Address by president Soeharto of the Republic of Indonesia as chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement at the inaugural session of the Eleventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries

Cartagena, Colombia, October 18, 1995

Unofficial translation

Your Majesties, Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should first of all like to extend to our host, Colombia, our heartfelt congratulations and deep appreciation for the generous hospitality accorded us since our arrival here in this beautiful city of Cartagena. We are confident that the warm reception by the friendly people of Colombia and the thoughtful arrangements for the comfort and convenience of all delegations will engender a conducive atmosphere for our deliberations. My delegation and I stand ready to extend our fullest cooperation to ensure the success of this Conference.

At this time, Indonesia concludes its three-year tenure as chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. It has truly been an honour for us to undertake this responsibility, and I thank you the members for the confidence that you placed in us during these years of global transition and change. Now Colombia will assume that role and bring us forward on a steady and certain course. We turn over the chairmanship to our worthy successor.

Your Majesties and Your Highnesses, Excellencies and Distinguished Delegates,

The Tenth Summit Meeting of our Movement has indeed been a watershed. It established beyond doubt the continuing relevance of Non-Alignment in the post Cold-War era, as validated by subsequent events. Just as important, our Movement emerged from that Summit with a new
orientation and a new approach in its relation-ships with the developed countries and with international institutions. The Jakarta Message and the Final Documents of the Tenth Summit were formulated with a realistic perspective, free of acrimonious accusations and recitations of grievances. We emerged with a new emphasis on common understandings instead of disputes and divergent views. Consequently, the international community and international organizations became more receptive to our ideas and initiatives as they too welcomed the new non-confrontational and inclusive approach that we adopted in pursuing the basic principles and ideas upon which our Movement was founded.

It is a remarkable achievement that our Movement, now comprising 113 countries of different political, economic, social and cultural back-grounds, has been able to maintain its unity and solidarity over four decades. This has been possible because our founding principles and ideas are truly universal, and reflect the values shared by all humankind. These include respect for the sovereign equality among states, national independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in domestic affairs and the fostering of relations of mutually beneficial cooperation among all nations, especially among the developing countries.

By adhering to these principles, our Movement, in spite of the tremendous diversity of its membership, has not only been able to maintain its solidarity, it has managed to become one of the largest and most effective peace movements in history. For Indonesia, it is a source of pride that the principles of non-alignment and that of unity in diversity have become living national traditions.

Your Majesties and Your Highnesses, Excellencies and Distinguished Delegates,

The results of our deliberations at the Tenth Summit are now part of the history of our Movement and are therefore well-known to you. As to our activities and initiatives since that summit meeting, we have prepared for your reference a comprehensive report, which includes the latest developments in follow-up activities. This will complement the Progress Reports that Indonesia has presented at the Meetings of our Foreign Ministers during the tenure of Indonesia's Chairmanshi. It is therefore not my intention here to give a detailed account of all our undertakings but to focus on the highlights which, I believe, will serve to guide the Movement over the course of the next few years.

Let me recall that the basic rationale for these activities can be traced back four decades to when the leaders of 29 countries of Asia and África, concerned with the paralysis that had gripped the United Nations as a result of the Cold Ward, an the grievous problems at the time, met in Bandung and articulated a new ethos to guide the relations between and among nations. This new ethos, which became known as the Dasa Süa or Then Principles of Bandundg, was to serve as the guiding philosophy of our Movement and thus Indonesia had the honour of serving as the seed-bed of non-alignment.

The Jakarta Summit took place against the backdrop of rapid globalization and deepening interdependence. By then it had become clear that the major problems of our time are global in nature and cannot be resolved through short-term relief measures or through piecemeal reforms alone. Indeed, we have pointed out time and again at every appropriate opportunity since then, that the solution to these global problems would require a new global partnership for peace, security and prosperity that would involve all nations, those in the developed North, as well as those in the developing South.

Since they acquired political independence, the newly emerged developing countries have recognized the imperative for a more favourable global economic environment and the vital necessity for economic cooperation among developing countries. Unfortunately the world has changed little despite the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the bipolar structure of world politics. In the poorest of the developing countries, too many people still perish each day for want of food and primary health care. To the millions of men, women and children in the developing world who are poorly housed, if not home-less, who are blighted by illiteracy and ignorance, life offers little hope and is often brief. It therefore remains as one of the principal arms of our Movement to help libérate the developing world from the shackles of poverty, ignorance and backwardness, and thereby give true meaning to their self-determination.

For this reason, the leaders of our Movement placed economic concerns at the top of its agenda during the Fourth Summit in Algiers, and we restored these concerns to top priority at the Tenth
Summit in Jakarta. Soon after the Jakarta Summit therefore, I consulted other Leaders of our Movement on a set of high-priority follow up activities that would constitute an economic agenda for the Movement. Their general response was one of encouragement and support.

Realizing that social and economic development can only be secured in an environment of peace and stability, our Movement has remained seized with political issues as well as the tensions and conflicts attendant to them. As a result of its endeavours during the past three years in the promotion of peace, security and stability, the Non-Aligned Movement has come to be recognized by the United Nations as well as by other international organizations, as a consistent force for dialogue and reconciliation, in an unrelenting quest for peaceful solutions to international disputes. In such endeavours, as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, I often sent a Special Envoy to states and areas in conflict, and to all other concerned states, on a mission of quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes. On a day to day basis, the Movement's advocacy for the peaceful solution of conflicts is also being carried out in forums provided by the workings of the United Nations. At every opportunity, we have always sought to create an atmosphere conducive to the search for peaceful solutions to the conflict.

Thus, our Movement has addressed such grievous problems as the violent upheavals in Rwanda and Burundi, which have exacted a horrible toll in human lives and has wrought vast economic devastation. We are greatly relieved that the prospects for a comprehensive settlement are now greater than ever, which should ultimately lead to rehabilitation on and reconstruction. Likewise, in Somalia, we remain hopeful of a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

In the Middle East our Movement has continued to extend its support to the just cause of the Palestinian people to realize their inalienable national rights. The Movement also closely monitored developments in the occupied territories and the progress in the Middle East peace process.

As regards the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula, as Chairman of the NAM, I have tried through quiet diplomacy to contribute to a mutually satisfactory solution to the problem. It is gratifying to note that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has now succeeded in concluding key accords with the United States on this issue.

In the meantime, we have been seized with the tragedy of Bosnia-Herzegovina and have endeavoured to do our utmost to assist in the pursuit of peace in the former Yugoslavia. Considering that the former Yugoslavia has been a co-founder of the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia as Chairman of the NAM deems it incumbent to offer its good offices in facilitating a peace process which would lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the conflict. I believe that such a process will be successful, provided it is pursued on the basis of direct negotiations by the leaders of the countries involved. These negotiations should be conducted on the basis of certain fundamental principles such as peaceful co-existence and non-interference in internal affairs. Any settlement should take into account existing UN resolutions and existing proposals for settlement, and should entail mutual recognition by the states that were components of the former Yugoslavia, respect for internationally recognized boundaries and protection of minorities. Furthermore, the process should proceed in stages, from direct negotiations among the leaders themselves to an appropriately structured international conference, to be held when agreement has been reached on the basic elements of a settlement.

Your Majesties, Your Highnesses, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

When our Movement decided at the Jakarta Summit to restore the issue of economic development to the top of its agenda, we also deemed it necessary that the North-South dialogue be resuscitated and that this time it will be held on the basis of genuine interdependence, mutual interest and benefits, and equitably shared responsibility. We also stipulated that South-South cooperation be broadened and intensified. The Movement's unrelenting efforts to achieve these goals eventually led to the adoption by consensus in 1993 of UN General Assembly Resolution 48/65, "Renewal of the Dialogue on Strengthening International Economic Cooperation for Development through Partnership". In the following year, the UN General Assembly at this 49th session adopted, also by consensus, a similar resolution, No. 49/165.

Their adoption heralded a new era in the relationship between developed and developing countries and proved the validity and effective-
ness of the Movement's sincere efforts to engage the countries of the North in a dialogue that would lead to a global partnership for development.

Among the most critical and persistent problems of the developing countries is the problem of external indebtedness. For many low-income countries the debt crisis is far from over. It started in 1982 as a debt crisis of middle-income countries and as a crisis of commercial debt. The debt crisis continued in a different form. The present one is a debt crisis of low-income countries and a crisis of bilateral and multilateral debts.

The Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Jakarta in 1992, issued a Resolution on External Debt. As a follow-up, I have, as Chairman of the Movement, established and Ad Hoc Advisory Group of Experts on Debt. The Group submitted a report to the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, entitled "The Continuing Debt Crisis of the Developing Countries".

Subsequently, a "Ministerial Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries on Debt and Development: Sharing of Experience", was convened. The meeting was the first ever high-level meeting on external debt of developing countries from all regions. The meeting was attended by ministers and officials from 25 deb-distressed least-developed countries.

On the eve of the Summit Meeting of the G-7 in Tokyo in July 1993, in my capacity as Chairman of the Movement, I had a presented a memorandum entitled: "A Memorandum on Urgent Actions on Bilateral, Multilateral and Commercial Debts of Developing Countries". Since then, on each eve of the annual summit of the G-7, I have, as Chairman of the Movement, communicated to them the views and concerns of the Movement on this problem. It is a relief that at this year's Summit Meeting of the G-7 in Halifax, Canada; the G-7 leaders encourage the Bretton Woods Institutions —the IMF and the World Bank—to assist poor countries with heavy burdens of multilateral debt. Moreover, the World Bank, which up to now has been strongly opposing the settlement of multilateral debt, seems to be in a process of reversing its position.

The Non-Aligned Movement has consistently put forward that for the least-developed countries what is needed is not repetitive rescheduling for years. What is needed is a once-and-for-all debt settlement. It means a meaningful reduc-
Our Movement should be able to identify clearly the fundamental problems faced by our people. Our Movement should not be tossed around by the new issues that are being pushed by other parties.

Another issue which I have, as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, transmitted to the Summit Meeting of the G-7 in Halifax this year is the question of the reform of Bretton Woods Institutions, i.e. the IMF and the World Bank. The preparation of the reform requires an overall re-view of the current system of international economic governance and the role of the Bretton Woods Institutions and the regional development banks therein. Such a review to prepare for the reform should have the participation of all parties concerned and carried out through a democratic process. It would be inappropriate if such a reform is carried out by the G-7 alone. Today, the developing countries play an essential role in the world economy. In the years to come their role will become even greater. This fact must be taken into consideration. The developing countries should be fully involved in the reform of the role and responsibility of the IMF, the World Bank and the regional development banks within the overall framework of the United Nations. Such a reform should also include the democratization of the Bretton Woods Institutions, including the reform of their voting rights.

Another matter which I emphasized to the leaders of the G-7 in Halifax is the need to create an effective multilateral surveillance system to contain the global economic upheavals. Such multilateral surveillance should be truly symmetrical. It means that all countries, both developed as well as developing, must fully accept such multilateral surveillance. The indebted developing countries are used to be subjected to multilateral surveillance exercised by the IMF and the World Bank. On the contrary, these institutions are unable to exercise multilateral surveillance over the major industrial countries. Where as in reality, the fiscal and monetary policies of the major industrial countries have brought about global economic upheavals, among others: volatile exchange rates, unstable interest rates and unpredictable capital flows. These upheavals are very detrimental to the economies of the developing countries. Consequently, it is imperative that the industrial countries accept fully the implementation of multilateral surveillance on their economic policies.

Activities implementing the decisions of the Tenth Summit on South-South cooperation are extensively discussed in my report. I should like to mention a few of them here to give a more concrete idea of their scope.

In May 1993, the NAM convened a meeting of the Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation (SMC) in Bali, Indonesia, which, among others, explored ways and means to intensify and give renewed momentum to South-South cooperation.

A meeting of NAM Ministers of Health, held during the 48th session of the World Health Assembly in Geneva, agreed, inter alia, to urge the World Health Organization to be more proactive, efficient and decentralized and less bureaucratic.

The NAM Ministerial Conference on Food and Agriculture, held from 7-11 October 1994 in Bali, adopted "The Bali Declaration on Food Security of the NAM and Other Developing Countries".

The Meeting of NAM Ministers of Manpower/Labour, held in New Delhi in January 1995, expressed deep concern at the realities of the global economy, including the disturbing attempts by the industrialized countries to link international trade with the enforcement of labour standards through the imposition of the social clauses. They vigorously reaffirmed the NAM's position that such a linkage is totally unacceptable.

Furthermore, at the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in Bandung, April 1995, our Foreign Ministers expressed their deep concern at new concepts and proposals by the advanced countries which sought to establish a link between trade and domestic standards relating to the environment, labour laws, human rights, and other social issues, through the application of trade measures and bilateral pressures, which negate the comparative advantage of developing countries. They strongly urged all concerned to refrain from action which may have the effect of unraveling the carefully negotiated balance of rights, obligations and interests of all parties in the Final Act of the Uruguay Round on the liberalization and expansion of world trade. They called on all NAM Members to remain vigilant to threats posed against the multilateral trading system through the mechanism of discrimina-
ton, restrictions, unilateral actions and/or onerous conditionalities.

With a view to generating community self-reliance and promoting people-centered development in the developing countries, Indonesia convened the Meeting of the Expert Group on Pro-motion and Enhancement of the Strategy of Sustainable and Self-Propelling Growth in the Framework of International Cooperación in September 1993. An important activity of the Experts Group is to develop and formulate programmes that are action-oriented, pragmatic and realistic in order to strengthen South-South cooperation. As a f ollow-up, the Joint Meeting of Experts and Decision-Makers on Self-Propelling Growth was convened in Jakarta in June 1995.

Another key effort of our Movement in the fra-
mework of South-South cooperation is our human resources development programme in a number of Non-Aligned countries, including Indonesia, that carried out various technical asistanse programmes. Apparently this cooperation has been considered beneficial, such as the scholarships offered by the Indonesian Government to Non-Aligned and other developing countries ha ve elicited much positive response. We ha ve, therefore, decided to continue offering such assistance on a bilateral basis after Indonesia's tenure as NAM Chairman.

It is my firm belief that these undertakings for development cooperation which our Movement implemented during the 1992-1995 period should be sustained. For we cannot hope to alter the North-South relationship unless the South-South relationship is developed rapidly. By broadening and intensifying South-South cooperation, we can solve many of our development problems and at the same time we secure a major componen of our Movement's strategy for bringing about a new international order of peace, social justice and equitably shared responsibility. Likewise, we should make fuller use of Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC) as a significant dimensión of the national development process and also as an important catalyst for South-South cooperation. Although our resources are rather limited, we still can promote beneficial South-South partnership.

In sustaining our current efforts at development cooperation, let us also continue to adhere to the philosophy that the best way to help people rise from their poverty is to make sure that they are not merely the beneficiaries, but also the authors of their own development.

This philosophy is most appropriate to the efforts of developing countries to manage their populations in a way that would enable them to achieve economic growth and sustainable development. Therefore, we have an obligation to support the implementation of the Programme of Action of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development. We should endea-vour to coordinate our contributions to the implementation of the results of that conference and faithfully adhere to our Movement's commitment to "Partnership for Population and Development, a South-South Initiative". In doing so, we should further intensify our exchanges of information and experience concerning methods, techniques and modalities for accelerated and effective implementation of appropriate population policies.

In the spirit of contributing to an international order of greater social justice, the NAM Ministers gathered in Beijing on the eve of the Fourth World Conference on Women in early September 1995 and drew up a Message to that Conference. The Message expressed the commitment of our Governments to achieve the goals of equality among women and men as a matter of human right and as a condition for economic and social progress, and justice. Hence, they considered it of the greatest urgency to address the problems of women in developing countries not only at the national but also at the international level.

As our Movement strives to address with sustained vigor the various complicated global problems of our time, I believe it would be propitious if the leaders of our Movement could already agree on the venue of the Twelfth Summit while we are here in Cartagena. Having agreed on the venue of the next Summit, we would then be able to form a mechanism which has proven very use-ful to our Movement in the past: a triumvirate composed of the current Chairman, the immediate past Chairman and the next Chairman of the Movement. This mechanism will not only strengthen the continuity of our Movement but, I believe, will also be especially useful when our Movement embarks on dialogues at the highest level with advanced countries and various international organizations.
Your Majesties, Your Highnesses,
Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates,
In conclusión, I should like to acknowledge that in discharging its duties as Chairman of the Movement, Indonesia has greatly relied on the support and cooperation of its fellow members.
We are truly grateful to you for your support and cooperation and in turn we pledge to work with Colombia, to make ourselves available, and to follow Colombia's lead as the new Chairman of our Movement. Whether ongoing and unfinished activities should be continued, in what form and for how long is a matter for the Movement as a whole to decide. Whatever will be the decisions, Indonesia stands fully prepared to continue to contribute all it can to the endeavors and initiatives of the Movement.
I am confident that under the guidance of the new Chairmanship, we will, in the next three years, move ever closer to our ultimate goal: a new world order of social justice, prosperity and peace.
May Good Almighty bestow His divine blessings on our Movement and on all of us.
Thank you.