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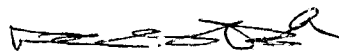
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
School of International Studies
New Delhi

It is certified that the dissertation entitled
"AFGHANISTAN'S DIPLOMACY IN NON-ALIGNMENT CONFERENCES"
1961 - 1976

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is his original work according to the best judgement of
my knowledge and be placed before the Examiner.



(Ashok Guha)
Head of the Centre
for Studies in Diplomacy,
International Law and Economics



(Pushpesh Pant)
Supervisor

AFGHANISTAN'S DIPLOMACY IN NON-ALIGNMENT CONFERENCES

1961-1976

Mohammad Amin Wakman

A Dissertation submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of

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C_O_N_T_E_N_T_S

	Pages
INTRODUCTION	1 - 3
CHAPTER I HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	4 - 14
CHAPTER II THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT	15- 21
CHAPTER III AFGHANISTAN'S DIPLOMACY IN NON-ALIGNMENT CONFERENCES	22- 54
CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION	55- 62
BIBLIOGRAPHY	63- 66
APPENDICES	67-129

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INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan provides an interesting case study of how crucially important diplomacy becomes for a nation, when geopolitical, cultural, historical and political factors combine to place it at the centre of Great Powers politics. In this context, it would be useful to keep certain facts in mind. Afghanistan's relatively small size, cultural conservatism, land-lock isolation, religious orientation and ethnic composition have decisively conditioned its diplomacy.

In eighteenth century, while Afghanistan was seeking nationhood, the British were building an Indian empire, and Russians seeking to impose their military influence in Asia. The result was the renowned "Great Game" between Russians and British for consolidation of their empire and for hegemony in Asia.

In developing a defence of northwestern India, the British imposed the greatest pressure on Afghanistan. One important fact of this 'forward policy' was non-interference in internal affairs of Afghanistan known as 'masterly inactivity'. This manifests itself in attempts to constitute a 'neutral zone' or a 'buffer state' between the British and Russian positions. Their support and surveillance of Afghan Government and pretenders enabled them to screen out most Russian influence until after

World War I.

The shattering of international system by World War I provided Afghanistan with a new set of external opportunities. The independent Afghan Government established bilateral relations with the USSR and most of the European and Muslim States. Afghanistan intended to seek complete economic and political independence from the neighbouring powers and followed neutral policy in international affairs. It was in the national interest of Afghanistan to remain neutral between great rival powers.

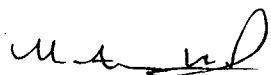
After World War II United States and Soviet Union emerged as Super Powers, which had direct impact on international politics. The number of newly independent Afro-Asian States increased. During the Cold War era these countries were pressurized to deviate from the neutral policy and take side with any of the rival blocs. But most of these countries did remain non-aligned.

Afghanistan's foreign policy after the Second World War was determined by historical changes in international situation. New possibilities opened for Afghanistan to solve her urgent economic, social and political problems while strengthening her national independence.

Afghanistan national forces guided by patriotic aspirations, have at all stages of the independent development of the Afghan state built their sovereignty and foreign policy on the recognition of the prime importance of friendly relations with all countries.

Adhering to a foreign policy conception of positive neutrality and non-alignment sovereign Afghanistan has followed the road of independent economic and social development. The main purpose of Afghanistan's non-alignment policy was to promote goodwill and co-operation to consider social, economic and cultural problems of special interest to Asian and African nations, liberation of the subjected people, elimination of racialism and world peace and co-operation. The impartial evaluation of the world situation based on independent judgment in the interest of peace is accepted as the basis of Afghan non-alignment policy. This policy is one of the goodwill, the notion is directed by reason and determination is of its own that it can hope for the full understanding of purpose and aims by other countries and success in making a contribution to the solution of the problems of a world where every one can wish to live together in peace. Afghanistan is not pursuing the aims of any camp or bloc and its deliberations are not aimed against any one.

Afghanistan supports the formulation of these principles and believes in the principles of peace and co-existence. Afghanistan has traditionally followed a policy of impartial judgment through many years has taken an active part and played important role in the non-alignment movement.


M. Amin Wakman
23.8.78

Chapter I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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i) The Geo-political Setting

Afghanistan is a large mountaneous country with a total land area of 700,000 sq. kilometers. It is bound on north by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Turkmanistan, Uzbekistan and Tajakistan); on the West by Iran, on the South and East by Pashtunistan. In the north-east, the alongated narrow strip of Wakhan is bound by People's Republic of China. The country is landlocked and has a population of 16 millions with annual growth of 2-3 per cent. The population is mainly concentrated in the fertile valleys, plains, river banks and foothills where good soil and water occur.

The term "Afghanistan" is not a new one as sometimes believed. Seven centuries ago, well before Ahmad Shah Durrani founded the Afghan Empire in the eighteenth century, the term was applied to a territory much smaller in size than present Afghanistan and, according to Sayf al-Harawi's The History of Herat, located to the east of contemporary Afghanistan as far as the Indus with the Sulaiman mountains at its centre. This territory was inhabited by Pashtun people who for many centuries were referred to as Ayagana and A-po-Kien from which the term "Afghanistan" seems to have been derived. With the spread of the Pashtuns in following

centuries, the term "Afghanistan" gradually signified a larger territory that eventually included the Khurasan of the Islamic era and Ariana of the ancient time. Similarly, the term "Afghan", which originally denoted only a particular ethnic group, now legally and constitutionally encompasses all ethnic groups living in modern Afghanistan.¹

Historically, Afghanistan has been the scene of many civilization. It was from here that the Arians migrated southwards to India. Its territories, transversed by famous man and conquerors, formed parts of the great empires of the Persians, the Greeks, the Maurayas and the Kushans. The Arians were the earliest people of Afghanistan to enter India by this route. Alexander of Macedonia was the first among the conquerors to cross the Hindu-Kush. Later Emperor Ashoka established a centre for the spread of Buddhism at Gandahara. Later on, the Kushan King Kanishka exercised his authority over a large empire stretching from Kabul to Banaras. At the beginning of the third century A.D. Sasanian Monarch Ardashir carried his conquest to the border of Bactria and invaded India as far as Sarhind in Punjab. By the middle of 7th century A.D. the Arab conquerors overthrew the rulers.

1. Kakar Hassan, Trends in Modern Afghan History, (Afghanistan in 1970s, Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 13-14.

ii) Great Powers Rivalry during the Colonial Period

For Afghanistan the situation became critical late in the nineteenth century, when the Russian and British empire advanced in Central Asia until they were separated only by the area of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan became a national entity in 1747 when Ahmad Shah Abdali united the Afghan tribes under his leadership. Ahmad Shah's power was consolidated in consequences of an aggressive foreign policy aimed at the conquest of large portions of northern India.

By 1830, the strategic importance of Afghanistan in the security consideration of India was being growingly realised and considered a reaction to her involvement in the Eastern Question.

The Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia thus became an essential cavalry of the European politics of balance in nineteenth century.

The reason why the British were so sensitive about the defence of North-West Frontier is not difficult to seek. Their power was essentially sea-oriented. They came to India by sea route, and their expansion was from the east and south of India towards the north-west in search of some natural stronghold from where they could defend their Indian

empire against the land-base was also basic to Indian defence, which required the protection of British 'imperial life-line' through the mediterranean and preventing the Russian power from entering either the Mediterriæn or gaining a foothold in the Persian Gulf. This inevitably drew Afghanistan into the vortex of big power rivalry.

Lord Mornington, Governor of Bengal (1798-1805) initiated a policy of containment of Afghanistan, and Lord Auckalnd (1836-1842) began to interfere directly in the affairs of the country, bringing about the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842). The failure of Britain to obtain her objectives in this war led to temporary disengagement, but Britain's forward policy was not to be resisted, and the arrival of Russian mission in Afghanistan became the cause of the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1879).

The most significant British loss in first Anglo-Afghan war was the losing the prestige of a nation whose empire has never in the East suffered such humiliation. After the tragic failure of British diplomacy in Afghanistan, the policy persuaded by Lord Auckland was reversed. Lord Ellenbarough issued proclamation on October 1, 1842, setting forth that the British army be withdrawn from Afghanistan. He left the Afghans to create a government of their own choice.

In 1863 Sher Ali Khan succeeded the throne of Afghanistan. His situation was very delicate and required careful handling. He wanted to remain independent of all foreign influences. But finding this extremely difficult the Amir retired towards Central Asia.

An independent Afghanistan under the Anglo-Russian guarantees was not what British desired. Disturbed about security of her possessions in India, Britain in 1869 had already extracted an assurance from Russia that Afghanistan was outside her sphere of influence. The assurance, later known as the Granville-Govchakoff Agreement, was reiterated on a number of occasions. To permit Russia to become a party to the Afghan settlement was therefore not acceptable to Britain.

In 1880 Abdul Rahman, King of Afghanistan was not wasting his exile in Central Asia as the guest of the Russian Government. After seeking permission of the Russian hosts, he set out to seize the opportunity of establishing himself in Afghanistan. When the British reluctantly and with serious misgivings recognized as Amir of Kabul, Anglo-Afghan relations were burdened with the legacy of two wars, the loss of life and property and the ill will and distrust that resulted. Russia was extending her influence in Central Asia, soon to impinge an Afghan territory, and the stage was set for the battle

on the Hindu-Kush as the ultimate "scientific frontier" between the Russian and British Empire.

The new Amir was, to a certain extent, the creature of the two rivaling empires. He owed much of his political training and his understanding of power politics to almost twelve years of exile in Russian Turkistan. He ascended the throne with the sanction of both Britain and Russia. Russia permitted Abdul Rahman to establish himself in northern Afghanistan. Lord Lytton, in a reversal of his forward policy, wanted to withdraw the British troops from their increasingly precarious occupation of southern Afghanistan and offered Abdul Rahman the entire country with the exception of Herat, which was to be ceded to Persia, and Kandahar, which was to become an independent Amirate under the protection of Britain.

In his pronouncement of foreign relations he assured Britain that as long as British empire and that of Russia exist, the tribes of Afghanistan should live in peace. Abdul Rahman was keen to show himself not allied with any foreign power.

Britain did not want to conclude a formal treaty with the Amir and merely indicated in two letters of June and July 1880, its policy of supporting an independent ruler in Afghanistan and defending him from outside aggression, provided that Amir had foreign relations only with the Government of India.

Russian advances in Central Asia led ^{to} Anglo-Russian negotiations and the final demarcation of Afghan border in an agreement ratified in 1887. Russia solved a territorial dispute with Afghanistan over the Panjdeh district in March 1885, by forcefully occupying the area. The fact that Britain did not live up to her obligation of assisting Afghanistan against this aggression has not been forgotten by subsequent Afghan rulers.

Afghanistan's north-eastern boundary was demarcated with the assistance of Sir Mortimer Durand in 1893. At that time Afghanistan lost the northern province of Sheghnan and Rushan while she gained the cis-Oxus province of Darwaz and unwanted Wakhan Corridor. The Indo-Afghan boundary was also defined.²

By the turn of century, several things happened. Abdul Rahman died in 1901, and was succeeded by his eldest son Habibullah. Habibullah's peaceful accession to the throne was an unprecedented event in Afghanistan. Its credit must go to Abdul Rahman, who foresightedly sought to avoid the mistake of his predecessors. Habibullah, immediately after his father's death had hardly time and inclination to pause and think on his own before the British and Russians once again started taking active interest in Afghanistan.

2. Adamec Ludwig W., Afghanistan, 1900-1923 (University of California Press, 1967), p. 15.

The Russians, during their chequered but steady advance in Central Asia, were always inclined to seize any opportunity which was likely to give them a chance of meddling directly in the Afghan affairs.³

In 1900, when ^{the} British government was pre-occupied with Boer War in South Africa, the Russians tried to enter in the direct trade relations with Afghanistan, by reviving the so called 'Central Asian Question'.

The Russian Memorandum of February 6, 1900 which was communicated to the British Premier Lord Salisbury, raised certain specific issues which tended to reopen the Afghan question. He informed the British cabinet, that in 1873 Afghanistan was considered outside their 'sphere of action' in political matters and she has intention to have direct non-political relations with Afghanistan.

The British government questioned their Russian counterpart about attempts to enter into direct relations with Afghanistan. The British, however, thought that there is a case for direct Russian relations with Afghanistan for

3. Curzon, Persia and Persian Question, p. 4.

commercial and boundary dispute, but declared that it will be sanctioned only by the Government at London.⁴

The Russians, however, continued to persist for direct relations with Afghanistan. The assessment of the British government was that there was little to be gained by further correspondence with the Russian counterparts on the question, and that it was useless to appeal to the understanding between Britain and Afghanistan which the Russian Foreign Minister, had expressly stated as not binding in Russia.

For once, the British government seemed inclined to acquiesce with the Russian Government's notification regarding their intention of despatching Russian agents into Afghanistan. But the British saw a way out from their intended acquiescence by contending that the stationing of agents in Afghanistan required the consent of Amir, and the British, even though in charge of Afghan foreign relations, had refrained from sending their agents without the Amir's approval.

Amir Habibullah, although annoyed with Lord Curzon's dictatorial attitude, came to the rescue of the British

4. Bilgrami, A.H., Afghanistan and British India 1793-1907 (New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1972).

Government when approached for his views concerning the Russian desire.

In face of Curzon's expansive forward policy - in Persia, Tibet and Afghanistan - his plan of occupying Kandahar and his aggressive dealings with Habibullah, the Russian move for relations with Afghanistan was simply commercial.

Later the Russians, due to their own internal and external compulsions had to come to terms with the situation. What they meant by Afghanistan being 'buffer state' was in practical terms no more than conceding the British control over its foreign relations while retaining the right to maintain some non-political contacts on the Russo-Afghan border.

In a way, an Anglo-Russian reconciliation was likely to prove more dangerous to Afghanistan than their century long antagonism which had ensured the survival of that country as a political entity. Habibullah dealing with the Britain and Russia showed the consummate skill with which he laid secure foundation of sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan.

The most important factor to which Afghanistan owed its national survival, however, was the skillful policy of

her rulers. The Afghan rulers followed a conscious policy, first formulated by Abdul Rahman in the late 1890s, which rested on the premise that Afghanistan neighbours were essentially hostile and bent on territorial annexation. To deter his neighbours from aggression, Abdul Rahman relied on a policy of militant powers which attempted to check pressures from one of his neighbours by obtaining support from the other. To conduct such a policy successfully, the Afghan rulers had to be careful not to provoke either of his two neighbours, Britain, with whom he had a cautious alliance, and Russia, from whom he isolated himself in the arrangements with the Britain.⁵

The main quest of Afghan foreign policy has been to secure and maintain national independence. Over the past century the Afghans have been successful at this, a remarkable achievement in the face of external forces that at all times have been capable of intervening in or over running Afghanistan.

The existence of Afghanistan, after remaining hedged between the two contending imperialists, is ascribed to the antagonism between the two powers as well as diplomatic skill of Afghans themselves in ensuring the survival of their country as a political entity. To this historical experience may be traced the origins of Afghan's non-alignment in more recent years.

5. Adamic Ludwig W., Afghanistan 1700-1723, p. 2.

CHAPTER II

THE POLICY OF "NON-ALIGNMENT"

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"Non-alignment" is perhaps not the best term by which the policy or attitude it represents can be defined. Even Jawaharlal Nehru, who probably coined the term, was not quite happy with it because of its apparently negative connotation. Non-alignment is also known as "non-commitment", "non-involvement", "neutrality", "neutralism", "positive neutrality", "positive neutralism", "dynamic neutrality", "independent and active policy".

As one serious scholar of international affairs has put it non-alignment stands for abstention from power politics, for peaceful co-existence, and for active international co-operation among all states--aligned and non-aligned. Negatively, it means a calculated and deliberate refusal to enter into any military or political commitment with any of the Super Powers or blocs of Powers allied to them and to permit foreign military bases on one's territory.¹

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1. This is a peculiar Indian view with which some non-aligned states do not agree. Some of them have in fact military alliances with countries which are otherwise aligned. To give some specific examples: Yugoslavia has an alliance with Greece and Turkey both of which are members of the NATO; Ceylon and Malaysia have a defence agreement with a major Power, the United Kingdom; The United Arab Republic has a military alliance with Syria and Saudi Arabia; The Latin American 'neutrals' are members of a mutual defence treaty, the Rio Pact of 1947. See M.S. Rajan, Non-alignment: India and the Future (Prasaranga, Mysore 1970), p. 9.

M.S. Rajan has taken great pains to explain what non-alignment is. According to him:

Non-alignment is not a negative policy or attitude to world affairs or to other countries, as some people are inclined to think. To emphasize this point, some non-aligned nations have sought to call their policy "positive neutralism", "dynamic neutralism", and so on. Non-alignment represents, on the contrary, a positive policy and attitude, a policy aimed at promoting peace and co-operation among all nations. ²

Non-alignment is not "neutrality" of a non-belligerent nation during a general war; it is not "neutrality" of the Swiss or the Austrian brand, guaranteed by other nations by treaty. ³ What is more, Rajan points out, it does not even originate from either of these concepts, as many diplomats and scholars erroneously think. ⁴ It is not also the same as the

2 For this reason, it has even been suggested recently that the term "non-alignment" should be abandoned in favour of new name which would express the positive attitude and objectives of the phrase. The Annals (Philadelphia, Pa), July 1961, p. 71.

3 See J.W. Burton, ed., Non-alignment (London, 1966), pp. 21-24; and Marko Nikezic, "Why Uncommitted Countries hold that they are not 'Neutral'", The Annals (Philadelphia, Pa.), July 1961, pp. 75 ff.

4 Even an eminent scholar like Professor Hans J. Morgenthau commits this error. See his article, "Neutrality and Neutralism", in Year Book of World Affairs, 1957 (London), vol. 11, pp. 47-75.

"neutralism" evidenced from time to time among some of the countries that are aligned, usually in non-official circles. Nor is it identical with the "neutralism" of Sweden, which is neither a neutral of the Swiss type nor a member of the non-aligned group of nations. Many non-aligned nations would quite probably agree with Jawaharlal Nehru's resounding remark in respect of India: "Where freedom is menaced or justice is threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be, and shall not be, neutral."⁵

Non-alignment, however, should not be interpreted as isolationism. As Prince Norodom Sihanouk told the Belgrade Conference: "Non-alignment represents a dynamic form of international life, not an unhealthy and passive introversion."⁶

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5. Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches 1949-1953 (Delhi, 1957), vol.2, p. 125.

V.K. Krishna Menon, speaking in the UN General Assembly on 17th October 1960, said: "We refuse to accept responsibility for the appellation 'Neutralist', which is purely a newspaper invention, originally produced as an epithet by people who did not like our policy. We are not neutral regarding war or peace. We are not neutral regarding ethical values. We are not neutral with regard to the greatest economic and social problems that may arise.... We are not neutral or neutralist, positive or otherwise. We would take part, we would participate, we would express our views. Even that expressions 'positive neutrality' is a contradiction in terms. There can no more be positive neutrality than there can be vegetarian tiger". U.N. General Assembly, Official Records (GAOR), session 15, pt. 1 (L. 1960), p. 751.

6. Belgrade Conference Report, n. 1, p. 193.

Even a brief survey of recent international relations would easily demonstrate that the path of non-alignment is not an easy one for small, developing nations to tread. Non-alignment is not the line of least resistance, but is rather the most difficult, challenging, and positive policy of a nation emerging from the colonial yoke.

Sometimes the non-aligned nations are criticized for naive idealism or 'holier than thou' attitude. This does not seem to be valid. Non-alignment does not represent judicial impartiality in world affairs; non-aligned nations do not seek to be umpires in the game of world politics. Non-alignment does not mean self-righteousness or an affectation of moral superiority - at least not more so than alignment.

Following a policy of Non-alignment does not mean foresaking one's national interests. Non-alignment is not self-abnegation, and non-aligned nations are not just "do-gooders". Non-alignment is as much a policy of national interest as alignment. As Jawaharlal Nehru once said: "It is certainly true that our instructions to our delegates have always been, to consider each question first in terms of India's interests and secondly on its merits - I mean to say, if did not affect India, naturally, on its merit and not merely to do something or give a vote just to please this Power or that Power...."⁷

check? 7 Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, September 1964- May 1949
(Delhi, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 217-18.

To conceive of non-alignment as an ethical moral policy is to clothe it with exaggerated virtue. According to an Arab authority, "positive neutralism, thus is the law directing the Arab nationalist movement in the international field so as to secure a favourable atmosphere for the realization of its national goals and aspirations...."⁸ Therefore, the criticism that non-aligned states do not behave any differently when their own national interests are involved is misplaced.

Jawaharlal Nehru once remarked in reply to the widespread criticism of non-alignment soon after the Chinese aggression on India in October 1962 and the demand for its abandonment, that if India abandoned non-alignment, it would be a "terrible moral failure". He had also said at another time: "We are aligned with nobody, not even with non-alignment...."⁹ Non-alignment to begin with had nothing to do with many things often associated with non-aligned countries--like opposition to colonialism and racialism, banning of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, disarmament, demand for rapid economic development, "progressive" domestic policies, promotion of world peace, strengthening of the United Nations, and peaceful settlement of international disputes.

8 Clovis Maqsood, as cited in Paul F. Power, ed., Neutralism and Disengagement (New York: N.Y., 1964), p. 14.

9 Cecil V. Grabb, Jr., A Study of Non-alignment (Frederick & Praeger, New York, 1965), p. 12.

Non-alignment is not directed against any ideology, bloc or nation. Non-alignment and non-aligned states do not represent a "third force", or seek to create a third camp or bloc of nations (as against the two existing blocs). Any such objective runs counter to the very basis of non-alignment.

Jawaharlal Nehru, describing the idea of a "third force" or "third power" in a military sense as "absurd," nevertheless said that if it meant a third "area" which did not want war, which worked for peace, and which believed in co-operation, he would have no objection.

The Emperor of Ethiopia told the Belgrade Conference: "When we descend into the political arena as a recognized and organized and disciplined unit, our moral influence and our power to rally and shape opinion on question [sic] of world import which is otherwise our greatest strength, is compromised and dissipated. Bloc action implies, within the group, the exertion of pressures upon recalcitrant members, the compromise of compositions, the sacrifice of principle for political expediency, the trading of votes [for the sake of] votes and adherence to the role of quid pro quo. All of these are inconsistent with the real sources of our power, the moral element in the conduct of human affairs." In the same Conference, the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Sirimao Bandarnaike, observed that while non-aligned states should not organize themselves, and thereby strengthen the role which non-aligned thinking could play

in world affairs." She reiterated this proposal for speedy and effective consultation and effective conciliation among disputant states in the Cairo Conference.

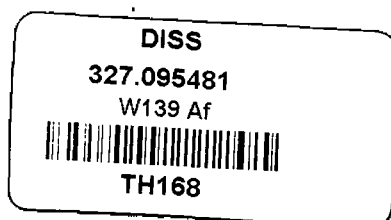
To appreciate properly the struggle which the Non-aligned have had to undertake it is necessary to review, however sketchily, the reaction of great powers - leaders of rival blocs to their aspirations. Likewise, Mao Tse-tung said: "All Chinese without exception, must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, nor is there a third road."¹⁰ And this distinguished company was later on joined by an American Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, to whom "neutralism" was immoral and short-sighted.

Under these circumstances to follow steadfastly the policy of non-alignment was not always an easy task. And it is in this context that the Afghan participation in the various non-aligned conferences should be assessed.

10 Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking, 1961), vol. 4, p. 415. According to Harold Vinacke, however, Mao expressed this view of non-alignment before the concept had been fully developed in relation to the Cold War. See his article, "Communist China and the Uncommitted Zone", The Annals, November 1962, p. 114.



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CHAPTER III

AFGHANISTAN'S DIPLOMACY IN NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCES

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AFGHANISTAN'S DIPLOMACY IN NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCES

1. Non-aligned Conference at Belgrade
(September 1-6, 1961)

At the invitation of President Tito of Yugoslavia, President Abdul Nasser of the United Arab Republic and President Sukarno of Indonesia were joined by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru and the Government of Afghanistan which decided to support the sponsorship of the invitation and a preparatory meeting for the Conference of the Uncommitted countries took place in Cairo from June 5 to 12, 1961, under the chairmanship of Dr. Mehmud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic.

This meeting was attended by the delegation of the following countries:

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1. Afghanistan | 11. Iraq |
| 2. Burma | 12. Mali |
| 3. Cambodia | 13. Morocco |
| 4. Ceylon | 14. Nepal |
| 5. Cuba | 15. Saudi Arabia |
| 6. Ethiopia | 16. Somalia |
| 7. Ghana | 17. Sudan |
| 8. Guinea | 18. The United Arab Republic |
| 9. India | 19. Yugoslavia |
| 10. Indonesia | 20. Provisional Algerian
Government |

They agreed that the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Uncommitted countries should be held in Yugoslavia early in September.

On September 1, 1961, the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries was opened by President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, who acted as host of the Conference. The Conference of Heads of States or Governments of the following non-aligned countries took part in Bandung:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-----|----------------------|
| 1. | Afghanistan | 13. | Iraq |
| 2. | Algeria | 14. | Lebanon |
| 3. | Burma | 15. | Mali |
| 4. | Cambodia | 16. | Morocco |
| 5. | Ceylon | 17. | Nepal |
| 6. | Congo | 18. | Saudi Arabia |
| 7. | Ethopia | 19. | Somalia |
| 8. | Cyprus | 20. | Sudan |
| 9. | Ghana | 21. | Tunisia |
| 10. | Guinea | 22. | United Arab Republic |
| 11. | India | 23. | Yemen |
| 12. | Indonesia | 24. | Yugoslavia. |

Bolivia, Brazil and Ecuador were represented by their observers.

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1. The Conference of Heads of States or Governments of Non-alignment countries, Belgrade, Yugoslav Government Publication, 1961, p. 253.

The Conference adopted the following agenda:

- I. Exchange of views on the international situation.
- II. Establishment and strengthening of international peace and security:
 1. Respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, struggle against imperialism.
 2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, non-interference and non-intervention in internal affairs of states.
 3. Racial discrimination and apartheid.
 4. General and complete disarmament, banning of nuclear tests; problem of foreign military bases.
 5. Peaceful co-existence among states with different political and social systems.
 6. Role and Structure of the United Nations and the implementation of its resolutions.
- III. Problems of unequal economic development, promotion of international economic and technical co-operation.
- IV. Other Matters.

V. ² Communique of the Conference.

The Head of the Afghan delegation in Belgrade Conference was Prime Minister Mohammad Daoud.

The non-aligned countries in the final declaration including Afghanistan considered that the German problem is not surely a regional problem, but liable to exercise a decisive influence on the course of future developments in international relations. They asked all parties concerned not to resort to or threaten in accordance with the appeal made by members of non-aligned countries. The declaration of the Belgrade Conference, which Afghanistan also participated says: that Conference urged the Great Powers to sign without further delay a treaty for general and complete disarmament in order to save mankind from the scourge of war and to release energy and the resources now being spent on armaments to be used for peaceful economic and social development of all mankind. The participating also considered:

(a) The non-aligned nations should be represented at all further world conferences on disarmament.

2. The Conference of Heads of States or Governments of Non-aligned Countries, Belgrade, 1961.

(b) All discussions on disarmament should be held under the auspices of the United Nations.

(c) General and complete disarmament should be guaranteed by an effective system of inspection and control, the terms which should include members of non-aligned nations.

About liquidation of colonialism and self-determination, the Prime Minister Daoud though expressed full support of the Afghan people towards the Algerian freedom fighters, yet he did not mention self-determination for the people of Pashtunistan at that conference to which he earlier claimed to be a great supporter of their cause. About the world peace and security he said:

The Afghan Government believes that foreign military bases are, in general, a threat to peace of the world. Especially so are those bases which have been forced on the soil of peoples against their wishes. For this reason we announced at the outset, our full support of the Government of Tunisia in the question of the evacuation of the French naval and air base at Bizerta. We hope that this evacuation so desired by the people of Tunisia, will be soon effected.

Events in Angola, likewise, have aroused the anxieties of the people of the world. It is the basic desire of all freedom-loving nations that colonialism in Angola and other territories under domination which are struggling for independence be terminated. I wish to express our full support for the freedom fighters of Angola. 3

In general debate Mr. Daoud stated:

"Although the term "non-alignment" has been used to describe the policy of each member of this Conference it must be noted that Afghanistan's policy of neutrality far antedates the events which have given rise to the term "non-alignment". Afghanistan has traditionally followed a policy of impartial judgement through many years, and has never deviated from this course, even during the world wars. The establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with all peoples and nations and promotion of international cooperation are important factors in Afghanistan's traditional political behaviour." 4

The Government of Afghanistan was of the opinion that the assembling should be solely aimed at the exchange of views on the consolidation and co-ordination of efforts on major world problems. Among the basic problems connected with the maintenance of peace, there were three matters which demanded immediate attention. One was the question of Germany, the other disarmament and third, the elimination of colonialism in all its forms.

The Afghan Government believed that foreign military bases are, in general, a threat to the peace of the world. Especially so are those bases which have been forced on the soil of peoples against their wishes. Daoud expressed deep

4. The Conference of Heads of States and Government of Non-aligned Countries (Publicistriko Isdocki Zovad Belgrade, Kuez Michailona 6, 1961).

concern at colonialist machinations in different parts of the world.

"Events in Angola, likewise, have aroused the anxieties of the peoples of the world. It is the basic desire of all freedom-loving nations that colonialism in Angola and other territories under domination which are struggling for independence be terminated. I wish to express our full support for the freedom-fighters of Angola."⁵

Mr. Daoud, also stressed for the self-determination of Palestinian people, which forcefully driven away from their motherland.⁶

2. Non-aligned Conference Cairo (October 5-10, 1964)

The second Summit Conference of Non-aligned countries was held in Cairo, the capital of the United Arab Republic. Forty-seven countries participated as full members in the work of the Conference, while ten countries attended the Conference, as observers. Forty-seven full members were as follows:

-
5. Non-aligned Conference, Belgrade (ibid.), p. 84.
 6. Non-aligned Conference, Belgrade (ibid.), p. 84.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|--------------|
| 1. | Afghanistan | 25. | Lebanon |
| 2. | Algeria | 26. | Liberia |
| 3. | Angola | 27. | Libya |
| 4. | Burma | 28. | Malawi |
| 5. | Burundi | 29. | Mali |
| 6. | Cambodia | 30. | Mauritania |
| 7. | Comeroon | 31. | Moracco |
| 8. | Central Africa
Republic | 32. | Nepal |
| 9. | Ceylon | 33. | Nigeria |
| 10. | Chad | 34. | Saudi Arabia |
| 11. | Congo (Brazaville) | 35. | Senegal |
| 12. | Cuba | 36. | Sierra Leone |
| 13. | Cyprus | 37. | Somalia |
| 14. | Dahomy | 38. | Sudan |
| 15. | Ethopia | 39. | Syria |
| 16. | Chad | 40. | Tanganika |
| 17. | Guinea | 41. | Togo |
| 18. | India | 42. | Tunisia. |
| 19. | Indonesia | 43. | Uganda |
| 20. | Iraq | 44. | U.A.R. |
| 21. | Jordan | 45. | Yemen |
| 22. | Kenya | 46. | Yugoslavia |
| 23. | Kuwait | 47. | Zambia |
| 24. | Laos | | |

The Cairo Conference was attended by the following ten countries as observers:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Argentina | 6. Jamaica |
| 2. Bolivia | 7. Mexico |
| 3. Brazil | 8. Trinidad |
| 4. Chile | 9. Uruguay |
| 5. Finland | 10. Venezuela |

At the first meeting of the Conference on October 5, the Heads of States or Governments of non-aligned countries approved the following agenda for the conference:

1. General discussion of the international situation.
2. The safeguarding and strengthening of world peace and security, promotion in the settlement of international problems of the positive role of new states and of national liberation movements.
 - a) concreted action for the liberation of the countries still dependent; elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism;
 - b) respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and condemnation of the use of force against the exercise of this right;
 - c) racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid;

d) peaceful co-existence and codification of its principles by the United Nations;

e) respect for the sovereignty of states and their territorial integrity, problems of divided nations;

f) settlement of disputes without the threat or use of force, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter;

g) general and complete disarmament; peaceful use of atomic energy; banning of all nuclear weapons tests; establishment of nuclear free zones, prevention of dissamination of nuclear weapons;

h) military pact, foreign troops and bases;

i) the United Nations; its role in international affairs, implementation of its resolutions and amendment of its charter.

3. Economic development and co-operation:

a) effect of disarmament on world economic development;

b) United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

4. Cultural, Scientific and Educational cooperation; and consolidation of the international and regional organizations working for this purpose.

5. Any other subject.

7. Conference of Heads of States or Governments of Non-aligned Countries (Publication of U.A.R. Government, Cairo, 1966)

Dr. Mohammad Yousuf, Prime Minister of Afghanistan and Head of Afghan delegation, said: "Our impartial evaluation of the world situation based on our independent judgement in the interest of peace should be accepted as the basis of the collective policy of the non-aligned nations."⁸

About nuclear weapons Dr. Yousuf view was that International Law will play an important role in this context. The Atlantic Charter and the principles of the United Nations made the allies to agree for world peace. Such law is needed for the present day requirements. In the General Assembly the group of non-aligned nations welcomed the principles of co-existence. These principles should be better understood through codification and its declaration to the world in the interest of the humanity. All peoples should have the right to choose their own political, economic and social systems. They should be avoided being swayed by any economic, political and military pressure.

Speaking about disarmament, Dr. Yousuf of Afghanistan thought that the solution will have to be realistic and not only idealistic. The demand of non-aligned countries should be persuaded collectively in the UN for the establishment of an atom-free

8 Conference of Heads of States or Governments of Non-aligned Countries, ibid., p. 66.

world. Foreign military bases should be considered part of the main problem. Afghanistan opposed the foreign bases in other countries.

Afghanistan has consistently sought to strengthen the United Nations Organization. Dr. Yousuf, Head of the Afghan delegation emphasised this concern at the Conference and said:

"Afghanistan being a devoted member of the United Nations supports any measure for the strengthening of the U.N. here, within the organization and elsewhere. Afghanistan also supports the principle of universality of membership in the United Nations. The legitimate Government of People's Republic of China will be given full membership in the United Nations. 9

3. Non-aligned Conference, Lusaka,
(September 8-10, 1970)

Third Conference of Heads of States or Governments of the following non-aligned countries was held in Lusaka (Zambia) in September 1970. The following countries were present:

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan | 6. Central African Republic |
| 2. Algeria | 7. Ceylon |
| 3. Botswana | 8. Chad |
| 4. Barundi | 9. People's Republic of Congo |
| 5. Cameroon | 10. Democratic Republic of Congo |

9 Ibid., p. 71.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 11. Cuba | 26. Lebanon |
| 12. Cyprus | 27. Lasotho |
| 13. Equatorial Guinea | 28. Liberia |
| 14. Ethiopia | 29. Libya |
| 15. Ghana | 30. Malaysia |
| 16. Guinea | 31. Mali |
| 17. Guayana | 32. Mauritania |
| 18. India | 33. Morocco |
| 19. Indonesia | 34. Nepal |
| 20. Iraq | 35. Nigeria |
| 21. Jamaica | 36. Rwanda |
| 22. Jordan | 37. Senegal |
| 23. Kenya | 38. Siera Leone |
| 24. Kuwait | 39. Singapore |
| 25. Laos | |

The following countries attended as observers:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1. Argentina | 7. Provincial Revolutionary
Government of South Vietnam |
| 2. Barborese | 8. Peru |
| 3. Bolivia | 9. Uruguay |
| 4. Brazil | 10. Venezuela |
| 5. Chile | 11. Secretary General of
O.A.U. ¹⁰ |
| 6. Ecuador | |

¹⁰ Third Conference of Non-aligned Countries, September 8-10, 1970 (New Delhi; Ministry of External Affairs).

The following agenda proposed by Minister of Foreign Affairs was adopted by the Conference on the first day:

- I. General discussion of the international situation
- II. The safeguarding and strengthening of world peace and security in the changing world situation:
 - a) Role of non-alignment
 - b) Strengthening of the United Nations
 - c) Question concerning disarmament
 - d) Military pacts, foreign troops and bases.
- III. The safeguarding and strengthening of national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality among states and non-interference in internal affairs of states:
 - a) Action for the liberation of countries under colonial domination and support of liberation movement;
 - b) Eradication of all forms of social discrimination and apartheid;
 - c) Neo-colonialism;
 - d) Safeguarding and strengthening of independence of non-aligned countries.
- IV. Economic development and economic self-reliance:

- a) Bilateral, regional and inter-regional co-operation among non-aligned and developing countries;
- b) Policies regarding trade aid;
- c) Second United Nations Development Decade.

V. Strengthening of co-operation among non-aligned countries.

VI. Any other subject.

In the third conference of non-aligned nations, Head of Afghan Delegation was Prime Minister Noor Ahmad Etamadi. He emphasized in general debate several issues of particular interests of Afghanistan namely, United Nations, economic problem of the under-developed countries, social discrimination, situation of middle east and war in Indo-China.

The Declaration of Lusaka Conference emphasized trade, co-operation and development. They pointed out exchange of information regarding products, providing adequate access to products of export interests, long term purchase of raw-material for industries. Payment arrangement to support expansion of trade, facilities for overland transit, and development of tourism.

Etamadi showed concern over the continued existence of colonial and racial regimes in Africa. He said/continuation that the

of the regimes and the injustice so inhumanly exercised against the all oppressed people of this great continent emanates from a complete denial of human rights, and even threatens the independence of many African countries. He added: "In the name of the people, I render all the support and backing due to these freedom fighters who seek to obtain their human and historical right in their homelands." 11

The Afghan representative to the Lusaka Conference noted the changes in international situation since Belgrade conference. He, however, reiterated the relevance of non-alignment. He said:

the principles underlying our movement remain valid despite the changes in the immediate circumstances which gave it birth. In the name of my people, I render all the support and backing due to these freedom fighters who seek to obtain their human and historical rights in their own homelands. 11a

The Head of Afghan delegation reaffirmed the Afghan support for the Palestinian and stated:

No solution of the Middle East Crisis can be considered as being based on justice and legality unless the complete restoration of the Arab Palestinian peoples' rights is considered as indispensable. It is the right of the people of Palestine to achieve this peace and justice to support them. 11b

11 Lusaka Summit, Publication of Government of Zambia, 1970.

11a Ibid.

11b Ibid.

He also highlighted the relations between international political stability and economic justice thus;

Peace and political stability in the world depend to a considerable extent on the economic development of developing countries. The widening gap between the economically advanced countries and the Third World continues to be a source of profound concern.

We are, therefore, determined to exert increasingly effective efforts within the framework of the 77 developing countries, to intensify the role of these nations for the implementation of structural changes in the world's economy, and for the establishment of an international co-operation gradually allowing such a course of events to change its direction in favour of all countries of the world, including the less developed ones. 12

4. Non-aligned Conference of Algiers (September 5-9, 1973)

The fourth conference of Heads of States or Governments of Non-aligned countries was held in Algiers in 1973. This conference was attended by 75 countries as full members, 16 liberation movements and 4 international organizations as observers, and 3 countries as guests;

The following countries were present as full members:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Afghanistan | 6. Bhutan |
| 2. Algeria | 7. Botswana |
| 3. Argentina | 8. Burma |
| 4. Bangladesh | 9. Burundi |
| 5. Bahrain | 10. Cambodia |

12 Ibid., p. 66.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-----|---------------|
| 11. | Comeraon | 37. | Liberia |
| 12. | Central African Republic | 38. | Libya |
| 13. | Chad | 39. | Madagaskar |
| 14. | Chile | 40. | Malaysia |
| 15. | Congo | 41. | Malta |
| 16. | Cuba | 42. | Mauritonia |
| 17. | Cyprus | 43. | Mali |
| 18. | Dakomy | 44. | Maritius |
| 19. | Egypt | 45. | Moracco |
| 20. | Equatorial Guinea | 46. | Nepal |
| 21. | Ethopia | 47. | Niger |
| 22. | Gabon | 48. | Nigeria |
| 23. | Gambia | 49. | Oman |
| 24. | Ghana | 50. | Peru |
| 25. | Guinea | 51. | Qatar |
| 26. | Guayana | 52. | Rwanda |
| 27. | India | 53. | Saudi Arabia |
| 28. | Indonesia | 54. | Senegal |
| 29. | Iraq | 55. | Sierra Leone |
| 30. | Ivory Coast | 56. | Singapore |
| 31. | Jamica | 57. | Somania |
| 32. | Jordan | 58. | South Vietnam |
| 33. | Kenya | 59. | Sri Lanka |
| 34. | Laos | 60. | Sudan |
| 35. | Lebanon | 61. | Swaziland |
| 36. | Lasatho | 62. | Syria |

63.	Tanzania	69.	Upper Volta
64.	Togo	70.	Yemen I.A.R.
65.	Trinidad and Tobago	71.	Yemen (P.D.R.)
66.	Tunisia	72.	Yugoslavia
67.	Uganda	73.	Zairo
68.	United Arab Emirate	74.	Zambia

The Conference thus adopted the following agenda:

1. Opening of the Conference;
2. Election of Official Organ;
3. Adoption of Agenda;
4. Report of the Chairman of the Third Conference;
5. Recommendation of the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.
6. Organization of Work.
7. General Assessment of the present situation and the role of the non-aligned;
8. Consideration of the questions and co-ordination of the action by the non-aligned countries for strengthening world peace and security;
9. Consideration of economic and social progress of non-aligned countries;
10. Measures for promoting co-operation and coordination among the non-aligned countries including the field of education, culture, science, information etc.

11. Future meetings of non-aligned countries including¹³
the date and site of the next Conference.

The Head of the Afghan delegation in this conference was Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazmak, and was designated the Personal Representative of General Mohammad Daoud, Head of State and Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

The final declaration of the fourth non-aligned conference preferred to designs of the great majority of advanced countries to perpetuate the present order to their own advantage. Hence the failure of first decade, the unsatisfactory implementation of the recommendations of the third UNCTAD, and the disappointing results of the first these years of this decade have jeopardise achievement of the goal of the international strategy of development.

Far reaching changes had taken place in the sphere of the Afghanistan's domestic politics immediately proceeding/^{the} convention of the Algiers Conference. On the 17th of July 1973, a great fundamental institutional change took place in Afghanistan Monarchy was abolished and a Republic proclaimed. The objectives of the newly created Republic, supported by the genuine aspirations and democratic traditions of the Afghan people, were declared

13. Yugoslav Survey, vol.xiv, no.4, 1973.

to be the promotion of material and spiritual development of its people and creation of a new society founded on justice and equality for all citizens without any discrimination whatsoever. It is to allow all Afghans to participate, fully and responsibly, in the affairs of their country, and to curb the forces that have hitherto hampered the realization of these aspirations. The Republic aimed at establishing a trustworthy security within the country that would permit sound and positive economic, social and cultural reforms, and pave the way to true political, economic and cultural advancement.

The new regime, however, made it clear that there would be no significant shift in Afghanistan's foreign policy stance:

In the field of foreign affairs, the Republic shall adhere to the principles and purposes of the United Nations' Charter, and shall continue to lend its unfailing support to those principles and objectives. It shall pursue its policy of political, economic and cultural co-operation with all peace-loving countries, particularly the Third World, and shall remain staunchly attached to the policy of non-alignment and non-participation in military blocs. This policy stems from the aspirations of the Afghan people for the independent and objective judgment of all international issues and for the promotion and development of conditions for peace in the international arena. 14

14 Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries (Algiers, 1973).

However, the new regime seemed far more determined to pursue Afghanistan's national interest. An attempt was made to utilize the Non-aligned forum for this purpose. The head of Afghan delegation stated:

We regret, however, that there is only one country, namely Pakistan, with which we have not been able to solve our political difference. The question of Pashtunistan, which has emanated from a refusal by Pakistan to recognise the legitimate rights and demands of over seven million people separated by a colonial power from their fatherland, Afghanistan, still remains unsolved. We shall spare no effort in seeking and realizing a solution to this question, on the basis of the will of the people and international justice, the interest of the small nations and the Third World. No detente can result in a just and lasting peace and reliable international security unless it encompasses all countries and all regions. 15

Afghanistan expected the Conference to pay special attention to the concern of the small nations in all fields of international life. Matters of equal or even of more interest to the majority of the nations of the world cannot be allowed to be decided upon without the full and equal participation of all countries. Afghanistan could not be expected to endorse any arrangement which would imply that solutions to world problems lie solely within the grasp of stronger powers, and that the formula for such solutions remain their sole monopoly. "The democratization of international

15 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

decisions and actions are essential. If this prerequisite, which emanates from the fundamental principle of equality of all nations, remains unrealized world peace shall remain fragile and precarious".¹⁶ Afghanistan made a forceful plea that the Conference should give its full support for the strengthening of the United Nations in the achievement of this purpose.

At the time of the Algiers Conference the situation in the Middle East was a great source of concern. The efforts of the non-aligned countries in the Security Council had unfortunately been vetoed. The occupation of the Arab lands continued. Afghans hoped that the Conference would make a special effort for the implementation of Resolution 242 of the Security Council and the application of the United Nations' Charter. Afghanistan supported the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine to their homelands.

Afghans were greatly concerned about the creeping paralysis of unimplemented resolutions - not only resolutions of the General Assembly and its many organs, but more significantly, the mandatory resolutions of the Security Council - not only with respect to the Middle East, but also in vital decisions taken on Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, and the situation in South Africa. It was a situation which threatened to undermine the whole fabric of international law and international morality. Far more corrosive than the absence of law is indifference, disrespect and the violation of

16 Ibid., p. 13.

laws to which statesmen and government are committed.

Afghanistan made it clear that it had no desire but to observe the conditions of peace and the promotion of international relations in the entire world, including in the region to which it belongs. The disturbance of peace in one particular part of the world could not remain isolated and effected international peace and security throughout the world. On this basis, Afghanistan deemed it necessary to bring to the attention of the Conference the possibilities of such events taking place in the vicinity of its country as a result of the disturbance of the balance of power through armaments and political arrangements.

The Head of the Afghan delegation once again shrewdly linked these general observations to Afghanistan's more immediate concerns:

One of the political measure is the attitude recently adopted by the Government of Pakistan against the leaders of the National Awami Party.

The distinguished Heads of State present in this historical meeting are aware that the Government of Pakistan has recently arrested a number of the Baluch and Pushtoon national leaders and exerts political pressure against others. The provocative gesture on the part of the Government of Pakistan against the Pushtoon and Baluch leaders is a further measure taken towards suffocating the aspirations and wishes of the people of Pushtoonistan.

The people of Afghanistan, who have deep historical cultural and ethical ties with their brother Pushtoons and Baluchs and therefore cannot remain indifferent to this action taken by the Government of Pakistan express deep concern.

We hope that these political measures of Pakistan do not expand and cause further deterioration of the situations in the region. 17

The Afghan Government fully supported the struggle of the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese territories, and indeed in all Southern Africa and condemned the massacre carried out by the Portuguese military personnel in Mozambique. It strongly condemned South Africa for its policy of apartheid.

Before concluding, the Afghan delegate referred to the urgent need for co-operation regarding economic matters among the non-aligned nations. Elaborating his statement, he stated:

Without such co-operation it seems to us that much has to be done for the elimination of possible sources of friction between the various continents of the Group of 77, and the implementation of special measures in favour of the least developed and the developing land-locked countries. 18

5. Non-Alignment Conference of Colombo
(August 16-19, 1976)

The fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries was held in Colombo, capital of Sri

17. Ibid., p. 16.

18 Ibid., p. 18.

Lanka in 1976. The following countries participated as members in the Conference;

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan | 21. Equatorial Guiana |
| 2. Algeria | 22. Ethiopia |
| 3. Angola | 23. Gabon |
| 4. Argentina | 24. Cambodia |
| 5. Bahrain | 25. Ghana |
| 6. Bangladesh | 26. Guinea |
| 7. Benin | 27. Guinea-Bissau |
| 8. Bhutan | 28. Guyana |
| 9. Botswana | 29. India |
| 10. Burma | 30. Indonesia |
| 11. Burundi | 31. Iraq |
| 12. Cameroon | 32. Ivory Coast |
| 13. Capverde | 33. Jamaica |
| 14. Central African Republic | 34. Jordan |
| 15. Chad | 35. Kenya |
| 16. Comoros | 36. Korea (PDR) |
| 17. Cuba | 37. Kuwait |
| 18. Cyprus | 38. Laos (PDR) |
| 19. Democratic Kampuchea | 39. Lebanon |
| 20. Egypt | 40. Lesotho |

contd....

- | | |
|--|---|
| 41. Liberia | 63. Senegal |
| 42. Libya | 64. Seychellas |
| 43. Madagascar | 65. Sierra Leone |
| 44. Malagasy | 66. Singapore |
| 45. Mali | 67. Somalia |
| 46. Malta | 68. Sri Lanka |
| 47. Mauritania | 69. Sudan |
| 48. Mauritius | 70. Swaziland |
| 49. Morocco | 71. Syria |
| 50. Mazambique | 72. Tanzania |
| 51. Nepal | 73. Togo |
| 52. Niger | 74. Trinidad and Tobago |
| 53. Nigeria | 75. Tunisia |
| 54. Oman | 76. Uganda |
| 55. Palestine Liberation
Organization | 77. United Arab Emirates |
| 56. Panama | 78. Upper Volta |
| 57. Peru | 79. Vietnam |
| 58. Qatar | 80. Yemen Arab Republic |
| 59. Maldives | 81. Yemen People's Democratic
Republic |
| 60. Rwanda | 82. Yugoslavia |
| 61. Democratic Republic of
Sao Tome & Principle | 83. Zaire |
| 62. Saudi Arabia | 84. Zambia |

The Conference then adopted the following agenda:

1. Opening of the Conference.
2. Election of the Conference Officers.
3. Application for participation in the capacity of members, observers and guests.
4. Adoption of the Agenda.
5. Report of the Chairman of the fourth non-aligned Conference.
6. Recommendations of the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Colombo.
7. Organization of the work of the Conference.
8. General Review and Assessment of international political situation.
9. Review and appraisal of International Economic situation.
10. Survey and evaluation of measures to strengthen economic solidarity and co-operation among non-aligned and other developing countries.
11. Strategy for the strengthening of peace and international security.
12. Measures for the promotion of co-operation and co-ordination among non-aligned countries.
13. Strengthening of non-alignment and joint action of non-aligned countries in international relations.¹⁹

19 Review of International Affairs, vol. xxvii, 5 September 1976.

14. Future gathering of non-aligned countries.

15. Miscellaneous.

Before joining the Colombo Summit, enroute to Sri Lanka, President Daoud stopped in Delhi Airport. During an interview in New Delhi President Daoud said:

The Republic of Afghanistan has explicitly, clearly and consistently respected the principles of non-alignment and will always follow these principles. We are against any motive which will weaken the principles or ignore them, the basic philosophy of non-alignment will itself weaken and our opinion of non-alignment will be one thing, and non-alignment another thing. 20

The President and Prime Minister added: "The non-alignment movement will have better meaning when its principles are adhered to and put into practice and Afghanistan has always firmly adhered to the principle of this movement." ²¹ Perhaps such a reaffirmation of Afghanistan's commitment to non-alignment was called for as the Colombo Conference was convened under conditions and circumstances of important changes occurring in world situation, with the world on the threshold of still further changes. Naturally the conference was concerned with future role that these countries ought to play. A majority of the participants felt

20 Kabul Times, Vol. XV, No. 22, August 15, 1978.

21 Ibid.

that the non-aligned movement can, and ought to suit itself to new conditions.

The flexibility and freedom of individual member-countries could not be allowed to go as far as to change the concept of non-alignment into a shapeless conception. The definitive framework of the criteria of non-alignment evolved years before in Belgrade, and these criteria, despite the changes in the political complexions of the world, remain valid, and they are still essential. Daoud felt that it was the responsibility of the non-aligned countries to ensure that these criteria remain intact. He made it clear that when one thinks of the basic principles of nonalignment, and loyalty to them, concurrence of views only on criteria of military non-alignment, is not sufficient for defence of non-alignment. In agreements among the non-aligned countries themselves, consideration of universal interests is important, and also, if the developed countries treat one or some of the non-aligned countries in a way which would be discriminatory to the spirit of non-alignment, surrender of the non-aligned countries to this must be recognised as defying the principle of non-alignment.

Afghans realized, with others, that while classic colonialism has not been totally eliminated, yet, the roots of neo-colonialism are becoming stronger. The will of exploitation, in greater number of manifestations, is dominant on all continents formerly under colonial dominance.

Economic and social imbalance is increasingly forced on peoples and nations. All these are to the detriment of world peace and security.

The political freedoms that have been attained in Asia, Africa and Latin America are doomed by injustice, and economic inequity. Fighting this injustice is often far more difficult than battling classic colonialism.

Daoud cautioned the assembly not to exaggerate the importance of the detente between super powers.

Of late we hear of detente. We have to say it is good. But we cannot ignore the fact that a detente resulting from respect to the principle of co-existence differs from a detente brought about by fear. What is more important is that detente must be universal. What can be the most important factor of world peace and security is world-wide co-existence which can emanate from a spirit of sincere co-operation for the balanced improvements for human race in all parts of the world in the interest of permanent world peace and security. 22

The threats to world peace had not been eliminated. The situation in the Middle East and the racist policies in Africa were causing concern. Not only the expansionist policy of Israel, occupation of Arab territories, and non-recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, but the policy of apartheid in South Africa and the oppressive

minority government in Rhodesia and usurpation of the rights of Namibia continued. The Afghan delegation took a determined stand on these issues. As Daoud said at the Conference:

Compromise is one of the accepted principles of diplomacy, but is not acceptable in all instances. How can one compromise with aggression and annexation of the soil of a country, racism, Zionism, Facism or any other policy contrary to individual rights of people and nations.

On the other hand, Afghanistan believes that it is not in the interest of the third world to politicise each and every issue. This observation relates more to the economic area, and points at our relations with the developed world. 23

Another preoccupation of the participants at the Colombo Conference was with economic justice. In this context Afghanistan made a plea for realism:

The establishment of the new world economic order is a must, and the difficulties in this context must be solved through understanding so that they bear practical results. Before this new order is installed world-wide, and the two other worlds reach an agreement with the third world, in a way that would entail universal interests, it is essential that the group of non-aligned countries lay its foundation among themselves as the framework of co-operation between the countries of third world.

First we must move our policies from sentiments to reality. Secondly what are merely accords on paper will have no practical value in our own

inter-relationships or in our relations with other countries of the world.... 24

From this the Afghan delegate adroitly led to a problem of especial interest to his country:

"In conclusion I wish to draw the attention of the conference to a subject which is of vital importance to the land-locked countries. These countries by force of nature, or as a result of colonialism are deprived of the advantages of access to sea. Colonialism not only undermined their development while it was in power, but after elimination of colonialism they are left in a position that deter their development, and unless it is tended to, it will remain as an obstacle. The land-locked countries at times are subjected to economic pressures which culminate in economic blockades.

The littoral non-aligned countries must commit themselves to support the stand of the non-aligned countries in this conference, and other international conferences. We expect this conference to make firm official recommendations on this subject to the next session of the United Nations General Assembly and other international gatherings and effectively co-operate and collaborate with the land-locked countries for their application in various gatherings. The new world order cannot be construed as complete without due attention to this subject. .25

To conclude, Afghanistan was aware that there were powers in the world that did not find the wishes of the greater part of humanity compatible with their own interests and hence they tried to undermin^e its unity. This was a danger threatening all developing countries.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

Although the term "Non-alignment" has been used to describe the policy of each member of these Conferences, it must be noted that Afghanistan's policy of neutrality far antedates the events which have given rise to the term "non-alignment". Afghanistan has traditionally followed a policy of impartial judgment through many years, and has never deviated from this course, even during the world wars. The establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with all peoples and nations and promotion of international co-operation are important factors in Afghanistan political behaviour.

The years following the Second World War were full of tensions and turmoil. Repeated political crises had caused erosion of confidence among nations. Mutual understanding among peoples had become difficult and peaceful co-existence became unattainable. On the other hand, military factors including armament race and military pacts, had created a danger, which threaten the security of entire world. The situation has been further aggravated by economic complexities. Due to many factors, particularly those resulting from the ascendance of colonialism in large part of world population, it is today suffering from a low standard of living, and in some cases is denied the human dignity that is every man's right. Various international crises, have imposed unfavourable conditions on the developing

countries and thus have made impossible the full realization of their potential.

The legacy of its own neutralist past as well as its vital concern with international political developments that have a bearing on the destiny of emerging nation in the post colonial era have influences is participation in Non-aligned Conferences.

At Belgrade in 1961 the basic problem discussed was the maintenance and safeguarding of world peace. In this context Afghanistan thought, immediate attention should be paid to the questions of Germany, disarmament and elimination of colonialism in all its forms. These problems should be solved for the safe-guard^{ing} of the world peace and security.

Afghanistan supported the legitimate rights of the rightful people who have been deprived of their freedom, and must be one of the principal goals of the dissolution of colonialism in all its forms. Colonialism in the past and at the present time has established artificial frontiers, which violate the rights of peoples with aiming to perpetuate imperialistic interests in what ever form possible. Imperialism and its remains should be dissolved in such a way that they would not possibly create another nucleus of trouble for mankind.

At the second, summit conference of non-alignment in Cairo,

Afghanistan adherence to the policy of non-alignment declared as the first conference was continued and elaborated.

The growing solidarity of the members of the first Non-aligned Conference at this stage was greater than their determinations to continue their efforts for the fulfilment of these purposes. Therefore, it was more essential than ever for the Conference to concentrate on its objectives with a full sense of responsibilities and more consciousness.

Afghanistan impartial evaluation of the world situation based on its independent judgement, in the interest of peace should be accepted as the basis of the collective policy of non-aligned nations.

At Cairo, Afghanistan warmly reaffirmed its belief in the principles of peaceful co-existence. It held that it was proper to concentrate on a clearer understanding of these principles through codification and declaration to the world in the interest of humanity. These included: mutual respect for all; upholding the right of all peoples to choose their non-political, economic and social systems; respect for undeniable inherent right of all peoples to self-determination, refraining from any policy of political, military and economic pressure in any form and seeking solutions of all disputes by peaceful negotiations without using force or threat of force.

About disarmament, Afghanistan did not mean to stop at general and complete disarmament; it should also be universal. The solution to be sought must be practical and realistic. But if disarmament itself is not unrealistic and impractical, no positive measure should be considered by the Great Powers to be idealistic or unrealistic. The Non-aligned countries should make contribution in this respect.

The Third Conference of Heads of State or governments of Non-aligned countries was held in Lusaka in 1970. There was no change in Afghan diplomacy. The Afghan delegation showed concern about racist regimes in Africa and injustices which were so inhumanly perpetrated against the oppressed people of that continent. The prolongation of Middle East crisis, resulting from the usurpation of the Arab Palestinian peoples' homeland, seemed to be a direct threat to world peace and caused concern. The war in Indo-China continued to be a cause for profound concern to all the peoples in the world. Once again, Afghans made a forceful plea for the support to the United Nations as it was a unique instrument of international co-operation as well as a major factor in accelerating the emancipation movements in the world.

About peace and political stability in the world, Afghanistan believed that it depends to a considerable extent

on the economic development of the developing countries. The widening gap between the economically advanced countries and the third world continued to be a source of profound concern. The economic growth of developing countries requires that their entire human and material resources be mobilised in the right direction and that their efforts be further strengthened by developed countries and by appropriate international organizations in the form of financial contributions and assistance without political consideration of any form.

However, it would be incorrect to conclude that Afghan diplomacy in the Non-aligned Conference was confined to these topics of general interest. Afghan diplomats have shown themselves capable of utilising these forums to further their country's national interest and project before the world as large its particular concerns whenever circumstances have necessitated this.

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During/summit conference in Algiers, Afghanistan for the first time mentioned its political differences with Pakistan over the problem of Pashtunistan. The question of Pashtunistan, which has emanated from a refusal by Pakistan to recognize the legitimate rights and demands of over seven million people of separated by a colonial power from their fatherland, Afghanistan, remained unsolved. Afghanistan made it clear that it shall spare no efforts in seeking and realizing a solution to this question on the basis of the will of the people and international justice.

Afghans reiterated their solidarity with people struggling against oppression. The situation in the Middle East was a great source of concern. The efforts of non-aligned countries in the Security Council have, unfortunately, been vetoed. The occupation of Arab lands continues. Although Afghanistan is not an Arab country, being a part of the Middle East, it has given strong expression over any untoward development in this part of the world. Afghanistan declared itself against acquisition of territories.

The Afghanistan delegation supported the convening of a world disarmament conference. It held that while nuclear weapons are dangerous, the threat of conventional weapons to the security of small, non-nuclear states is very real and should be viewed with the utmost attention.

The Afghan Government also supported the struggle of Liberation Movements in the Portuguese territories, and indeed in all Southern Africa.

In the most recent summit conference of Non-alignment in Colombo, Afghanistan continued to follow its traditional policy and no change in its political behaviour is discernable. Afghanistan, however, negotiated the point that the flexibility and freedom of individual member countries must not go as far as to change the concept of non-alignment which was laid in 1961 in Belgrade Conference. These criteria of non-alignment remain

valid despite the changes in the political complexions of the world, and they are still essential. It depends upon non-aligned countries to ensure that these criteria remain intact.

At Colombo, Afghanistan once again sought to strike a balance between general universal problems and its own more immediate national interest concerns. The Afghan delegation displayed considerable sophistication in linking the two in its presentation. The Afghans concurred with other participants that while classic colonialism has not been totally eliminated, yet, the roots of neo-colonialism are becoming stronger. The will of exploitation in greater number of manifestations, is dominant on all continents. Economic and social imbalance is increasingly forced on peoples and nations. All these are contrary to the detriment of world peace and security. The political freedoms that have been attained in Asia, Africa and Latin America are doomed by injustice, and economic inequity.

Then, the Afghans proceeded to illustrate the handicaps by a striking example which is of vital interest to them. Landlocked countries by their geographical location or as a result of colonialism are deprived of the advantages of access to sea. The landlocked countries at times are subjected to economic pressures which culminated in economic blockades. The littoral non-aligned countries must commit themselves

to support the stand of the non-aligned countries in this Conference.

From Belgrade to Colombo, the Afghan diplomacy at the Non-aligned Conferences shows this remarkable trait of drawing upon its historical experience of neutrality to respond to swiftly unfolding contemporary political challenges. The Afghans have been consistent in the expression of their solidarity with other third world participants struggling to attain political independence and socio-economic justice. This has been done without compromising Afghanistan's national interest. The achievement should be considered creditworthy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TEXT OF SPEECH OF SARDAR MOHAMMAD DAUD KHAN, PRIME
MINISTER OF AFGHANISTAN IN FIRST NON-ALIGNED CON-
FERENCE AT BELGRADE 1961*

It is a great pleasure for me to take part in this important gathering.

I would like, first, to extend my thanks to the people and Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and their great leader, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, for the warm reception which they have accorded to us.

This Conference has two principal features: first, that it is taking place at an important and critical time in world affairs, and second that the Member-Nations are all non-aligned and peace-loving countries, unhappily confronted with international crises resulting from the division of the world into hostile camps.

I am confident that it is the desire for peace and service to mankind that has brought these distinguished personalities together at such a critical period in international relations.

Although the term "non-alignment" has been used to describe the policy of each member of this Conference, it must be noted that Afghanistan's policy of neutrality far antedates the events which have given rise to the term "non-alignment". Afghanistan has traditionally followed a policy of impartial judgment through many years, and has never deviated from this

* Original speech in French.

course, even during the world wars. The establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with all Peoples and Nations, and promotion of international co-operation are important factors in our traditional political behaviour.

As a member of the United Nations Organization, Afghanistan has devotedly observed the principles of the United Nations Charter and feels assured that through sincere and honest observance of the principles of the Charter by the members, all events contrary to the welfare and prosperity of mankind can be avoided. Furthermore, Afghanistan has taken part in other significant international gatherings and has offered its co-operation on numerous occasions. Among these, we participated actively in the Bandung Conference and still consider the Declaration of the Bandung Conference important not only to African and Asian countries, but also to the entire world and so mention of that important meeting seems pertinent at this point.

Scanning the international horizon, we find that humanity is struggling against many odds. Numerous political complications have caused lack of confidence among nations. Mutual understanding among peoples has become difficult and peaceful co-existence seems to have become unattainable. On the other hand, military factors, including the armament race and military pacts, have created a danger, which threatens the security of the entire world. These factors, associated with the prevailing political crisis, have brought about restlessness and loss of confidence in the future of world peace. Another kind of danger which has engulfed humanity is of an economic nature. Due to many factors,

particularly those resulting from the ascendance of colonialism in the past, a larger part of world population is suffering from a low standard of living, and in some cases is denied the human dignity that is every man's right. Particularly, international crises have imposed unfavourable conditions on the highly developed countries and thus have made impossible their full co-operation for the elimination of the great gap between the standard of living of developed and less-developed countries. Since such is the situation, the differences in standards of living are bound to increase steadily.

In such circumstances, we have assembled around this table to devote ourselves to those problems whose solution would bring benefit to the world as a whole and would make it possible for man to look towards the future with confidence.

In the present world conditions, means available to certain nations for the destruction of civilization or promotion of the welfare of mankind, with the results accruing therefrom, affect all nations equally. Therefore, no country, large or small, wherever it may be, can remain aloof from international developments concerning opportunities for the use of technological and scientific knowledge by the Great Powers, whether for good or evil purposes. Should these opportunities be abused, the fate of all nations is equally involved. In a divided world, events must more than ever be the concern of neutral countries for the outbreak of trouble and the breach of the peace have world implications, and we must not be satisfied to remain as spectators of the action of the Great

Powers and their resultant effects. In no way can actions of these Powers be limited to themselves and their regions. Because of this fact, the problems are not theirs alone. Other countries of the world, in their efforts to solve these problems, must study their stand on world issues most carefully, in order that their voices may carry more weight. The Government of Afghanistan is of the opinion that our assembling should be solely aimed at the exchange of views on the consolidation and co-ordination of efforts on major world problems. Our principal goal is Peace = humanity's only legitimate and major goal in these times.

Among the basic problems connected with the maintenance of Peace, there are three matters which demand immediate attention. One is the question of Germany, the other disarmament and thirdly, the elimination of colonialism in all its form. These matters have directly threatened the Peace.

The Great Powers' involvement in the question of Germany has created anxiety for all Peoples and Nations interested in the safeguarding of World Peace.

While there is, no doubt, that the possibility of disarmament depends upon the creation of mutual trust among the Big Powers its achievement in any practical form is of vital importance to the future of small and large countries alike.

The problem of Germany is basic to the future of World Peace and to the implementation of disarmament. Unfortunately, the question of Germany has developed in such a way that there is

scant opportunity for any mutual trust among the Big Powers. It is for this reason, among others, that agreement on disarmament has become more difficult, and fear of destruction has loomed larger.

It is evident that the issue of Germany has not been solved in the years following the Second World War. It is regrettable that various blocs of World Powers are insisting upon their own approach to this problem. Neutral countries may well take the initiative in this matter, seek out possibilities for its solution, offer their co-operation and assistance to the Great Powers, and call their attention to the critical nature of this world problem.

The present crisis over the situation in Berlin, which has confronted the world with most regrettable concern is, in fact, a part of the greater problem of Germany. I have no intention to voice any criticism of any of the political stands taken by the countries directly concerned with this question, but I think it should be acceptable to all that here the world is faced with a solid fact pregnant with great anxieties. With the continuation of the prevailing situation, one can hardly imagine that the world would be facing a status quo without unlimited dangers.

A Germany divided in two parts in such circumstances creates a zone of friction right in the heart of Europe and poisons the atmosphere of international relations, particularly those between the Big Powers. The attachment of these two parts to the conflicting military pacts can only add to the complications of the German problem.

It should be acceptable, in all cases, that Germany should not be turned into a starting point for another World War. In the same manner, the most natural policy for Germany should seem to be a policy which could be satisfactory for all parties in the interest of World Peace.

Such situation cannot be allowed to be handled with rigid stands based on policies of force and its solution cannot be expected except through peaceful negotiations and understanding between the Great Powers.

It should be noted that the problem of Germany is not only a European problem, but one of world importance, which has in turn impeded the solution of other problems. It behoves the neutral countries to bend their every effort toward the settlement of this problem.

The neutral countries are undoubtedly in a position to exert great moral influence on the Big Powers to respond to world public opinion and initiate immediate negotiations and contacts in regard to the problem of Germany. It is with this in mind that the delegation of Afghanistan proposes that the views and aspirations of the neutral countries be clearly conveyed to the parties directly responsible.

It is an indisputable fact that the maintenance of peace and international order cannot be effectively assured until a way is found to solve the problem of disarmament.

This vital human problem has become so complicated that the greater part of the world is unable to distinguish clearly the actual claims of the various sides. It is known

that all of the Great Powers have expressed their readiness to disarm, and that the majority of Mankind is likewise desirous of disarmament. It is unfortunate that the solution of this problem has been bogged down by technical details and has created considerable anxiety among the peoples of the world. If this situation should continue, a shadow will most certainly be cast on the future of Mankind. The neutral countries must consider to take a more active attitude and make a more effective and creative approach to this question and try to find a way out of this difficult situation. Exchange of views and adoption of a reasonable policy by neutral countries should prove an effective aid toward the solution of this problem.

The neutral countries should consider ways and means to participate in negotiations concerning disarmament, with the agreement among the Great Powers. Neutral countries elected by the United Nations General Assembly could play an important part in the resolution of the disarmament question.

Whenever a way is found to settle this issue, peaceful co-existence can be fully realized and its perpetuation can be rendered possible. Only through these efforts it will become possible for a great part of Mankind, which is at present living under deplorable conditions, to take political and economic measures to improve its standard of living. Whensoever the fearful burden of armament race, which presses so heavily on the economies of large and even those of the small countries in this age of military pacts, is lifted from the world, we may begin to properly approach the problem of economic inequalities.

Next to the questions of disarmament and economic imbalances lies another issue which continues to trouble mankind, namely, colonialism. It is not necessary here to point out that the right of Nations to determine their own fate, as expressed in the United Nations Charter, the Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenants on Human Rights must be observed. Nor is it deemed necessary here to point out to what extent colonialism and its remnants with their various manifestations, and racial discrimination stand in the way of the progress of Mankind in the present day. These facts are known to all of us and require no further explanation. Every freedom-loving Nation must be devoted to the eradication of these evils. It must be noted that although colonialism is being forced to withdraw, it still seeks through intrigue and deception, to retain its self interests in other forms and shapes. During the development of colonialism the rights of Nations and peoples were usurped. Now that colonialism is ending, it is of primary importance that the rights of these Nations and peoples be restituted. The restitution of the legitimate rights to the rightful people who have been deprived of their freedom, must be one of the principal goals of the dissolution of colonialism in all its forms. For example, colonialism in the past and at the present time has established artificial frontiers, which violate the rights of peoples with aiming to perpetuate imperialistic interests in whatever form possible. In these instances, the wrongs inflicted upon peoples must be redressed, and thus colonialism should be dissolved in such

a way that no room should be left for any cause that would possibly create another nucleus of trouble for Mankind. Redemption of the legitimate rights of peoples is inseparable from the recognition of their rights to self-determination. When the rights of self-determination is accorded, it must not be regarded as a favour or a gift, but as acknowledgement of a legitimate right.

In connexion with the liquidation of colonialism and for the self-determination of peoples, I am happy to see in our midst His Excellency Mr. Ben Khedda the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria, representing his freedom-loving people at this important gathering. From the very beginning, and on all international levels, the Government and the people of Afghanistan have expressed their full support for the fighters for Algerian independence, and have thus demonstrated their recognition of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria as the rightful representative of the Algerian people. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that I announce our official recognition of this Government. The Government and people of Afghanistan have every hope that the freedom of Algeria and its territorial integrity will be secured in the near future. Opposition to independence, full sovereignty and territorial integrity can in no way serve the cause of present-day progress and can only be looked upon with regret by the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

The Afghan Government believes that foreign military bases are, in general, a threat to the peace of the world. Especially so are those bases which have been forced on the soil of peoples against their wishes. For this reason we announced, at the outset, our full support of the Government of Tunisia in the question of the evacuation of the French naval and air bases at Bizerta. We hope that this evacuation, so desired by the people of Tunisia, will be soon effected.

Events in Angola, likewise, have aroused the anxieties of the peoples of the world. It is the basic desire of all freedom-loving Nations that colonialism in Angola and other territories under domination which are struggling for independence be terminated. I wish to express our full support for the freedom-fighters of Angola.

Ever since the Preparatory Meeting in Cairo, events in the Congo have, fortunately, been favourable. We trust the future will bring opportunities for the further unification and development of this area. The mutual understanding and co-operation existing among the Congolese leaders, who are devoted to the true progress of their country, should be considered a source of joy to its friends.

Mr. President, the world is confronted with such important problems as the issue of Germany, disarmament, economic imbalances and inequalities, and colonialism. These problems should be solved in the interest of peace. It is only through the solution of these problems that Mankind can expect a

better world in which it should live. The creativity and enterprise of non-aligned countries can greatly affect international affairs.

I wish to state that the Government of Afghanistan is participating in this Conference with an open mind, and will join in the various discussions with a spirit of complete co-operation. The success of this Assembly depends above all on mutual understanding. I have full confidence that the outcome of this Conference can and will serve the cause of humanity throughout the world.

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APPENDIX II

TEXT OF SPEECH OF DR. MOHAMMAD YOUSSEF, PRIME MINISTER OF AFGHANISTAN IN SECOND NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN CAIRO 1964

It is with great pleasure that I attend this gathering of countries with whom Afghanistan shares so many common aspirations, particularly those directed towards peace, freedom, progress and the prosperity of mankind.

It is an additional pleasure that I find myself in the historical and beautiful city of Cairo, the capital of the United Arab Republic, with which country Afghanistan enjoys cordial friendship which delves deep into history, with strong bonds of culture and brotherhood. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Government of the United Arab Republic for the warm reception and the great hospitality they have extended to the members of this Conference and to the delegation of Afghanistan, and to convey through them the best wishes and most friendly aspirations of the Afghan people to the people of the United Arab Republic and wish them more success in their great efforts for the prosperity and welfare of this great land.

I take this opportunity to welcome the Heads of State and Governments of the newly independent countries who, I am sure, will contribute to our efforts to strengthen the prospects of peace and international co-operation.

Here, among you, we consider ourselves to be a part of a constructive force absolutely non-aligned with any policy which would lead the world to the miseries and destruction imposed upon it by wars and very much aligned with constructive efforts for the maintenance of peace.

In this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, Afghanistan does not participate only as one of the adherents of the policies of non-alignment and the principles established by the first conference of the Non-Aligned Countries of 1961, which took place in Belgrade, but also as the oldest non-aligned country.

The policy of non-alignment followed by Afghanistan has not emerged only from the division of the world after the Second World War in two political and military blocs. It dates back to the period before the First World War and has been maintained even during the most difficult periods of international wars and conflicts. As we know, even in the post-war period there were some who did not favour such policies of non-alignment, but Afghanistan maintained its non-alignment.

Afghanistan had always cherished the hope of such international co-operation. The Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in 1961 strengthened those hopes. The success of the Belgrade Conference convinced us more than ever of the validity of the policy of non-alignment.

The growing solidarity of the members of the first Non-Aligned Conference which has resulted in the continuation of our efforts, particularly by means of convening the present

Conference, leaves no doubt in our own mind, and we hope that it will eliminate any doubts in any part of the world that the forces of construction will be further strengthened to create a positive answer to the demands of humanity for a peaceful and better life. Therefore it is with conviction that I pledge my Government to co-operate with all of you in our common efforts for the achievement of the real purposes for which we have come together.

Our policy of non-alignment has been based on our national aspiration to maintain friendly relations with all peoples and nations of the world, with two basic aims in our international and national life. Our national goal is economic, social and cultural progress. Since international peace is the only condition in which we can hope for the achievement of our national goal our traditional policy of non-alignment is the most natural and realistic policy for us. I am happy that I find the common aspiration of this greatest gathering of non-aligned countries to be exactly our own aspiration.

No one can deny that the first Non-Aligned Conference was convened at a time when the world was confronted by critical and manifold international problems, some of them threatening the peace of the world, the prospects for which were already endangered by the cold war. The attitude of the military and political blocs to each other was most disappointing to all of us. On the eve of the opening of the Belgrade Conference the dark clouds of nuclear tests were hovering over the world. It was only through the reasonable hope and solid determination

of the leaders of the non-aligned nations that a magnificent charter for peace and co-operation was proclaimed.

Now, in this second Non-Aligned Conference, although it seems that the situation has eased in some respects, we should still remind ourselves that much remains to be done to enable us to fulfil our pledges to humanity.

It is true that the establishment of a direct line of contact between the opposite military camps has been welcomed by all peace-loving countries. But it is also true that international tensions still prevail and new areas of tension have been allowed to come into existence.

It is true that certain steps have been taken to reduce the production of fissionable material and that agreements in principle have been reached for the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only and banning the placing of nuclear weapons in outer space. But it is also true that unfortunately there is no guarantee of human safety or even any reliable signs which would eliminate the fears of mankind in any of these various threatening spheres.

It is true that the measures taken in connexion with development and trade early in March of this year are considered to be a significant achievement but, as we know, the idea has just been initiated and the achievement has yet to be realised.

All these things have justified the convening of this Conference, but it is still for this Conference to justify itself by making progress in the direction of the realisation of these aims and purposes.

The achievement of the non-aligned countries at the present stage is no greater than their determination to continue their efforts for the fulfilment of these purposes. Therefore it is more essential than ever for the Conference to concentrate on its real objectives with a full sense of responsibility and to do its job not only with a consciousness of the fact that the eyes of the world are upon us but also keeping our eyes open in our deliberations to the rest of the world in order that we do not allow ourselves to deviate in any manner from our real objectives based solely on the interests of world peace and the betterment of the international situation as a whole.

It is here that I would like to emphasise that in our understanding it is our duty to bear in mind that we are not pursuing any of our aims in any form of camp or bloc and that our deliberations are not aimed against anyone.

The most important item on our agenda is the review of the world situation, for the second time, in the light of recent developments. Our impartial evaluation of the world situation based on our independent judgment in the interests of peace should be accepted as the basis of the collective policy of the non-aligned nations.

It is by proving to the world that our mission is one of goodwill, that our actions are directed by reason, that our determination is our own, that we can hope for full understanding of our purposes and aims by other countries and our future strength and success in making a contribution to the solution of problems of a world in which we wish to live together in peace.

I must state also that the nuclear armaments race has created conditions which give increased importance to the role of international law. It was the shock and horror of the Second World War which made the allies agree to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and finally to the principles of the United Nations. The acceptance of the Charter put positive international law on a very high and universal ground. But since the establishment of the United Nations and the adoption of its Charter the world community has undergone profound changes, and owing to the emancipation of so many nations it is necessary to adopt laws adapted to present-day requirements and needs. That is why in the General Assembly of the United Nations the non-aligned nations welcomed the study of the principles of co-existence and supported the inclusion of their formulation in a final international instrument.

Afghanistan warmly supports the formulation of these principles and reaffirms its belief in the principles of peaceful co-existence without which existence is for no one either secure or the kind of existence worth our trying to secure. It is proper to concentrate on a clearer understanding of these principles through their codification and declaration to the world in the interest of humanity. These would include: mutual respect for all; upholding the right of all peoples to choose their own political, economic and social systems; respect for the undeniable inherent right of all peoples to self-determination; refraining from any policy of political, military or economic pressure in any form; and seeking solution of all disputes

by peaceful negotiations without using force or threat of force.

It is only through the acceptance of peaceful co-existence that the confidence necessary for the solution of one of the most important problems - that is, disarmament - can be expected to prevail. Speaking of disarmament, we do not mean to stop at general and complete disarmament; it should also be universal. The solution to be sought must be practical and realistic. But if disarmament itself is not unrealistic and impractical, no positive measures should be considered by the great Powers to be idealistic or unrealistic.

The non-aligned countries have already made some contributions in this respect. But what needs more emphasis is the essential need for decisive and immediate steps to be recommended and supported. The demands of the non-aligned countries, therefore, should be pursued collectively in the United Nations and its organs. We should welcome the establishment of atom-free zones which, if continually extended, would lead us to an atom-free world.

There is no need to go into details of these problems in this general statement. It is sufficient to say that the Afghan delegation will support clear recommendations on behalf of this Conference through the United Nations to the big Powers on all aspects of disarmament.

This includes our interest in the consideration of the impact of disarmament on economic development, which is in fact related to the basic purpose of this Conference - that is to say,

the attainment of peace and progress for mankind. If it is suggested, Afghanistan will support the idea of seeking the agreement of the big Powers for the purpose of convening an international conference on disarmament.

Effective and practical measures are to be considered for the termination of all forms of colonial and military occupations and the end of occupation of all territories by alien forces against the will of the people.

It is regrettable to see that colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism are still appearing on the agenda of all freedom and peace-loving gatherings although it has been recognised as the basis of all evils.

This evil is not only a threat to the dignity of man but a persisting danger to peace itself. Afghanistan, after more than a century of continuous hot war in the defence of its own independence, has always supported the cause of all peoples and nations everywhere and shall continue to do so. The implementation of the United Nations declaration of 1960 is still of great concern. The abolishment of colonialism cannot be complete until all dependent territories achieve their freedom and the right of all peoples under alien domination to self-determination is recognised and respected.

Full attention should be paid to the different forms and manifestations of colonialism. Some of the new forms of the domination of peoples by alien Powers are more dangerous than the out-dated colonial form. The existence of such domination has created great obstacles in the way of international co-operation

and peaceful and neighbourly relations between nations. Among these are problems which have divided many countries in different parts of the world in the most regrettable manner.

The struggle between the old Powers and dominated nations has in some cases been replaced by conflicts and differences between neighbouring countries. This is a stronger blow at the solidarity of peoples, particularly in the developing areas of the world, where friendship and co-operation are badly needed.

Every effort should be made to seek peaceful solution of such disputes among neighbouring countries. The worst situations are those in which alien Powers suppress the right of self-determination. It is unthinkable that two different standards be allowed for the right of peoples to self-determination. Neo-colonialism or alien domination of people by people are equally unacceptable and should be equally doomed to liquidation.

The principle of prohibition of the use of force in international relations and peaceful settlement of disputes should be particularly applied to such cases. The respect of the principles of the United Nations Charter should be considered vital in this connection. Reaffirmation of the principles in this Conference is of paramount importance at the present Conference as a continuation of the efforts exerted in the Belgrade Conference.

Afghanistan will support any peaceful methods to be employed in the form of negotiations, mediation, arbitration or

other^r means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. But before anything else, our policy is based on the only legitimate and just principle, that is to say the will of the people and their right to decide their own destiny.

In this second Non-Aligned Conference our thoughts cannot be detached from the first Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade. It was during the Belgrade Conference that Afghanistan officially proclaimed the recognition of the Provisional Government of Algeria. At this Conference, I wish to express my great happiness that we see Algeria as a sovereign State making a contribution to the peace of the world after having won its own heroic struggle against colonialism.

I wish also to declare, on behalf of my Government, our support and recognition of the cause of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and to wish the people of Palestine all success in the fulfilment of their political and humanitarian aspirations in the interest of justice, peace and security in the Middle East.

Our policy in this connection is not based on any consideration but our concern for restoration of justice without which peace in this area, like any other part of the world, cannot be secured. It is our hope that this Conference by its deliberations will make it possible for the United Nations to take steps for the implementation of its resolutions.

On our own part we shall not hesitate to extend our own moral support in any future discussion of this problem. ✓

The situation prevailing in South-East Asia is of great concern to all of us. We believe that this Conference should express itself on this important problem to influence the situation in the interest of permanent peace and tranquility.

If suggested, Afghanistan will support any recommendations which would lead the parties concerned to a conference which would guarantee the peace and freedom in the area without any negative outside interference.

Afghanistan as a devoted member of the United Nations supports any measures for the strengthening of the United Nations Organisation, here, within the Organisation and elsewhere. The principle of universality of membership in the United Nations is of particular importance. We wish to re-affirm our support for the participation of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of China in the Organisation and its organs.

Afghanistan will support in principle any constructive proposals which would lead to restoring justice and independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This includes the solution of the outstanding problems existing in Angola, Mozambique, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, and other areas in accordance with the General Assembly declaration on abolition of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Among the most important questions facing the developing countries are their staggering economic and social problems. It is a fact of current importance that unless the political

emancipation which we have witnessed in the last two decades is coupled with and strengthened by social and economic progress, the freedom that has been achieved will lose its real meaning and the peace of the world will be frustrated.

The world cannot be left divided between rich and poor, healthy and sick, happy and miserable. Economic emancipation is as vital as the political independence of nations. The preamble of the United Nations Charter emphasises the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to promote social progress and better standards of living together with a larger degree of freedom.

The time is past when the developing countries of the world are forced to be looked upon as sources of raw products only. Every free nation is entitled to conduct its economic life in the way most suitable to its own development in a progressing world of justice and equality in the interest of all mankind. The right of nations to sovereignty over their natural resources should be given an expressed support by the Conference.

The countries belonging to economic groupings should consider undertaking measures in order to ensure the interest of those developing countries which are not included in their groupings.

There is no doubt that the United Nations and specialised agencies as well as the industrial nations are rendering substantial assistance to the developing countries, but the total amount of aid cannot be compared with the needs of the developing

countries which are struggling with shortages of capital, shortages of technical personnel, deterioration of the terms of trade, and declines in the prices of primary products.

One of the important results of the Belgrade Conference of 1961 was the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development, which was convened to consider the problems facing the developing countries which constitute three-quarters of mankind. The results of the Conference have been instructive, and both the developed and the developing nations now have a clearer understanding of each other's trade and economic problems. An important outcome of the Conference was the emergence of close and unselfish co-operation among the developing nations. The unity of these countries, unknown in any previous international conference, represented a unanimity of purpose based on the similarity of their economic problems and a common desire to find solutions. The Declaration, which was proclaimed both last year in New York and this year in Geneva, emphasised the common needs of all the developing countries and we hope that representatives of the seventy-seven countries in the newly established Board of Trade Institute will continue their close co-operation, in order to further their future progress and achieve economic growth comparable to the progress of the industrialised countries. They should clearly explain to the developed countries that, by expanding their trade and earning more foreign exchange, larger and healthier markets for the products of the developed countries will be created.

In addition to their numerous economic problems, one-quarter of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are confronted with another important problem. This is the situation related to the landlocked countries which are far from their foreign markets. The transit difficulties of these countries, created partly by nature but, also, artificially, place great obstacles in the way of their development. This problem has been under close consideration for many years, first by the League of Nations and, later, by the United Nations. One of the steps taken by the League was the convening of the Barcelona Conference which concluded a transit convention which even forty years ago was limited in purpose. It was after the establishment of the United Nations, and on the initiative of the landlocked countries that at the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea, the first legal steps were taken. Then this year at the Trade and Development Conference, eight principles were adopted to promote the economic development of landlocked States.

The Geneva Conference called for the preparation of a new convention to be submitted for adoption by a plenipotentiary conference to be convened next year. Since the majority of the landlocked nations are among the non-aligned countries, we request the support of all the participating members to help in the solution of this problem in line with established principles of International Law in the interest of world trade.

Any progress would be incomplete if not accompanied by cultural progress. The promotion and furthering of international co-operation in the fields of education, science and information lead to the improvement of mutual understanding among nations, and the development of peaceful and neighbourly relations, and prepares the ground for a contribution towards relaxation of international tensions.

This Conference is another milestone in the search for peace and understanding. The growing role of the non-aligned countries in world affair is felt daily, and it is, in fact, the policy of active non-alignment which creates an atmosphere for peaceful co-operation and unity on the problems of peace and war. This Conference, by pledging itself to peace and progress, has committed itself to Humanity. I wish you success in fulfilling this noble pledge.

In conclusion, I should like to express my appreciation of the messages or goodwill received by the Conference, particularly from those Heads of State and Government of countries who do not belong to the non-aligned part of the world. To us this is a good sign of better understanding by those Powers, of the policy of non-alignment and of the intentions of the members of this Conference. The Conference should try to strengthen this understanding by an objective evaluation of the major world problems. We hope that through their co-operation with each other on matters of peace, those countries, particularly the big Powers, will satisfy this urgent demand of humanity.

I should like to add that the address to us by the Secretary-General of the African Unity Organisation was a source of pleasure and encouragement. The unity and solidarity of Africa means peace in Africa which, combined with full freedom, is one of the cornerstones for the establishment of world peace. We wish them well in all their efforts and will continue to support them. The solidarity of the Arab countries, voiced by the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States is another source of pleasure for building up peace in the Middle East. Afghanistan is not an Arab country but, as one of the countries of the Middle East, it is naturally most anxious to see all efforts exerted for peace and solidarity in this important area of the world.

I shall end my general statement with our most sincere support for the hopes cherished by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as expressed in his message to this Conference. The United Nations is the only place of hope for saving mankind from destruction. This Conference is only a part of the United Nations. The solidarity of the non-aligned nations is already a great contribution to the work of the United Nations. Its unity on matters of peace and war will, in fact, further this contribution. Afghanistan, with other non-aligned nations, pledges itself fully to respect and support the United Nations Charter, once again and for all times.

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APPENDIX III

TEXT OF SPEECH OF H.E. N.A. ETEMADI, PRIME MINISTER OF
AFGHANISTAN IN THIRD NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE AT LUSAKA
IN 1970

It is a great honour for me to represent my country in this historical gathering. We are gratified that this important meeting is being convened in this part of this great continent, where in the last decade many of our African brothers have succeeded in securing their independence. Many others in the vicinity of this country are still struggling to obtain recognition of their fundamental rights. We rest assured that this Conference will be a major factor of support to their legitimate struggle and strivings.

I would like to express my deepest feeling of appreciation and thanks for the generous hospitality accorded to us by President Kaunda and the great people of Zambia. We are greatly satisfied with the highly elaborate arrangements made for this meeting in this beautiful capital. I have also the privilege and honour to convey to the distinguished leaders present at this Conference the most sincere wishes of my August Sovereign King Mohammed Zahir Shah, that this Conference may successfully reach its lofty aims for the strengthening of world peace, the fostering of international co-operation and the prosperity of mankind.

Before making any statement on the items of our agenda, I would like to express the deep appreciation of my delegation for the inspiring opening speech of President Kaunda.

His statement is living proof of the wide interest of the Zambian Government and people in world affairs and in humanity as a whole.

Afghanistan follows a foreign policy which has its foundations in a long history. I hope I may be allowed to quote a paragraph of the statement by the Prime Minister of Afghanistan nearly nine years ago in Belgrade when addressing the First Conference of the Non-Aligned countries.

"Afghanistan's policy of neutrality far ante-dates the events which have given rise to the term 'non-alignment. Afghanistan has traditionally followed a policy of impartial judgement through many years, and has never deviated from the course, even during the world wars. The establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with all peoples and nations and promotion of international co-operation are important factors in our traditional political behaviour."

Afghanistan, in 1919, having joined the community of sovereign nations, adopted at the very outset a line of foreign policy which was to become, one day, that of its early and active participation in the ranks of the non-aligned countries. The Afghan people, which had three times confronted colonial armies in the battlefield and finally defeated them, stood firmly against colonialism and in support of peoples and nations struggling for their independence half a century ago. Later, Afghanistan fully supported the United Nations. Dedicated anti-colonialism and active neutralism have, therefore, been the very foundations of the line of action taken by Afghanistan for long decades.

Afghanistan's foreign policy has consisted not only of keeping out of blocks, but also of maintaining a continuous effort towards establishing and strengthening international relations and co-operation on the basis of equal rights, human progress, and world peace. Afghanistan has, therefore, consistently refused to align itself with any foreign power and has rejected the policy of blocks. It stressed the importance of the de-colonization process and explained its policy of non-alignment in the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955, and took an active part in the work of Conferences of the non-aligned countries in Belgrade and Cairo.

The international situation today, compared to the situation at the time of the Belgrade Conference, is characterized by new developments. As President Kaunda so ably explained here,

"the principles underlying our movement remain valid despite the changes in the immediate circumstances which gave it birth."

It is therefore, quite appropriate to the non-aligned countries to proceed to a reassessment of their role in the context of current prevailing situations. This means a re-dedication to the high goals set in the Belgrade and Cairo Declarations.

The convening of this Conference has been considered as appropriate as a new step for an active exchange of views among the non-aligned countries in order to decide on concrete action to cope with new situations and problems. It is necessary for all the peace-loving countries to exert joint efforts for

the establishment of lasting international security in accordance with the actual world situation to support the national liberation movements directed against the colonial rule and its remnants, and to continue the joint effort for the implementation of international action in favour of the rights of peoples and nations and for the liquidation of colonialism and remnants in all its forms and manifestations.

Our great concern over the continued existence of colonial and racist regimes in Africa stems from our firm belief in these noble principles. The continuation of these regimes and the injustice which is so inhumanly exercised against all the oppressed people of this great continent emanates from a complete denial of human rights, and even threatens the independence of many African countries. Nowhere can peace be achieved as long as peoples under colonial and racist rule are denied the right to self-determination, independence, and unhampered development.

In the name of my people, I render all the support and backing due to these freedom fighters who seek to obtain their human and historical right in their own homelands.

The prolongation of the Middle East Crisis, resulting from the usurption of the Arab Palestinian peoples' homeland, is a direct threat to world peace. It is also a dangerous confirmation of the attempts to use the wars of aggression and the occupation of other countries' territories as a means of pressure, of imposing expansionist aims from positions of strength. Israel, by refusing to evacuate the Arab territories,

will prove stubbornly to be continuing a policy of aggression and a flagrant violation of international law and justice. We therefore, express our full solidarity with the Arab countries, victims of aggression, and demand the immediate and complete evacuation by the Israeli occupation army of all the Arab invaded lands, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. No solution of the Middle East Crisis can be considered as being based on justice and legality unless the complete restoration of the Arab Palestinian peoples' rights is considered as indispensable. It is the right of the people of Palestine to achieve this restoration, and it is the duty of all those who believe in peace and justice to support them.

We express our full support in the action undertaken by the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General for the implementation of Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967.

The spirit of co-operation manifested by the Government of the United Arab Republic through accepting the recent peace initiative is to be appreciated as a valuable contribution to the cause of seeking a peaceful solution to this imminent crisis. The persistent policy of Israel in refusing to comply with international measures and undertakings makes it appropriate for the world community to consider the implementation of sanctions against Israel.

The war in Indo-China continues to be a cause for profound concern to all the peoples in the world. The military conflict seriously threatens the foundation of peace and

creates a major obstacle for the solution of today's world problems. We believe no formula can be effective for the Indo-China crisis without being based on the cessation of all foreign intervention and on the full respect of Indo-China's peoples' rights to peace and self-determination. We are profoundly concerned about the expansion of war in Cambodia, where a peaceful Government for years followed the principles of non-alignment. We welcome all the strivings to opt for the policy of non-alignment in the Indo-China region as an expression of the authentic aspirations of the peoples of this region for peace, independence and for proceeding on their own ways of development.

Viewing the international situation, however, we do notice some encouraging developments in Europe where a positive step towards a broader understanding and co-operation among the European countries has recently been taken. We believe that a detente anywhere in the world to have a major impact on the international situation has to be accompanied by understanding achieved in other parts of the world.

During a quarter of a century of its existence, the United Nations has proved to be a unique instrument of international co-operation as well as a major factor in accelerating the emancipation movements in the world.

We consider that the United Nations is capable of becoming an even more effective factor in unifying the efforts of countries all over the world for the solution of the world's political and economic problems, in serving to secure the right

to free self-determination of peoples and nations and other human rights, and enhancing the development of equitable co-operation among the nations.

We are convinced that the full implementation of the principle of universality of the United Nations, in terms of representation, will enable the world organisation to be a centre of the solution of all major problems of international relations. The full restoration of the rights of China and the recognition of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representative of that country in the United Nations is indispensable in this respect.

We express the hope that during the coming twenty-fifth anniversary session, the adoption of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation amongst States will confirm and explain some of the major elements contained in the Charter on the basis of the international community's experiences in facing concrete situations for a quarter of a century. This anniversary also corresponds with the tenth year of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples; a United Nations action programme for the implementation of this declaration will provide major assistance to the peoples and nations still struggling to secure their right to self-determination and independence. The United Nations action on the acceleration of disarmament, and particularly the preparation and implementation of a programme for the disarmament, which will significantly help the relaxation of

tensions in international relations. It will open the prospects of nuclear disarmament so necessary for restraining the arms race and for consolidating the basis of world security.

Peace and political stability in the world depends to a considerable extent on the economic development of the developing countries. The widening gap between the economically advanced countries and the Third World continues to be a source of profound concern.

The economic growth of the developing countries requires that their entire human and material resources be mobilized in the right direction and that their efforts be further strengthened by developed countries and by appropriate international organisations in the form of financial contributions and assistance without political consideration of any form.

We are, therefore, determined to exert increasingly effective efforts within the framework of the 77 developing countries, to intensify the role of these nations for the implementation of structural changes in the world's economy, and for the establishment of an international co-operation gradually allowing such a course of events to change its direction in favour of all countries of the world, including the less developed ones.

In conclusion, allow me to express my deep pleasure in finding a significant unity of view among the leaders and representatives of the participating countries in this historical Summit of non-aligned countries. Our earnest hope is that we leave Lusaka united in our thoughts and purposes, in the

same way as we arrived in this beautiful city. This will allow this Conference to have a deep and salutary impact on the current international situation. This momentous event has to prove the viability of the non-aligned concept and movement and its ability to assert itself as an instrument for the consolidation of peace and security in the world, the universal respect of human rights and justice, and international co-operation on the basis of equality among the nations and the prosperity of mankind.

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Text of Speech of Ambassador Abdul Rahman Rajwauk in Fourth
Non-Aligned Conference at Algiers 1973

A congratulatory telegram was sent by the President of State of the Republic of Afghanistan, Mohammad Daoud, to Houari Boumediene, President of the Council of State of Algeria, congratulating him on his election as the chairman of the Fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries. The following is the text of the congratulatory telegram:

H.E. Houari Boumediene,
President of the Fourth Summit Meeting of Heads of State of
Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, Algiers.

Mr. President,

I wish to extend my heartiest congratulations on Your Excellency's unanimous election as the President of this historic Conference.

Aware as we are of the far-reaching impact which the deliberations of this important conference will have on the development of international relations. Afghanistan as one of the founders of the movement of non-alignment, considers the holding of this Conference as the most significant contemporary event taking place in Algiers.

We believe that the Algiers Summit Meeting will once again provide the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries with a unique opportunity to reflect on the over-all situation obtaining on the present international system.

While fully conscious of the pressing need to strengthen solidarity in their common struggle to defend national independence and sovereignty, the leaders of the non-aligned nations will spare

no effort to promote international peace and security based on justice, progress, freedom and equality of all nations.

We maintain that, in pursuit of their noble endeavours, the leaders of the non-aligned nations assembled in Algiers will continue to give special priority treatment to the plight of the peoples who are still under alien and colonial domination.

Extending our fraternal greetings and sincere thanks to the Government and brotherly people of Algeria for having invited this important gathering in Algiers, I wish to convey my best wishes for the success of the Conference

Highest consideration

Mohammad Daoud,
Head of State of the Republic
of Afghanistan.

The following is the text of the speech by Ambassador Abdurahman Pazhwak, special representative of the President of the State of the Republic of Afghanistan, delivered at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers:

As special representative of the Head of State of the Republic of Afghanistan, Mohammad Daoud, my first duty is to convey to all esteemed Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Nations present in this Conference, his personal greetings and his best wishes for their success in this historic Conference. He also extended in particular his regards to those leaders present here that he had the pleasure of meeting in Belgrade and joins you in prayer and tribute to the leaders of the non-alignment movement who have passed away. His message is one of confidence

that with solidarity and cooperation this Conference will succeed in achieving its goals. I should like also to convey his profound regret that he was not personally able to attend this historic gathering.

Allow me to, first of all, congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and, without a pause, convey through you the warm salutations of the people of the Republic of Afghanistan to the great Algerian people. The delegation of Afghanistan wishes also to extend its heartfelt thanks to the Government of Algeria for the warm and generous hospitality extended to us.

For us it is a special source of satisfaction that we meet, on this occasion, in Algeria - the land of the heroic people whose great battle for independence was one of the greatest blows to colonialism in general, and particularly in the continent of Africa. The hardships suffered by the Algerian people in attaining independence and national sovereignty has set an example which shall be remembered by history. We in Afghanistan can understand and appreciate the magnitude of the achievements of the Algerian nation, in the light of our own experiences and sacrifices endured in so many years waged for a similar cause.

In this Conference we fully support the aspirations of the liberation movements which are at present fighting for their sacred cause.

Mr. President,

Allow me, on behalf of the Afghan delegation, to wholeheartedly welcome the admission of states that have newly joined

the family of non-aligned nations. We are confident that their joining the family of non-aligned nations will contribute in further strengthening the cause of non-alignment and its objectives of world peace and progress.

On the 17th of July 1973, a great fundamental institutional change took place in Afghanistan. Monarchy was abolished and a Republic proclaimed. The objectives of the newly created Republic, supported by the genuine aspirations and democratic traditions of the Afghan people, is to promote the material and spiritual development of its people and create a new society founded on justice and equality for all citizens without any discrimination whatsoever. It is to allow all Afghans to participate, fully and responsibly, in the affairs of their country and to curb the forces that have hitherto hampered the realization of these aspirations. The Republic aims at establishing a trustworthy security within the country that would permit sound and positive economic, social and cultural reforms, and pave the way to true political, economic and cultural advancement. This requires the mobilization of all available energies and resources, in all fields, in the interest of the people only and for safeguarding our independence and national sovereignty.

In the field of foreign affairs, the Republic shall adhere to the principles and purposes of the United Nations' Charter, and shall continue to lend its unfailing support to those principles and objectives. It shall pursue its policy of political, economic and cultural cooperation with all peace-loving countries, particularly the Third World, and shall remain staunchly attached

to the policy of non-alignment and non-participation in military blocs. This policy stems from the aspirations of the Afghan people for the independent and objective judgement of all international issues and for the promotion and development of conditions for peace in the international arena.

Mr. President, Afghanistan is one of the oldest non-aligned countries and one of the founders of this association of nations. In the first Conference of the Non-Aligned held in Belgrade, Mr. Mohammad Daoud, then the Prime Minister of Afghanistan and presently the President and founder of the Republic of Afghanistan, declared:

"Afghanistan's policy of neutrality far ante-dates the events which have given rise to the term "non-alignment". Afghanistan has traditionally followed a policy of impartial judgement through many years, and has never deviated from this course, even during the world wars. The establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with all peoples and nations and promotion of international cooperation are important factors in our traditional political behaviour."

On the basis of this policy, the Republic of Afghanistan seeks understanding, cooperation and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and nations of the world - big or small, near or far - with no discrimination directed towards anyone, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. Afghanistan has already achieved this objective, and shall continue to further its friendly relations with all countries.

We regret, however, that there is only one country, namely

Pakistan, with which we have not been able to solve our political difference. The question of Pashtunistan, which has emanated from a refusal by Pakistan to recognise the legitimate rights and demands of over seven million people separated by a colonial power from their fatherland, Afghanistan, still remains unsolved. We shall spare no effort in seeking and realizing a solution to this question, on the basis of the will of the people and international justice.

Mr. President, on the vaster international scene, particularly on these issues which will come before this Conference, we shall take the opportunity to express our views. We would like to see this Conference do its best to analyze the new trends in international relations. While we welcome the somewhat relaxation of tensions among the big powers and an inclination towards detente and dialogue, we cannot lightly dismiss the eventuality of certain effects which may prove detrimental to the interest of the small nations and the Third World. No detente can result in a just and lasting peace and reliable international security unless it encompasses all countries and all regions.

We expect this Conference to pay special attention to the concern of the small nations, in all fields of international life. Matters of equal or even of more interest to the majority of the nations of the world cannot be allowed to be decided upon without the full and equal participation of all countries. We cannot be expected to endorse any arrangement which would imply that solutions to world problems lie solely within the grasp of stronger powers, and that the formula for such solutions remain

their sole monopoly. The democratization of international decision and actions is essential. If this pre-requisite, which emanates from the fundamental principle of equality of all nations, remains, unrealized, world peace shall remain fragile and precarious. This Conference should give its full support for the strengthening of the United Nations in the achievement of this purpose.

The situation in the Middle East is a great source of concern. The efforts of the non-aligned countries in the Security Council have, unfortunately, been vetoed. The occupation of the Arab lands continues. We hope that this Conference will make a special effort for the implementation of Resolution 242 of the Security Council and the application of the United Nations Charter. Afghanistan supports the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine to their homelands.

Although Afghanistan is not an Arab country, being a part of the Middle East, we have to give strong expression to our concern over any situation in this part of the world, and make our position and our interest on the issue clear. As has been stated in the United Nations by my delegation, although Afghanistan is a Moslem country, my Government has never evoked Islam as a religious mystique in political problems under the non-sectarian nature of the United Nations Charter. In explaining our interest in the overall question involving Israel and the Arab countries, we have put forward four considerations before the United Nations to which I should like to refer.

First, that the most strategic region of the world still continues in a state of war - a war which, if reignited to its

full dimensions, as it daily threatens to be, would feed the growing confrontation and the expanding commitments of the big powers in that area and shake the whole world.

Secondly, that the United Nations peace efforts to head off a conflict have virtually come to a stand-still, while the vacuum the state has left is being filled with an enormous expansion in armaments and the suppliers of those arms are drifting into a polarization of increased political and military commitments. It is a dangerous paradox in which future historians may describe the peacemaking of today as preparing for the war of tomorrow.

Thirdly, the creeping paralysis of unimplemented resolutions - not only resolutions of the General Assembly and its many organs, but more significantly, the more mandatory resolutions of the Security Council, not only with respect to the Middle East, but also in vital decisions taken on Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, and the situation in South Africa - is of grave concern. It is a situation which threatens to undermine the whole fabric of international law and international morality. Far more corrosive than the absence of law is indifference, disrespect and the violation of laws to which statesmen and governments are committed.

And this inevitably - our fourth point - is eating away at the very foundations of the United Nations as the world's highest custodian of both rule of law and the goal of peace, above all, as the symbol of international morality, and threatens the very security of all countries.

We are against acquisition of territories by military force. We cannot expect any peace in the Middle East unless the Israeli

forces are withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories.

We have with the Arab world very old and profound spiritual and cultural ties. But in addition to these bonds of friendship, deeply rooted in the history of the Middle East, there are other principles to which I have just referred, which prompt us to fully support the just cause of the Arabs. Therefore, our voice in support of the Arabs should not be considered for the Arabs only but for all countries.

We have rightly heard through the years that nothing truly effective in peacekeeping can be achieved without the unanimity of the big powers. But we cannot be expected to understand the position of some of the big powers who demur from implementing and enforcing the very decisions they have voted for. The resolution on the Middle East, unanimously adopted on November 22, 1967, is a classic case of this ambivalence.

Mr. President, we welcome the successful culmination of SALT talks in the recent agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union aimed at bringing about a limitation of their strategic weapons, and also the Treaty of Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons, concluded between them in Washington.

Although these negotiations were conducted outside the framework of the United Nations, and their outcome was mainly a big power arrangement, still there is room for recommendation by this Conference that in future the machinery of the United Nations should be used to the full extent possible for disarmament negotiations and agreements, and not only for those problems of arms control, which according to some, lend themselves to multilateral solutions.

The delegation of Afghanistan whole-heartedly supports the convening of a world disarmament conference. The holding of a conference of this nature was originally proposed by the non-aligned countries. We hope that this Conference will take a positive step towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

It is of paramount importance that as a collateral measure of disarmament, during the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations, an agreement be reached extending the present nuclear weapons test ban to all environments.

We have spoken of the dangers of nuclear weapons to mankind, but nonetheless the threat of conventional weapons to the security of small, non-nuclear states is very real and should be viewed with the utmost attention. This threat can emanate from a non-nuclear weapon state which has acquired important stockpiles of conventional weapons, by belonging to a military alliance, or because of its financial strength, or by virtue of its privileged geographical or political position in this connection, I wish to state that the recent acquisition of enormous conventional armaments by some countries in our region which has disturbed the balance of power and has given new dimensions to the concept of security, is a matter of grave concern to us.

Wars and conflicts never take place abruptly and without a background. Lack of consideration of essential issues gradually leads to conflict. What comes suddenly is the conflict itself and its disastrous consequences are obvious. History has proved that if lack of consideration of important issues does not exist

and events which have tragic and grave consequences are brought in time to the attention of the world community, there would always be a better chance for preventing them.

In view of the tragic events in our region of the world, we still notice that policies leading to similar events are taking place. The tragic events in Bangladesh took place as a result of such lack of consideration. This tragedy was so grave that if it had occurred in a remote period of history all measures should have been taken in order to see it not repeated, but it is surprising that in such a short time it seems to have been forgotten. Our anxiety is that the causes which led to this tragedy could easily take place in the same part of the world, and consequently lead to another cruel and pointless war.

Afghanistan has no desire but to observe the conditions of peace and the promotion of international relations in the entire world, including in the region to which it belongs. The disturbance of peace in one particular part of the world cannot remain isolated and affects international peace and security throughout the world. On this basis, Afghanistan deems it necessary to bring to the attention of this Conference the possibilities of such events taking place in the vicinity of our country as a result of the disturbance of the balance of power through armaments and political arrangements.

One of the political measures is the attitude recently adopted by the Government of Pakistan against the leaders of the National Awami Party.

The distinguished Heads of State present in the historical

meeting are aware that the Government of Pakistan has recently arrested a number of the Baluch and Pushtoon national leaders and exerts political pressure against others. This provocative gesture on the part of the Government of Pakistan against the Pushtoon and Baluch leaders is further measure taken towards suffocating the aspirations and wishes of the people of Pushtoonistan.

The people of Afghanistan, who have deep historical, cultural and ethical ties with their brother Pushtoons and Baluchs and therefore cannot remain indifferent to this action taken by the Government of Pakistan, express deep concern.

We hope that these political measures of Pakistan do not expand and cause their deterioration of the situations in the region.

Western colonialism in the past, established by force and other means of interference, created artificial frontiers which violate the inalienable rights of peoples and perpetuate the imperialistic designs of those forces to better understanding among nations. In such cases the wrong inflicted upon nations must be redressed and, as a result, colonialism should be terminated in such a manner that no possibility should be left for any source of tension that could adversely influence friendly relations between countries and peoples.

Our policy in connection with the abolishment of colonialism and all forms of alien dominations, apartheid and racial discriminations, and our struggle against these ills is well known. We shall continue this policy with all the power at our disposal. When we speak of colonialism, we refer not only to the so-called western colonialism. Colonialism to us means all forms and

manifestations of alien domination - be it political, economic or cultural. Yet the most regrettable of all forms of colonialism is the domination of certain people and territories by countries which themselves have once suffered the evils and frustrations of western colonialism.

Almost thirteen years have passed and the Government of Portugal has not deemed it fit to apply the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with regard to the territories under its administration.

The Afghan Government fully supports the struggle of the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese territories, and indeed in all Southern Africa, and condemns the recent massacre carried out by the Portuguese military personnel in Mozambique. This act of violence against innocent villagers has aroused the conscience of mankind everywhere.

Mr. Government strongly condemns South Africa for its policy of apartheid. The policy has a corrosive influence on the relations among the peoples of South Africa as well as on the prospect for peace in the African continent. This situation, which becomes more and more explosive, constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

Afghanistan has always supported and respected the rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, and fully supports the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council against the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, but as we are all aware, they have not been fruitful because of the close cooperation and collaboration between the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia,

South Africa and the Government of Portugal.

We should not forget that the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering power, bears a great deal of responsibility for the continuation of the present state of affairs in Zimbabwe.

The racist Government of South Africa, in spite of resolution 2146 (XXI) terminating its mandate in South West Africa, has continued its illegal occupation of the territory, and has totally denied the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia. The Government and people of Afghanistan condemn this attitude of South Africa with respect to Namibia and request this gathering to take appropriate measures leading to the restoration of the rights of Namibians.

Mr. President, Afghanistan has always supported the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam for its freedom and independence. Now that the Paris Agreement on the ending of war and the restoration of peace in Vietnam and the Vientiane Agreement on the Restoration of Peace and Realization of National Concorde in Laos have been signed, we hope that these agreements be fully and faithfully abided by all parties concerned. The implementation of these accords will ensure the fundamental rights of the people of Vietnam to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of their country, and the right of self-determination of all peoples of Indo-China. We are happy to note that the bombing of Cambodia has ceased as of 15th August this year.

We were impressed by the statement of the Head of State of

Cambodia that non-aligned conference provides a forum for Cambodia to explain its problems.

Mr. President, before concluding, I should like to say a few words about the question of international cooperation for economic development. In this connection, we would like to emphasize that maximum cooperation and solidarity among the developing countries is of great importance. Without such cooperation it seems to us that much has to be done for the elimination of possible sources of friction between the various continents of the Group of 77, and the implementation of special measures in favour of the least developed and the developing land-locked countries.

More than two years have elapsed since the adoption of the International Development Strategy. The developed countries have still to demonstrate the necessary political will to implement the provisions of the related agreements and resolutions. Any further delay will lead us to think of some kind of refusal of the principles of international cooperation and lack of willingness on the part of the developed countries to respect their commitments. We cannot ignore the negative trends that exist in the field of world economy. These are explained by the unsubstantial increase in the per capita income of the developing countries, the steady decline in their share of the world trade in exports, the decrease of financial flow from the developed to the developing countries, and the constant growth of the burden of external debts in the developing countries. It was meant that the International Development Strategy would stop such alarming trends in world economy, but nothing has been achieved to reverse such trends. The lack of cooperation on

behalf of the developed countries has persisted, to remain unchanged. They have refused to implement the special measures in favour of the least-developed and the land-locked developing countries, unanimously adopted by UNCTAD and endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly. We hope that this Conference would give expression to its will and desire to see that the provisions of the International Development Strategy and the related resolutions and agreements will be implemented. Otherwise international cooperation in the field of economic development would remain meaningless.

To conclude, I would like to say that in this Conference we have heard from great statesmen references to the increasing membership of the family of non-aligned nations, their greater solidarity, the great role they have played in the arena of international affairs, and the hopes that have been expressed for future impact of the policy of non-alignment for us is a national cause.

We have maintained it not without great sacrifice. It has cost us a lot. We have received the least financial assistance for our greatest need. Our socio-economic development, our progress, has been slow and our backwardness caused only by our wars against colonialism, still persists, but we are determined to follow the policy of non-alignment. We are proud to march with those of you to the end of the road, to peace and justice and progress, but only with honour and dignity.

Text of speech of President Mohammad Daoud, in
Fifth Non-aligned Conference at Colombo 1976

Following is the text of the statement by the Head of State and Prime Minister Mohammad Daoud delivered at the first session of the fifth summit meeting of heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries in Colombo.

Madame President:

I am very pleased to participate in the fifth conference of the non-aligned countries. It is also a cause for pleasure that this conference is held, for the first time in Asia, and in one of its beautiful countries, Sri Lanka.

Your Excellency's vast experience in political affairs and international relations give us added confidence that this conference will conclude, and meet its great responsibilities successfully.

With the expression of this confidence I convey my own and my delegation's thanks for your excellency's, your government and your people's warm welcome and hospitality, and present to the people of Sri Lanka the message of best and sincere wishes of the people of Afghanistan.

Madame President:

In the outset I wish to say Afghanistan sincerely hopes that at the conclusion, the Colombo gathering will be registered in world history as a gathering of concord, unity and solidarity. I therefore declare full cooperation of the

delegation of Afghanistan with missions of other countries represented in the conference, at all levels, with spirit inspired by the principles of non-alignment to which we have always, and thoroughly adhered, and shall continue to do so.

Madame President.

In the course of the first world war, in spite of different pressures, Afghanistan was able to, by the strength of the will of her people, to preserve her neutrality, and this neutrality continued during World War II. Hence non-alignment to us not only is not a changeable policy, but is also an unchangeable conviction.

After the Belgrade conference, this is the first time that I personally attend a summit meeting of the nonaligned countries. The increasing number of the non-aligned countries and the important role they have played since then for preservation of world peace and security, gives me special satisfaction. This gathering reminds us of the first gathering of the leaders of the non-aligned countries held 15 years ago in Belgrade. In that gathering the non-aligned countries sensed the need that for delivering humanity from ruin, a course of conciliation and rapport be searched between the two blocs. These wishes and this sense of necessity brought us first together in Belgrade, and since then the non-aligned movement not only took shape as a group, but also emerged as a spiritual force for the cause of preservation of world peace and security.

Hence the authenticity of this movement ought to be

preserved and the non-aligned countries ought to forestall every move that would weaken this movement. In the changing world of today the non-aligned movement can, and ought to suit itself to new conditions, but the non-aligned countries must not forget the objectives and criteria of this movement.

The flexibility and freedom of individual member countries must not go as far as to change the concept of non-alignment into a shapeless conception. The definitive framework of the criteria of non-alignment evolved years before in Belgrade, and these criteria, despite the changes in the political complexions of the world, remain valid, and they are still essential. It depends upon us the non-aligned countries to ensure that these criteria remain intact.

The non-alignment movement must not consider its mission accomplished. This mission is still in its beginning, and only adherence to a genuine policy of non-alignment that can play its role in preservation of the world peace and security, can successfully fulfill it.

When we think of the basic principles of non-alignment, and loyalty to them, concurrence of views only on criteria of military non-alignment is not sufficient for defence of non-alignment. In agreements among the non-aligned countries themselves, consideration of universal interests is important, and also, if the developed countries treat one or some of the non-aligned countries in a way which would be discriminatory to the spirit of non-alignment, surrender of the non-aligned countries to this must be recognised as defying the principle of non-

alignment.

Madame President:

This conference is convened under conditions and circumstances of important changes occurring in world situation, and the world is on the threshold of still further changes. Thus the future role that these countries ought to play, must be mentioned before anything else.

While classic colonialism has not been totally eliminated, yet, the roots of neo-colonialism are becoming stronger. The will of exploitation, in greater number of manifestations, is dominant on all continents formerly under colonial dominance. Economic and social imbalance is increasingly forced on peoples and nations. All these are to the detriment of world peace and security.

The political freedoms that have been attained in Asia, Africa and Latin America are doomed by injustice, and economic inequity. Fighting this injustice is often far more difficult than battling classic colonialism.

The only hope that we can retain more or less is the creation of a spirit of unity, solidarity and cooperation. But the obstacles inhibiting the creation of the spirit of unity, solidarity, and cooperation, engulf the entire developing world. Added to the political differences most of which are creations of old emanating from neo-colonialism in these continents. Likewise the countries of the third world continue to arm themselves. But in most cases this is imposed on them, on the one hand, by

the atmosphere of mistrust resolution of tensions, rivalries, ideological disputes among them, and on the other, as a result of the arms race which goes on unabated among the great powers.

Madame President

Of late we hear of detente. We have to say it is good. But we cannot ignore the fact that a detente resulting from respect to the principle of co-existence differs from a detente brought about by fear. What is more important is that detente must be universal. What can be the most important feature of world peace and security is world-wide co-existence which can emanate from a spirit of sincere cooperation for the balanced improvements for human race in all parts of the world in the interest of permanent world peace and security.

The greatest dangers that threaten the world have not yet been eliminated, and efforts for their elimination are becoming slower every day. The situation in the Middle East, and the racist politics in Africa are outstanding examples of this reality. Not only the expansionist policy of Israel, occupation of Arab territories, and non-recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, the policy of apartheid in South Africa, and the oppressive minority government in Rhodesia, and usurpation of the rights of Namibia continue, but dangerous activities are taking place for the creation of a South Africa-Rhodesia-Israel axis. To Afghanistan the Middle East, and the situation in Africa is not merely an Arab-Israeli, black and white issue, but a gravely dangerous situation for world peace.

In the light of prevailing conditions and world situation, this conference ought to deliberate more deeply, all issues, and adopt a clear and collective policy towards them.

Madame President:

On the basis of its political belief Afghanistan desires that issues and problems be solved by peaceful means.

The policy of Afghanistan, on the basis of its attitude of non-alignment, is based on friendship with all peace-loving countries of the world.

The nonalignment movement to us is not resigning from world issues, but an active and positive policy. This policy cannot condone, in any manifestation, or any part of the world, conciliation with aggression, annexation and occupation of territories, trampling of human rights and freedoms, and opposing the right for self-determination and national sovereignty.

Compromise is one of the accepted principles of diplomacy, but is not acceptable in all instances. How can one compromise with aggression and annexation of the soil of a country, racism, Zionism, Facism or any other policy contrary to individual and collective rights of people and nations.

Here, once again, I wish to express the full support of Afghanistan for the independence movement of the people of Palestine restoration of the usurped rights of this people, restoration of Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem, and the necessity of full evacuation by Israeli forces of occupied Arab

lands. I likewise express the full support of Afghanistan for the independence of Namibia, elimination of apartheid, and the minority and illegal government in Rhodesia.

Unfortunately so far we have not succeeded to impress upon those who perhaps do not wish to understand that the non-aligned countries are a group of countries that share the same opinion and the same thought, and must in no way be construed as a bloc and should in no way be allowed to assume, in one way or another, the form of a bloc. It is essential that in this conference, not only in its joint communique, but also in a special statement it be declared that the non-aligned countries are desirous of friendship with east and west.

Madame President:

Very strong publicity media have confused public opinion in some continents, and have stirred public thinking there against the nonaligned countries, and we must enlighten public opinion in a way so that they compel governments to change their policies in the interest of developing countries, and the peoples of these continents understand the colossal political, economic and social afflictions of Asia, Africa and Latin America and sympathise with them.

It must be unambiguously illucidated that we do not wish conflict, and it must not be imposed upon us. We must be aware that the threats posed to us, are to provoke us. We must not allow these provocations to succeed. On the other hand Afghanistan believes that it is not in the interest of the third world to politicise each and every issue. This observation

relates more to the economic area, and points at our relations with the developed world.

The establishment of the new world economic order is a must, and our difficulties in this context must be solved through understanding so that they bear practical results. Before this new order is installed worldwide, and the two other worlds reach an agreement with the third world, in a way that would entail universal interests, it is essential that the group of nonaligned countries lay its foundation among themselves as the framework of cooperation between the countries of third world.

While self-reliance is one of our main goals, seeking this target, individually, is not sufficient, and must be promoted in a collective way.

We have agreed with the new world economic order with the condition of equal sovereignty among states and nations disregarding the differences in their economic and social systems, and eliminated of prevailing injustices among the developing and developed countries. As we have stated before practical way for achievement of this objective is concord and cooperation among the non-aligned countries its extension to the third world, and after that understanding with the developed countries.

In the Lima conference it was said that the objective is rapid development of close economic, financial, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation among non-aligned countries and developing countries through a particular mechanism which

would be created for materialisation of real cooperation among them. But economic difficulties especially in the area of trade among the non-aligned countries stood in the way of tangible progress in application of these lofty concepts. Thus, and every conference must, put the assessment and application of past agreement on the top of its agenda.

The only effective factor ensuring world wide economic understanding is non-alignment because only non-aligned countries are in the position to cooperate with both east and west, and invite them to ensure humanity's interests.

For virtue of their importance two things must receive serious consideration. First we must move our policies from sentiments to reality. Secondly what are merely accords on paper will have no practical value in our own interrelationships or in our relations with other countries of the world. Perhaps our lack of total success in the development decade are mostly due to the lack of attention to, or scant attention to these two important principles.

This conference can not obscure the fact that an expanding gap does not exist only among the developing and the developing countries must think seriously and conscientiously about this gap among themselves. If we cannot build a new order among ourselves, that would prevent the widening of the gap among ourselves, how can we bridge the gap existing among us and the developed countries, or expect to do so.

Afghanistan not only considers putting a stop to the

widening of this gap in the international scene essential, but also considers it important on national level of each individual countries, and construes it as an important dimension of national development which also relates to international cooperation.

The conference ought to attach special importance to study and assessment of long term relations between the developing and the developed countries. These two groups of nations must together determine the nature of these relations, and cooperate with each other in their implementation.

Madam President:

We are aware that there are powers in the world that do not find the wishes of the greater part of humanity compatible with their own interests and hence they try to undermine our unity. This is a danger threatening all developing countries. The only deterrent against this danger is maintaining a firm political will so that we may preserve our solidarity, and thus resist one of the most dangerous weapon of new-colonialism.

Madam President:

In conclusion I wish to draw the attention of the conference to a subject which is of vital importance to the landlocked countries. These countries by force of nature, or as a result of colonialism are deprived of the advantages of access to sea. Colonialism not only undermined their development

while it was in power, but after elimination of colonialism they are left in a position that deter their development, and unless it is tended to, it will remain as an obstacle. The landlocked countries at times are subjected to economic pressures which culminate in economic blockades.

The littoral non-aligned countries must commit themselves to support the stand of the non-aligned countries in this conference, and other international conferences. We expect this conference to make firm official recommendations on this subject to the next session of the United Nations General Assembly and other international gatherings and effectively cooperate and collaborate with the landlocked countries for their application in various gatherings. The new world order can not be construed as complete without due attention to this subject.