism by which the security and survival of smaller nations may be guaranteed under International Law enabling each nation not merely to coexist but also prosper with a modicum of economic development for survival. This is a challenge which in our opinion we at this juncture should address ourselves to, if we are to further strengthen the principles and purposes of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations by making them even more relevant to our basic needs.

Mr. Chairman, Nepal as a land-locked nation in the mountain fastness of the Himalayas seeks peace, understanding and harmonious relationship with all countries of the world including her neighbours. As the principles of Non-Alignment are close to our hearts, we have enshrined them in our Constitution itself. We have also enunciated our longings to make Nepal a Zone of Peace, a proposal by which Nepal has added one more voice to the universal language and culture of peace. Let the Non-Aligned Movement champion the cause of freedom, fellowship and goodwill among men and thereby continue to strengthen the cause of peace, concord and harmony among nations.

Thank You.

Address by
Rt. Hon. Girija Prasad Koirala

Prime Minister of Nepal, Tenth NAM Summit, 1-6 September 1992, Jakarta, Indonesia.*

Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala has said our experience that these political rights, not in their essence but in their relationship, have to be viewed in the context of prevailing social and economic conditions. Prime Minister Koirala was addressing the 10th Non-Aligned Summit of Heads of States or Government in Jakarta, Indonesia on Thursday. He said it is our belief that the shape of the new international order to come will be determined by the international community's sensitivity to these values and their relationship with social and economic environment. The Prime Minister dwelt on 'the new role that the Non-Aligned Movement must define for itself in the changed context in its origin and evolution, non-alignment had both the elements of the cold war and an independence of its own. As it promised a feeling of independence between military blocs and freedom to articulate their aspirations on their own, it served the interests of emerging nations. Political independence of emergent nations is now a recognized commodity. But the nature of pressure is different, he said, adding that the general trend of international politics, as we see it, is economic freedom which enriches but does not replace political freedom for the individual and the nation. Thus there is a need for larger and deeper unity among developing countries. There is a diversity of security concerns among them in the new context which must be accommodated. The Prime Minister said that the recent ministerial meetings have recommended closer cooperation between our movement and the Group of 77 underlining the new-felt need for unity among developing countries and added Nepal is willing to support any measure designed to promote such unity so that the movement may develop into a movement of developing countries as a whole. Stating that the post-cold war era has aroused new interest and expectations in the United Nations and the Security Council, the Summit is a clear evidence of this interest, the Prime Minister said. In compliance with the directive of the Summit, the Secretary General has circulated a report which, when accepted, will go a long way towards strengthening the peace capacity of the United Nations. "We believe that the report is generally balanced and deserves the movement's support. In addition, there is widespread feeling that the

United Nations system needs suitable restructuring and democratization to reflect existing international reality,” the Prime Minister said. Nepal is in general sympathy with this feeling and will examine proposals to this end on their merit in keeping with our interest in peace and the United Nations. A more balanced role for different organs of the United Nations will be closer to reality and expectations, he added. Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala said economic development has remained an issue of vital concern to the developing world. Most of its concerns are documented in several proposals concerning a New International Economic Order and, added many developing countries are now engaged in basic economic restructuring designed to release market forces on the principle of interdependence. Considering that peace and development are indivisible in the long run, he urged the developed countries to be more responsive to the problems of developing countries and also to bring to a successful conclusion the Uruguay Round of talks on trade liberalization. He said that the Non-Aligned Movement stands at the crossroads today. We are aware of the tests of fire through which, on several occasions, it had to go but the challenge it is facing today is unlike any in the past. With the fundamental structure of international politics unravelled, new challenges and opportunities have surfaced with immediate urgency in our midst. According to him national and international politics are no longer so neatly divisible. It is therefore so fitting that such a historic conference is being held in Indonesia, he noted. If the Asian-African Conference in Bandung was of national importance in bringing the Non-Aligned movement into existence, he is hopeful that this conference will in a similar way be able to respond effectively to the new challenge and give a new way and clear direction to the movement, the Prime Minister added.

The normalisation of relations between China and Republic of Korea is a step towards peace and security, he observed.

“In South Africa the situation keeps moving back and forth, the anti-apartheid struggle is now yet over. The goal of a free, democratic and multi-racial South Africa remains distant. We call upon the South African government to remain seized of the security situation and current favourable conditions for meaningful negotiations,” he observed.

“In the Middle East new signs of hope have emerged. A just solution on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 continues to be a worthy pursuit in the interest of all parties concerned. In this connection, I would urge the sponsoring powers the United States and Russia, to continue in their efforts to achieve a just peace in the Middle East. In Central America, regional approach has disposed of some different problems and progress appears irreversible,” he noted.

“In Afghanistan while we welcome the successful conclusion of the Soviet withdrawal and the on-going efforts to bring normalcy in the country, we are deeply concerned at the recent turn of events but hope that such developments would not reverse the peace process there,” he added.

“Progress in disarmament since the demise of the cold war is no mean achievement. But it needs to be noted that the result of this disarmament has not been translated into the peace dividend. The vicious circle of poverty in developing countries, growing disparity of income and the quality of life between the North and South, debt burden, steep fall in the prices of primary commodities and high population growth rate, with their inevitable consequences on environment continue to dominate the international landscape,” he observed.

The Prime minister said environment and development have received a global summit focus, leading to new world awareness and some progress on the ground but much more remains to be done. Population growth, global warming and air and water pollution are grave international problems.

He said, “we urge the international community to take up the question of sustainable development with seriousness and with a sense of fairness and justice.”

The Prime Minister said resurgence of the concern for human rights is one of the more positive features of the new world. “Sensitivity to human rights has received a quantum jump. We in Nepal feel a part of this global movement. But this genuine concern for human rights has tended today to lapse into their selective use for political purposes,” he remarked.

Mr. Koirala said we believe that the movement, redefined to meet the emerging challenge of developing countries remains relevant. Interest of new countries in the Movement today has widely increased. Even a major country like China demonstrated its interest by seeking an observer status in it. We are confident that under the experienced leadership of Indonesia the Non-Aligned Movement will prove worthy of this growing trust and receive both a momentum and a new direction.

* *Summary report of Statement of 10th NAM Summit as published in The Rising Nepal, 1992 September 4 Friday.*

Address by
Rt. Hon. Sher Bahadur Deuba

Prime Minister of Nepal, Eleventh NAM Summit, 18-20 October 1995, Cartagena, Colombia*

Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba has said, “a people oriented development approach together with greater democratization of our political processes and respect for human rights would go a long way in establishing political stability which is essential for our economic development.”

Addressing the 11th Summit Conference of heads of state or government of Non-Aligned Countries at Cartagena of Colombia, leader of Nepalese delegation to the conference Prime Minister Deuba said, “pluralistic political system could facilitate resolution of differences through accommodation as the participation of our peoples could expand opportunities for human beings to realize their potential and live a life of dignity and fulfillment.”

“A secure world order is only possible when there is a greater sense of sharing and caring for each other.” Mr. Deuba also said.

Stating that market forces are not always charitable to the economically weak and poor, the Prime Minister said the developing countries would be left to the mercy of the market before having the chance to develop the necessary competitive edge.

“Should such a situation prevail, social tensions and insecure conditions resulting from a backlash of such an economic condition could have adverse political and security consequences.”

Mr. Deuba added understanding and support in the form of favorable multilateral and bilateral assistance, a long-term solution to the debt crisis, and free and fair trade practices is needed from the international community if the current gap between the haves and have-nots is to be bridged in the interest of both the developed and the developing nations alike, he further said.

Mr. Deuba said, the end of the Cold War had unleashed changes in international relations at a phenomenal pace and although the pace of change has now somewhat slowed down, it has, nevertheless, altered the state of international relations fundamentally.

The summit offers us a welcome opportunity to evaluate the meaning of this transformation and to make necessary course adjustments in our movement for the coming years, he added.

He described as “encouraging” the progress made in resolution of many national, regional and international issues and noted as “significant” the reunification of Germany, democratization of central and eastern Europe, and the peaceful transition towards a more stable form of rule in Cambodia and Central America.

The Non-Aligned Movement itself can take pride in the successful struggle of the South African people for the establishment of a multiracial democratic government in a country that was once considered a powder keg in Africa, Mr. Deuba said.

Haiti and Mozambique also have democratically elected governments in place, while Angola and Liberia are at the threshold of peace and national reconciliation, he said, adding, in the Middle East, the hopes for a just and comprehensive solution of the problems that have vexed the region for nearly five decades have never been brighter.

All these developments have been given a powerful impetus by a global resurgence of values embracing democracy and human rights where the well-being of our peoples have been the focus, Mr. Deuba also said.

Against these positive developments, the continued break-down of civil society and order in Somalia and Bosnia stands out in sharp contrast, he continued, saying the senseless slaughter and deprivation of even basic essentials to innocent people in these countries pose a serious challenge to the concept of collective security and faith in human dignity, the cardinal principles on which the United Nations Charter is based.

Developments since the end of the Cold War have demonstrated that a *status quo* oriented perspective of the world solely based on military expediency is bound to prove ephemeral, the Prime Minister said, adding, this has given additional validity to the Non-Aligned search for a larger and saner concept of security embracing a multi-faceted dimension.

After having reached its fiftieth year in service to humanity, the need of the United Nations is today felt more than before. We sincerely hope that a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty will soon be in place, Mr. Deuba said.

Major international conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations have delineated the tasks in the areas of environment, population, social development and the role of women which urgently need to be implemented, he pointed out and said the United Nations, needs to play the role of the principal peace-maker and a peace-keeper on matters of international peace and security.

It should also expand its role in order to ameliorate emerging macro-economic difficulties. This will require earnest efforts to revitalize the General Assembly, speed-up the process of democratization of the world organization and reach an early agreement on the expansion of the Security Council, the leader of Nepalese delegation said.

Noting that throughout history mankind has never known, a century of peace. Mr. Deuba said soon, we will be entering a new millennium, which we, together, must strive to make a little different.

Through judicious but forceful use of influence for creative actions, the Non-Aligned Movement should bring about its vision of peace, justice and progress for all, the Prime Minister concluded.

The 11th Summit Conference of the 113 member countries, the Non-Aligned Movement started at the Convention Centre at 10 A.M.

The Conference started amidst tight security. The outgoing chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement President Suharto of Indonesia handed over chairmanship to President Ernesto Samper of Colombia, the host country for the 12th Summit.

Inaugurating the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement which is searching for a role in the post cold war, Dr. Samper said we should succeed in the days ahead ending poverty and doing it with obstacles in the finance, information and technology on the way success in maintaining justice and balance in international relations.

The goal of the movement should be the well being of mankind, he said.

Outgoing chairman President Suharto spoke a need for South-South initiatives and partnership for the population growth control development.

In support of a new outlook we are in far of expanding ties with developed countries, international organization and said adding that efforts in direction are a new beginning.

* *Summary report of Statment of 11th NAM Summit as published in The Rising Nepal, 1995 October 20 Friday.*

Address by
Rt. Hon. Girija Prasad Koirala

Prime Minister of Nepal, Twelfth NAM Summit, 2-3 September 1998, Durban, South Africa.

Mr. Chairman
Your Majesties
Your Highnesses
Excellencies
Ladies and Gentleman

I bring warm greetings from His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev to you. Mr. Chairman, and to all the distinguished delegates of this Summit. My delegation joins me in expressing deep gratitude to the Government and people of South Africa of the warm reception and cordial hospitality accorded to us since our arrival here and for the excellent preparations for the Summit of this scale.

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to congratulate you on your election to the chair of this august forum. Your illustrious statesmanship, with which you have guided your great country from the darkness of apartheid into the light of racial harmony and democracy is sure to prepare the Non-Aligned Movement to make confident strides into the future.

Our deep appreciation is also due to the outgoing Chairman of the Movement, the former and current Presidents of Colombia. H.E. Ernesto Samper Pizano and H.E. Mr. Adres Pastrana Arango. They have sailed our Movement smoothly though one of the most difficult periods of its history.

Nepal also takes this opportunity to welcome the new members and observers of the Movement. The growing membership is a strong vindication of the ideals, and continued relevance, of NAM as a global framework to safeguard the interest of its membership.

Mr. Chairman

This Summit bears special significance for us as it is the last NAM Summit of the century and the millennium taking place in a country which has recently thrown the yoke of apartheid a triumph of the South African people in which we all take pride. It is also happening at a time when the world is faced with the exciting prospects and daunting problems occasioned by the momentous changes in global political and economic scene over the last few years.

Consequent on the end of the cold war, the fear of a devastating war has considerably subsided. Today, more people live in great freedom and enjoy wider human rights than ever before. Long-standing tensions in the Middle East and elsewhere are causing globalization and liberalization of the world economy, thanks to the structural adjustment program and WTO trade regime, have lent momentum to trade, investment and growth in many NAM countries.

These achievements have, at the same time, been dogged by dark shadows of political volatility and economic uncertainty. Often, the trails of justice and discrimination left by colonial and cold war legacies, and sometimes, sheer parochialism have led to the assertion of sub-national political identities, floods of refugees and deteriorating regional and national stability. Population spillover, emotional bonds and conflicting economic interests across frontiers make these issues more touchy, not to mention tangled. Many countries are passing through such turbulent episodes. Problems related to the environment and crimes defy territorial boundaries and add to the intricacies of complex regional and global relations. Recent terrorist bombings in Kenya and Tanzania and missile raids in response have come as shock to us.

The majority of our people are still toiling in poverty, ignorance and disease. Globalization has failed to provide level-playing field, marginalizing weaker economies. Liberalization has made developing economics vulnerable to vagaries of international markets without facilitating labor movement to developed markets. The gap between the rich and poor is widening and efforts to introduce extraneous elements in trade and aid are threatening to remove the comparative advantages of developing countries. South-South cooperation still remains extremely marginal to inspire confidence for a more meaningful North-South dialogue.

The task before the NAM membership is to build on the achievements, manage contradiction and work together to realize the shared visions of a peaceful, equitable, just and prosperous world. The challenge before us is to expand our economic base, overcome infrastructural constraints, control population,

conserve the environment, and boost growth for us to be able to embark on sustained development and participate fully in the New World Economic Order. Greater cooperation between NAM and G-77, and consistent coordination in their position should be ensured to enhance complementarities and synergy to realize the common goals that we espouse.

Mr. Chairman

The least developed and land-locked countries like Nepal, which receive little foreign investment and are facing dwindling official development assistance, are the worst affected in the new international economic order. Special measures are, therefore, essential for these countries in terms of development assistance, expanded debt relief measures, and trade facilitation. Nepal is additionally burdened with a sizable refugee population creating social, economic and environmental problems.

Regional instability and civil wars in the post-cold war era have dashed the hope for a durable peace founded on economic progress and social harmony. Huge military expenditures are still eating up scarce resources without the solace of security. Recent weaponisation of nuclear programmes in South Asia is worrisome to the countries of the region and it should further reinforce our commitment to speed up the time-bound nuclear disarmament process. Nepal believes, resources so saved should be redeployed to feed the hungry, build schools for children, treat the sick, and eradicate poverty.

A more effective United Nations system is absolutely elemental to help realize our goals and aspirations. Deep reforms are, therefore, needed in the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions to make them more democratic, financially sound, and responsive to the recipient's needs. The voice of the General Assembly should count in matters related to peace and security. Security Council expansion should be based on a ratifiable consensus. UN peace missions should be established considering the merit of the case, not the political expediency. Nepal is proud to have served in several peace missions with distinction. We believe the founding of an International Criminal Court will be a major step forward in promoting the shared values of peace and justice.

In an effort to build collective competitive strength, regional economic integration is catching momentum in all corners of the globe. South Asian countries are also marching in this direction under SAARC, focusing on poverty alleviation, freer trade, protection of the environment and social and economic well being of their peoples. Nepal will host the Eleventh Summit of

SAARC next year. Incidentally, we are also hosting this year a Buddhist Summit focusing on peace that coincides with the Visit Nepal Year 1998.

Mr. Chairman

Human beings are central in all our endeavour. Women and men must be empowered to take charge of their own affairs through the promotion of democracy, development and human rights.

In Nepal's view, NAM will remain relevant as long as the independence, security, and development of our countries and well being of our people are not free from the threats in all shape and forms. NAM should not be seen as a mere talking shop. What we cannot do individually, we can accomplish collectively. We must make sure that our voice for equity and justice, freedom and independence, and peace and development is heard and respected. Our unity, commitment, and ingenuity can make the world more peaceful and prosperous as we walk into the next century and millennium.

Thanking you for your attention.

Address by
Rt. Hon. Lokendra Bahadur Chand

Prime Minister of Nepal, Thirteenth NAM Summit 24-25 February 2003, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Mr. Chairman
Your Majesties
Your Royal Highnesses
Excellencies
Ladies and Gentlemen

I have brought with me warm greetings and best wishes from His Majesty King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev to you, Mr. Chairman, and to all the distinguished delegates for the success of this summit.

Permit me to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your election to the Chair. We could not have found a better leadership to take the Non-Aligned Movement forward. I also wish to express our deep gratitude to the Government and people of Malaysia for the warm and generous hospitality accorded to us in this beautiful city of Kuala Lumpur, and for the excellent organization of the Summit.

Our sincere gratitude goes to South Africa for guiding the movement in the last four and half years.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate and welcome Timor Leste, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines as fellow members of the Movement.

Mr. Chairman

This Summit bears special significance as it is the first in the new century. This is yet another opportunity to renew our pledge to collectively work towards achieving the common goals of peace, security, development and justice. More than anything, it is also an opportunity for the Movement to reposition itself firmly in the changing global political and economic environment.

The hard-earned momentum of the post-cold war era continues to be

arrested by the frustrating waves of recession and terrorism, ethnic strife and complex conflicts and religious intolerance. A general sense of financial and social insecurity prevails specially among the developing countries.

The threat to global peace and security continues to haunt us. The situation with regard to disarmament of Iraq has become one of the most challenging issue that confront us today. It has been the Movement's continuous position to advocate peaceful solutions to all problems. In the interest of world peace and stability, Nepal would like to see all obligations regarding weapons of mass destruction fulfilled as well as all diplomatic avenues exhausted before any military options are mandated. We also hope that a durable solution will be worked out from all sides to prepare the necessary ground work to enable Israel and Palestine to live as neighbours within secure and recognized boundaries. We earnestly welcome and support every effort that helps build an environment conducive to a peaceful unification of the Korean Peninsula.

Terrorism steals the peace and the prospects of prosperity of citizens and societies alike. It moves across borders, corrodes the unity of sovereign states, undermines their political stability, drains their economic potential and devours the fabric of societies. It must be condemned in all its forms and manifestations, and curbed at all levels.

In my own country in past few years, we went through period of large-scale violence directed against civilian lives and properties, government installations and development infrastructure. Despite the efforts of the Government to protect the citizens, violence reached such a proportion that scheduled elections to the House of Representatives of parliament could not be held. I am very happy to say that His Majesty's Government has now initiated a process of peace in the country and the people are experiencing a sense of security.

Mr. Chairman

Most of the Non- Aligned Countries, which are also developing countries, are struggling to eradicate poverty through sustained and accelerated economic growth. However, inadequate resources as well as lack of capacity and fair mechanisms to cash on the virtues of globalization stand firm as obstacles. Scourges of HIV/AIDS and other diseases have complicated their problems. The Least Developed Countries are in a further precarious situation. If they are also land-locked, their misery becomes intractable. The Movement has an urgent duty to seriously address the problems of developing countries and

defend their common interests, with meaningful and synergistic partnership among themselves and with developed countries.

Our Movement must join hands for the implementation of the pledges made by the international community. Efforts should be made to ensure effective fulfillment of our collective commitments on the eradication of poverty, creation of a fair world trading regime and adequate financing for development in a sustainable manner, with a special focus on the needs of the Least Developed Countries.

In the face of dwindling Official Development Assistance (ODA) and lack of other comparable resources, it is imperative for the development partners to stand by their commitments to meet the agreed targets. Developed nations should also provide deeper debt relief and open their markets for developing countries, particularly the least developed ones.

Mr. Chairman

Since its inception, the Movement had been a beacon of hope for countries under colonial domination and a harbinger of independence and freedom in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As a founder member of the Non- Aligned Movement, Nepal is convinced that no other forum provides a better avenue for the Movement's success than the United Nations. Our Movement must, therefore, continue to work in unity to strengthen the United Nations the only world organization which is the true pivot of multilateralism. In this way, we can turn our Movement into a force for change to build a better world.

I thank you all.

Address by
Hon. K.P. Sharma Oli

Senior Deputy Prime Minister & Minister For Foreign Affairs of Nepal
Fourteenth NAM Summit, 11-16 September 2006 Havana Cuba.

Mr. Chairman

Acting President Comrade Raul Castro RUZ

Their Excellencies the Heads of State and Government,

Ladies and Gentlemen.

At the outset, let me felicitate President Fidel Castro Ruz for his unanimous election to lead the NAM for the next three years. I also wish for the speedy recovery, good health and long life of President Fidel Castro.

The Government of Cuba deserves our sincere gratitude for the warm reception and generous hospitality accorded to my delegation and for the meticulous arrangements made for this meeting.

His Excellency Dr. Badawi, Prime Minister of Malaysia deserves my delegation's unreserved appreciation for the exemplary manner in which they led the Movement.

Let me also take this opportunity to welcome the Saint Kitts and Nevis and Haiti as new members of the Movement.

Mr. Chairman

This meeting offers NAM members a splendid opportunity to work concertedly towards generating new impetus and fostering greater unity and solidarity within the ranks of the Movement in our avowed commitment to revitalize it. This was one of the major highlights of the Kuala Lumpur Declaration adopted during the 13th NAM Summit held in Malaysia.

The questions about the Movement's relevance and adaptability have been settled now. Soon after its inception, the Movement galvanized its effort to

end colonization and apartheid. It has survived the demise of the bi-polar world and adjusted to the post-cold war era. Given the new challenges, the Movement should now focus on addressing them.

Those challenges include coming to grips with ethnic strife, war, international terror, persistent deadlock in disarmament matters, the environment, migration, intolerance, digital divide, HIV/AIDS and other pandemic diseases. The Movement will have to wrestle with these problems in the midst of shortage of resources and lack of a unified approach on priorities among its members.

Nepal is deeply troubled by various conflicts around the world and calls for their peaceful resolutions. We believe that outstanding political issues that exist around the world should be resolved through dialogue. In the Middle East, while appealing to all sides to restore calm, we support the two-state formula to be pursued through negotiations and oppose terrorism against innocent civilians and excessive use of force against the population.

The most enduring challenge for the Movement would be to liberate its members from the clutches of poverty and deprivation. To achieve this objective, it should work concertedly with the Group of 77 to persuade the North to meet official development assistance targets, open up their markets for developing countries' products, allow a systematic movement of labor from developing nations, disallow non-trade issues to emerge in the WTO trading regime and make globalization just and equitable.

In particular, least developed countries should have concessionary access to markets in developed nations as well as in those developing nations that have the capacity to provide such access. To overcome their geographical constraints, landlocked developing countries also need better transit facilities and effective trade facilitation measures.

Terrorism has menaced the peace and security of many NAM members and should be stamped out in a collective manner. There is also the imperative to promote both civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development without prejudice.

To ensure such changes, the Movement needs increased unity and cooperation amongst its members that will generate synergy and cohesiveness in their action. NAM must strive to present its common position on various issues of global concerns consistent with its principles and ideals. Particularly, the Movement needs to pursue vigorously the issues of United Nations reforms, change in the international financial architecture, and greater cooperation to deal with terrorism.

Mr. Chairman

Nepal, as one of the founding members of NAM, believes that we should not depart from the core principles. As a matter of fact, the principles of non-alignment have become an article of faith in our foreign policy endeavors. We see a greater role for the Movement to fostering a culture of peace, including dialogue among civilizations, complemented by regional initiatives.

At the same time, NAM should evolve a workable modality to galvanize South-South cooperation, in view of the huge potential and vibrancy existing in a number of countries from the South. The NAM heads of state and government should ask experts to explore the possibility of such cooperation without delay. Moreover, in view of the need for evolving such common position and the growing responsibilities, the Movement would require a proper institutional mechanism for better coordination of and follow-up to NAM resolutions and decisions.

Mr. Chairman

Democracy remains a rising tide around the world. The people of Nepal through a peaceful People's Movement a few months ago demonstrated that people and only the people are an invincible power. With people at the center of governance, we are engaged in strengthening and institutionalizing democratic process. We believe that democracy provides us ground to work for bridging differences, and developing peace, prosperity and system of honoring human rights.

Nepal's experience with its internal peace process has been unique. Besides, we have also accumulated significant experience in international peace and security as one of the largest troop contributors to UN peacekeeping operations. We would like to bring these experiences to bear on UN policy making in the peace and security sector. With these considerations, we have fielded our candidature for the election to be held next month for the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council for 2007-2008.

Mr. Chairman

I would like to conclude by urging ourselves to take bold strides - from indolent passivity to proactive engagement - in our shared pursuit of combating poverty and backwardness and safeguarding our vital interests. Mr. Chairman, you can count on our support to you in this endeavor.

Thank You.

Address by
Rt. Hon. Madhav Kumar Nepal

Prime Minister of Nepal Fifteenth NAM Summit 15-16 July 2009, Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt

Mr. Chairman

**Their Excellencies the Heads of State and Government
Secretary General of the United Nations
Distinguished Delegates
Ladies and Gentlemen**

Let me begin by expressing our deep appreciation to the Government and People of the Arab Republic of Egypt for assuming the Chair of NAM and for the warm hospitality and excellent arrangements made for the 15th Summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement. I would also like to commend the active role played by Cuba in advancing the cause of the Movement during the last three years of its chairmanship.

Mr. Chairman

I am very proud to participate here as the first Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. As a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Nepal continues to place its unwavering faith in the principles of NAM. They also constitute one of the guiding elements of our foreign policy as we hold a firm belief in NAM's continued role and importance. It is so because the fundamental principles of NAM transcend time, space and context.

As I stand here, my memories rush through the achievements made and challenges faced by NAM in the five decades of its existence. Despite strong currents of power politics, it withstood all the adversities, time and again, and marched ahead with consolidation of its ideals and transformation. This must be treasured and carried by us all.

It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that NAM as a group has continued to grow in size and importance, and it has now emerged as the largest group of countries. They are bound together by innate desire to promote global peace

and progress based on fundamental principles of inter state relations, norms and values of multilateralism and peaceful coexistence. Both within the United Nations and outside, our Movement has been able to carve a place for itself. But we need to do more and enhance our cohesiveness with a forward-looking approach to take on the emerging challenges before us.

International peace and security could be enhanced with a more cooperative world order. We must all abide ourselves by the established principles of international relations such as mutual respect and understanding, and non intervention and non interference, as well as by mutual support and cooperation. Whenever we have swerved away from these basic tenets, we have invited troubles and dangers at the international level.

Mr. Chairman

We can not sustain peace without development and if there is no peace and stability, development just becomes a mirage. Therefore, they must be promoted together.

It is in this context, NAM's long-standing call for a New International Economic Order has been abundantly justified by the current global economic and financial crisis. The developing world should have a rightful share in the decision-making process of the multilateral financial bodies. Unless greater coherence is ensured among the international trading, monetary and financial systems in a comprehensive manner based on common rules, chances of recurrence of such failures remain high.

The global financial crisis has now turned into a severe global economic crisis. It has had adverse impacts on all. Declining job opportunities, steep reduction in exports, retrenchment, reduced remittance flow, slackening tourism, drying up of investment funds and higher costs of development and debt servicing are some of its symptoms which will negatively affect our efforts to fulfill MDGs and poverty reduction programs. Therefore, we strongly urge the developed countries not to make the current economic and financial crisis an excuse for curtailing the volume of committed official development assistance and not to raise barriers to trade. On the contrary, we call upon them to do more to offer assistance to the LDCs which are more vulnerable than others. There is a particular plight of the landlocked LDCs, which face multiple challenges. While making their transit passage to the nearest sea smoother, there should be international support for mitigating their difficulties due to adverse geographical location. In times of crises, it is the poor who suffer the

most because they have no alternative opportunities or safety measures to fall back upon.

Mr. Chairman

Cumulative effects of declining trade, rising food and fuel prices and climate change have further compounded the challenges of the developing countries. The lack of progress on the WTO trade talks, especially the Doha Development Agenda, is of particular concern for us. The developed countries should provide duty-free market access for the products from the LDCs so as to ensure a development dividend from the multilateral trading regime. The food crisis continues to persist across the region. It is the poor and the most vulnerable sections of people in the Least Developed Countries that have been widely affected by lack of accessibility and affordability of food. This has been further accentuated by the rising fuel prices again. International community must take concerted actions to address them comprehensively and effectively with a long-term approach. The threats of climate change have manifested themselves in various forms such as the melting of glaciers in the Himalayas, the rising sea levels, and the changing and extreme weather patterns. The Least Developed Countries and small Island States have experienced their adverse impacts more prominently around the world. Therefore, there is a need for a robust international cooperation for adaptation and mitigation measures and substantial resource and technology transfer.

Multilateralism is one of the strongest pillars of Non-Aligned Movement. In the context of existing and emerging threats and challenges, it can be strengthened further by keeping the United Nations at the center of our collective efforts. A comprehensive reform of the United Nations is already overdue. The reform process should be based on sovereign equality, democratic exercise, transparency, accountability, and equitable representation from all corners of the world. Nepal is happy that it has been making a modest contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security through continued participation in the UN peacekeeping missions.

Mr. Chairman

We have consistently stood for general and complete disarmament. We would, therefore, call for renewed global efforts to reach the ultimate goal of creating a world free of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction. We condemn in the strongest possible terms terrorism in all its manifestations. We would like to renew our pledge to work together regionally and globally to combat terrorism. The international community

should also join hands in addressing the root causes of terrorism, including lack of economic opportunity, social justice and human dignity, and exclusion and alienation of peoples. Likewise, the Movement can also play a significant role in promoting better understanding between cultures and civilizations to promote tolerance and harmony around the world.

There is no doubt that globalization and astounding progress in science and technology have brought about an unprecedented level of transformation in the lives of the people today. But its impact has been uneven. Inequality and deprivation are also growing in our midst. This has led to alienation, chaos and conflicts around the world. As we witness a rising number and intensity of conflicts around the world, I believe that NAM could create a forum to discuss the issue of conflicts in a holistic manner and come out with a vision and road map for resolving and preventing them and their root causes. That could be a most important contribution of NAM to deal with the contemporary challenges we all face.

Mr. Chairman

Allow me to briefly update this august assembly about the ongoing peace process in my country Nepal. With the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Accord between the government and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in November 2006, the decade-long armed conflict has come to an end. Elections to Constituent Assembly were held under a mixed proportional representation system, which has made the Assembly a most representative elected body. Almost a third of the Constituent Assembly members are women. We are now engaged in writing a new democratic constitution of Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republic with the widest possible participation of all segments of our people. Monarchy has now become history with smooth transition to a republican state. The process of the restructuring of the State is in progress that ensures mainstreaming of all the marginalized groups.

We are at the dawn of a new age in the country. We have embarked upon a most comprehensive transformation in Nepal. In the last three years, we have covered substantial grounds in institutionalizing peace. We still have a long way to go. People today are clamoring for a far reaching political, economic and social change in the country. We are therefore putting our best efforts to make sure that we would not only ensure sustainable peace but we would also guarantee equity, justice and prosperity to all within a democratic form of governance. Our vision is to end forever alienation, marginalization and deprivation of all communities in the country. We are committed to deliver on these promises with a vision, determination and sincerity. This home-grown

peace process of Nepal, when successfully completed, would be an example for many conflict ridden countries in different regions of the world.

In conclusion, let me stress here that Egypt has always been on the forefront of NAM as a founding member and consistent proponent of the Movement. In view of its leading role in promoting the cause of developing countries, we are confident that under the visionary and dynamic leadership of President Hosny Mubarak, NAM would be able to reach new heights in projecting its ideals and aspirations to the wider world. We will be with you in all your noble endeavors.

Thank You.

