



# **SRI LANKA FOREIGN AFFAIRS RECORD**

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC BUILDING, COLOMBO 1, SRI LANKA.

**1985 – 1986**



# SRI LANKA

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS RECORD 1985-1986

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# “Friendship with all and enmity towards none”

## *Reminiscences of the Foreign Policy of H.E. the President J. R. Jayewardene\**

Surveying the contemporary scene, one is not surprised that among the present world leaders, there is hardly anyone who could match his experience and deep perception in politics and world affairs. Thirty five years ago he co-built at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference the Colombo Plan—the first ever North-South cooperation bridge which has endured to our day. As Minister of Finance in 1952, he successfully steered through the Rubber-Rice Pact with China, which today stands as one of the oldest barter agreements in the whole world and is a landmark in the foreign policy of independent Sri Lanka.

As a devout Buddhist who recognises neither caste nor colour nor creed, in his steadfast commitment to humanity, he pleaded on behalf of a vanquished Japan at the San Francisco Peace Conference in 1951. His appeal to the Conference was based on Lord Buddha's message "hatred ceases not by hatred but by love". This appeal was decisive in bringing about an early conclusion of the Peace Treaty.

In 1954 and in 1955 he played a prominent part in the Colombo Powers Conference and the Bandung Conference, which led to the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement. More recently, as President of Sri Lanka he has actively participated in almost all Summit meetings of the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement. His proposals for the establishment of a World Disarmament Authority and for resolution of the more urgent economic problems facing the international community, have been widely acclaimed.

### **Guidelines**

The guidelines for the Government's foreign policy were laid down by him in the statement that he made to Parliament in August 1977. He stated as follows:

"The following lines of policy in foreign affairs will be pursued:

- (i) The Government will continue to give unqualified support for the principles and objectives embodied in the UN Charter and support both the UN and its agencies in their efforts to—
  - (a) Preserve peace throughout the world
  - (b) Eradicate completely colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and big power hegemonism;
  - (c) Introduce a New International Economic Order.
- (ii) All efforts of the Third World to eliminate the poverty and backwardness that are now its characteristics will be supported vigorously.
- (iii) The principles of Non-Alignment which were first adopted at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955 will be supported."

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\* This article appeared in the special supplement to commemorate the 80th birth anniversary of President J. R. Jayewardene—By Ceylon Daily News of 17th September, 1986.

In July 1977 a separate Ministry of Foreign Affairs was constituted. Earlier there had been one Ministry for both Defence and Foreign Affairs and this portfolio had been held by the Prime Minister. The Hon. A. C. S. Hameed was appointed Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka. This is indicative of the importance that President Jayawardene attached to the conduct of Sri Lanka's foreign relations.

### **Non-Alignment**

Sri Lanka is committed to the principles of strict Non-Alignment and has adhered to them. Her active and exemplary role in the Movement has been widely acknowledged. Her role in the Movement has enabled her to project in international affairs an image of a truly independent country and has helped in promoting friendly relations with all states irrespective of their political systems and ideologies.

Sri Lanka was Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement from August 1976 to September 1979. During Sri Lanka's Chairmanship, the procedures and practices for decision-making were given a major emphasis and the processes of negotiation were democratized. In the deliberations of the Coordinating Bureau in New York, Sri Lanka upheld the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. The true independence of states as distinct from formal sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, peaceful co-existence, have been among the principles that guided Sri Lanka's deliberations. When at the Havana Summit in Cuba in September 1979 President Jayewardene handed over the Chairmanship to Cuba, he was able to say "my Foreign Minister hands over the Movement to your President Fidel Castro 'untainted and untarnished'."

President Castro commenting at the Havana Summit, on Sri Lanka's role as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, said: "I would like to express my sincere recognition of your constant concern for the future of our Movement and democratic respect for the dissimilar components of this powerful association of countries and the wise prudence you have shown in every difficult situation our Non-Aligned countries have had to face in the past three years—which have not been easy. In spite of distance and economic problems, your small country has made a noble and worthy effort to live upto the honourable responsibilities entrusted to it in Colombo."



## Disarmament

As a man devoted to peace and non-violence, the subject of disarmament has always been close to the heart of President Jayewardene. At the Commonwealth Regional Meeting in Sydney in 1978 he proposed the setting up of a World Disarmament Authority. He said ".....I think it would be a very good idea for the Commonwealth, which is a peaceful organisation, to propose at this session, after the Commonwealth countries themselves consider it, the question of total disarmament, and the creation of World Authority which would consider, if necessary, the question of manufacture of armaments, the control of armaments, the provision of armament and the distribution of armaments". This proposal was considered at the first United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 and at the Havana Non-Alignment Summit in August 1979. This proposal is one of the important initiatives which are receiving consideration within the framework of the comprehensive programme of disarmament now being negotiated at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

Sri Lanka supports all measures for general and complete disarmament and has been actively associated with United Nations Initiatives in this connection. Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed is a member of the Advisory Board on Disarmament that meets periodically in New York. Sri Lanka is the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and is also a member of the reconstituted Conference on Disarmament which meets in Geneva. Sri Lanka has also served on two United Nations expert groups connected with disarmament and development and institutional arrangements relating to disarmament.

Non-violence was the theme of President Jayewardene's address to the Commonwealth Summit in New Delhi in 1983. Intervening in the discussions on disarmament, he said: ".....we have been listening for two days to talk of armaments, nuclear weapons and the spread of violence. I cannot forget that we are in the land of Mahatma Gandhi and of Gautama the Buddha. Mahatma Gandhi was an apostle of non-violence. He led his people to freedom through non-violence. On one occasion in the 1920s when his non-violence campaign led to violence he gave up the entire movement to the dismay of Nehru and his followers. Mahatma Gandhi said 'I will not let my movement become corrupted by acts of violence.'" The Goa declaration on International Security that was adopted at this Conference reflected the President's sentiments in the words "We cannot emphasise too strongly our belief that an ethic of non-violence must be at the heart of all efforts to ensure peace and harmony in the world. That ethic requires close adherence to the principle of peaceful settlement. Only by such a commitment on all sides will the world's people enjoy an environment of true international security."

## Indian Ocean Peace Zone Declaration

Sri Lanka has played a leading role in formulating and working out the modalities for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. As Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee that was established in the United Nations to suggest practical measures that should be taken to achieve the objectives of the Declaration, Sri Lanka has played a key role in the convening of the Conference of the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean in 1979 and working towards the convening of a United Nations Conference in Colombo to work out the modalities for implementing the Declaration.

## Law of the Sea Conference

Sri Lanka has continued to take a keen interest in the Law of the Sea Conference, both as a third world developing country and to safeguard her special interests in securing an extended continental margin. An important achievement for Sri Lanka was the recognition gained at the Conference on Sri Lanka's claim for this extended continental margin on account of its unique structure. Had the outer limits of the continental margin being determined on the general principles that were to be incorporated in the Convention and no exception had been made in Sri Lanka's case, Sri Lanka would have lost more than half of her actual continental shelf. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the exception in Sri Lanka's case is now incorporated in the Convention.

The Law of the Sea Convention emphasised the need for international cooperative measures to assist the developing countries in strengthening their national capabilities in marine science technology and ocean services. Sri Lanka co-sponsored the Resolution on Development of National Marine Science, Technology and Ocean Services Infra-structures. Sri Lanka has also taken a significant step by convening the Indian Ocean Marine Affairs Cooperation Conference in Sri Lanka, which is directed towards the promotion of economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the Indian Ocean, with the objective of achieving practical benefits from the new regime of the oceans through a comprehensive programme of integrated management of the resources of the Indian Ocean. The first phase of this Conference was held in July 1985 and the final phase at ministerial level to be held in January 1987 is expected to adopt a specific programme of action in this regard.

## Economic Aspect of Foreign Policy

Under President Jayewardene the economic content of Sri Lanka's policy has received due recognition and has been translated into concrete action. The Minister of Foreign Affairs speaking in Parliament in December 1977 on this aspect of the Sri Lanka's foreign policy said:

"Our foreign policy, I must say, is being given a new orientation. We are a poor country. We are struggling for survival. Long economic stagnation has made it



impossible for the people of this country to have a fair and square meal. From stagnation to rapid development, it is a difficult process. Therefore, I seek to make our foreign policy an effective instrument of economic advancement."

Sri Lanka Missions abroad were geared to give special emphasis to economic issues, with a view to attracting foreign investments, expanding trade and obtaining assistance for various development projects. In pursuance of this objective, the Minister of Foreign Affairs has made official visits to a number of countries. Economic delegations from several countries have visited Sri Lanka with a view to increasing trade and investments. Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, The European Economic Community, Finland, The Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Japan, The Republic of Korea, Kuwait, Libya, The Maldives, Norway, Pakistan, The People's Republic of China, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sweden, USSR and Yugoslavia have been among the countries that have sent delegations to Sri Lanka.

Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements have been signed with the UK, Hong Kong, France, Singapore, The Republic of Korea, Romania, Switzerland, Japan, Sweden, Belgium, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Finland and the People's Republic of China. These Agreements contain basic provisions for the promotion and protection of foreign investments such as the granting of most favoured nation treatment, non-discrimination of foreign investments and payment of compensation in the event of nationalisation and expropriation which are designed to generate greater investor confidence in the security and stability of foreign investments in Sri Lanka.

The economic content of President Jayewardene's foreign policy has been further manifested by the opening of new Diplomatic Missions in several countries. The Diplomatic Missions opened in the Middle East were able, in addition to their other functions, to promote the foreign employment of Sri Lankans and look after their welfare. Over the last five years Sri Lankans employed in the Middle East, whose number has risen to about 300,000 have remitted to Sri Lanka an average of rupees six billion a year in foreign exchange.

International economic problems have been of special concern to President Jayewardene. This was to be expected, as he had held the portfolio of Minister of Finance for several years. He has been acutely conscious of the need to bring about, at an early date, the New International Economic Order. At the Delhi Non-Aligned Summit he proposed that a group of Heads of State or Government drawn from each region undertake missions to the developed countries to discuss certain aspects of the financial crisis facing the developing world and which called for immediate and emergency action. India, as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement was mandated to take up this matter with the leaders of the developed countries.

President Jayewardene had always been a strong supporter of regional cooperation. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon. A. C. S. Hameed, in 1977 had canvassed with the Governments of South Asia the possibility of cooperation in the fields of trade and economic development. When President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh wrote to President Jayewardene in 1980 to set up a framework for regional cooperation, Sri Lanka played a very active role to implement the proposal. In fact the first officials' meeting, which culminated in the meeting of Foreign Ministers in New Delhi in July 1983 and the meeting of Heads of State or Government in Dhaka in December 1985, was held in Colombo in April 1981.

### **Terrorism**

Terrorism in Sri Lanka has an external dimension, and President Jayewardene has sought the assistance and cooperation of neighbouring countries and the international community to deal with this problem. At the Dhaka Summit in December 1985 President Jayewardene raised the question of terrorism with a view to member states cooperating with each other to deal with this menace. It was on his initiative that a Study Group was constituted to examine the problem of terrorism as it affects the security and stability of member countries. The Study Group has since met and has recommended measures to prevent the use of territory for acts of terrorism against another state, for extradition of terrorists and other cooperative measures amongst states in combatting terrorism. These recommendations were adopted by the SAARC Council of Ministers in Dhaka last month and the Study Group has been mandated to recommend specific measures for implementation, for consideration at the next SAARC Summit to be held in Bangalore in November 1986.

### **Bilateral Relations**

President Jayewardene has made state and official visits to a number of countries and this has strengthened Sri Lanka's bilateral relations with these countries. He visited Bahrain, Cuba, Egypt, India, Italy, Japan, Nepal, The People's Republic of China, Pakistan, The Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United States of America. He also had an audience with his Holiness the Pope in the Vatican in June 1983 and has made an unofficial visit to the United Kingdom. He is due to visit the USSR in the course of next year.

Bilateral relations were also strengthened by the visits of Heads of State or Government of other countries to Sri Lanka. The Queen of England visited Sri Lanka in 1981. There have also been visits to Sri Lanka by former President of Bangladesh the late Ziaur Rahman, present President Mohamed Ershad, President Li Xiannian of China, the late President Sanjiv Reddy and former Prime



Minister Moraji Desai of India, President Suharto of Indonesia, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed of Malaysia, President Gayoom of Maldives, King Birendra of Nepal, President Zia-ul- Huq of Pakistan, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of Vietnam.

President Jayewardene's policy of strict Non-Alignment has enabled Sri Lanka to maintain her true independence and friendly relations with all countries. The emphasis on the economic content of her foreign policy has brought

great benefits to the country through increased investment, trade and employment. His various initiatives in the field of international relations have been regarded as a positive contribution towards the achieving of international peace and stability.

At eighty His Excellency President Jayewardene stands like a colossus not only in the sphere of our national life but also in the international scene through a wise consistent foreign policy directed at, in his own words, "friendship with all and enmity towards none".

# Worldview Foundation

**Address by the President of the World View International Foundation—the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs—A. C. S. Hameed at the Annual General Meeting of the Foundation, 1st March, 1985 Dhaka, Bangladesh**

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

We meet in Bangladesh, our host country and we owe a word of special thanks to organisers in Dhaka for the warm reception and considerable care taken to make our work and stay here comfortable.

It is pleasant to be in Bangladesh, a new nation but an old country like Sri Lanka. We in Sri Lanka share many things in common with Bangladesh. Apart from a strong bond of history, a related culture, there are many things we share at present. We belong to South Asia. We share common concerns and common aspirations.

In the past we shared common tribulations under colonial rule. And it gives me joy to record here that to an earlier generation of Sri Lankans to whom the liberation of my country from foreign rule was a noble cause was inspired by the poetry of Bangladesh's great poet, Nazrul Islam, which inspired patriots in Sonar Bangla to walk to the gallows with his songs on their lips.

The great English metaphysical poet, Donne, said that, man is not an island unto himself. This is equally true of societies as well. Today, as never before, the world has become a global village. The great scientific advances registered in the 19th century and the present century have led to diminishing distances and increasing intercourse between societies and nations. Information explosion is an on-going process. To us in the Third World handicapped by long years of colonial dominance and having to telescope into a few years or decades what took the industrially advanced countries centuries, communication is an inseparable link. I might say an unavoidable link—in the great challenges of nation building we have taken up.

With the great changes following the second world war many Third World countries gradually became free. But we are still unequal. We are unequal economically. We are unequal technologically. We are unequal politically for we lack the political clout that advanced countries wield. It is a truism to say that information is central to human activity. It is more so in the case of Third World societies where activities are targeted to development. The mass of our people do not have access to information and education. Information and education are required for the democratisation of our societies. Democratisation of power structures within nations is the sine qua non of development in the Third World. If these ideals are to be realised, the democratisation of the international community has to take place.

When the first formal Summit of the Non-Aligned nations took place in Belgrade in 1961, colonialism was on retreat. Still the old colonial powers were calling the tune. It was realised that political freedom alone was not sufficient without economic liberation. The Algiers Summit in 1973, concentrated on this issue and the demand for a New International Economic Order was voiced. At the Colombo Summit in 1976, the pivotal role communication occupied in economic and cultural liberation of the developing countries was realised and

the demand for a New International Information Order was made. Its aims are laudable—the promotion of peace and understanding and goodwill among nations of the world and combatting racialism and apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The aims also included not only the de-colonisation of news but also embraced the entire infrastructure of telecommunications and electro mechanic communications, etc. The New Economic Information Order is a corollary and complement to the New International Economic Order advocated by the Third World. With the emergence of new independent nations in the international arena, the economic demands of the hitherto oppressed nations have increasingly come to the fore and the New International Information Order is rightly considered an important instrument in promoting and achieving the Third World economic goals.

The Third World has much legitimate grouse about the manner in which communications technology and instruments have been controlled by the developed world. We feel and realise—that information is social power and communications is political power. In our mundane world he who commands international communications, commands political power in the world. Therefore, the Third World cannot sit by and watch. It should have its share in this new sources of power.

What amount of communication exists between our villages, the lowest units in our societies? Going up the fold, what amount of communication exists between countries? We are "fragmented by narrow domestic walls" due to lack of communications. People have lived for centuries in the same country but they have not understood one another. Our societies are racked by conflicts—ethnic, religious, linguistic. The major reason being again the lack of communication. This could be said of countries too. Today we are meeting in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. How much do people in Sri Lanka know of what is happening by way of economic re-construction, social change, educational progress and



so on in Bangladesh or vice versa? Do we know each other? Even after we became free nations has there been any meaningful flow of information between our countries? Again, what little flow of information that takes place at present is mostly through third parties. Does it promote—human understanding, mutual friendship and cultural values? Look at the yawning communication gap between the North and South, between East and West and between the Non-Aligned and countries who belong to military alliances.

It is widely recognised in our part of the world that this process of flow of the information through our own efforts should begin soon. Otherwise a stagnation in the flow of information could distort the strivings of the Third World countries for political advancement, economic regeneration and social progress.

In this sphere, the Worldview International Foundation have within the last five years—a very short span of time—made modest efforts to make some contribution to the Third World. It has been years of hard work and I think we have passed the pioneering stage.

In the last five years the Worldview has succeeded in establishing five media centres—in Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Nepal and many support groups. Operating on a budget of US Dollars 1,000,000 from very modest beginnings, we today have conducted training of about 10,000 instructors and workers and helped to implement basic need development through various communication projects. With the help of lecture groups, films and television programmes, the Foundation

seeks to promote a greater awareness of problems—whether they be South-South or North-North oriented, as well as an awareness within countries itself. Worldview takes pride in the fact that the Foundation, modest as it may be in the global sense, has grown in strength and is plugging a gap that does exist in the field of communications. We have reason to be proud of little achievements. It is for this reason I thought I should share with you these sentiments in order that we should re-double our efforts to banish ignorance, prejudice and bring about the dissemination of knowledge and good-will to conquer the many problems that face mankind. The people of the world should live in light. Why should they live in darkness when there is so much of light.

Our Secretary-General, Mr. Arne Fjortoft, has in his report spelt out the programme he has planned, not only for the next three days for us, but also for the next three years for the Foundation. Thus we are seized of considerable work in the days ahead, planning for the future.

We look forward to the future with confidence and we are confident that in the coming years we could make greater impact, make greater contributions. I want to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Arne Fjortoft, for all his efforts and all the others associated with the Worldview and the Members who are gathered here in Dhaka from all parts of the world for the co-operation and contribution they have made to make this modest initiative a success.



# Sri Lanka Pakistan Relations

*Speech made by H.E. the President J. R. Jayewardene on his State Visit to Pakistan – 29 March 1985*

I thank you, Mr. President, most sincerely for your kind words of welcome and the tributes you have paid to my country. My wife and I and the members of my delegation have been greatly touched by the warm and generous hospitality afforded to us. We are happy to be in this beautifully planned city of Islamabad, which not long ago was bare land but now stands transformed into a magnificent capital by the creative imagination of your people.

The famous Centre of Buddhist thought and learning, for over a thousand years, Taxila, exchanged Buddhist scholars with Sri Lanka in the distant past. Indeed virtually the whole of North-West Pakistan was a cradle of the unique Gandhara sculpture, some of the finest manifestations of Buddhist art in the World. We are thankful to the people of Pakistan for having safeguarded these treasures.

As two South Asian Nations of the Third World, and as members of the United Nations and the Colombo Plan, we have similar problems and also share similar perceptions on a number of matters. We have co-operated closely in the past and we shall continue to do so in the future.

More recently, the countries of South Asia joined together to harness our resources in various fields for the betterment of our peoples through South Asian Regional Co-operation. Pakistan has played a notable role in ensuring the progress and success which has been achieved in this endeavour so far. We look forward to your continued co-operation and wise counsel in realising the first Summit Meeting at the end of this year.

Your Excellency, the concept of co-operation in South Asia envisages a widening of exchanges and contacts especially in economic and commercial fields. Indeed, it implies a shared commitment to the principles of non-interference in each other's affairs, and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. These same principles have given us the strength to transcend bilateral differences in our common search to achieve a regional identity. This same identity should in turn enrich these principles and translate them into vigorous and continuous action for the mutual benefit of the underprivileged millions in our region.

The situation in Afghanistan continues to elude the search for a political settlement in accordance with the resolution of the United Nations. I share your concern for the urgency of such settlement. It is encouraging that some progress towards achieving a solution is being made in Geneva. I am confident that these efforts will not be in vain and that a solution will emerge which will

restore Independence to Afghanistan and ensure that the refugees could return to their homeland in safety and honour.

I shall have the opportunity to see at first-hand, the progress of modern Pakistan. I have been informed of Your Excellency's ambitious endeavours for the economic development of Pakistan which, I understand, involves a major breakthrough in agricultural production, the acceleration of industrial growth, the strengthening of the role of the private sector in socio-economic development and the utilisation of the country's vast human and material resources.

Sri Lanka has also launched a major development programme in our economy, based on our largest river, the Mahaweli Ganga. It holds out great promise for the country's future. We have also liberalised and diversified our economy, removed debilitating restraints and given individual enterprise a place in our development programmes.

When our efforts were beginning to bear fruit, we have been faced by the new monster of terrorism. I cannot add further momentum to the process of development because of terrorism that seeks to destroy the age-old peaceful society in Sri Lanka, built on the foundations of compassion and understanding.

I strove throughout last year to find a political solution to the perceived grievances of a section of the Sri Lanka Tamil minority in my country. I invited the groups representing various shades of opinion to a round table conference which had 37 formal sessions and a series of informal sessions. Based on the consensus that emerged at the round table conference, I presented draft legislation but the major party representing the Tamil People at the Conference rejected them. While Conference Members sat and searched for a political solution, the terrorists equipping themselves with modern and sophisticated arms and ammunition increased their brutal attacks on the members of the armed forces, the police, civil servants and civilians of all races.

This has made a political solution difficult in the present environment. A political solution should not be a decorative ornament. It should be a pragmatic answer capable of implementation and a climate for such an exercise can be achieved only if terrorism is brought under control. I thank Your Excellency, for your support of Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity and your actual help to defeat the violent forces that threaten to destroy them.



Your Excellency, my wife and I and the members of my delegation look forward to seeing something of the progress which your country has been able to achieve, its scenic beauty, the richness of your ancient and modern culture, the warmth and friendliness of your people. We shall cherish this experience and take back with us happy memories of a country—its leadership and its people who are very dear to us.

I thank you.

I now request Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen to join me in a Toast to—

The health and happiness of  
His Excellency the President,  
General Mohammad Zia Ul Haq and Begum Haq,  
The Peace, Prosperity and Progress of Pakistan,  
The enduring friendship between Pakistan and Sri Lanka.



President J. R. Jayewardene planting a tree at Shakkarparian —Islamabad during his state visit to Pakistan



# In Search of the Bliss of Disarmament

*Statement made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the Conference on Disarmament Geneva—2nd July 1985*

Six years ago I had the pleasure and privilege of addressing this forum on the first day of the first Algerian Presidency. The then Committee on Disarmament had just begun its activities after its creation by SSOD 1.\* The wheel has now turned a full circle. Today another distinguished representative of friendly, Non-aligned Algeria, is in the Chair as I address this forum for the second time. The urge to look back is irresistible. What have we achieved in the intervening six years from 1979 to 1985 as the Presidency rotated round this table? Not one single disarmament agreement has emerged from the Conference and not one single measure has been agreed upon which would have the effect of reducing the danger of global conflict and nuclear war. In 1979 the world was spending \$ 480 billion per annum on armaments. Today that figure has risen to \$ 1,000 billion. In 1979, 4 countries conducted 53 nuclear tests. Last year 5 countries conducted 53 nuclear tests. The strategic nuclear weapon stockpile of the USA and USSR has trebled in these six years. No global war has broken out but we can hardly claim that as an achievement in an atmosphere of tension and power competition and in the face of so many local conflict situations. Not even the recent resumption of bilateral negotiations between the USA and USSR can assure us that we have progressed since 1979 when agreements already concluded between them are in constant jeopardy.

The Final Document of SSOD I which created the new global machinery for disarmament was imbued with the same idealism as the UN Charter the fortieth anniversary of which we observed last week. It is in the nature of Governments that we should set ourselves a great vision of the world we want. But is it also in the nature of things that we should fail so abysmally to achieve it? No man and no nation pledged to peace and the eradication of the scourge of war can accept that position. The facts of our present situation are known to us. The enormous arsenals of nuclear weapons whether for deterrent or aggressive purposes have failed to engender an atmosphere of peace and security. The choice before us is to dismantle these arsenals or keep adding to them in a limitless fashion. It is not necessary to heap statistic upon statistic about the arms race to convince you here of the enormity of our folly and the horror that awaits us unless we halt now and reverse the arms race. We must, rather, engage upon an analysis of the situation endeavouring to reach that convergence of view which alone will guarantee common action for our common survival.

The first area of our inquiry must of course be our own forum. Do the reasons for our failure lie inherent in the way we conduct our proceedings as the single multilateral negotiating body? At SSOD 1 we welcomed the democratisation of the machinery for the multilateral deliberation and negotiation of disarmament. Our actual experience of it has fallen short of our expectations. Sri Lanka felt privileged when we were included among the eight new non-nuclear members of this multilateral negotiating forum after SSOD 1. It was a recognition that not only the militarily powerful but also the militarily weak should and could be present in this historic Council Chamber to negotiate our common security. The Non-Aligned Movement, of which Sri Lanka has been a founder member and former Chairman—as indeed has

your country Mr. President—had been from 1961 in the vanguard of the world wide movement for disarmament. The fifth Non-Aligned Summit in Colombo in 1976 led to SSOD 1 the Final Document of which represents the acme of our achievement. I am tempted to say that it has been downhill all the way since then—but that would not only be melodramatic; it would also be untrue. The international community has maintained the structure of disarmament machinery as envisaged and the arena of discussion has been widened. But what has been gained in one dimension has not been matched in others. Sri Lanka's own participation—modest as it has been in terms of our resources—has brought us little satisfaction. We would have felt the glow of genuine fulfilment had the Conference on Disarmament produced even one disarmament measure.

There has been no dearth of initiatives and of draft treaties placed before this forum. The welter of argumentation has been impressive in its volume and incisiveness. The fault "is not in our stars"; nor even in ourselves here. It lies in the political frailties of our time. In this same seat the second round of bilateral talks between the USA and USSR is taking place. The resolution of their antagonisms is the key to our problems. This forum has still had no formal notification of the proceedings of these talks despite well established conventions requiring this. We hope these talks will be fruitful although all indications are that we have an indefinite wait for any results. But what is so pronounced is the clearcut demarcation and discontinuity between the bilateral and the multilateral fora. Both fora are undoubtedly necessary. It is their complementarity that we would like to see acknowledge more clearly. It may be that powerful nations preside over all our destinies but the limitations of power are only too well-known. The world today is unalterably interdependent. Isolationism and autarchy are obsolete—however strong the urge may be for it. The need for co-operation in the international

\* U.N. Special Session on Disarmament 1



community on a multilateral basis is self-evident. Unilateralism and bilateralism cannot and should not be substituted for multilateralism. The powers who have the biggest nuclear arsenals can come to agreements on their mutual reductions and, as we fervently hope their final elimination. On this there is no debate. They must however have the stamp of endorsement of all nations for disarmament treaties to be global in application and adherence. There can be no odd men out in disarmament negotiations. We are all involved because the stakes concern our common survival.

Democratization of international institutions is no more a grandiose slogan. It is a concrete reality. The expansion of the membership of the CD achieves little if we are not in fact to negotiate here. As a representative of a country which has exercised universal suffrage since 1931 and witnessed the working of vigorous parliamentary democratic institution during this half century I believe deeply in the maxim "Vox populi: vox dei". The voice of the people is the voice of God. But what if we do not hearken to that voice? Are we not then making a mockery of democratization? The SSOD 1 Final Document made some believe that disarmament was close at hand as a result. Our experience has belied those expectations.

Mr. President, after the Orwellian year of 1984 we appear to be celebrating 1985 as a year of Anniversaries. It is first and foremost the 40th Anniversary of the Charter of the United Nations which was signed on June 26, 1945 in a symbolic act affirming our faith in multilateral co-operation for peace and development. A recent poll in five industrialized countries reveals a popular view that the world is better off with the UN than without it. At the same time we have been reminded in this forum and elsewhere that it is also the 40th Anniversary of the end of the last War which embroiled the entire world. It is also 40 years ago that bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki producing that fearful mushroom cloud which has cast its shadow over the past four decades. For us in Afro-Asia it is also the 30th Anniversary of the Bandung Conference the non-aligned path to which my country, together with the other four participants of the Colombo Powers Conference of 1954, helped chart. The Bandung Conference, now acknowledged as a mainspring of the Non-Aligned Movement, urged in its Final Communique the need for disarmament in the following words: "The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection all states should co-operate, especially, through the United Nations in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control".

We must not lose sight of the fact that this year has been designated as International Year of Youth. It is a sombre task to ponder over what kind of world we shall leave for the youth to inherit. It is a world today where since 1945 more soldiers have been killed in wars than

were killed in World War II; it is a world where developed countries spend 20 times as much on military expenditure as they provide for economic aid: a world where the average world military expenditure for every soldier is \$ 20,000 whereas the average expenditure on public education for every school-age child is \$ 380: a world where for every 100,000 people there are 556 soldiers but only 85 doctors. We do have a choice. A choice either to continue with an unproductive and escalating arms race or to achieve disarmament for our common survival and security. It is a choice between spending \$ 1 billion on 28,000 jobs in military goods and services or 71,000 jobs in education: of spending \$ 1,000 billion on arms expenditure or using just one-fifth of that money to abolish world hunger by the year 2000. The burden of responsibility on us in making this choice is awesome. And yet it has not evoked the response it should.

Fourteen years ago the United Nations adopted the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace—an international security measure with which Sri Lanka has been closely associated. Sri Lanka has been Chairman of the *Ad hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean and has worked strenuously to realize the objectives of the Declaration. The July 1979 Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean was a further milestone in our progress towards the convening of an International Conference in Colombo which we would like to see held early so as to begin the process of establishing a zone of peace in our region.

1985 can be the watershed year in disarmament. Two Conferences offer us an opportunity of making the right choice in the right direction. The first is the meeting of the Preparatory Committee for a Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. Sri Lanka has worked long and hard with other countries to see this Conference become a reality. We welcome the progress achieved towards holding this Conference as early as possible. It is vitally important to achieve consensus. The conversion of the military industrial complex of the world into a productive structure that will increase the sum total of human happiness is surely a more certain way of achieving international peace and security than producing the bombs that threaten to annihilate us all. The second Conference I refer to is the Third Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Sri Lanka became a party to this Treaty 9 years after its signature in the conviction that it did present us with an opportunity of achieving a safer world with the measures that were provided for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons both laterally and vertically. I would be less than frank if I did not say that the implementation of the Treaty leaves much to be desired. The ratification of the Treaty was an act of faith by us. That faith should not be betrayed. The opportunity of the Third Review Conference must be grasped to strengthen the credibility of the Treaty.



Mr. President, the agenda of work before this Conference covers a wide spectrum of disarmament issues. We have always believed that the disarmament process is not only a dynamic one but is also to be regarded as an integrated one. The Final Document of SSOD I stated unambiguously that "nothing should preclude States from conducting negotiations on all priority items concurrently". It is understandable that we should be able to make greater progress in some areas than in others. On Nuclear Test Ban we would like to see urgent work towards a comprehensive test ban particularly since the scientific work regarding the verification of such a ban has made rapid strides. It is obvious that what we need now is the necessary political will to conclude a ban, which is in fact only a preliminary step in the disarmament process. Pending this ban I propose a written agreement on a moratorium on nuclear testing if not among all five nuclear weapon states then at least between the two superpowers. The Prevention of Nuclear War which is acknowledged to be the greatest danger facing mankind must receive greater attention in this body. Differences in security perceptions should not prejudice the initiation of discussions on this subject since the very purpose of having a subsidiary body for this item is to harmonise and accommodate views so as to arrive at a common approach.

Sri Lanka is happy to note the progress made in the Conference with regard to achieving a Chemical Weapons Ban. It is appropriate that concrete steps are being taken to conclude a Treaty in this 60th Anniversary Year of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on Chemical and Biological Warfare. The Third World has suffered greatly from the use of these horrible weapons including the use of herbicides aimed at destroying vegetation. We appeal for a speedy resolution of all issues with a view to arriving at a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons.

Mr. President, Sri Lanka has played an active role in seeking a prevention of an arms race in outer space. We welcome the establishment of an *Ad hoc* Committee on this subject and we look forward to constructive work being undertaken under the Chairmanship of Egypt. An examination of the existing body of International Law on this subject should not lead to mutual recrimination about violations. Rather it should focus on the lacunae we must cover in a new Treaty. We have already lost valuable time. Today we talk of a prevention of an arms race in outer space, tomorrow we may, post facto, be compelled to talk about arms control and disarmament in space. Such is the reality of our time that while we are unable to agree on disarmament measures the arms race continues to encompass fresh dimensions. Already commercial interests are vying with each other for the contracts for the research on new weapon systems to be followed inevitably by their actual manufacture. The military-industrial complex is transnational in its scope and will compel the blurring of national nuances on this extension of the arms race.

The need to protect non-nuclear weapon states against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is an urgent one. These assurances have to inspire confidence. We are glad that the *Ad hoc* Committee on Radiological Weapons has begun work in a purposeful manner approaching the various issues comprehensively. The work of the *Ad hoc* Committee on a comprehensive programme of disarmament under the wise leadership of Ambassador Garcia Robles is scheduled to conclude its work this year. The UN General Assembly meeting in its 40th Anniversary year awaits the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament and I wish the *Ad hoc* Committee all success.

Mr. President, an area not usually addressed in this Conference is the question of Conventional Weapons. Undoubtedly nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind because it threatens to render the human species extinct. However, the Final Document of SSOD I identified as one of the priorities in disarmament negotiations the subject of conventional armaments and the balanced reduction of armed forces. Small and militarily weak countries which have by international treaty commitments renounced the nuclear weapon option have to rely on their foreign policy as their shield of defence. This shield has proved all too brittle and vulnerable in the recent past. The imbalances and inequalities in one area of the arms race are more immoral and unjust than their duplication in other areas only by degree. The alarming development of conventional weapons and their use is of great concern. Four-fifths of the world military expenditure is estimated as being for conventional arms and armed forces. While we live under the threat of nuclear war 150 armed conflicts have been fought on the territories of over 71 states since 1945 accounting for 20 million lives. The manufacture of conventional arms fuels a thriving arms trade into which many Third World countries are drawn some even as suppliers. It also fuels the increasingly widespread phenomenon of terrorism and anarchism throughout the world, with proven links to narcotics trafficking, putting into the hands of mindless gunmen sophisticated weaponry with fearful destructive power which imperil innocent lives and the development efforts of poor countries. The global conventional arms trade is today in the region of US\$ 35 billion. When weapons are sold deviously to terrorists, Governments are compelled to buy arms from the same salesmen to defend themselves diverting scarce and valuable resources from development expenditure.

Only 15% of world military spending is by developing countries while the balance 85% is by the 6 major military powers and other industrialized countries. The vast bulk of this is on conventional weapons. It is time that we address frontally and honestly the question of conventional disarmament and curbs on arms transfers. In this connection Sri Lanka has noted with satisfaction the Unilateral Declaration of the People's Republic of China

on June 4 that it has decided to reduce the People's Liberation Army by one million men over a two-year period.

Mr. President, I referred at the beginning of my address to the fact that the wheel had come a full circle with the inauguration of your Presidency today. We

could say, as Shakespeare's King Lear did, that we are, all of us, "bound upon a wheel of fire" and that we are still in search of the bliss of disarmament, peace and security. We must urgently seek and find solutions to the problem of an arms race before that wheel of fire destroys the universe not only for us but for succeeding generations.



# Evolution of a Development Consensus

## *Statement made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the Economic and Social Council—Second Regular Session—Geneva—4th July 1985*

It gives me great pleasure to address the Economic and Social Council with you in the Chair. Japan and Sri Lanka have had a rich association going back in history and in recent times the role of my President His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene at the 1950 San Francisco Peace Conference has forged a special link between our two countries.

Sri Lanka is privileged to be in ECOSOC having been elected to this body last year. It is the second year of our second term since the creation of this Council. We are convinced of the importance of the work in this Council and its potential for energizing the UN system in the economic and social fields.

Under Article 13 of the UN charter the ECOSOC is the principal body charged with the promotion of international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields and in the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Many valuable initiatives have been inspired and brought to realisation with in this august Chamber for better standards of living, for freedom from hunger and disease, for the right to life, liberty, literacy and for full employment, for the recognition of the rights of the under-privileged and the disabled and for the preservation of the environment.

In this year which marks the 40th Anniversary of the United Nations Organization, it is timely to make an objective assessment of the successes and failures of the Organization as a basis and guide for future action. Whilst the global political and economic outlook is not reassuring, there would be general agreement that the solid achievements of the United Nations Organization are reflected in the fields of economic and social development.

After a brief interlude of significant expansion in output and trade, the world economy is again on the threshold of a slow-down. The anticipated growth of output in the USA during the current year is now estimated at less than half of that achieved in 1985. Inevitably, this has led to declines in the rest of the world economy and with deleterious consequences to many of the developing countries. An upturn in the economies of the industrialized countries could be of benefit to the developing economies, only to extent of stimulus transmitted through international trade. Recent experience suggests that primary commodity exporters have not gained significantly even during the period of favourable global economic conditions. Their plight will be further aggravated by the onset of recessionary conditions.

The developing countries are faced with an extremely difficult situation. Their terms of trade have deteriorated dramatically. Interest rates on borrowings are at unprecedented levels. Protectionist policies have had the

effect of limiting or preventing the expansion of their exports. All these have contributed to a snowballing of debt burdens and debt servicing. In this scenario, most of the developing countries are caught in non-viable situations, and with having to suffer net capital outflows. If only the terms of trade effect and high interest rate effect could be neutralized, many of those countries could be transformed into viable economies.

The problems and constraints faced by developing countries are not always uniform. These depend on the structure of the economies, the resource endowments, the institutional framework and the political environment. In this context there cannot be a general prescriptive solution. While it is true that international organizations have contributed to the alleviation of economic difficulties of the developing countries, these efforts have fallen very much short of the requirements. And the tendency to advocate uniform solutions has also been instrumental for the lack of enthusiasm with which these efforts are seen by the developing countries.

The projected worsening of the external economic environment will confront the developing countries with a series of difficult choices. In the past, external shocks were cushioned by a variety of policy responses. Reasonable access to foreign borrowing enabled several countries to escape the rigours of serious exchange rate adjustments or domestic demand management. The brief interlude of an expanding world economy stimulated international trade and to some extent facilitated growth in developing countries' exports. Neither of these favourable options are now available. To make matters worse, the developing countries have to cope with unmanageable debt service obligations and at the same time, maintain the financing of essential imports to sustain their economies. The debt problem could become critical if growth in industrialized countries were to fall below a crucial threshold of 2.5% and if a serious US recession were to develop as a consequence of a break in confidence in the dollar, its sharp decline and the steep rise in US interest rates required in order to attract foreign capital back until her trade accounts adjust.

What are the policy choices to overcome this set of circumstances? The core of the problem is to find ways and means of solving the foreign exchange constraint of developing countries by, above all, maintaining activity in industrialized countries. There are no dramatic solutions. The world community has to act in concert to prevent



the developing countries from falling into irremediable situation. The international financial institutions should devise ways and means by which resources could be channelled to needy countries, particularly in the form of concessionary lending or grants. There are surpluses in the world, which could be mobilised and directed to the poorer developing economies. There are also ways of reducing the need for external assistance. An improvement in the terms of trade for developing countries will be most effective in raising the legitimate flow of resources. Expansionary policies in advanced industrial countries could, to some extent, restore the terms of trade to its normal range. Another step, that will have a salutary effect on world trade in general, and exports from developing countries in particular, is the dismantling of protectionist and regulatory measures by the industrialized countries. In addition, a decrease in interest rates will have significant impact on the financing constraints of developing countries.

In so far as the growth prospects of developing countries are concerned, a global environment of steadily rising growth is essential for promoting the necessary boost. The externally induced shocks have often been the main factor responsible for unstable domestic economic conditions including high rates of inflation. The present regime of floating exchange rates has adversely been the cause of uncertainties in matters relating to international trade and payments. The developing countries have been affected by the unstable exchange rate system. A reform of the international monetary system, that would bring about a more balanced, stable economic environment for all, has become a matter of urgent necessity.

*Mr. President,*

The crisis in Sub Saharan Africa has also focused international attention on the problem of desertification and on agricultural and food policies for developing countries. The overall 2% decline in per capita food production recorded in Sub Saharan Africa poses an unprecedented challenge to African planners in particular and to international development agencies. They must find the correct equitable balance between such alternatives as cash crop production and food production and between farmer incentives and food subsidies. They must evolve necessary supportive measures to combat ecological deterioration and the promotion of the rational use of resources.

The Office for Emergency Operations in Africa had estimated that a total of around US \$ 1,600 million would be required for emergency assistance in 1985 alone. The World Bank has set up a special facility of US \$ 1 billion for Sub Saharan Africa to support economic recovery. It is important to urge that such assistance should be provided as far as possible free of conditionality. Whilst emergency assistance must taken an immediate priority, assistance must also be provided for the long term economic regeneration of the African Continent.

*Mr. President,*

Sri Lanka has followed a sustained program of development and adjustment over the past eight years. This has brought many benefits such as increased agricultural production, rising incomes, a housing boom and re-vitalized industrial growth. The picture would be more encouraging if we could have greater access for our exports, improvement in the terms of trade and increased financial flows in the form of development assistance as well as balance of payments support on a longer term than is currently provided. Developing countries such as Sri Lanka would also benefit from a substantial fresh issue of SDRs. Additional liquidity treated through SDRs will provide a boost for growth and employment in the developing countries and thereby promote world economic recovery.

I would now wish to pass on to another important aspect of the work of ECOSOC, namely its efforts for the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Within the ECOSOC the two main bodies charged with this work are the Commission on Human Rights in which Sri Lanka is a member and the Sub Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The Commission on Human Rights has in the past many achievements to its credit. It is the pre-eminent body sensitizing the international community to the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. The measure of the success of its efforts will depend on the areas of agreement reached in this crucially important field. It is significant that the widest area of agreement achieved is in respect of the objective consideration of human rights issues and this has enabled states, for example, to reach unanimous agreement on the Convention against Torture and on other issues. This has not been so when delegates have addressed themselves to particular situations where inevitably issues are viewed through the prism of politics and ideology. Therefore a distinction should be made between the discussion of human rights issues in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly and in the Commission on Human Rights which was established for a specific purpose. Indeed, the terms of reference of the Commission as approved by ECOSOC includes the submission of proposals, recommendations and reports on human rights matters and the undertaking of studies and recommendations on the same subject.

A related phenomenon which has recently emerged is the linkage between terrorism and illegal drug trafficking which has the objective of provoking violence in society and destabilising existing democratic structure. The council would be well served to continue to study the ramifications of the illegal traffic in drugs with related serious illegal activity including the illicit traffic in firearms, subversion, international terrorism and other organized criminal activities, with a view to arriving at an agreed international consensus of action against such activities.



*Mr. President,*

May I now refer to some of the initiatives taken by Sri Lanka. Following a proposal made by the Hon. Prime Minister of Sri Lanka at the 35th Session of the UN General Assembly, the international community has decided to designate the year 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. The provision of adequate shelter should be viewed not as an objective but as a means of social and economic development and should therefore be at the core of national and global strategies designed to eradicate poverty. The Sri Lanka Government will in the period leading up to the International year, focus on the development of a set of realistic and practical solution to the problem of shelter for the poor.

In consultation with countries of the region and relevant international organizations, Sri Lanka has launched an important initiative in the field of international co-operation in Indian Ocean Marine Affairs. A Conference, the first phase of which will take place in Colombo from 15-20 July, will focus on the possible areas of marine affairs co-operation in economic, scientific and technical fields. The Law of the Sea Conference underlines the need for the establishment of programmes for developing countries for the promotion of technical co-operation in the fields of marine science, technology and ocean services development. The Colombo Conference is therefore a logical corollary of developments which have already taken place at the Third UN Law of the Sea Conference and focuses on areas which the Convention has left for formulation and elaboration at a regional level. The Secretary-General of the United Nations in his Report on Marine Affairs:

Economic and Technical Trends and Developments, takes formal note of the Colombo Conference and its significance. In this context it is important to mention the need for greater emphasis to be given by the United Nations system for providing assistance to developing countries lacking basic capabilities in the field of marine science and technology. Such assistance is best provided in the context of a broad-based integrated multi-disciplinary marine affairs framework. It is hoped that the UN Agencies will continue to extend their close co-operation and assistance to the Colombo Conference for its successful completion.

The Government of Sri Lanka under President Jayewardene has been firmly committed to greater co-operation at the regional level and we are glad that it has recently been possible to translate this into reality. Sri Lanka is currently engaged in a far reaching exercise on South Asian Regional Co-operation with our six other regional neighbours. We look forward to the Summit scheduled to be held in Dhaka this year and recall with satisfaction that the first formal step took place in Colombo in April 1981 when the South Asian Foreign Secretaries Conference was held.

In my concluding remarks it is necessary to reiterate that meaningful action on the wide ranging calendar of items before the council is dependent on a shared view of North-South interdependence and a common commitment to multilateralism. Creative co-operation and the evolution of a development consensus is based on the common interests of all peoples and not on narrow self interest. At the commencement of this new session of the Council's work we can only hope that the international community will not fail the challenge placed before it of achieving justice and equality for all.



# 37 Years of Commonwealth Experience

*Speech made by H. E. the President J. R. Jayewardene at the Executive Sessions of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting—Nassau Bahamas—17th October 1985*

The speeches of the distinguished representative of Cyprus and Grenada showed us the dangers some countries are facing. It was at the New Delhi Conference that the question of Cyprus was raised for the first time and I hope that the question raised by the distinguished representative of Grenada will also be resolved satisfactorily before our next meeting. Similar ideas were expressed by the distinguished representative of India and the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom. We see in their speeches the same theme of terrorism ending in violence and riots. The distinguished representative of Singapore has in the same way expressed an academic view of these problems.

Let me first thank you, Mr. Chairman, and your Government and people for the generous hospitality we have enjoyed during our stay here.

Exactly 500 years ago Christopher Columbus and his Spanish Conquistadors if I may so call his sailors, invaded these islands, they landed at San Salvador, exterminated the native Indians and changed the course of history of many nations. If we live today we will call him an international terrorist but today he is recognised as a great leader.

Today the leaders of 49 nations living in all the continents of the world meet in peace and amity to discuss some of the illnesses that the world suffers from and to seek solutions to them.

While we talk of these problems we must know each other so that we may be the better judge of the comments each of us makes.

For example, countrymen of some of the leaders present here have made such atrocious statements about my country and its Government that I consider it my first task to put the record straight before I proceed further.

For example one has said that Sri Lanka should be classed with South Africa because of the recent apartheid policy it is following. The media has helped to create these very impressions and I feel that at least among my friends the heads of Governments of the Commonwealth there should be no doubt about the events that occur in Sri Lanka today and the policies of its Government.

I have myself attended innumerable Commonwealth Conferences during the last 37 years, beginning with the London Economic Conference of February 1948, presided over by Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have met and worked with several of the leaders of the Commonwealth during these years, and I can speak through experience of its value and usefulness of its members, especially to the small members.

In 1948, the Commonwealth consisted of its founder members, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, The United Kingdom, and the new post-2nd world war dominions Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India and Pakistan. Today we number forty-nine, from all five continents. It was largely the influence of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which kept India in the Commonwealth, and thus paved

the way for all the new dominions to follow his example. I wish to pay my tribute to him now for acting as we did.

Sri Lanka is one of the smaller members, but not too small in size or population to be ignored and geographically so situated as to make it important. I wish therefore to speak first of Sri Lanka as it is today, in the context of its past history and its future hopes.

Our recorded history is ancient, and goes back in an unbroken sequence to the arrival from North India of King Vijaya in 543 BC. There have been ruling our country since then, Kings and Queens of various races and dynasties, Sinhalese, Indians, Cholas and Telugu, British, Hanover and Windsor and two Presidents, one selected in 1972 and myself, elected in 1977 and 1982, the 193rd in this long and unbroken line of heads of state, possibly the oldest of its kind and unique in the world.

Sri Lanka has been an independent, united and democratic monarchy since 1948, and a Republic since 1972.

We have had universal franchise, elected ministers since 1931 and a limited franchise at the centre since 1911. We have had elected municipalities for 120 years. The democratic process of elected Governments of legislators and mayors, is well established and efficiently operative over a long period of time. From 1931, we have had ten General Elections changed Governments on six occasions and have had innumerable by-elections, and Local Government Elections also down to the smallest village level. We believe in the ballot and not in the bullet.

At the 1977 General Election held by the Government of the day, now in opposition, my party in opposition was elected to office till 1983. We have now 143 out of a total of 168 members. An islandwide Referendum extended our term of office for another six years from 1983-1989.

The new constitution of 1978 introduced by my Government made the Presidency elected and executive, as President Head of the State and Government, combining the British and American systems of Government and followed closely the French model. At a Presidential Election held in November 1982,



I was elected for 6 years by a majority of 903,373 votes and polled 52.9 per cent of the votes in this islandwide election, polling 3.45 million votes. I stress the islandwide election, for in the Northern and Eastern provinces where there is now a Tamil terrorist secessionist movement, my chief Sinhala opponent and I polled 56 thousand, out of 73 thousand votes in the North, and 144 thousand out of 163 thousand votes in the East.

We have continued and protected the democratic process since the General Election of 1977 by holding up to date, twenty-five by-elections. My party lost only four of them. We have held several District and Urban Council Elections in 1979 and 1981 and won a majority in these Councils except in some Councils in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

We held a Presidential Election and a Referendum in 1982 and won both.

The 1978 constitution has for the first time created certain fundamental rights, among which are the equality of races and religions, freedom of speech, writing and opposition, the right to vote and to assemble, and freedom from arbitrary arrest, these are all justiciable. The elections to the Presidency and Parliament, and the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution, cannot be postponed or amended without the approval of the people at a Referendum.

Very few countries in the world, if any, have similar freedoms guaranteed by its constitution as we have.

Of course the Government can assume emergency powers when the security of the state is involved. This action again is justiciable and in some cases the courts have held against the Government every month, after debate. After three months a two-third majority is required to do so.

It is with a knowledge of these aspects of our political and constitutional life that I wish to inform my colleagues of the unfortunate events of violence that have plagued our national life in the Northern and Eastern parts of our Island, engineered by Tamil terrorists, particularly since 1980.

Sri Lanka's population contains four major ethnic groups, viz.,

Sinhalese	74.0 per cent	(11,000,000)
Sri Lanka Tamils	12.6 per cent	( 1,870,000)
Muslims	7.4 per cent	( 1,200,000)
Indian Tamils	5.6 per cent	( 825,000)
Burghers	0.26 per cent	( 38,236)

In a population of 14,900,000 (1981 census data).

The majority of the Sinhalese are Buddhists. The majority of the two Tamil groups are Hindus and Muslims. Muslims are followers of Islam. The Christians belong to all communities.

The voting, district by district, in the 1977 General Election, for the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) the moderate Group that campaigned for a separate State of Eelam in the Northern and Eastern provinces was as follows:

<i>District</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Province</i>
Jaffna	71.81	Northern
Mannar	52.44	Northern
Vavuniya	58.82	Northern
Mullaitivu	52.16	Northern
Trincomalee	27.18	Eastern
Batticaloa	32.14	Eastern
Amparai	20.25	Eastern

In the other seven provinces they did not contest.

The right of each community to use its own language, practise its own culture and customs is recognised. The Government guarantees these rights to them throughout the Island, however small their number may be. We recognise the whole of Sri Lanka as the homeland of every individual members of each community.

We have agreed that recruitment to the state services and entrance to the universities will reflect the ethnic proportion of the Island. The Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Inspector-General of Police till a few months ago, several Ambassadors and important public officials are Tamils.

The constitution enacts that the official language is Sinhala, and the National language, Tamil. Every effort is made to teach English and to make it the link language.

The Government has agreed on the principles and forms of participatory democracy from the village, urban and district level, to provincial councils within a province. They will be vested with executive powers by the President and appointed by him to fulfil the functions of his council.

Only a fraction of the 1.36 million Tamils who live in the Northern and Eastern provinces supported the idea of a separate State in the 1977 election. The entirety of those who live outside viz. 500,000 and the entirety viz. 2 million of the other communities including 800,000 Indian Tamils too oppose it.

This then is the factual position. Terrorism reared it ugly head first in 1976, with the murder of the Tamil Mayor of Jaffna, who was also a Member of Parliament of the then ruling Government party. Since then hundreds of innocent civilians, members of the security services, men, women and children have been killed by the terrorists, including two ex-members of Parliament of the moderate group, and several members of my own party. The security services in defence and retaliation have also killed several. It is a massacre without a purpose and with no hope success.



The classic pattern of terrorism is repeated in my country. They openly say they wish to create a marxist state in the whole of Sri Lanka and not only a separation of the Island. Their international lobby is wide and effective. The umbrella of the grievances of the Tamil minority, and the unfortunate riots of 1983, – when in Colombo and some cities in the South, the Sinhalese civilian were misled into harming Tamil lives and property. In retaliation for the deaths of 13, Sinhala soldiers in the north by a terrorist bomb, help them to function as a legitimate racial group seeking to redress grievances. The Government is shown as the aggressor or suppressor. Money is collected, arms are purchased, and terrorists are trained to disrupt the smooth functioning of one of the few democracies among the developing

nations, a founder member both of the new commonwealth and the non-aligned movement.

It is a shame that the help that should come to us to maintain the high principles of these two movements are denied, and that instead there is a vilification of our purposes and behaviours by politicians and the press. I hope that it may be possible to bring peace once again to the troubled north and east of our motherland, and that the leaders of the terrorist groups living and operating outside our shores will cease to function.

I believe in democratic principles of non-violence, and the principles proclaimed by Gautama the Buddha and Mahathma Gandhi. I hope that the great ideals they stood for can be proclaimed to the world and remain the principle guiding the members of the commonwealth.



# Harmonising Material Prosperity with Moral Fortitude.....

*Address of The Hon. Prime Minister R. Premadasa, at the 40th Anniversary Session of the United Nations General Assembly-22nd October, 1985*

*Mr. President,*

We are meeting to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. On this occasion, it is both symbolic and appropriate that you preside at this General Assembly. The recuperative capacity and the endurance of your Nation – Spain – encourages us all. Sri Lanka welcomes your elevation to chair our deliberations.

*Distinguished Delegates,*

The United Nations Charter represents the highest ideals of mankind. By design, accident or coincidence, the United Nations Charter enshrines seven conditions of communal stability and prosperity promulgated by Lord Buddha a little over 2,500 years ago. These seven conditions are known as Saptā Aparihaniya Dhamma – the seven noble principles to prevent deterioration and decline. A nation which follows them will prosper rather than tumble into the precipice of decline. It advocates –

- harmonious assembly,
- peaceful consultation,
- negotiated compromise,
- recognition of values and traditions,
- adherence to moral and spiritual principles,
- upholding the honour and wisdom of elders, and
- the free movement of peoples between realms.

As a nation committed to these noble principles, we in Sri Lanka, hold the United Nations in high esteem. I bring with me greetings and good wishes of His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, President and the people of Sri Lanka.

Today, mankind is caught up in a maze of confusion, controversy and confrontation. We are living amidst forces of hope and despair. Technology has offered our world material benefits of unprecedented magnitude. We are delicately balanced on the edge of the dreadful abyss; a vast uncharted depression inhabited by the shadows of nuclear holocaust, senseless violence and mass starvation. Yet, these shadows conceal a greater and more frightening truth; that we ourselves are the architects of these fearful prospects.

*Mr. President,*

What has gone wrong? Have we failed to harmonise our material prosperity with moral fortitude? Aren't we blessed by Mother Nature with sufficient resources to meet the needs of the entirety of mankind on this planet? Once Frank Buchman said that there is enough in the world for everybody's need, but not for everybody's greed. He asked, "if everybody cared enough and everybody shared enough, wouldn't everybody have enough?" Isn't this true? It is Lord Buddha who expounded the Universal Truth that the root cause of all sorrow and all fear is greed. Even though we have got

together as a World Body, are we caring for and sharing with each other? Isn't this the crisis we are facing today? If so, isn't this crisis moral rather than economic? If we resolve the moral crisis, will not the economic crisis resolve by itself?

*Distinguished Delegates*

Throughout the history of the United Nations, humanity has lived under the dreadful shadow of the rapidly increasing nuclear mechanisms of destruction and the conventional arms race. The destructive capacity of the nuclear arsenals are estimated to be six thousand times that of all the fire power of the Second World War. Global military expenditures are rapidly approaching US \$ 1,000 billion annually. It is indeed a miracle that the world has been spared of the misery and the near total destruction of a Third World War. The full credit for this must go to the United Nations.

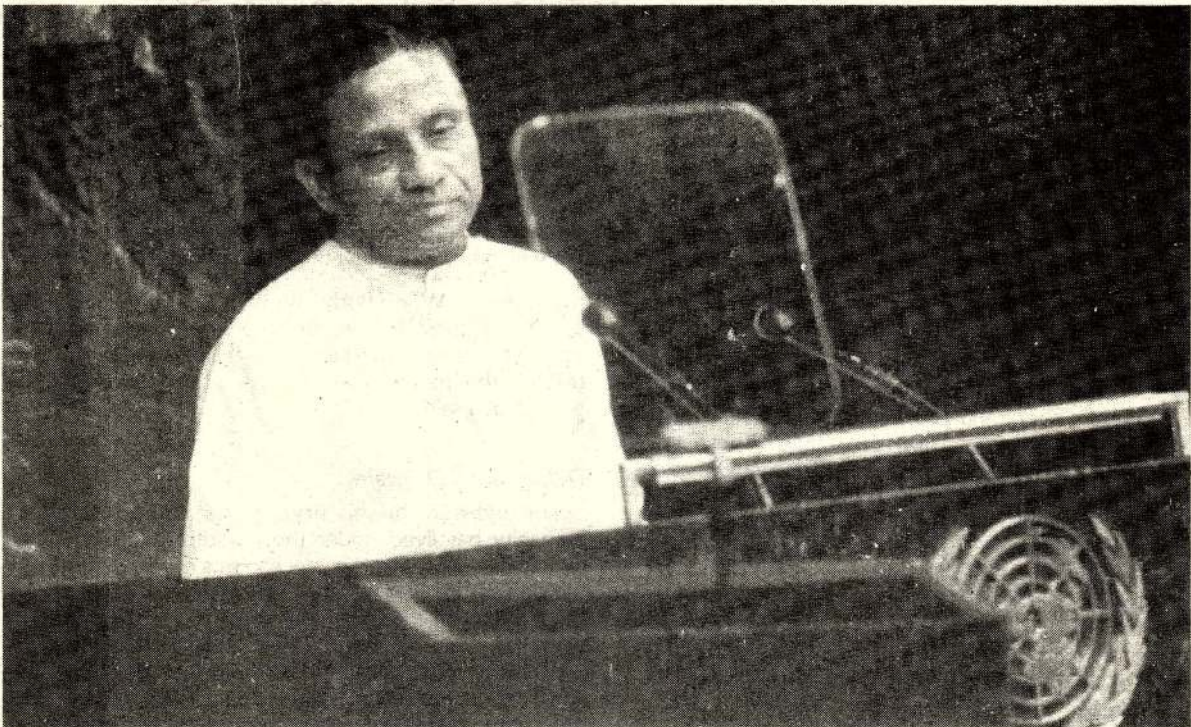
I need not over-emphasise the immorality of the colossal expenditure on armaments in a world with scarce resources that is yearning for development and human survival. Beyond the elemental wrongness of these outlays are three derivative concerns. They are the fatality of weapons accumulation, the concentration of destructive power in the hands of a few nations and the diversion of scarce resources and talents into the industry of death. All these could result in the extinction of human life and add to human deprivation. Mahatma Gandhi expressed this in the following words:

"Bombs will not be destroyed by counter bombs, even as violence cannot be destroyed by counter violence."

*Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates,*

We, at the General Assembly, have a unique opportunity to remind the nuclear superpowers of their special responsibility for the arms race and of their fundamental obligations for peace. Within a few days, the leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union will be meeting in Geneva. It is not our desire to intrude on bilateral discussions. However, to the extent that these discussions also affect our lives, it is imperative that the voice of all peace loving states be heard – and heard clearly.





Prime Minister R. Premadasa addressing the 40th Session of UNGA

*Distinguished Delegates,*

Let us not miss this opportunity. Let us resolve here and now – firmly and clearly to present a Special Emergency Resolution to President Reagan and Secretary Gorbachev – Let us by resolution appeal that they,

- \* *Recognize the most volatile situation faced by the superpowers and the benefits that will accrue to themselves and the whole of mankind by diverting such military outlays to peaceful and humanitarian efforts,*
- \* *Agree to a reduction of military expenditure by ten percent each year for five consecutive years beginning 1986/87,*
- \* *Apply a significant portion of the resources so conserved towards the reduction of the International Debt of the poorer nations.*

Let us accept these resolutions with minimum debate and maximum support. Let us empower the Secretary-General to carry this message to Geneva and report to us on its reception. I appeal to all peace loving member-states to join me in the passage of this urgent motion for peace.

What we seek is not merely the release of around US \$ 60 billion for annual debt relief. What we want is an investment to safeguard and improve life. What we offer

is the beginning of a new global pact between those who have resources and those who represent the political and commercial market places of the future. What we demand is an end to a system where the security of the many is hostage to the ambitions of a few.

To the leaders of the superpowers we say this: do not make your consideration or acceptance of our proposal conditional on mutual reciprocity. Have the courage to break the escalating cycle of the arms race. What you may lose militarily you will gain in the goodwill of the peoples and the nations around the world. And goodwill is a greater source of strength than armaments; a greater incentive for commerce and investment than bombs; a greater bond of political friendship than security pacts.

*Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates,*

Forty years ago, when the United Nations was conceived, the definition of international violence was largely restricted to conventional forms of war. In recent times, new malignancies have expanded that definition.

The twin problems of terrorism and drug abuse have emerge as the two scourges of our times. It is a sad commentary on our times that these two scourges are intertwined and mutually supportive. Terrorism, which has made life insecure for many a peace loving nation, goes hand in hand with the transport and promotion of narcotics and dangerous drugs. These in turn are nurtured and nourished by the arms trade.



*Distinguished Delegates,*

Today we live in an age of international terrorism, where aggression entirely within the boundaries of a Nation-State is often inspired and sustained by external networks of support. Hijackings, political murders, destruction of life and property with the declared goal of destabilising legitimate governments, are now regular occurrences. Open societies which cherish individual liberties are particularly vulnerable and are most easily threatened by acts of terrorism.

We, in Sri Lanka, speak from the forum of our own sad experience. A small group of terrorists who believe in the bullet and not the ballot and have secured shelter outside our borders, have caused immeasurable harm to innocent men, women and children. They have desecrated shrines, murdered priests and nuns, students and teachers, the sick and the aged. Scarce resources have had to be diverted from vitally needed development projects to ill-affordable security purposes. Each and every significant political party be they of the government or the opposition have condemned terrorism—and yet it persists.

We agree fully with our Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar when he recently said:

"As a human being I have a feeling of shame. I think that what the terrorists are doing all over the world is not only a crime, but also an act of cowardice."

*Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates,*

I would like to propose the following steps to wipe out the terrorist menace from this globe:

- *Let us resolve that an International Conference on Terrorism be convened with a view to formulating an International Plan of Action to eliminate terrorism from this globe.*
- *Let us join together in the true spirit of liberty, equality and justice, pool our resources and take collective action through the establishment of an International Agency committed to the total eradication of terrorism.*

*Mr. President,*

Stark poverty with its manifold consequences continues to haunt a major section of mankind. Hunger and disease aggravated by natural catastrophies have plunged entire populations into untold misery. Millions of people without the minimum means of livelihood and without adequate food and shelter await redress.

You are aware that a large portion of the time and energy of the United Nations has been focused on leading issues in the areas of Economic Development and Equity. We are now at the mid-point of the Third Development Decade. More than ten years ago, an earlier General Assembly called for the creation of a new

International Economic Order. The high optimism of those times has given way to a sense of despair as results have been painfully slow in coming forth. Many nations, especially the poorer ones, have stagnated or even retarded rather than progressed in recent years.

There are many reasons for this sustenance of backwardness. Flow of capital has been limited. Industrial goods have cost more. Industrial markets have contracted. Currencies have fluctuated wildly. High technology has reduced the comparative advantages of labour. Access to major markets for goods is threatened through growing protectionism. Commodity prices have been unfavourable. This bleak economic landscape is darkened by the dominance of recession throughout the world for more than a decade.

*Mr. President,*

Smaller and poorer countries like mine feel these blows with extreme severity. We do not have a cushion of financial reserves to soften our economic hardships. The cumulative result is that the Third World faces a grave danger: the danger of economic re-colonization. We are threatened with the loss of our independence through the loss of control over our economic destiny.

*Distinguished Delegates,*

Several conditions contribute heavily to this dependent situation. The debt burden of the poor countries is well in excess of US \$ 800 billion. The debtor nations are not in a position to honour interest payments let alone amortization of capital. These countries have three alternatives—enforcement of extreme austerity, unilateral collective default or mutually agreed rescheduling of obligations.

*Mr. President,*

We see a major rescheduling of obligations as the most effective and fair response. However, such a rescheduling should be part of an overall global economic adjustment.

- *Let us resolve to appeal to all rich countries to treat this as a matter of grave urgency,*
- *Let this accommodation include reconsideration of interest rates, increasing the grant component of assistance, organization of new capital flows, stabilization of commodity prices and currencies and guaranteed access to markets.*

*Mr. President,*

Five years ago, when I addressed the 35th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I proposed the Declaration of an International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. This proposal has since been accepted by the world community and the Year 1987 has been dedicated for this purpose.



*Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates,*

When some people speak of housing and shelter, they tend to give a restrictive interpretation greatly underestimating its real benefits. To them housing and shelter mean only a mere roof above their heads. This is a misconception. Housing not only provides protection from the elements but also shelters all the factors that got to improve the quality of life of individuals, who form the families. Families make up societies and societies build up to nations. Nations finally constitute the global community. That is why I consider housing to be not only a basic human need but also a key to human development. In essence, housing is central to the fulfilment of man's aspirations for a better life.

Health and sanitation, agriculture, industry, employment, water supply and environmental quality—all these factors which go to improve man's living conditions undergo qualitative changes with housing development. In this manner, housing will provide the initiative and drive for total development—both physical and human.

Addressing the 8th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements held in Kingston, Jamaica in April 1985, I appealed to the World Community to consider the establishment of a global Housing and Shelter Bank which will channel international resources into local programmes and place funding and payments on a sound financial foundation. I appealed that one percent of military outlays be diverted for housing.

On the eve of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless 1987:—

- *Let us rededicate ourselves to the cause of shelter,*
- *Let us canvass steadily for the establishment of a global Housing and Shelter Bank for the benefit of the millions who have no roofs over their heads especially in the developing countries.*

*Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates,*

The actual accomplishments of the United Nations have been considerable, but they are not enough. Many brave and skilful men and women, led by five dedicated Secretaries-General, have served this organization well. Yet, overall performance measured against the expectations and the possibilities has been, from our viewpoint, less than satisfactory.

Many point out that this institution is only as strong as the collective commitment of all its members. Others claim that law without the capacity for enforcement is enfeebling. Some perceive the imperfections and limitations of our Charter and call for its revision. Most observers criticise a groaning and overlapping bureaucracy in which the means have overtaken the ends and the establishment has swallowed the objectives. Several smaller member-states believe that the presence of the veto is both undemocratic and allows for obstruction of majority views.

There are significant elements of accuracy in each of these assertions. If we are to make the United Nations a more effective working body, member-states must address these shortcomings. Yet in many ways, these are symptoms of a deeper affliction. I believe that a more correct perception of the protractive and stagnating tendencies that characterize the United Nations is that its problems arise primarily from a lack of leadership.

For many years, the Heads of Government of member-states have allowed a devaluation of the United Nations to occur. Diplomatic representation, however competent, is no substitute for the personal presence and active involvement of those who lead national administrations. If the United Nations is to realise its full potential, power must reinforce diplomacy.

*Mr. President,*

- *I propose that each year, on the eve of the General Assembly, an informal and closed session of heads of government take place.*

Such meetings, if developed into a regular tradition, can examine the most critical items before the General Assembly and arrive at some consensus. A review of the operations of the United Nations itself could become a feature of these gatherings. In this way, leaders with national decision-making authority will bring that authority to the level of international decision-making. If we want to make the United Nations work, we must work at making the United Nations. I urge that the Secretary-General soon convene a small group of qualified persons to examine the feasibility of implementing this proposal.

*Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates,*

The pathway to the future presents us with the same choice that the world had in 1945—the choice between life and death. If the trend of the past is the destiny of the future, we may survive but we will not prevail. If we have the moral determination to engage in self-examination, we can overcome our flaws and expand our vision. Then, we can supplement our knowledge with the wisdom that leads us to an age of peace and prosperity.

We at the United Nations must strive hard and rededicate ourselves—"to the creation of a World in which rich nations help developing ones and big nations do not bully small ones"—as eloquently expressed by Richard Livingstone.

Those of us who are in search of Truth and Non-Violence, find refuge in the teachings of the Great Gautama the Buddha. The life and the thought of the Enlightened One evoke a blessing that is particularly appropriate for our occasion and which I share with you.

*Sabbe Satta Bhavantu Sukhitatta*

May all beings be well and happy.



# Bridging the Distance between the Nations

*Statement by the Hon. A. C. Shahul Hameed, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation of Sri Lanka, at the General Assembly of the United Nations Fortieth Session, General Debate 23rd September, 1985.*

Mr. President,

Let me congratulate you at the outset on your well-deserved election as President of this historic Fortieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your long and varied association with the United Nations and its System, as well as your reputation as one of Spain's most experienced diplomats, is well known. Sri Lanka has excellent relations with Spain and, on behalf of my delegation, let me assure you of our fullest support and co-operation in the tasks ahead.

Our appreciation is due in large measure to Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia who in the Thirty-Ninth Session, demonstrated rare diplomatic skills and capabilities in preparing the way for this Fortieth Session.

On behalf of the Government and people of Sri Lanka, let me express our profound grief at the heavy toll in human and material terms claimed by the earthquake which tragically struck Mexico last week. Our hearts reach out to the Government and people of Mexico at this hour in their heroic endeavours towards recovery and rehabilitation.

The Session on which we are about to embark is important not only because it marks forty years in the life of the United Nations; but also because the current international situation holds prospects for a decisive breakthrough in questions which had seemed intractable in the past. It is our view that no situation is completely bereft of hope; no issue is so bleak as to be incapable of solution. We can render this Fortieth Session more than symbolic if we seize the potential for peace and build on those areas where results appear possible. History is, as Arnold Toynbee often saw it, a succession of challenges and responses, and it is the solemn duty of the international community to respond to these challenges to enable the construction and maintenance of a fair and just society.

The promise of economic co-operation on a global scale has been turned down by those who have the economic muscle. Unilateralism and myopic economic competition seem to be the order of the day. The negotiating tables for the restructuring of international economic relations stand bare and unattended. The microphones of dialogue have been abruptly stilled. The prospects of an international economic order based on equality, justice and co-operation seems a far cry.

As we gather at the United Nations for this annual collective survey of the world situation, tumultuous events are unfolding in South Africa. The country's turmoil has rarely been so tense and wide-spread as it has been in the last few months. The repressive acts of the White minority regime have been extended to affect even little children. But the resistance and determination of the people to be free has not been shaken by the

severity of the measures that have been imposed. Day by day international opinion is being awakened into a realization of the moral and physical atrocities of Apartheid. More and more countries are moving to take measures and sanctions to express in practical terms their repugnance on the present regime and the system it maintains. The Non-Aligned States and the OAU have maintained a consistent opposition to Apartheid. This growing international trend will continue to gather momentum until eventually the entire structure of Apartheid is brought down. The dismantling of Apartheid would be expedited if those possessing the powers of persuasion and pressure over the South African regime intervene without any further delay and halt the further haemorrhage of the South African nation. Action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter could bring an end to Apartheid and the injustice and human suffering it causes in South Africa.

The same forces which animate and sustain the South African regime hold Namibia in captivity. Namibia is clearly a colonial issue. It is twisted and needlessly complicated and linked to extraneous issues. Independence for Namibia has nothing to do with East-West rivalry, with the dispute between conflicting ideologies nor with the question of Cuban troops in Angola. Resolution 435 remains the Charter for Namibia's independence. This is a comprehensive blue-print for Namibian independence. It has been accepted by all parties concerned including the South West African People's Organisation. To prolong the agony of Namibia is to court more bloodshed and suffering and to devalue the credibility and standing of this very Organization.

Similarly, the essential pre-requisites for a settlement of the cluster of issues in the Middle East are not difficult to identify. The States of the region cannot expect to live in peace and security unless the central factor of regional instability, the core of the Middle East problem, the Question of Palestine is faced squarely and solved justly. The inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people must be restored, including the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland in safety, their right to self-determination and their right to establish an independent sovereign State without external interference or coercion. Sri Lanka expresses support for the Arab Peace Plan adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit



Conference held in Fez in 1982. This Peace Plan has been reaffirmed at the Extraordinary Summit Meeting held in Casablanca in August this year. Sri Lanka has consistently taken the position that Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. Israel must dismantle the illegal settlements it has set up in the occupied territories. The PLO, the sole legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people must be a party to any negotiations that would lead to a settlement of the Middle East question.

The agony of Lebanon is not an isolated phenomenon, but a part of the Middle East question. Sri Lanka declares its solidarity with the Government and people of Lebanon. We call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and reaffirm our full support for the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon.

Sri Lanka is gravely concerned about the tragic continuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, two fellow-Non-Aligned States with whom we enjoy excellent relations. It is our fervent hope that bilateral and multilateral efforts at a settlement of this wasteful war will bear fruit and a solution acceptable to both parties will be found soon.

In South East Asia, the presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea has hampered the development of mutual confidence and good relations among the States of the region. Sri Lanka supports all efforts aimed at a comprehensive political solution which would lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. This step is vital to the restoration of normalcy and the creation of a climate of confidence and understanding in South East Asia.

Tension looms large in South West Asia because of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan. We have carefully watched the constructive efforts that have been made by the Secretary-General to find a political solution. We hope that an early solution would be found which would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. Sri Lanka has always expressed its support for a political settlement which would include the withdrawal of foreign troops and guarantee full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and Non-Aligned status of Afghanistan and ensure scrupulous observance by all States of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in her internal affairs.

Sri Lanka supports the desire of the Korean people to reunify their homeland peacefully, through direct dialogue, without foreign interference and in conformity with the principles of the North-South statement of July 4, 1972. In the meanwhile, it may be prudent to examine whether the process of reunification would be expedited if the principle of the universality of the United Nations is extended to the Korean people.

In Cyprus, a communal issue has been tragically exploited to justify the invasion of the Republic by foreign forces and this has led to the de facto partition of the country. External intervention cannot be justified nor can it be condoned on any grounds even on the grounds of concern for kindred communities in other States. Sri Lanka has consistently called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cyprus and respect for the country's unity, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and Non-Aligned personality. The unilateral declaration of independence in 1983 by representatives of one of the two communities is illegal and should be rejected by the international community. These unilateral measures have only rendered an eventual settlement in Cyprus more complicated and difficult. Sri Lanka calls on all parties to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his latest initiatives, so that a just and lasting settlement could be achieved in accordance with the relevant United Nations Resolutions.

In Central America too, independent States face external intervention and destabilization attempts which threaten their very survival as sovereign States. Sri Lanka fully supports the noble endeavours of the Contadora Group to bring peace and stability as well as mutual confidence among the States in the region, irrespective of their social or political systems.

Mr. President, every year we deliberate and make pronouncements on the urgent need to achieve our common security through a well-chartered process of disarmament. We are agreed that, there is no alternative to disarmament. We earnestly hope that the forthcoming Summit talks between the leaders of the two major powers will provide an impetus to building confidence between them and contribute to the overall goals of disarmament and to the security of all nations.

The need to facilitate the complementarity of bilateral and multilateral efforts towards disarmament need not be overemphasised. We have acknowledged that in this nuclear age security through disarmament cannot be the preserve of a few. It is our view that it is the concern of the many.

The report of the Conference on Disarmament to this Session contains preliminary formulations of provisions of a future Convention on Chemical Weapons signifying the fruits of multilateral efforts at Geneva. We are also happy to note that the Conference on Disarmament has for the first time set up an Ad Hoc Committee to commence work on the question of prevention of an arms race in outer space, an initiative in which Sri Lanka took an active part both at this Assembly and the Conference. We are encouraged by the agreements embodied in the Final Document of the Third Review Conference on the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty which concluded last week. We hope for their early implementation and, in particular, for a positive response to the call on the three



depository States and the other nuclear powers to commence early negotiations for a comprehensive test ban.

Mr. President, we should, therefore, re-dedicate ourselves to multilateralism in disarmament negotiations. We support the Non-Aligned initiative for the convening at an appropriate time of the Third Special Session on Disarmament as the challenging means of reaching a consensus on concrete and practical measures on disarmament and of re-vitalizing the multilateral process.

In our own region of the Indian Ocean, Sri Lanka with other Non-Aligned countries has striven for a vital measure of disarmament, the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The Indian Ocean States have already accepted in 1979, seven Principles of Agreement for the implementation of the Declaration. The United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean has worked towards the convening of a Conference on the Indian Ocean to take place in Colombo, Sri Lanka, next year. It is our hope that all preparatory work for the Conference could be completed to enable the convening of the Conference with the participation of all permanent members of the Security Council, the major maritime users and the regional states.

We convened the First Conference on Co-operation in Marine Affairs in Colombo in July this year. This Conference was born of the conviction that regional co-operation is the best means of realizing the potential of the rich resources of the Indian Ocean for the development of the region. It is expected that a policy-level Conference will take place in Colombo next year to further develop the achievements of the meetings held this year.

The General Assembly will continue its consideration this year of the Antarctic Treaty System. Sri Lanka's own position on this exercise has been conveyed to the Secretary-General. We strongly favour the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee at the United Nations to help clarify the issues involved without dismantling the present Treaty System.

Permit me, Mr. President, in conclusion, to volunteer a few remarks on developments in Sri Lanka about which so much has been written. Sri Lanka is an integrated multi-communal, multi-linguistic and multi-religious nation with an unitary Constitution. Certain strains have developed between one ethnic minority and the other communities. As a practising democracy, the Government of Sri Lanka is totally dedicated to a negotiated political settlement. But a small group of

terrorists have launched a gruesome campaign of death and destruction and have rejected the democratic process.

This group carries out its operations through the concealed land-mine, the sudden bomb and the hidden assassin's gun. With the assistance and co-operation of friendly countries, the President of Sri Lanka, His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, is continuing his efforts to reach a political settlement. It is our earnest hope that these initiatives will lead to the resolution of the problem.

Terrorism is not confined to Sri Lanka alone. International terrorism presents a challenge to all civilized life and values. International terrorism has established an unholy alliance with the illicit international trade in narcotics and with other criminal activities. This year the General Assembly will have for consideration and action the Report of the Secretary-General on Measures to Prevent International Terrorism. Sri Lanka's own views have been conveyed to the Secretary-General including our views on the need for increased regional co-operation in dealing with this menace. Only a concerted international effort could control, let alone eliminate international terrorism. Unless the international community takes urgent practical action, the very values that this Organization holds dear would be in grave peril.

During the last forty years of the United Nations existence, the world has witnessed 140-odd international conflicts with an estimated human toll of 20 million: It is a tribute nevertheless to our political leaders that a major global conflagration has been avoided, scientific and technological development have advanced far beyond what was considered possible 40 years ago. Man has delved into the depths of the ocean and stretched human horizons to the far reaches of outer space. Man has walked on the moon. Distance and space have been conquered. The concept of the global village is practically a reality. But if science and communications have shrunk distances and have the physical means of bringing people to one another at speeds unthinkable four decades ago. It is a sad commentary on our times if nations and peoples must nevertheless feel so far apart from each other in political and economic terms. Nations and peoples seem to get further from one another even as science has brought them in physical terms closer. The United Nations is no world government: we are all independent States. But the United Nations remains mankind's best hope as we seek to bridge the distance in understanding between the nations and peoples of the world.



# South Asian Cooperation

***I—Speech made by H.E. the President J. R. Jayewardene at the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation – (SAARC) Dhaka, Bangladesh – 7th December, 1985***

*Mr. Chairman, Sir,  
Your Majesties and Your Excellencies,  
The Heads of States and Governments,  
Hon. Foreign Ministers,  
Distinguished Foreign Secretaries and Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I wish to reiterate the historic significance of this occasion though others have done so before me. Let me begin by conveying to you Sri Lanka's congratulations and very warm felicitations on your assumption of the Chairmanship of this momentous meeting. We face a heavy responsibility: to impart further momentum and set a steady course for our attempt in regional co-operation. My delegation and I approach this task with optimism, because we have confidence in you to guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

My last visit to your country, made in the company of His Excellency Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, at a time of great trial and sorrow for you and your people, resulting from a major natural disaster, reflected one aspect of our brotherhood: the sympathy and solidarity of family members, one for another, at times of stress. Today, we are gathered as a family in recognition of that very brotherhood: to reflect upon our common objective and consider common means to achieve our goals.

Before expanding on that theme permit me, first to record our deep gratitude for the warmth of welcome and generous hospitality with which we have been received here, as well as to express our admiration for the excellent arrangements made for this Meeting.

The countries in the South Asia Region assembled at this Conference consist of Monarchies; Republics with elected Presidents and multi-party systems, and Republics with Presidents but no multi-party system yet.

They are populated with people of Aryan, Dravidian, Arab and Mongolian descent. A billion and a quarter people live here; some of them the richest and some the poorest in the World.

Two of the World's great religions Hinduism and Buddhism originated here, and Christianity and Islam have millions of followers going back to the years of their origin.

History records events that occurred in these countries 6000 years ago and some have a recorded and continuous history of over 2500 years.

A unique region looking not backwards but to the future, its people stretching their hands towards perfection, economically, socially and politically.

Can our meeting together help? If so, how can we do so?

Firstly we must trust each other, India the largest in every way; larger than all the rest of us combined, can by deeds and words create the confidence among us so

necessary to make a beginning. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is its chosen leader; on him we rest our hopes. He must not fail us. He cannot. Our duty is to help him to the utmost. He should tell us what each of us should do and we must respond as best as we can.

Economically, we have worked out our development programmes. It is the task of each one of us to consider what help we can give the others. In the spheres of investment and aid; trade between our countries; wherever we can exchange and train experts, there should be co-operation and help.

Socially all our countries protect our citizens and there is no violation of human rights willingly, and as State policy, by anyone of our governments. We should study this aspect together and remedy any defects that exist.

Politically each country has its own Constitution and some have fully fledged democratic constitutions with elected Heads of State; multi-party systems; freedom of speech and opposition. Others are seeking to achieve similar goals.

South Asia had been slow in organising regional co-operation. It is no secret that certain clearly identifiable historical as well as geo-political factors have militated against regional closeness. Historical legacies of conflict; vast prevailing disparities of size and resources; different levels of development, both socio-economic and technological; and differences of strategic perception stemming from these factors. These were a stumbling block. This does not mean that the need for a desirability of the countries of our region getting together in their collective interests had not been recognised or articulated earlier.

It is time that countries in our region derive strength from each other by way of enhanced trade, institutional linkages, sharing of technology, improving human resources and mutual investment. Regional political stability and human development should have priority in regional co-operation. Regional co-operation is not a fancy intellectual exercise divorced from mundane needs.



Indeed, it is a constructive element in the development process. We all are agreed that the only way to improve the lot of our people is through development. If so, regional co-operation must be looked upon as an instrument that could help the lives of the millions who are in South Asia.

All the countries in South Asia speak English; therefore, there is a link language and this medium should be developed to ensure an uninterrupted programme of information exchanges. Let us share knowledge together. The greater we understand each other, easier becomes the realisation of our goals. There can be no successful regional co-operation without mutual confidence, without mutual trust.

All our countries need stability to develop and safeguard the freedoms they have. Terrorist movements have raised their heads among several of our countries; Heads of State and Government have been assassinated and violence preached and practised. Their leaders hide under the umbrella of racial and minority discrimination and seek separation.

At the Commonwealth Conference held in Delhi in 1982 the Goa Declaration emphasised Non-violence as the main creed of those assembled. Let us also say so more forcibly.

Sir, as I stated at the outset, we are present at the making of our collective as well as individual future – this is by any standard a historic occasion.

The responsibility we face is heavy: the stakes are high, the expectations attaching to our meeting are great. We approach our task with hope and with optimism, for we believe that as the full potential of our venture comes to be realised, its benefits will be incalculable to the welfare of our several peoples and countries.

Mr. Chairman, I can do no more here than convey to you our firm resolve and assurance to co-operate with and assist you in whatever way necessary, to facilitate your tasks in guiding our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

A great responsibility lies on us. Let us grasp this opportunity to fulfil that responsibility. There is no person or nation that will stand in our way.

The quotation from Tagore or Thakur cited by the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, reminds me that Tagore was a citizen of Bangladesh which consisted then of other regions such as Bihar, Orisa, Bengal, Calcutta and the modern Bangladesh. It is from here known then as Vanga Desha tha King Vijaya, as you also mentioned to me, Sir, came in the sixth century B.C. – 2,500 years ago – to Sri Lanka and founded the Sinhala race.

Tagore – to speak from memory – refers to the land “where the mind is free, where words come out of the depth of truth, where the land is not divided by narrow racial walls, where tireless striving stretches its hands towards perfection, into that haven of freedom, my father, may our regions ascend”.

Thank you.



**II—Speech made by H.E. the President J. R. Jayewardene at the closing session of the SAARC Dhaka – 8 December 1985**

Your Majesties,  
Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

For almost four years we have built a ship. The idea first emanated in Bangladesh. Foreign Ministers, Foreign Secretaries and numerous officials of our countries came here; carefully, laboriously, efficiently, fashioned and built the ship of the South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation. There were ideas before that. The concrete steps to build it were taken in Bangladesh. We have launched that ship this week-end. We have much more work to do. We have to fashion it; we have to man it; we have to furnish it; we must make it travel the seas around the world. It may have to face turbulent storms; mutiny on board. Let us make it enter the portals of friendly harbours.

This is not the first time that there have been international organisations. In the 19th century Europe was dominated by Napoleon. After his defeat, for the first time the countries of Europe met together and established the Vienna Congress. For some time the nations of Europe worked together and the war was forgotten. It was not so.

In the 1870s there was another Congress, the Congress of Berlin, where the main powers of Europe met to discuss the troubles in the Middle East, what they should do with Cyprus and Greece. The dominating figure in that Congress was Disraeli, the Prime Minister of England. He came back after the Congress and said he had brought peace with honour. It was not long before they were fighting again. From 1914 to 1918 there was the First World War. When the war was over and the League of Nations was formed people thought that war was left behind for ever. It was not so. The Great War broke out in 1939 – the Second World War. At the end of that war the United Nations Organisation was formed. Fortunately it is still alive, still active and still useful.

Together with the United Nations Organisation several other organisations were formed, CENTO, SEATO, NATO and the WARSAW PACT. Some of them do not seem to exist now, some of them are still marching. Some of the countries in the South East Asia region formed themselves into a grouping called the ASEAN to improve their economic conditions.

There were other movements like the Non-Aligned Movement, like the Commonwealth Movement, like the

Movement of Panchaseela which were attempts on the part of the people – some of them may have been visionaries – to live in peace and without war or conflicts.

For the first time the people of this region, the countries of this region, meet today; of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives and Sri Lanka. I am not going in the alphabetical order or any other order but as it comes to my mind. Therefore nobody should take offence except perhaps Sri Lanka!

We are therefore setting this ship afloat today. As I said there may be mutiny on board, I hope not. The seas may be stormy but the ship must sail on and enter the ports of poverty, hunger, unemployment, illiteracy, malnutrition, disease and seek to bring comfort to those who need it.

I think in all our speeches we have stressed many important factors.

I say to the Nations of this Organisation, to the leaders that we should go forward. We are meeting again next year, we are meeting again in the year after. We are meeting next year in India, and the year after in Bhutan. Let us go forward together hand in hand, looking neither to the right nor the left but marching straight on. Let us help those who are stretching their hands towards perfection; the poor, the lowly and the low.

"Om Mani Padme Hum, the Sunrise Comes!  
The Dewdrop slips into the Shining Sea!"

May our ship enter the Shining Sea and reach the harbours I have mentioned for the benefit of humanity.



# Twenty Five Years of Non-Alignment

**Statement made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries – New Delhi–17th April 1986**

*Mr. Chairman,*

It is a matter of special significance to me to be once again in New Delhi to participate in this Non-Aligned Gathering. My delegation's congratulations and good wishes go to you on your unanimous election as Chairman of this Conference. We assure you, in the best traditions of Indo-Sri Lanka co-operation, our fullest support in the tasks ahead. The choice of New Delhi as venue for the Seventh Summit arose out of the tragic circumstances of a dispute between two of our members. It is a tribute to India that she rose with a great sense of responsibility to offer her capital as venue for the 7th Summit. We will remember for years to come how the Government and people of India responded to this call and made it possible to have a very successful Summit at such remarkable short notice.

The Conference will be the final ministerial meeting under the chairmanship of India before our Heads of State gather in Harare, Zimbabwe. It is, therefore, an opportunity to review and reflect on the extent to which the Movement has carried forward the decisions taken by our Heads of State in this city three years ago. In undertaking this review, we should not flinch to acknowledge our shortcomings. Both in the assessment and analysis of the last three years as well as in the planning and preparation for the next Summit, we should be governed by the principles of non-alignment to which all of us are committed.

The developments in the Mediterranean have cast a dark pall on our deliberations. We are deeply distressed over the attack on Libya. The use of force cannot resolve any international problem. The independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states must be respected. We hope that restraint will be exercised by everyone and that the norms of international good conduct and the principles of the United Nations Charter will be observed.

A quarter century has passed since the First Non-Aligned Summit Conference convened in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1961 marked the formal advance of the Movement into an international arena where confrontation between mutually antagonistic military and ideological groups were beginning to pose grave threats to the peace and stability of the world.

The past twenty-five years of non-alignment are reflected in the history of decolonization, human emancipation and the rise of national independence. From twenty-five states participating in the Belgrade Summit, the Non-Aligned has more than quadrupled to its growing ranks of 102. Two of our members – the Palestine Liberation Organization and the South West Africa People's Organization – pursue undaunted their struggle for independence and nationhood. The black people of South Africa represented in our Movement by the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, continue their relentless battle for self-determination and the establishment of a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

The endeavours of the Palestinian people to regain their inalienable national rights have the wholehearted

support of the Government and people of Sri Lanka. These rights include their right to return to Palestine, the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence and sovereignty and the right to establish a Palestinian State. The resolution of the Palestinian question holds the key to peace in Middle East despite other situations of disquiet and instability. Israel must withdraw from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by it since 1967 including Jerusalem. Israel must dismantle its illegal settlements in the occupied territories. Sri Lanka has supported the Arab Peace Plan adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit in Fez and reaffirmed at the Extraordinary Arab Summit Conference held last year in Casablanca. Further, it is our view that the participation of the PLO as an equal party is essential for the success of any negotiations for the settlement of the question of Palestine.

The tragic developments that have led to the destabilization and foreign occupation of parts of Lebanon are aspects of the general insecurity in the Middle East. Sri Lanka expresses its solidarity with the Government and people of Lebanon and calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces which threaten its independence and territorial integrity.

The Apartheid Regime's brutal racist policies extend beyond South Africa to Namibia where it continues to hold an emerging nation hostage. Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 remains the sole basis for the independence to Namibia. Its implementations has been too long frustrated by the procrastination of the South African Regime and its insistence on linking the independent plan to such extraneous issues as the question of Cuban troops in Angola. Sri Lanka salutes SWAPO, the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, for its heroic struggle for a free, multi-racial Namibia.

The task of preserving and consolidating the national independence that has already been won by the member states of our Movement is as vital as the political process towards national liberation. Since 1961, over three score nations have become independent. Independence requires constant vigilance. The struggle of a people does not end with their attainment of



freedom and nationhood. Non-Aligned states need to persist in their efforts at nation-building, to preserve their independence and to ensure for their people satisfactory standards of living and fair opportunities for economic development and advancement. The right of a nation to decide on and develop that political and socio-economic system which meets the aspirations of its people, is sacred. This right should be exercised in a free and open environment without pressure from any quarter.

The question of ensuring the security of Non-Aligned states and preserving their territorial integrity from external aggression and internal subversion is one which requires the Movement's special attention. Neutral states while rejecting membership in military pacts, have defence capability to defend their neutrality. On the other hand, Non-Aligned states who have been affected by external threats as well as interference in their internal affairs find themselves in a helpless situation. For many Non-Aligned countries there is no defence other than the force of our fundamental commitment to non-alignment: no alliance other than the strength of our good relations with members of this Movement.

Further, it is tragic that when considering the question of Non-Aligned states who have fallen victim to foreign intervention, members of the Movement have often found themselves being polarized into contrary positions. In consequence, rather than being able to offer clear unequivocal support to these members, we have unhappily tended to dissipate our energies in bitter discord. In fact, the situation is such that not infrequently our Movement finds itself trapped in the coils of controversy precisely when the independence and sovereignty of one of our members is threatened. The Movement itself then tends to exhaust itself in verbal quibblings. This has not brought necessary relief to the victims of Great Power strategic struggles and attempt at hegemony. We must ensure that some form of machinery, even of an informal nature, is set in motion to enable the Movement to respond positively and with speed when the sovereignty, independence or territorial integrity of one of our members is violated or is at stake. If we permit situations within our Movement to fester unhealed, we run the risk of endangering the health and strength of the entire Movement. Political atrophy can be fatal.

We have seen the tragic consequences of external intervention in the Republic of Cyprus. The inter-communal differences in the Republic which could have been settled through negotiation have been aggravated and polarized as a result of the presence of foreign troops in Cyprus. Sri Lanka a member of the Non-Aligned Contact Group in Cyprus, reaffirms its full support for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned character. Sri Lanka demands the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces as an essential basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem and calls for the revocation of the UDI of 15th

November 1983 and all subsequent separatist actions. We welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General to promote meaningful and constructive inter-communal talks which could lead to a mutually acceptable solution of the problem in accordance with the relevant Security and General Assembly Council resolutions.

The induction of foreign forces in two other clearly distinct situations, those respectively, in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, has eroded peace and stability in South West Asia and South East Asia. The encouragement by our Movement of a dialogue among the states of the region, and political solution providing for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, must be a high priority to ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all states in the region, including Kampuchea.

Similarly, the tension created in South West Asia by the situation in Afghanistan can only be defused by a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and full respect for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned personality as well as strict observance of the principle of non-intervention in its internal affairs. The efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations towards the solution of this issue, we earnestly hope, will lead to early success.

Two Non-Aligned states with whom Sri Lanka maintains the best of relations, Iran and Iraq are locked in a tragic and wasteful conflict. We earnestly hope efforts being made to bring peace between these 2 states will be blessed with success. This meeting must continue its endeavours in this dispute. Sri Lanka extends its full support to these endeavours.

The world economic situation continues to cause serious concern to the Non-Aligned. The global economic recession of 1980-1983 affected all countries. Even among the developed, very few have recovered from its long term deleterious effects. The economies of the Non-Aligned continue to suffer due to these adverse developments and face increasing balance of payment deficits, a mounting debt burden and deteriorating terms of trade.

In the past two or three years, there has been a partial economic recovery in the developed countries. Even this recovery has been uneven. Despite the recovery, there has been an increasing tendency towards protectionism and bilateralism in trade on the part of the developed countries.

The major trade restrictions by the industrial countries against developing countries are non-tariff measures taken largely outside the rules and spirit of GATT. In addition, the drop in real commodity prices in recent years has been a blow to the developing countries since over two-third of their export earnings are derived from commodities. Though world trade expanded by 8.8 per cent in 1984, these gains, from expanding trade opportunities were not evenly distributed among



developing countries. We in Sri Lanka have experienced a continuing deficit balance in trade causing a heavy burden on the balance of payments. Our exports in 1985 amounted to Rs.35 billion while imports were Rs.49 billion.

Since early 1984, there has been ongoing discussions regarding a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. Any new round of negotiations can only be meaningful if the developed countries implement the commitments undertaken by them at the GATT Ministerial Meeting in 1982 and at UNCTAD VI, which were of particular relevance to the development and trade needs of the developing countries. The principle objective of any new round of multi-lateral trade negotiations therefore should be a substantial increase in the access for the exports of developing countries to the markets of the developed countries. This would enable of developing countries to expand their capacity to absorb higher levels of imports from developed countries and lead to an expansion of world trade on a mutually beneficial basis.

In addition to this expansion of world trade by an open trading system, the international community must promote the growth of the world economy by finding solutions to the existing inter-related problems of money, finance, debt and trade. There is the need to promote a better understanding of these problems and to bring about a compromise where there are divergent perceptions. This spirit of accommodation is a pre-requisite to the achievement of a consensus on bringing about fundamental changes in the existing international economic system.

The Non-Aligned Movement has consistently stressed the importance of economic cooperation among developing countries to enhance self-reliance and to increase their countervailing power in negotiations with the developed countries. The Heads of State of the countries of South Asia Meeting in Dhaka in December last year took a historic decision to establish SAARC the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to promote regional economic cooperation and to strengthen peace and security in the region. In pursuance of a decision taken by the Heads of State, a Ministerial Meeting of the SAARC countries was held in Islamabad last month to review international economic issues. The Ministers in a Declaration whilst accepting that the accelerated economic and social development of their countries was their primary responsibility recognised that the prevailing international economic crisis had seriously affected their development programmes. I commend the proposals made in the Declaration for your consideration.

The deteriorating socio economic conditions in the world have been most felt by the least developed countries. In addition, the drought that affected 21 countries in Africa (which were all least developed countries) in the last three years has caused serious disruption to their economies and has exposed more

than 30 million people to famine and malnutrition. Most of these countries affected by adverse climatic forces have been precariously near to the brink of disaster and this has made it difficult for their policy makers to keep sight of long term development goals. The UN Conference on Least Developed Countries held in Paris in 1981 focused the attention of the entire international community on their problems. The Substantial New Programme of Action (SNPA) which was unanimously adopted, while emphasising the primary responsibility of these countries for their own development, recognised their special need for external support. However, this support has been inadequate and economic conditions in the least developed countries have continued to deteriorate. The Non-Aligned must therefore take necessary measures to ensure the urgent implementation of the recommendations of the Mid-Term Global Review of the SNPA held in October last year.

The direct nexus between disarmament and development has long since been acknowledged. The forthcoming United Nations Conference on this relationship affords us the opportunity of considering the implications of the level and magnitude of military expenditure on the international economic and social situation, particularly for the developing countries. This Conference will also help identify ways and means of releasing additional resources through disarmament measures for development purposes. The Sri Lanka Prime Minister at the Fortieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly expressed the interest of the Government of Sri Lanka to promote a sustained global effort to secure the release of a proportion of military expenditure for international economic initiatives. That armaments neither buy security nor encourage confidence among nations has been frequently echoed by the Non-Aligned. We have advocated in the Movement that international security can be strengthened only by scaling down and eventually dismantling military alliances. In fact, the Charter of the United Nations while expressing determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war has called for the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security "with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources".

Non-Aligned states find it unacceptable that the security of the world should hinge on the security perceptions of a handful of nuclear weapon states. Measures for the prevention of nuclear war must take into account the security interests of non-nuclear weapon states. For this reason, it is essential that the Non-Aligned countries continue to play a key role in all disarmament negotiations centred in the United Nations. The disarmament debate is not a luxury for the few. It is an imperative for all.

Sri Lanka is encouraged by certain trends which seem to indicate that the United States and the Soviet Union could reach an accommodation to work towards the



elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth during this century. Even if this laudable goal cannot be reached, a significant reduction of military expenditure will not merely reduce tension and mutual suspicion and enhance the prospect of human survival, it will also help ensure that such survival would be a higher level of economic well-being.

Mr. Chairman, in our own immediate environment of the Indian Ocean, tension has increased, hampering the peaceful development of the states of the region. In concert with the Non-Aligned who constitute the vast majority of littoral and hinterland states, Sri Lanka has exerted all efforts to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of Peace. To this end, in 1979, littoral and hinterland states accepted a series of principles of agreement for the implementation of the Declaration. The process of negotiation for the establishment of the Zone of Peace requires full understanding and acceptance by the Great Powers of the security demands of the regional states. Equally, there must be agreement within the region itself that inter-state relations would be conducted in accordance with the principles of the non-use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of states and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Sri Lanka looks forward to hosting the UN Conference in Colombo on the Indian Ocean as soon as possible once the preparatory work is completed this year. The Conference will constitute a major step towards establishing conditions of peace and tranquility in the region and facilitate arrangements for international agreements that would ultimately be reached for the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

Like the Indian Ocean, the resource-rich Antarctic region offers both the opportunity for peaceful economic development as well as the threat of confrontation. Sri Lanka supports a detailed study by the United Nations of the Antarctic Treaty System. The Non-Aligned must exert all efforts to ensure that this region will remain open to all for peaceful co-operation rather than serve as an arena for militarization and conflict.

Outer space has thus far remained relatively free of the weapons of war, but ominous signs are apparent that this situation may not endure long. With Non-Aligned states, Sri Lanka has taken certain initiatives, both at the General Assembly and at the Conference on Disarmament, for the prevention of an arms race in outer space. It is essential that we pursue the potential for peace and progress in the uncharted expanses of outer space and avert the dangers of dispute and discord.

In a few months time, the Non-Aligned will be returning at Summit level to the African continent for the first time after thirteen years. When the Heads of Non-Aligned states last met in Africa in Algiers, we had an issue on our agenda called the situation in Southern Rhodesia. That item has since been put away, decisively, finally, gloriously. Free Zimbabwe, took its rightful place among independent states – members of the Non-Aligned Movement. From Delhi we move to Harare. The last three years have been full of challenges for the Non-Aligned Movement and under the wise guidance of India's chairmanship the Movement has advanced in strength and purpose. We are grateful for India's contribution to the Movement through the years.



# Namibia: rising tide of the liberation spirit

**Statement Made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia—July 7, 1986, Vienna**

Mr. President,  
Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me offer you, Mr. President, and the Members of your Bureau, Sri Lanka's warm congratulations and good wishes on your election. Your country Mr. President, Tanzania on the frontline of advancing freedom in Southern Africa has played a major role in Namibia's struggle for independence.

Our thanks are due to Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, President of the Council of Namibia and to Mr. Najmuddin Rifai, Secretary-General of the Conference for the detailed preparatory work accomplished. I extend our thanks also to H.E. Mr. Peter Jankowitz Austria for Austria's generous hosting of our conference. My congratulations on his recent appointment as Foreign Minister of Austria.

Mr. President, two decades have passed since the termination of South Africa's mandate over Namibia and the assumption by the United Nations of direct responsibility. These years have been marked by turmoil, loss of life and grim milestones such as Kassinga. This International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia is not the first of its kind. I hope it will be the last.

We meet nevertheless at a historically decisive moment. Never has the bastion of apartheid been under such sustained attack. This brings hope to the Namibian struggle. The powerful surge of mass agitation that is sweeping South Africa and Namibia is an index of the rising tide of the liberation spirit and its resolute determination. The minority regime maintains 100,000 troops in Namibia, and holds more than three-fourths of the population in so-called 'Security Districts'. These 'Security Districts' have been a cover for callous killing, kidnapping, torture, and other repressive measures. As a cosmetic veneer, the regime has set up a bogus, illegal and thoroughly unrepresentative interim Government with its puppet strings stretching back to Pretoria. Legislation such as the Intimidation Act, the Demonstrations in or near Court Building Prohibition Act, the Protection of Information Act signify the regime's iron fist on Namibia. The absence of legal apparatus based on the Rule of Law and norms of civilised behaviour has deprived the people of Namibia any possibilities for recourse to normal legal safeguards to ensure their fundamental rights. What those who advise against immediate action against apartheid should realize is that legality is being cynically invoked by a violent minority to crush an entire people who seek to establish the basic characteristics of democracy; majority rule and pluralism.

As in South Africa, so also in Namibia, the more ruthless the repression, the more resolute the resistance. Under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic

representative. Namibians from all strata of society are waging a heroic struggle against racist minority domination and violence.

South Africa's continued control of Namibia has long been condemned as illegal by the international community. The Security Council adopted Resolution 435 in 1978 which represents the international blue print for the independence of a united Namibia. Even South Africa accepted the provisions of Resolution 435 but has, in subsequent actions, displayed its obvious mala-fides. It has insisted on extraneous conditions such as the clearly untenable linkage between the Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops presently in Angola. We must reject such linkages and affirm the right of Angola to protect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against attacks from dissident groups manipulated, armed and supported by neighbouring South Africa.

Other frontline States—Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe are threatened by destabilization efforts, acts of cross-border terrorism and aggression by South Africa. While we strive for Namibia's independence, let us equally strengthen the Independent States of Southern Africa against attacks by murder squads and terrorist groups from the neighbouring racist minority regime. Many of these attacks have been launched from bases in Namibia held by that regime.

Beyond South Africa, beyond Namibia, the minority regime's military actions have now acquired an ominous undertone as evidence mounts of the regime's nuclear capability. This prospect threatens not merely the independence and stability of the region, but also international peace and security itself.

On the global scale, efforts by the racist regime to project the liberation struggle and the decolonization process in South Africa and Namibia as a manifestation of the East-West ideological struggle deserve to be scornfully rejected. What is indeed involved is a struggle between bigotry and racism, exemplified by apartheid on the one hand, and, on the other, the basic compulsions of humanity and the striving for a multi-racial society in which all communities could live in peace together. What is involved is a pitched battle between minority rule backed by violence and terrorism on the one hand and,



democracy and majority rule backed by justice on the other. What is involved is an option between servitude and freedom. We are all agreed on what choice should be and on what forces should be victorious. What remains is to immediately establish conditions for that option to be exercised decisively and for that victory to be achieved urgently.

Sri Lanka salutes Chairman Sam Nujoma and SWAPO for their mature guidance of the Namibian struggle for independence and democracy. We call for the release of SWAPO and other political prisoners to enable their full participation in a process towards independence.

Internationally, world opinion has united in condemnation of the apartheid regime and joined in agitation to bring it down. Barely a month ago the World Conference on Sanctions against racist South Africa which met in Paris concluded that 'the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid is to enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa'. This must of necessity have a major impact on the Namibian Independence struggle. Sri Lanka shares with the United Nations and the Council for Namibia, a common commitment to support all efforts towards the attainment of the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national

independence in a united Namibia, inclusive of Walvis Bay, Penguin and other islands.

The title of this Conference is itself its mandate—the immediate independence of Namibia. It has been eight years since the Security Council unanimously adopted the Resolution 435 representing a common denominator of global consensus on how Namibia should advance to freedom. The sense of optimism and sense of hope—the sense of imminent independence has now been soured by the racist regime's duplicity and prevarication. With the rising tide of popular agitation against the minority regime reaching a high ebb in South Africa, the international community must not lose the initiative. There is indeed a tide in the affairs of South Africa and Namibia which must be taken at the flood. Only then can our efforts lead on to independence. The message from this Conference must be clear and affect the collective conscience of mankind. To those who preach democracy this is the opportunity to practise its virtues. Those who have the pressure to bear on the South African regime must exert that pressure now. The independence plan for Namibia must be implemented. Comprehensive mandatory sanctions are the only effective weapon of peace available. Time lost means lives lost. The time for talk is gone. The time for action is now—not just for Namibia, not just for South Africa, but for the world, for all humanity.



Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed meeting the President of SWAPO Mr. Sam Nujoma



# Negotiate Through the Spirit of Compromise

**Statement made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs, A. C. S. Hameed at the Conference on Disarmament on 8 July 1986 at Geneva**

Mr. President,

My visit to the Conference on Disarmament this year coincides happily with your Presidency. Burma and Sri Lanka are two small Asian countries with a shared philosophical and cultural tradition over centuries of history. Drawing our strength from this tradition we have, as modern nations, endeavoured to make our contribution in the international fora devoted to disarmament side by side with other members.

Sri Lanka has always attached great importance to this sole multilateral negotiating body. It is true that small nations alone cannot shape the destiny of this conference. In a way it can be argued that issues on Conference on Disarmament's (CD's) Agenda have no direct link with developing countries, particularly with small developing countries. In a major confrontation this argument will become irrelevant. Everybody on this planet will be victims. The re-constitution of the CD was to give representation to the voice of the Third World—a voice that is substantial and cannot be ignored.

Two voices that were raised courageously and incessantly in the case of disarmament were stilled this year with the death of Alva Myrdal and the assassination of Olaf Palme. This is my first statement in a global disarmament forum since these tragic events. May I, therefore, pay tribute to these two Swedish fighters for peace whom the world proudly claims as its citizens.

We are already in the second half of 1986. Ironically we need to be reminded that we are observing this year the International Year of Peace. The only resolution the United Nations General Assembly could adopt by consensus on October 24 last year, when we observed the 40th Anniversary of the United Nations in the presence of so many distinguished Heads of State and Governments, was the Resolution on the International Year of Peace. A few weeks after we had the 40th Anniversary celebrations of the United Nations, the Organisation was in the grip of a financial crisis threatening its very existence. We have not overcome that crisis. It is more deep seated than a question of balancing Budgets. It represents a collective crisis of commitment to the objectives of the UN Charter and the machinery that was established to implement it. Today the International Year of Peace stands in jeopardy of being remembered as a year of discarded treaties, aborted proposals for disarmament, blatant justification of the use of force in international relations, violations of the sovereignty of states through interference in the internal affairs of countries as the continued presence of foreign troops in other countries.

The Non Aligned Foreign Ministers Meeting in New Delhi in April this year once again noted with concern the renewed escalation in the arms race particularly in nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass

destruction. Newly emerging technologies are bringing into being new generations of weapons of mass destruction both nuclear and non nuclear. Similarly preparations are going on for the development of new weapon systems in outer space through the application of new technology and this throws up a new dimension of grave importance.

We live in a world of violence—violence which is both overt and covert. Peace and justice have to be defended from violent assaults. These assaults sometimes come from terrorism which is today a global problem. Terrorism often cloaked by the dignity of a political cause is in fact annihilation seeking converts through terror and not through the democratic process. Our capacity to defend the world of peace and international law and order depends on our own observance of that international law and order which includes the UN Charter and the body of Treaties. The sophistry of argumentation cannot conceal the abandonment of civilized restraints to secure a short-term advantage in the arms race and in the global competition for power.

If treaties and international commitments are to be disregarded and the jurisdiction of international institutions to be unilaterally ignored, what moral leverage have we, with those who undermine the rule of law. International law and order transcends national perceptions. It cannot be upheld by force alone. Over 200 years ago, Edmond Burke the great British statesman said in his speech on conciliation with America and I quote—"The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered."

We could say with equal validity today that the world is not governed which is perpetually subjected to the threat or use of force whether political, economic or military. It is precisely in recognition of this fact that the United Nations was created as "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in maintaining international peace and security: Developing friendly relations among nations and achieving international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. It is what the International Year of Peace is about. Peace and the agreements on disarmament that you seek to put together in this forum will remain forever elusive unless



we are agreed around this table that international law and morality can never countenance the use of force as an instrument of policy except within the strict confines of the Charter. That, in the final analysis, distinguishes civilized governments from terrorist groups.

*Mr. President,*

Another set-back we have witnessed in this International Year of Peace is the failure to hold the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. We appreciate the reasons that have led to the postponement. Sri Lanka had looked forward to this Conference and had welcomed the Joint Declaration by the Panel of Eminent Personalities in the Field of Disarmament and Development. UN studies on the economic and social consequence of the arms race and of military expenditure and the study of the relationship between disarmament and development have had the cumulative effect of establishing that the link between two important goals in the Charter—Disarmament and Development—is viable for all countries. Already countries like Sweden have shown that as part of the disarmament process military resources can be converted to constructive civilian use and that the reallocation must be planned ahead to avoid the perpetuation of military-industrial complexes. This reallocation in a world of finite resources must be planned on a global basis. In the transitional phase while national security requirements remain undiminished reductions in military expenditure can be achieved on a voluntary basis. The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development must be held in 1987 and Sri Lanka hopes that all nations would participate in a fit and proper manner.

In the 40th Anniversary Year of the UN we were glad to see the leaders of the two most powerful nations meet in this city. A number of important principles governing the international security situation and the process of disarmament came under the scrutiny. This year we have also had the innovative proposals of January 15 from General Secretary Gorbachev and a series of other initiatives. We are encouraged that new proposals placed by the USSR before the conclusion of the Fifth Round of the Bilateral Negotiations have been received with interest and are being seriously studied. We hope this represents the turn of the tide and that existing treaties which stood in danger of being breached will now instead be fortified with fresh agreements for deep reductions in existing arsenals of nuclear weapons. A holistic view of disarmament is emerging. The opportunity for peace must be seized. Both parties are aware of their enormous responsibilities to the international community. Another Summit Meeting this year was promised in the Joint Statement. Summit meetings are certainly good. They can build on the basis of the Joint Statement of last year to achieve tangible results not only in Geneva but in Vienna and in Stockholm.

For many years Sri Lanka has along with other nations attempted to see the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace implemented. After the successful meeting of littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean in 1979 we have looked forward to an International Conference on the Indian Ocean as a means of achieving the objectives of the Declaration. The recent initiative of Brazil to declare the South Atlantic as a Zone of Peace coming after the Treaty of Rarotonga last year establishing the South Pacific Nuclear Weapon Free Zone is an index of the growing awareness of the need to insulate regions from power rivalries and their destabilizing influences. The conclusion of an international legal regime for the sea though falling short of universal adherence focuses attention on the naval arms race. Sri Lanka, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, continues its effort for the convening of the International Conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo. The Conference alone can lay down the broad guidelines for any effective implementation of the Declaration.

A new dimension of the arms race that seems dangerously imminent is in outer space. Here too Sri Lanka has been associated in efforts in this forum and in the United Nations to prevent an arms race in outer space. Nearly two decades ago Sri Lanka cautioned against unrestrained military activities in outer space. We did so because of our concern with the phenomenon of terrestrial arms race and its dynamics entailing the familiar sequence of research, development, testing and deployment. As the representative of Sri Lanka—then Ceylon—to the United Nations General Assembly in 1966, I had occasion to state, at the time of the adoption of the Outer Space Treaty, that—and I quote—"The second paragraph of Article IV prohibits military manoeuvres and all other kinds of military activities on celestial bodies. Here again, we note with disappointment that military activities are not prohibited in outer space and on the moon. My delegation wishes to record its reservations on Article IV and our hope that by implication it will not give a Licence for military activities in outer space and on the moon. In that case, the lofty objective of the Treaty would be negated."

Our concerns have been borne out by military related development of space capabilities which took place during the past decades. Speaking at the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful uses of Outer Space held in Vienna in August 1982 I said that—

"The world community will indeed run the risk of misdirecting the achievements of space science and space technology if these remain the special preserve of a few to be exploited in rivalry for narrow national benefit. Therein would be the grave danger of militarising space not only through auxiliary military applications such as surveillance satellites and search and rescue operations but also through specifically aggressive weapon systems placed in space".



Four years later we witness an arms race in space weapons being conducted in research laboratories. Before the research of today becomes the reality of tomorrow we must legislate effectively to keep space free of weapons. We are glad to note that the Ad Hoc Committee under this Agenda item has begun serious work in identifying and examining the issues involved. The vital need to preserve the ABM Treaty of 1972 and to arrive at an agreement banning anti-satellite weapons has been accepted by an overwhelming number of nations. The strengthening of the Space Registration Convention and the inviolability of satellites for registered peaceful uses are other necessary steps. The technical complexities of the subject demand that a global effort be made to seek agreement on the parameters of the discussion before any negotiation can begin. Sri Lanka's view is that this is best achieved within a group of scientific experts working on an independent mandate to provide this conference with the technical expertise it requires.

We have also worked for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space and I recall again my statement in the Unispace Conference of 1982 in Vienna where I stated and I quote—"Some consideration has already been given to the possibility of creating an International Space Agency. This is in keeping with an evolving trend in international life today ..... It is necessary to prepare ourselves for the space age with the institutional machinery which could make outer space a truly successful area of genuine co-operation among nations" We believed then, as we do now, that a world space Agency would be in the best interests of the international community to ensure that the peaceful uses of space was conducted in a co-operative manner guaranteeing that developing countries also benefitted from this common heritage of mankind. We are glad therefore to welcome the recent initiative to convene an international conference to consider the creation of such an organization. Peace and stability in space are pre-requisites for productive investments for exploration and exploitation of outer space for the benefit of mankind. If we fail now to create such conditions, we will have failed again, as we did 20 years ago.

Neither space nor the oceans of the world can be insulated from the arms race if this conference remains a mere bystander in world events. The establishment of this multilateral negotiating forum has a purpose for which all nations are in undeniable agreement. You are engaged in the important task of negotiation a chemical weapons ban and I wish you all success in this. We must rid the world of the production and use of these awful weapons. That is not to set different priorities but to work pragmatically in areas where possibilities of success

exist. We acknowledged a common debt to the government of the Netherlands for the useful workshop held recently. Work on a ban on radiological weapons has acquired a greater urgency after the tragedy of the Chernobyl accident. While expressing our sympathy to the Government and people of the USSR we cannot help drawing a lesson from this accident on the need to protect peaceful nuclear installations from not only accidental damage but also intentional attacks. The spontaneous international effort to ensure nuclear safety and the laudable role of IAEA which will hold an international conference in September to strengthen international co-operation in nuclear safety and radiological protection augur well for the world's capacity to learn from its mistakes. Will we be similarly wise to negotiate the disarmament agreements necessary to ensure human survival and prevent a Nuclear War? The conference's inability to act—as distinct from debating—on the priority nuclear issues set out so clearly in the final document of SSOD 1 remains an indictment on the global system for the negotiation of disarmament. Sri Lanka urges once again as an initial step urgent commencement of work on a nuclear test ban. The third review conference of the NPT similarly call upon the nuclear weapon states to participate in the urgent negotiations and conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban in the conference on disarmament. The overwhelming majority of the international community remain convinced that the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear tests would be the single most important step which could strengthen existing legal regime against further proliferation of nuclear weapons both laterally and vertically. The elements for a mandate that can be accepted by all do exist. Successive resolutions at the General Assembly have pointed to the overwhelming desire of nations for this measure. Major work has been done in the verification sphere and discussions can commence without prejudice to final agreements that may emerge on the scope of the issues involved. Sri Lanka's flexibility on this and other issues is well known. We are not rigid on modalities or structures. Nor are we dogmatic on slogans or mandates. However, we have seen too often that flexibility is ineffective if it is unmatched by willingness to compromise elsewhere.

May I return Mr. President to Edmund Burke who said that "All Governments indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter". No disarmament can be achieved without compromise and barter. Negotiation from strength, negotiation by breaching existing agreements and negotiation through intimidation will not yield the results that will have a universal validity and durability. Sri Lanka will always appeal for the spirit of compromise in the conference.



# Millions Who Yearn for a Better Tomorrow

**Statement made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the Second Regular Session of Economic and Social Council – Geneva – 9 July 1986**

I am happy to see a distinguished representative of Mozambique guide out deliberations at this Session of ECOSOC. May I wish you and your colleagues in the Bureau all success.

My participation in the Session of ECOSOC last year and this year signifies the importance Sri Lanka attaches to the role of this Council in international economic co-operation and co-ordination of development activities within the UN system. In the four decades of the UN's existence we have witnessed a fragmentation of this role of ECOSOC and even a refusal on the part of some to accept its competence. We are glad to note the distinguished Secretary-General's call last week in this forum for a return to the mandate of this Council.

Many of the problems in the field of international monetary and financial relations as well as of international trade relations have common roots. Similarly, political and economic stability complement each other. Issues such as debt and resource transfers and protectionism and structural adjustment, moreover, often interact with one another giving rise to repercussions and policy implications which may not always seem clear. Yet viewing them in a common setting, brings out many linkages as between issues and countries and groups of countries. This allows us to gauge how impulses are generated and transmitted across the world economy and to assess the impact of various actions and reactions on development, trade, money and finance.

The present economic recovery which has endured for over three years, has been far from pervasive. It has by-passed the developing countries which continue to be in crisis. The pace of development in the developing countries has stagnated, if not fallen. Investment in these countries has been drastically reduced, unemployment greatly intensified and inflation accelerated. Consequently, living standards have fallen-entailing malnutrition, under nourishment and deteriorating health conditions. The developing countries are vulnerable to these adverse conditions much more than the developed countries. In sum, the social and political fabric in these countries is under severe strain – an explosive situation indeed which brooks no delay. The critical situation in Africa persists and the problems of the least developed countries remain challenging as ever.

The only credible explanation of the magnitude and severity of this crisis lies in the external shocks inflicted upon the developing countries since 1979. The deterioration of the external environment and its persistence has diminished hopes for the Third World. Commodity prices remain at their lowest real level since the postwar years. Though nominal interest rates have declined, they remain high in real terms. Protectionism in

trade has continued to mount especially vis-a-vis products of export interest to developing countries. Flows of bank lending and export credits continue to be meagre. The stress on fiscal orthodoxy combined with insular attitudes has led to a very slow expansion of Official Development Assistance and the lending capacities of the multilateral development banks. These adverse trends reflect weaknesses in policies and the structure of the international trade and payments system.

Developing countries have made major sacrifices by means of domestic adjustments. They have re-ordered their priorities and changed many mechanisms to keep afloat on their external accounts. The social and political costs incurred in these adjustments were heavy indeed. The room for making further adjustments of a contractionary nature has now been exhausted. So the question is posed, what more can the developing countries do to revive growth and development? The true remedy lies in the improvement of the external environment. This in turn will depend on how the current imbalances are taken care of and on the impulses given to the growth of investments and of trade.

In this grim situation, there have been some favourable developments in the area of currency alignments and interest rate reductions that have occurred. There has been a growing perception among some of the major industrial and financial centres on the need to strengthen international co-operation. It is being recognised more clearly that international considerations will have to be taken into greater account in policy making and that concerted international efforts are required on a broad front.

However, as indeed we are all aware, the vagaries of the commodity market are such that the developing country commodity exporters simply cannot predicate their development process on it. In fact the World Economic Survey reveals a slowing down of growth in Asia, mainly because of a fall in commodity prices. This is particularly unfortunate when most of Asia through its own efforts has shown a marked improvement in agricultural production. For Sri Lanka the decline in tea and coconut prices was especially serious despite increased production. There is no improvement projected either.

The enormity of the problem of resource flows to developing countries is aggravated by the sluggish growth of industrialised economies and protectionist barriers which impede the transmission of this limited



growth to them. Additional resource flows are therefore, an urgent need and we believe that the proposals of the Committee for Development Planning must be considered seriously. We welcome the Structural Adjustment Facility of the IMF as a modest step towards helping developing countries. However, another issue of SDR is urgently needed. Expanded lending by the World Bank must of course, depend on a General Capital Increase which must take place. We also believe that IDA assistance must be increased. Apart from these institutions the industrialised countries themselves have to adopt policies to generate the additional transfer of resources in the interests of the global economy.

In international Social Policy a welcome development has been the increasing world-wide consensus on the need to protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. A substantial measure of credit this is due to those bodies of the UN system under ECOSOC that have over the years laboured hard to codify human rights and to build up an increasing awareness of this issue. We the member states must continue to co-operate with the relevant UN bodies in this field.

Next year we will observe the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. My country has had the privilege of being instrumental in this process when at the 35th UN General Assembly we argued that the provision of adequate shelter should be viewed as an integral part of the social and economic development process and should therefore be central to global and national poverty eradication strategies. The 37th UN General Assembly endorsed this thesis when it accepted Resolution 37/221. It is of happy significance that the Year of Shelter follows the Year of Peace. Let us in 1987 by concentrating on this field, seize the opportunity to put aside the divisive issues of politics and ideology.

On cultural affairs, my delegation supports the proposal to proclaim a World decade of cultural development to be observed under the auspices of the United Nations and UNESCO. The four major objectives which have been identified in this plan of action—namely, acknowledgement of the cultural dimension of development, affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, broadening participation in culture and promotion of international cultural co-operation—meet with our approval. An interdisciplinary approach involving the co-operation of all organisations within the UN system in the noble task of preserving and promoting the best fruits of humanity's achievements in different fields of culture, as envisaged in the plan of action, merits our approval and support. It is on these grounds that my delegation commends that earnest consideration be given to this proposal.

Mr. President, it is only fitting that we note the establishment in Dhaka in December 1985 of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC)—an initiative with which Sri Lanka has been closely associated from its inception. The peoples of SAARC who account for one fifth of humanity face the challenges of poverty, under-development and low production levels compounded by current external adverse pressures. In the face of these, they have felt that, bound as their countries are by so many common values, regional co-operation is a logical response. Under the umbrella of SAARC, the peoples of South Asia look forward to charting their common destiny and also to jointly making their contribution and fulfilling their obligations to the global community of nations.

The task before us, though a challenging one, is to agree on a change of overall course and direction and to carry out concrete policy measures across a broad front and in a coherent and mutually reinforcing manner. These must include measures to stimulate a more vigorous rate of expansion of economic activity in all countries and to generate positive net resource flows to all developing countries. Interest rates must be reduced so as to make real interest rates affordable. Debt relief will have to be provided. Capital bases of multilateral development financing institutions will have to be augmented and their lending policies geared to the needs and priorities of developing countries. Official Development Assistance (ODA) must be stepped up. Protectionism must be halted and rolled back and co-operation in commodities strengthened. These must form the core of policy initiatives to revive growth and development. But to do so we will have to renew our faith and commitment to multilateralism and international economic co-operation. The present drift, characterised by an absence of political will, will have to be reversed.

We take this opportunity to call for the invigoration of ECOSOC through high level participation and a full discussion of the central issues in economic and social development. This cannot be achieved by distracting the Council with divisive political issues. Proxy debates elsewhere and the break up of the discussion into various issues according to perceived priority and in different fora according to agreed relevance has not taken us any closer to the solutions. A comprehensive approach is necessary and can only take place under the aegis of the UN here and in the General Assembly. The lesson of the African crisis and the UN system's admirable response to it must be learnt. Let us apply that lesson to the deteriorating international economic situation. Must the millions who yearn for a better tomorrow wait for further economic disasters to befall them for their cry to be heard?



# Regional Homogeneity Through Informal Exchanges

*Statement made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the SAARC Council of Ministers Meeting—Dacca—12 August 1986*

Mr. Chairman,  
Hon. Foreign Ministers,  
Distinguished Foreign Secretaries,  
Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Please permit me Mr. Chairman at the outset, to convey to you my own and my delegation's very warm felicitations and to express our pleasure at this renewal of SAARC contact in your lovely capital city. As always, we are the beneficiaries of the most generous hospitality, for which we thank you and through you, your Government and your people.

We recollect readily and vividly our last visit here, on the occasion of the historic inaugural summit, and we would wish to record again our recognition of the significant role Bangladesh has played in our region's cooperative endeavour. Last December, our leaders met here to set the seal upon our association and to direct us firmly on the path of meaningful regional cooperation. Now, we meet here to prepare for the first of our annual working summits which, will further help to lift our endeavours to a more effective and self-generating plane.

Last December's summit, Mr. Chairman, outlined for our association certain clear and important short term goals. We may, for convenience, call it our programme of action for 1986. One important feature of this programme is to fashion for ourselves a permanent secretariat. Another is to coordinate and concert our positions and actions within multilateral fora on international economic issues. The fulfilment of this programme for 1986 will be our first real test as an association and, our success in this direction would impart a significant momentum to our endeavours and help to establish our regional identity.

Turning to the specifics of our agenda, Mr. Chairman, it is noted that the standing committee has evaluated our progress and recommended ways to improve our performance. I believe the committee's report could be accepted and endorsed by us. My delegation has already expressed its concerns during the committee's deliberations on our attitude to efforts initiated by international agencies, to determine areas for our activities. I believe, that such proposals in the first instance should generate from the association and that SAARC representative interacting with outside agencies should be given specific mandates.

In regard to the secretariat, Sir, our views are reflected in the recommendations of the standing committee. I would wish to stress here our own basic approach to this matter. In fact we went into this question in detail Mr. Chairman during your visit to Colombo. It is our view that the secretariat should reflect as far as possible the sovereign equality of the members and that there should be unanimity with regard to its direction.

The recommendations of the ministerial meeting of SAARC countries that was held in Islamabad last April on economic issues are of significant importance to us. The meeting afforded an opportunity of our countries to identify our special and urgent concerns. We should move to ensure that they are taken into account in the overall strategy that developing countries would adopt in negotiations with the developed countries. The declaration at the conclusion of the meeting has urged the need for a collective approach by the SAARC countries for the resolution of the fundamental problems of the world economy. The meeting has stressed that the difficulties faced by the region are closely related to the structural deficiencies inherent in the system of world economic relations. My government wishes to place on record its appreciation of the constructive work done at this meeting and endorses the proposals in the declaration.

The ministerial meeting on women and development held in Shilong last May is another important event in the SAARC Calendar. This meeting identified areas with special significance to women. My government endorses the recommendation of this meeting that technical committees on agreed areas of cooperation should give greater emphasis to programmes that are relevant and important to women.

During the summit our leaders showed great concern on the challenges posed today by terrorism to the security and stability of our region. In keeping with their decision an expert group on terrorism met in Dhaka in June and we have before us their unanimous recommendations. The report identifies substantive areas for collective regional measures in countering terrorism.

These recommendations in our view once they are implemented, would constitute significant and substantial progress by way of collective action by the member countries in countering the problem of terrorism. They are in keeping with internationally accepted principles. These principles are sovereign, equality, territorial integrity, national independence, non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.



My delegation endorses the recommendations of this study group, as well as the implementative action now proposed by the standing committee. When we next meet in Bangalore in November, on the basis of the recommendations of the experts group now to be constituted we can recommend to our leaders the adoption at summit level of a regional convention on terrorism.

I believe Sir, that we must accept that a measure of international scepticism attends our initiative. I believe this scepticism stems from the fact that the international community does not see in us a community of interest in terms of regional strategic perceptions. As far as I know such perceptions do not form the only basis for regional cooperation anymore. However, we must dispel such scepticism because the acceptance by the international community of our association is an important requirement for our success.

This is why Mr. Chairman, Sri Lanka called for a summit at the first meeting of SAARC countries held in Colombo in 1981. It is for the same reason that we advocate annual summits. It is our firm view that exchanges at the summit level could generate the maximum fund of goodwill, trust and confidence which alone can and will lead to SAARC's acceptability and endorsement by our people

and by the international community. For SAARC to grow and take its proper place it must have regional entity—an entity which commands the unreserved support of the leadership of South Asia.

We are grateful that India in making the preparations for the next summit has already given sufficient thought to providing sufficient opportunities for our leaders to have informal exchanges among themselves. These exchanges in the final analysis would lead to a process of familiarisation and confidence building which must necessarily give rise to a regional strategic consensus and a regional homogeneity.

In conclusion let me stress again our firm commitment to this process of regional cooperation and the consistency of our intent to play a full part in the further development of our association.

Mr. Chairman, your commitment to SAARC is well known. Backed by a team of dedicated officials Bangladesh has made its contribution to SAARC in no unmeasurable terms. You stand assured Mr. Chairman of Sri Lanka's fullest cooperation in bringing our deliberations to a timely and successful conclusion.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.



# Unity of Goals Through Pluralism

*The Address of the Hon. R. Premadasa, M.P., Prime Minister of Sri Lanka at the 8th Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Harare, Zimbabwe*

*Mr. Chairman,  
Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I bring you greetings and felicitations from His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. As a former Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, he has a special interest in the constructive outcome of our deliberations – reflecting the concern of the people of Sri Lanka. You will recall that a decade ago, Sri Lanka hosted the Fifth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Colombo.

When we last met in New Delhi in 1983, the leadership of our Movement devolved upon the then Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Tragedy forestalled the realization of her visions for the Non-Aligned Movement. However, under the guidance of her successor, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, we have kept the spirit of this Movement. We thank him for both his own leadership and the initiatives for peace which he has helped to sponsor.

We now welcome the leadership of our hosts – Zimbabwe. Those of us who were here, present at the birth of this Nation in 1980, need no reminder of the commitment of Zimbabwe to Freedom and Independence. It is with confidence that we anticipate the extension of these sentiments into the leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement in the years of Zimbabwean stewardship that lie ahead.

## **The Crossroads of History**

*Mr. Chairman,*

We meet at a critical moment in human history. Today, the forces of creativity and the forces of destruction are locked in a titanic struggle. On the outcome depends the future of the human species – on the outcome depends the destiny of our planet. We, the poor; we, the underprivileged of the world, are on the frontline. Small shifts in economic resources and military balances, changes that barely touch more affluent societies, mean life and death to nations and peoples; peoples who live at the margins of existence. This is why we must, individually and collectively, bend every effort towards survival.

In a sense, history has failed us. We too have failed history. We are children of great revolutions – the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries and the Socialist Revolution of the 20th century. However, neither industry nor ideology has brought us the peace, the prosperity and the progress that should be the birthright of all citizens of the world. **Today, one part of the world has too much materialism, too many machines and too sad an environmental condition. The other part of the world has too much poverty,**

**too many people and too sad a human condition. And both parts have too many weapons. Ironically, mankind is faced with two pressing problems – How to save half the population from underweight – I mean undernourishment; and the other half from overweight – I mean over eating. Is this the human heritage? Is this the monument which our generation will leave to history?**

It was, in large measure, to correct this imbalance between power and people that the Non-Aligned Movement was born in Belgrade twenty-five years ago. The lofty hopes of those founding impulses haunt us today. After one-quarter of a century, a period of vigorous activity and striving, the basic issues show little change. The prospect for individuals in developing regions remain bleak. On the larger stage of global affairs, a state of static has becalmed our most righteous agitations. Our desperate cries have been reduced to muted whispers.

## **NAM—Achievements and Assessments**

*Mr. Chairman,*

It is true that the Non-Aligned Movement has addressed the urgencies of our time. It has made progress on some critical issues. Decolonization has reached its last phase. The outlines of a New International Economic Order, the framework of a New Information Order, the structure of a New Regime for the Oceans and the Organization of Development Institutions have largely been completed. Third World Nations speak with confidence on matters of global importance. The Non-Aligned Movement has contributed to these achievements in a major way.

Yet, we cannot be satisfied with these efforts! Despite our earnest efforts, the most dangerous issues remain unresolved. In Belgrade, at the first Summit Meeting, our Leaders addressed the crisis of armaments. They called for general and total disarmament. Global arms expenditures were then in the region of US \$ 100 billion. Today, they are ten times that – almost US \$ 1000 billion. We have condemned and excoriated the superpowers for this escalation. However, while doing so, many of us



have caught the arms infection – some from necessity, some from desire for strength, all from the notion that somehow more weaponry provides more security.

If we are to make any strides towards world peace, we must purge this idea from our psychology. **Both rich and poor must realize that weaponry is not an insurance of security. It is a symbol of insecurity.** We may have to use it, but let us not be deceived as to the corrosive effect of force on the human spirit. Let us demand that the pacesetters of the arms race respect the human race. Let us call for a diversion of funds from destruction to development. We will, and we must, make these appeals. But, let us also remember that unless we apply these strictures to ourselves, they will have only a rhetorical impact.

*Mr. Chairman,*

For twenty-five years, the Non-Aligned Movement has drawn attention to the evils of racism. On this, there can be no compromise and no retrenchment of principle. Few will accept the concept that colour is the measure of worth. It is an idea that demeans all enlightened philosophies. If our African brethren demand urgent measures to relieve the discrimination that pains them so much, how can we refuse them? We know that they are with us in our struggles and our afflictions. We must be with them in theirs.

Not far from the continent of Africa is another issue and another region that causes us profound concern – the tensions in the Middle East. The position of the Non-Aligned Movement on this situation has been clearly articulated and we support it. Sri Lanka has always urged peaceful co-existence among states and respect for territorial sovereignty and integrity. We do not want the destruction of nations. We want the realization of human aspirations in an atmosphere of peace. Personally, I think not so much of governments and administrations, but of generations of young people who must not be allowed to live out their lives either as refugees or in perpetual fear. The world is poorer for the loss of their talents, the brutalization of their psyche, and the transformation of their aspirations from hope to bitterness.

It is these same imperatives, sanctity of territorial sovereignty and integrity which lead the Government and the People of Sri Lanka to condemn interference by major powers in the affairs of smaller states. Whether this interference is in Central Asia, Central America or in the Caribbean, it is unjustified. The existence of governments or the assumption of office by governments which are disliked by their neighbours is no excuse for overt or covert intervention. **External invasion, subversion or destabilisation is the theft of decision-making from citizens of a nation. We in the Non-Aligned Movement may only be able to resist these intrusions with words. But, let the words ring loud and clear – interference is wrong, interference is unprincipled, interference must stop.**

*Mr. Chairman,*

These and other troubling issues have been burning items on our agenda for a long time. They are issues of yesterday which scorch our conscience. However, the fact that they endure, and endure despite all our pleas and pledges, must surely provoke questions about the validity and the impact of the Non-Aligned Movement itself.

The Non-Aligned Movement began with a membership of twenty-five nations. Now, eight Summits and twenty-five years later, our numbers have increased fourfold and we represent a majority of the world's population. Yet, on every side, the current question being asked is: Will the Non-Aligned Movement survive or breakdown? There is a crisis of confidence in our credibility – an impression that we meet, express rhetorical morality, and disband until the next Summit. There are obviously powerful forces that do not want the Non-Aligned Movement to become a major instrument in shaping global events. However, outside influences apart, we must take a closer look at ourselves and the context of the times in which we live.

We live at a time when aid is declining and donor nations are drawing the strings of their generosity. Some may bemoan this. I welcome it. Aid is a supplement for our efforts. We must never let it become a substitute. **The only genuine path of development with dignity is through self-reliance. It is a hard and dangerous path. But, we have no alternative if we are to preserve our dignity and our Independence.**

Let us also realize, that the highly charged rhetoric of the past will not bring any credibility or benefits to our Movement or its members. Today, morality is best served by measures and methods that will create hope out of despair, not by words that serviced the expectations of another era. If we are to breakthrough rather than breakdown, we must work on the agenda of the future – not on the formularies of the past. Only when our statements and our warnings are underwritten by our own actions will our morality command the respectful attention it deserves. Only in this way can we make the decades to come the Age of Non-Alignment.

### **The Agenda of the Future**

*Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished Delegates,*

The agenda of the future is crowded with urgencies. New issues and new menaces threaten our lives and our ways of life. We have to devise new approaches to face these challenges.

We need peace among nations. We need peace among ourselves. There may be little we can directly do to reduce the tensions and the armament extravagances of the superpowers. But, we must not stop trying. The Six-Nation initiative, expanded and strengthened by the deliberations of these countries in Mexico last month,



form a constructive basis for a major arms control effort. Let us not only support it, but also urge the leaders of these Six-Nations to visit both Moscow and Washington to personally present their proposals.

**While we can hope for world peace, there is much we can do for peace among our own group of Non-Aligned Nations. Too many of us are in conflict. Unless we can resolve our own conflicts, we stand indicted in the court of global opinion.** I urge this Conference to consider the appointment of a small Permanent Peace Commission consisting of representatives from every Continent or Region. This Commission, whose mandate can coincide with our Summit Meetings could be charged with the responsibility of examining and helping to resolve conflicts – especially military conflicts, between Non-Aligned Nations. It is surely timely that such a mediating body with its authority flowing from our Conference, be established. This is a small step towards putting our own house in order. I commend it for your consideration.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Foremost among other concerns on the agenda of the future is the issue of development. For several decades, most of us have been engaged in efforts to improve the living conditions of our peoples. A variety of diverse strategies have been implemented through the United Nations Development Decades and through many International Agencies.

There have been industrial development strategies, agricultural development strategies, social change strategies, basic needs strategies and many others. Many of these strategies have had worthy objectives. They have achieved some gains. Yet, their implementation has not reduced the pyramids of debt, the tragic levels of unemployment and the atmosphere of apathy which have caused turbulences in so many Regions of the World. Perhaps, it is now timely to question these strategies. Let us fashion a new organizing principle around which a new development effort can be structured.

The International Year of Shelter for the Homeless provides us with such an opportunity. Next year, 1987, has been designated as this International Year by the United Nations. It has received almost unanimous support of the International Community. Under the guidance of the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements a series of programmes, resource mobilizations and other efforts are underway. The response has been most encouraging.

Shelter, as an organizing principle of development provides us with essentially a self-help approach to nation building. We have proven, in Sri Lanka and elsewhere, that building homes can produce practical results. It requires low capital outlays while directly impacting on

living standards, unemployment, community development, education and even nutrition. **Combined with an ownership programme, where the family which builds a home occupies and owns it, the shelter concept has a transforming influence on economic and social circumstances. Most of all it creates a revolution of the human spirit – a revolution motivated not by ideology or by profit, but by a sense of liberation from age-old insecurities.** This is why the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless is truly an universal effort.

*Mr. Chairman,*

As the initiator of the proposal for the International Year, I appeal to all member Nations of our Movement to participate vigorously in the programmes scheduled for 1987. More than just participating in a commemorative effort, I ask you to seize this opportunity of examining a new and immediately rewarding approach to development.

Among these rewards is the fact that development through shelter need not expand the oppressive burden of debt which mortgages the future of so many poorer nations. Debt relief must find a high place in our diplomatic efforts. Payments demanded by creditors are now far beyond the capacity of debtors. Many options and plans have been presented to us. Some favour a collective response and others recommend individual relief arrangements. Before we take more action, it seems appropriate that we consult together and prepare a group position. Only then will our negotiating ability be enhanced. Only then can we obtain a solution in which equity for each is not achieved at the expense of equity for all.

### **The Menace of Terrorism**

*Mr. Chairman,*

Our ability to work constructively on these and other concerns which form the agenda of the future is undermined by a cloud of darkness – the menace of terrorism. International terrorism, coming from and encouraged from outside national borders, creates a situation in which violence and counter-violence become the order of the day. **All of us must join in condemning terrorism against legitimately constituted Governments because the price it extracts is ultimately paid by the poor, the defenseless and the innocent.**

If the Non-Aligned Movement is to have a claim on the moral conscience of humankind it must not shirk exhortation of terrorism. All the great spiritual teachers of history, prophets and sages dear to us, have abjured violence against the innocent. The moral leaders of our time such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King have rejected the ethic of terror. Let us follow their inspired path.



Such condemnation is a meritorious goal, but it is not enough. **At the 40th General Assembly of the United Nations in October 1985, I proposed that an International Conference to deal with the problem of terrorism be convened under the sponsorship of the United Nations. Predictably, action on this proposal has been slow. I urge the Non-Aligned Movement to support this proposal and place its weight on the side of peace.**

*Mr. Chairman,*

I warn all members of our Movement that if we fail to speak and to act against the modern barbarity of International Terrorism, what afflicts us now will afflict all of you in the future. It is us today. It is all of us tomorrow.

### **Unity and Diversity**

*Mr. Chairman,*

*Distinguished Delegates,*

A Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement is a significant, if not an unique event. It brings together a diversity of nations, cultures, peoples and philosophies. It also brings into focus the universality of the human species. All of us share and live on the Planet Earth – the only fragment of the cosmos on which mankind can exist in its natural state. If, through our disunity or our destructiveness, we despoil the Earth, there is nowhere else for us to live.

The Non-Aligned Movement represents, for the most part, the more unfortunate and deprived citizens of the Earth. We have, in the past been fragmented and censorious of others. As a result we have not prospered. Let us, at this 8th Summit, pledge unity and co-operation. Then, surely, our dreams of peace and our visions of well-being will rise from expectations to reality.

The path to peace and well-being was described as "the Middle Path" by the spiritual and philosophic mentor

of my country, the Lord Buddha. Twenty-five centuries ago, the teachings of Lord Buddha enjoined us to embrace moderation and to work for "the upliftment of the many". It is a message that has a contemporary relevance as we struggle with our tasks today. We ignore its advice at our peril.

Over the years, other great philosophies – Hindu, Islamic, Christian and more – have also reminded us that the primary duty of humankind is to work for humanity. More recent and more secular philosophies have agreed with this end. Some approach it through faith, some through revolution, some through reform. But, the best approach is through realisation. Beliefs, social systems and ideologies may diverge. But, our ultimate objective is surely a common one – the betterment of all our peoples. We must cherish this diversity and resist any attempts by nations or groups of nations within our Movement, impose a uniform ideology on us all. If we accept the fact that pluralism of means and systems is an asset that can enhance the unity of goals, we will be able to march forward in an atmosphere of fraternity and goodwill.

Can we achieve this fraternity and goodwill? Can we overcome our prejudices, angers and disaffections? Once again, as a Buddhist I take recourse in the enlightened wisdom of the Great Teacher who reminded us that:

*"It is better to conquer thyself  
than to win a thousand battles."*

–The Dhammapada

If we apply our thoughts and minds to conquering ourselves, there are no problems we cannot conquer. It is in this hope and with this expectation that I ask you to join with me in making a new beginning – in creating an era which can truly be called the Age of Non-Alignment.

Thank you for the patient hearing you have given me.



# Heroic Liberation Movement SWAPO

**Address by Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the 14th Special Session of the United Nations on Namibia – New York – 19th September 1986**

Mr. Chairman,

It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, an eminent son of Bangladesh, on your unanimous election as President of this Fourteenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Question of Namibia. I wish you every success.

A month has not elapsed since Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned countries met in Harare, Zimbabwe, to reaffirm their collective resolve to expedite the emancipation of the people of Namibia. Here at this Special Session in New York other countries have joined in demonstrating in no uncertain terms to the world at large that Namibia must not remain in bondage any longer.

The anguish of Namibia has continued for too long. Two decades have passed since the United Nations assumed direct responsibility over Namibia. During this period the Non-Aligned Movement has been deeply concerned with developments in the territory. The question of independence for Namibia is one of the few issues on which the international community has evolved a consensus. That consensus is one to which even the Apartheid regime, which holds Namibia captive, has ostensibly declared its agreement. The tragedy is that despite such a consensus, the people of Namibia continue to be denied their birth-right as a nation. When the Security Council adopted resolution 435 in 1978, following intensive consultations with all the parties concerned including SWAPO, Namibia's sole and legitimate representative, and the South African regime, hopes ran high that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations would be held for the whole of Namibia and that this would culminate in independence for Namibia.

Such great expectations have not been fulfilled. A combination of force and guile adopted as a twin strategy by the South African minority regime is choking off prospects for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. In his report to the 41st General Assembly, the Secretary-General has indicated that "all the conditions for the implementation of the United Nations Plan for Namibia laid down by the Security Council have been met", yet the way to a settlement does not appear clear due to the prevarication of the South African regime and its desire to continue reaping political, economic and strategic benefits from the occupation of the territory.

The minority regime's insistence on linking the implementation of the Independence Plan of 1978 to the issue of the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola has been rejected by the Non-Aligned and by virtually every other State as a vain effort to introduce extraneous considerations, post facto, in order to retain control over

Namibia. In equally unconvincing fashion, the minority regime has foisted a puppet regime within Namibia in an effort to impart a thin veneer of legality to its illegal control of the territory. The so-called provisional 'Government' in Windhoek has neither credibility nor legitimacy, but the minority regime has attempted to mount an elaborate charade in the international scene by opening "Information Offices" for the government abroad. We fully support the call by the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit for the closure of these so-called Information Offices established by the racist regime in different capitals to promote propaganda and lend credibility to a wholly unrepresentative group. The maintenance of these Information Offices are an affront to the aspirations of the majority of the Namibian people who are debarred from participation in the governance of their own country. To puff-up its position, the Apartheid regime has also attempted to infuse aspects of great power rivalry and elements of East-West confrontation into the Namibian struggle for independence. The ideological dimension has been deployed to conceal the fundamental decolonization issue that is in reality involved.

Bolstering these pseudo-theories and misinformatics are an ungarished use of ruthless force internally, within Namibia, as well as externally, against independent States in the Southern African region. To keep down a population of one-and-a-half-million, the racist regime has deployed over 100,000 troops in the territory. Other speakers before me have gone into detail on the brutally repressive measures visited upon the Namibian people. The militarization of Namibia serves not only to suppress the majority within the territory, but also serves as a launching-pad for acts of aggression, subversion and acts of cross-border terrorism against neighbouring States. The South African regime has, for example, used Namibian territory to provide logistical and other support to dissident groups in Angola to destabilize the Government in that country. Sri Lanka supports the efforts of Angola to preserve its independence and territorial integrity against attacks by terrorist groups manipulated, armed and supported by the neighbouring South African regime. We recognize the vital role played by the front-line States, at great cost to themselves, in the struggle to establish majority rule in South Africa and Namibia.



What the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group concluded earlier this year about the Apartheid regime in South Africa is equally valid in respect of the regime's attitude to Namibia. The Eminent Persons Group concluded that South Africa is "not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of general democratic structures, nor to face the prospects of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future".

Economic considerations weigh heavy in the racist regime's continuing attempts to stifle aspirations towards freedom and majority rule in South Africa. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia with characteristic simplicity said that "Namibia is rich: Namibians are poor". The resources of Namibia are being bled to satisfy the demands of the white minority and other foreign economic interests. Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned countries at their Summit in Harare condemned the activities of foreign economic interests which impeded the grant of independence to Namibia stressing the incompatibility of these activities with U.N. resolutions and Decree No. 1 of the Council of Namibia for the protection of the natural resources of Namibia.

However this exploitive, ruthless and oppressive the minority racist regime has been, the resistance of the people of Namibia has not faltered. Under the leadership of SWAPO, a heroic nation-wide liberation movement has emerged, involving people of all walks of life. Sri Lanka pays special tribute to the leadership of SWAPO which for 25 years has provided mature and responsible leadership to the Namibian people. Contrary to South African propaganda, SWAPO accepts and reflects the richness of Namibia's racial and ethnic diversity and anticipates a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society in free Namibia. SWAPO is, as its Constitution describes it, "the expression and embodiment of national unity, of a people united and organised in the struggle for total independence and social liberty".

Although the independence struggle will attain fruition primarily through the efforts of the people of Namibia themselves, the international community has a duty to assist by exerting all pressure on the minority regime to implement unconditionally and without further delay the Namibian Independence Plan in accordance with Security Council resolution 435, the sole internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. Those who preach caution are acquiescing in South

Africa's patently cosmetic gestures towards reform which will not only prolong the agony of Namibia, but also increase the very real prospect of further bloodshed and an escalation of the conflict beyond Namibia's borders over the entire South African region.

While the struggle of Namibia towards independence has a particular dynamic of its own, one cannot separate developments in the territory from the developments unfolding in South Africa itself. The minority regime and the obscene system of Apartheid on which it prides itself is, as Non-Aligned Heads of State in Harare asserted, the root-cause of conflict in the region which has already jeopardized the peace and stability of the sub-Continent.

The tide of time favours freedom, justice and democracy for both South Africa and Namibia. International agitation against Apartheid has steadily grown. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa in Paris, the Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia in Vienna and the Non-Aligned Summit in Harare – all held this year, have mobilized international opinion for the elimination of Apartheid. In the West, popular opinion, legislators, trade unions, churches, universities, student groups and others are playing a major role in lobbying for decisive Government action against Apartheid. In the face of continued intransigence on the part of the minority regime, a global consensus is gathering strength. The global consensus echoed at Paris and Vienna based on Non-Aligned decisions irrefutably points to comprehensive mandatory sanctions as the most effective peaceful means of coercing the minority regime to dismantle Apartheid and permit freedom, multi-racialism and democracy to flourish in Namibia and South Africa. At the Vienna Conference, I observed that we stood at a historically decisive moment and that the bastion of Apartheid had never been under such sustained attack.

The message emanating from the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit in Harare is clear, absolute and decisive. One-hundred-and-one countries were at Harare. They spoke with one voice and one idiom. The bondage of Namibia must end. This Special Session must reiterate and reaffirm that message. The consensus that has clearly emerged must not be permitted to lapse. The Security Council must take swift, sure action and the Independence Plan for Namibia must be set in motion. As the Secretary-General has said, the Question of Namibia is "now ripe for solution".



# Non Alignment: its usefulness and effectiveness in World Affairs

*Address by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the National Seminar on 25 years of Non-Alignment jointly organised by Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies and the University of Colombo-BMICH-Colombo - 12 September, 1986*

*Mr. Chairman,  
Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It gives me great pleasure to be present at this Seminar on Non-Alignment organised by the University of Colombo. The Non-Aligned Movement in its origin, in its spirit and in thought and in reality, is a liberation movement. The leaders of colonised peoples met at the Congress of Oppressed Peoples in 1927 in Brussels. These leaders later became leaders of independent nations and founder members of the Non-Alignment Movement.

NAM today is recognised as a freely chosen basis of foreign policy. It is a positive philosophy. It takes clear positions on virtually every international political and economic issue. I have always maintained that Non-Alignment is not sitting on the fence. It is a dynamic foreign policy born in the context of East-West polarisation. There are many misconceptions about Non-Alignment and one is that Non-Alignment represents a Movement which seeks to isolate itself from all conflicts and withdraws unto itself avoiding taking positions on global conflicts and issues. This is far from the truth.

His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, President of Sri Lanka, described the conception of the role of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement at the 6th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries held in Havana in 1979 as follows:

"Sri Lanka's conception of the role of Chairman, and, consequently, our actions in this role, have been based on five principles. First, all of us in the Movement are arbiters, playing the part of a referee who intervenes only when an infraction of the rules of the game threatens to destroy the game itself. Second, we have been committed to seeking and widening areas of agreement through informal consultations rather than encouraging acrimonious and emotional public outbursts. Third, we have sought to concentrate the Movement's efforts on selected areas of discussion and negotiation which are of particular importance to the peace and prosperity of mankind. Fourth, we have as far as possible tried to democratize our proceedings, while remaining within the letter of the law of earlier decisions which govern our activities. Fifth, we have encouraged all efforts at strengthening the Movement and re-asserting its usefulness and effectiveness in world affairs."—end of quotation.

Non-Aligned Movement is often confused with neutrality. There are certain similarities between the two approaches. Neutral states maintain a scrupulous form of non-involvement in times of conflict. Neutrality is accepted in international law and was born out of power

confrontation in the West. Non-Alignment is an addition to the world's political lexicon in the late 1920s and is a by-product of East-West power conflicts. It is not yet accepted in international law. It is wrong to think of Non-Alignment as something hostile to the major powers. Non-Aligned countries could be as friendly as possible with all the major powers without getting involved in their rivalry policies. Non-Aligned countries today form the largest coalition in the world with 101 members with differing social, economic and political systems but brought together by their commitment to the principles of Non-Alignment.

The de-colonisation process is at its end. With the liberation of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine and a few islands, this process will be complete. This does not imply that the role of the Non-Aligned Movement is over. It has two more major tasks to accomplish; the liberation of our peoples from the pangs of hunger and thrall of poverty and the liberation of our foreign policies from the dictates of power rivalry.

NAM has been in the vanguard of the assault on colonialism and the results have been rewarding but as far as the economic issues are concerned, the picture is very dismal and disappointing. The much promised NIEO has still to appear in the horizon. The intransigence of the developed economies to meet us half way has brought about a confrontationalist situation. Many developing countries and their economies are on the verge of collapse. The debt problem has assumed crisis proportions.

Hopes of a fair, just and equitable international economic order still seems to be a distant dream. Then how could you liberate our people from poverty and hunger? Without a fair and just economic order, we cannot achieve a fair and just international political order. The economic causes of the last war have been stressed and accepted.

The Non-Aligned Movement can never gather and command the strength it requires unless and until there is a fair and just economic order. Many Non-Aligned



countries today are dependent on the developed countries, both industrialised and socialist countries for financial, technical and scientific assistance.

The need for technical help, financial aid and other assistance from industrialised countries and socialist countries, has meant that Non-Aligned countries have to depend in varying degrees on these states for their development. Such assistance may carry certain overt or covert obligations or strings which could limit the receiving states' sovereignty. Such a situation also leads to unequal economic relations and a dependent status for some states. A rational reordering of economic relations would go a long way in reducing these unequal economic relations and a dependent status for some states. A rational reordering of economic relations would go a long way in reducing these unequal economic relations and dependence.

The extent to which a country is economically viable and independent determines to a significant degree, the options it could exercise at the political level and its freedom of choice. The NAM group together with Group 77 have, therefore, continues to endeavour to establish a new international economic order based on sovereign, equality, justice, equity, mutual interest and benefit.

The Non-Aligned have called for co-operation between developed and developing countries, but this call has remained unanswered. At the base of all this is a general tendency to shy away from multilateralism on the part of some powerful states. This tendency covers political, economic, as well as other issues. A myopic "go-it-alone" attitude is not really feasible even for political or economic giants. Inter-dependence must be accepted as a fact of international life. Inter-dependence certainly implies that individual states need to plug into a global system of economic relations. But this system or order must be founded on principles of sovereign equality, justice, and mutual interest. Even the loss of some measure of independence by any country submitting to an international economic order based on these principles would in fact paradoxically strengthen its economic position. The NAM is firmly committed to multilateralism which is in essence another word for international co-operation.

How do we liberate our foreign policies from the great power rivalry. Since the Second World War, there have been 150 armed conflicts and 20 million lives have been lost. All these wars have been fought outside Europe.

It is my belief that if you break a bottle of honey you will get ants coming from all corners and quarters, red ants, white ants, black ants, fat ants, lean ants. Conflicts, tension and armed aggressions are ideal waters to those who want to fish in troubled waters.

The Non-Aligned Movement has in its 25 years of existence sought not to institutionalise itself. Therefore, we have no Constitution, we are not an institution, we

do not go by majority decisions. We try to locate consensus. That is why we could not agree in Harare on the next venue for the Summit.

If it is a question of decision by majority voting, then Non-Aligned meetings can save 75 per cent of their time. But there are good reasons why the Movement does not seek to arrive at majority decisions. That is purely to avoid groups being formed within the Movement.

There is a qualification for membership. The qualification applies only before membership. The criteria for membership has remained unchanged for the last 25 years. The question that arises is whether there should be some mechanism within the Movement to prevent a member after admission from abandoning the established and accepted criteria for admission. If such a step is to be taken, the structure of the Movement has to be changed. This means that the Movement should have a code of conduct. Since all members are sovereign states there cannot be any policing of the code. The observance of the code then would be only an act of voluntary self-restraint.

One aspect that worries me is that the Non-Aligned Movement does not provide military insurance against risks of invasion, aggression or destabilisation. The Non-Aligned do not have troops which can be deployed in the way that the United Nations peace keeping operations are for example launched. The lack of a military arm for the Non-Aligned Movement is seen by some as a weakness. Others see this as a dilemma which leaves the Non-Aligned states unsure as to how best they should preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. How does a state defend itself, if it has no military strength of its own? How does Non-Alignment help? Must one be aligned to "great and powerful friends" to be safe? Does such an alignment actually constitute a negation of Non-Aligned principles on the one hand, and in fact make one's own independence even more vulnerable and prey to great power rivalry? These are questions that are being asked and are issues which a seminar of this nature should examine.

It is my belief that membership in military pacts does not guarantee security-in fact such a form of alignment would do just the opposite, making a state more susceptible, more vulnerable and more amenable to the fluctuation of great power rivalry.

Let us look at what happened to certain military groupings. During the 25 years during which the Non-Aligned Movement has existed, with the exception of two or three states, every state that achieved independence has through a conscious decision, opted to remain outside the two super power military blocs and instead sought to join the non-aligned movement. This has reduced the area of confrontation between the two power blocs and increased the area where non confrontationist policies hold sway. Those Third World States who are outside the NAM have sought at least



observer or guest status in the movement and, in fact, for some of these states, the only constraint against joining the Movement is the presence of foreign troops on their soil or linkages in interlocking defence arrangements with super powers. During the last 25 years, only one state has left the Non-Aligned Movement. The Movement has grown from 25 members in 1961 to 101 today. It has outlasted military alliances like SEATO, CENTO, the RCD, etc. which failed to offer what their creators had promised and went the way of the Dodo. At Harare, apart from the 101 members who participated, there were 23 States who participated as observers or guests indicating international interest in the NAM as a viable alternative to military alliances.

The three years in which Sri Lanka had stewardship over the NAM saw certain challenging developments which threatened the unity of the Movement. This period saw the emergence of bilateral disputes among member states which when taken up in the movement brought considerable strains on its smooth and efficient functioning. The yardstick of Non-Aligned principles was applied to these disputes but agreement on them between the parties concerned did not come easily. Approaches to the Middle East question and the question of Palestine culminated in the Camp David Agreement led to differences within the Movement even leading to calls for the expulsion or suspension. Issues between Somalia and Ethiopia, between Vietnam and Kampuchea, between Algeria and Morocco figured prominently. It fell to Sri Lanka's lot to deal with these situations. We did not encourage open confrontation at Non-Aligned meetings but rather conducted intense consultations with the parties concerned in order to minimise points of disagreement and to help identify those points on which a consensus could be built. At the practical level this process involved long hours of meetings and discussions. It has been the general verdict that the difference in approach within the Movement emerging during these years as well as the bilateral disputes were contained during our Chairmanship and that the essential unity of the Movement was preserved.

His Excellency Fidel Castro, President of Cuba refers to Sri Lanka's role as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement in his inaugural address at the Havana Summit as follows:

"I would like to express my sincere recognition of your constant concern for the future of our Movement and democratic respect for the dissimilar components of this powerful association of countries and the wise prudence you have shown in every difficult situation our Non-Aligned countries have had to face in the past three years-which have not been easy. In spite of distance and economic problems, your small country has made a noble and worthy effort to live up to the honourable responsibilities entrusted to it in Colombo."—end of quotation.

As a further contribution to defusing disputes among Non-Aligned countries, I presented a proposal for the establishment of a Border Disputes Commission for the peaceful settlement or disputes. Other NAM states including Yugoslavia, Bangladesh and Iraq have also presented concrete proposals and at the Harare Summit concluded earlier this week, heads of State mandated the NAM Co-ordinating bureau in New York to set up a working group to study all these proposals and present concrete recommendations for the peaceful settlement of disputes among NAM countries. Hon. Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa proposed at Harare the establishment of a Commission to deal with disputes within the Movement.

In 1977 I initiated the practice enabling Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers attending the United Nations General Assembly to meet on the eve of the opening session to consult on the Agenda of the UN in order to work out a concerted Non-Aligned approach to these items. This assisted greatly in co-ordinating Non-Aligned action at the United Nations. These forums have also provided an informal opportunity for Non-Aligned Ministers to exchange views on a variety of international issues. These meetings have now come to stay.

Professor A. W. Singham, author of "Non-Alignment in an age of Alignments" refers to Sri Lanka's role as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement in *Unitar News*, Volume XII Spring 1980 as follows:

"Sir Lanka brought a new administrative style to the Movement in that it concentrated heavily on interpreting its role as the Chairman as being the producer of consensus among differing groups. Sri Lanka saw its Chairman's role as being an arbitrator, a facilitator and, most of all, a conciliator between the various groupings. Indeed, many of the meetings of the Non-Aligned during this period saw Sri Lanka being characterized as "the non-aligned of the non-aligned."

Apart from our own Summit and Ministerial meetings, the chief form of the Non-Aligned Movement is the United Nations. The NAM places the greatest confidence in the UN and the principles and purposes of its charter. The crisis in the UN concerns the Non-Aligned deeply because it is basically a crisis in the process of multilateralism to which I had already referred. Multilateralism is in effect international co-operation. The Non-Aligned has, through continuous consultations sought to fight against the debilitating effect of unilateralism and the pursuit of self-interest.

Co-operation among Non-Aligned States at the UN has enabled the Movement to present for example, a cohesive and credible position on the arms race. The First Special Sessions on Disarmament took place in 1978 during Sri Lanka's tenure as Chairman of the Movement and a well co-ordinated position on disarmament issues helped the NAM to promote the consensus which enabled the Final Document of the Special Session to



emerge. Similarly, Sri Lanka encouraged the functioning of a number of specialised working groups on such subjects as Southern Africa, the Middle East, Cyprus, Disarmament, non interference in internal affairs of States which has helped the Non-Aligned not only to monitor developments on these issues but also to evolve co-ordinated positions on which the Non-Aligned were able to present initiatives at the United Nations.

To my mind the membership in the Non-Aligned Movement makes it possible for small countries to take definite positions on important developments concerning super powers or major powers. In other words the strength of the Non-Aligned Movement is in its collectivity, for example the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union or the invasion of Grenada by the US or the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, or the attack on Libiya by the US—small countries would find it difficult and delicate to condemn or deplore such action individually. But when positions are taken at the level of the Movement it becomes easy for member states to be a party to said positions. The same principle would apply to economic issues. A small country may be in receipt of aid and technical assistance from a powerful country. Therefore, if she is called upon to make serious reservations about the conduct or behaviour of this particular powerful country it would be a difficult exercise. But if it is a collective position, it finds itself in a more comfortable position.

There are of course those who tell me that in the Non-Aligned Movement the big ones hold sway. I do not subscribe to this view. It is true that some of the Third World leaders in the early stages thought of the Movement as a coalition of small states but large countries came in because of many reasons. The Movement should not be broken into small countries and big countries and at the same time small countries should not feel that they are in a movement by sufferance. Great care and caution must be taken to minimise areas and issues that make small countries in the Movement feel the weight or the might of the big ones.

I returned from Harare only on Monday after attending the 8th Non-Aligned Summit where President Gaddafi rather dramatically described Libyan vulnerability to external attacks and bemoaned the lack of a credible Non-Aligned deterrent force capable of coping with the situation. He went on to call for the formation of a Non-Aligned Army with troops contributed from Non-Aligned States to combat aggression or attacks against Non-Aligned countries from outside the Movement. I need not go into the feasibility or otherwise of this proposal, but his statement certainly goes to show in a very graphic manner an aspect of the problems facing most non-aligned states in respect of their security.

The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 recorded an important development. The Treaty for the first time recognised the concept of interdependence. The expansion and growth

of internationalism means greater encroachment on national sovereignty. Member states are called upon to be a party to international agreements, conventions, covenants. Regional co-operation means surrender of sovereignty in certain areas. This erosion will continue and there is nothing that one could do about it. The encroachment must be rewarded in other areas and this could be only in the fields of international co-operation.

Internationally there are certain benefits that a country can derive through bilateral relations – certain achievements are impossible unilaterally or bilaterally. It has to be achieved through the machinery and mechanism of multilateralism. If so, small countries should be able to express and assert their hopes, desires, aspirations, fears, doubts, needs, shortfalls, through some Movement that is close to them – then what better instrument can one find today than the Non-Aligned Movement?

Last year I was on an official visit to the Scandinavian countries and I had occasion to discuss and to speak at length about small countries and their ability to defend their independence and territorial integrity while being committed to neutrality or non-alignment.

Neutral states while maintaining as scrupulous a form as possible, of non involvement in times of conflicts have nevertheless attempted to build a defence credibility of a modest yet significant level adequate in most circumstances to present a reasonably effective deterrent to any aggressive action from outside. In other words, neutral countries while being committed to neutrality are in permanent readiness to defend their neutrality. On the other hand, when surveying the military strength of the individual non-aligned member states, one can readily see that with few exceptions, the vast majority of them would be militarily vulnerable if called upon to directly confront acts of aggression, destabilisation or threats to their territorial integrity.

If you look at countries in recent times whose territorial integrity has been violated one realises that they are all small Non-Aligned countries – Cyprus, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Grenada.

We all know that the Non-Aligned Movement is not a bloc and certainly not a military bloc. It is not even an association with a charter, a constitution of rules of procedure. It has eschewed institutionalisation. It has consistently refrained from converting itself or trying to imitate the military alliances whose basic philosophy the Non-Aligned have consciously rejected.

Does this mean that in the context of various developments in the modern international scene, non-alignment has proved to be helpless. I say no. One wonders what the world would have been today if there was no Non-Aligned Movement. The world would have been broken into two cheering squads, lined up behind the two super powers.



To appreciate the true import of the Non-Alignment one must comprehend the enormous military, economic and technological power wielded by the super powers and their two alliance systems and the effects of their rivalry on the post-world war geo-political situation in the world. We all know of the enormity of their nuclear arsenals averaging about 5 tonnes of dynamite per every human being on this planet. With the development of space technology and satellite monitoring they can see and listen to almost anything that happens on the surface of this planet, outer-space and underground. Modern satellites can see and assess almost every important activity of a nation's life. The tendency to apportion our planet into 'spheres of influence' or areas of legitimate interest has been strengthened by this enormous technological and economic power commanded by the super powers. Coercive political power and security uncertainties emanating from this power rivalry has inflicted severe strains on the small and weak developing countries in their pursuit for development, social justice and security.

This planet of ours is a toy in the hands of the super powers. It is clay in their hands. They can decide our destiny within a few minutes. If they chose to, they can create wars, make peace, make a victorious side lose and a losing side win in a confrontation. There is nothing they know not, nothing that they see not, nothing that they hear not. Therefore, there are only two alternatives open to the community of nations – either to join one of them or scrupulously to be away from both of them.

The Non-Aligned have contributed to a very important but often overlooked phenomenon in the inter-state relations of the nation-state system of today. By reaffirming its opposition to aggression and use of force, the Non-Aligned have put the aggressor in the dock. The motto of the Non-Aligned is that the illegality of aggression and aggression itself, whenever or wherever it occurs, should never be allowed to be forgotten. It would never be allowed to form a pattern. So countries keep reminding and restating their positions on such violations. Every speech I make at the UN, at Non-Aligned and other conferences, I state the position of Sri Lanka on the current political and economic issues.

I cannot conclude these remarks without reference to a school of thought which raises the question as to why a small developing country should not be allied to a more advanced country – for example a major Western power, so as to obtain the technical and financial assistance that will result from such a relationship. This is an important question. When examining this aspect in relation to our continued commitment to the Non-Aligned, one cannot overlook the growth record of the Non-Aligned. Over the last 25 years the Movement has grown from 25 member states in 1961 to 101 today. Every state that achieved independence during this period has consciously opted out of military alliances and instead joined the Non-Aligned.

Out of the 101 member States there is a substantial number which are smaller than Sri Lanka in size, and less developed in economic and social well being of its people. Why do these countries continue to be in the Movement? They all realize that the growth of the Movement has expanded the non-confrontation area; they realize that the modern weapons have reduced or eliminated the geographic and strategic currency that a small country can offer to a big country in exchange for latter's protective and benevolent umbrella; they realize their vulnerability to the vagaries of super power rivalry as well as super power relationships; they have come to realise that the history of countries which were outside the movement has been unstable and turbulent. The logic of Non-Alignment therefore lies in the past and contemporary history.

What about developing countries who have kept out of the Non-Aligned Movement – Iran under the Shah, the Philippines under Marcos, Nicaragua under Somosa and Haiti under Duvalier – These regimes far from providing security and stability to the countries concerned from foreign invasion were not able to stand the uprising within their own countries.

There is another school of thought which maintains that small countries cannot have the protection they need in the Non-Aligned Movement. It may be appropriate to examine the case of Cyprus in relation to this view. Cyprus remains tragically divided with a separatist entity in the North of the Island being maintained through the occupation troops of a foreign power. This foreign power has invaded that island on the argument that an ethnic minority in Cyprus with which the occupying power has kinship, is being discriminated. The Non-Aligned Movement has no army to expel the occupation forces. However, it is also true that it is the consistently strong position of the Non-Aligned Movement in favour of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus that has ensured that no state, except of course the occupying power, has accorded recognition to the illegal separatist entity. Since its inception in 1961, the NAM has rejected the use of force to resolve disputes and its principled position on Cyprus constitutes the main plank of defence for Cyprus. We cannot pretend that the Non-Aligned could send a military contingent to evict the occupying power. At the same time, we cannot under-estimate the value of the Movement or describe it as ineffective because of its lack of military muscle. Turkish Cypriots declared independence unilaterally and though some powerful groups moved to obtain an endorsement and acceptance of the new government, it failed to get recognition from a single government even outside the Non-Aligned Movement except Turkey.

I thank you Mr. Chairman for having given this opportunity to be with you this morning and share some of my thoughts with those present here. The world of



today is not the world of 1961. Many changes have taken place in the international scene. New challenges, new issues, new policies, new attitudes, new centres of political power, new centres of economic power have added greater dimensions to power rivalry. The NAM must be continuously reviewed and fortified. Therefore, this seminar is most appropriate.

I am sure your deliberations conducted in the most non-aligned environment and climate should throw light and guidance in some of the issues I have raised with you and the issues other distinguished speakers will place before you.

May I conclude by quoting His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka from a speech made at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries in June 1979:

"Non-Alignment runs like a golden thread through the fabric of our country's Foreign Policy, though changes may take place in the quality, colour and shape of that fabric from time to time. At no stage has our country deviated from that policy. At no stage, I make bold to say, will it do so in the future."

Thank You.



# Performances and not pious pronouncements

**Address by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at 41st General Assembly of the United Nations – New York – 26 September, 1986**

It gives Sri Lanka great pleasure to see you, Sir, a distinguished son of South Asia, presiding over this Forty-First Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the people of Sri Lanka and Bangladesh have a long Tradition of Friendship and Co-operation. We are partners in the Pursuit of Peace and Economic Progress in many fora not only in the United Nations, but also in the Non-Aligned group of States, the Commonwealth of Nations, in the Colombo Plan, and most recently in the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, a grouping which held its First Summit in Your Historic Capital. Our congratulations and warmest good wishes go out to you and the General Assembly could look forward with confidence to a successful course under your guidance and wise Chairmanship.

Our appreciation is also due to Ambassador Pinies of Spain for his exemplary conduct of the Assembly's work during the historic Fortieth Commemorative Session.

We meet at a time when the basic needs of the millions of under-privileged in the Developing Nations are nowhere near being satisfied despite our determined efforts to adopt policies based on the realities of an inter-dependent world. The inequalities and imbalances of the existing economic situation act as a barrier to progress.

Primary commodity producing agricultural economies are faced with declining commodity prices which impose intolerable strains on their balance of trade and balance of payments. Newly industrialised countries on the other hand are checkmated by arbitrarily imposed protectionist measures derogating from the principles of free trade in GATT. The transfer of resources is clogged by interest rates which are still too high for developing country borrowers and by the inadequacy of resources in the international financial lending institutions. Conditionalities imposed by lenders in return force adjustments, the harshness of which creates social and political instability. The dominance of the OECD countries in the world economy is a reality that we recognise, but with dominance must come responsibility to manage the world economy in such a manner as to ensure justice for all and the continued efficiency of the system for mutual benefit. A comprehensive view of the global economy must remain in sight if we are not to perpetuate the inequalities of the present system. If efficiency is the criterion, then let it be applied uniformly in the economics of production on a Global scale without penalising countries for their lower costs. If state subsidies give unfair advantages, then state intervention to hail out ailing corporations and multinationals must also be contrary to the proclaimed values of privatisation, if free trade is championed in the services sector to allow open competition in all economies, then equally, free trade in goods without quota restrictions and other protectionist barriers must prevail.

The problems facing the world economy and requiring urgent action arise from the inadequacy of the recovery of the economies of the Western Industrialised countries.

The over-expansion of some of these economies financed by foreign borrowings leads to a high level of indebtedness and a consequent loss of confidence. Expansionary action elsewhere in the OECD to compensate for problems within the US economy is crucial because of its impact on the growth performance of developing countries and their capacity to meet the burden of debt servicing. The crisis also signifies an opportunity if an appropriate redistribution takes place of balance of payments, surpluses and deficits. Central questions regarding the character of an inflationary onset after expansion, the impact of higher real wages on employment and the role of developing countries need to be addressed in any policy context today.

Opportunities to correct the global economic situation are never lacking. At Punte del Este, the GATT Ministerial Conference has just concluded with the promise of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. Next year UNCTAD VII will be held and we must approach this conference with shared views on how we can restructure the world economy. The North-South dialogue has too long been a dialogue of the deaf.

Perhaps, both sides need to modify their agendas, striving for immediate attainable goals with some relief for the developing countries, leaving the more elaborate tasks for a later period when world economic conditions improve. Realism is not a sign of weakness: at the same time, it must be matched by a corresponding willingness to make some concession in the Global interest.

Let me now turn from economic co-operation to political co-operation.

The need for international co-operation in the current political scene is dramatically evident in respect of Southern Africa and the Middle East where the potential for peace available in readymade proposals and plans remain tragically unutilized.

The question of Namibia is one such obvious issue on which we met in special session last week. Security council resolution 435, adopted unanimously in 1978, provides a detailed plan for the Independence of Namibia on which all parties have agreed. It is the intransigence and prevarication of the apartheid regime of South Africa and the reluctance and political



permissiveness of those who have the power of persuasion over that regime that has prevented the people of Namibia from enjoying freedom and independence.

It is the minority apartheid regime that is the tap root of the instability in the entire Southern African Region. Within South Africa, the regime has reacted with increasing repression and brutality to the Nation-wide mass agitation for freedom. Clearly, there cannot be any peace or regional stability until the hideous edifice of apartheid is totally dismantled. An essential step towards this goal is the unconditional release of all political prisoners, particularly Nelson Mandela and the removal of the Ban on the ANC and the PAC to enable the participation of South African patriots in a free dialogue with the apartheid regime for the establishment of a multi-racial Democratic Society based on majority rule.

The evil empire of apartheid extends its baneful influence over neighbouring Independence States, committing acts of aggression and destabilisation against these states. The minority regime has manipulated armed groups to carry out cross-border terrorism against Angola, even occupying portion of its territory.

The international conference on sanctions against South Africa in Paris reached a decision that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions is the

most effective peaceful means to eradicate apartheid. This session of the United Nations must channel international opinion against apartheid and co-ordinate a decisive global consensus to prevent a bloody and violent climax in South Africa.

The states in the Middle East cannot expect to live in peace and security until and unless the Central Factor of regional instability, the core of the Middle East problem, the question of Palestine is faced squarely and solved justly. The inalienable National Rights of the Palestinian people must be restored, including the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland in safety, their right to self-determination and their right to establish an independent Sovereign State without external interference or coercion. It is our position that Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and that Israel must dismantle the illegal settlements it has set up in the occupied territories. The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people must be a party to any negotiations that would lead to a settlement of the Middle East question. Sri Lanka has supported the peace plan adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held in Fez in 1982.

The agony of Lebanon is not an isolated phenomenon, but a part of the Middle East question. Sri Lanka declares its solidarity with the Government and people of



Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed discussing a point with U.N. Secretary-General Mr. Javier Perez De Cuellar



Lebanon. We call for the withdrawal of all Foreign Forces from Lebanon to ensure the exercise by the Lebanese government of sovereignty over all its territory.

The presence of foreign forces in Cyprus has confounded an internal issue concerning two communities in that island into one of great complexity involving the de facto division of the island. Sri Lanka calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Republic. It is our view that Foreign interference or intervention cannot be justified on any grounds and least in Defence of Ethnic Kingship. As member of the Non-Aligned contact group on Cyprus, Sri Lanka is specially concerned with the situation in Cyprus as a state facing the menace of separatism aggravated by external factors. Any settlement of the question of Cyprus must be one freely arrived at and be acceptable to the government of the Republic of Cyprus and its two communities. Sri Lanka supports the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General towards a settlement based on the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

Tension is a fact in South West Asia because of the presence of Foreign troops in Afghanistan. Sri Lanka has always expressed its support for a political settlement which would include the withdrawal of foreign troops and in this context we welcome the Soviet Union's Commitment to withdraw some of its troops by the end of this year. We hope that an early solution will be found which would enable the Afghan Refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour so that the people of Afghanistan can exercise full sovereignty without interference and intervention from any quarter.

In South East Asia, collective security can only be preserved in an international environment in which Nations can Govern themselves freely and foreign troops do not violate the sovereignty of Nations. Sri Lanka supports all efforts aimed at a comprehensive political solution which would leave to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea. This step is vital to the restoration of normalcy and a creation of climate of confidence and understanding in South East Asia.

The armed conflict between Iraq and Iran has brought great grief to the two countries with tragic loss of life and destructive impact on their economies. Sri Lanka which enjoys the closest relations with both countries hopes that the various efforts to bring about a settlement acceptable to both parties should be pursued with all vigour and earnestness.

In Central America, the right of all Nations to co-exist peacefully despite differences in their political and economic systems must be upheld. We support the Contadora process and urge all parties to accept this as a viable regional initiative based on the true interest of regional peace.

We support the right of Nicaragua to decide on Her own political, economic and social system without outside interference. The basic tenets of international

law and their application by recognised institutions must be respected in working out good-neighbourly relations with other countries in the region.

The great power military presence and their confrontation in the Indian Ocean has not abated and tension continues to escalate in the area. The proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean was born of the determination of the peoples of the Indian Ocean area to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to resolve their political, economic and social problems under conditions of peace and tranquility. Seven years ago, in 1979, Indian Ocean States secured virtual unanimity in adopting eleven principles of agreement for the implementation of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The United Nations has worked on the basis of consensus and what is required now is an exercise of greater political will and a sense of commitment to decisions already adopted which will ensure the establishment of a zone of peace. Sri Lanka looks forward to hosting the conference on the Indian Ocean as soon as the preparatory work has been completed, at a date not later than 1988.

Permit me to draw your attention to another initiative of Sri Lanka the declaration of the United Nations of 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. An elaborate programme has been formulated with strategies and overall plans for national and international action for the period before and after the International year of Shelter.

That programme is based on the belief that housing not only provides protection from elements, but also shelters all the diverse, stabilising components that together go to improve the quality of life. The success of this project would be largely determined by the support it receives from the international community.

On a global scale an area where our common destiny is most at peril is in the failure to achieve general and complete disarmament. In this International Year of Peace we have military expenditure running at almost a trillion dollars per annum with about 50 thousand nuclear warheads poised to destroy humankind and all its creative endeavours on this planet several times over. Disarmament issues and the need to release energy and resources now being spent on armaments for peaceful economic and social development has figured prominently since the First Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade. The messages sent out by that summit to the Leaders of the two super powers remain a milestone in the endeavours of the Third World Countries to promote bilateral negotiations between them to achieve Peace. Since then all Third World declarations have attached high priority to disarmament and the First United Nations special session devoted to disarmament in 1978, when Sri Lanka was Chairman of our movement, was an outstanding Non-Aligned initiative giving us the final document of that conference as a charter for disarmament negotiations.



Regrettably, the ideals, the Agenda and the machinery set out in that document have not been realised but the extension of the multilateral process to disarmament negotiations and the active involvement of the Non-Aligned Nations in them is an irreversible fact.

The conference on the relationship between disarmament and development is now scheduled to be held in 1987. The holding of the conference is a global imperative and we look forward to universal participation in this conference with adequate preparation to achieve concrete results. In the field of disarmament, the agenda for action is urgent and brooks no delay. The overwhelming demand of the peoples and nations of the world for an end to nuclear testing is still opposed even after verification arrangements have been clearly shown to be adequate. We endorse the Mexico declaration of our six fellow Non-Aligned leaders and call on the nuclear powers to install a moratorium before negotiating the nuclear test ban which some of them have pledged to do by international treaty commitments.

Sri Lanka has long been associated in the prevention of an arms race in outer space and we call once again for early negotiations of an agreement or agreements as appropriate to ban weapons including Anti-Satellite Weapons in outer space before the arms race in research laboratories is translated into destructive realities. Twenty-five years ago, the Non-Aligned countries which met in Belgrade in their declaration asked that outer space be used for exclusively peaceful purposes and called for an international Agency to be established to promote international cooperation in this area. This call has been renewed recently and we support it. Another form of violence to which humanity has been subjected in this country is the crime of terrorism by which innocent human beings are subjected to sudden indiscriminate killings. This problem has acquired an international dimension as terrorists frequently operate from across the frontiers of states. Certainly the underlying causes of terrorism have to be eradicated, but in the meanwhile the international community must take decisive action to counter terrorism whenever or wherever it erupts. Sri Lanka's position is that traditional international law on extradition has to be modified so that supposed political motivations advanced to justify certain terrorist actions will no longer suffice to deter the extradition of persons who have committed heinous crimes, including mass murder. Certain European states have entered into bilateral agreements which prevent terrorists from fleeing across borders to avoid punishment for their crimes. Within the Regional grouping to which Sri Lanka belongs, SAARC, steps are being taken to promote Regional Co-operation in the eradication of this pestilence. At the Eighth Summit of Non-Aligned countries held in Harare, Zimbabwe, heads of state condemned all terrorist activities and called on all states to fulfil their obligations under international law to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or

participating in terrorist acts in other states or acquiescing in activities within their territories towards the commission of such acts. Adherence to these principles is a pre-condition to combating terrorism in any part of the world.

Permit me, Mr. President, to volunteer some observations on the domestic situation in Sri Lanka which has received publicity and projection in the international Media. It has been the consistent view of My President, H.E. J. R. Jayewardene, that this issue should find a political solution to which end he has striven hard during the last three years. In 1984 he set up a round-table conference which was attended by all parties concerned except the Tamil Terrorist Groups. After one year's deliberations, presided over by H.E. the President himself, efforts to find a political solution acceptable to all parties were not successful because the main tamil groups did not agree to the proposals of the majority. Again during the last two months, negotiations have been resumed and the talks have progressed satisfactorily. The successful conclusion of the talks would now depend on the willingness of the terrorists to be a part of the democratic process. We are thankful to those friendly countries who have been with us in this hour of trial and stress, specially India, who is our immediate neighbour. Any solution we arrive at must preserve the multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multi-religious and unitary status of an undivided Sri Lanka.

A memorandum has been circulated on behalf of the EEC by the distinguished Representative of the United Kingdom in which reference has been made to Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka has learnt from the experience of some EEC countries facing similar problems that such complex issues concerning tensions between communities in any country are best settled without elevating them to the dubious status of "grave world problems".

There are many situations elsewhere in the world comparable to that in Sri Lanka and these situations have persisted for several years without being raised in the United Nations. It would be unreasonable to expect Sri Lanka to solve overnight a problem having a major terrorist dimension. We are more keen and anxious than any one else, quite understandably, to find an early solution to this problem and we are confident we have the will and the capacity to do so, provided all parties in Sri Lanka co-operate to create the necessary atmosphere of peace and security to implement a political solution and all countries committed to the eradication of terrorism extend to us their unqualified and unreserved support.

It is not the intention of Sri Lanka to permit this problem to reach the size and status of a world problem threatening international peace and security. We would appreciate it, therefore, if the EEC countries wishing to see a political settlement in Sri Lanka also place this problem in its proper perspective.



The fortieth session, Mr. President, as you yourself observed in your introductory comments last week, was both a time for celebration as well as a time for reflection. Never did so many world leaders gather together to participate in the United Nations General Assembly, and never has such impassioned commitment to the purposes and principles of the charter and the United Nations system been expressed. However, hardly had these voices died down, the United Nations began to reel under what is described as its worst financial crisis. It is clear that what we are confronting is a fundamental crisis of political proportions far beyond a financial shortfall. At root is an antagonism towards multilateralism and a tendency to lapse into myopic unilateralism which appears as an attractive and convenient path to those with economic or political might or both.

Wisely, long-term and medium-term remedies were sought, attacking the cause rather than the symptoms. During the current session, this crisis is likely to affect the consideration of all issues on the agenda. Let us be realistic. If we reform the United Nations structurally, administratively and financially, to present a model of rectitude, wise management and good husbandry, we would still need to deal with this tendency that seeks to drift away from multilateralism and global co-operation. This is the base of the new challenge this august body must face.

Is there a crisis of confidence in the United Nations and its inability to settle the major outstanding issues of the day? As a parliamentarian of twenty-odd years' experience, I view the world as our electorate or our constituency. The media has focussed on the United Nations' administrative and other weaknesses which have been examined by an expert group. Not much light has, unfortunately, been thrown on how the organisation has failed to implement its own decisions. Let us examine the record in respect of apartheid in South Africa, in respect of Namibia, in respect of Middle East, in respect of Central America, in respect of Disarmament Issues, in respect of international economic issues. I referred earlier to the question of Namibia as a glaring instance of the importance gripping this organization. Most of us are more-transgressed against than transgressing. Yet we are collectively answerable for the failure to implement our own decision. We have a collective responsibility to heed the injunctions of the document to which we all profess allegiance—the United Nations charter.

Let us be fair to the organization that is now caught up in a mood of self-analysis and introspection. The fault lies not in our organization but in ourselves. Our obligations under article 103 of the charter are of a higher priority than any other international obligations. For small States like my own, nothing would guarantee better our security and our independence than the observance of the charter. History will judge us by our performances and not by the piety of our pronouncements.



# Interdependence: Hard Fact of Growth and Development

*Statement made by the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. C. S. Hameed at the 10th Annual Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77-20th September 1986*

*Mr. Chairman,*

Permit me to express my pleasure and satisfaction in seeing you chairing our Tenth Annual Meeting not only because of your committed dedication to the work of the Group of 77, but also because you represent a non-aligned country with whom Sri Lanka has close and friendly relations. It is my hope and undoubtedly the hope of all members of the group of 77 that under your guidance, we will succeed in enhancing and strengthening our effectiveness as a group.

Today, the development process remains disrupted in developing countries as a whole. Over 1980-1984 growth in the developing countries collapsed to an average of one per cent per annum. Though it picked up slightly to reach two-and-a-half per cent in 1985, it dropped again to register a mere two per cent in 1986. Behind these figures is a tragic story of economic regression in several developing countries and intense social and political strains. The crisis of development continues unabated with no light at the end of the tunnel. The rate of growth of the world economy cannot go above three per cent, a rate which in developing countries would hardly maintain even the abject low levels of living—this is the grim reality of the situation. In the face of this situation, at is most regrettable that the north/south dialogue is in a stalemate. The dialogue has turned into a monologue, a lecture to the developing countries to tighten their belts. Surely, Mr. Chairman, are we not entitled to something better and more from international economic co-operation?

The development crisis in our countries has been further compounded by the mounting debt burden. So much so that the heavy burden of debt service has today made it almost impossible for several of them to meet their development objectives. The combined debt of developing countries has increased in recent years from dollars 760 billion in late 1984 to dollars 797 billion by late 1985 and a great part of their export revenue—27 per cent currently—goes as debt repayment. Despite the concessions made by them to the detriment of their own economic interests, the debt burden continues to grow.

One of the very few positive features of the world economic situation is the defeat of inflation in the industrialised countries. It is well however, to bear in mind that this victory owes a great deal to the severe depression of oil and non-oil commodity prices and was largely bought at the expense of developing countries. In other words, it is the developing countries which have borne the brunt of the deflationary policies in the industrialised countries. These policies have had severely negative consequences on the developing countries. Their ramifications have become a major source of strain in the international trading and financial systems.

Much of the glut in commodity markets reflects the prolonged weakness of world demand brought about by

the deflationary policies of the major market economy countries. Part of it reflects the fact that financial pressures have forced commodity producers to keep producing at high levels and in some cases to set up output in order to compensate for shortfalls in income and excessive debt service payments. The distress of commodity producers is thus not a purely sectoral phenomenon. It is linked intimately with problems in other areas, in particular the macro economic policies of the industrialised countries and the lack of a coherent global policy for combining adjustment and development.

Deflationary pressures have also affected trade. Weak demand conditions in developed countries and the high rates of unemployment that have accompanied them have been an important factor behind the escalation of all kinds of trade restrictive measures against developing countries' exports. Protectionist policies have thus been intensified, undermining the efforts of developing countries to run trade surpluses to make up for both the massive worsening of their terms of trade and the deterioration in the balance of financial inflows and outflows. Furthermore, they have aggravated the debt problem as sluggish markets in the industrialised countries have prevented the growth of exports of developing countries, forced raw material and fuel prices further down and caused a continued decline in their export earnings needed to service their debt payments. In the words of the UNCTAD Trade and Development Report 1986, they are "The single most pervasive threat to world prosperity—sapping the vitality of the world economy and eroding the fabric of international trade and finance".

The conventional view which is yet being pressed upon developing countries from many quarters is that the way out of the debt and development crisis lies in continued austerity, improved efficiency and increased incentives to attract foreign investments. While these policies have a role to play practical experience hardly warrants the blind faith that seems to underlie such current thinking. An objective appraisal of needs and opportunities before developing countries clearly points to the fact that even with the most heroic of sacrifices and the most brutal neglect of social objectives, growth prospects for most developing countries will remain grim



without a more clement and equitable international economic environment. The present recipe of drastic domestic policy reform plus paltry amounts of external financing cannot succeed. Both the approach and the policies directed towards a revitalisation of the growth and development of developing countries must undergo change if they are to break out of the deepening crisis.

A new approach must be fashioned which recognises the growing fact of interdependence. In recent years the linkages between national economics and of problems in different sectors have inflicted pain of the kind or another on almost all actors on the world economic scene. Despite the widespread acceptability of such interdependence, the conventional view yet chooses to pay unduly little attention to its relevance to interdependence for the growth and development process. It is essential that the international community must rise to the basic challenge before it which is to concretize the notion of the interdependence into a new global approach buttressed by concrete actions capable of reviving growth and development. Needless to say such an approach must provide for coherent and co-ordinated efforts on a global basis. At the same time in my view, a two-tier approach to deal comprehensively with the urgent and pressing problems of a short term nature will have to be delineated from the problems of structural change and fundamental reform of a medium to long term perspective.

As the UNCTAD Trade and Development Report 1986 states, "At the present juncture, the key to unleashing the development potential of developing countries lies in improving the global trading and financial environment". The central prescription in the short term is for the industrialised countries to accelerate economic growth, widen their markets, reduce real interest rates and increase capital flows to the developing countries. These requirements point to the need for industrialised countries to take the necessary measures towards more expansionary policies that would improve the international economic environment on the global trading front. There is equally the need for industrialised countries to fully commit themselves to the principles of the international trading system to implement previous commitments on trade liberalisation and to improve market access particularly in respect of the exports of developing countries. The recently launched "Uruguay Round" of multilateral trade negotiations has on its agenda the need to halt and reverse protectionism through standstill and rollback measures and to widen markets through trade liberalisation measures.

The fullest liberalisation of the tropical products sector for instance is an area of the greatest importance to my country as to several other primary producing countries. It is hoped that the political will displayed to arrive at a consensus declaration of that occasion will be seen in the continuing negotiations before us leading to effective action and speedy implementation.

Commodity prices as a whole have fallen to the lowest level since the great depression. As the recent IMF survey on primary commodities points out the index of real commodity prices came down progressively from 140 in 1974 to 87.4 in 1985. The terms of trade of primary commodity producers suffered a decline of as much as 40 per cent during this period. The developing countries lost as much as US dollars 50 billion from the deterioration of their terms of trade in one year in 1985. There has practically been no progress in the last few years in the implementation of the integrated programme of commodities and the much needed common fund is yet to be brought into operation due to the lack of the required international support. The difficulties being faced due to the inadequacy of funds available from the IMF compensatory financing facility and other sources continue to adversely affect the capacity of the commodity exporting countries to revitalise growth and development. At the same time, there is no progress towards the establishment of a complementary facility for fully compensating the export earning shortfalls of developing countries. Advance on all these fronts are necessary if primary commodity producers are to get some relief.

The financial squeeze on developing countries remains extremely tight. The combination of worsened terms of trade and higher interest charges on the stock of debt has both increased the need for borrowing and choked off its supply in particular from the commercial banks. For many countries, even normal trade credit has dried up, raising the day-to-day costs of international trade transactions. Meanwhile, the flows of official development assistance has remained inadequate and the capacity of multilateral financial institutions to assist developing countries have remained restricted. It is necessary to deal with the debt problems of developing countries in the context of continued growth and development oriented adjustment. Despite the fact that the need to place growth at the centre of an international debt strategy has been more widely accepted, we are still very far between from it. Indeed some of the initiatives put forward in the recent past appears sadly insufficient in terms of their own stated objectives. In this context, it is indispensable to put in place measures aimed at lowering interest rates so as to bring them back to their historical levels and make them compatible with the development needs of developing countries. The same importance should be given to substantially extending grace and repayment periods, revising conditionality criteria and revitalizing development finance. Given the close relationship between debt and trade, debt service should not exceed a certain percentage of export earnings compatible with the development needs of developing countries. Debt relief should be provided in the short term.

While the measures outlined above to address the immediate and pressing trade and debt problem of developing countries may buy some relief, they are



unlikely to be enough to deal with the deep seated structural problems. These will have to be addressed over the medium and long term in a way that they too relate to the growth and development process and to its revitalisation. It calls in the first place for the economic co-ordination embarked on by the big five industrialised countries to be broadened both in participation and in the problems to be focussed on and addressed. There is a need for concerted and coordinated action on a global basis to address the growth and development problems of developing countries.

Unless these concerns occupy the centre-stage in the development of the world economy, there cannot be a just and equitable solution. Given the fact of interdependence, one-third of the world cannot prosper, if two-thirds continue to stagnate at levels of poverty and economic regression. The need for a strategy therefore to revive growth and development and for the attainment of greater stability in the world's financial system is greater than ever. Such a strategy must go in tandem with the multilateral trade negotiations which has been recently launched under the GATT, even for the latter to succeed.

The linkages between trade policy and macro-economic management are widely accepted. The smooth functioning of the global trading system calls for well designed and co-ordinated monetary and fiscal policies. At the same time, effective trade rules and open markets are essential for macro-economic management. The new round of multilateral trade negotiations has on its agenda not only the preservation and strengthening of the international trading system but also its adaptation to the needs of the twenty-first century through the inclusion of new issues such as services and trades related investment measures and the elaboration of rules and principles for them. Likewise there must be cooperative action in the field of the money and finance which can be seen as complementary and mutually reinforcing to these multilateral trade negotiations. We would therefore strongly endorse the call for parallel action through the convening of an international conference on money and finance which would address the more fundamental problems of structural reform in this arena. Just as the GATT system evolved in the immediate postwar years needed adaptation to a changing world environment so

would the Bretton Woods Institutions need similar adoption to bring them in line with present and future realities.

The continued stagnation of the developing economies and the immiserization that accompanies it is in the interest of neither the banks and the merchants nor of the industrialists and workers of the industrialised countries. Indeed a revival of growth and development is essential to the overall health of the world economy. Such a revival will not come by following the present track. The opportunity to embark on a new more pragmatic approach has opened itself now that the major market economies are coming round to recognising that the prevailing wisdom is leading the world economy to a dead end. That opportunity must be seized on all fronts if we are to advance unitedly. One such front has been opened with the launching of the "Uruguay Round" of multilateral trade negotiations. A further opportunity presents itself for the opening of a second front when an agenda for UNCTAD VII will be mapped out at the end of this week. We trust that that agenda will be comprehensive and bold enough to address the issues within the forum's competence. A third front needs to be opened in the area of money, finance and debt. If we can move on all these fronts seizing the opportunities and displaying the political will that must underline such international co-operation, I am confident, that we cannot fail to bring prosperity to all.

We are faced within our group of 77 with the task of mapping out a strategy given the situation we are placed in. The emphasis on south-south co-operation with GSTP as its centre legs must of course continue. The debate on how the north should approach the south goes on in the countries of the north itself. We would therefore be wrong to assume that the policies pursued by administration in power today are immutable. In recognition of this our group would be well advised to ensure that in all the northern capitals we explain clearly the view of the group of 77. The process of negotiations requires us to use our resources to inform and persuade our partners in multilateral co-operation. I do not advocate lecturing them. I am convinced that the case of group of 77 has not been heard by the people of the countries in the north and that we must therefore take our case to them.



**Statement made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Hon. A. C. S. Hameed at the Council of State and Government of SAARC countries—Bangalore, 14th November 1986**

Mr. Chairman,  
Honourable Foreign Ministers,  
Distinguished Foreign Secretaries,  
Delegates,

I wish to offer the felicitations of my delegation on your unanimous election to guide the deliberations of this important meeting. Your understanding of our problems, your wealth of experience and your wisdom make you eminently suitable to guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

It is indeed a pleasure and a privilege for us to participate in this Second Meeting of the Council of Ministers in this beautiful city. Bangalore combines history and beauty and brings out the special charm of India. The wonderful hospitality extended to us matches the beauty and splendour of Bangalore. In this pleasant and friendly environment, we felicitate you and welcome you to the SAARC family and as Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

I must also convey the appreciation of my delegation to the outgoing Chairman, His Excellency Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, for his exceptional services to the cause of South Asian cooperation from its formative stages.

Mr. Chairman, this is a time both for celebration as well as a time for reflection. It was nearly a year ago that the SAARC ship was launched, as my President said at the First Summit. Our leaders who gathered for the first time on that occasion were able to place our cooperation on a firm foundation by giving it a visible form and structure. On the eve of the Second Summit, it is our hope that our leaders will succeed in extending the frontiers of our cooperation so that a better quality of life will be available to the peoples of South Asia.

When we look back on the last twelve months since the First Summit, we have every reason to be happy at the progress that has been achieved. We are now on the verge of placing our cooperation on an institutional footing. Sri Lanka wishes to congratulate the Working Group for successfully finalising the details for the setting up of our Secretariat. The choice of Kathmandu as the seat of our Secretariat is a recognition of the commitment of Nepal to South Asian cooperation.

The activities of the Technical Committees have proceeded successfully and satisfactory progress has been achieved in their areas of work. The experience we have now gained by our cooperation in these areas should help us to set up a momentum that will carry our regional cooperation further.

Mr. Chairman, there is one area of cooperation to which Sri Lanka attaches special importance. As you will recall, our leaders at the last Summit in Dhaka took an important decision and called for the setting up of a Study Group to examine the problem of terrorism as it affects the security and stability of member states of SAARC.

The report of the Study Group contained unanimous recommendations for the prevention and combating of terrorism by SAARC member states. Three principal issues which were dealt with in the report were first, the need for unequivocal condemnation by SAARC member states of all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal. Second, each SAARC member state should prevent the use of its territory for terrorist activities against another member state. Third, cooperation among member states with regard to exchange of intelligence relating to terrorism and exchange of expertise and training particularly in the field of anti-terrorist techniques.

At our first meeting of the Council of Ministers held in Dhaka last August, we accepted these recommendations. It is now appropriate that our leaders endorse these recommendations and embody them in a Declaration.

The Council of Ministers at the last meeting also mandated the convening of an Experts Group to recommend specific measures of implementation particularly to identify offences which are to be regarded as terroristic and which for purposes of extradition are not to be regarded as political.

The Experts Group has come up with special measures of implementation with regard to some of the recommendations. However, on the question of identification of terroristic offences, while recognising the importance of this matter, they have requested further time to conclude their work.

The Experts Group should be reconvened early to conclude its work on all outstanding matters, so that the report could be considered at the next meeting of the Council of Ministers to enable the Council to take all necessary measures for the immediate implementation of its recommendations.

Mr. Chairman, as you are aware, the overall objective of SAARC is the promotion of the welfare of our people and the improvement of their quality of life. This



necessarily involves the strengthening of economic cooperation among our countries. This desire was evident at the deliberations of the SAARC Ministerial Meeting on International Economic Issues held in Islamabad earlier this year. This was the first highlevel meeting of SAARC member states to discuss a particular issue of common concern to all of us. We must encourage similar meetings on vital issues at SAARC level so that we may coordinate our positions when such matters come up for discussion at international forums. Next year UNCTAD VII will be held and we must approach the conference with shared views.

There is a realisation among members of international community that our Association is now taking shape and form. The recognition of SAARC as a regional Association is fast growing and very soon we will take our place in the galaxy of regional associations. The international economic climate has not improved as expected and the world recovery predicted has yet to take place. Our countries have become victims of the international recession resulting in falling commodity prices and decrease in our earnings. The drop in commodity prices has imposed intolerable strains on our balance of trade and balance of payment. Conditionalities imposed by lenders in return for force adjustments, the harshness of which creates social and political instability. In this background, many questions have been asked about

SAARC in various quarters. What is the role of SAARC in taking South Asia to a better tomorrow? Can SAARC help to build bridges between and among countries in the region? Can SAARC help eradicate poverty and hunger and satisfy the rising aspirations of our people? Faced as they are with the trials and tribulations, our people, Mr. Chairman, are looking forward to a better tomorrow. In this task, our cooperation looms before them as a bright star giving them hope, faith and direction. We must strive for the betterment of our people and this in essence is the reason and rationale of our activity.

Mr. Chairman, in a few days time our leaders will meet here in the Second Working Summit of SAARC. They will, no doubt, look closely at our progress so far and proceed to fashion new ideas and forms regarding our areas of cooperation. The Second Summit gives our leaders again an opportunity, apart from the SAARC programme, to have informal contacts and interaction with each other. These opportunities certainly strengthen the search of SAARC for unity in diversity. These Summits give special satisfaction for Sri Lanka, for it has been our view, from the beginning, that the Association should have frequent and regular exchanges at the highest level. We look forward to the Second Summit and wish it all success.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.



# Hatred ceases by love

**The statements by H.E. The President J. R. Jayewardene at the Second SAARC Summit at Bangalore—15th November 1986**

It is my privilege and pleasure, Mr. Prime Minister, to congratulate you on your assumption of Chairmanship of the Summit Meeting. I also bring to you and to the Government and People of India the warm greetings and sincere good wishes of the people of Sri Lanka.

We thank you and your Government deeply for the warm welcome that we have found here and the most generous hospitality that has been extended to us. We are most appreciative of the careful and excellent arrangements made for our meetings.

Our inaugural Summit at Dhaka laid the foundation for our Association. We have to now build on this foundation. We have completed the formalities of creating a structured framework for regional cooperation. We have given expression to our regional collectivity and a regional identity is appearing.

All of us around here are practical men. We know our expectations and our limitations. Our annual meetings at Summit level and meetings at Foreign Ministers' level and meetings of officials and technocrats from our countries will certainly help to promote our commitment to work together within our region.

It is important that the message of SAARC should be taken to the people because in the final analysis our peoples must not only accept this process but must also be involved in it. This is why at Dhaka we decided to foster people to people contacts within our region. This approach is being advanced by the organisation of seminars, meetings and exchanges at various levels. We have much more to do in this field.

On the other hand, popular consciousness and involvement in regional interaction will not by itself achieve regionalism. We are all aware that initiatives of this nature cannot succeed unless it has the necessary political will.

## **Important areas of activities**

Our regional cooperation today is confined to areas where there has been no conflict between national and regional interest. I believe we have to expand and enlarge our activities. We will have to enter important areas as trade and commerce. The growth of our Association would depend on the growth of mutual trust and confidence.

We have taken every precaution to ensure the smooth conduct of business at our meeting. The ground rules require that in taking decisions unanimity should be the criteria. We have excluded bilateral and contentious issues from our deliberations.

We cannot build this Association if we allow bilateral issues to grow. If we bring the bilateral issues to this

forum, then may be we would be crippled before we could walk. I am sure the Summits will provide us opportunities of talking to one another very informally in friendly environments about our bilateral issues. It must be so. I believe a day would soon come when we would be able to bring bilateral and contentious issues before this forum. To do so, we will have to build greater understanding and trust among us.

We must also know each other and our problems. Let me speak for a few moments of the terrorist problem in Sri Lanka.

Till 1983 the Governments of Sri Lanka dealt with terrorists' acts in the North and East as normal acts of criminality. When 13 soldiers were killed by a bomb in the North in July 1983, riots broke out in various parts of the Island. Terrorism now began to take a different form, as a direct challenge to the authority of an elected Government. The Government of India at this stage began discussions with the Sri Lanka Government, through Sri G. Parthasarathi who visited Sri Lanka in August and November 1983, at the request of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and myself.

## **Steps taken towards a Solution**

The Sri Lanka Government since then took various steps to arrive at a political solution, e.g., the All-Party Conference of 1984; the visits of my Ministers and myself to Delhi in 1984 and 1985; Secretary Bhandari's visit to Sri Lanka in April 1985; the Thimpu-Delhi talks and the Delhi Accord of July/August 1985; the Chidambaram visit to Sri Lanka in April/May 1986. This process still continues.

The statements made by me to the Parliament of Sri Lanka on 20.02.1985 and on 20.02.1986 give a detailed history of these steps and the rejection of the proposals by the representatives of the Separatist groups.

The Sri Lanka Government has now, with the good offices of the Government of India and the Government of the State of Tamil Nadu, placed before the representatives of the Separatist groups proposals which create Provincial Councils with Chief Ministers and Boards of Ministers, all elected by the people of each province, and the devolution of functions and authority to these Councils, without violating the Constitution of Sri Lanka. The Government of Sri Lanka has outlined these wide reaching proposals.



## Path of Non-violence

Addressing the Sri Lanka Parliament in 1985 and 1986 I have said, and I repeat, "Non-violence is a creed of faith of the Government of Sri Lanka and of the founding fathers of India's Freedom and Constitution. The use of violence to achieve political goals is totally against the ideals preached by the great sons of India, particularly Gautama the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. We in Sri Lanka have tried to follow these ideals.

***We cannot compromise with violence. Whatever form of agitation is used to attain political goals it must be non-violent and follow the Buddhist and Gandhian method of Satyakriya or Satyagraha.***

The heritage of India is universal and permanent. We in Sri Lanka are proud that even a shadow of this noble heritage has fallen on our land enabling us to share it even in a small degree. It is the heritage of "Ahimsa", "Non-violence" handed down to us from time immemorial, from the Hindu-Vedas, from the Buddha Dhamma, the Christian Gospels and Islam's Koran. Mahatma Gandhi personified these ideals, and lived them in his life and teaching of Truth and Maithriya, inspiring others also to follow his example.

## To uphold the rule of law

It is my earnest desire that all my fellow members of this Conference realise, that my Government and the freedom loving and democratic people of Sri Lanka are committed, to uphold throughout the Island the Rule of Law; to protect Democratic Institutions; to safeguard the Independence, Integrity and Unity of our country.

This is a moment of destiny for us. Not only as fellow members of SAARC, but also as neighbours that share common aspirations and ideals, we need your understanding and appreciation, as we face the challenge of violence that confronts us.

When I spoke at Dhaka at our first Summit I said that the SAARC ship has set sail—that it has started its journey and that there should be no mutiny on board. I am reminded of a few words from Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar':

"On such a full sea are we now afloat; And we must take the current when it serves, Or lose our ventures."

I believe, that these lines are very relevant. We are now afloat on such a full sea. We must have the courage and determination to take the current and make it serve us. We must not lose our venture. If we do so, history will say that we failed the teeming millions in South Asia languishing in hunger and poverty.

Mr. Chairman, I spoke those words for the record.

You quoted a poem from Rabindranath Tagore which is close to my heart. Tagore wrote, "if life's journey be endless, where is the goal". I think the goal and the road are one. Every step must be as pure as the goal itself.

There can be no impure steps to attain a pure goal. I say this because I know that violence brings hatred. Hatred cannot be conquered by violence; but by non-violence and by love. When I spoke at the 1951 San Francisco Conference on the Japanese Peace Treaty soon after the war, I cited the Buddha's words. I said, "Hold out the hand of friendship to the Japanese people. Hatred ceases not by hatred, but by love".

## Hatred ceases by love

Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan, spoke a.t.c. me. He said that the Prophet Mohammed also had a similar view. Certain enemies were defeated by arms and they were brought before the Prophet with all the goods that were captured. He said, "release them, release everything you have taken from them, except their arms. Forgive them", he said.

Hindu Vedas and the Bhagwat Gita tell us to do right without fear of consequence. Christ forgave his enemies on the Cross.

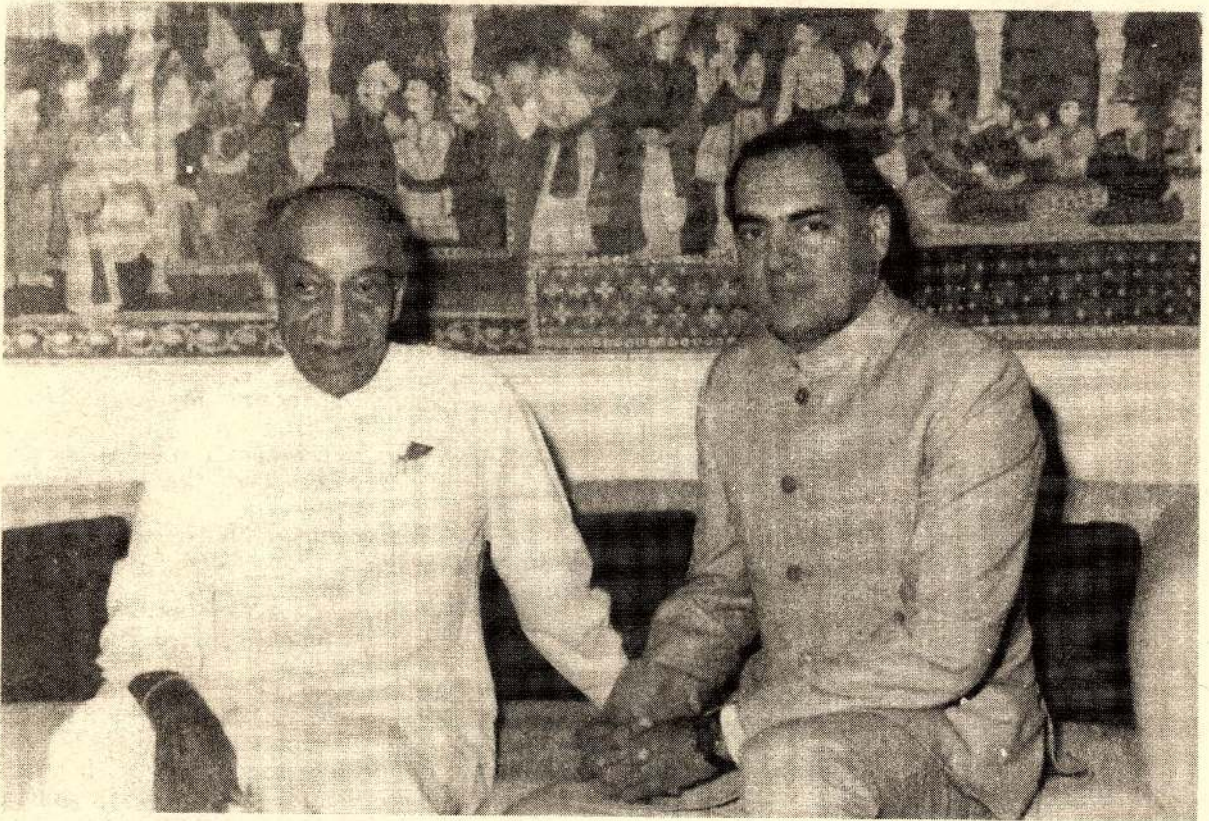
***I am reminded of all this because every time a bullet, whether it be a terrorist bullet or a bullet from the security services in my country, kills a citizen it goes deep into my heart. I do not know how to stop it. Violence achieves nothing, except distress and hatred.***

I am reminded of a story of Gautama the Buddha. He was meditating in a jungle near a village. A young mother lost her only child. She could not believe that he was dead. She carried the body round the village trying to find some medicine. She could not find it. She was told "why don't you go and see that holy man. He may help you." She went to him. He told her, "Sister, can you bring a mustard seed? But it must be from a house where there has been no death." She went back to the village carrying this dead child. She visited house after house; but there was no house where there was no death. In every house somebody had died. She came back and told the Buddha, "Lord, I could not find such a house to bring a mustard seed." So he said, "Sister, thou hast found, looking for what none finds, the bitter balm I had to give thee. He thou lovest, slept dead on thy bosom yesterday. Today, thou knowest the whole wide world weeps with thy woe. The grief that all hearts bear grows less by one. Go, bury thou thy child."

## Democratic objectives

Whenever I hear of death it grieves me more than I can explain. One of your leaders, the great Mahatma Gandhi personified in his life the non-violence that I mentioned. He showed the world that non-violence can be employed to attain political and democratic objectives. Whether it be freedom from foreign rule, or the elimination of Capitalism and the formation of a Communist State or whether it is Separatism or Federalism, this is the only way that can be supported by civilised people. That is the way of non-violence or "ahimsa".





President J. R. Jayewardene meeting with the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi during the SAARC Summit in Bangalore.

I was privileged, Mr. Chairman, as a young man just entering politics in the 1930s to witness a great movement which began to stir India. Mr. Chairman, I know your mother and grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru. I stayed with him in his house. I was his guest at the Congress Ramgarh Sessions—the last sessions before freedom. I was his guest in Bombay when the “Quit India” Resolution was passed. That was the first occasion on which Mahatma Gandhi, in his long service to India, tried the non-violent way to attain freedom for his country. He was training his people in non-violence. He walked to the Dandi beach to break the salt laws. He broke the laws of the British Government after the Amritsar massacre. He broke the habit regarding the wearing of foreign cloth and encouraged the Swadeshi Movement. He said you are in a movement not only to attain freedom. At the Bombay session when he spoke on the “Quit India” Resolution, I was sitting behind him when he ended his speech with \*KARANGE YA MARANGE\* “DO OR DIE”.

#### Gandhiji’s inspirations

Mr. Chairman, I was returning back to Sri Lanka when I was told that your grand father was arrested. Throughout his long life, Gandhiji never stressed any means other than non-violence. I remember when there was an agitation in Bihar and the police station was set on fire in Chauri Choura. Some policemen were killed during the non-cooperation campaign. Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders were in jail. Mahatma Gandhi called off the agitation because violence had broken out. Jawaharlal Nehru from jail asked why did he do so, when they were about to attain their objective. ***Mahatma Gandhi said, “No! I do not want to attain freedom through violence.” That was the man that inspired me. Those are the men who brought freedom to all our countries. Not only in Asia, but throughout the world. And I say again violence means hatred. Hatred cannot be conquered by violence, but by non-violence and by love. That is the way I would like to follow.***

Mr. Chairman, as I said before and I say now, “I am a lover of India, I am a friend of its people and you its leader, Mr. Chairman. I am a follower of its greatest son, Gautama the Buddha.”

Thank you.



**The statement by His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene at the Closing Session of the Second SAARC Summit-17.11.86**

*Your Majesties,  
Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

*Mr. Chairman,*

We have come to the conclusion of our deliberations and it is my duty to thank the Government of India, the Government of Karnataka, yourself Prime Minister, Chief Minister and those who helped to make our stay happy, helped us in our work to come to the end of a successful session.

Looking to the future we are setting up our Secretariat in Kathmandu. Secretary-General of the Secretariat is Mr. Abul Ahsan from Bangladesh who is aided by the 7 Counsellors from our 7 countries. We wish the Secretariat and its officials the best we can offer. The next Summit meeting will be in Nepal next year. We have not decided upon the date as yet. The Summit meeting after that, it has been decided should be in Sri Lanka. The date has not yet been decided. As far as we can now judge the events, we have considered many proposals. Some of them we decided to implement. When they are implemented, I could see, we will increase knowledge.

They will increase wealth and employment to millions of people living in our region, stretching their hands towards perfection.

Mr. Chairman, the ship of SAARC is now sailing under your guidance. We know the qualities you possess, the qualities you inherited, are sufficient that this ship looks neither to the right nor to the left but goes straight on to its cherished goal.

May in the years to come your guidance help all those who are the leaders of the 7 nations, help all people of our countries to attain prosperity, peace and happiness.

Thank you.



## VISITS TO SRI LANKA BY FOREIGN DIGNITARIES 1985-1986

1985

1. Visit of Prince Bertil and Princess Lilian for the Opening of Kotmale Project-15.04.1985
2. Visit of H.E. Mr. Wu Xueqian, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China - 23rd-26th January 1985
3. Visit of H.E. Mr. Kim Young Nam, Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea - 28th February - 1st March, 1985
4. Visit of Dr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia - 20th-22nd January 1985
5. Visit of Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of UK-11-13 April 85
6. Visit of Her Excellency Mrs. Eeva Kunsikoski Vikatmaa, Health Minister of Finland - 5th-19th March 85
7. Visit of Hon. Jarmo Laine, Minister of Trade and Industry of Finland-28-29 April
8. Visit of Hon. Karl Blecha, Austrian Federal Minister of the Interior-30 March-7 April
9. Visit of Hon. Soo Ik Sohm, Minister of Transport of the Republic of Korea-22-25 March
10. Hon. Bill Hayden, Foreign Minister of Australia-20-23 May
11. Visit of Hon. Clement Maynard, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bahamas - 21st-23rd July 85
12. Visit of H.E. Mr. Milenko Bojenic, Yugoslav Trade Minister - 20th-23rd July
13. Visit of H.E. Mr. Mohamad Benaissa, Minister of Cultural Affairs, Special Envoy of His Majesty the King of Morocco - 10th - 11th August 85
14. Visit of H.E. Mr. Anders Thunberg, Minister of Defence of Sweden - 22nd-25th August 85
15. Visit of H.E. General Zia-Ul-Haq, President of Pakistan 10th - 14th December 85
16. Visit of H.E. Mr. Hanif Tayyab, Minister of Labour of Pakistan - 26th-27th September 85
17. Visit of H.E. Sub Lt. Prapas Limpabandhu, Deputy Foreign Minister of Thailand - 12th-15th January 86
18. Visit of Hon. Karl Blecha, Minister of Interior of Austria - 23rd-29th December 85

1986

1. Visit of H.E. Mr. Li Xiannian, President of China-11-14 March
2. Visit of Hon. Michael K. Moore, Minister of Overseas Trade and Marketing of New Zealand-24-26 February
3. Visit of H.E. Mr. Mari Antonov Ivonov, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria - 23rd-25th February 86
4. Visit of H.E. Mr. S. I. Tchistoplyasov, President of USSR - Sri Lanka Society and Minister of Food Industry of RSFSR of USSR-20-27 March
5. Visit of H.E. Won Kyung Lee, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea-19-21 June
6. Visit of H.E. Lt. Gen. Hussain Muhammad Ershad, President of Bangladesh-24-26 July
7. Visit of Hon. Georgi Iordanov, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Culture of Bulgaria-17-20 August
8. Visit of H.E. Mr. Kh Olzvoi, Deputy Foreign Minister of Mongolia - 27th-31st August 86
9. Visit of Hon. Oscar F. Santos, Minister of the Republic of the Philippines and Chairman, Philippine Coconut Authority-30 October-03 November
10. Visit of Hon. P. Chidambaram and Hon. Natwar Singh, Ministers from India - 17th-19th December 86



**SRI LANKA REPRESENTATION OVERSEAS**  
**Presentation of Credentials by Sri Lankan Ambassadors**

1985

<i>Name</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Date of Presentation</i>
H.E. Mr. W.P.S.R. Jayaweera Ambassador	Federal Republic of Germany	05.06.85
H.E. Mr. Rudra Rajasingham Ambassador	Indonesia	24.07.85
H.E. Dr. Ananda P. Guruge Ambassador	UNESCO – Paris	07.08.85
H.E. Mr. N. Navaratnarajah Ambassador	Iraq	05.08.85
H.E. Mr. A.L.M. Hashim Ambassador	Saudi Arabia	16.11.85
H.E. Mr. M.E.H. Mohamed Ali High Commissioner	Maldives	28.11.85

1986

H.E. Mr. A.N. Wiratunge Ambassador	Belgium	25.02.86
H.E. Dr. W. Weerasooria High Commissioner	Australia	14.04.86
H.E. Mr. W.K.M. de Silva Ambassador	Burma	07.05.86
H.E. Gen. T.I. Weeratunga High Commissioner	Canada	21.05.86
H.E. Mr. P.B.G. Kalugalle Ambassador	Philippines	29.04.86
H.E. Rear Adm. A.W.H. Perera High Commissioner	Kenya	24.06.86
H.E. Mr. H.W.H. Weerasinghe High Commissioner	Malaysia	03.05.86
H.E. Mr. T.H.W. Woutersz Ambassador	Yugoslavia	04.09.86

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**FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION**  
**Presentation of Credentials in Colombo**

1985

<i>Name</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Date of Presentation</i>
H.E. Mr. Ei Myung Kim Ambassador	Republic of Korea	07.01.85
H.E. Dr. Antonio Tele De Almeida Magalhes Colaco Ambassador*	Portugal	22.01.85
H.E. Mr. Mohamed Ramina Abdiwawa High Commissioner*	Tanzania	04.03.85
H.E. Mr. Larbi Moulane Ambassador*	Morocco	11.03.85
H.E. Mr. Antonios J. Vakis High Commissioner*	Cyprus	08.04.85
H.E. Mr. Kaj Baagoe Ambassador*	Denmark	22.04.85
H.E. Mr. Robert L.C. Cotton High Commissioner	Australia	23.04.85
H.E. Mr. J.N. Dixit High Commissioner	India	27.05.85
H.E. Mr. Jan Groop Ambassador*	Finland	10.06.85
H.E. Mr. Chan Keng Howe High Commissioner*	Singapore	24.06.85
H.E. Mr. George A. Sioris Ambassador*	Greece	16.09.85
H.E. Mr. Abderrahmane Bensid Ambassador*	Algeria	18.11.85
H.E. Mr. James W. Spain Ambassador	United States of America	21.11.85
H.E. Mr. K.N. Koulmatov Ambassador	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic	28.11.85
H.E. Mr. Timothy James Hannah High Commissioner †	New Zealand	16.12.85

1986

H.E. Mr. Anund Priyay Neewoor High Commissioner*	Mauritius	03.02.86
H.E. Mr. Vancho Andonov Ambassador	Yugoslavia	07.04.86
H.E. Mr. Janusz Switkowski Ambassador*	Poland	21.04.86
H.E. Mr. A.S. Noor Mohamed High Commissioner	Bangladesh	28.04.86
H.E. Mr. Alexander Tonev Ambassador*	Bulgaria	19.05.86
H.E. Mr. Kaare Daehlen Ambassador*	Norway	26.05.86
H.E. Mr. Abdul Karim Marzuki High Commissioner	Malaysia	26.05.86



<i>Name</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Date of Presentation</i>
H.E. Mr. Hoang Anh Tuan Ambassador*	Vietnam	02.06.86
H.E. Mr. Hans Michael Ruyter Ambassador	Federal Republic of Germany	04.08.86
H.E. Mr. J.H. Daman Willems Ambassador	Netherlands	18.08.86
H.E. Mr. Serge Eluecque Ambassador	France	22.09.86
H.E. Mr. Helmut Hohlig Ambassador	German Democratic Republic	22.09.86
H.E. Ms. Carolyn M. McAskie High Commissioner	Canada	29.09.86
H.E. Mr. Oymny Khosbayar Ambassador*	Mongolia	13.10.86
H.E. Mr. Tariq Ahamed Maroof Ambassador	Iraq	20.10.86
H.E. Mr. Shimelis Adugna Ambassador*	Ethiopia	27.10.86
H.E. Mrs. Khajorn Sobhon Ambassador	Thailand	03.11.86
H.E. Ahemed Abdullah High Commissioner	Maldives	01.12.86
H.E. Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid Ambassador*	Somalia	09.12.86
H.E. Mr. Antonio L. Ramirez Ambassador	Philippines	09.12.86

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\* Resident in New Delhi  
† Resident in Singapore



**LIST OF IMPORTANT CONFERENCES, SEMINARS, MEETINGS, ETC., ATTENDED BY SRI LANKA  
DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 1985 TO DECEMBER 1986**

**1985**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Venue</i>
07-27 Jan. 1985	71st Session of the International Labour Conference	Geneva
14-17 Jan. 1985	ESCAP Regional Experts Group Meeting on Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy	Bangkok
22-25 Jan. 1985	ESCAP Consultative Meeting on an alternative strategy for poverty eradication	Bangkok
28 Jan.-15 Feb. 1985	UN Conference on Condition for registration of ships	Geneva
01-03 Mar. 1985	Annual General Meeting of the Worldview International Foundation	Dhaka
11-13 Mar. 1985	United Nations Industrial Co-operation Programme	Kuala Lumpur
16-29 Mar. 1985	41st Session of ESCAP	Bangkok
17-18 Apr. 1985	2nd Governing Council Meeting of South Asia Co-operative Environment Programme	Dhaka
25-30 Apr. 1985	UNEPA Regional Meeting on Women, Population and Development	Beijing
29 Apr.-10 May 1985	8th Session of HABITAT The Committee on Fisheries of FAO	Jamaica Rome
26-31 May 1985	International Hospital Congress	Puerto Rico
01-18 June 1985	9th World Forestry Conference	Mexico
04-07 June 1985	1st Session of second round of negotiations of the Bangkok organization	Seoul
05-08 June 1985	19th Session and Meeting of the International Natural Rubber Organization	Kuala Lumpur
05-14 June 1985	International Seminar on Rice Farming Systems to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of IRRI	Philippines
June 1985	Advisory Committee of the Bay of Bengal Programme of FAO	Bangkok
09-16 June 1985	3rd Asian Congress on Diarrhoeal Diseases	Dhaka
02-07 July 1985	The Conference on Disarmament	Geneva
04 July 1985	The Economic and Social Council 2nd Regular Session	Geneva
06-09 July 1985	UN Conference of Plenipotentiary condition for registration of ships	Geneva
15-26 July 1985	World Conference to review and appraise achievements of UN decade for women	Nairobi
05-10 Aug. 1985	Meeting of the Directors of Youth Affairs and the Commonwealth Regional Advisory Board for Asia	Maldives
10-22 Aug. 1985	UNIDO Ministerial Conference	Vienna
12-17 Aug. 1985	4th Meeting of the Commonwealth Regional Consultative Group on Energy	New Delhi
17-27 Sept. 1985	6th Session of the joint assembly of the World Tourism Organization	Sophia



<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Venue</i>
20 Sept.2–Nov. 1985	WHO Regional Committee for South East Asia	New Delhi
01-04 Oct. 1985	Asian Pacific Labour Ministers' Conference	Melbourne
01-07 Oct. 1985	6th Session of the Committee on Agricultural Development ESCAP	Bangkok
07-18 Oct. 1985	Consultative Council of Postal Studies	Switzerland
09-15 Oct. 1985	3rd Asia & Pacific Ministerial Conference on Social Welfare & Social Development	Bangkok
Oct. 1985	Indian Ocean Fisheries Committee	Bangkok
17 Oct. 1985	The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting	Nassau Bahamas
22 Oct. 1985	40th Session of the UN General Assembly	New York
25 Oct.- 01 Nov. 1985	WHO Regional Committee of South East Asia	
01-18 Nov. 1985	Visit of the Education delegation to China	China
04-08 Nov. 1985	7th Regional Conference for Asia & Oceania of International Social Security Association	Kuala Lumpur
08-28 Nov. 1985	23rd Session of the FAO Conference	Rome
25 Nov.– 04 Dec. 1985	Executive Council Meeting of the Asian Pacific Postal Union	Kuala Lumpur
7 Dec. 1985	The Conference of the Heads of State and Government of SAARC	Dhaka
04-13 Dec. 1985	10th Asian Regional Conference of ILO	Jakarta
<b>- 1986</b>		
20 Jan.-08 Feb 1986	UN Conference of Plenipotentiary condition for registration of ships	Geneva
25-30 Jan. 1986	Expert Group Meeting on Technology Policy Draft Document Sponsored by APCTT	Jakarta
29-31 Jan. 1986	Intergovernmental meeting on Human Resources Development	Bangkok
24 Feb.- 04 Mar. 1986	A discussion on Education, Youth Affairs, Manpower Mobilisation and Training	Pakistan
07-12 Mar. 1986	Trade delegation to Pakistan	Pakistan
24-29 Mar. 1986	Asian-African workshop on Youth guidance	Maldives
17 April 1986	The Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries	New Delhi
20 Apr.- 03 May 1986	42nd Session of ESCAP	Bangkok
21-25 Apr. 1986	8th Session of Committee on Forestry	Rome
02-26 May 1986	Commonwealth Youth Council's Meeting	U.S.A., Canada Guyana, Jamaica
03-05 May 1986	10th General Assembly, ICOMP	Costa Rica
05-16 May 1986	9th Session of HABITAT	Kenya



<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Venue</i>
06-08 May 1986	SAARC Ministerial level Conference on women and development	Shillong India
07-24 May 1986	United Nations Conference on Natural Rubber	Geneva
10-31 May 1986	H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh's Commonwealth Study Conference	Australia
24-28 May 1986	Meeting of the joint economic Mission of EEC	Brussels
06-18 June 1986	International Seminar at EXPO '86	Vancouver
08-11 June 1986	13th Ministerial Session of the World Food Council	Beijing
June 1986	72nd Session of the International Labour Conference	Geneva
07 July 1986	The International Conference for the immediate independence of Namibia	Vienna
08 July 1986	The Conference of Disarmament	Geneva
08-17 July 1986	18th FAO Regional Conference for Asia and Pacific	Rome
09 July 1986	The Economic and Social Council 2nd Regular Session	Geneva
21-31 July 1986	GAAT Meeting on multi-fibre arrangements	Geneva London
12 Aug. 1986	The Council of Ministers of SAARC	Dhaka
23 Aug.-26 Sept. 1986	23rd International Conference on Social Welfare	Japan
02-12 Sept. 1986	22nd General Assembly of International Social Security Association	Montreal
11-24 Sept. 1986	8th Meeting of World Tourism Organization Committee for South Asia	Dhaka
09 Sept. - 10 Oct. 1986	Commonwealth Postal Conference	Canada
12-26 Sept. 1986	World Conference of Directors of Zoological Gardens	Frankfurt
16-27 Sept. 1986	Ministerial level meeting of the GAAT contracting parties	Uruguay
19 Sept. 1986	14th Special Session of the United Nations on Namibia	New York
21-24 Sept. 1986	Meeting of the Ministers of Industries & Technology	Bangkok
26 Sept. 1986	41st General Assembly of the United Nations	New York
Sept. 1986	8th Non-Aligned Summit	Harare (Zimbabwe)
30 Sept. 1986	10th Annual Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77	New York
Oct. 1986	Advisory Committee of the Bay of Bengal Programme of FAO	Male
01-07 Oct. 1986	2nd Session of the second round of negotiations of the Bangkok agreement	Seoul
07-17 Oct. 1986	WHO Regional Committee of South East Asia	Chiang Mai (Thailand)
25 Oct.-01 Nov. 1986	SAARC Conference on Women	New Delhi
27-29 Oct. 1986	Conference on South Asian Children	New Delhi
04-10 Nov. 1986	Committee on Development Planning	Bangkok
07-11 Nov. 1986	Executive Council Meeting of the Asian Pacific Postal Union	Kuala Lumpur



<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Venue</i>
15 Nov. 1986	The Council of Ministers Meeting at the Conference of Heads of State and Government of SAARC Countries	Bangalore
12-25 Nov. 1986	Second Session of the Ministerial level Inter-governmental Meeting on International Voluntary and Development	Geneva, Lesotho
26-27 Nov. 1986	8th Executive Committee Meeting of CIRDAP	Bangladesh
30 Nov. -17 Dec. 1986	29th Special Council Sessions of the World Tourism Organization	Madrid



## AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 1985 TO DECEMBER 1986

- 14.03.1985 Convention between the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Government of the United States of America for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with taxes on Income. *-Signed at Colombo*
- 25.03.1987 Implementation programme of Cultural Co-operation Agreement between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the People's Republic of China for the period 1984-1985. *-Signed at Beijing*
- 27.04.1985 Agreement between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the Government of the Republic of Finland for Promotion and Protection of Investments. *-Signed at Kandy*
- 07.05.1985 Convention between the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the Avoidance of Double Taxation with respect to Taxes on income and on capital. *-Signed at Colombo*
- 04.06.1985 Agreement between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark concerning the encouragement and the Reciprocal Protection of Investments. *-Signed at Copenhagen*
- 13.06.1985 Agreement between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and Government of Norway for the Promotion & Protection of Investments. *-Signed at Oslo*
- 17.06.1985 Agreement on Maritime Transport between the Government of Malaysia and the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka. *-Signed at Kuala Lumpur*
- 19.09.1985 Programme for Cultural & Scientific Co-operation between the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the People's Republic of Bulgaria for 1985/1986. *-Signed at Colombo*
- 08.12.1985 Charter of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation. *-Signed at Dhaka*
- 13.03.1986 Agreement between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and Government of the People's Republic of China on the Reciprocal Promotion of Protection of Investments. *-Signed at Colombo*
- 16.05.1986 General conditions for the implementation of Scientific and Technical Co-operation between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the Government of the Republic of Cuba. *-Signed at Havana*
- 01.10.1986 Specific Agreement on development of Education *-Signed at Stockholm*
- 14.10.1986 Protocol on Sports Co-operation between the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports & the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs & Sports of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka for 1986-1987 *-Signed at Colombo*
- 24.10.1986 Programme on Educational and Cultural Co-operation between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the Federal Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for 1986 and 1987. *-Signed at Colombo*
- 07.11.1986 Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of the Secretariat SAARC. *-Signed at Bangalore*
- 04.12.1986 Convention between the Government of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka and the Kingdom of Norway for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to taxes on income and on capital. *-Signed at Colombo*















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