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( PRIME MINISTER )

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NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

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TIME:

Madame Chairman,

May I, on behalf of my Delegation and my own behalf, congratulate you on your unanimous election as Chairman of this important Conference. My Delegation is confident that under your distinguished chairmanship, this Summit Conference would be able to achieve results. My Delegation pledges full cooperation with you and hopes to contribute constructively to the deliberations to ensure that the 7th Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries will be another milestone in the development of our Non-Aligned Movement. In extending my congratulations to you, Madame Chairman, I would also like to offer my Delegation's, as well as my own felicitations, to the Deputy Chairmen and other officials of the Conference Bureau on their well-deserved elections.

2. My Delegation notes with profound satisfaction the presence of 101 countries and organisations at this gathering today as against only 25 countries at the First Summit Conference held in Belgrade in 1961. This expanding membership is indeed a testimony to the hope and faith that peoples and nations of diverse governmental systems place in the Movement as a force for peace and stability in a world threatened by conflicts between two confronting camps. This hope and faith in the Movement, must not remain mere ideals, but must be translated into effective action to free the world from domination by the strong over the weak in all fields.

3. The Non-Aligned Movement is all the more necessary now when the big powers are involved in the game of a balance of terror. Already some countries have been made theatres of war for the practical testing of increasingly lethal weapon systems. Without the Non-Aligned Movement more of us will be fighting each other as pawns or proxies of the committed powers. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to sustain this Movement, and to uphold its ideals and principles, in particular the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of states, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of nations, peaceful co-existence and non-use of force in resolving inter-state disputes. The observation and respect

for these cardinal principles of international relations are indispensable for the preservation of world peace and stability, for the promotion of greater cooperation, cohesion and trust among member countries, and for the overall credibility of the Movement.

4. The occupation and rape of several nations that we are witnessing today stem, in the main, from the flagrant disregard, indeed total disrespect, for these vital principles which everyone claim to cherish. The territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea, or of Afghanistan and Lebanon, have been blatantly violated and trampled upon, in utter contempt for the values and principles, which constitute the very existence of our Movement. We, who are committed to these ideals and principles, cannot accept, much less endorse, these high-handed actions. We cannot shrug our shoulders merely because the perpetrators of these dastardly acts want us to accept them as *fait accompli*. Whether we are friendly or otherwise with these unprincipled countries, we must condemn them for their misdeeds, and we must do all within our means to undo the damage. While violence is not a part of our creed, there are other weapons that will serve us just as well.

5. The situation in Kampuchea, arising from the Vietnamese military invasion and continued occupation of that country, directly threatens regional peace and stability, encourages big power involvement in Southeast Asia, impedes efforts towards the realisation of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in Southeast Asia and inhibits the development of beneficial cooperation between the countries of ASEAN and Indochina. In this regard, the past four sessions of the UN General Assembly, and also the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981, had unequivocally called for a comprehensive political solution on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Kampuchean people, free from foreign interference and coercion. The Non-Aligned Movement too had, on several occasions, expressed its concern over this blatant interference, and warned of the danger of the Kampuchean conflict escalating over a wider area. Unfortunately, all these calls have been ignored by the perpetrators and their powerful mentors, and also by some others who are members of this Movement, for reasons which cannot withstand examination.

as to the reason why is irrelevant. The fact is that the Vietnamese forces in irresistible strength marched into Kampuchea and installed a puppet regime. And having done so the Vietnamese army stayed on to prop up that regime. Obviously, the people of Kampuchea do not support that regime, or why else is it necessary to have an occupation force. That a lot of Kampuchean have left their own country is further testimony that they do not support that

regime or the occupation forces. That the Kampuchean refugees are willing to join up with the Coalition Government led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk proves beyond any reasonable doubt that they do not want the Heng Samrin regime or his Vietnamese backers. Yet Vietnam, and some countries, have preferred to ignore that Kampuchean independence is being violated, that all the principles that have been espoused by the Non-Aligned Movement have been ignored. Such is the fate of Kampuchea, and its leader, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, one of the founders of the Movement who sat with the late President Nasser and the late Pandit Nehru in Bandung.

7. At this juncture, my Delegation would like to express our profound regret over the enforced absence of Democratic Kampuchea from this Conference. We are all aware of the controversial decision by a few members of this Movement to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its rightful seat, in continue, merely because some members and their powerful friends are bent on having their way, regardless of the consequences. The legitimacy of Democratic Kampuchea to represent Kampuchea here, and elsewhere, should not be disputed since the UN General Assembly has repeatedly, and with increasing majority, affirmed and recognised the legitimacy of Democratic Kampuchea. The continued denial of Democratic Kampuchea's participation in our Conference is indeed unjust, and needs to be remedied to ensure that we stand steadfastly in favour of non-alignment. In this connection, my delegation welcomes the necessary steps to be taken towards into account the suggestion that there should be criteria and procedures to suspend or expel a member. This is a matter of vital importance which my delegation would urge this conference to act upon.

8. The region of Southeast Asia has been a cockpit of big-power rivalries since the early days of colonialism. The effects of such rivalries have created a psychological division of the region into pockets of varying political orientations from which we have never completely recovered. Such division and orientations continue to characterise the politics of the region today, bolstered by serious ideological differences which make it difficult for nations in the region to pursue the path of peaceful co-existence and cooperation. The events taking place in Kampuchea, which is a manifestation of the various psychological and political orientations, represent a stumbling block to the establishment of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in Southeast Asia, a concept that is completely in accord with the hallowed principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. It is my hope, and a hope that is shared by all the ASEAN members, that the conflict in Kampuchea be politically resolved so that peace and stability can be restored in Southeast Asia.

Madame Chairman,

9. Kampuchea is not the only country that has become the

victim of foreign aggression. In 1979, the Soviet Union unleashed its military might on its puny neighbour, Afghanistan. Once again we see a repetition of the disregard for principles that has been so blatantly demonstrated in Kampuchea. The Soviet Union claims to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed, but it had no hesitation about marching into Afghanistan to prop up an

10. The pattern is clear for all to see. If a neighbour is strong, then the possibility of being occupied is very real. Might, is right. If this Movement fails to condemn the Soviet Union, then fear will stalk the little nations situated next to predatory neighbours. Since the end of World War II many of us have gained independence. Many of us have, of course, been independent a long time. But for how long will we remain independent, if we condone the piecemeal snuffing out of little states by big neighbours?

Madame Chairman,

11. It may be that the Soviet Union has bitten off more than it can chew. It may be that they are in a dilemma. But the Soviet Union is big enough to be magnanimous. Afghanistan, under whatever regime, is no threat to the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union can live with the Peoples Republic of China as a sworn enemy, surely it can live with all its Central Asian neighbours without resorting to military occupation.

12. The people of Afghanistan have suffered enough. In the history of Asia they stand out as the only country that successfully resisted the colonising Europeans. They are an inspiration to all of us. But now they have lost their independence. Now, they have to seek refuge outside their borders. Equipped only with obsolete arms, now they have to fight a super-power. Surely these great people deserve better than the fate that has befallen them.

Madame Chairman,

13. I would appeal to the Soviet Union to cease, and desist, from this dishonourable act. They must be magnanimous. Their friends, and indeed the world, would honour and respect them if they withdraw their forces from Afghanistan, and allow the Afghans to determine their own fate. The United Nations, and the Islamic Conference, have called for a political solution. We endorse this call wholeheartedly. This Movement can do no less, than to call a halt to Soviet occupation, and to let the Afghans have their independence once again.

Madame Chairman,

14. West Asia is another area of serious concern to us. The situation in West Asia remains explosive because, of the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories, and her

premeditated violation of the fundamental principles of the UN Charter. The Israeli invasion and occupation of Southern Lebanon and Beirut, and the forced evacuation of the Palestinian freedom fighters from there, is but another manifestation of Israeli intransigence. The massacres at Sabra and Shatila, committed by the Phalangists, with the knowledge and blessing of the Israeli military leaders, shall be remembered in history alongside the horrors of Auschwitz, Dachau, Belsen, and other Nazi concentration camps during the Second World War. It proves that there is no basic difference between the Nazis and the Israelis. If the Israelis had ruled Germany and the Nazis were a minority, the camps of Dachau, Belsen and others would have been filled with different people. As it is, the Palestinians who had nothing to do with the Nazis, or Belsen, have to pay the price again and again, each time, more bloody than before.

15. The framework for a comprehensive political settlement has been clearly stipulated in the various UN resolutions pertaining to Palestine. It is obvious that the key to the solution lies with Israel. Until they withdraw completely, and unconditionally from occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, and exercise self determination are restored, there will always be instability and wars in West Asia. The initiative taken by the Arab leaders in Fez last year, embodies all these key elements, and could have provided the necessary impetus for finding a political solution to the problem. Unfortunately, the Israelis chose to reject the proposals outright, reflecting once again, their intransigence and total disregard for justice and human rights.

16. There is no doubt that the mentors of Israel have an obligation to ensure that Israel does not persist with her negative and irresponsible attitudes. These countries have a moral duty to compel Israel to cease, and desist, from further acts of aggression and violence, and prevail upon her to return to sanity, and the ways of civilisation. We in the Non-Aligned Movement, must continue our perseverance, and tenacity, until the just cause of the Palestinians is finally attained.

17. A free and sovereign Palestinian state must be created. To this end the PLO, cannot be expected to compromise on basic rights and dignity of the people it rightly represents, nor be excluded from any peace process.

18. My Delegation welcomes the final communique of the recently held 16th. Session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers in its entirety. May I also take this occasion to offer the sincerest congratulations of the Government, and people of Malaysia to Chairman Yasser Arafat on his re-election to the office of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. To (you) Abu

Ammar, let me renew the pledge of full support of the Government and people of Malaysia for the just struggle of the people of Palestine.

19. It is also disconcerting to Malaysia that the war between Iran and Iraq, two members of this Movement, with whom we enjoy close and cordial relations, continues unabated. The conflict has brought untold misery to millions of people, and incalculable damage to properties on both sides of the border. Efforts by this Movement to seek a mutually acceptable solution have so far been without success. To avert further loss of lives, Malaysia would like to urge that the mediation efforts be reactivated by this Movement so that a peaceful solution to the conflict could be found.

20. In the southern tip of the continent of Africa, the inhuman policy of apartheid is still being followed by the whites of South Africa. There is no country that flouts all human values with such arrogance as South Africa. The continued existence of the white regime is an insult to the whole human race. Malaysia abhors the policy of apartheid, and is fully committed to the just cause of the oppressed people in South Africa, in their struggle for equality, justice, and dignity. Today, we witness an intensification of armed struggle in that part of the world as the freedom fighters of South Africa seek to free themselves from the shackles of apartheid and oppression. In this regard, my Delegation wishes to pay homage to the valiant fighters for their outstanding qualities of fortitude, patriotism, and courage in their just struggle to restore their inalienable rights.

21. In Namibia, efforts to seek a peaceful settlement in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution 435 of 1978 have been frustrated by the Pretoria regime. The present impasse is undeniably caused by South Africa's intransigence and its total lack of commitment to a negotiated settlement, to ensure that the people of Namibia have their full rights to self-determination and independence. My Government has followed the developments taking place in Namibia with great interest, and in this connection, we have publicly stated our willingness to participate in a UN peace-keeping force in Namibia, should the need arise. In the meantime, it is the duty of us all to support, with renewed vigour, the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO against the Pretoria regime's continued illegal annexation of a trust territory.

Madame Chairman,

22. Apart from the oppressive actions that I have mentioned, the situation of the world is being further aggravated by the arms race between the super powers. Words cannot describe the dangers that the world faces with the

accumulation of colossal nuclear arms by both sides. It needs but one madman, or one mistake, or one bout of nervousness by one man, to literally blow up this planet. Yet, the race to build up even more destructive weapons, continues. Sanity has completely forsaken the leaders of the contending camps. To date, all efforts by the international community to stop this madness have been futile. Even the current disarmament talks between the super-powers have not come to any meaningful conclusion. Malaysia cannot accept the notion that peace and security can be sustained only by a precarious balance of terror. Such a notion, denies the premise that man, is a thinking animal. We, in the Non-Aligned Movement, must not take sides, but must urge the rivals in this horrendous game, to return to the negotiation table, and cease the build up of nuclear arms.

Madame Chairman,

23. Like the oceans and the sea-bed beyond the national jurisdiction of countries, Antarctica, the last undeveloped continent on earth, should be regarded as a common heritage of mankind, and not just the exclusive preserve of a few nations that have access to it. It is specifically with this interest in mind that I have urged the United Nations during the 37th General Assembly Session to focus its attention on Antarctica. To us, that distant continent, yet unsettled by man, can, and must pave the way for genuine international cooperation for the exploitation of its resources, to ensure that the benefits would be equitably shared among all nations of the world. Such an international cooperation would also ensure that Antarctica continues to be used for peaceful purposes and not degenerate into a new hot-bed of tension and discord.

24. My Delegation is aware of existing arrangements on Antarctica, which called for the continued demilitarisation of Antarctica, and a moratorium on all claims. This arrangement, however, is limited in its scope, and participation, as to be exclusive. In view of this, we need to re-examine the whole question of Antarctica, with a view to ensure that we could have an equitable arrangement, which will include all the essential elements that I have just mentioned, so that, we may have a truly universal cooperation on Antarctica under the umbrella of the United Nations, similar to the Convention on the Law of the Sea. The UN must, therefore, address itself to the issue, and re-examine the potentials for a more universal framework of international cooperation on Antarctica, an area that is bigger than China, the US, and Mexico put together. In this regard, the support and backing of Non-Aligned Countries is vital if we wish to translate this concept into reality.

25. Lately, the world economy has been going through a most difficult phase. It has slipped into a state of deep recession, causing absolute despair to developing countries.

Among other things, we are confronted today with high interest rates, growing inflation, rising unemployment, mounting protectionism, tumbling commodity prices and a tight squeeze in financial flows. In an age of instant communication, unlimited wealth and inspired application of man and material, we seem incapable of solving even the most simple of economic problems. Indeed we seem to be completely mesmerised, quite unable to extricate ourselves from the quagmire of our own making. For that is what this recession is. It is a man-made recession, cooked up in the capitals of some powerful industrialised countries.

26. High interest rates, protectionism, the deliberate manipulation of commodity prices through outdated marketing systems, and the release of stock-piles, disregard for GATT, refusal to implement the shipping code, the grouping of already powerful nations into exclusive economic blocs, the unilateral changes in the rules, are anything, but acts of God. They are mere decisions made by men, principally the powerful men in powerful countries. There is no doubt that these decisions are wrong, that they have led to the economic crisis that we face today. The exact extent and effect of all these have been catalogued in detail in the report by the chairman of the sixth non-aligned conference, President Fidel Castro of Cuba, and further amplified in his speech yesterday. I congratulate him on the report and his speech.

27. The industrialised countries should by now have discerned the folly of their policies. I would urge them to reverse these, and bring back some order and stability to the limping world economy. I need not stress the desperate need to prevent a total collapse of the world economy. I remain convinced that what man has created, he can surely undo. History will honour those men who are big enough to admit their mistakes and to make amends for them.  
Madame Chairman,

28. The North-South Dialogue is no longer the hope of the developing countries. We know now that we cannot squeeze blood from stone. The North is not about to abdicate their role as the aristocrats of the world economies. For as long as the poor economies are incapable of striking back, we are not going to have one bit of concession from them. Therefore, let us stop deluding ourselves.

29. The only real solution to this problem of economic do not exceed our means. If we are weak, let us unite ourselves into regional and international groups, aiding and trading with each other to the extent that we are capable. If we lack the skills, let us acquire them from whatever source available. The process is going to be slow, and painful. But it is better that we fall back on our own resources than to place our hopes on understanding and help from the unfeeling North.

30. Malaysia intends to do this. We have tightened our belts. We intend to live within our means. We cooperate with our neighbours. And we are going further afield, to the South Pacific, and to Africa, in order to seek meaningful South-South cooperation. Whatever little we have, or we know, if we can afford them, we will extend to those who need them. It is our hope, that others too, will adopt this attitude, so that we will not only survive, but God willing, we will one day be free from the economic and technological oppression of an insensitive North.

Madame Chairman,

31. To conclude, may I once again emphasise the need for us, the Non-Aligned Countries, to be more vigilant and introspective, bearing in mind the various external adhere faithfully to the ideals and principles, to which all of us have given our commitment, particularly the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of states, peaceful co-existence and the rejection of the use of force in resolving inter-state disputes. The choice before us is clear. Either we maintain a posture of genuine independence, and work for the strengthening of our Movement, or, we can deviate from this, and pursue the role prescribed for us by the super-powers, which would then tear us apart, and make a mockery of the ideals and principles that our Movement stands for. This is a problem that concerns all of us, and we have to be clear now, and agree as to the direction we wish our Movement to follow, and the credibility and strength we desire the Movement to enjoy. I am convinced that this concern is shared by many in this distinguished gathering, and it is solely with the view to strengthen the Movement that I have ventured to make comments, and put forward proposals and ideas which I thought would, as a whole, benefit the Movement.