

"Perhaps a day will come when a happy age, looking back at the past, will see in this suffering and shame one of the paths which led to peace."

**JEAN - PAUL SARTRE
SITUATION OF THE WRITER IN 1947***

* From Jean-Paul Sartre, *What is Literature ?*, transl. B. Frechtman, Methuen, 1967, pp. 155-9, 162-7; first publ. 1948, in *Les Temps modernes*.

**THE RELEVANCE OF NAM IN THE CHANGING
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS :
A STUDY OF THE XTH SUMMIT**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of

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CERTIFICATE

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DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

**SHRI K. KONDAYYA Garu
AND
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I am not routinely completing any formality here as a mere obligation in writing these lines.

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PREFACE

Change is an inevitable feature of this world. But certain changes are so profound and dramatic that one can do nothing more than stare breathlessly at them. The era beginning from 1989 incredible pace and caught the world by surprise. The end of the Cold War, the collapse of the communism regimes in East European countries, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union have been some of the most dramatic changes which made a tremendous impact on the international politics of the 20th Century.

With the absence of any real or perceived military threat the need for maintaining and build up of nuclear weapons, military arsenal, for any country, particularly in the case of major powers, is not at all imperative. Therefore the rationale of maintaining military blocs through organisations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) by the seeming sole Super Power the United States of America and its allies the West European countries, backs conviction. With the end of cold war and the disintegration of Soviet Union and the collapse of Socialist bloc, any further existence or extension of military alliances or blocs like for instance NATO are exercises in domination and constitute a threat to global peace and security.

The focus has already shifted from military superiority to economic suzerainty. The much talked about emergence of Japan and United Germany as the new economic superpower, the Maastricht Treaty which aims to achieve a European Monetary Union and the extraordinarily wide coverage and significance accorded to the G-7 Summits, points to where the priority now lies in the present international relations.

The metamorphosis is not as yet over. The changes do not end here, in fact they can never and because the process of change is a unique and basic and essential feature of the universe, hence against the background of these changing new realities, international Organisations such as Non-aligned Movement and the countries must respond quickly and effectively to these developments by advocating new and relevant policies and by redefining their goals and objectives, to save themselves and their policies from becoming irrelevant in the emerging new world order.

In the light of these enormous international political developments, the very relevance of the Non-aligned Movement comes into question. The sudden focus on the movement is understandable as it has 108 members, which constitutes two-thirds of the world population and nearly two-thirds of the United Nations membership. Due to the

enormous nature of its representation critics are in a hurry to question the relevance of its existence and in the process overlooking certain basic realities.

Since, change is an inevitable in world politics, mere occurrence of certain changes cannot result in winding up of any international organisation, especially the NAM which has been in existence for more than three decades. The rationale that the end of the Cold War and bloc system have made the NAM irrelevant, if true, the same logic should also be applied in the case of the United Nations of which it constitutes nearly two-thirds of its membership. Equally then NATO is also irrelevant in the light of the collapse of the Socialist bloc and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. It naturally follows that if organisations which have come up during the bloc system like NATO still have relevance, then in that case organisations like the NAM have much more relevance as their existence or continuity is not based on super-power-bloc-system logic. The leaders of the NAM countries at the tenth Jakarta summit have themselves acknowledged the continuing validity and relevance of the NAM in the present world politics.

The proposed study aims to examine the relevance of the NAM in greater detail and depth.

Chapter I is an introduction to the origins of the Non-aligned Movement, its principles and its founding countries.

Chapter II is a discussion on the end of the Cold War and its impact on the NAM.

Chapter III is a study of the tenth NAM summit held at Jakarta in Indonesia in September 1992.

Chapter IV is an analysis of the relevance of NAM in the changing international political scenario.

At the end, the conclusions of dissertation are drawn on the entire study with a hope for a better world order based on peace and multilateral cooperation.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Origins of The Non-Aligned Movement

The Non-Aligned Movement is one of the most significant movements in the history of international politics in the later half of the twentieth century. Since its inception in the late 1950s, it continues to significantly affect the diplomatic and political behaviour of the majority of states in the Third World, in addition to its tremendous impact on relations between the Third World countries of the South and super powers of the North.

It is only in the late 1950s that India, Egypt and Yugoslavia began to work unitedly to evolve a common foreign policy and strategy. The evolution of the idea of Non-Alignment may be, approximately traced here to this period, although it is difficult to date it precisely.

The Afro-Asian Conference which was held in the city of Bandung Indonesia in 1955, brought together all the independent countries of Asia and Africa except Korea and Israel. The Conference was attended by as many as 29 states, ranging from the communist China and North- Korea to the Western Allies i.e. Turkey, Philippines and South Vietnam. Issues debated comprised the Cold-War, attitudes of the super powers, the problem of colonisation in Asia and Africa with reference to the Soviet domination in Eastern Europe.

In the final declaration adopted, five of the ten principles included, among others, "respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations".¹ However, this assertion of defence military pact was watered down by "the abstinence from the use of arrangement of collective defence to serve the particular interests of the weak powers".²

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1. G.H.Johnson, Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment (London, Faber and Faber) 1966 Bandung: (Origins, Reality and Myth).
 2. Document C, Final Communique of the Bandung Conference, 24th April 1955 pp.429-36 of N.Frankland and P.Woodcock (Eds.) Documents on international Affairs 1955 (Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press, London 1958).

Richard L. Jackson observes that "Non- alignment was not a criterion for participants at Bandung."³

Its origins (Bandung), however, were Asian and of its 29 delegations, only six came from Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast (Ghana), Liberia and Sudan".⁴ The organizational impetus for Bandung came from a five-nation meeting in 1954 at Colombo, which comprised Burma, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan, known as Colombo Powers or Colombo Five".⁵ The proposal for a larger gathering of Afro-Asian states came from Indonesia and endorsed by the five and thus a preparatory meeting at the end of the year was planned in Bogor, Indonesia. The latter which included most countries present four months later at Bandung, covered a wide-ranging agenda, but is generally remembered as a prelude to Bandung. Philosophically, Bandung was strongly influenced by five principles (Panchsheel) contained in an agreement on trade in Tibet signed by India and China during April 1954".⁶

The Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who promoted these principles, which reflected the great Indian traditions of non-violence, as a new dimension in international relations. Essentially these were:

1. **Respect for territorial integrity and Sovereignty.**
2. **Mutual non-aggression.**
3. **Mutual non interference in each other's internal affairs.**
4. **Equality and mutual benefit.**
5. **Peaceful Co-existence.**

3. Jackson, L. Richard, The Non-Aligned, the UN and the Super Powers, New York, Prager, 1983.

4. *Ibid*, p.13.

5. *Ibid*, p.13.

6. *Ibid* p.13.

The Panchsheel Principles formed the basis for the debates at the Bandung and provided a conceptual framework for the evolution of Non-alignment as a new approach in world politics. The Bandung Conference Agenda was primarily devoted to the discussions on the problems of colonization, economic development and maintenance of peace and thus it foreshadowed the Non-alignment.

In the Bandung conference Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made the historic observations:

"For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in the Western Courts and Chanceries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and to cooperate with all those who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the plaything of others".

As Leopold Snehgor put it:

"For Afro-Asian States, Bandung became a first entry on to the world stage."⁷

He described it as "the most important event since the renaissance that spelled death to the inferiority complex of the colonial people".⁸ The Bandung marked another stride towards a consensus and an opportunity to take united measures to evolve a common foreign policy, vis-a-vis the Power blocs.

However, the Bandung group never met again. The significance of the Bandung lies in the fact that a group of former colonial states had met together for the first time and to the participating nations the conference provided the platform for freely expressing their opinion and assert independence.

7. Ibid p.14.

8. Eugene Berg. Non-alignment, Search for a destination. (Calcutta, Naya Prakash 1979 p.49).

In the history of Non-alignment, the Bandung Conference is of vital significance and value in the process of the development of the Movement. The Bandung conference was a declaration to the world that the newly independent states of Africa and Asia, though developing, were determined to follow their own independent common policy and to deny the super powers an opportunity to decide the future of their States. Moreover these newly independent states intended to participate collectively in international political and economic affairs. It created a more peaceful and just world. It was thus in Bandung that the concept of the non- alignment was conceived.⁹ It was only in late 1950s that Yugoslavia, Egypt and India, began to work together and develop common approach. The genesis of the non-alignment and the contribution of these nations do not get beyond this decade.

According to Shingham and Hune, "many differences between Bandung and Belgrade are differences in emphases because of the historical epoch and international situation rather than differences in principle and substance".¹⁰ On April 16,1961 Nasser and Tito met in Cairo and sent joint letters to the Heads of the governments of twentyone Third World countries who shared similar ideas about a common approach to foreign policy.

In the joint letters, it was suggested "that they confer prior to the coming General Assembly meeting so that newly independent countries might effectively participate during the session to achieve peace and stability".¹¹ In the following month, Yugoslavia and Egypt joined by Indonesia and with the tacit approval of India sent out invitations for a preparatory meeting to plan a conference of the uncommitted countries.¹² The Asian relations conference held in New Delhi in March 1947 and the conference of Afro-Asian Nations in

9. A.W.Singham and Shirley Hune, Non- alignment in an age of Alignment, Lawrence and Hill and Company Zed Books Limited (1986 p.76).

10. Ibid. p.76.

11. Ibid, P.77.

12. Rubinstein, opp. cit. pp. 104- 5, Jankowitch and Sawant.

Bandung April, 1955 were important events in the evolution of both the philosophical as well as the practical basis for the Non-Aligned Movement".

Concept of Non-alignment

The concept of Non-Alignment gained general acceptance, especially in the early 1960s. The question of relevance of the Non-aligned Movement was raised simultaneously around the same time and also has its roots during the period. Even during its evolution, its relevance and its endurance were in doubt and "to many people it seemed as if the Non-aligned might only be of temporary significance because with the withering away of the Cold War, Non-Alignment would also become irrelevant".¹³ History, indeed, shows that practicing diplomats and leaders of the Third World have been holding regular conferences of Non-Aligned states and there has never been even slightest indication either in the past or in the present any indication to call a halt to holding these conferences, on the contrary the frequency of the meetings has tended to increase over the years. The foundations of the stream of thought of Non-alignment was laid by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on September 7, 1946 when he has said: "we shall make history of our own choice".¹⁴

The following statement of Nehru further enlightens the basic purpose of Non-alignment:

"We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to two World Wars and which may again lead to a disasters on an even vaster scale".¹⁵

13. Ibid.

14. Nehru's address in a radio broadcast soon after assuming office in the interim Government of India.

15. Nehru India's foreign policy selected speeches September 1946 - April 1961 (New Delhi 1961,) pp. 2-3.

The origin of Non-aligned Movement is not merely due to the existence of two power blocs. The Jamaican Prime Minister has emphatically stated that in the past: "The Non-aligned Movement's role is much more broader than what is usually understood as it opposed the power configurations because they involved limitations imposed by the world political environment upon the freedom".¹⁶

The Non-Aligned Movement was more significantly devoted to the problems of Asia and Africa which in essence meant talking the problem of human needs and was not concerned totally with power politics.

To quote Nehru again, "The problems of Asia are essentially the problems of supplying what may be called the primary, human necessities".¹⁷ They were not problems which may be called problems of power politics. According to K.P.Mishra: "in its totality non-alignment was thus an alternative to, or a substitute to power politics in international politics".¹⁸

Non-alignment is virtually against any power politics and is more concerned with socio-economic growth and development of the people in the member nations. Further Non-alignment also does not denote an alliance in the strictest sense of the term. To quote, Arnold Wolfers: "an alliance signifies a promise of mutual military alliance between two or more sovereign states".¹⁹

16. Michael Manté, *Third World under challenge; the policies of affirmation*.

17. Dorturuy Norman, *The First Sixty Years (Bombay 1965)*, vol.2, p.483.

18. K.P.Mishra, "The Concepted Profile of Non- Alignment, in Misra, K.P. and Narayanan, K.R., (eds), *Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations*, Vikas Publications House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980.

19. Arnold Wolfers "Alliances", *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, (New York 1968) vol. 1, pp. 268-269.

In the Cairo preparatory conference held in June 1961 the criteria of non-alignment were laid down. Basically the concept was based on Nehru's declaration regarding the perusal of an independent foreign policy undictated by super power bloc logic. Essentially, Non-alignment was an independent policy with emphasis on primarily peaceful co-existence.

Nehru's Panchsheel principles had evidently inspired the conclusions of the proceedings of this Cairo meeting. It was resolved that there would be freedom of thought and action in international relations without prejudice towards any nation.

The participating Non-aligned countries expressed their determination to preserve and protect their freedom and make it more meaningful and secure. Thus it was fully devoted to the cause of international peace, understanding and development.²⁰

Thus Non-alignment was born amidst an unprecedented tense and volcanic atmosphere in the international political arena in which the two super power blocs insured power as well as ideology, were competing sharply and in full throttle for international supremacy. Thus, quite naturally a Non-aligned country was primarily concerned with protection, promotion and preservation of its independence which obviously meant distancing itself from the bilateral and multilateral military alliances forged against the backdrop of sharp rivalry between Super Powers. Apparently, alliance with either of the blocs would consequently result in restricting the overall freedom of a country and loss of the identity and sovereignty which becomes meaningless in such a contest.

Although Non-alignment does not mean blocism, it, however, does not mean maintaining distance from the blocs because "mechanical of the application idea of

20. The five Panchsheel principles were enshrined in the preamble to the agreement on trade between the Prime Ministers of India and China in Tibet in 1954.

equidistance is unrealistic. A Non-aligned country's relationship with and distance from a bloc is shaped by the needs and requirements of national interests".²¹

The main components of concept of Non-Alignment are:-

1. Acquisition and preservation of independence of nations, which involves opposition to domination, bloc politics, imperialism, hegemonism, colonisation, neo-colonialism, racism and democratisation of international relations; and
2. Accelerated socio-economic development, which involves the establishment of a New International Economic Order, New Technological Order and New Information Order, Disarmament etc.²²

The Foundations of Non-Alignment Movement (NAM)

The increasingly close co-operation since 1956 between Tito, President of Yugoslavia, Gamel Abdul Nasser, President of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, since 1956 culminated in the inaugural NAM Conference in Belgrade in 1961.

Non-aligned Movement became stronger and stronger with the Suez-Hungary crisis in 1956: "The greatest confrontation between the radical nationalism and the major powers to occur in the first 20 years of the Post War era".²³ The crises brought the three countries, namely, Yugoslavia, Egypt and India closer and united. The nationalisation of Suez canal led to the invasion of Egypt by Israel, Britain and France, and India supported Egypt for both the reasons of sympathy as well as its strategic interest in the Suez Canal which was not only crucial but also essential for its trade. In addition to this, a closer alliance with

21. K.P. Mishra, "The Conceptual Profile of Non-alignment", p. 207.

22. Ibid p. 209.

23. Willets, Peter, "The Non-aligned Movement : Origins of a Third World alliance, London, Frances Printer, Ltd., 1978, p.3.

Egypt was of immense use to India " which for many years prevented a rival Pakistan being able to rally support by an appeal to Muslim Solidarity".²⁴

It would not be out of context here to point out that when Nasser paid a visit to Pakistan in April 1955 he declared, "Pakistan is one of the countries nearest to my heart". But the Egyptian and Pakistan co-operation has not remotely matched the close bonds between Egypt and India. Expectedly, Yugoslavia supported Egypt against the two Western Powers. Further more Yugoslavia's own political interests were threatened by the Soviet invasion of Hungary which occurred in the same month as the Suez invasion. Yugoslavia's closeness was based on the fact that both were small states threatened by narrow interests of the larger powers.

Interestingly, a major factor which helped Yugoslavia was that "by one of the accidents of history, Yugoslavia was on the Security Council in 1956 and was able to propose the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution that circumvented British and French vetoes and took Suez crisis to the General Assembly".²⁵ The resulting emergency special session of the General Assembly was of critical importance in rallying support for Egypt and U.N. Emergency Force provided a convenient diplomatic handle to lever the British and French troops out of Egypt.²⁶ India and Yugoslavia also supplied a substantial proportion of the troops for United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). No figures are available for when the force was first setup, but on 15 September 1956. India supplied 16% of the 5977 troops, while Yugoslavia supplied 11%. By 22 August 1962 these proportions had increased. India supplied 24% and Yugoslavia 14% of the 5133 troops. President Nasser during his latter visit to India and Yugoslavia laid special emphasis and immensely thanked

24. On consolidation of the Cause of World Peace (Cairo: U.A.R. State Information Service, 1966) P. 6.

25. Willets, Peter, The Non- Aligned Movement, p. 5.

26. Rosner, The UNEF (Columbia University Press, 1963) pp. 122-123.

them for their total support and co- operation and unselfish assistance that Egypt received in 1956, when it was confronted by aggression.

Role of Yugoslavia

President Joseph Broz Tito of Yugoslavia was the leader of a country that had successfully survived a confrontation with one of the super powers, in 1948, and had felt the need to protect itself against possible intervention by the Soviet Union. Tito being one of the founders of the Non-aligned Movement, it is interesting to note that in the early 1950s Yugoslavia sought to deal with this situation by an approach that was the opposite of Non-alignment, that is "by adopting a pro-Western alignment in the Cold War".²⁷

In February 1958, the Balkan treaty was signed with Greece and Turkey. In March 1953, Tito visited Britain and Churchill told him, "We are your allies".²⁸ In the year 1954 Tito visited Turkey and later Greece, where it was announced that it had been agreed to convert the Balkan Treaty into a formal military alliance. Popovich the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister had stated to be having "no neutral illusions"²⁹. However, the death of Stalin led to major changes in the Soviet Union, further leading to the 1955 rapprochement between Tito and Krushchev and the Balkan alliance was soon forgotten.

Tito realised that the best possible long-term hope for Yugoslavia's security was in easing the ideological confrontation between the Super Powers. Thus, Tito actively supported and argued for Krushchev's new policy of co-existence. The relations between the Yugoslavia and Soviet Union were strained as a result of the 1956 Hungarian crisis. However it did not affect Yugoslavia's interest to influence ideology in the Soviet Union.

27. Peter Willets, *op.cit.*, p. 4-5.

28. Kessings Contemporary Archives 1953, p. 12872.

29. *Ibid.* p. 13660.

Thus, the main concept in Yugoslavia's foreign policy until 1961 was not Non-alignment but peaceful and active co-existence. In 1961 the concept of co-existence was combined together with the ideas of other leaders and that is how it came to be part of Non-alignment. Peter Willets is of the opinion that the two sets of ideas are not contradictory. As may be seen by comparing Tito's definition of "Co-existence" in 1955 with Section II of the Belgrade Declaration³⁰ and Section IV of the Cairo programme for peace, there is a clear continuity in the ideas.

Role of India

India's independence, unlike Egypt and Yugoslavia, has never been in jeopardy. There is a little bit of controversy on the question whether Non-alignment is based on India or whether Non-alignment is an integral part of India's foreign policy, i.e., immediately after independence. Though some writers advocate that, Non-alignment has been India's professed foreign policy since Independence, others such as Dev Dutt insist that the term was not initially used.

In Dev Dutt's own words; the term, "independent policy" was more frequently employed during the period 1946-50; the term, "peace area approach" was preferred during the period 1950-58; and the term "Non-alignment" came into vogue after 1958.³¹ However, he classifies that the change in terminology doesn't reflect any change in policy. Albeit, in practice, throughout the 1950s India's foreign policy has been continuously in conformity with Non-alignment. India's foreign policy with its emphasis on Non-alignment has been one where, it assumed and aimed at asserting itself if not as a super

30. Tito's address to the Federal Assembly, 7th March 1955, Review of International Affairs, No. 474, January 1970, Documentation Section, pp. 1-2.

31. Dev Dutt, "India, National Interest", in Karunakaran, (ed.), Outside the Contest (New Delhi, Peoples Publishing House, 1963), p. 65. (Also refer N.P. Nair, in K.P. Karunakaran, *op. cit.*, p.155).

power at least as a great power, that relies not so much on economic and military might as on the prestige of an independent moral foreign policy.

In December 1947, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "We have proclaimed during the past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality.... We are not going to join a war if we can help it and we are not going to join the side which is not to our interest when the time comes to make the choice".³²

Nehru's earlier speeches, which typically refer to Non-alignment have often had an aggressive tone like for example when he remarked in 1948 his rejection: "...trying to align ourselves with this great power or that becoming its camp followers in the hope that some crumbs might fall from their table".³³ Further Nehru said: "I can understand some of the smaller countries of Asia being forced by circumstances to bow down before some of the greater powers, because they cannot help it".

To Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, India was beyond this plight of the nations, which he confirms in his own words:

"We are not citizens of a weak or vain country and I think it is foolish for us to get frightened even from a military point of view, of the greatest of powers".³⁴ Nehru believed that India was a Great Power and it is evident in his own words: "But because we count...Everything we do becomes a matter for comment.... we are potentially a great nation and a big power".³⁵

32. S.L.Poplai(Ed.) Select Documents on Asian affairs, India 1947-50, Volume 2, External Affairs (London, Oxford University Press for the India Council of World Affairs, 1959, p. 15.

33. *Ibid.* p. 24.

34. *Ibid.* p. 24.

35. *Ibid.* p. 29.

Nehru was totally justified in stating so. India's independent foreign policy reflects Non-alignment because it decides issues on their merits alone. We can do no better than to quote Nehru in his own inimitable style:

"We have to plough a lonely furrow in the United Nations... Nonetheless... I am quite sure by adopting that position we shall gain in national and international prestige.. fairly soon... a large number of small nations... will probably look to India, more than other countries for a lead".³⁶ Against the background of this assumption that India definitely was a great power, Nehru's statements apart, it would be of interest to note that in the early 1950s, the American State Department gave serious consideration to tackling the Chinese representation in the United Nations by replacing China with India, as a permanent member of the Security Council³⁷.

India's independent foreign policy was based on a solid moral and sound political foundation. It has its roots in the nationalist and Gandhian moralist traditions. Its military weakness notwithstanding, it however gave India immense prestige and influence in time with its image as one of the Great Powers of the South. Dev Dutt aptly remarks: "It was a non-partisan foreign policy for a country that has a very broad spectrum in its internal policies, ranging from the Communists to the Jan Sangh".³⁸

In the year 1954, India's moral approach to international politics was projected through the Panchsheel or Five Principles. They were first introduced in a trade and communications agreement for Tibet, between India and China. The preamble of this agreement declares that, the two countries have resolved to enter into the present agreement based on the following principles:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and Sovereignty;

36. Indian Documents, pp. 17-18.

37. As quoted by Peter Willets in page 47.

38. Dev Dutt, in Karunakaran, op. cit., pp. 76-80.

2. Mutual non-aggression;
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
4. Equality and mutual benefit; and
5. Peaceful co-existence³⁹.

The Panchsheel as principles of foreign policy behaviour were widely accepted within only one month after the Warsaw Pact had been signed. "The Panchsheel were able to receive the explicit endorsement of the Soviet Union".⁴⁰ Within three years, eighteen countries had endorsed the Panchsheel in joint communiques with Indian leaders. The Panchsheel were practically incorporated in the Ten Principles declared at Bandung and were also endorsed in a United Nations resolution in December 1957.⁴¹ However, it is interesting to note that; in the first Non-alignment Conference it is the more carefully elaborated ideas of Tito that are included in the Belgrade Declaration and there is no mention, either explicitly or implicitly of the Panchsheel.⁴² India's actual role and contribution to international affairs in terms of Panchsheel has been extremely valuable in tune with its policy of Non-alignment.

In the early 1950s, India's warnings on the consequences of American troops entering North Korea, her assistance in achieving a Korean armistice; her role in Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission; her contribution to the Geneva settlement on Indo-China; her chairmanship of the International Commissions on Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam; her persistent lobbying in the United Nations for progress in disarmament talks; these are but the highlights of India's early foreign policy that consistently matched well in practice to the latter development of the ideology of Non-alignment.

39. India-China Agreement on Tibet; 29th April, 1954.

40. Ibid, p. 46, India-USSR Joint Declaration of 23 June 1985.

41. Panchsheel: Its meaning and History (New Delhi) Lok Sabha Secretariat, 5th edition), pp. 38-42.

42. Peter Willets, p. 7.

Role of Egypt

Egypt like Yugoslavia and India is a founder member of the Non-aligned Movement. President Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt, in his book, "The Philosophy of the Revolution", defined the role of Egypt as that of being the centre of three circles: viz., the 'Arab circle', the 'African continent circle' and 'the circle of our brotheren-in-Islam'. Here, he himself declares; "There is no doubt that the Arab circle is the most important of all these circles and the circle most closely connected with us".⁴³

The second circle was clearly thought to be insignificant and thus much less attention was devoted to Africa Nasser explains his views on the second circle; "We certainly cannot under any conditions, relinquish our responsibility to help spread the light of knowledge and civilization up to the very depths of the virgin jungles of the Continent".⁴⁴

The third circle according to Nasser, referred to 'Hundreds of millions of Moslems, all united by the same truth'.⁴⁵ Nasser even includes the Muslim of China and the Soviet Union as part of his homogenous whole. Nasser also felt that the Qaaba or 'The Pilgrimage should have a potential political power' and there should be a 'periodical political conference, of the heads of all Islamic States'.⁴⁶

Although Nasser denies that Egypt is the leader of these circles there is little doubt that the very idea of circles points out to the existence of political implications of these circles are clearly evident when Nasser claims; "I always imagine that in this region there is a role wandering aimlessly in search of an actor to play it".⁴⁷ Nasser's, 'The Philosophy

43. Nasser, G.A., The Philosophy of the Revolution in E.S. Parag (Trans.) Nasser Speaks, Basic documents, London, Moresett Press, 1972), p. 45.

44. Ibid., p. 57.

45. Ibid., p. 57.

46. Ibid., p. 56.

of the Revolution' ends with his assertion, "it is we and we alone in virtue of our position, who can play the part"⁴⁸.

For Egypt, the first circle of the Arab world continued to be of primordial importance throughout the 1950s. Egypt was confronted with series of crises which fully absorbed its attention. The Baghdad Pact, which aimed at bringing the Arab states into military alliance with the West, was vigorously opposed by Egypt. She actively supported the Algerian F.L.N. fighting for independence from France and nationalised the Suez Canal with the result that it led to Egypt's suffering a tripartite invasion by Israel, Britain and France.

When the United Arab Republic (UAR) was formed by the merger of Egypt and Syria, it was followed by revolution in Iraq and British and American troops being moved into Jordan and the Lebanon. Nasser never played an active role in the 'African second circle' except in 1960 when friendship with Nkrumah and the Congo Crisis, where Egypt actively involved itself. The 'Third circle of Islam' was more of a vision and Nasser never paid any serious attention to it.

Interestingly when in late 1965 and early 1966 when Saudi Arabia and Iran took the lead, in promoting international Moslem political co-operation, Nasser was surprisingly to some extent even opposed to the idea, fearful that it would become a conservative force. Nasser claimed that, these countries were trying to replace the Baghdad Pact with an Islamic Pact and thus, "place the Arab and Muslim countries under Anglo Saxon influence".⁴⁹

Non-alignment is perhaps Egypt's fourth circle. Non- alignment was the most suitable foreign policy for Egypt. Although communist, military and economic aid was

47. Ibid., p.45.

48. Ibid., p.57.

49. Keesings Contemporary Archives 1965-66, p. 21661.

accepted, Egypt was not Russia's ally. Similarly, it bravely confronted the Western domination. The crises that Egypt faced in the 1950s were projected as consequence of Western Powers interference in Arab affairs. The anti Big Power and anti-colonial policy of Non-alignment was in tune with Egypt's dilemma.

Non-alignment helped Egypt to transfer the political boundaries of Pan-Islam, Pan-Arab and Pan-African territories. Interestingly then, "When Nasser dispatched invitations to the first Non-aligned preparatory conference in Cairo in June 1961, five Arab states (namely, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen) were left out".⁵⁰

Non-alignment was convenient handle for Egypt when it favoured India and Indonesia thus rejecting Pakistan and Malaya, cutting across the Pan-Islamic sentiment. However, by 1964, Egypt played host to the Arab League heads of State and then. Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), Annual Assembly.

Egypt also chaired the second Non-aligned conference to which all the African and Arab nations were invited by virtue of being members of the League or members of the O.A.U., with Pakistan and Malaya being the only nations who remained outside these organisations.

Appraisal

Non-alignment is resultant policy of the historical processes of the latter half of the twentieth century. The Non-aligned Movements' role is based on the egalitarian principles of ideological pluralism, the affirmational of national interests, equality in international economic relations, order of peace through disarmament and peaceful negotiation in settling international disputes, national self determination of the humanity.

50. Peter Willets, "Diplomacy Ideology and Institutionalisation". op. cit., p. 10

During the last three decades of its existence, starting with the first Non-aligned Summit at Belgrade in 1961 to the Tenth Jakarta Summit in 1992 in which 108 member countries participated, the basic principles and the comprehensive character of Non-aligned policy, remain unchanged the guiding light of the Movement. Though time has taken all the three leaders from the NAM family, their hopes and aspirations still determine the path and destiny of the Movement.

CHAPTER II
THE END OF COLD WAR AND
THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

After nearly forty five years of political combat, the Cold War came to an end. Germany is already reunited and wholly in NATO, with Soviet forces to be withdrawn completely by 1994, the Warsaw pact has been abolished, and Soviet forces have been evicted from Hungary and Czechoslovakia and are in process of their final departure from Poland; the Soviet- imposed regimes in Central Europe have not only been overthrown but Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are moving toward joining the European Community (EC) and even the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

Most significantly, the Soviet Union has disintegrated and emerged as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The former Soviet army is being demolished and is demoralised. The Baltic states are independent, Ukraine and Central Asian republics are consolidating their independent statehood. The economic and even the political destiny of the former Soviet Union is now increasingly eclipsed by de facto Western domination.

At a conclave in Paris on November 19, 1990, marked by amity, the former Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, who had led the Soviet Union in the final stages of the Cold War, described the unification of Germany as "a major event". Within a year, Mikhail Gorbachev who had accepted the thinly disguised defeat of the Soviet Union was overthrown. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was formally condemned, the red flag was officially lowered. Thus the Cold War which had dominated the international politics for the last four decades, which was in itself an originator of an era, was formally and definitely over. During the past four decades, the US-Soviet contention for hegemony had held the centre stage in the international relations; the two powers have engaged in an arms race, organised military blocs, incited and meddled in regional conflicts and even launched aggressions with their own troops. To quote Rajaram Pandav, the Cold War has been a gloomy episode but it has had the virtue of great stability. After 1948, the risks of war were never really high..... The Cold War began with Soviet recalcitrance over Eastern Europe, so logically that is where it ought to end.¹

Further, the fatal dilemma of the communist system in the Soviet Union was that its economic success could only be purchased at the cost of political stability while its political stability could be sustained at the cost of economic failure.

New World Order and NAM

The end of Cold War brought in a new world order. There was disorder in many parts of the world; in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, in West Asia by people who were long oppressed and by suppressed nationalisms. With the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the control over nuclear weapons now passed on to several breakaway republics. The hitherto bi-polar world was now replaced by "unipolarism" of the only super power which remained i.e. the United States of America.

The bi-polar system was a distinct characteristic feature of the Cold-War years. There were five great powers which were also the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Among them the two super powers - the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics alongwith their respective alliance groups, dominated the international political scene for four decades. This was unprecedented in the history of the sovereign state system. Groups existed in the past too where the strong powers battled for hegemony with the small and weak nations continuing their opposition to that hegemony. As M.S. Rajan put it:

"Fortunately, nearly a hundred and more states - of the Non-aligned Movement - managed to remain 'Outside the contest' of the cold warriors, upheld traditional rights of states for independence, sovereignty and equality and what is more, constantly opposed the cold war, the bloc politics and their many sided ill-effects on the system (and the functioning of the international organisations too). The periodical detente between the cold warriors was partly the result of the insistent pressures of the non-aligned states."²

1. Rajaram Pandav, "End of Cold War", Strategic Analysis, July 1990, p. 371.
2. Rajaram, M.S., "The Emerging New World Order", p. 3, World Focus, vol.1, November-December,

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990 , and the intervention of multinational Forces led by the USA to end the crisis, authorised by the United Nations in January 1991, ushered in a new era in international politics. The US started advocating a new world order and the revival of the United Nations.

The US proposed new world order is essentially based on dominant, Western developed states imposing their hegemony on the rest of the world nations. Therefore the so-called new world order is unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of nations particularly the Non-aligned countries of the Third World, which were in favour of democratisation of the international relations and against any form of hegemony.

Sovereign equality of states is no longer a concern of the US and Western developed states. Further in respect of some Third World states, they are insisting on democratic government and special concern and respect for human rights as criteria for international economic assistance.

They became the sole arbiters of international politics, specifying selectively which states were had good- governments and which ones were violating human rights, thus reserving for themselves the right to define, specify the states according to a criteria which had no legal, political or a legitimate UN sanction. Iraq and Libya are two examples of their political considerations.

The post Cold War years have not brought in a truly beneficent world order. On the contrary, in the opinion of M.S. Rajan:

"The end of the cold war and the bi-polar world have brought in even more unprecedented (that is compared to the bi-polar world) unipolar world dominated by the sole superpower left after the collapse of the former USSR. If the bipolar

1992, p.3.

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world and the cold war between the two sets of cold warriors were bad, the present unipolar world is worse in some respects for the rest of the world community. The "unipolar" world has threatened the independence and sovereignty of the vast majority of other states, and, what is worse these states have lost the even little manoeuvrability they had during the cold war years. This is also partly the result of the new Russia (which succeeded the former USSR) and China too having suddenly lost their assertive self-confidence and identity in favour of acquiescence in US hegemonism"³

This is clearly evident in the deliberations of the UN Security Council in respect of Iraq, the former USSR and China despite their right and power of the veto have failed to exercise their influence to deter US unilateral decision because both are dependent on the United States for economic assistance. Surprisingly, the unipolarism of the United States is almost totally unhindered with little or no challenge from the other great powers. The US roles in Latin America (Panama), the US bombing of Libya and the more recent bombing of Iraq and the US inspired idea of a no-fly zone in Southern Iraq etc. are projections of a unipolar world. These unilateral actions amount to violation of not only the sovereignty of states, but also the human rights of the peoples about which the United States often shows an extraordinarily excessive concern.

According to the draft of a US Pentagon paper, the United States must not only remain the sole superpower to deter other nations but also to prevent "potential competitions (among other advanced industrialized nations) from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role".⁴ In the emerging new world order the US vision does not conceal its contempt for the sovereign equality of states. To quote John K. Galbraith, it is, "An effective mechanism for suspending the sovereignty of countries experiencing the worst cases of internal disorder and cruelty."⁵ This mechanism is indeed already in operation against

3. Ibid., p. 4.

4. US Pentagon paper, reproduced in Times of India, March 9, 1992.

5. John K. Galbraith, as reported in Times of India, November 19, 1992.

certain Third World states. Sovereign equality as sanctified by the United Nations Charter should be followed, and no state can be expected to accept the self-centred US view of the new world order. Undoubtedly, according to this emerging world order, other states should subordinate their sovereignty in the interests of a new world order as defined by the US, whose authority must prevail over the rest of the world.

More than two thirds of the states which belong to the Non- aligned Movement, have been continually demanding emoralisation of international relations and organisation and consensus based decision making on issues of common, collective interest like economic development of the developing states, environmental degradation, drug-trafficking, disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, international terrorism etc. Like the earlier bipolarism, unipolarism is an aberration in the history of sovereign state system and hence it should not last.

Other Centres of Power

Other centres of power are already emerging, notably of the European Community, United Germany and Japan, leading to a multipolar world, and this alone would be in accordance with the sovereign equality envisaged by the United Nations, which is enduring. Unipolarism is not in the long term political & economic interests of not only the other states but also the United States itself. The United States of America is itself against remaining the world's sole policeman; and the "Operation Desert Storm" against Iraq is the conclusive evidence of its real interests.

The continuation of the traditional struggle of states for maintaining political and economic power of at least the major nations is a feature of the multipolar world and this struggle might revive the old cold war and alternating peace periodically leaving little chance for any lasting world peace.

In the post cold war era the western powers are advocating only one model of political and economic development for all nations, evident in various conditionalities of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund being imposed by these institutions on developing countries and even China and Russia.

In the nineties, the world has witnessed tremendous changes in the international politics. The collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the reunification of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Persian Gulf War, emergence of Japan and Germany as new economic superpowers and increased role of the United Nations in conflict resolution particularly in Cambodia, are significant among them.

The emergence of major regional powers amid the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, the drift towards geo-economic blocs as seeming successors to the ideological blocs of the Cold War, and a unipolarity that has not transcended the dangers of power politics and the problems of unequal power relations, which immensely justify the purpose of the Non-aligned Movement.

The former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which was a conglomeration of fifteen republics and twenty autonomous republics under the total control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Soviet Army, began to disintegrate which was a significant consequence of the policy of perestroika and glasnost and democratisation introduced by the former President of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev. The collapse of the Soviet Union was hastened by the coup against the Gorbachev government staged in August 1991. On December 21, 1991, eleven leaders of the former republics of the Soviet Union signed a Commonwealth Agreement that guaranteed their sovereign equality. Thus the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), was formally formed and Gorbachev was left with no option but to transfer his power to the new leaders. He dissolved the Soviet Union, the first communist country that emerged during the World War I, and he resigned on

December 25, 1991, as the President of the Soviet Union. In this context, Zbigniew Brzezinski comments : "The last Soviet leader, Gorbachev, can be considered operationally the Grand Miscalculator and historically a tragic figure. He thought he could revitalise the Soviet economy that Brezhnev, through his military spending, had ruined, but he did not know how. Attempts at East-West accommodation, instead of stabilising Soviet rule in East-Central Europe, exploded in his face, especially once the fear of Soviet intervention had been dissipated by Gorbachev's cultivation of the West and by the Soviet military's failures in Afghanistan."⁶

The collapse of the Soviet Union created a sudden vacuum in the international political system . The new CIS is neither the growth of a natural evolution of the political process nor the outcome of a revolution. It is according to Dev Murarka : A superstructure without foundations, it is a ramshackle product of political intrigue by a few; the many nonplussed and panic-stricken were forced to join by the unexpected nature and speed of developments. There is little conviction in its validity or future because there is precious little mutual trust among its member- states."⁷ The suspicion of a renewed Russian hegemony is widespread within the CIS. As a consequence, centrifugal tendencies are acquiring a near future.

On October 3, 1990 West Germany and East Germany (FRG &GDR respectively) were united to become one nation, after a separation period of more than four decades (of forty-one years). The unification of Germany was achieved on the basis of three treaties, with the first treaty being signed on July 1, 1990, the second on September 12, 1990 and the third treaty came into force on October 3, 1990 known as, 'Treaty on the Establishment of German Unity.' Unified Germany is the third largest member of the European Community after France and Spain.

6. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Cold War and its Aftermath", Strategic Digest, IDSA, February, 1993.

7. Dev Murarka, "The Dance of Sovereignties," P. 46, Seminar, May 1992.

With the unification of Germany, the gravitational centre of European power politics is likely to shift from Paris to Bonn. H.S. Chopra opines : "Without doubt, Germany's ascendancy curve synchronises with the Soviet economic and political descent. It is often surmised that unified Germany may, in due course of time, emerge as a European super power, replacing the former Soviet Union."⁸ Unification of Germany makes it obligatory upon its policy planners to attach high priority to economic reconstruction and developments of its eastern part. Then it has an additional obligation to contribute to the economic recovery in Central, eastern Europe and the CIS. Unified Germany is absolutely committed to these issues.

Eastern Europe:

In Eastern Europe revolutionary changes have occurred, resulting in the collapse of communist regimes. The causes for these dramatic changes in Eastern Europe between 1989- 1991, are both political as well as economic.

In the second half of the 1980s the government of the Soviet Union decided to initiate economic and political reforms involving a progressive opening to the rest of the world. Apparently, "the initiative to a large extent came from the policies of perestroika and glasnost, introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev the then President of the former USSR."⁹ The important causes for the historical change in Eastern Europe include; the collapse of the traditional socialist economy i.e., the failure of the centrally planned economy, the decline of the agricultural and industrial production, the shortfall in the internal trade among the European member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and later the demise of the CMEA, deterioration of Net Material Product over, the period. Moreover, the impact of the Gulf War on the economy of some of the East European

8. H.S. Chopra, "Unified Germany, World Focus, August 1992.

9. Assessment Of Economic Situation And Reform Progress In The Soviet Union, Commission Of European Countries (Brussels), December, 1990, p.17.

countries coupled with the changing economic relationship between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and their quest for moving towards international market standards and trade in terms of hard currency forced them to move towards the market economy.

The traditional economy of the East European countries is mainly centrally planned economy. This system not only ruined the economy but also failed to regenerate the declining economy in the region. The basic reasons for this are the central control and priorities of the political leadership are maintained through a vast and complex structure of overlapping administrative hierarchies.¹⁰ Administrative over-centralisation of the socio-economic management of the society, centralisation of management brought in its wake utter inefficiency, wastage and mismanagement.¹¹ The East European countries like Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia have taken bold steps to reform their economy and polity in order to attract more investment and technological assistance from the West, especially from European Economic Community (EEC) and Germany who have been eagerly waiting for radical reforms in eastern Europe to extend cooperation in return, to substantiate their economic growth and political stability.

Western Europe and Maastricht Treaty:

In West Europe, the treaty of European Union was signed at Maastricht in the Netherlands on February 7, 1992, for institutionalisation of the European political, economic and monetary and social union, to be accomplished by January 1, 1999. It is generally believed that the Maastricht Treaty was pushed through by European leaders and bureaucrats principally in response to German Unification. In fact, the existing arrangement, including NATO under US leadership, was good enough for the purpose.

10. Richard Ericson, "The Classical Soviet Type Economy : Nature of the system and implications for reform", Journal of Economic Perspectives, Fall 1991, P. 13.

11. Mizamir, N.I., p.14.

In their search for United Europe, on the strength of success of the European Community, the European leaders have ignored two obvious realities. Girilal Jain states the reasons as follows : "First by virtue of its critical role in assuring their economic recovery and security, Washington has in all but name served as their capital which they cannot possibly replace by one of their own. Secondly, since the Soviet threat, which had provided the impetus for launching the European Community, has ended with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a thorough review has become unavoidable."¹² By 1999 at the latest, twelve member-states of the EC plan to create a European Monetary Union (EMU). The implications of this development for the conduct of national fiscal policy by member states are profound and not well understood. Under the terms agreed at Maastricht, monetary policy will be operated by an independent European Central bank (ECB) which will be charged with a statutory obligation to pursue price stability, while member governments will be subject to binding rules for budget deficits and public debt-to-income ratios.¹³

History should have warned the West European leaders, that a United Europe is a mirage, because Europe was never united either in the political or in the religious realm (the Roman Papacy has never prevailed throughout Europe). Hence a United Europe is inconceivable. It can only be a German Europe and nations that agree to surrender their sovereignties, evolved to distinguish them from the Germans, cannot contain this new superpower.

With the end of the Cold War, some very promising changes in the international environment have occurred. The United Nations demonstrated its capability in undertaking several operations to manage peaceful resolution of conflicts in various regions of the world. Some very challenging responsibilities were undertaken by the United Nations for

12. Girilal Jain, "Meaning of Maastricht", World Focus, September-October 1992, p. 7.

13. Niell, M. Healey and Paul Levine "European Monetary Union and Fiscal Policy", Economic and Political Weekly, September 12, 1992.

peace-making and peace-keeping. The United Nations Peace Keeping Force was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1992 and it is a testimony to its services to the world. The United Nations is faced with threats of financial bankruptcy leading to a nearly paralysed social and economic programmes. Concerted efforts are being made to mould the United Nations as an instrument of United States envisioned, "New World Order" and of acquiring freedom of political manoeuvre and legitimacy to impose the United States own values of world view on a vast majority of member-states constituting the Third World.¹⁴

Therefore, it is extremely important and urgent to act quickly to halt the erosion of the basic values of the United Nations and prevent its eclipse as a vision. This is the responsibility of all member-states. But the United Nations, above all, is the organisation of the weaker and poorer nations which have nowhere else to go. The fulfillment of this responsibility is the immediate need of the hour, for the Third World Nations. As Muchkund Dubey suggests: "Therefore they have an enormous vested interest in ensuring the survival of the UN in the face of the unilateral changes pressed by the North. They have the responsibility to themselves and to the world at large, to take up the challenge, through the Non-aligned Movement and the Group of 77.

The historic Security Council Summit which took place on January 31, 1992 under Article 106 of the Charter, to assess the nature of the emerging world order after the collapse of the Cold War asked Secretary-General Boutros Ghali to prepare for circulation to the UN members by July 1 an "analysis and recommendations on ways for strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy for peace-making and peace-keeping." Dr. Ghali remarked, "immense ideological barriers that for decades gave rise to distrust and hostility had collapsed." Although 279 vetoes were cast in the Security Council during the Cold War years, since its end there had been no veto since May 31, 1990.

14. K.P. Saksena, "At Cross Roads", World Focus, May, 1992, p.3.

The Gulf War considered as major and unique crisis in the post Cold War World, was a special event in which a large number of UN members showed rare unanimity in ending Iraq's aggression of Kuwait. The Security Council played a pivotal role in mounting and enforcing collective security measures against an aggressive nation. Even now, as the United States seems bent upon eliminating the Saddam regime on the pretext of disarming Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction, the United Nations has turned a blind eye to what is being done to bring Saddam to his heels.¹⁵

The UN peace-keeping operations have not been able to achieve any notable success in Yugoslavia. The civil war continues even as Serbians and Croats pay scant respect to the Security Council resolution 752 asking for withdrawal of troops from Bosnia-Herzegovina and their demobilisation. The peace-keeping operations in Cambodia, manned by 22,000 soldiers are perhaps the biggest and most complicated of such operations to date. Despite smooth sailing in the initial stages, problems have cropped up with the Khmer Rouge denying access to the UN troops to areas under its control. The situation in Cyprus and in Somalia with UNOSOM (United Nations Operations in a Somalia) is no different in terms of success. The UN operations succeeded in Namibia. More success can be achieved only if regional powers put an end to their partisan role and by ending the perennial resource crunch. In his address before the UN General Assembly, on September 21, 1992, former President George Bush declared : "As our humanitarian operations in Somalia and Northern Iraq, Bosnia and the former Soviet Union will testify, we will continue our robust humanitarian assistance efforts to help those suffering from man-made and natural disasters... Let us pledge ourselves to fulfill the promise of a truly United Nations."¹⁶

15. S. Viswam, "Peace-keeping Operations", World Focus, May 1992, p. 14.

16. George Bush, President of United States of America, The United Nations : Forging a Genuine Global Community, Strategic Digest, December, 1992 PP. 1629-1630.

US and Japanese Economy

The US share in world production fell from 40 to 20 per cent. The US economy was approximately \$4.9 trillion as against Japans \$2.8 trillion. The collapse of the Communist World came at a time when the Gulf War heralded the start of a new world era. And at the same time a more powerful unified Germany emerged on the scene.

At present, although the United States of America is the only super power in the world, and has unparalleled military strength and capability to operate anywhere in the world, Japan and Germany as part of the European Community have emerged as the new economic powers of the world. The United States of America experienced considerable decline in its economic strength and the two economic powers have their own economic failures and the entire world economy is in trouble. There is increasing friction between Japan and USA as well as between the European Community and the United States. However, they remain dependent on the United States military power. In this context, V.P. Dutt opines: "All said and done, with all the real economic difficulties that the United States has been experiencing, its economy still remains the largest in the world; and technologically, even though USA has declined in certain fields, it still is among the foremost countries in the world and its market is still the largest and most attractive for other economies."¹⁷

The developed countries are able to exert new pressures relating to threat perceptions economic hegemony and environmental misappropriation over the developing countries. The Third World countries are also being pressurised to agree to all the demands of the developed countries on the question of opening of markets and intellectual property rights, even though protectionist measures are being increasingly adopted by the developed countries, especially at a time when most of the developing countries are seriously reforming

17. V.P. Dutt, "New World Disorder," World Focus, vol.13, nos.11-12.

their economies and providing for market regulation. In order to continue their political and economic dominance, the West is creating a North-South divide to justify its actions.

The new centres of economic power, notably Japan and the West European Community with Germany as its spearhead, are no military match to the United States and yet Japan is gradually modernising its military power; the recent transshipment of plutonium has raised questions about Japan's military power in the future.

Japan's foreign trade surplus has risen to a record level in excess of \$110 billion during 1991-92. While the US economy has contracted, Japan has expanded. Japan's gross National Product is expected to overtake that of the United States by the end of this century. Asia is now receiving twenty per cent of the international lending of Japan, (\$6 billion a year). With 4,600 Japanese joint ventures in principal Asian countries, it is gearing up to enter the Asian stock markets, compelled by the depressed internal stock market.

United Germany

Germany and the West European Community have developed as significant centres of economic power in the world. Germany had been spearheading the struggle for a more integrated Europe and for the conclusion of Maastricht Treaty. Germany has taken number of initiatives without waiting for consent from its North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) partners significantly on the issue of recognition of the break-away parts of Yugoslavia and in signing the Bio-diversity Treaty regardless of what the United States desired. Further, the decision by Bonn and Paris to create a Euro-corps by 1995 for a 35,000-member joint army corps which would be the nucleus of a continental defence force.

Significantly, domestic forces within Germany and Japan are largely opposed to military solutions or to get involved in military operations and would prefer peaceful courses in international politics. At present, however, they are strong enough to apply the brakes for the pursuance of any adventurist course by any big Western power.

The world is also witnessing the rise in regional centres of power and it would take a much higher international order to bring peace & stability in different regions of the world.

Although the age of super powers may said to be over, according to V.P. Dutt "Certainly it is doubtful if in the long run any country would possess the power, the resources, the will and domestic support to maintain exclusive dominance through an international policy. The costs would be too high. Regional disturbances would continue to take place, and unlike the recent Gulf Crisis in many cases these may be beyond the control of any big power, as we are almost witnessing in the Balkans. Nor would the international community necessarily support a big power in a new military conflict." ¹⁸

NAM and the Cold War:

The history of the Cold War is a tragic record comprising wastage of enormous economic resources, wasted opportunities, perverse priorities and retarded development. Against this background increased attention is being paid to the very relevance of the Non-aligned Movement, which according to some has lost justification. Specially after the end of Cold War, the denial of Non-alignment would mean denial of peace and national sovereignty. For the critics of Non-aligned Movement (NAM), it is simply a result of the Cold War and hence it logically follows that, "if the Cold War has ended then so should NAM."¹⁹ The Non-aligned Movement represents the vast majority of the human race and therefore the significance of the Non-aligned Movement does not merely rest upon bilateral relations between two superpowers.

18. V.P. Dutt, "New World Disorder", World Focus, , November -December , 1992.

19. Gregory Copley, "Ramifications of the End of the Non-aligned Movement," Defence and Foreign Affairs, August, 1990, (as quoted by BUNN Nagara, The Importance of Being Non-Aligned, the Indonesian Quarterly , xx/3).

therefore the significance of the Non-aligned Movement does not merely rest upon bilateral relations between two superpowers.

Ever since its inception the Non-aligned Movement, exerted considerable impact on international relations, ushering in an era of world peace. However, the United States of America has not been able to escape the debilitating effects of the Cold War arms race. The Cold War arms race bankrupted the Soviet Union due to the misallocation of resources. It has also immensely contributed to the economic and industrial decline of the United States of America. The Cold War had considerably affected the profile of the Non-aligned Movement and the end of the Cold War should boost the Non-aligned Movement.

Neither neutrality nor equidistance is the characteristic feature of the Non-aligned Movement. Historically, the Non-aligned Movement was never simply a neutralist idea. As Brij Mohan Kaushik explains, "it was instead from a positive connotation of acting as a global catalyst for peaceful change."²⁰

The Cold War and its consequent creation, bipolarity, was an essential factor in giving the form that Non-alignment would take. Since its founding in 1961 in Belgrade, the Non-aligned Movement declarations expressed consistent aversion to Cold War bipolarity which meant that the basic idea was to avoid any possible military cooperation with any of the superpowers.

With the end of the Cold War, the earlier criticism that the Non-aligned Movement had lost its credibility due to the fact that several member states had become client states of one or the other super power, is negated as its rationale no longer stands, while the need for Non-alignment remains. It is true that there are certain implications such as, the Movement had become too large and unwieldy reducing to a great extent its effectiveness

20. Brij Mohan Kaushik, "Non-alignment and Disarmament", Strategic Analysis VIII, No. 10 (New Delhi) : The Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, January, 1985.

of purpose. To quote I. Kovalenko, "This was particularly true when membership swelled to include states that were not fully committed to the cause."²¹

Since Non-aligned Movement emerged partly from the decolonisation process, it was totally against any undue interference from major powers. Linking the relevance and justification of Non-aligned Movement to the end of the Cold War is not only not logical but also irrational. The very concern of Non-aligned Movement is super power or major power to small-state relations and it is not based on whether there are two or one or ten super powers.

The Non-aligned Movement which comprises nearly two-thirds of the membership of the United Nations, has consistently demanded the "sovereign equality of nations and democratisation of international relations. M.S. Rajan observes that, "despite some scepticism the world over about the continuing relevance of the policy and movement of non- alignment, there is no doubt at all (as the last September 1992 Non-aligned Summit Conference reiterated) that they have a continuing validity both for the present and the foreseeable future."²² The Prime Minister of India, Narasimha Rao, in a speech at Tokyo June, 1992, said: "The pursuit of non-aligned foreign policy is even more relevant today (that is in the post-cold-war years) than ever before... Whether there is one bloc or more at a given moment, the urge of a non-aligned country will continue to be to maintain its independence."²³

21. I.I Kovalenko, "Non-aligned Movement - A major Factor in World Politics", Far Eastern Affairs, No.1 (1986).

22. M.S. Rajan, "The Emerging New World Order," World focus November- December, 1992, p.5.

23. Ibid. P.5.

Further, the Non-aligned nations would welcome a revived United Nations role in international politics. A majority of member-states in the UN are against the domination of the United States of America specially with the acquiescence of Russia & China.

Appraisal

Although thirty years have passed since the Non-aligned Movement came into existence in 1961, its role is yet to be fulfilled, so the Movement must continue and its survival or continuation is not based on the end of Cold War or on unipolarity or multipolarity. The Soviet Union was replaced by the CIS; Russia teamed up with the United States in the UN Security Council against Iraq, and the United States of America's initiative in Libya, North Korea, and also in G-7 etc. The indistinct "third voice" in the world would then become an indispensable "second voice"²⁴, since the United States and Russian partnership would make such a role essential for smaller sovereign states.

International Affairs (April 1990)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation led by the United States of America, an instrument of Cold War bipolarism, not only renewed itself after the Cold War but also decided in June 1992 to expand operations beyond Europe. Thus, the Non-aligned Movement would represent a global moral authority and the need for such a representation is all the more urgent. The United States New World Order Project which was aired briefly and then shelved abruptly, due to embarrassment from publicity, nevertheless reveals the Pentagon's plan for policing the world.

Bunn Nagara is of the opinion that "Washington might not succeed in achieving post-cold war domination of the world, even of a unipolar world, with considerable diplomatic resources, and with the world's most formidable armed forces. But in attempts

24. Alan Gabriela Garcia Perez, "Detente and Non-alignment",

to impose a set order, a failing world power could -- through traumatic dejection, desperation and frustration - pose severe dangers and cause serious damage to the rest of the world."²⁵

Therefore the need for Non-alignment is significant in the context of its positive founding principles such as the pursuit of independent foreign policies and the struggle for national liberation, which are still incomplete. Total emancipation includes both the political freedom from colonialism, and the economic freedom to take responsible positions of importance in the international community. Underlying these freedoms is the logical development of national sovereignty, that being the prerogative of all states and societies to determine their own destinies free from foreign intervention.

A re-affirmation of faith in Non-alignment could come more strongly from states acting to do all that is necessary to promote Non-aligned Movement and words and declarations must translated into action, measures and policies rather than simply languish in intermidable rounds of international conferences. With its role remaining largely unfulfilled, there is neither scope for complacency nor for retiring at this crucial stage in internal politics.

25. Bunn Nagara, "The importance of Being Non- aligned," The Indonesian Quarterly, XX/3.

CHAPTER III
THE TENTH NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT SUMMIT

The Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries was held in Jakarta, Indonesia from 1 to 6 September 1992. The representatives of nearly 108 countries of the Movement participated in the Tenth Conference. Several representatives of various countries and national liberation movements also attended the Conference as observers. Guest delegations were also present at the Conference. The UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali also attended the Conference and addressed it.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia delivered the inaugural address at the Conference. He noted that the collapse of the bipolar structure of the world presented unprecedented challenges and opportunities to the Non-aligned countries. Further, he made a strong plea for a new international order based on stable peace, social justice, common prosperity and sustainable development and emphasized the importance of accelerated development and intensified South-South Co-operation. Following the proposal made by the President of Cyprus, H.E. Mr. George Vassiliou, the Conference decided by acclamation to include the text of the address as an official document of the Conference.

GLOBAL ISSUES¹

A. THE REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION²

The participating countries' leaders heads of state or Government noted that the rapid and fundamental changes in international relations which began before the Ninth Summit Meeting of Non-aligned Countries held at Belgrade in 1989 gained further momentum and brought new opportunities and challenges to the international community as a whole.

1. NAC 10, Document 1.

2. For details, see the Report of the Rapporteur General in Appendix-I

They were of the view that East-West conflict and its global corollaries - ideological rivalry, bloc politics, military confrontation and competition for spheres of influence - no longer dominated the international political landscape as in the past. The trend now is towards dialogue and search for peaceful solutions to conflicts in various regions of the world, which, in turn, leads to pluralism and realism, thus heralding a new era in inter-state relations based on cooperation rather than confrontation. The Non-aligned Movement has made many contributions for this improved state of international political climate. These positive developments have fully vindicated the validity and relevance of Non-alignment. Therefore, it is imperative for the Movement to play urgently its due role in defining and shaping the world situation which is still in a state of transition rather than leave this task to the larger political and economic powers.

The leaders believed that the recent changes in world politics have made both positive and negative impact and the movement must play its vital role in laying the foundations of a new, just and equitable international order. They believed that renewed confidence in the United Nations would initiate a transition towards a world in which multilateralism would be of paramount significance, thus strengthening the credibility and capacity for action of the UN. In resolving a vast array of international problems, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) has extended total cooperation to the United Nations.

The further noted that the dangerous bloc division had come to an end and could make a profound impact on the subsequent, political, economic and institutional restructuring of the continent. They further noted that despite these encouraging developments on the international scene, the Middle East situation continued to be explosive.

The cessation of East-West confrontation which has greatly improved prospects for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament and raises high expectations for a "peace dividend" whereby the released resources could be devoted to the acceleration of economic growth and development, of the developing countries. On the other hand dangers inherent

in the emerging tendencies towards a unipolar world characterised by new elements in the increasingly complex international politics, could limit the prospects of resolving global problems of today. Thus, it could pose a real threat to the basic principles of non-aggression, sovereign equality of all states upon which the United Nations is based and thereby promoting genuine independence, non-interference in their internal affairs.

While noting the deliberations of Security Council Summit Meeting held in January, 1992, they acknowledged that, "change, however welcome, has brought new risks for stability and security", and urged the NAM countries to neglect the unrest, discontent and violent conflicts in various regions of the world and conflicts between member countries of the NAM. The outbreak of new conflicts born of ethnic, nationalistic and religious rivalries, global terrorism have emerged as threat to peace, stability and security in the world. The developments would in turn lead to border wars, disintegration of economies, an increased flow of migrants and refugees, with disastrous consequences for the states concerned and their neighbours.

They noted certain urgent political issues such as restoration of Palestine to its people by supporting their struggle against Israel and their right to justice and self-determination and right to establishment of Palestine as a sovereign state in accordance with UN resolutions. They called for intensified efforts by the Non-Aligned countries to achieve peaceful settlement of regional conflicts for promoting permanent peace in central and south-west Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the UN, and in cooperation with other nations for funding viable and just solutions.

The recent tendency of major powers to intervene in the internal affairs of other states under garb of protecting human rights or preventing conflict, thus eroding national sovereignty, was of great concern to NAM leaders.

In the Post-Cold War era, the development and eradication of poverty had become top priority items on the international agenda. The main challenge at present is the redressal of the sharp contrast between the affluence of the north and the impoverishment of the South. Therefore, it is imperative to restructure the prevailing international economic relations through effective partnership, equitable cooperation to facilitate the revitalisation of economic growth in developing countries.

They expressed their concern over adverse external environment which has a negative impact on the developing economies. The exports of these countries continued to be hampered by protectionism; development efforts remain impaired by inordinate burdens of external indebtedness; restricted financial flows, regular decline in the price of commodities and the overall deteriorating trade-terms of the developing countries.

Political and economic reforms in Central and Eastern Europe have affected the enormous needs of resources for the developing countries in spite of official commitments by the developed countries and multilateral financial institutions in this connection.

The Non-Aligned leaders pointed out that the process of globalisation led to an increasing tendency towards increased regional integration, in the form of common markets, customs union and free trade areas; which may lead to formation of powerful and closed economic blocs. Regional economic integration, especially among the developed countries could be a major stimulus to global economic activities. However, these grouping should promote, rather than hinder the global co-operation.

Recognising the indivisibility between peace and prosperity, the Heads of State or Government were of the view that revitalisation of development and eradication of poverty are the main challenges at present. They welcome the outcome of the Eighteenth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the international development strategy for the Fourth Development Decade, the Eighth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VIII) and the United Nations

Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), which reflected a convergence of perspective on development. They believed that this new spirit provided a positive stimulus to a constructive and mutually beneficial dialogue on international cooperation for development between the North and the South.

Economic decline in the 1980s and the consequent reduction in per capita income, combined with debt crisis and structural adjustments had an adverse impact on social development. The elimination of hunger and malnutrition, achieving better standards of health and housing and eradication of illiteracy, are issues of paramount concern in the present and coming decades especially if a "New World Order" has to be established, therefore, they reaffirmed their commitment to implement in an effective manner the Declaration and Plan of Action of the World Summit for Children held at New York and welcomed the proposal to hold a world summit on social development. On the emerging new world economic order, NAM should ensure that the legitimate interests of Members of NAM should be protected and NAM countries must play an important political and economic role in the emerging new world order.

B. ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN THE EMERGING NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER³

The Heads of State or Government underlined that the NAM should continued to be valid and relevant and is corroborated by recent changes in the world politics. The end of cold War and East-West bipolarity reinforced the Movements' continuing advocacy of global goodwill and cooperation for a world free from fear, want and intolerance. The NAM has in no way been diminished by the recent changes and in fact they reinforced the determination to remain free from domination of any kind. During its three decades of existence, the Movement has always sought to bring about peace, mutually beneficial

3. See the Jakarta Message : A call for Collective Action and the Democratisation of International Relations, in Appendix II.

cooperation, amity among nations, to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism, foreign occupation, and racial discrimination, to redress injustice, to maintain peace and to stimulate disarmament efforts leading to an equitable and just world order. Non-Alignment has always been positive stand for peace, human rights and an economically just world and rejection of a relationship involving servitude and sacrifice of national self-interest by perpetuating injustice and inequity. The NAM must articulate timely and effective responses to new opportunities and challenges presented by the rapid and profound changes in the world situation. The NAM is also called upon to enhance the efficacy of its external actions, as well as to improve the efficiency of its internal functioning. The Movement's role in promoting a just international order would depend largely on its inner strength, unity and cohesion. This would also require sincere efforts to remove areas of disagreement between member states and resolve disputes among themselves peacefully. A united and cohesive Movement would be able to project its influence on the global scene with greater force and effectiveness.

The Non-Aligned nations leaders were convinced that the Movement should play an active and effective role in laying the foundations and defining the characteristics of the new world order which should invariably based on justice, equality and democracy in international relations. Essentially, the Movement contribute on the issues of human rights, the environment, sustainable development, and other pressing global problems.

The Movement has played a historic role and its constructive contribution to the promotion of world peace and cooperative relations among states has been the core of its philosophy. The NAM had endured and its basic principles remain unchanged, which include, the safeguarding of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, exercise of self determination and sovereignty, and to colonialism, and to racial discrimination, especially apartheid, peaceful co-existence among states, democratization of inter-state relations, peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, economic development of all developing countries, protection of human rights, democratisation of inter-state relations. They further underlined the importance of multilateralism, reaffirmed their firm

commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. They opined that the United Nations had assumed an increasingly influential role in world affairs as the only universal framework for the conduct of international relations. The movement should enhance its unity and cohesion with a view to strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to respond effectively to the current challenges.

The leaders of the Non-aligned countries believed that a realistic rendering of priorities is essential to. As long as the world remains insecure and instable, peaceful resolution of conflicts must continue to be a priority issue to ease tensions in various regions of the world. The UN Organisations and its specialized agencies made many contributions to the economic, social and cultural advancement of the all countries and peoples. The Non-aligned movement which constitutes nearly two thirds of the United Nations membership called upon its members to utilise the potentiality of the UNO in much more purposeful way. It is at the United Nations, as the universal umbrella for the international community, that the NAM must assert itself as a collection of effective spokesman for the developing countries. The Non-Aligned leaders were convinced that the new resurgence of multi-lateralism as opened new vistas for the United Nation to resolve long-standing international regional conflicts. Peace-making and peace-keeping activities launched in many regions have gained new dimensions of unprecedented variety and scope and demand a highly enhanced role of the UN in the maintenance of the international peace and security are now greater than in the past.

Therefore, they were, in agreement with the observation in the report of the UN Secretary-General Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali 'An Agenda for Peace', "democracy within the family of nations would require the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all social sphere severe disparities and inequities persist in relations between developed and developing countries". The NAM must enhance South-South cooperation to give fresh impetus to international cooperation and development. They pointed out that the responsiveness of the Non-Aligned movement to the opportunities and challenges require a dynamic adaptation to the new realities and exert a more active influence on the direction

of world developments and the management of world affairs. Only then can the Non-Aligned countries representing the majority of humankind play an active role and thereby shape the contours of a new era in international relations.

C. RESTRUCTURING, REVITALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE UNITED NATION

The Heads of States reaffirmed their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations charter and reiterated their belief that the United Nations represents the most appropriate international forum for the maintenance of the international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes and crises; for the achievement of freedom and for securing the right of self-determination of peoples under colonial domination for the full enjoyment of the human rights and fundamental freedom; for the attainment of just, and equitable economic relations and social emancipation as well as for the strengthening of friendly relations and peaceful coexistence among nations. The UN as the states, large and small in the work of the organization. Further, they noted that resort to preventive diplomacy for early identification of potential conflicts, engagement in peace-making and assistance, when conflict occurs, presentation of post-conflict peace through peace-keeping and assistance and implementation of agreements in the implementation of the agreements achieved the post- conflict peace building and adoptions of measures aimed at redressing the deep socio-economic and political causes of conflict.

They suggested effective steps to restructure the UN Secretariat which provides appropriate framework for effective co-operation and democratic dialogue among states. They welcomes the ongoing efforts aimed at reforming and improving certain structures and procedures of the UN, as essential for strengthening multilateralism, while ensuring equal participation, balanced representation and better equilibrium and in conformity with the UN Charter. The main purpose behind these efforts is to make the UN responsive to changing realities and emerging challenges of peace and development. The democratization

of the international political and economic issues should avoid perpetuating the current inequities by creating new charter of privileged positions of power in the spirit of sovereign equality of all the states. They appealed to the major states to accept this process in the broader interests of humanity and thus establish democratization of international politics and economic institutions.

Further, they called for a balanced relationship between the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary- General of the United Nations. The Non- Aligned countries should make a coordinated political response to enhance the role of the general assembly as a forum for deliberation, negotiation and decision- making all issues of global concern. They emphasized the significance of ensuring that the role of Security Council conforms to its mandate so that there is no encroachment on the jurisdiction and prerogatives of the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies.

They expressed concern over the tendency of some states to dominate the Security Council. Therefore, it is essential to ensure that exercise of special powers does not create imbalances and discriminatory treatment in the international community or in the United Nations, or lead to world affairs being run by a small group of powerful nations. They felt that the veto powers which guarantee an exclusive and dominant role for the permanent members of the security council are contrary to the aim of democratizing the UN. In addition to this they called for a review of the membership of the security council so that it reflected the increased membership of the UN and thereby promote a more equitable and balanced representation of the members of the UN.

The Non-Aligned countries leaders were of the opinion that the United Nations is the appropriate universal forum to discuss and implement issues relating to international cooperation for development. They welcomed the consensus adoption of general assembly resolution 45/264 as a positive step aimed at the improving the plight of millions of people in the developing countries. The recent conclusion of the economic and social council at its highest level, concerning the reform of the operational activities of the United Nations in

this field, constitutes an important step forward, which should be given due consideration at the next General Assembly.

They welcomed the statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Non-Aligned Movement Conference; reiterating the support by the Non-Aligned countries for the Secretary-General in addition to helping him in exercising his mandate as set forth in Article 99 of the Charter, they resolved to support his endeavours to enhance the efficacy of preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping operations in which many NAM countries have served and will continue to serve.

They noted that there was an urgent need for an overall review of the current distribution of posts within the United Nations system to achieve a more equitable geographic distribution, to realise the objective of allotting 30 percent of posts in the General Secretariat to women and to provide adequate personal resources for their United Nations development-related functions. Further, they expressed the need for establishing equitable, democratic and balanced regional distribution of the executive posts within the UN system, its specialized agencies and other subsidiary bodies.

They firmly expressed that, assessed contributions to the UN are obligatory under the Charter, and warned that non-compliance with this obligation has grave implications for the U.N.O. They urged the UN member states to pay their contributions promptly which has become essential in the context of growing responsibilities and also secure a better balance between the regular budgets and extra-budgetary resources. They called on the UN Secretary General to adopt measures within his powers to reduce costs and streamline the organisation, fully considering the interests of the Non-Aligned and other developing nations and the capacity of the UN to discharge its duties. For they pledged total support and cooperation for the efforts of the UN Secretary General.

D. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

The Heads of State or Government noted that a gradual transformation of military structures is now underway and these positive developments are creating a new global environment which will lead to the renunciation of strategic doctrines based on the use of nuclear weapons and to the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, will contribute immensely to global security.

The build-up of military power undermines rather than strengthen security. Neither quantitative additions nor qualitative improvements to weapons have reduced a states' vulnerability or led to absolute security. Further, it is also self-evident that political objectives can no longer be achieved by military means. Therefore, the rational option is to seek security for all through total nuclear disarmament, elimination of all other weapons of mass destruction, and through the balanced and progressive reductions of conventional armaments of the global and regional levels.

The New International Order to sustain a world free from all nuclear weapons and should be based inter alia on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the prohibition of the use or threat of use of force, non- intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the right of every state to pursue its own path of development. These principles which have guided NAM since its inception have become even more relevant today.

In a world of increasing interdependence of states and inter-relatedness of issues, security can no longer be defined solely in military terms. Underdevelopment, impending resource depletion, food scarcity, population pressures and severe environmental degradation are the determining components of a stable and peaceful world. Interdependence also calls for recognition of mutuality of interests among nations in each others stability and security. Genuine and lasting security must therefore be universal and

comprehensive, based on equality of states and encompassing all spheres of international relations.

They recognised that the security problems are region- specific and are best addressed within an appropriate regional context. They noted efforts such as those in Latin and Central America as well as in South-East Asia and the Pacific which have highlighted among others, the validity of confidence building measures, particularly in region of high tension; balanced security at the lowest possible level of armaments and armed forces; and the elimination of destabilising military capabilities and imbalances. They called for the holding of regional dialogues based on geopolitical, historical, cultural factors and can lead to channels of communication between adversaries and promote confidence building measures. Global and regional approaches to disarmament complement each other and should be pursued simultaneously to promote regional and international peace and security.

The Non-Aligned countries leaders welcomed the agreements reached in bilateral arms reductions between the United States and the Russian Federation, particularly, the June 1992 agreement between the two countries in Washington D.C. and expressed the hope that the ultimate goal of the complete elimination of nuclear arsenels will be attained within a specific time frame.

The Non-Aligned countries leaders were of the opinion that far from the mere regulation of armaments and the arms race, agreements now include the destruction of existing arsenels, as well as limiting future production. They expressed satisfaction at the decisive progress achieved in the complex field of verification and in the on-site inspection provisions which are now included to ensure compliance with agreements. They called for the establishment of a multilateral satellite verification system under the aegis of the United Nations to facilitate such processes on a secure and permanent basis which would ensure equal access to information for all states.

Despite the end of cold war and East-West confrontation, the Heads of State or Government deplored the lack of progress on measures to provide assurances to all non-nuclear-weapon states against the use of nuclear weapons and cautioned that the world is still threatened by existing nuclear arsenals. They warned that continuing insistence to promote anti-missile defences and other weapon systems is fraught with potentially disastrous consequences including the extension of the arms-race to outer space and will further increase the North-South divide.

The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed that the United Nations has a unique role and primary responsibility on all issues of disarmament. They re-emphasized the right and duty of all states to participate in multilateral efforts on disarmament on the basis of equality and mutual benefit in order to promote universal adherence. The Conference on Disarmament as the sole multilateral negotiating forum in the field of disarmament though intensely engaged in various negotiations, has regrettably failed to discharge its mandate on issues related to nuclear disarmament. Bilateral negotiations, however, cannot replace multilateral efforts in the disarmament field.

In this context, they welcomed the Global Convention on the prohibition of development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and called for its speedy entry into force as a meaningful step forward towards the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction in all regions and towards the shared objective of general and complete disarmament. They called upon all developed countries to adopt measures promoting universal adherence to the Chemical Weapons Convention, through transfer of technology, materials and equipment for peaceful purposes in the chemical field and removing all existing unilateral discriminatory and ad-hoc restrictions which ran counter to this undertaking.

They called upon all the states to give priority to negotiations on other items in the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, such as a Nuclear Test ban, cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, prevention of nuclear war, security assurances

for all non-nuclear weapon states against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, and measures for the prevention of an arms race in outer space. They emphasized the need to reinvigorate multilateral disarmament endeavours and called for the enlargement and broader participation of NAM countries in the Conference on Disarmament.

The NAM leaders, while noting that China and France had acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) expressed concern over the failure of some depositary states to demonstrate genuine commitment with regard to complete nuclear disarmament within a time bound framework under Article VI of the NPT and credible security assurances and adequate technical assistance to all non-nuclear weapon states. They resolved that a member of the Non-Aligned Movement should be presented as a candidate, after consultation, for the chairmanship of the Conference in 1995. They urged the nuclear-weapon states to support the ongoing efforts of the Amendment Conference on the Partial Test Ban Treaty, to enable the conclusion of an agreement prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against all non-nuclear weapon states and establishment of nuclear-weapons-free zones to ensure the availability of nuclear materials, equipment and technology for peaceful purposes on a non-discriminatory, predictable and long term basis.

The NAM leaders called for cessation of nuclear testing by all states for all time in all environment as a vital global objective to be pursued at multilateral level. They welcomed the moratorium declared by certain nuclear weapon states and urged other nuclear weapon states to follow suit. The Amendment Conference of the state parties to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water held in January 1991, which had brought state parties together for the first time to discuss the obstacles to an agreement on the discontinuation of test explosions.

They expressed concern at the growing restraint being placed on access to technology by the developed countries through imposition of ad-hoc export control regimes under the pretext of non-proliferation regimes as these may impede the economic and social

development of developing countries. They called for effective means of tackling the problems of proliferation through multilaterally negotiated, universal comprehensive and non-discriminatory disarmament agreements.

They expressed grave concern over the acquisition of nuclear capability by Israel which poses a serious threat to the security of neighbouring and other states. They condemned Israel for continuing to develop and stockpile nuclear arsenals and called for urgent action and ensure Israeli accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to place all its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards in accordance with United Nations Security Council, resolution 487(1981).

They noted that excessive military outlays stifle economic growth and adversely affect the scope and content of international economic cooperation. Therefore, the resolution of regional disputes is essential for the creation of conditions which would enable states to divert their resources from armaments to economic growth and development.

Aware of the global prevalences of conventional armaments and all other kinds of armaments and their extensive use, the ever-growing expenditure involved in their acquisition and maintenance as well as new technologies and increased sophistication brought to conventional weapons systems. The Heads of State or Government stressed the urgency of the need to curb the development and excessive build-up of conventional weapon systems and all other kinds of armaments, taking into account the legitimate security needs of states.

The Non-aligned countries leaders commended the actions of the United Nations Regional Centres for Peace and Disarmament in Africa and Asia and the United Nations Regional Centres for Peace, Disarmament, Development in Latin America. They emphasized the urgent need to strengthen the financial resources of these centres, in order to enable them to implement the plans. They invited the member countries and others to consider making substantial voluntary contributions to these centres.

E. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT⁴

The Heads of State or Government of Non-align of countries shared the opinion that the international economic situation has not been conducive to development, particularly of the developing countries and is marked by slow and uneven growth. Most of the developing countries are no better off today than they were during the 1980s and these countries are still faced with debilitating debt burdens, lack of development finance denied of fair access to technology and markets of the developed countries and hampered by a secular decline in commodity prices. While a significant number of developing countries had carried out structural adjustment process and opened their economies yet lack of reciprocity is observed in the developed countries. Although there is a wide spread movement for trade liberalization in the developing countries, the commitment of the developed countries to free trade had continued to weaken. The developing countries cannot be coerced in the opening of their markets further or adopting changes in their economic policies in a manner which ignored their stage of development. The leaders of the Non-aligned countries noted that early and successful outcome of the Uruguay Round of Multi-Lateral trade Negotiations is a matter of great importance to the developing countries. However the Round failed to achieve a balanced and timely conclusion. Therefore, the consequent surge in protectionism and the increased resort to unilateralism and the so; called "managed" trade will further distort trade focus and obstruct the emergence of a truly open and fair multilateral trading system, and this will constitute a severe blow to multilateralism. Hence, they strongly urged the developing countries to ensure without further delay a balanced, equitable meaningful and satisfactory conclusion to the Uruguay Round, while taking into consideration interests of all parties and the development needs of the developing countries. Only then can the protectionist measures by developed countries can be rolled

4. NAC 10, Document 3

back and the development dimension can be incorporated in the rules for the conduct of international trade.

Further, they noted that the external debt of the developing countries continued to weigh negatively on many of their economies and the servicing of their external debt has led to reverse flow of resources from the developing world to the developing countries will require a reduction in the debt stock of these countries. This reversal of the drain on the external resources of the developing countries. Attempts at rescheduling debt in response to the re-payment difficulties of the the debtor countries has resulted in an increase in the total indebtedness of the developing countries. They welcomed major global initiatives to find more effective ways of reducing the stock of debt and suggested that special consideration should be shown to the debt burden of low- income countries, that are making great sacrifices to meet their financial obligations.

The leaders of the Non-aligned countries emphasised that the failure of international financial system to provide adequate development finance over the past decade has resulted in the developing countries landing in serious financial problems. Sharp contraction in external commercial flows and virtual stagnation in Official Development Assistance (ODA) at less than half the agreed target level of 0.7 percent of the Gross National Product, a commitment which was first made nearly 20 years ago, has had major adverse impact on development prospects, especially of the low income countries. The negative net transfer of resources from the developing countries can also be reduced by a significant increase a new capital flows to the developing countries. Therefore, they urged that all the developed countries need their commitments on ODA. The other major sources of capital flows for the developing countries have been the multilateral financial institutions comprising the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Regional Development Banks (RDB) have reduced their net transfer to the developing countries in recent years and if these trends continue developing countries as a whole may soon be facing the prospect of a net financial out flow in favour these institutions.

They held the view that the commodities represent the economic life blood of most of the developing countries, many of whom remain heavily dependent on one or two commodities for generating their foreign exchange earnings. One of the important facets of the adverse economic environment of recent times has been the virtual collapse of commodity prices to their lowest levels in the last hundred years. They urged all signatories to the common fund within the frame work of the Integrated Programme for Commodities to revive the schemes and to make them fully operational. They extended total support to the proposal for the convening of an international conference on commodities with a view to initiating it by the principle actively of the Common Fund.

Against the background of these realities, the NAM Heads of State underlined the need to forge global consensus and commitment to strengthen international economic co-operation for development. The accelerated development of the developing countries now assumes extreme urgency and the problems emanating from the growing interdependence among nations and interlinkages of issues can only be pursued through consultations and negotiation. The reactivation of a constructive dialogue between the North and South should not be cast any more in terms of "demands" on the part of the developing countries or misperceived as "charity" on the part of the advanced countries, rather it should be conducted on the basis of genuine interdependence, mutuality of interest, sphere of responsibility and mutual benefit. They believed that the issues concealing the North and the South are now inextricably inter-twined and sustained economic prosperity in the North is not possible in the absence of stability and sustained development in the South. They also recognised that the developing countries cannot achieve their development goals without the conducive global environment that the policies of the North can and should provide.

As an indispensable corollary to efforts in the North- South context, leaders of the Non-aligned countries stressed the need to intensity the efforts of Non-aligned Movement to attain collective self-reliance which would not only enhance their negotiating strength but also increase opportunity for the development. The development of concrete, practicable and mutually beneficial economic and technical co-operation among the members of the

NAM not only opens-up new avenues for economic growth and reduces dependence vis-a-vis the North, but also constitutes an integral element of any strategy in the restructuring of international economic co-operation. Success in South-South co-operation will lend greater credibility and strength to efforts in attaining a just and equitable new international order.

The emergence of a new world order that brings peace, stability and development to all humanity will depend to a great extent on whether steps are taken to bridge the widening North-South economic inequalities. The South needs the resources, markets, and technology of North to realise its economic development, especially for the eradication of poverty. The South development is in the interest not only the peoples of South but of the North as well.

F. ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

The NAM Heads of State expressed concern that the world is witnessing new and increasing threats such as environmental deterioration, jeopardizing the long-term survival of the vulnerable ecosystem which if left unchecked, it could upset the world's ecological balance and permanently destroy the earth's life - support systems.

The main environmental and developmental problems, such as those identified in resolution Number 44, 228 of the UN General Assembly and in Agenda 21 adopted by UN Conference on Environment and Development require immediate action by the international community to save the planet earth from the self- destruction. These problems include the critical and life- threatening issues of climatic change, rising sea levels, the depletion of the Ozone layer, the degradation of global life support systems, water and air pollution, soil degradation, soil erosion, desertification, drought, deforestation and the extinction of numerous animals and plant species, acid rain, marine pollution, over- exploitations of marine resources (e.g., large scale drift- net fishing), the proliferation and mismanagement of toxic products and illegal traffic intoxic wastes, and severe threat posed to the

environment by the testing of nuclear weapons as well as hazardous wastes and radio active wastes.

The leaders of the NAM member countries emphasized that while environmental problems were national, regional and global in scope, those associated with the developed countries are consequence of unsustainable patterns of production and consumption and wasteful life styles, whereas those of the developing countries are in general the result of extreme poverty and underdevelopment. Environmental production, sustained economic growth and development should be redressed through multilateral co-operation based on common but differentiated responsibilities, endeavors and harmonious and balanced perspective as reflected in U.N. General Assembly resolution Number 44, 228 and the Rio Declaration. Such co-operation would ensure that the protection of the environment, economic growth and development are mutually reinforcing and fully integrated. In pursuing the objective of sustainable development, new and additional resources, technical assistance as well as environmentally sound technology should be made available to developing countries on non-commercial, preferential and concessional terms through various channels both bilateral and multilateral.

The Heads of the State of NAM countries welcomed the outcome of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio-De-Janeiro in June 1992 as it elaborated a new concept for international co-operation based on global participation of State in Rio-Declaration which reaffirmed the sovereign right of States to use their own natural resources and right to development for States and peoples, in accordance the Charter of the United Nations in the principles for International Law, environmental measures addressing terms boundary or global environmental problems should be based on international consensus. They therefore, urged developed countries and international institutions not to use environmental considerations as an excuse for interference in the internal affairs of developing countries, nor should this be used to introduce any forms of conditionality in aid or development financing, or to impose trade barriers affecting the export and development effort of the developing countries.

They expressed satisfaction that UNCED had established the imperative need for addressing the twin issues of environment and development in their totality recognizing that economic development is the overriding priority of the developing countries. They welcomed the consensus achieved at UNCED which represents a good basis for guiding international co-operation for signature development. They noted the opening for figuration of framework convention on climate change and biodiversity convention and hoped that procedures would be completed so that these conventions become effective at an early date. They stressed the need for transfer of adequate, new and additional financing resources for developing countries to realise the objectives of Agenda 21. They also stressed the need for achievement of the internationally agreed ODA target of 0.7 percent of GNP. Tehy called upon the developed countries to make significant initial commitments durning the 47 UN General Assembly.

They welcomed the recommendations for the establishment of the High Level Commission on sustainable development would help enhance international co-operation on a priority basis to monitor financial and technological flows of developing countries. They emphasised the significance of the creation by 47 Session of the United Nations General Assembly of Inter-Governmental Negotiating Committee, open to all States for the elaboration and conclusion of international convention on the strength against desertification, in particular in Africa before June 1994, as recommended by UNCED.

G. HUMAN RIGHTS

human rights and fundamental freedoms and emphasised the importance which their countries attached to the protection and promotion of human rights and reaffirmed their commitment to respect for civil, political, economic and giving rights as well as their commitment. The United Nations Charter has lightly placed the Question of Universal observance and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms within the context of the international co-operation based on principles of non- selectivity, objectivity and

impartiality. Human rights should not be used as instainment of politically pressure especially against Non-aligned and other developing countries.

They emphasised that the basic provisions contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights embody two mutually balancing aspect:- Those which respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual and those which tripulate obligations of the individual to a sowety and the State. Absence of such a balance could lead to a denial of the lights of the community as a whole and to instability, especially in the developing countries.

They further emphasised the indivisible nature of human rights, comprising, civil, politing, economic, social and cultural nights and expressed concern over a tendency to address aspects of human rights selectively, often for extraneous political motives, and to neglect economic, social and culture rights which lebate more immediately to humanities needs for food, shelter and health care and the eradication of poverty and illiteracy. As development and Human rights are mutually, supportive there in imperative need multilateraly co-operations and assistance and in implementing the Socio-economic developing programmes of non-aligned and other developing countries.

They considered the 1986 UNGA Resolution Number 41, 128 and the Declaration on the Right to Development to constitute an extreme important UN initiative on codification in the field of Human Rights.

They reiterated their commitment to the protection of fundamental human rights of all people parliamentary the right to self-determination of peoples and alien or colonial documentation or foreign occupation in essential to secure Universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. International humanitarian law, and in particular the Geneva Conventions of 1949, offer a further provision for securing of the human rights through the obligations of the high concreting practices to respect and ensure respect for the conventions. It is encouraging events have taken place since the Ninth Non-aligned

Summit Meeting which have led to greater political pluralism, respect for democratic principles and exercise of brutality, the right to self-determination. They noted that of the terrorism through Killings, Kidnapings, confortions and other such means as emerged as one of the most dangerous threats to the enjoyment of Human Rights escaping the human rights of innocent civilary. Sponsorship of terrorism is allowing the use of national territories for the commission of terrorist Acts. Against other countries amounts to violation of the principles enshrined in the UN Charter governing relations among states must be ununivocally condemning by the international community.

They reaffirmed their commitment to promoting and protecting all aspects of Human Rights, including human dignity, to secure a decent standard of living and well being for all.

The Non-aligned countries planned to effectively participate in the Second-World Conference on the Human Rights, particularly the Regional Meetings for Africa, Latin America and Asia. They urged the international community to accede to or to ratify the convention the Rights of Children and to incorporate the provisions there of in their respective legislation, with the view to ensuring its effective implementation, taking due account of the decisions and recommendations contained in the global Plan of Action adopted at the World Summit for Children had at New York in September in 1990.

The Heads of the State of the NAM countries called for the rapid elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in particular by involving them in consultation and decision making process at all levels, so that they may effectively participate in the process of economic, social and cultural development in this regard, they welcomed with satisfaction the conclusion of the World Summit on the promotion of the Rights of Women, Rural Areas held at Geneva on 1 February 1992 and those of the United Nations Conference and Environment and Development held in June last at Rio, in particular, the provisions of Agenda 21 relating to women and those concerned with urgent measures to be taken for living women who are seriously effected by the consequeces of natural disasters and the

effects of deterioration of the environment and have invited the international community to implement these provisions the NAM Heads of the State or Government expressed their support for the decision to convene the International Conference on the promotion of Women which should be held in 1995.

The NAM Heads of State welcomed the success of the efforts of many developing countries and setting up domestic institutions and instituting political and economic reforms involving a greater regime of participation by the population in the decision making process and in the reviewing of national affairs. They also called upon the Member States of the Non-aligned Movement to support those countries which are committed to democratization process in an effort to ensure its every success.

Appraisal

The Tenth NAM Summit took place at a time even enormous changes had taken place on chess boards of international politics. End of the cold war, collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, disintegration of the Soviet Union had brought about drastic changes on political map of the world.

APPRAISAL

The Tenth NAM Summit took place at a time when enormous changes had taken place in the international politics. The end of the Cold War, collapse of the communist governments in Eastern Europe, re-unification of Germany and the disintegration of the Soviet Union had brought about drastic changes on the political map of the world.

Thus the Tenth NAM Summit was historic in the sense that it was held in a new political environment formulating its responses to the changed political and economic realities. The Movement has taken upon itself the task of shaping the new international order, free from war, poverty, intolerance and injustice, a world based on the cherished principles of peaceful co-existence, genuine inter-dependence and to promote

multilateralism to establish a truly United Nations. It is earnestly hoped that the initiatives taken at the Tenth NAM Summit and the efforts shall in the long term, have the desired impact on the humanity.

CHAPTER IV
THE RELEVANCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The relevance of the Non-aligned Movement has become more significant and greater than it has been during the last three decades of its existence, especially for the disadvantaged people of the world in the three most populous continents; Asia, Africa, and Latin America, whose voice the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) has so effectively represented, more so at a time when serious efforts are underway to turn the world into a unipolar one with today's sole superpower, the United States as its custodian.

During the last thirty one years of its existence, the Non-aligned Movement has served as a beacon of hope for a troubled humanity, seeking peace and a saner world, free from the arms race, the Cold War, under-development, racialism, apartheid, poverty and hunger. The Non-aligned Movement has made persistent efforts to prevent a Third World war and also held the view that the nuclear war is unwinnable and should never be fought.

The Non-aligned Movement has not emerged on the world political scene because of the confrontation between the two military blocs, or the differences between the East and West which had their own separate plans for creating a new World order. In the early years both the blocs were critical of NAM which by its own efforts inscribed itself on the world's agenda. Neither the Western bloc nor the Eastern bloc really understood its aims and principles; its real message of peace and the well-being of all the peoples in all the continents.

The Non-aligned Movement, by its sheer force of its moral power, based on non-violence, and its righteous demand that the vast majority of humanity, deprived and derived a result of colonial plunder over the centuries should be given their rightful place in the world, that the NAM became a world movement and a force to reckon with in the United Nations.

The vast majority of the world's people are still dominated by the few developed countries of the West, which consume most of the world's resources. The western countries

are also the creators of a world economic order based on free enterprise that leaves more than three quarters of humanity poor and deprived.

The NAM was also the originator of the historic proposals for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and New International Information and Communication Order, to bring about a more equitable world based on social justice. These proposals despite receiving overwhelming support in the General Assembly of the United Nations were strictly opposed by the Western nations at almost every stage, stooping sometimes to the level of both political and economic blackmail. In the most undignified manner, the United States of America (USA) has time and again threatened to withdraw its financial and other support to the United Nations. The USA has even demanded the shifting of the UN headquarters from its present location in New York to some other part in the world. The multilateralism of the United Nations, Organization is under constant attack by the USA and its allies.

It is only the Non-aligned countries that are the main and most effective supporters of the United Nations and its agencies like the UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation) which makes it incumbent upon them to defend the United Nations with greater vigour and make it more democratic and effective in its functioning.

The world has undergone profound and dramatic transformation in international relations in the last several years, which have indeed been historic and have inaugurated processes that are dynamic, complex and open-ended. The old system, based on the balance of force and fear in the struggle for supremacy has dis-integrated. Non-aligned Movement arose in opposition to the dangerous and deceptive stability that the model displayed. With the Cold War grip on global thinking broken, an opportunity presents itself for strengthening peace, tolerance, disarmament, co-assistance and co-operation in international life at large.¹

¹ BUDIMIR LONCAR, Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, "Priorities and

The principles of Non-alignment, respect for the dignity of nations and individuals, the right to self-determination, mutual respect, non-interference, equality, restraint from the use of force solution of all international disputes by peaceful means, to mention some, have withstood the test of time.

Just because the policy of a Non-alignment happened to be born in the context of a bi-polar world, when the Cold-War also originated, many academicians, journalists and politicians have tried to relate the policy only to the bi- polar context. And when the Cold War appeared to be tapering off in the 1970s, with the first wave of detente, some writers (and even spokesman of the non-aligned) started questioning the continuing relevance of the policy. That this was a mistake was realized in the early 1980s, when the Cold War was revived between the two aligned blocs, headed by the two Super Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.² With the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and consequently the Socialist bloc and the disintegration of the Soviet Union and from the way the world nations and the United Nations dealt with Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in the Persian Gulf War, it became evidently clear that the world has ceased to be bipolar but become on the contrary unipolar, relating it to the domination of the world politics by the United States. Before questioning the continuing relevance of the NAM, it should be remembered that over a hundred nations (precisely 108 nations) participated in the Tenth NAM conference held at Jakarta in September 1992) have Non-aligned as their foreign policy choice out of around 159 nations of the world.

This is not the first time that a debate on the relevance of the Non-aligned Movements has cropped up; rather such a discussion started, after the signing by leaders of the thirty five European and North American Nations in 1975 of the historic Helsinki

Preoccupations of the Non-Aligned Movement", Review of International Affairs, November 1990. P. 3.

2 Professor Rajan M.S. "Non-Alignment In The Unipolar" World, Review of International Affairs, March 5, 1991, P. 1.

Agreement of peace and friendship³, confirming detente with a commitment to promote better relations among the signatory countries and for making the post World War II European borders, secure from breach or infringement. The treaty about European security brought changes in the international political scenario thereby affecting the delicate balance of power in the World and influence. However, both the Super Powers recognized the relevance of the NAM and further discussion got scuttled as a consequence. In the year 1979, the Non-aligned countries themselves discussed this issue at the Sixth Non-aligned Summit at HAVANA. The NAM countries got divided on this issue. One group comprising countries divided on this issue. One group comprising of countries like Afghanistan, Cuba, Ethiopia and Vietnam challenged the very foundations of the movement arguing that it had lost its relevance and therefore suggested that they should join enbloc their "natural ally," the Socialist Camp. The second group comprised countries like Malaysia and Singapore, while agreeing with the first group on the loss of relevance of the Movement suggested that in order to serve their national interests, the Non-aligned should, enbloc join the Western camp because it alone could help in their economic development.⁴ Fortunately for the NAM, the unprecedented and virulent discussion ended on a positive note with the timely intervention of the moderates among the Non-aligned like India, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Yugoslavia, in their wisdom argued that the Movement was valid and relevant as never before even in the changed world environment⁵ and suggested redefining of the goals to be achieved. The Movement had become resilient enough to withstand divisive tendencies and resolved to further strengthen and integrate itself.

3 The Hindu, August 3, 1975

4 Leo Mates, "The Movement is Facing Didcord and Trial" in Bajpai, U.S. (ed.), Non-Alignment: Perspectives and Prospects, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi 1983, pp.51-60.

5 Peter Lyon, The Non-Aligned Movement : Performance and Prospects in Bajpai U.S. ed. op. cit., p. 34.

The real connotation of the non-aligned concept is not negative but positive and dynamic in nature and has a much deeper and wider meaning. Rasheeduddin Khan elaborates further when he states : " the reality that it covers under its umbrella is phenomenal, much in order than what the term conveys, or what have been originally stipulated by the founding fathers. The negative prefix 'non' does violent injustice to the positive expose and sweep of the Movement."⁶

When the NAM emerged on the world political scene in 1961, it was against aligning with either of the power bloc and pledged to play a positive role in the interest of the humanity to reduce tensions and promote international peace, understanding and co-operation. Later on, it raised its voice for liquidation of colonialism and against forces representing imperialism, fascism, racialism and apartheid.⁷

In the later stages, the main emphasis was placed on denouncing war as an instrument of settling international disputes for preservation of international peace and universal disarmament. In the seventies, the Movement concerned itself mainly with the economic inequalities between the developed and developing countries.

The Eighties witnessed the focus shifting to the question of replacement of the existing archaic international economic order by a more equitable. New International Economic Order : strengthening international organizations, like the UNO, affording more opportunities for the developing countries to participate in decision-making of international monetary agencies and to promote more co-operative relations between countries of the north and south.⁸

6 Rasheeduddin Khan (ed.), Perspectives On Non- Alignment, Kalamkar Prakashan (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, p. 19.

7 Ibid., p.21.

8 Ibid. p. 21.

The most burdensome legacies of the past are the crisis spots, and regrettably most of them are located in the Third World regions. Remarkable progress has indeed been achieved in tackling these, yet many unsolved problems continue to affect the world.

Namibia has finally attained its long-awaited and hard fought independence and is now a new member of the NAM and the United Nations. Namibia, still needs extensive international support for economic and political development. The apartheid problem is nearly over in South Africa and for the first time in its history, a multi-racial government is expected after elections early next year i.e. in April 1994, in which both the Blacks and Whites would be participants. It is mainly due to the persistent efforts of the NAM that the apartheid problem has finally ended in South Africa. The crisis in Cambodia is nearing an end with the active co-operation of the United Nations. The Afghanistan crisis is also nearing its conclusion after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and further efforts to arrive at a peaceful solution. However, the crisis in the Middle East, arising out of the Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the Persian Gulf War that ensued, with the United Nations approval. The Palestine problem, the longest, painful and probably most complicated issue, peace initiatives have started with the Middle East peace talks initiated by the USA, despite difficulties, seem hopeful, although no concrete agreement has so far been reached between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel.

In the highly changed international political atmosphere, there are many issues which concern not only the Non-aligned countries but also all the nations of the world at large. Some of the issues which require urgent attention are ecological problems, global terrorism, disarmament, making the United Nations more effective, implementation of the NIEO, preservation of international peace, resolving international disputes.

Ecological protection directly concerns the mankind and is a priority in the current world affairs. The Earth Summit held at Rio De Janerio is indicative of the significant of protecting the environment. The matter has assumed very serious dimensions and a threat has developed to the very survival of the human race.⁹

Massive industrialization to raise the standard of living of people, in several countries is being done at the great cost of environmental degradation, and thus disturbing the delicate ecological balance. Forests are being destroyed mindlessly to such an extent that it has been depleted below the safe level of the thirty-six percent of forest cover necessary for maintaining the ecological balance. The situation is worse in Africa where almost a third of the countries are in the midst of food shortage crisis. Further, there is an urgent need to secure global acceptance of the Montreal Convention designed to phase out chlorofluoro-carbons and protect the Ozone layer which results in the Greenhouse Effect.¹⁰ The NAM has an effective and positive role to play in this field.

With reference to global terrorism, the 44th General Assembly of the United Nations resolved that "Policy of firmness and effective measures should be initiated in accordance with international law." Further, it called for the "immediate and safe release of all hostages and abducted persons whenever and by whom-so-ever they are being held."¹¹ The Non-aligned Movement has an even greater role to play in this issue.

Throughout the world ethnic, religious and nationalist aspirations have led to several regional conflicts. The dangers of a nuclear war have been well understood and the super powers had signed several treaties for drastic reduction in nuclear stockpiles, reducing the dangers of a possible world war and thus setting an example for the other smaller nations. The historic INF (Intermediary Nuclear Force) Treaty and the recent START - II (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) are two extraordinary achievements in comprehensive disarmament and thus paving the way for a peaceful international order. Yet, the world nations are expanding their defense expenditure at the rate of five to seven percent per

9 Gro, Harlem Bruntland, "Cutting Consumption is key to Planet's Future " in Newstime, February 4, 1990.

10 Indian Express, December 15, 1990.

11 Ibid.

annum and a major share of this expenditure is for acquisition of new weapons.¹² Instead, sustained efforts should be made for solving their inter state disputes and intra state civil strifes through peaceful negotiations and dialogue.¹³ The Non-aligned Movement can play an even more effective role here to achieve global peace and prosperity.

After the end of the Cold War, the United Nations, with a newfound appeal is taking initiatives with greater frequency and growing urgency. The machinery of the United Nations had often failed to assert itself due to the dynamics of the Cold War, is suddenly at the forefront of the international efforts to deal with unresolved problems of the past decades as well as an emergency array of present and future issues. The new era has brought new credibility to the UN and a new chapter in the history of the United Nations has begun. Consequently, expectations have soared and the United Nations will now take on larger responsibilities and a greater role for overcoming pervasive obstacles to development and peace.

At present, peacekeeping is the most prominent UN activity in international politics. Earlier the Cold War constraints prevented the security council from taking more effective and forceful steps permitted by the UN charter. Thirteen peacekeeping operations were established between 1948 and 1978, out of which five are still in operation and are between fourteen and forty four years old. However, peacekeeping, by itself, cannot provide the permanent solution to a conflict unless accompanied by political negotiation which is indispensable.

The end of the Cold War has led to a dramatic expansion in demand for the United Nations peacekeeping operations. Since 1988, fourteen new operations have been established, five of which have already completed their services and been disbanded. Some

12 J.D. Sethi, "Socialism in Third World Countries", *Newtime*, January 3, 1990.

13 Inder Malhotra, "Sense about Defence Spending" in *Newtime*, December 23, 1989.

among these new operations have been traditional and largely of military type, deployed to control unresolved conflicts between states. The military observers who monitored the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq from 1988 to 1991 and those who currently patrol the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait are some examples of the traditional, military type, peace keeping services. But most of the new operations have been set up to help implement negotiated settlements of long-standing conflicts, as in Namibia, Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique.

There is another aspect to the end of the Cold War. The thawing of its frozen political geography has led to the eruption of savage conflicts in, and sometimes between, newly emerging independent states. In one of his recent addresses Boutros Boutros Ghali, Secretary General of the United Nations says that : " The former Yugoslavia has become the United Nation 'largest peacekeeping commitment ever." Ethnic conflict across political borders and the brutal killing of civilians are reminiscent of the ordeal the UN peacekeeping forces faced in the 1960s in the then Congo. The UN forces are again bearing an unprecedented level of casualties in their operations across the World. In the first half of 1992, the number of UN soldiers increased fourfold and its members exceed 50,000. During the Cold War years, the basic principles of peacekeeping were gradually established and gained acceptance and the consent of the parties, troops provided by member states serving under the command of the Secretary - General, with minimum use of force, collective financing.

The 1990s have given peacekeeping new tasks : The protection of the delivery of humanitarian supplies to civilians caught up in a continuing conflict. This is currently underway in Bosnia - Herzegovina and Somalia, member states whose institutions have been largely destroyed in a confused net of civil conflicts. According to the established practices of peacekeeping the rules of engagement allow the UN. Soldiers to open fire only if armed persons attempt by force to prevent them from carrying out their orders; and this too has been used sparingly in the past. However this may be frequently resorted to if the

UN is to assert Security Councils authority, over those who for personal gain or war objectives, try to destroy the civilian populations.

Despite numerous obstacles, the spirit of the U.N. charter was kept above for decades under very difficult circumstances. But, for the United Nations to preserve and promote international peace, to guarantee sovereignty and security of the small nations it must receive the whole heated support and co-operation of all its member countries.

Since the Non-aligned countries constitute nearly two-thirds of the UN General Assembly, it is essential these countries of the Third World, co-operate to solve various problems which affect not only these countries particularly, but also the world in general.

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) has been a long standing demand of the NAM which seeks to replace the present unjust international economic order. The present economic order with its inherent drawbacks mainly concerning the Third World, sought to perpetrate their exploitation by the industrialized countries. The developed nations followed deliberate protectionist policies and unfair trade practices, consequently ensuring inequitable distribution of resources. Whenever the Third World countries initiated steps to further their interests, they were issued threats which included even wars. The Third World nations had no real influence in the international economic affairs decision making process concerning international financial institutions. There was a huge gulf between the debt and the amount of aid received by the developing countries. At the end of the year 1989, the Third World total debt was \$1,342 billion while on the contrary the aid received by them was \$46.7 billion.¹⁴ This debt situation by them was 46.7 billion. This debt situation worsened with the gulf crisis which led to an extraordinary increase in oil prices. All earlier efforts to end unhealthy trade practices between the developed and the

¹⁴ Nitin Desai, Non-alignment and the New International Economic Order, in U.S. Bajpai (ed.), op. cit, pp.174-196.

developing countries through United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) have proved futile due to the obstinacy of the industrialised rich.¹⁵ The NIEO was conceived in the Colombo summit of the Non-aligned nations in 1976, still remains a distant dream and hence NAM should make persistent efforts to realise this zeal.

World peace had always been the primary concern of the Non-aligned Movement and had always aimed for prevention of war, which meant absolute devastation and would undoubtedly hamper the economic development of especially the NAM nations. Peace is essential for a healthy economic progress and thus use of force in settling international disputes was always denounced by the NAM countries. Unfortunately, the Non-aligned nations had not have control over the events which culminated in conflict and plunged these countries into the quicksand of avoidable wars.¹⁶ Since the Second World War there have been scores of major inter and intra state conflicts and in a majority of these conflicts there was direct or indirect interference by the industrialized powers, especially the great powers.¹⁷ Almost always, civil strife and conflicts continually impeded the development programmes of these countries. Jawaharlal Nehru therefore attempted to enhance the power of India through economic development.¹⁸ That is why peace and progress have become the watch-words and the rallying cry of Non-alignment.¹⁹ Therefore considering the national interests of the Non-aligned nations and taking note of their continuing economic

15 G. Sundaram, "Will UNCTAD VII be different from earlier sessions" , in the Hindu, July 23, 1987.

16 T.B. Miller, "Conflict and Intevention" in Mohammed Ayoob (ed.), Conflict and Intervention in the Third World, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980, p.8.

17 K. Subramanyam, "Super Power Rivalry and Insecurity of the Developing World", in K. Subramanyam (ed.), The Second World War, ABC Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, p.176.

18 Misra K.P., "The Conceptual Profile of Non- Alignment" in Misra, K.P. & Narayanan, K.R., (eds.), Non- Alignment in Contemporary International Relations, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1983, p.205.

19 Bandopadhyay, J., The Making of India's Foreign Policy, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980, p.108.

and technological backwardness, from the 1970 Lusaka NAM conference onwards, highest priority has been attached to the economic issues.

The NAM countries in order to ensure speedy economic development, have to mobilise maximum resources from the developed countries of North. They had through various international fora demanded that adequate economic aid should be provided for accelerating the pace of their development.²⁰ suggested that the industrially developed countries should contribute at least one per cent of their G.N.P. (Gross National Product) towards economic aid to the developing world. Ultimately, the figure was lowered by mutual consent achieved through the good offices of the UNO to 0.7 percent of the GNP (Gross National Product).²¹ However the promise was hardly fulfilled satisfactorily by the developed countries. In the year 1989, the major Western industrialized nations provided less developmental aid to the poor countries which was \$ 46.7 billion, a reduction of more than two percent from \$ 48.1 billion in 1988, according to the figures given by the OECD (Organization for Economic and Co-operation and Development), Paris.²² NAM should make endless efforts to take remedial action to bring about a truly New International Economic Order.

The Non-aligned Movement ever since its inception, has fought against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Neo-Colonialism is imposed mainly through economic aid. The Non-aligned countries have realized that foreign aid had adverse political and economic implications. Over the years the Movement has evolved a collective strategy to achieve self-reliance. This means pooling of resources, exploring the complementarities in their economics and technologies, and to try and reduce their dependence on the developed

20 Mehta, S.S., "Non-Alignment and the New International Economic Order" in Misra, K.P. & Narayanan, K.R. (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp.171-180.

21 Lall, K.B. and Muni, S.D., "Non- Alignment and the New International Economic Order" in Misra, K.P. and Narayanan, K.R. (eds), *op. cit.*, pp.135- 153.

22 The Hindu, December 13, 1990.

nations. Much of the economic development can be achieved by promoting an increased South-South co-operation among the Third World Nations whose level of economic and technological development is not the same.

The Non-aligned Movement has also stressed the need for International Information Order. The United Nations in its 10 December, 1948, declaration on Universal Human Rights, in Article 19 states : "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression and that this right included freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." Channels such as television through the use and control of new information channels such as television and computer communications industrial countries are recapturing indirectly their former colonies and trying to mould their very thinking process without the latter releasing their damage. Only sustained efforts of NAM countries can compel the developed Nations to co-operate in achieving a true and democratic International Information order. Another long-standing demand has been the New International Technological Order. The Non-aligned countries lack science and technology which is so vital for accelerated economic progress. The developed nations are not willing to co-operate in science and technology transfer to modernise the present technology which is obsolete and outdated. Unless full use of science and technology is made available quickly to the LDCs' the ever widening gap between the developed and the developing countries cannot be bridged which is not a desirable prospect for either. There is an urgent need to initiate measures to promote co-operation in this field and the Non-aligned movement has a role to play.²³

23 Rehman, A. "Science, Technology and Non-Alignment" in Rasheeduddin Khan (ed.) op. cit., pp.125-130. But the situation is grim. The present conditions the Uni-polar world under U.S. supervision has shown reactance to transfer any kind of technology to the Third world.

APPRAISAL

In the year 1961 on first of September, twenty five Heads of State or Government met in Belgrade in the First conference of the Non-aligned Movement, where their purpose was stated as: "Exchanging of views on international problems with a view to contributing more effectively to world peace and security and peaceful co-operation among peoples."²⁴ Thirty - one years later the new developments on the international scene; the basic principles and the ideals of Non-aligned Movement still remain. The Non-aligned Movement has been criticized on several grounds.

It has been argued that the latest changes in international relations have eliminated the grounds on which NAM stands. This opinion is evident from a comment in the Herald Tribune: "The Non-aligned nations are facing an identify problem now that they don't really have anybody to be Non- aligned with and that every onbe is more likely to be a neighbour than a superpower."²⁵

Marko Vrhunec holds opinion which is diametrically opposite to this opinion:

"The present changes have confirmed the correctness of Non- aligned policy based on the main principles and aims by the Movement since its inception."²⁶

From the perspective of relevance the NAM would have lost its credibility, if its sole strategy had been protect members of the Movement from being pulled into bloc confrontation, as the newly emerging international order has already surpassed the era of

24 Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries, Belgrade (Yugoslavia), 1961.

25 Iora Lewis, "Herald Tribune", September 6, 1989.

26 Marko Vrhunec, "Non- Alignment New Options", Review of International Affairs, September 5, 1990.

bloc rivalry. The comprehensive assessment of the theory and practice of the Non-aligned Movement throughout the last thirty-one years reveals that the doctrine of Non-alignment, as it was defined by the founders of Movement, remains valid and relevant to the changing world today. Guided by the basic principles laid down by the First Summit the Non-Aligned Movement, " has played since its emergence an important role in uniting the member countries in the struggle for peace, national independence, and against wars, arms race and the formation of military alliances.²⁷

The NAM has played a very significant role in world politics. It defused the ideological monopoly which the (Super Powers) in each bloc had developed. In advancing ideological pluralism, NAM was able to offer alternative visions for world order and engage in active participation to shake that order.²⁸ Issues such as : international peace and security ; complete disarmament; colonialism and neo-colonialism; peaceful consistency; racial discrimination and apartheid and economic development of the Third World countries have always been topics on the agenda of be NAM meetings. The difference was either in priorities or in the degree of emphasis placed on these issues. But despite its relevance and practice, the role of NAM in the changed new world order, suffers from some shortcomings and deficiencies in many fields.

The NAM must change and improve the methodology of its work and turning of actions in order to further strengthen its role, and adjust to the new circumstances. In the Cold War years, the role of the developing countries, especially within NAM vis-a-vis the process of understanding among real powers, has been minimal. In the present multi-polar world, in such wide distribution of power, the Non-aligned Movement must have a totally different strategy, even while continuing the pursuit of former goals. In this context, A.W.

27 Nguyen Cothac, Vietnamese Foreign Minister, "From Confrontation to Cooperation", Review of International Affairs, April 20, 1989.

28 Professor Winston Langely, "The NAM : A Central Role for the Immediate Future", (University of Massachusetts), Review of International Affairs, April 20, 1989.

Singham, correctly remarked: "One of the issues that confronts the Movement internally is the growing tension between large and small states, particularly in the context of global economic negotiations. A fortress type mentalities will have severe consequence for the Movement, especially in the areas of security, cultural domination, development and political sovereignty.²⁹ In most of the regional conflicts, the rival parties involved are the Non-aligned countries. Evidently, to some extent, the performance of the Movement at present, is not as dynamic as it was in the past and is characterized by a slow response to the deep and rapid changes on the present international scene. The low key posture of the Movement in Gulf crisis is one such an instance. The passive attitude of the NAM has had its negative reflection on the status of NAM as a whole, and has made it appear as if it had been indifferent than it was before or less concerned regarding such crucial issues which are supposed to be the focus of its preoccupation and energetic efforts. Although it would be difficult to list the entire reasons for the slowness of the Movement in today's world, certain factors can be examined.

The sudden and unexpected occurrence of the new international developments has made the NAM, follow breathlessly the rapid and dramatic changes without being able to respond properly to the new realities. At present the direct dialogue and between the United States of America and the Republic of Russia narrowed the scope of action for the movement and has limited its channels for participation in the new international and political order, brought about by the current changes. The action capacity of the NAM has been further reduced by the increasing economic pressures arising from the existence of unjust international economic order. This unfair order is operating mostly to the advantage of the North and consequently further complicating the already deteriorating economy in most of the developing countries, whose social problems are compounded by acute indebtedness and threaten their stability. To add to this state of affairs, even the few declarations and

²⁹ Singham, A.W., "Superpower Realignment and Non-Alignment", Review of International Affairs, December 5, 1989.

programmes that the members of the Movement adopted in the framework of UN or the G - 77 were, more or less expressions of intention and not practical schemes of concrete action. The NAM has become a zone of political, economic and social crises for political reasons. Most of the present regional conflicts have emerged as a result of either military or political confrontation between Non-aligned countries. Unity and solidarity were the main pillars which established the NAM and leading its struggle at the early stages of its emergence. To a certain, the Movement is missing this spirit and relations among its members tend to be indifferent. The great increase in number of the Movements members and expansion in fields of activity, the growing differences between the Movements members can be attributed to the rising regional conflicts and contradictions between narrow national or regional interests of some members of the NAM.

Dr. Ranko Petkovic comments on this issue:

"The non-aligned countries do not possess the classic instrument of power to impose their own options and interests on anyone, least of all on the developed part of the world. In other words they are expected to accomplish something that they are not in a position to do either as a movement or as individual states."³⁰

Though the tradition of adherence to the principle of consensus in decision making, to which the Movement committed itself, helped avoiding divisions between the member countries, it has had its serious drawbacks in many cases, especially regarding crucial international and regional problems on which the Movement had to take a firm and clearly defined stand. Normally, consensus logic paves the way for compromises which end up in endorsing either loose decisions, empty of any concrete content, or decisions which are too idealistic to be applied and sometimes too theoretical to be feasible.

³⁰ Dr. Ranko Petkovic, "Changing Non-Aligned - But How?", Review of International Affairs, April 20, 1989.

The Non-aligned countries also faced a problem of priorities, regarding the objectives of the Movement, creating confusion over the issues on which the Movement should focus. The changing priorities are mentioned by Dr. Obed Asamoah, foreign minister of Ghana: "The form of our struggle which was mainly military political in characteristics has changed into mainly economic political.³¹ Economic, technological and environmental issues though they deserve, top priority have not become the central issues around which the full means of the NAM are mobilized effectively. Further lack of proper mechanism which can follow regularly and efficiently the implementation of the decisions adapted in all fields and monitor the development in areas of concern or interest to the Movement and properly prepare all the meetings of the Movement.

The Non-aligned Movement is still vital factor in reshaping the newly emerging international order. The NAM has 108 member countries which account for two thirds of the world population, and makes it imperative and indispensable part feature in world politics. The latest political changes have proved the credibility of the NAM philosophy and strategy, advocating peaceful co-existence and calling for the renunciation of the Cold War, bloc divisions, ideological confrontation and all other related policies which constitute the foundations of today's world changes. Further the NAM is facing a rapidly changing world with the same organizational structural and functional methods and means.

Paramount importance should be given to improving economic cooperation among NAM members (South-South) and between the NAM as representative of the South and developed countries in the North-South dialogue South-South co-operation can strengthen and consolidate, and can guarantee the protection of political independence. At the same time, NAM may serve to encourage in an appropriate manner the revitaliation of

³¹ Dr. Obed Asamoah, (Foreign Minister of Ghana), "From Confrontation to Cooperation", Review of International Affairs, April 20, 1989).

North-South co-operation. The same approach may be applied to the cooperation in the field of technology transfer taking into consideration that South- North co-operation in this particular field may come first and ahead of South-south cooperation. Priorities have to be reviewed to identify realistic order in pursuing the objectives of the Movement i.e., the emphasis should be shifted from purely political issues to economic and technological cooperation.

In this context Deepa Ollapally observes : "Unlike the Western World, the developing world would seem to have little to celebrate with the ending of the Cold War : Whether in areas of political economy, security, or ideology, the space on the global agenda for Third World concerns has shrunk. The developing countries bargaining power and leverage, never great, have steadily eroded since the onset of the debt crisis in the early 1980s. With the Cold War over, developing countries matter even less for the North."³²

But with three quarters of humankind living in the Third World and the gap between rich countries and poor continuing to widen, the potential for instability is high. Unless the Non-aligned Movement is fully cognizant of such pressures and the need to address the benefits that were expected to come from the more beneficent climate of the post Cold War period are likely to be shortleveled. On the future the NAM M.S. Rajan opines: "As long as the functioning of the sovereign-nation-state system is corrupted by power politics - i.e., so long as the system operates contrary to the theory of the system, namely that states are sovereign, independent and equal- the policy of non-alignment will remain valid and effective in international relations irrespective of the periodical and marginal changes in the system (as, indeed, it has happened so far).... As long as some states and today over two thirds of them are trying to function according to the theory of the system and are urging the

³² Deepa Ollapally, "Confronting Conflict : Domestic Factors and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Third World" (West Port, Conn, Greenwood Press, 1993).

"democratization of international relations" so long one can live in hope.... They have survived bipolarism and so will they, in the present, seeming unipolarism."³³

The Heads of States or governments in the Tenth NAM Summit at Jakarta, had reaffirmed their faith in the role of the NAM in the emerging New International Order. The NAM Heads said : "The changes that have occurred in the world do not alter nor do they diminish the validity of the basic principles and objectives of the Movement; on the contrary, they reinforce the determination to remain free from domination by any quarter and to seek a world free from fear, want and intolerance".... The Movement remains the appropriate political framework for its members to articulate their aspirations and to define areas of solidarity and joint actions."³⁴ Undertaking the importance of multilateralism the NAM leaders, reaffirmed their firm commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations and supported "efforts aimed at strengthening the UN so as to render it more democratic, effective and efficient." The Movement should enhance its unity and cohesion with a view to strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to respond effectively and expeditiously to the current challenges.³⁵

In his address at the Tenth Jakarta Summit, the Prime Minister of India P.V. Narasimha Rao emphasized the relevance of NAM : "

Talking of blocs, the need for maintaining independence continues whether there are two blocs or three or none. Taking the essence of non-alignment as the assertion of independence, in that view non-alignment as the assertion of independence, in that view non-alignment does not become irrelevant at any time. [What is perhaps being objected to is the name. What is being asked is: now that there are no blocs, why

33 Professor Rajan, M.S., "Non Alignment in the Unipolar World", Review of International Affairs, March 5, 1991.

34 As quoted by Chakravarti Raghavan, "Realistic reordering of priorities essential - NAM", Third World Resurgence, no.6, p.29.

35 Ibid, C. Raghavan, p.29.

do you still say you are Non- aligned ? But if you are not Non-aligned, are you aligned? No one among us would favour alignment with one bloc even if it is only one bloc. We may agree with it on issues on merit, but we are not aligned withit. So, how can you escape the concept of nonalignment."³⁶

A further exposition of the relevance of the NAM can be had from the former President of India R. Venkataraman in his address to the Association of Indian Diplomats. He said:

"Non- alignment is not an issue ... The Cold war has ended. That does not make the UN Charter irrelevant. The Non- aligned countries represent the will and voices of three fourths of humankind. No nation, no group of nations can disregard the NAM... In the fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties, NAM spearheaded the struggle against colonialism and racialism. It must today raise its voice against the injustices and inequities of the current decade and of the emerging Twenty First Century".³⁷

The Jakarta message infused new hope and confidence among the Non-aligned nations. But before the next summit, the NAM has to prove itself and validate the faith and confidence reposed in its relevance and endurance. The Movement must adjust to the new international order and be ever vigilant in the protecting and promoting the interests of the Non-aligned countries; while retaining the basic principles of Non-alignment.

36 As quoted by S. Viswam, in "Relevance of NAM Today", World Focus, November- December 1992, p.22.

37 Ibid. S. Viswam, pp.22-23.

Perhaps no real, lasting conclusions can be drawn with felicity about a movement as vibrant and evergreen as the Non-aligned Movement. To write a conclusion on the relevance of the Non-aligned Movement in the changing international politics is a very difficult job as it is not easy to come to grips with a Movement that had influenced the international politics for over three decades and continues to play a role with greater relevance and validity even today. Perhaps, conclusions such as those of the present study, are only comes in an ever changing world. However, every study must have a conclusion which is indispensable. The present conclusion is neither comprehensive nor permanent and is subject to the events taking place in the world in future though an attempt is made here to provide a reasonable, relevant, logical and facts-based conclusion.

The Non-aligned Movement in one of the most significant movements in the history of international politics in the second half of the Twentieth century playing even greater and effective role and promising to be an integral part of the present and the future international political scenario.

In the year 1961 on the September 1, twentyfive Heads of State or Government met in Belgrade in the First Conference of the Non-aligned Movement, where they exchanged their views on international problems with a view to contribute more effectively to world peace and security and peaceful co-operation among nations. Although 31 years have passed the new developments in international politics have only indicated the relevance of the basic principles and ideals of the Non-aligned Movement which is still in existence today.

The survival of the NAM or its continuation is not based on the end of Cold War, bipolarity or unipolarity. Several arguments have come up stating that the latest changes in international relations have created an identity crisis for the Non-aligned Nations on the basis that they do not really have anybody to be non-aligned with and thus eliminating the grounds on which the NAM stands. It is not the sole strategy of the NAM to protect its members from being pulled in to bloc confrontation as some critics argued. The newly emerging international order has surpassed the era of block- rivalry and it goes to the credit

of the NAM that the very bipolar-bloc system it had opposed has finally collapsed without trace and is now a forgotten chapter in the history of the twentieth century international politics.

The overall assessment of the theory and practice of the Non-aligned Movement throughout the last 31 years reveals that the doctrine of Non-alignment as it was defined and formulated by the founders of the NAM remains as valid and relevant in the emerging new world order, as it was at the time of its inception. Guided by the basic principles laid down in the First Summit, the Non-aligned Movement since its emergence has played an important role in uniting the member countries in the struggle for peace, national independence, self-determination, racial equality, economic equality, cultural equality, universalism and multilateralism, and in its persistent fight against wars, arms race, the formation of alliances and in its support for the United Nations.

The NAM has played a very significant role in World Politics. Most significantly it defused the ideological monopoly which the super powers in each bloc had developed and instead by advancing ideological pluralism NAM was able to offer an alternative vision and hope for a new world order based on peace, security, complete disarmament free from colonialism and neo-colonialism, free from racial discrimination, and shameful policies like Apartheid, economic development of the third world countries aided by the developed countries, peaceful co-existence multilateralism of which the United Nations is an ever lasting embodiment.

Despite its relevance in the changed new world order, the NAM must change and improve the methodology of its work, and tuning of its actions in order to further strengthen its role and adjust to the new circumstances. In the present post-cold war, multipolar world, with such a wide distribution of Political and Economic power, the Non-aligned Movement must have a totally different strategy, even while continuing the pursuit of the former goals. Unfortunately, in most of the regional conflicts the rival parties involved are the Non-aligned countries and to some extent the performance of the Movement at present is

not as dynamic as it was in the past and is characterised by a show response to the deep and rapid changes in the present international scene. The passive posture of the Movement in the Gulf crisis has had its negative reflection on the status of NAM as a whole and has made it appear as if it had been indifferent than it was before or less concerned regarding such crucial issues, which are supposed to be the focus of its pre-occupation and energetic efforts. Sudden and unexpected occurrence of the new international developments, the increasing economic pressures arising from the existence of unjust inter-national economic order operating mostly to the advantage of the North, the deteriorating economy in most of the developing countries, various social problems compounded by acute indebtedness, have made the NAM follow these changes without being able to respond properly to the new realities and thus reducing the action capacity of the Non-aligned Movement to a considerable extent.

Though the tradition of adherence to the principle of consensus in decision making to which the Movement committed itself, helped avoiding divisions between the member countries, it has had its serious drawbacks in many cases. Especially with regard to crucial international and regional problems on which the Movement had to take a firm and clearly defined stand. Normally consensus paves the way for compromises which end up in endorsing either loose decisions, empty of any concrete content, or decisions which are too idealistic to be applied and some times too theoretical to be feasible.

The changing priorities of NAM which were mainly military political in nature have changed into essentially economic- political at present. Economical, technological and environmental issues have now been given the top priority that they deserve but should be backed by a proper mechanism which can be followed regularly and efficiently to implement the decisions adopted in these fields and also monitor the development in areas of concern or interest to the NAM.

Undoubtedly, the NAM is till an integral factor in shaping the newly emerging international order. At present NAM has 108 member countries which account for

two-thirds of the world population and constitutes nearly two-thirds of the membership of the United Nations, which makes it unavoidable and indispensable in world politics. The credibility and the relevance of the NAM principles and strategy advocating peaceful co-existence, renunciation of the cold-war, block divisions, ideological confrontations and all other related policies which constitute the foundations of today's world changes, clearly indicate the role of NAM.

Despite the encouragement received with reference to the relevance of its existence, unlike the Western World there seems to be little to celebrate with the end of cold-war, especially in areas such as political economy, security, ideology, and thus space on the global agenda for the third world concerns has considerably lessened. With the onset of debt crisis in the early 1980s and the end of the Cold War the bargaining power and leverage of the Third World Countries has been steadily eroded. But with three quarters of the humanity living in the Third World and the growing gap between the rich countries and the poor continuing, the potential for overall instability is high in the international relations. Unless the Non-aligned Movement is cognizant of these pressures and the need to address the benefits that were expected to come from the more beneficent climate of the post-Cold War period are likely to be short-lived.

As long as the world political system operates against the theory of the sovereign equality of nations, the policy of Non-alignment will remain effective in international politics, irrespective of minor periodical changes. The NAM has survived the bipolarism and so will it the present seeming unipolarism. The NAM is committed to the theory of the sovereign equality of nations in the international political system i.e., the states are sovereign, independent and equal. And with its call for the democratization of the international relations at the Tenth NAM Conference held at Jakarta in Indonesia in September 1992 hopefully the future of world politics seems to be heading towards cooperation, peace and development.

At the tenth NAM Summit held at **Jakarta** the NAM Heads of State or Governments reaffirmed their faith in the role of **NAM** in the emerging New International Order. They emphasised that the changes that have occurred in the World neither alter nor diminish the validity of the basic principles and objectives of the Movement. On the contrary, these changes reinforced their determination to remain free from domination by any quarter and to Seek World free from want and intolerance. According to them, the Movement remained the appropriate framework for its members to articulate their aspirations and define areas of solidarity and joint action. Underlining the importance of multilateralism, the NAM leaders reaffirmed their firm commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations and extended their total co-operations to all efforts aimed at strengthening the UN to render it more efficient, effective and democratic. The NAM leaders also pledged to enhance the unity and cohesion of the **NAM** with a view to strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to respond effectively and expeditiously to the current challenges. The Jakarta message infused new hope and confidence among the Non- aligned Countries.

The Non-aligned Movement represents the global moral authority and the need for such a representation is all the more urgent in the fast emerging new international order. Therefore, the need for the Non-alignment is significant in the context of its positive founding principles which are still very much relevant today.

As long as deplorable plight of the peoples of the developing countries of the Third World remains to redeemed with poverty and hunger seriously afflicting them, the need for an organisation which deals primarily with the socio- economic need of the poor developing countries of the Third World remains and such an organisation of that kind is the non-aligned movement. Therefore, until the social, economic and political problems of the developing countries are not resolved, the need for the Non-aligned Movement is not only valid but also highly relevant.

Since the NAM represents mostly the developing countries of the Third World, the question of its relevance concerns the very relevance of these countries in the context of

global politics. Hence, it can be safely concluded here that as long as the developing countries of the Third World exist correspondingly the Non-aligned Movement will also exist in the realm of international politics. A world without the Non-aligned nations is inconceivable and as long as power politics continue in international relations, nations with self-respect, love for independence and hatred against domination will rise in rebellion and the NAM is an embodiment of such countries. It is a humanitarian Movement commuted to the economic, political and social liberation of the three quarters of humanity and its relevance is to these suffering peoples and relations their nations.

APPENDICES

REPORT OF THE RAPPORTEUR-GENERAL

1. The Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non- Aligned Countries was held in Jakarta, Indonesia from 1 to 6 September 1992.
2. The Conference was preceded by a Preparatory Meeting at Ambassodorial/Senior Official Level, and a Preparatory Meeting at Ministerial Level held from 29 to 31 August 1992.
3. The representatives of the following countries which are Members of the Movement participated in the Tenth Conference:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chile, Columbia, Comoros, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Peopl's Republic of Korea, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Arab Jamahirifiya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.
4. The representatives of the following countries as well as national liberation movements and International Organizations attended the Conference as Observers:

Armenia, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Croatia, Honduras, Mexico, Thailand, African National Congress (ANC), Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), Front de Liberation Nationale Kanak Socialiste (FLNKS), League of Arab States, Organization of African Unity (OAU), Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, United Nations.

5. Guest delegations were present at the Conference from the following countries and organizations:

Australia, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Dominican Republic, Finland, Germany, Greece, Holy See, Hungary, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCRCS), United Nations Ad hoc Committee on Indian Ocean, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, Indian Institute of Non-Aligned Studies, Commonwealth Secretariat, Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations (FAO), Latin American Economic System (SELA), United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of Palestinian People, United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), United Nations Institute of Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), Group of 77.

6. The following organizations were also present:

AFRICA Fund, Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP), Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), The Advisory Committee of the South Centre.

7. On the occasion of the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries messages were received from the following world statesman and leaders: His Majesty King Fahd ben Abdel Aziz al Saoud of Saudi Arabia; His Majesty Sultan Qaboos of Oman; His Excellency Mr. Said Mohamed Djohar, President of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros; His Excellency El Hag Hassan Mr. Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt;) His Excellency Mr. Hugh Desmond Hoyte, President of the Republic of Guyana; His Excellency Mr. Rafael Leonardo Callejas, President of the Republic of Honduras; His Excellency Mr. Punsalmaagiin Orchibat, President of Mongolia; [Her Excellency Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, President of the Republic of Nicaragua;] His Excellency Mr. France Albert Rene, President of the Republic of Seychelles; His Excellency Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda; His Excellency Mr. P.J. Patterson Q.C., Prime Minister of Jamaica; His Excellency Kiichi Miyawaza, Prime Minister of Japan; His Excellency Mr. Kokou Joseph Kossigoh, Prime Minister of the Togolese Republic.

Opening of the Conference (Agenda item 1).

8. The Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was declared open by His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia.
9. The Conference observed a minute of silence in memory of deceased leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, in particular those who had passed away since the Ninth Summit, the late President Muhammad Boudiaf of Algeria and the later Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India.
10. His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia, delivered an inaugural address. The Conference decided by acclamation that this address be adopted as an official document of the Conference (NAC 10/Doc. 16).
11. Responses to the inaugural address by President Soeharto were made by His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, on behalf of the African member countries; His Excellency Mr. D.B. Wijetunge, Prime Minister of the Republic of Sri Lanka, on behalf of the Asian member countries; His Excellency

Mr. Juan Almeida Bosque, Vice-President of the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba, on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean member countries; and His Excellency Mr. George Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, on behalf of the European member countries.

12. **His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations addressed the Conference during the inaugural session.**

Adoption of the agenda (NAC 10/Doc.4/Rev.1) (Agenda item 2)

13. **The Conference adopted the following agenda:**
1. **The Opening of the Conference.**
 2. **Adoption of the agenda.**
 3. **Report by the Chairman of the Preparatory Meeting at Ministerial Level.**
 4. **Election of officers.**
 5. **Organization of work.**
 6. **Admissions of new members and participation by observers and guests.**
 7. **Report by the Chairman of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.**
 8. **Report by the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund Committee.**
 9. **Report by the Chairman of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology.**
 10. **Review of the international political situation, the role of the Non-Aligned Movement and the strengthening of the United Nations.**
 11. **Review of the international economic situation, the role of the Non-Aligned Movement and the strengthening of South- South Cooperation.**
 12. **Dates and venues of the Eleventh Ministerial Conference and the Eleventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.**
 13. **Consideration and adoption of the Final Documents.**
 14. **Other matters.**

Report by the Chairman of the Preparatory Meeting at Ministerial Level (NAC 10/FM/Doc.3/Rev.1) (Agenda item 3)

14. The Chairman of the Preparatory Meeting, His Excellency Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, introduced the report. The representative of Iran, His Excellency Mr. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, pointed out that his delegation's reservation on paragraph 15 of the report had not been included in the document. The Chairman undertook that the point raised by the representative of Iran would be reflected in the record of discussion. The Conference took note of the report.

Election of officer (Agenda item 4)

15. On the recommendation of the Preparatory Meeting at Ministerial Level, the Conference decided to constitute its Bureau as follows :

Chairman : Indonesia

Vice-Chairman :

for Africa : Algeria, Cameroon, Kenya, Libya Arab Jamahiriya, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, Zimbabwe

for Asia : Afghanistan, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, India, Islamic Republic of Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Palestine, Syrian Arab Republic.

for Latin America and the Caribbean : Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Surinam

for Europe : Cyprus, Malta

Rapporteur-General : Senegal

Chairman of the Political Committee : Ghana

Chairman of the Economic Committee : Nicaragua

16. It was understood that this allocation of posts would not constitute a precedent. The entire issue of the composition of the Bureau would be referred to the Ministerial Committee on Methodology for review.

17. The Conference noted that His Excellency Mr. Nana S. Sutresna, former Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations and currently Senior Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Ambassador at Large, had been appointed Secretary-General of the Conference.

Organization of work (Agenda item 5)

18. The Conference adopted the recommendations submitted to it by the Preparatory Meeting at Ministerial Level as contained in paragraph 11 and 16 of its report (NAC 10/FM/Doc.3/Rev.1).

Admission of new members and participation by observers and guests (Agenda item 6)

19. The Conference adopted the following recommendations made by the Ministerial Meeting :
 - (a) that Brunei Darussalam, Myanmar, the Philippines and Uzbekistan be admitted as member countries of the Non- Aligned Movement;
 - (b) that Armenia, Croatia and Thailand be granted observer status;
 - (c) that Bosnia and Herzegovina and Slovenia be granted guest status;
 - (d) that the requests by Kyrgyzstan and Macedonia for guest status be referred to the Coordinating Bureau.
20. On behalf of the Conference the Chairman extended a warm welcome to these newly admitted member countries, as well as to Guatemala, Mongolia and Papua New Guinea which had been admitted since the Ninth Summit. He also welcome the new observer countries and China, which had been granted observer status earlier in the year, as well as the new guest countries. He welcomed the return of Cambodia to the Movement.

Report by the Chairman of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (NAC 10/Doc.6) (Agenda item 7)

21. The Conference took note of the report.

Report by the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund Committee (NAC 10/Doc.9) (Agenda item 8)

22. His Excellency Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister of the Republic of India and Chairman of the AFRICA Fund Committee, introduced the report. The Chairman thanked him, on behalf of the Conference, for his outstanding role in leading the work of the Committee. A draft decision on the recommendations contained in the report was referred to, and subsequently approved by, the Economic Committee.

Report by the Chairman of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology (NAC 10/FM/Doc.2/Rev.1) (Agenda item 9)

23. His Excellency Mr. George Iacovou, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus and Chairman of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology, introduced the report. The Chairman thanked him, on behalf of the Conference, for his important role in leading the work of the Committee. The Conference adopted the report.

General debate (Agenda items 10 and 11)

24. The Conference devoted eight plenary sessions to the general debate under the chairmanship of His Excellency President Soeharto. During his absence from the Chair the following Heads of Delegation presided : Tanzania, Cyprus, Cuba, Tunisia, Suriname, Algeria.
25. In the course of the general debate, statements were delivered by the following member countries :

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain^{*}, Bangladesh, Belize, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Cuba,

Cyprus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guayana, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia*, Seychelles*, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Rights of reply were exercised by India and Kuwait and an explanatory statement was made by the Islamic Republic of Iran.

26. The Conference also heard statements from the following observers and guests :

Armenia, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Croatia*, Thailand, African National Congress (ANC), Front de Liberation National Kanak Socialiste (FLNKS), Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, Austria, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian theid, United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of Peoples, World Health Organization (WHO).

27. The Committee of Nine Non-Aligned Countries on Palestine held a meeting under the Chairmanship of His Excellency President Soeharto and adopted a declaration (NAC 10/Doc.8) which forms an integral part of the official proceedings of the Conference.
28. The Bureau of the Conference held three meetings : two at Ministerial level, chaired by His Excellency Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia; and one at the level of Heads of Delegation, chaired by His Excellency President Soeharto.

Dates and venues of the Eleventh Ministerial Conference and the Eleventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non- Aligned Countries (Agenda item 12)

29. The Conference decided that with regard to the date and venue of the Eleventh Summit there was no consensus and referred the matter to the Eleventh Ministerial Conference for decision.

With regard to the Eleventh Ministerial Conference, it was decided that the matter would be discussed at the Non- Aligned Ministerial Meeting to be held during the forthcoming forty- seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Consideration and adoption of the Final Documents (Agenda item 13)

30. The Conference considered the following Final Documents submitted by the Political and Economic Committees :

(1)Draft Final Document :

comprising

- The Jakarta Message : A Call for Collective Action and the Democratization of International Relations NAC 10/Doc.12.
- Chapter I : Introduction NAC 10/Doc.1/Rev.1.
- Chapter II : Global Issues NAC 10/Doc. 1/Rev.
- Chapter III : Political Issues.
- Chapter IV : Economic and Social Issues NAC 10/Doc.3/Rev.1.

**THE JAKARTA MESSAGE
A CALL FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION AND THE
DEMOCRATIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

1. We, the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Alignment Movement, representing the vast majority of human-kind, meet in Jakarta, Indonesia, at a momentous juncture in history, a time of profound change and rapid transition, a time of great promise as well as grave challenge, a time of opportunity amidst pervasive uncertainty.
2. The collapse of the bipolar structure of the world presents unprecedented possibilities as well as challenges for cooperation among nations. Interdependence, integration and globalization of the world economy are among these new realities.
3. The world today is still far from being a peaceful, just and secure place. Simmering disputes, violent conflicts, aggression and foreign occupation, interference in the internal affairs of States, policies of hegemony and domination, ethnic strife, religious intolerance, new forms of racism and narrowly conceived nationalism are major and dangerous obstacles to harmonious co-existence among states and peoples and have even led to the disintegration of states and societies.
4. Consistent with its fundamental principles and objectives, the Movement has made many contributions to bringing about improvements in the present international political climate. These have also fully vindicated the validity and relevance of Non-Alignment and its basic approach in addressing international problems and developments.
5. This new era in international relations has renewed hopes for building a new and equitable international order, for stable peace and common security and for economic and social justice. Such a new order must be firmly rooted in the rule of law, the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as equitably shared responsibility and joint commitment to global cooperation and solidarity. Its structure should be comprehensively conceived and dedicated to peace and justice, among states and to the promotion of the fundamental rights and freedoms of individual human beings as well as nations. We must ensure respect for the sovereignty of nations and the strict adherence to the principal of non-interference in

the internal affairs of other states, which should not be diluted or abridged under any pretext. We shall continue to strive for the democratization of international relations.

6. We are committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes in all regions of the world through a sustained process of dialogue and negotiation and encourage the establishment of regional mechanisms towards this end where appropriate.

7. We remain unflinching in our support for the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people to secure their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence and reiterate our demand for the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab lands, including Jerusalem. We hope that a just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine on the basis of the principles and resolutions adopted by the United Nations shall soon be reached through the current peace process.

8. Apartheid and racial discrimination remain particularly repugnant features of the current scene and their abolition can brook no further delay. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle to establish a united non-racial and democratic South Africa.

9. We are heartened by the progress being made in limiting nuclear and conventional armaments. But the disarmament agenda is still unfinished and much more remains to be done. A nuclear-weapons-free world always been the vision of our Movement. This alone can ensure survival and in the collective responsibility of all nations. We also urge accelerated efforts on other priority issues, particularly the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction.

10. Today, peace and stability are dependent on socio-economic as much as on political and military factors. Diminishing prospects for economic growth and social advancement, large-scale unemployment, mass poverty and severe environmental degradation endanger peace and stability.

11. We are deeply concerned over the negative impact of global military expenditures on the world economy. Resources released through disarmament and arms reduction should be rechanneled towards the economic and social development of all countries, and espe-

cially of the developing countries. This will, at the same time, facilitate the attainment of security at lower levels of armaments.

12. In the economic sphere, inequitable international structures and unequal relations have resulted in deepening disparities and unacceptable injustices which continue to widen the prosperity and technology gap between the developed and developing countries.

13. Our Movement is committed to wage war on poverty, illiteracy and under-development. We shall seek to advance broad-based and people-centred development, including the promotion of human resources development, and we call for the accelerated development of the developing countries based on equitable distribution, growth and stability.

14. The progress of Non-Aligned and other developing countries remains hampered by an unfavourable external economic environment characterized by inadequate access to technology, unabated protectionism, historically low prices for commodities and raw materials, severely contracted financial flows and the crushing burden of debt and debt servicing resulting in reverse financial flows to the developed countries and multilateral institutions. In this context, the critical socio-economic situation in Africa, where millions suffer economic and social deprivation, cries out for concerted action. Africa deserves our special attention.

15. We are dismayed over the failure to conclude the Uruguay Round for Multilateral Trade Negotiations. We urgently call upon the developed countries to ensure without further delay a balanced, equitable and satisfactory conclusion of the Round which takes into account the interests of all parties, especially the development needs and concerns of the developing countries.

16. A shift of focus in international relations towards strengthening multilateral cooperation for development has become indispensable. In this regard, we call for the reform and restructuring of the world economic system and for the strengthening of the United Nations' capacity for enhancing international development and cooperation. Never before have the fate and fortunes of the North and South been so inextricably linked. Towards this end, we call for the reactivation of a constructive dialogue between the developed and developing countries, based on genuine interdependence, mutuality of interests and of benefits, and shared responsibility.

17. At the same time, determined efforts to intensify South- South cooperation on the basis of collective self-reliance is imperative. We see South-South cooperation as vital for promoting our own development and for reducing undue dependence on the North. It is also an integral element in the attainment of a new and equitable international economic order. We must develop more effective means of pooling the resources, expertise and experiences internal to the South. We are determined to initiate concrete and practicable forms of cooperation in areas such as food production and population, trade and investments, and to devise realistic modalities for their implementation. In this way the concept of collective self-reliance can be translated into reality. Towards this end we consider the coordination of our efforts and strategies with the Group of 77 of crucial importance through the establishment of a Joint Coordinating Committee.

18. We reaffirm that basic human rights and fundamental freedoms are of universal validity. We welcome the growing trend towards democracy and commit ourselves to cooperate in the protection of human rights. We believe that economic and social progress facilitate the achievement of these objectives. No country, however, should use its power to dictate its concept of democracy and human rights or to impose conditionalities on others. In the promotion and the protection of these rights and freedom, we emphasize the inter-relatedness of the various categories, call for a balanced relationship between individual and community rights, uphold the competence and responsibility of national governments in their implementation. The Non-Aligned countries therefore shall coordinate their positions and actively participate in the preparatory work of the Second World Conference on Human Rights in June 1993, in order to ensure that the Conference address all aspects of human rights on the basis of universality, indivisibility, impartiality and non-selectivity.

19. Rapid degradation of the environment threatens the very survival of humankind. We welcome the outcome of the Rio Conference which addressed the inseparable issues of environment and development. Sustainable development calls for a new global partnership, including the provision of new and additional financial resources to developing countries and adequate access for them to environmentally sound technology.

20. We welcome the proposal to convene the World Summit for Social Development which should place people and their social needs at the heart of United Nations endeavours and provide an opportunity for addressing the multidimensional aspects of social issues.

21. We believe that the full and equal integration of women into the development process at all levels is a central goal of the Non-Aligned Movement. We are committed to the success of the forthcoming 1995 World Conference on Women : Action for Equality, Development and Peace.

22. The right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being is a fundamental human right, especially for all children, and the promotion of this right is a moral imperative for the international community. We therefore affirm our commitment to the full and effective implementation of the Declaration and the Plan of Action of the World Summit for Children.

23. The United Nations as the universal embodiment of multilateralism, has a unique opportunity to become the primary, collective instrument to construct a new, just and equitable world order. To ensure the achievement of these objectives, our Movement is determined to play a leading role in contributing to the revitalization, restructuring and democratization of the United Nations System. To this end, we have decided to establish a high-level Working Group charged with the elaboration of concrete proposals for the restructuring of the United Nations.

24. We are of the conviction that coordination among Non-Aligned countries at United Nations Headquarters must be strengthened. The Coordinating Bureau should define priority issues on which such coordination should be enhanced, including those related to the functioning of the Security Council and the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly.

25. The central role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, within the framework of the collective security provisions of the Charter, is more crucial than ever. The report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. "An Agenda for Peace", is a timely contribution.

26. We underline that respect for international law is the foundation for peace and security, and is particularly important in this era of transformation in the relations among nations. In this day and age, there is no place for the unilateral use of force and for claims to exercise extra-territorial rights by States.

27. Since Bandung 37 years ago, we have consistently struggled for the realization of our fundamental principles and objectives. As we chart our course for this decade and beyond, the Movement is committed to the shaping of a new international order, free from war, poverty, intolerance and injustice, a world based on the principles of peaceful co-existence and genuine interdependence, a world which takes into account the diversity of social systems and cultures. It should be reflect global, not separate, interests. And it should be sought through the central and irreplaceable role of the United Nations. We, the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, holding fast to the principles and ideals as originally articulated by our founding fathers, do hereby affirm the fundamental human rights to development, social progress, and the full participation of all in shaping the common destiny of human-kind. Through dialogue and cooperation, we will project our Movement as a virant, constructive and genuinely inter-dependent component of the mainstream of international relations. Only then, can a new international order take shape on a truly universal basis, ensuring harmony, peace justice and prosperity for all.

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