

**NON-ALIGNMENT :  
A STUDY WITH REFERENCE TO IRAQ**

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## PREFACE

Non-alignment has been widely defined and interpreted by scholars. It is understood as a policy, a posture, a philosophy, a strategy and a movement. The present study attempts at presenting the actual position of non-alignment in the changing international relations particularly in the wake of the increasingly dynamic role of the fast modernising and developing under-developed world.


Chapter I of the study is devoted to understand the meaning and dimensions of non-alignment in the present global context. Chapter II briefly documents the growth, functioning, achievements and the role of the non-aligned movement in world politics, while chapter III examines the dynamic role played by Iraq in the movement and explains how Iraq has attained the leadership of the movement in the West Asian part of the globe. An attempt has also been made to explain the stand taken by Iraq with regard to the Russian 'intervention' in Afghanistan.

The exercise is based on primary sources like speeches and press conferences by important persons connected with the foreign policy matters of Iraq. Secondary sources like books, articles, periodicals and news papers are also utilised in the study.

Non-alignment is indeed a difficult subject to handle. It was not without a sense of scepticism that I undertook this exercise. However, it was Prof. K.P.Misra, my revered supervisor, whose encouragement and guidance has changed my initial scepticism into an active interest in the study of the subject. Therefore, first and foremost, I owe the greatest share of my gratitude to Dr. K.P.Misra and reserve a pantheon for the pains he took, despite several pre-occupations, in supervising my work and making constructive criticisms and suggestions for its improvement, without which perhaps this work would not have assumed its present form.

A formal acknowledgement, I am aware, will not adequately express the extent of my indebtedness to Prof. M.S.Agwani, Dr. S.C.Gangal and Dr. Sushil Kumar from whose scholarly insights I have immensely benefited.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention the support and cooperation of my wife, Anwar, in completing the study. I owe her an exceptional debt of gratitude. Finally I am grateful to the library staff of the Jawaharlal Nehru University Library for their un-hesitating cooperation.



Faiq Mohammad Said Abdul Asis

**Chapter - I**

**INTRODUCTION**

## Chapter : 1

### INTRODUCTION

The most important development that characterized the shape of things in the post II world war era was the virtual liquidation of the colonial empire and rise of a whole world of new countries. The emergence of Asia and Africa and gradually Latin American, the revolt against European (Western) rule and the accelerated collapse of colonialism-imperialism all served to change the world beyond recognition. The question of colonialism, of independence of newly emerging countries, of racialism, of economic development, of trade and aid all these had come to dominate the world scene. Some emergent countries fell a prey to the spreading tentacles of the cold war. In this situation, there was the need (felt by the newly born nation states in Asia and Africa) of a policy, at the national as well as at the international level, which will safeguard the political, economic and other interests of the new states. The policy adopted by these states came to be known as 'non-alignment'.

The concept of non-alignment came into general currency in the late 1950s. Today it represents one of the dominant trends in world politics. It is an

aggregation of States from almost all the continents and hemispheres of the world, covering a wide spectrum of ideological nuances, world-views and diverse social and political structures. Its collective diplomatic thrust represents a new, a different and often a decisive factor, in the gradual unfolding of a new world order for an alternative and a purposeful future for mankind. In its history of over three decades non-alignment has come to mean several interlinked dimensions. The important dimension implies the framework of foreign policy assumptions, principles and policy premises. The global dimension points to a collective movement in the contemporary world politics, against polarised, bloc-oriented policies and super-power politics. Its prefix "Non" is indeed the sine qua non of non-alignment's primordial opposition to military blocs, arms race and division of the world into two antagonistic compartments". "Articulating the protest of the erstwhile colonial countries against economic inequality, socio-political injustice and discriminatory treatment based on colour, race and creed meted out by major industrial and ex-colonial powers, it represents a protest movement against multiple patterns of domination

and hegemony, against dependance, 'satellitism' and neo-colonialism".<sup>1</sup> In the United Nations and other international forums, it has emerged as a bargaining partner, a global trade union of the have not states of the world. In its main focus in world affairs, non-alignment is a movement of solidarity of the newly liberated countries aspiring to a position of independence and equality in a highly interdependent world. With regard to its history and the causal events that gave a form and content to non-alignment a scholar thus observed: "post-war nationalism and anti-colonialism and pressing problems of economic under-development, are the background circumstances in which non-alignment has flourished" and that it was "a relevant response to the conditions of the nuclear age."<sup>2</sup>

The meaning of the concept non-alignment confused most of the scholars. The western distortions to its meaning added to the confusion. Non-alignment has come to mean all things to all men.

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- (1) Khan, Rasheeduddin, "Non-Alignment: The context, Dimensions and challenges", Perspectives on Non-alignment (New Delhi, 1981), P. 20
- (2) 'International Roundtable on Non-alignment: Indian Journal of Political Science (Chandigarh) Vol. 41, no. 1 March, 1980, P. 125



The concept of non-alignment has become novel enough to be absent from most dictionaries and encyclopaedias and other books of reference. The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought (1977), an exceptionally compact and comprehensive reference book, defines non-alignment as follows:-

" The refusal of states to take sides with one or other of two principal opposed group of powers such as existed at the time of the cold war. Non-alignment was less isolationist than the neutralism which it superseded, and was associated with the concept of positive neutrality, i.e., of collective intervention to prevent bipolarity from degenerating into open military conflict; as in the conference of non-aligned powers held at Belgrade in 1961 in which some 35 Mediterranean and Afro-Asian powers took part".

In actuality, the first authoritative diplomatic and operational definition of non-alignment was produced at the preparatory meeting of representatives of non-aligned countries which met in Cairo in June 1961 and adopted the following criteria for the issue of invitations to the proposed summit conferences:

- (1) The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of States with different political and Social systems and on non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy.
- (2) The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for National Independence.
- (3) The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
- (4) If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defence pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
- (5) If it has conceded military bases to a foreign power, the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts. <sup>3</sup>

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(3) Willetts, Peter, The Non-aligned Movement, The Origin of a Third World Alliance (Bombay, 1978). PP. 18-19; Rajan, M.S., Non-alignment: India and Futura (Mysore, 1970), P.10; and Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 41, No. 1, March 1980. Also see Rahman M.H., The politics of Non-Alignment (New Delhi, 1969)

Non-alignment is also understood as "non-commitment", "non-involvement", "neutrality", "neutralism", "positive neutrality", "positive neutralism", "dynamic neutrality", "independent and active policy", and "peaceful, active co-existence". From this variety of terminology, it would appear that non-alignment is no longer a "foreign policy aberration" representing a passing phase in international relations, but a permanent addition to the present system of international relations, an addition which is unaffected by the vagaries of the independent-sovereign-nation-state system or of power politics, unless, of course, there is a radical change in the system itself.

Non-alignment consists essentially in the retention of a substantial measure of freedom of policy and action in international politics, especially in relation to the policies and postures of the two super powers of the world. This freedom is demonstrated in practice primarily by the insistence and assertion of the right to make an ad hoc decision on the merits of each specific issue or situation as and when such an issue or situation comes up for decision before the government of non-aligned country in the international context. <sup>4</sup>

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(4) Rajan, M.S., op cit, P. 11

In reality, non-alignment stands for abstension from power politics, for peaceful coexistence, and for active internal cooperation among all the member states. Negatively, it means a calculated and deliberate refusal to enter into any military or political commitment with any of the super powers or blocs of power allied to them and to permit foreign military bases on one's territory.<sup>5</sup> Thus, non-alignment does't mean neutrality, isolationism, judicial impartiality, self-righteousness, self-abnegation, idealistic-doctrinaire and morally neutral attitude in the absolute sense. It primarily and necessarily means that when a decision is made to adopt non-alignment as a policy, " it imposes on the state a certain outlook and attitude towards international problems and situations and a certain pattern of behaviour in international affairs." <sup>6</sup>

Non-alignment has adopted the ideological dimension as well. As an ideology non-alignment means " the programatic assertion of political values, which are held to be of universal validity for their proclaimed domain". <sup>7</sup> The entry of radical regimes in the wake of the

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(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid. P. 14

(7) Willetts, P., opp cit, p. 28-29

decolonization process in Africa, Asia and Latin America have made a deep and radicalising impact on the language, style and approach of the movement. This is precisely the reason that the current period of the movement is characterized by the upsurge of radical ideologies and the emergence of new generation of leaders and nations, Vibrant, dynamic and farsighted. The Havana Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries in 1979 proved to be the most critical ideological tug of war in the two decade old identity crisis of the emerging third world and was marked by a series of confrontations and controversies about the meaning and validity of non-alignment which in turn stimulated theoretical expressions, ideological postures and sharp reactions. Thus, non-alignment is a political movement encompassing both ideological and policy orientations. It "operates as a political vision and as a platform for a future international system that by its very existence is designed to pressure for change in the present political environment".<sup>8</sup> In this background, non-alignment is interpreted as "New Alignment".<sup>9</sup> The essence of the

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(8) Remington, R.A., Indian Journal of Political Science, opp cit, P. 126.

(9) Khan, R., opp cit, P. 35

argument is that non-alignment as an operational foreign policy was essentially directed against western domination. While the rhetoric of non-alignment equated the two super powers--the United States and the Soviet Union - but in actual practice, the facts that non-alignment "tilted" towards the Soviet Union and the socialist world. Probably the late John Foster Dulles had this implication in his mind when he spoke in anger of non-alignment being "immoral". This view of non-alignment seems extreme and unrealistic, particularly after the non-aligned Foreign Ministers Meeting in New Delhi in 1961, where both super powers were criticized equally, Soviet Union for its intervention in Afghanistan and United States for interference in Iran, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

Non-alignment is concerned not only with preserving the independence of small states but also with completing the process of decolonisation and promoting economic development. The economic content of non-alignment was often expressed in the language of grievance against the industrially developed states and the resolutions passed in the successive conferences of non-aligned States called for unity among the members to work for the

establishment of a new international economic order by redressing the structural imbalances in the existing one. The main thrust of the movement thus seemed to be towards collective bargaining, although the need for increasing cooperation among the non-aligned countries themselves was also recognised.

All these aspects of non-alignment were included as "basic aims of non-alignment" in a declaration issued at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, held in Lusaka in September 1970. These aims are :-

- \* the pursuit of world peace and peaceful coexistence by strengthening the role of non-aligned countries within the United Nations so that it will be a more effective obstacle against all forms of aggressive action and the threat of use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country; the fight against colonialism and racialism which are a negation of human equality and dignity; the settlement of

disputes by peaceful means; the ending of the arms race followed by universal disarmament; opposition to great power military bases and foreign troops on the soil of other nations in the context of great power conflicts and colonial and racist suppression, the universality of and strengthening of the efficacy of the United Nations; and the struggle for economic and mutual cooperation on a basis of equality and mutual benefit". 10

More than three decades have passed since the non-aligned movement became a distinct international orientation, evolved and shaped by the foreign policy practices of essentially the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the process, there has emerged a certain theoretical framework the components of which need deep analysis. Non-Alignment was essentially " chosen to be an instrument, or a means of foreign policy by its founders... in order that they might

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(10) Willetts, P. op. cit., P. 44



give fuller meaning and content to their newly achieved political independence". 11 Its essential thrust is positive in favour of national reconstruction aided and supported by appropriate international transformation. In its totality non-alignment was thus an alternative to or a substitute for power politics in international relations. Moreover, non-alignment was "cognizant of power but it rejected power politics with its attendant values". 12 The Havana Declaration (1979) highlighted two sets of objectives for non-alignment: political independence and national security. The most important components of these are preservation of national independence, ridding of foreign interference, strengthening of non-alignment, elimination of colonialism and imperialistic and hegemonist policies, ending of the arms race, dissolution of military pacts and creation of new international economic and information orders.

The foregoing analysis makes it abundantly clear that non-alignment is neither negation, nor neutrality, nor power politics, nor a Monroe doctrine nor

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(11) Misra, K.P., "Towards Understanding Non-alignment", Misra, K.P., and Narayanan, K.R. (eds.), Non-alignment in contemporary International Relations (New Delhi: 1981), P. 198.

(12) Misra, K.P. 'Towards Understanding Non-Alignment' opp cit P. 24

an alliance, It is a movement in which Afro-Asians and Latin Americans have joined in an attempt to transform the present international order into one which is based on justice and which serves their national objectives of creating socio-economically strong and politically viable systems within their respective countries. <sup>15</sup>

It has become synonymous with real national independence. The policy which was mistakenly understood as some kind of neutrality or fence sitting, has assumed the positive character of dynamic involvement in world affairs, where the issues are judged on their merits and where stand is taken without fear or favour and a followup action persuaded consistently. Above all the movement is acting as the promoter of peace and equitable prosperity in a world of exploitation.

The non-aligned movement got a strong support from the Arab States and other States of Asia & Africa.

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(15) See Niera, K.P., ibid. P. 208

Egypt under Nasser was the pioneer to oppose great power especially British and American attempts first to establish Middle East Command and subsequently the Middle East Defence Organisation directed against the USSR. Although none of the Arab countries joined these cold war military blocs, Iraq under Nuri-es-Said and the Hashmite King Feisal agreed to Join the Baghdad Pact alongwith Turkey, Iran & Pakistan. This betrayal of the Arab cause by the monarchy was bitterly resented not only in Iraq but throughout the Arab world. The monarchy subordinated the all important zionist threat to the Arab world to the imaginary Soviet threat. The revolution of July 1958 led to the overthrow of the monarchy and thus Arab ranks were closed. Iraq withdrew from the notorious Baghdad pact and since then upto its demise in 1980, the organisation was known as CENTO. The Western powers have always viewed with great anxiety the Arab attempts to follow a genuinely non-aligned policy, due to their eyes on the oil wells. They have all-along projected the fictitious Soviet threat to their Security and thus inturn wanted the Arab States to directly align themselves with the western, especially, American bloc. The Arabs in general, and Iraq in particular, have long realised and

concluded that the greatest threat to their security comes from the west represented by its local surrogate i.e., Israel. All attempts to browbeat them have utterly failed and it is a matter of great pride that none of the Arab Countries are members of any of the military bloc. Iraqi withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact proved to be a death knell to all western attempts to subjugate and control them.

Soon after coming to power General Qassem issued a public statement in which he :

- (1) Proclaimed the liberation of the "country from the domination of a corrupt group which was installed by imperialism.
- (2) Announced the formation of " an Iraqi Republic which will preserve Iraqi unity" and
- (3) (called for) " brotherly ties with the other Arab countries".

The Republic of Iraq since then has been a very active member of the non-aligned group. It has continuously been mobilising non-aligned support for the

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(14) Lenczowski, George, The Middle East in World Affairs, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), P. 298

Palestinian cause. The Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party in its document has very clearly stated its position vis-a-vis non-alignment movement. To quote the statement, "The non-alignment movement has emerged, in the modern age, as an expression of a genuine and strong need of the world peoples who suffered, for a long period, of the colonialist domination and threat to their freedom, wealth, nationalist entity and cultural heritage, as well as of various forms of colonialist plunder and pillage.<sup>15</sup> Speaking at a press conference held in Baghdad on July 20, 1980 on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the July 1968 Revolution, President Saddam Hussein said, " we believe that the growth in the number of non-aligned countries indeed will render great service to humanity and stop the out break of a third world war, or atleast lessen such possibilities." He added, " In our nationalist understanding of protecting our sovereignty, we make a clear connection with deepening relations with the non-aligned movement in the world. ... We believe that strengthening relations

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(15) Iraq and Non-alignment (Baghdad: Ministry of Information 1980) P. 20

among the Third world countries and the non-aligned countries in particular, will serve the national interests of the third world and non-aligned countries." 16

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(16) Saddam Hussein, Iraqi policies in Perspective, Text of president Saddam Hussein's press conference, Baghdad, Translation and Foreign languages publishing House, 1981, PP. 49-50

**Chapter - II**

**GROWTH, FUNCTIONING AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF  
NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

## Chapter : II

### Growth, Functioning and Achievements of Non-Aligned Movement.

#### Growth:

The non-aligned movement had originally grown out of ad hoc regional (especially southern Asia) groupings. Its membership gradually expanded to become more broadly Afro-Asian and then tri-continental and global, as several Latin American countries became actively associated, either as full members or observers, as well as smaller countries from the Carribean and from Oceania. At present, the non-aligned movement draws its members from all the regions of the world, and operates actively both by organizing its own on-going meetings and by liaising within the UN system and within other international organizations.

In the past few years there has been a rather active controversy regarding the exact origins and provenance of the non-aligned movement. Broadly speaking two interpretations are on offer: one version places these origins to 1959s and points to the first signs of continuing diplomatic consultation and association between Nehru, Nasser and Tito; the second focuses



principally on the Belgrade summit meeting of September 1961. Objectively speaking, the second view seems more realistic. As a matter of fact, non-alignment was born in 1946, and actually got organised as movement in 1961.

The general non-aligned summit meetings clearly started in September 1961 and continued in October 1964. It is not until the Lusaka meeting of September 1970 that the phrase "the non-aligned movement,"<sup>1</sup> with its implications of continuity, momentum and purposeful direction was adopted. In 1978-79 the Cubans and Yugoslavs argued, rather heatedly, as to whether the non-aligned movement had its origins in the September 1961 meeting or earlier. But this controversy must principally be seen in terms of the polemics prevailing in the late 1970s, rather than as the setting of a relatively minor historical argument.

What started off as a foreign policy choice for disparate reasons by individual states in the late 1940s, acquired by 1961 a sense of common endeavour and a collective desire to meet at an ad hoc conference. Representatives of 25 states (plus three observers) met at the

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(1) Lyon, Peter, "Non-alignment at the Summits," Indian Journal of Political Science (Chandigarh) vol. 41, no. 1 March, 1980, P. 134

Belgrade conference in September 1961. Since then, membership and participation in subsequent conferences has increased phenomenally. By the time of the last Havana Summit Conference (September 1979), full membership had increased to 94 states including Palestine Liberation organization, South-west Africa peoples organization, and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe; there were besides observers from 20 countries, National Liberation Movements and organizations and guests from 19 countries and organizations. By and large, participation in non-aligned conferences includes some two third of UN membership from all parts of the world and many inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. What is note worthy, is that it includes some formally aligned states (e.g. Romania, Portugal, Philippines), neutral states (e.g. Switzerland and Austria, Finland, Sweden), Such a large number of states, organizations, movements (with different kinds of status and priviliges) should seek to participate in the non-aligned movement is a measure of the importance they attach to the movement. The fact that states with different idological and socio-political systems, with a variety of geo-political interests (and therefore, for

differing reasons) should be willing to opt for non-alignment and function through the non-aligned movement also demonstrated their common collective dislike of alignment, of power blocs and bloc politics. This, in turn, lends a certain measure of stability and order to a movement which initially started off simply as an individual aberration in the post-war sovereign-nation-state system.

It seems that short of a multilateral treaty spelling out in legal terms the constitution, purpose and functions, etc., of the movement, and a permanent secretariat, the non-aligned movement has acquired some features of an international organisation. In particular, the regular meetings of the summit and the role and functioning of the Coordinating Bureau and of the Chairman of the Summit conference provide all that is substantially required by way of structure for the effective and smooth functioning of the movement. Not only this, the movement has generated many other allied organizations to promote or strengthen cooperation among non-aligned countries. These include: International Co-ordinating Council in the

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field of Information; Non-aligned Press Agencies Pool for promoting de-colonization of information among non-aligned countries and the establishment of a new "International Order for Information"; Committee for Cooperation of Radio Broadcast Organizations of non-aligned countries; Special Fund for the financing of Buffer Stock of Raw Materials; Solidarity fund for Economic and Social Development; International Centre on Public Enterprises in Developing Countries, Yugoslavia; Centre for Science and Technology, Peru; Information Centre on Translation Corporations, Cuba; Solidarity Fund for Southern Africa; about 15 coordinating committees for promoting cooperation and coordination on economic, social, scientific, health and other subjects. Besides these many institutions already established and in operation, some are in the process of being established; e.g. a Documentation Centre of non-aligned countries in Colombo. Moreover, there have been constant and systematic efforts among the non-aligned countries to strengthen unity, solidarity and cooperation, "with a view to improving the functioning, and decision making procedures" of the non-aligned countries, as the Havana Declaration put it. The Havana Summit Conference recommended certain specified methods of strengthening unity, solidarity and

cooperation in the non-political sphere. As regards the cooperation in the economic field, it listed the areas and methods of cooperation in considerable detail, specified the member countries responsible for coordinating these activities.<sup>2</sup>

With increasingly large membership and frequency of periodical meetings of various kinds - Summit meetings, Consultative meetings, Preparatory meetings, Ministerial meetings, meetings of the coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries, and so on - the non-aligned movement was forced to device procedures and methods for the proper functioning of the movement. These include the criteria of membership, consideration and recommendation of invitees to the conferences, determination of the agenda, the preparation of draft resolutions on major subjects of discussion, and the administrative arrangements for the conferences.

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(2) Rajan, M.S., The Institutionalization of Non-Alignment: Widening Gap Between the Belief and the Prospect (Article unpublished), 1980

**FUNCTIONING:**

The six non-aligned summit conferences held so far, between 1961 and 1979, provide major mirrors and significant punctuation marks in the history of non-alignment as a collective enterprise in recent and contemporary international politics. The first two meetings were ad hoc occasions owing most to Yugoslav and Egyptian initiatives, and should be seen as such. Only from the Lusaka meeting in 1970 onwards, and notably under Algeria's leadership from 1973 to 1976, as the role of Chairman and of the coordinating Bureau began to become continuous and routinised, does it become really appropriate to speak of non-aligned movement,

**(1) Belgrade 1961:**

It was certainly appropriate that Belgrade was the venue of the first non-aligned summit in view of the very substantial Yugoslav and especially Tito's efforts to convene it. Jawaharlal Nehru's role though prominent, was in its impact some what ambiguous. <sup>3</sup> Although the attendance at Belgrade in 1961 was primarily from southern

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(3) Lyon, *opp cit*, Pp, 136-137

Asia and north Africa, Euro-centric issues and pulls were very evident in its proceedings, with the issues of Berlin, the Hallstein doctrine, nuclear tests and cold war rivalries being prominently discussed.

Non-alignment as expressed at this meeting was against the cold war and was a protest against the pressures and pulls of the military alliances and other arrangements of the super powers. Anti-colonialism and neo-colonialism clearly were common concerns, with Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana by his active presence ensuring that at least one articulate African voice would be heard, though patently there were sharp divisions between what were then designated as the "moderates" of the Monrovia and the "radicals" of the Casablanca grouping.

(ii) Cairo 1964:

It was again the Egyptian-Yugoslav partnership which brought about the second summit of the non-aligned movement in Cairo in October 1964. The summit gave more emphasis to economic issues, following the conference on problems of economic development held in Cairo in July 1962 (given the fact that UNCTAD-I

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(5) Ibid . P. 137

had met earlier in 1964 in Geneva, giving birth to the Group of 77 ). The Sino-Soviet dispute was by then active and open, having marked repercussions within the Afro-Asian world and therefore also upon non-aligned, whose numbers had mostly been augmented since 1961 by new African adherents. Indonesia was active in promoting the idea of a second Bandung Conference. India was openly suspicious of this venturing because of its relation with Pakistan. This was again an ad hoc arrangement and there was no firm commitment. Indeed, in the prevailing world political climate of the middle 1960s it was far from clear that non-alignment had a collective future at all and it was to be almost six years (after strenuous lobbying by Tito during 1968 and 1969) before a third summit could be held.

(iii) Lusaka 1970:

Both in its proceedings and out-comes the Lusaka summit marked a new departure for collectivized non-alignment. Kenneth Kaunda's active and skillful chairmanship symbolised the increasing involvement and impact of newly independent African states in world affairs. The summit also helped to give credence to the idea that this kind of non-aligned summit diplomacy



should be regularized and maintain some continuing momentum. Thus it was from Lusaka that three important ideas emerged and generally accepted. These ideas were:-

- (a) that a non-aligned summit should be held regularly at intervals of about three years;
- (b) that the chairman of the last summit conference should act as principal spokesman for all the non-aligned in the interval between summit meetings;
- (c) the chairman should assume responsibility for some servicing arrangements at and between conferences. In this point lay the embryo of the idea of Secretariat, or at least of a coordinating Bureau.

We can notice that there was a quickening of expectations, an increasing number of meetings and a heightening attention to economic issues from 1970 onwards.

(iv) Algiers 1973:

The meeting at Algiers in 1973, and active Algerian chairmanship, imparted a strong sense of

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(6) Ibid, P. 138

dynamism, purposefulness and forward looking momentum to the non-aligned movement. The mid-1970s marked a major watershed in the world economic system from American modifications of the Bretton Woods System (1971-72) to the OPEC emergence of 1973-74, and the special UN session of 1974 and the launching of the campaign for a New International Economic order. These years were also important in the evolution of non-alignment towards more frequent and more specialized consultations and cooperative measures, in part towards greater organization and institutionalisation. Now, specific practical proposals begin to obtrude more prominently in the summit conference and to be taken up subsequently in the more specialized meetings which are seen to be the necessary and well nigh natural sequel of the more intensive conference that Algiers was and portended.

The major aspect of the political declaration issued at Algiers were: national and social emancipation of the non-aligned countries; scientific progress; to eradicate apartheid, Zionism and all forms of racial discrimination and segregation; to ensure a genuine independence by eliminating foreign monopolies and taking

over control of national resources; international security, to promote economic security in international relations, and rejection of military alliances.<sup>7</sup> The declaration emphasized specifically the maintenance of peace. It maintained that "peace is indivisible; it should not mean simply shifting confrontation from one area to another, nor should it mean reconciling ourselves to the existence of tensions in some areas while striving to remove them from others. Peace will remain precarious unless the interests of other countries are taken into consideration".<sup>8</sup>

(v) Colombo 1976:

In general terms the 5th summit provided considerable evidence that the non-aligned movement was now a continuing concern with a momentum of its own. It was clearly becoming accepted within the movement that the guidelines laid down at Lusaka and at Algiers would be followed and if possible given practical point, while the strong emphasis given

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(7) Excerpts from the political Declaration, Algiers, September 1975, (Articles 5-20)

(8) Ibid., (Article 16)

to economic issues since 1973 would continue. However, the Chairmanship of the non-aligned movement in the three years after 1976 lacked the dynamism and sensation of continuing momentum which the Algerians had imparted in the three previous years.<sup>9</sup> This relative immobility from the chair was much more due to the impact of stagflation from the OECD world, the increasing sluggishness of international economic negotiations, and the failure to make any real headway in the quest for a New International Economic Order. It was only from 1978 onwards that Cuba's role as designated-elected heir-apparent to the chair of the non-aligned movement had more dramatic impact than had Srikanta's continuance as a rather "lame-duck" chairman.

The Colombo summit conference dealt specifically with issues like Indian Ocean as a peace zone; non-alignment and economic development; the New International Economic Order; Collective self-reliance; and inter-dependence within the global economy.<sup>10</sup>

The conference also recommended that members of the non-

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(9) Lyon, op cit., P. 140

(10) Political Declaration, Colombo, 1976

aligned movement request the holding of a special session of the General Assembly as early as possible. The agenda of the Special Session should include:

- (a) a review of the problem of disarmament;
- (b) the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament;
- (c) the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference. <sup>11</sup>

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(vi) Havana 1979:

Two matters were especially vexatious for some of the leading members of the non-aligned movement preceding the Havana meetings: the Cuban draft declaration (which in effect sought to impart a distinctively Cuban stamp on the whole philosophy, business and proceedings of the non-aligned movement) and the Belgrade Agenda (concerned with further gatherings of non-aligned countries). In the informal meetings the main contributions came from Yugoslavia and India, but other present, such as Cuba, Zambia, Indonesia, Singapore, Kuwait and Iran,

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(11) Ibid.

had specific comments to add too.

This summit conference dealt with major world problems and situations of general interest to all nations, regions, group and the two cold war blocs too—such as, prohibition of nuclear weapons and their testings; avoidance of a nuclear war; removal of colonialism, imperialism and racialism, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of states; non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; international economic, social, cultural and scientific cooperation; the exploitation of resources of the sea-bed, the ocean floor and the sub-soil; control of environment; the use of the Great power veto in the UN Security Council; the establishment of a New International Economic Order; peaceful uses of nuclear energy; disarmament; and strengthening the United Nations.

The political declaration at the summit stressed the traditional goals of the non-aligned movement, such as struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, expansionism, racism, including Zionism apartheid, exploitation, power politics, all forms and manifestations of foreign occupation,

domination and hegemony. Moreover, it emphasised the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, sovereign equality, and the free social development of all the non-aligned countries. <sup>12</sup>

#### ACHIEVEMENTS:

The traditional attitudes of the two blocs changed slowly, the attitude of the Western bloc changing more slowly. The attitude of the Communist states started changing soon after the death of Stalin in 1953. It was not till the 1960s that the Western bloc brought itself to acknowledge the validity of the policy of non-alignment and the integrity of the actions and intentions of non-aligned countries. This change in the attitude of the two blocs towards non-alignment and non-aligned countries is due to variety of reasons. The recognition of both blocs of the validity of non-alignment in world affairs as a possible alternative to alignment with one bloc or the other would not have been possible but for the steadfastness of non-aligned countries in holding on to the policy in the face of condemnation, ridicule, and pressure of various kinds brought upon them by the two blocs. <sup>13</sup>

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(12) Excerpts from the Havana Declaration, 1979

(13) Rajan, M.S., Non-alignment: India and the Future (Mysore, 1970), P. 38

In a way, it implies the super power's acknowledgement of the right of independence of states.

The second important achievement of non-alignment was to postpone or moderate or solve some of the world's acute conflicts as well as to prevent a third world war. Non-aligned states can reasonably claim to have made a notable contribution to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security in the most dangerous nuclear decade. This was one of the fundamental reasons why most newly independent states opted for non-alignment in the post-war period. As a matter of fact, non-aligned states played a stabilizing role in international policies by making the super powers give up a course of action leading to direct conflict and engage instead in peaceful competition in the development of countries less developed than themselves. <sup>14</sup> At the least, non-aligned states prevented the cold war from reaching a stage where it might have developed into a hot or full scale war. But for the existence of many states which were non-aligned with either of the blocs pleading for and urging fair and quick solutions in such crises as the Berlin Air lift, the Korean war, the Indo-Chinese Conflict, the dispute over the chinese offshore

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(14) Ibid. P. 39



Malanda and the Suez Crisis, these would have probably been wider and continuing conflicts threatening to engulf the whole world. It is not certainly realistic to assert that non-aligned states could have prevented the escalation of any of these conflicts into a third world war if the super powers had willed otherwise. But one can surely argue that the non-aligned states had no mean role in influencing the decisions of the super-powers to avoid escalation and seek peaceful settlement not merely by argument but by concrete and timely moves. When the cold war was at its zenith, the society of nations was divided into two rigid blocs, ideologically, politically and militarily, with many non-aligned states in between. In this suffocating situation, the non-alignment brought a fresh breeze of open mindedness, free and open debate, freedom to agree or disagree and opening of the channels of communication. The indefatigable efforts of non-aligned states to break down the rigidities and distortions of the cold war have made the present world society much more of an open society with the resumption of communication between the members of two blocs. Thus non-alignment has benefited the world as a whole.

The policy of non-alignment has helped transform for good the UN in some ways. By their sheer number and

more detached outlook and role in the cold war, the non-aligned states have " helped to transform the UN from an organization to maintain peace amongst small nations to an organization in which smaller nations exercise some restraint on major powers"<sup>15</sup>. The non-aligned states have also forestalled the dangerous consequences of the UN functioning as a peace-enforcing agency in a bipolarized world, and have converted it into a peace observing and peace keeping organisation. Since all non-aligned nations are economically under-developed, they have successfully brought about a shift of emphasis in the functioning of the UN; on economic and social problems of the less developed countries in addition to the political problems.

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(15) Ibid., P. 45

**Chapter - III**

**ROLE OF IRAQ IN THE MOVEMENT**

## Chapter : III

### Role of Iraq in the Movement

The Arab world has been the crucial scene of cold-war politics. Non-alignment in the Arab world, and particularly in Iraq, has to be seen in this background. At the end of the second World War the major Arab countries were in varying degrees under British or French control. This explains the initial Arab misgivings about the politics of cold war. The Arabs naturally feared that Britain and France might use the additional power from the NATO alliance to perpetuate their stranglehold on the Arab World. Secondly, the Arab world had long been an arena of Great Power politics due to its geographical location and abundant oil resources. The oil factor is, however, of a relatively recent origin. The oil industry in the Arab world has been controlled since its inception by Western oil cartels. Thirdly, the Arab suspicion about the cold war was its underlying motivations. To many Arabs, the growing antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union in the post-war period did not appear relevant to the issues of political independence and economic reconstruction of their homelands. About this time, the Arab world lost Palestine.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the rejection of membership in cold war

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(1) Agwani, M.S., "The Arab World and the Non-alignment", in Khan, R., (ed), Perspectives on Non-Alignment (New-Delhi, 1981), Pp. 199-201

pacts came to be viewed as an integral part of the nationalist opposition of Arabs to foreign domination.

" Non-alignment became an indispensable part of Arab nationalism".<sup>2</sup> Under Gamal Abdul Nasser, non-alignment became synonymous with the Arab struggle for national liberation. However, Arab intellectuals made a distinction between non-alignment and positive neutralism. Sayegh, observes :

" To be non-aligned is to lie outside the framework of the cold war, and to refuse to participate in its power arrangements or to to be part in its antagonism. To be positively neutral is to conduct relations with other countries which are involved in the cold war without reference to their cold war position".<sup>3</sup>

The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party (ABSP) played a significant role in the Iraqi revolution of July 1958, and subsequently in adopting non-alignment as the cardinal principle of her foreign policy. During the last years of the Nasser era, Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo formed the

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(2) Sayegh, Fayez A, The Dynamics of Neutralism in the Arab World: A Symposium, (San Francisco, 1964), P. 178

(3) Ibid, P. 64

three sturdy pillars of non-alignment in West Asia. The ABSP constitutional conference in 1947 specified a clear understanding of the non-aligned policy, though not by name, and indicated the real independent meaning emanating from the nationalist Arab interest. The party constitution emphasised:

" the foreign policy of the Arab states is inspired by the supreme Arab nationalist interest, and the eternal Arab message aiming to participate with other nations to achieve a free, safe, and harmonious world, moving towards constant progress" (Article. 1) <sup>4</sup>

The Constitution further emphasised:

" The Arab foreign policy aims at to give the correct image of the Arab will to live in freedom, and their real desire to see all nations in equal freedom". <sup>5</sup>

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(4) Arab Ba'th Socialist Party Constitution, (1947). Article I.

(5) Ibid. Article 4

Similarly, the founder leader of the ABSP, Michael Aflaq, also stressed the traditional aims and objectives of the non-aligned movement. He equated the struggle for nationalism and socialism with the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. <sup>6</sup>

In 1948, the party daily (Al-Ba'ith) focussing on non-alignment wrote: "the interest of the Arab countries can never, in any way, be on the side of the Western bloc, or on the side of any of its members. Consequently, the policy of Arab governments must be one of neutrality in the struggle between the two international blocs, and not to be connected with the enemies of the Arab with new treaties". <sup>7</sup> It was in 1959 that the ABSP supported the non-aligned movement by name. The party conference in the same year emphasized the policy of non-alignment for " it is the course of the Arab to reach with their revolution to the continents of the Third World, and the course of the Arabs to participate in alleviating the sharp international tension." <sup>8</sup>

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(6) Aflaq, Michael, The Ba'ath and the Heritage, (New Delhi, 1976) P. 9

(7) Iraq and non-Alignment, Baghdad, 1980. P. 16

(8) Ibid

In accordance with the firm principles decided by the AASP in the national conference, and after the revolutions of July 1958 and July 1968 in Iraq, it became possible for the Revolution in Iraq to play a prominent part in the non-aligned movement, and make it an active movement in world politics for the benefit of nations fighting for independence, and in the cause of international peace. The political report of the 8th Regional Conference of the Party in Iraq emphasised the necessity of following a non-aligned policy, considering positive neutrality and non-alignment as bases in Iraqi attitude in international relations. The report further emphasised the implications of that policy in liberation, progress, democracy and anti-imperialistic attitudes in all forms, and its opposition to annexation policies and discrimination between large and small nations.<sup>9</sup> In accordance with these indications, the course of the Party and Revolution was clarified in the field on non-aligned movement and in relation with countries of the three continents.

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(9) Ibid., pp. 17-18



Thus, Iraq has a firm attitude on a number of questions connected with the non-aligned movement. Iraq offered all forms of political, economic and information support to the movement. Iraq has consistently emphasized a number of aims of the non-aligned movement at various occasions. Broadly these aims include:-

- (a) Iraq finds it necessary to give more concern to close ties among the governments of the non-aligned countries and to strengthen relations among vocational, scientific and popular organizations in those countries, in order to create a wide popular basis for the principles of non-alignment.
- (b) Iraq finds it necessary to be on the alert to thwart attempts of super powers to achieve certain gains at the expense of developing non-aligned countries.
- (c) It is necessary to strengthen struggle against racial discrimination and colonialism by fighting colonist pacts and upsetting their organizations.
- (d) Iraq felt the necessity of economic cooperation among the non-aligned countries, and that they should collectively adopt sound and fair methods

and measures in economic relations, in order to guarantee for the developing countries acceptable levels of development, and help the world nations to escape the general economic crisis.

- (e) The necessity of providing peace-areas throughout the world, like making the Indian Ocean a peaceful area, and the liquidation of colonialist bases.
- (f) In order to abide by these aims, Iraq emphasized clarification of the identity of states nominated for membership in the non-aligned movement, in order to refuse states which align with colonialism, or conclude military pacts with imperialistic countries, or offer military bases to help imperialistic countries in their expensive aims.
- (g) In order to make non-alignment decisions abiding, Iraq felt it necessary to have permanent headquarters for the non-aligned movement, to have a permanent Solidarity Fund for the member states, and also to have a unified Information Agency. <sup>10</sup>

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(10) Ibid. PP. 18-20

These demands on the part of Iraq emphasise the principles of the non-aligned movement adopted by the Bandung Conference. They answer present needs and the aspirations of Third World nations, and especially the Arab Nation. Affirming the above mentioned principles and bases of the non-aligned movement, Iraq proceeded from profound need for those principles, and from a long patriotic and nationalist experiment in this direction.

Iraq has been a dynamic member of the non-aligned movement in the post-revolutionary period. It is an active partner in all its forums. It has maintained a consistent policy regarding problems of the Arab world and other regions in the non-aligned forums. It has always condemned the Zionist aggression in all its forms in the Middle East. It has vaciforously supported the Palestinian cause, and criticized the Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel. Stressing this non-aligned policy orientation, President Saddam Hussein, said that

" the fair struggle waged by our Arab nation against the Zionist aggression finds strong support at the non-aligned movement and its liberal, progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-racist objectives which consider Zionism and its structure in the occupied Palestine as one of the most dangerous aggressive spots in the world". <sup>11</sup>

He emphasized further that

" the struggle of the Arab countries to maintain their independence and free will in disposing of their natural riches on a fair and balanced basis, is exposed to threats by the colonialist powers and international blocs. The basic support of this struggle, in our view,... lies in the profound stress of the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement and its active universal role in political, economic and other important fields." <sup>12</sup>

Iraq has been playing an important and significant role in the economic affairs of the non-aligned movement. Iraq called upon the developed nations of the world to have a purposeful dialogue regarding necessary changes in expediting economic development of the Afro-Asian non-aligned countries. On the other hand, it gave due attention to the developmental programmes of the developing non-aligned countries. With the motive of helping the underdeveloped and developed partners of the non-aligned movement, Iraq contributed to the extent of 4 per cent of its Gross National Product to these countries

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(12) Ibid.

in 1979. Moreover, Iraq had promised to compensate the oil budgets of friendly non-aligned countries in 1979. This compensation was supposed to be in the form of long term credit. The Iraqi government has signed as many as 22 economic agreements with the developing countries in 1979-80. Iraq adopted reasonable energy policy and emphasised collective self-reliance. In the Colombo Summit it proposed to establish a producer's association of the raw-material export developing countries, so that these countries show solidarity vis-a-vis the western industrial countries.

Iraq played a significant role in the Havana Summit Conference in September 1979. Emphasizing the historical importance of the non-aligned movement, Saddam Hussein said in this Conference:

" the non-aligned movement has emerged in our time as an expression of a genuine and persisting need for the peoples of the world who have undergone, for long periods imperialist domination and threats to their freedom, resources, national identity and their national cultural heritage .... The non-aligned

movement has been the incarnation of the aspirations of all these people to attain specific and total independence and their desire to ward off the influences\* of any nature. 13

On this occasion the Iraqi delegation put before the conference a specific proposal aiming at forming a working team whose task is to perpetuate the principles and objectives of the non-aligned movement. It also submitted recommendations aiming at developing the special means and methods for the conferences of the movement, to realise more and more effectiveness. Since, economic issues, relating to the non-aligned world, dominated the deliberations in the conference, Saddam Hussein also dealt with these in detail. In this connection, he said

\* Iraq lays accent on the utmost necessity to eradicate all forms of exploitation and discrimination at the economic level. It also calls for industrious and preserving work to realise the equitable economic order and

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(13) Speech by Saddam Hussein to the non-aligned countries Conference, Havana, September, 1979, P. 4

reaffirms the necessity of bolstering the role to be played by the non-aligned movement in leading the developing countries during the talks to be held and the international economic efforts which aim at attaining this objective." 14

Emphasising the economic content of non-alignment, Saddam Hussein observed:

" Iraq assertively and firmly believes in the right of the peoples to control completely and effectively their natural resources including their right to nationalize these resources, utilise them in the interests of the independent development for these people and put an end to the domination of the multi-national companies which represent neo-colonialism in exerting the developing countries' wealth. This is exactly what Iraq has done when it took the measures to nationalize all its resources." 15

The Colombo Summit Conference had adopted a working programme for economic cooperation among the countries of

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(14) Ibid, P. 7  
(15) Ibid, P. 8

the non-aligned movement, but many resolutions of this programme had not been put into effect. Therefore, Saddam Hussein pointed to the serious and active participation of the non-aligned countries in the meetings in which the specialise subjects in the various working programmes together with their contribution in order to reach at the practical formulae for consolidating the economic cooperation among them. He " reiterated his earlier proposal to set up an international fund for helping the havenets from the Third World and non-aligned countries in the economic difficulties created by inflation by the industrial world." <sup>16</sup> Moreover, he gave the whole hearted support for the social, political, economic, educational, ideological and political emancipation of the non-aligned countries of all continents of the world. <sup>17</sup>

Iraq's participation proved most crucial in the Ministerial Conference of Non-aligned Countries held in New Delhi in February 1981. It was in the background of

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(16) Times of India (New Delhi), 7 April, 1981

(17) The Guardian (London), 19 December 1979



prevailing explosive situation in the Middle East arising out of the Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel, Israel's aggression against Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular, Israeli attack on Iraqi nuclear installations,<sup>18</sup> and Iran-Iraq war, that the Iraqi representative, Dr. Saadoun Hammadi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke in the conference. The theme of his arguments was:

- (a) Ever since the Havana Summit, developments have shown the grave consequences, resulting from the Camp David and Egyptian-Israeli Agreements; affecting the Arab Nation, and particularly the Palestinian people. While the representative of the Egyptian regime, tried at the time to justify the crime of his regime as a bilateral matter relating to Egyptian sovereignty, the so-called autonomy discussion, the establishment of new settlements and the continued Zionist

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(18) For details see the speech of Mr Hammadi in the 14th Meeting at the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly held at New York on 25 September, 1981.

aggression against Lebanon and Palestinian resistance as well as the law passed by the Zionist entity annexing Jerusalem, have categorically refuted all the excuses advanced by the Egyptian regime to cover up the conspiracy prepared in collaboration with American imperialism and the Zionist entity. The vast majority of countries and international organisations have rejected these agreements as being basically contrary to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the non-aligned movement concerning the Palestine Question.

- (b) International Economic relations are still represented by inequality between developed and developing countries and the gap between them has widened further. The main reason for this inequitable relation is due to the refusal of the developed countries to bring about structural changes in the world economy and their insistence to uphold an economic order which no longer is responsive to the developments which occurred in recent years in the world economy.

The Iraqi delegation called on the industrial developed nations to carry out a constructive dialogue with the necessary political will in order to bring about the necessary reforms and changes. In this regard the efforts being deployed at the United Nations to launch the global round of negotiations represent in the opinion of the delegation the right approach to tackle the economic problems in an integrated and comprehensive manner. As for economic cooperation among non-aligned countries and other developing countries, Iraq considers this as one of the main elements to bring about the new international economic order and Iraq as a developing country has translated this cooperation into solid facts in its foreign policy.

- (c) Iraq has since the Revolution of July 1968 and shall always remain, one of the strong adherents to the policy of non-alignment, which is based on the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, respect for

national sovereignty of all states, and preservation of international peace and security.

Iraq had made strong efforts to maintain principles on which non-alignment is based, in the belief that this would make possible the achievement of balance in state relations, and hence the possibility of eliminating the causes of tension and crises.

- (d) Finally, the Iraqi representative dealt in detail with the Iran-Iraq war, which has remained one of the contentious issues of the non-aligned movement in recent years. It may affect the functioning of the next Summit conference in Baghdad later this year. The Iraqi representative maintained that the invasion was started by Iran, and Iraq was fighting in defence. He justified historically the control of Shatt-Arab by Iraq. Finally, he agreed on the non-aligned initiative for the cessation of the Iraq-Iran war. He showed full readiness to withdraw from the Iranian territories and establishing normal relations with Iran on the basis of respect to sovereignty and

non-interference in internal affairs. <sup>19</sup>

In addition to these formal statements, Iraq participated actively in the non-aligned sponsored programmes. Within the framework of non-alignment, Iraq waged the struggle of the Arab world and the growth of its political, economic, cultural and military possibilities which led to important changes." <sup>20</sup> Moreover, the policy of non-alignment in its wider perspective has enabled Iraq to follow independent foreign policy accompanied by strict security. This policy also improved Iraq's relations with other Arab countries and consolidated the independence from the big powers. <sup>21</sup> The Pan Arab Declaration (pronounced by Saddam Hussein on 8th February 1980) reinforced the approach of non-alignment as being the right mode <sup>of</sup> cooperation between non-aligned states. Speaking at the press conference on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the Iraqi Revolution, President Saddam Hussein said,

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(19) Statement of Dr. Saadoun Hammadi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, to the conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-aligned Countries, New Delhi, February, 1981

(20) Baghdad Observer (Baghdad), 17 July 1977

(21) International Herald Tribune (Paris), 12 March, 1979

" the importance of the movement will increase with time ... we believe that there are certain ideas which, when put into practice inside this movement, shall reflect positively and effectively on international relations. These ideas include: the general framework of what relations should be like between oil countries and industrial countries and the benefiting third world countries; the basic ideas in the discussions of the 77 countries of the North-South dialogue; the addition to the ideas we submitted in a number of regional conferences to encourage specialised organizations of raw materials in the third world, that is to have an organization for cotton, another for wheat, a third for copper, Zinc, etc... along the lines of OPEC to protect the Third world countries exporting these raw materials, and help them to reach fair prices and economically better production." 22

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- (22) Saddam Hussein, 'Iraqi policies in perspective  
Text of Press Conference July 20, 1980 (Baghdad),  
Translation and Foreign Languages publishing House,  
1981, pp. 68-69

Similarly to ameliorate the worsening plight of the non-aligned countries, president Saddam Hussein came forward with an economic formula in the form of International Fund. He declared, " The basic responsibility for any failure in the third world countries lies on the industrialised countries, wether under colonialism or when those countries came out to the third world as multi-national companies or in other forms, bringing in inflation and keeping down prices of raw materials imported form the third world countries. In accordance with this analysis, Iraq submitted the idea of setting up an International Fund. The idea is based on simple calculations: the result of industrialized countries responsibility, due to the annual price increase suffered by third world countries, should be matched with sums of money put in the Fund. According to a certain formula, the Third world countries begin to develop without suffering inflation or the oil price increase. Thus we protect the Third world against collapse, and at the same time a balance shall be effected between the annual oil price increase and the inflation factor, and a state of relative stability is reached in the international economic situation." 23

Iraq is to be the host to the next summit meeting of non-aligned movement due in September 1982, and thereafter will assume chairmanship of the movement and of the Coordinating Bureau. Already at Havana, Iraq provided the chairmanship of the Political Committee and successfully promoted a resolution calling for the continuing study of procedures and principles of the non-aligned movement with the aim of having a comprehensive and definite document to be adopted at the next summit in Baghdad, after consideration at the New Delhi Foreign Minister's Conference in 1981. In his message to the Non-aligned Coordination Bureau in Kuwait in 1982 President Saddam Hussein stressed on the solution of major Middle Eastern problems, particularly the Palestinian problem. He said that,

" A special non-aligned meeting to review in and discuss the palestinian question, would give more backing and support to the palestinian struggle and would draw up the guide-lines for non-aligned countrie's action in the international forums to push the palestinian cause forward." 24

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(24) Saddam's Qadisiya vol. 1, no. 37, (New Delhi), April, 19, 1982



**Chapter - IV**

**CONCLUSION**

## Chapter : IV

### CONCLUSION

Non-alignment first sprang into popular use in the middle 1950s and soon acquired prodigious general currency. From the beginning non-alignment was regarded and used as a positive and predominantly political label, as well as a way of life to those countries and leaders wishing to avoid entanglements in, and eventually to supersede, the military alliances of the major powers, especially those of the United States.

Non-alignment can never be equated with isolationism. It signifies not a way of withdrawing from world politics, but of avoiding permanent and continuing commitments to particular multilateral military alliances led by the superpowers. It is a way of getting actively involved into the global diplomatic game, but only as an individual player associated with a club of sovereign independent states. Non-alignment has not to be confused with neutrality in the sense of strict military and diplomatic equidistance between the super powers.

While all seem to agree and avow that membership of bloc alliances is a disqualification for non-aligned movement membership, even this prohibition or negative condition seems to have become less clear cut as the disciplines and

entanglements of bloc ties become looser in some specific cases and in practice hoary distinctions between alignments and non-alignments become blurred. It is worth underlining that non-aligned meetings are entitled as being for Heads of State and Government. Several participants at Summits have stressed that there is in effect a practical ~~re-~~asonary or trade unionism about the conduct of such conferences; those countries that are not represented by a Head of State <sup>OR</sup> Government are liable to be disadvantaged by this fact.

At each non-aligned summit meeting some attention have been devoted to definitions of non-alignment and the results expressed in the final communique. This was particularly true of the Havana Summit in September 1979, and the differences between the early Cuban draft final communique with its pro-Soviet and strongly anti-American tone and the final document, reflected a real debate and considerable differences in emphasis and priorities. Even so it is doubtful if most of the members are much exercised about such arguments and they should be seen in large measure as part of the competition amongst the few would be leaders to determine the general character and course of the movement. It is through this complex of contradictory trends that the non-aligned movement has to be guided. The need of the time is not to exacerbate the

situation but to promote a peaceful transition. The non-aligned countries need to work not only for the easing of international tensions and restoring dialogues between major countries, but also, for setting up frameworks for the insulation of original tensions from big power politics to the extent possible and seeking non-aligned solutions for these problems.

The differences and divergences among the non-aligned should be viewed in the context of purpose and of a common commitment to certain values, methods and techniques for achieving that purpose. It is but natural that there should be differences of approach and attitudes in a large gathering of nations, free and sovereign to determine their own policies. Non-alignment is the manifestation of their reformist urge and applies to questions of great power relations, world order, international economic relations and the broad structure and system of world politics.

The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in Iraq has been playing a crucial non-aligned role in the West Asian region. In the last years of Gamal Nasser Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo formed the trio of non-alignment in West Asia. The edifice thus created played a vital role in the enlargement and consolidation of political and

economic independence of the Arab countries as exemplified by the successful conclusion of the Algerian War of Independence (1961), the British withdrawal from South Yemen (1967) and the Arabian Coast of the Gulf (1971) and the progressive extension of Arab control on the international oil cartels operating in the Arab World. At present, the doctrine of non-alignment has been widely endorsed by the Arabs. Moreover, Palestine Liberation Organization is the only national liberation movement which has been a full member of the non-aligned conferences since 1976.

In the decades of 1950s and 1960s Iraq has played an important role in the non-aligned movement encompassing political, economic, cultural, social, educational, scientific, technological and other spheres. It is primarily because of its economic strength and political importance in the West Asian region. The role of Iraq in the movement became more dynamic and wider after the 1968 revolution in the country. Now, it is a significant non-aligned country in the Arab World, particularly after the Camp David agreement between Egypt and Israel, which caused the political isolation of the former. Thus Iraq became the representative of the Arab urge for independence and progress. The anti-colonial and anti-imperialist attitude has remained the cornerstone

of Iraqi foreign policy since 1968 revolution.

Politically, Iraq supported all non-aligned principles and policies. At the local level, it stressed the independence, security, non-interference and independent foreign policy of non-aligned states. At the regional level, it opposed the super power intervention. It always supported the demand that Indian Ocean should be considered the Zone of Peace. At the international level, it upheld the ideals of disarmament, detente and world peace. It stressed for the full utilization of United Nations for the overall development of nations.

There has been widespread misconception regarding Iraqi decision to conclude a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union on April 9, 1972, among the non-aligned members. Some branded this to be a clear departure from its non-aligned policy. Looked at it carefully many non-aligned states like India, Egypt, Somalia, Syria etc concluded similar friendship treaties with the USSR and continue to maintain their non-aligned position in international affairs. Some even talked of Iraq agreeing to provide air and naval facilities to the USSR in return for military aid. This is more a myth than a reality. Iraq has never provided any sort of military help to the USSR.

The treaty, as Saddam Hussein insisted, was strictly a defensive measure ( in view of the growing Iranian support to the Kurds), and reiterated that it was of a political nature and had no military significance. <sup>1</sup> The treaty enabled Iraq to receive increased Soviet military aid to defend its security and it in no way compromised its non-aligned position. Asked whether the treaty has brought about any changes in their relationship, the Foreign Minister Saadoun Hammadi very clearly said that the treaty did not give the USSR any right to interfere in the affairs of Iraq in any way. This treaty was a significant factor which helped Iraq in its nationalization of the foreign oil companies in 1972 and 1973. In the words of President Saddam Hussein.

" our friendship with the Soviet Union is different from our friendship with other socialist countries. And this is arranged according to certain strategic considerations of national interest and points of

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(1) Abbas Kelidar, ' Iraq: The Search for Stability' Conflict Studies, No. 59, London, July 1975, p. 16

agreement against common enemy ... the Soviets are our friends and will remain so, as long as the Soviets respect Iraq and the Arab Nation, their independence, and right to choose their own path" <sup>2</sup>

Following its declared non-aligned policy Iraq has criticised Soviet presence of troops in Afghanistan. To put in the words of President Saddam Hussein, " we naturally disagree with the Soviet Union about our evaluation of their conduct in Afghanistan." <sup>3</sup>

Although Iraq had signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the USSR in 1972, it did not prevent Iraq from adopting an independent foreign policy line eventhough it might not have been liked by the super-power. As the Iraqi Foreign Minister put it, "we believe in the principles of non-alignment; especially the principle that no big power or any power <sup>the</sup> has right to interfere militarily in the internal affairs of another country". <sup>4</sup> He further pointed out that " our position

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- (2) Saddam Hussein, Iraqi Policies in perspective, Text of Press Conference, July 20, 1980, (Baghdad), Translation and Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981, pp.34-35.
- (3) Saddam Hussein, Iraqi Policies in perspective, opp cit, P. 37.
- (4) Saddam Hamandi's interview in Newsweek, 25 February, 1980



on Afghanistan has no effect on our attitude towards our bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. We think it should not have an effect because the Soviet Union knows very well that we are a non-aligned country. We will definitely maintain our friendship agreement and all other agreements with the Soviet Union." <sup>5</sup>

Although it has opposed Soviet action in Afghanistan, it should not be construed that it supports the other superpower in this connection. As the Minister pointed out, " we do not believe that the best way to deal with the Soviet presence in Afghanistan is to have an American military presence in the same region. The result would be that we would be under the influence of both superpowers. Our area would be eaten bit by bit from both sides." <sup>6</sup> For Iraq to criticize Soviet presence in Afghanistan has been a very hard decision in view of her close ties with the USSR exemplified by its treaty and substantial dependence for her military needs. Despite these factors, Iraq had to come out openly against Soviet presence in view of her deep commitment to the policy of non-alignment whose cardinal feature is opposition to outside military presence in general and superpower presence in particular. It is not surprising that this Iraqi stand led to a cooling of relations between Iraq and the USSR. This clearly goes to

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(5) Ibid  
(6) Ibid

show how far pursuing a particular policy has its inevitable impact on a country's national interest.

Economically also Iraq supported the non-aligned developing countries and their demands for a New International Economic order. However, it stressed for the cooperation and collaboration between developing countries and between OPEC and other non-aligned developing countries. Iraq has made all efforts to enhance its relations with the Third world and has granted the Third world countries special concessions of goods and services and has concluded a number of contracts and protocols with various countries, which amounted to over 100 agreements within ten years of the life of her Revolution. Iraq's Fund for External Development granted 423.088 million Iraqi Dinars in loans to various Arab-African and Latin American countries. The Fund has pledged to offer long term loans, free of interest, to over 12 developing countries during 1980. Iraq also evolved new ways to help developing countries in the light of the proposals suggested by President Saddam Hussein at the non-aligned Conference at Havana in 1979. Recently, the government of Iraq has decided to increase its contribution to

the World Bank from 69800000 to 1778000000 Dollars. The decision was taken for maintaining the balance of Iraq's contribution to the Bank and to the IMF after Iraq had increased its contribution to the IMF.<sup>7</sup>

Iraq also supported close educational, social and cultural contacts between non-aligned states, so that, western ideological challenges can be countered on solid basis. Iraq's socialist and egalitarian orientation has always remained dominant in its non-aligned attitude.

The next non-aligned Summit meeting is going to be held in Baghdad in September 1982. This will be a crucial Summit Conference primarily because of political and economic situation which is deteriorating at the global level. Iran's criticism of Iraq (after the Gulf War) has added one more dimension to the Iraqi role in non-aligned movement.

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(7) Azis, F.M., 'Iraq: Propaganda and Reality, 'Saddam's Qadisiya, vol. 2 no. 2, New Delhi, May 10, 1982' P. 4

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