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LETTER DATED 28 OCTOBER 1964 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to enclose the text of the Declaration entitled "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation", adopted by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

In view of the fact that the Declaration deals with items of which the United Nations is seized and which also appear on the provisional agenda of the forthcoming regular session of the General Assembly, I should be grateful if you would have the text of this Declaration circulated as a document of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Mohamed Awad EL KONY
Permanent Representative of
the United Arab Republic to
the United Nations

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CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE
OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED
COUNTRIES

Cairo — October 1964



NAC-II/HEADS/5
10 October 1964
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PROGRAMME FOR PEACE AND
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Declaration as Adopted by the
Conference

INTRODUCTION

The Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of the following non-aligned countries:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia was held in Cairo from 5 October to 10 October 1964.

The Following countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela were represented by observers.

The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States were present as observers.

The Conference undertook an analysis of the international situation with a view to making an effective contribution to the solution of the major problems which are of concern to mankind in view of their effects on peace and security in the world.

To this end, and on the basis of the principles embodied in the Belgrade Declaration of September 1961, the Heads of State or Government of the above-mentioned countries proceeded, in an amicable, frank and fraternal atmosphere, to hold detailed discussions and an exchange of views on the present state of international relations and the predominant trends in the modern world. The Heads of State or Government of the participating countries note with satisfaction that nearly half of the

independent countries of the world have participated in this Second non-aligned conference.

The Conference also notes with satisfaction the growing interest and confidence displayed by peoples still under foreign domination, and by those whose rights and sovereignty are being violated by imperialism and neo-colonialism, in the highly positive rôle which the non-aligned countries are called upon to play in the settlement of international problems or disputes.

The Conference expresses satisfaction at the favourable reactions throughout the world to this second meeting of non-aligned countries. This emphasises the rightness, efficacy and vigour of the policy of non-alignment, and its constructive rôle in the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security.

The principles of non-alignment, thanks to the confidence they inspire in the world, are becoming an increasingly dynamic and powerful force for the promotion of peace and the welfare of mankind.

The participating Heads of State or Government note with satisfaction that, thanks to the combined efforts of the forces of freedom peace and progress, this second Non-Aligned Conference is being held at a time when the international situation has improved as compared with that which existed between the two power blocs at the time of the historic Belgrade Conference. The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries are well aware, however, that, despite the present improvement in international relations, and notwithstanding the conclusion and signature of the Treaty of Moscow, sources of tension still exist in many parts of the world.

This situation shows that the forces of imperialism are still powerful and that they do not hesitate to resort to the use of force to defend their interests and maintain their privileges.

This policy, if not firmly resisted by the forces of freedom and peace, is likely to jeopardise the improvement in the international situation and the lessening of tension which has occurred, and to constitute a threat to world peace.

The policy of active peaceful co-existence is an indivisible whole. It cannot be applied partially, in accordance with special interests and criteria.

Important changes have also taken place within the Eastern and Western blocs, and this new phenomenon should be taken into account in the objective assessment of the current international situation.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that the movements of national liberation are engaged in different regions of the world, in a heroic struggle against neo-colonialism, and the practices of apartheid and racial discrimination. This struggle forms part of the common striving towards freedom, justice and peace.

The Conference reaffirms that interference by economically developed foreign States in the internal affairs of newly independent, developing countries and the existence of territories which are still dependent constitute a standing threat to peace and security.

The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, while appreciative of the efforts which resulted in the holding of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and mindful of the results of that Conference, nevertheless note that much ground still remains to be covered to eliminate existing inequalities in the relationships between industrialized and developing countries.

The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, while declaring their determination to contribute towards the establishment of just and lasting peace in the world, affirm that the preservation of peace and the promotion of the well-being of peoples are a collective responsibility deriving from the natural aspirations of mankind to live in a better world.

The Heads of State or Government have arrived in their deliberations at a common understanding of the various problems with which the world is now faced, and a common approach to them. Reaffirming the basic principles of the Declaration of Belgrade, they express their agreement upon the following points:

I

CONCERTED ACTION FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE
COUNTRIES STILL DEPENDENT: ELIMINATION OF COLONIALISM,
NEO-COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM.

The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries declare that lasting world peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their fundamental right to freedom, independence and self-determination.

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security. The participants in the Conference deplore that the Declaration of the United Nations on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples has not been implemented everywhere and call for the unconditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism now.

At present a particular cause of concern is the military or other assistance extended to certain countries to enable them to perpetuate by force colonialist and neo-colonialist situations which are contrary to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

The exploitation by colonialist forces of the difficulties and problems of recently liberated or developing countries, interference in the internal affairs of these States, and colonialist attempts to maintain unequal relationships, particularly in the economic field, constitute serious dangers to these young countries. Colonialism and neo-colonialism have many forms and manifestations.

Imperialism uses many devices to impose its will on independent nations. Economic pressure and domination, interference, racial discrimination, subversion, intervention and the threat of force are neo-colonialist devices against which the newly independent nations have to defend themselves. The Conference condemns all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies

applied in various parts of the world.

Deeply concerned at the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Congo, the participants:

- (1) support all the efforts being made by the Organisation of African Unity to bring peace and harmony speedily to that country;
- (2) urge the Ad Hoc Commission of the Organisation of African Unity to shirk no effort in the attempt to achieve national reconciliation in the Congo, and to eliminate the existing tension between that country and the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi;
- (3) appeal to the Congolese Government and to all combatants to cease hostilities immediately and to seek, with the help of the Organisation of African Unity, a solution permitting of national reconciliation and the restoration of order and peace.
- (4) urgently appeal to all foreign powers at present interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly those engaged in military intervention in that country, to cease such interference, which infringes the interests and sovereignty of the Congolese people and constitutes a threat to neighbouring countries;
- (5) affirm their full support for the efforts being made to this end by the Organisation of African Unity's Ad Hoc Commission of good offices in the Congo;
- (6) call upon the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to discontinue the recruitment of mercenaries immediately and to expel all mercenaries, of whatever origin who are already in the Congo, in order to facilitate an African solution.

The newly independent countries have, like all other countries, the right of sovereign disposal in regard to their natural resources, and the right to utilise these resources as they deem appropriate in the interest of their peoples, without outside

interference.

The process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. Colonized peoples may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determination and independence if the colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations.

The participants in the Conference undertake to work unremittingly to eradicate all vestiges of colonialism, and to combine all their efforts to render all necessary aid and support, whether moral, political or material, to the peoples struggling against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The participating countries recognize the nationalist movements of the peoples which are struggling to free themselves from colonial domination as being authentic representatives of the colonial peoples, and urgently call upon the colonial powers to negotiate with their leaders.

Portugal continues to hold in bondage by repression, persecution and force, in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the other Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia, millions of people who have been suffering far too long under the foreign yoke. The Conference declares its determination to ensure that the peoples of these territories accede immediately to independence without any conditions or reservations.

The Conference condemns the government of Portugal for its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable right of the peoples of those territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The Conference:

- 1) urges the participating countries to afford all necessary material support - financial and military - to the Freedom Fighters in the territories under Portuguese colonial rule;

- 2) takes the view that support should be given to the Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile and to the nationalist movements struggling for the independence of the Portuguese colonies and assistance to the Special Bureau set up by the OAU in regard to the application of sanctions against Portugal;
- 3) calls upon all participating States to break off diplomatic and consular relations with the government of Portugal and to take effective measures to suspend all trade and economic relations with Portugal;
- 4) calls upon the participating countries to take all measures to compel Portugal to carry out the decisions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.
- 5) Addresses an urgent appeal to the Powers which are extending military aid and assistance to Portugal to withdraw such aid and assistance.

The countries participating in the Conference condemn the policy of the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, which continues to defy the Charter and the Resolutions of the United Nations in that it denies fundamental freedoms to the people by acts of repression and terror.

The participating countries urge all States not to recognize the independence of Southern Rhodesia if proclaimed under the rule of the racist minority, and instead to give favourable consideration to according recognition to an African nationalist government in exile, should such a government be set up. To this effect, the Conference states its opposition to the sham consultation through tribal chiefs envisaged by the present Minority Government of Southern Rhodesia.

The Conference deplores the British Government's failure to implement the various resolutions of the United Nations relating to Southern Rhodesia and calls upon the United Kingdom to convene

immediately a Constitutional Conference, to which all political groups in Southern Rhodesia would be invited, for the purpose of preparing a new constitution based on the "one man, one vote" principle, instituting universal suffrage, and ensuring majority rule.

The Conference urges the Government of the United Kingdom to call for the immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees in Southern Rhodesia.

The Conference reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence and condemns the Government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly.

It urges all States to refrain from supplying in any manner or form any arms or military equipment or petroleum products to South Africa, and to implement the Resolutions of the United Nations.

The Conference recommends that the United Nations should guarantee the territorial integrity of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland and should take measures for their speedy accession to independence and for the subsequent safeguarding of their sovereignty.

The participants in the Conference call upon the French Government to take the necessary steps to enable French Somaliland to become free and independent in accordance with paragraph 5 of Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations.

The Conference appeals to all participating countries to lend support and assistance to the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity.

The Conference condemns the imperialistic policy pursued in the Middle East and, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, decides to:

- (1) endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self-determination;
- (2) declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism.

The Conference condemns the continued refusal of the United Kingdom Government to implement the United Nations Resolutions on Aden and the Protectorates, providing for the free exercise by the peoples of the territory of their right to self-determination and calling for the liquidation of the British military base in Aden and the withdrawal of British troops from the territory.

The Conference fully supports the struggle of the people of Aden and the Protectorates and urges the immediate implementation of the Resolutions of the United Nations which are based on the expressed wishes of the people of the territory.

The countries participating in the Conference condemn the continued armed action waged by British colonialism against the people of Oman who are fighting to attain their freedom.

The Conference recommends that all necessary political, moral and material assistance be rendered to the liberation movements of these territories in their struggle against colonial rule.

The Conference condemns the manifestations of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Latin America and declares itself in favour of the implementation in that region of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

Basing itself on this principle, the Conference deplores the delay in granting full independence to British Guiana and requests the United Kingdom to grant independence speedily to that country. It notes with regret that Martinique, Guadeloupe, and other Caribbean Islands are still not self-governing. It draws the attention of the Ad hoc Decolonization Commission of the United Nations to the case of Puerto Rico and calls upon that commission to consider the situation of these territories in the light of Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations.

II

RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES
TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND CONDEMNATION
OF THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE
EXERCISE OF THIS RIGHT

The Conference solemnly reaffirms the right of peoples to self-determination and to make their own destiny.

It stresses that this right constitutes one of the essential principles of the United Nations Charter, that if was laid down also in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, and that the Conferences of Bandung and Belgrade demanded that it should be respected, and in particular insisted that it should be effectively exercised.

The Conference notes that this right is still violated or its exercise denied in many regions of the world and results in a continued increase of tension and the extension of the areas of war.

The Conference denounces the attitude of those Powers which oppose the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination.

It condemns the use of force, and all forms of intimidation, interference and intervention which are aimed at preventing the exercise of this right.

III

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND THE
POLICY OF APARTHEID

The Heads of State or Government declare that racial discrimination - and particularly its most odious manifestation, apartheid - constitutes a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Right and of the principle of the equality of peoples. Accordingly, all governments still persisting in the practice of racial discrimination should be completely ostracized until they have abandoned their unjust and inhuman policies. In particular the governments and peoples represented at this Conference have decided that they will not tolerate much longer the presence of the Republic of South Africa in the comity of Nations. The inhuman racial policies of South Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security. All countries interested in peace must therefore do everything in their power to ensure that liberty and fundamental freedoms are secured to the people of South Africa.

The Heads of State or Government solemnly affirm their absolute respect for the right of ethnic or religious minorities to protection in particular against the crimes of genocide or any other violation of a fundamental human right?

SANCTIONS AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (1) The Conference regrets to note that the Pretoria Government's obstinacy in defying the conscience of mankind has been strengthened by the refusal of its friends and allies, particularly ~~some~~ major powers, to implement United Nations resolutions concerning sanctions against South Africa.
- (2) The Conference therefore:
 - (a) calls upon all States to boycott all South African goods and to refrain from exporting goods, especially arms, ammunition, oil and minerals to South Africa;

- (b) calls upon all States which have not yet done so to break off diplomatic, consular and other relations with South Africa;
 - (c) requests the Governments represented at this conference to deny airport and overflying facilities to aircraft and port facilities to ships proceeding to and from South Africa, and to discontinue all road or railway traffic with that country;
 - (d) demands the release of all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions on account of their opposition to the policy of apartheid;
 - (e) invites all countries to give their support to the special bureau set up by the Organisation of African Unity for the application of sanctions against South Africa.
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IV.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND THE CODIFICATION OF
ITS PRINCIPLES BY THE UNITED NATIONS

Considering the principles proclaimed at Bandung in 1955, Resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the United Nations in 1960, the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, and numerous joint declarations by Heads of State or Government on peaceful co-existence;

Reaffirming their deep conviction that, in present circumstances, mankind must regard peaceful co-existence as the only way to strengthen world peace, which must be based on freedom, equality and justice between peoples within a new framework of peaceful and harmonious relations between the States and nations of the world;

Considering the fact that the principle of peaceful co-existence is based on the right of all peoples to be free and to choose their own political, economic and social systems according to their own national identity and their ideals, and is opposed to any form of foreign domination;

Convinced also that peaceful co-existence cannot be fully achieved throughout the world without the abolition of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;

Deeply convinced that the absolute prohibition of the threat or use of force, direct or disguised, the renunciation of all forms of coercion in international relations, the abolition of relations of inequality and the promotion of international cooperation with a view to accelerating economic, social and cultural development, are necessary conditions for safeguarding peace and achieving the general advancement of mankind,

The Heads of State or Government solemnly proclaim the following fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence:

1. The right to complete independence, which is an inalienable right, must be recognized immediately and unconditionally as pertaining to all peoples, in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly; it is incumbent upon all states to respect this right and facilitate its exercise.
2. The right to self-determination, which is an inalienable right, must be recognized as pertaining to all peoples, accordingly, all nations and peoples have the right to determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance.
3. Peaceful co-existence between States with differing social and political systems is both possible and necessary; it favours the creation of good-neighbourly relations between States with a view to the establishment of lasting peace and general well-being, free from domination and exploitation.
4. The sovereign equality of States must be recognised and respected. It includes the right of all peoples to the free exploitation of their natural resources.
5. States must abstain from all use of threat or force directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States; a situation brought about by the threat or use of force shall not be recognised, and in particular the established frontiers of States shall be inviolable. Accordingly, every State must abstain from interfering in the affairs of other States, whether openly, or insidiously, or by means of subversion and the various forms of political, economic and military pressure.
Frontier disputes ~~shall~~ be settled by peaceful means.

6. All States shall respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of the human person and the equality of all nations and races.
7. All international conflicts must be settled by peaceful means, in a spirit of mutual understanding and on the basis of equality and sovereignty, in such a manner that justice and legitimate rights are not impaired, all States must apply themselves to promoting and strengthening measures designed to diminish international tension and achieve general and complete disarmament.
8. All States must co-operate with a view to accelerating economic development in the world, and particularly in the developing countries. This co-operation, which must be aimed at narrowing the gap, at present widening, between the levels of living in the developing and developed countries respectively, is essential to the maintenance of a lasting peace.
9. States shall meet their international obligations in good faith in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

The Conference recommends to the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt, on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary, a declaration on the principles of peaceful co-existence. This declaration will constitute an important step towards the codification of these principles.

V

RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF STATES AND THEIR
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY: PROBLEMS OF DIVIDED NATIONS

(1) The Conference of Heads of State or Government proclaims its full adherence to the fundamental principle of international relations, in accordance with which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, great and small, are inviolable and must be respected.

(2) The countries participating in the Conference, having for the most part achieved their national independence after years of struggle, reaffirm their determination to oppose by every means in their power any attempt to compromise their sovereignty or violate their territorial integrity. They pledge themselves to respect frontiers as they existed when the States gained independence; nevertheless, parts of territories taken away by occupying powers or converted into autonomous bases for their own benefit at the time of independence must be given back to the country concerned.

(3) The Conference solemnly reaffirms the right of all peoples to adopt the form of government they consider best suited to their development.

(4) The Conference considers that one of the causes of international tension lies in the problem of divided nations. It expresses its entire sympathy with the peoples of such countries and upholds their desire to achieve unity. It exhorts the countries concerned to seek a just and lasting solution in order to achieve the unification of their territories by peaceful methods without outside interference or pressure. It considers that the resort to threat or force can lead to no satisfactory settlement, cannot do otherwise than jeopardize international security.

Concerned by the situation existing with regard to Cyprus, the Conference calls upon all states in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular under Article 2, paragraph 4, to respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and to refrain from any threat or use of force or intervention directed against Cyprus and from any efforts to impose upon Cyprus unjust solutions unacceptable to the people of Cyprus.

Cyprus, as an equal member of the United Nations, is entitled to and should enjoy unrestricted and unfettered sovereignty and independence, and allowing its people to determine freely, and without any foreign intervention or interference, the political future of the country, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Conference, considering that foreign pressure and intervention to impose changes in the political, economic and social system chosen by a country are contrary to the principles of international law and peaceful co-existence, requests the Government of United States of America to lift the commercial and economic blockade applied against Cuba.

The Conference takes note of the readiness of the Cuban Government to settle its difference with the United States on an equal footing, and invites these two Governments to enter into negotiations to this end and in conformity with the principles of peaceful co-existence and international co-operation.

Taking into account the principles set forth above and with a view to restoring peace and stability in the Indo-China Peninsula, the Conference appeals to the Powers which participated in the Geneva Conference of 1954 and 1962:

- (1) to abstain from any action likely to aggravate the situation which is already tense in the Peninsula;
- (2) to terminate all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region;
- (3) to convene urgently a new Geneva Conference on Indo-China with a view to seeking a satisfactory political solution for the peaceful settlement of the problems arising in that part of the world, namely:
 - a) ensuring the strict application of the 1962 agreements on Laos;
 - b) recognizing and guaranteeing the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia;
 - c) ensuring the strict application of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, and finding a political solution to the problem in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people to freedom, peace and independence.

VI

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT THREAT OR USE OF
FORCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

- (1) As the use of force may take a number of forms, military, political and economic, the participating countries deem it essential to reaffirm the principles that all States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.
- (2) They consider that disputes between States should be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter on the bases of sovereign equality and justice.
- (3) The participating countries are convinced of the necessity of exerting all international efforts to find solutions to all situations which threaten international peace or impair friendly relations among nations.
- (4) The participating countries gave special attention to the problems of frontiers which may threaten international peace or disturb friendly relations among States, and are convinced that in order to settle such problems, all States should resort to negotiation, mediation or arbitration or other peaceful means set forth in the United Nation Charter in conformity with the legitimate rights of all peoples.
- (5) The Conference considers that disputes between neighbouring States must be settled peacefully in a spirit of mutual understanding, without foreign intervention or interference.

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT; PEACEFUL USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY,
PROHIBITION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS,
ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES,
PREVENTION OF DISSEMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND
ABOLITION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

The Conference emphasises the paramount importance of disarmament as one of the basic problems of the contemporary world, and stresses the necessity of reaching immediate and practical solutions which would free mankind from the danger of war and from a sense of insecurity.

The Conference notes with concern that the continuing arms race and the tremendous advances that have been made in the production of weapons of mass destruction and their stockpiling threaten the world with armed conflict and annihilation. The Conference urges the great Powers to take new and urgent steps towards achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

The Conference, regrets that despite the efforts of the members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and in particular those of the non-aligned countries, the results have not been satisfactory. It urges the great Powers, in collaboration with the other members of that Committee, to renew their efforts with determination with a view to the rapid conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The Conference calls upon all States to accede to the Moscow treaty partially banning the testing of nuclear weapons, and to abide by its provisions in the interests of peace and the welfare of humanity.

The Conference urges the extension of the Moscow Treaty so as to include underground tests, and the discontinuance of such tests pending the extension of the agreement.

The Conference urges the speedy conclusion of agreements on various other partial and collateral measures of disarmament proposed by the members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

The Conference appeals to the Great Powers to take the lead in giving effect to decisive and immediate measures which would make possible substantial reductions in their military budgets.

The Conference requests the Great Powers to abstain from all policies conducive to the dissemination of nuclear weapons and their by-products among those States which do not at present possess them. It underlines the great danger in the dissemination of nuclear weapons and urges all States, particularly those possessing nuclear weapons, to conclude non-dissemination agreements and to agree on measures providing for the gradual liquidation of the existing stock-piles of nuclear weapons.

As part of these efforts, the Heads of State or Government declare their own readiness not to produce, acquire or test any nuclear weapons, and call on all countries including those who have not subscribed to the Moscow Treaty to enter into a similar undertaking and to take the necessary steps to prevent their territories, ports and airfields from being used by nuclear powers for the deployment or disposition of nuclear weapons. This undertaking should be the subject of a treaty to be concluded in an international Conference convened under the auspices of the United Nations and open to accession by all States. The Conference further calls upon all nuclear Powers to observe the spirit of this declaration.

The Conference welcomes the agreement of the Great Powers not to orbit in outer space nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction and expresses its conviction

that it is necessary to conclude an international treaty prohibiting the utilisation of outer space for military purposes. The Conference urges full international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

The Conference requests those States which have succeeded in exploring outer space, to exchange and disseminate information related to the research they have carried out in this field, so that scientific progress for the peaceful utilization of outer space be of common benefit to all. The Conference is of the view that for this purpose an international conference should be convened at an appropriate time.

The Conference considers that the declaration by African States regarding the denuclearization of Africa, the aspirations of the Latin American countries to denuclearize their continent and the various proposals pertaining to the denuclearization of areas in Europe and Asia are steps in the right direction because they assist in consolidating international peace and security and lessening international tensions.

The Conference recommends the establishment of denuclearized zones covering these and other areas and the oceans of the world, particularly those which have been hitherto free from nuclear weapons, in accordance with the desires expressed by the States and peoples concerned.

The Conference also requests the nuclear Powers to respect these denuclearized zones.

The Conference is convinced that the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations to which all countries would be invited, would provide powerful support to the efforts which are being made to set in motion the process of disarmament and for securing the further and steady development of this process.

The Conference therefore urges the participating countries to take, at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations, all the necessary steps for the holding of such a conference and of any other special conference for the conclusion of special agreements on certain measures of disarmament.

The Conference urges all nations to join in the cooperative development of the peaceful use of atomic energy for the benefit of all mankind; and in particular, to study the development of atomic power and other technical aspects in which international cooperation might be most effectively accomplished through the free flow of such scientific information.

VIII

MILITARY PACTS, FOREIGN TROOPS & BASES

The Conference reiterates its conviction that the existence of military blocs, Great Power alliances and pacts arising therefrom has accentuated the cold war and heightened international tensions. The Non-Aligned Countries are therefore opposed to taking part in such pacts and alliances.

The Conference considers the maintenance or future establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries, against the expressed will of those countries, as a gross violation of the sovereignty of States, and as a threat to freedom and international peace. It furthermore considers as particularly indefensible the existence or future establishment of bases in dependent territories which could be used for the maintenance of colonialism or for other purposes.

Noting with concern that foreign military bases are in practice a means of bringing pressure on nations and retarding their emancipation and development, based on their own ideological, political, economic and cultural ideas, the Conference declares its full support to the countries which are seeking to secure the evacuation of foreign bases on their territory and calls upon all States maintaining troops and bases in other countries to remove them forthwith.

The Conference considers that the maintenance at Guantanamo (Cuba) of a military base of the United States of America, in defiance of the will of the Government and people of Cuba and in defiance of the provisions embodied in the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference, constitutes a violation of Cuba's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Noting that the Cuban Government expresses its readiness to settle its dispute over the base of Guantanamo with the United States on an equal footing, the Conference urges the United States Government to negotiate the evacuation of this base with the Cuban Government.

The Conference condemns the expressed intention of imperialist powers to establish bases in the Indian Ocean, as a calculated attempt to intimidate the emerging countries of Africa and Asia and an unwarranted extension of the policy of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The Conference also recommends the elimination of the foreign bases in Cyprus and the withdrawal of foreign troops from this country, except for those stationed there by virtue of United Nations resolutions.

IX.

THE UNITED NATIONS: ITS ROLE
IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, IMPLEMENTATION
OF ITS RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENT
OF ITS CHARTER

The participating countries declare:

The United Nations Organisation was established to promote international peace and security, to develop international understanding and co-operation, to safeguard human rights and fundamental freedom and to achieve all the purposes of the Charter. In order to be an effective instrument, the United Nations Organization must be open to all the States of the world. It is particularly necessary that countries still under colonial domination should attain independence without delay and take their rightful place in the community of nations.

It is essential for the effective functioning of the United Nations that all nations should observe its fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence, co-operation,

renunciation of the threat or the use of force, freedom and equality without discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion.

The influence and effectiveness of the United Nations also depends upon equitable representation of different geographical regions in the various organs of the United Nations and in the service of the United Nations.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that with Resolution 1991 (XVIII), the General Assembly has taken the initial positive step towards transformation of the structure of the United Nations in keeping with its increased membership and the necessity to ensure a broader participation of States in the work of its Organs. It appeals to all Members of the

United Nations to ratify as speedily as possible the amendments to the Charter adopted at the XVIIIth Session of the General Assembly.

The Conference recognises the paramount importance of the United Nations and the necessity of enabling it to carry out the functions entrusted to it to preserve international cooperation among States.

To this end, the Non-Aligned Countries should consult one another at the Foreign Minister or Head of Delegation level at each session of the United Nations.

The Conference stresses the need to adapt the Charter to the dynamic changes and evolution of international conditions.

The Conference expresses the hope that the Heads of State or Government of the States Members of the United Nations will attend the regular Session of the General Assembly on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Organisation.

Recalling the recommendation of the Belgrade Conference the Conference asks the General Assembly of the United Nations to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations.

The Conference recommends to the States Members of the United Nations to respect the resolutions of the United Nations and to render all assistance necessary for the Organization to fulfil its rôle in maintaining international peace and security.

X

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND
COOPERATION

The Heads of State or Government participating in this Conference,

CONVINCED that peace must rest on a sound and solid economic foundation,

that the persistence of poverty poses a threat to world peace and prosperity,

that economic emancipation is an essential element in the struggle for the elimination of political domination,

that respect for the right of peoples and nations to control and dispose freely of their national wealth and resources is vital for their economic development;

CONSCIOUS that participating States have a special responsibility to do their utmost to break through the barrier of underdevelopment;

BELIEVING that economic development is an obligation of the whole international community,

that it is the duty of all countries to contribute to the rapid evolution of a new and just economic order under which all nations can live without fear or want or despair and rise to their full stature in the Family of Nations,

that the structure of world economy and the existing international institutions of international trade and development have failed either to reduce the disparity in the per capita income of the peoples in developing and developed countries or to promote international action to rectify serious and growing imbalances between developed and developing countries;

EMPHASIZING the imperative need to amplify and intensify international co-operation based on equality, and consistent with the needs of accelerated economic development;

NOTING that as a result of the proposals adopted at Belgrade in 1961 and elaborated in Cairo in 1962, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development met in Geneva in 1964;

CONSIDERING that while the Geneva Conference marks the first step in the evolution of a new international economic policy for development and offers a sound basis for progress in the future, the results achieved were neither adequate for, nor commensurate with, the essential requirements of developing countries.

SUPPORT the Joint Declaration of the "Seventy-Seven" developing countries made at the conclusion of that Conference, and PLEDGE the co-operation of the participating States to the strengthening of their solidarity;

URGE upon all States to implement on an urgent basis the recommendations contained in the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and in particular to cooperate in bringing into existence as early as possible the new international institutions proposed therein, so that the problems of trade and economic development may be more effectively and speedily resolved;

CONSIDER that democratic procedures, which afford no position of privilege, are as essential in the economic as in the political sphere;

that a new international division of labour is needed to hasten the industrialization of developing countries and the modernization of their agriculture, so as to enable them to strengthen their domestic economies and diversify their export trade,

that discriminatory measures of any kind taken against developing countries on the grounds of different socio-economic systems are contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter and constitute a threat to the free flow of trade and to peace and should be eliminated;

Affirm that the practice of the inhuman policy of apartheid or racial discrimination in any part of the world should be eliminated by every possible means, including economic sanctions;

RECOMMEND that the target of economic growth set for the development Decade by the United Nations should be revised upwards,

that the amount of capital transferred to developing countries and the terms and conditions governing the transfer should be extended and improved without political commitments, so as to reinforce the efforts of these countries to build self-reliant economics,

that a programme of action should be developed to increase the income in foreign exchange of developing countries and, in particular, to provide access for primary products from developing countries to the markets of industrialized countries, on an equitable basis and for manufactured goods from developing countries on a preferential basis,

that the establishment of a Specialized Agency for industrial development should be expedited,

that members of regional economic groupings should do their utmost to ensure that economic integration helps to promote the increase of imports from the developing countries either individually or collectively,

that the recommendation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries to adopt an International Convention to ensure the right of landlocked countries to free transit and access to the sea be implemented by the United Nations early next year, and that the principles of economic co-operation adopted by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in relation to the transit trade of landlocked countries be given consideration;

CALL upon participating countries to concert measures to bring about closer economic relations among the developing countries on a basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual assistance, bearing in mind the obligations of all developing countries to accord favourable consideration to the expansion of their reciprocal trade, to unite against all forms of economic exploitation and to strengthen mutual consultation;

CALL upon the members of the "Seventy-Seven" developing countries, who worked closely together at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development of 1964 in Geneva to consult together during the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in order to consolidate their efforts and harmonize their policies in time for the next Conference on Trade and Development in 1966.

CONVINCED that progress towards disarmament increase the resources available for economic development;

SUPPORT proposals for the diversion of resources now employed on armaments to the development of underdeveloped parts of the world and to the promotion of the prosperity of mankind.

XI

CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL
COOPERATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF
THE INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS WORKING FOR THIS
PURPOSE

The Heads of State or Government participating in the Conference:

CONSIDERING that the political, economic, social and cultural problems of mankind are so interrelated as to demand concerted action;

CONSIDERING that co-operation in the fields of culture, education and science is necessary for the deepening of human understanding, for the consolidation of freedom, justice and peace, and for progress and development;

BEARING IN MIND that political liberation, social emancipation and scientific advancement have effected fundamental changes in the minds and lives of men.

RECOGNISING that culture helps to widen the mind and enrich life: that all human cultures have their special values and can contribute to the general progress; that many cultures were suppressed and cultural relations interrupted under colonial domination; that international understanding and progress require a revival and rehabilitation of these

cultures, a free expression of their identify and national character, and a deeper mutual appreciation of their values so as to enrich the common cultural heritage of man;

CONSIDERING that education is a basic need for the advancement of humanity and that science not only adds to the wealth and welfare of nations but also adds new values to civilisation;

APPRECIATING the work of the international and regional organisations in the promotion of educational, scientific and cultural co-operation among nations;

BELIEVING that such cooperation among nations in the educational, scientific and cultural fields should be strengthened and expanded;

RECOMMEND that international co-operation in education should be promoted in order to secure a fair opportunity for education to every person in every part of the world, to extend educational assistance to develop mutual understanding and appreciation of the different cultures and ways of life through the proper teaching of civics, and to promote international understanding through the teaching of the principles of the United Nations at various levels of education;

PROPOSE that a free and more systematic exchange of scientific information be encouraged and intensified and, in particular, call on the advanced countries to share with developing countries their scientific knowledge and technical knowledge so that the advantages of scientific and technological advance can be applied to the promotion of economic development.

URGE all states to adopt in their legislation the principles embodied in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

AGREE that participating countries should adopt measures to strengthen their ties with one another in the fields of education, science and culture.

EXPRESS their determination to help, consolidate and strengthen the international and regional organisations working in this direction.

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SPECIAL RESOLUTION

I

The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries meeting in Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964;

Considering their common will to work for understanding between peoples and for international cooperation;

Reaffirming their solidarity with the African States fighting for the consolidation of their independence and the total emancipation of their continent, through concerted action and close cooperation;

Noting with satisfaction that in that historic document the Charter of Addis Ababa, adopted on 29 May 1963, and in subsequent decisions, the African States members of the Organisation of African Unity have unreservedly adhered to the positive policy of non-alignment in relation to all great blocs;

Firmly resolved to unite their efforts and actions to fight colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism by all appropriate means;

Considering the outstanding work for peace and harmony which the Organisation of African Unity has accomplished, since its recent creation, in the interest of both the African Continent and the international community as a whole;

(1) EXPRESS their conviction that the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity is an important contribution to the strengthening of world peace, the triumph of the policy of non-alignment, and the fundamental values laid down by this policy.

(2) DECIDE to coordinate and concert their efforts with those of the Organisation of African Unity, with a view to safeguarding their joint interests in economic, social and cultural development and in international cooperation.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION

II

The Heads of State or Government attending the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries are happy to express their warmest appreciation to the brave people, the Government and the distinguished President of the United Arab Republic, His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser, for the superb way in which they organized this Conference, both materially and morally, and for the generous and most brotherly hospitality extended to all delegations.

They wish to say how deeply satisfied they are with the astounding success of the Conference, which opens up new prospects for positive action and general advancement towards mutual understanding, active solidarity and the strengthening of cooperation between nations dedicated to freedom, peace and justice.