

**THE ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS
IN THE UNITED NATIONS //**

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This is a modest attempt to explore the role which the non-aligned countries have generally played, and have been playing, in the United Nations.

An attempt has been made to define the role of the non-aligned countries in the political, social and cultural and economic spheres and to assess the impact of their collective will and influence on the deliberations and counsels of the United Nations.

The field of the study is very vast and the role of the non-aligned countries is ever increasing. Therefore my study is highly relative and seeks to focus generally on the development of their role in the United Nations on the maintenance of peace and security, the process of decolonisation, fight for the promotion of human rights and the solution of social, cultural and economic problems.

Whatever little I have been able to achieve in my endeavour has been largely due to the constant guidance and encouragement of my teacher and guide, Professor M.S. Rajan, Professor of International Organisation, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Despite his manifold responsibilities, he was

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The post-war international scene projected some notable trends - the emergence of the two power blocs, perpetually keeping themselves embroiled in 'Cold War' and trying to outlive each other in arms race, nuclear and conventional; attainment of political freedom by a number of small and big countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and emergence of the non-aligned Movement (NAM) that rejects foreign efforts to achieve domination - political, economic, social and cultural.

The scenerio was further marked by an upsurge of nationalism in Asia. It meant a reaction against foreign rule and against colonialism, imperialism, racism and racialism and war. This brand of nationalism is wholly consistent with humanism, peace and international co-operation. Here, faith in the United Nations got combined with sovereignty and economic development, and thus the United Nations got linked with the NAM. In this way, nationalism and independence brought Asian, African and other countries

into the non-aligned forum, and non-alignment in its turn, looked to the United Nations as the hope of mankind.

This makes it obvious that the NAM is the expression of the will and determination of the newly-independent nations in Asia and Africa to protect and strengthen their national independence. They reject all forms of subjugation, dependence, and interference and want to keep themselves free of all external pressures in the political, economic, military and cultural matters. They want to establish their individual and collective identity in the international field and aspire to involvement in world affairs on an equal footing with other sovereign states. It became imperative for these countries to offer full allegiance to the United Nations as they fully realized that the World Organisation "reflected the profound strivings of the people and nations to banish war and force even from their mutual relations".¹

Hence, the purpose and scope of the present study is to trace the role of the NAM in the United Nations and its involvement in the activities of the Organization for their own self-fulfilment and for the furtherance of global peace and all-round development for man to live free from fear of war, hunger and disease.

¹ K.P. Misra, Studies in Indian Foreign Policy (Delhi, 1969), p. 98.

It would be pertinent to provide a brief historical survey of the movement to project its role in the deliberations and activities of the United Nations and its place vis-a-vis the world body. {This concept originated and evolved at a time when the world, after the Second World War, witnessed a growing polarisation of international relations that resulted in the emergence of power blocs and military alliance and pacts.} This in its own turn provided a back-drop to the cold war between the two Super Powers and affected many countries that stood close to either of the blocs.

{It was in this chaotic environment that a number of countries in Asia and Africa attained independence. Their raging desire was to maintain their freedom and keep themselves away from the sinister shadow of their erstwhile colonial masters. They found it expedient to follow the policy of peace, not through alignment but through an independent approach to every issue that affected their sovereignty,} political freedom and economic development, so as to achieve economic independence, free from foreign control and influences. They stood against discrimination - racial, regional or national.

{To such countries non-alignment offered hopes for the realization of their aspirations, political, economic and social. To them, it did not appear to be vague or negative or

neutral but a manifestation of their active involvement in the world affairs.³

The post-Second World War period witnessed the establishment of the United Nations. It fully echoed and endorsed the sentiments and aspirations of the non-aligned nations. Among these newly liberated countries, a strong national consciousness emerged that resulted in dedication to, and a dependence on, an effective United Nations as an essential instrument for the implementation of their policies. It is evident from the fact that out of the 50 nations that were represented at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco in 1945, twelve² were Afro-Asians, many of which later on followed the policy of non-alignment. To the non-aligned nations (the number of which has now risen to a hundred and one) the membership of the United Nations is of primary importance, for it sets the seal of approval on the independence of the newly-emerging states (big and small) and gives them international recognition as sovereign and equal states and enables their active participation in the international system.³

2 The twelve countries were: China, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Phillipines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Turkey.

3 K.P. Saksena, "The Non-aligned in the United Nations", International Studies, vol. 20, no. 1-2, January-June 1981, p. 81.

The Afro-Asians held in 1947 a conference that dealt with issues that were pertinent and significant to them, but they also projected the image of United Nations in a prominent manner to gain their objectives. Their desire for regional organisation stemmed from a deep sense of identification with the problems which they faced individually and collectively. It was with this end in view that the Asian Relations Conference was convened in 1947. It displayed a growing sense of solidarity among the Afro-Asian countries. It gave the United Nations the place of primacy in tackling and deciding issues of international import and concern. Its significance was recognized by the West and the New York Times, for instance, gave an ominous warning to the western world to watch carefully since it may have large potentialities.⁴

The next gathering of Afro-Asian nations took place in New Delhi in January 1949. It was a Conference on Indonesia. The Afro-Asian countries felt that the Security Council had been handling the Indonesian problem for six months, but had not settled the dispute. They grew conscious of the fact that the Security Council dominated by the Western countries, was deferring action, as the West European countries were more involved in the working and

⁴ G.H. Jansen, Afro-Asia and Non-alignment (London, 1966), p. 72.

formation of the West European union which was in the process of institutionalising itself in the forum of NATO.⁵ (It is a noteworthy fact that at a time when the United Nations was in effect functioning as an anti-communist alliance (in defiance of the UN Charter) it was helped to exist and survive as an independent Organisation by the "neutral Afro-Asian states). In this conference, it was resolved that Indonesian issue should be raised by their Permanent Representatives at the UN General Assembly where all the countries enjoyed a status of equality. It forestalled the dangerous consequences of the Organisation to act as a peace enforcement organisation and converted it to a peace-keeping one.⁶ Partly as a consequence of this move, partial sovereignty for the United States of Indonesia was won on 27 December 1949, four days before the deadline set by the New Delhi Conference. It may be added at this point that the Afro-Asian group was not yet a well-organised body, but on matters of common interest, they came to develop methods of consultation and co-operation.⁷

5 Ibid., p. 72.

6 Francis Parakkil, India and the U.N. Peace Keeping Operation (New Delhi, 1975), p. 17.

7 S.L. Poplai, ed., Asia and Africa in the Modern World (Bombay, 1955), p. 6.

{ During the period 1949-54, the sustaining element of what later on became the NAM was the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations. They had realised that to achieve any success in influencing any issue, they must be active participants in the system. Since they followed a policy of non-involvement, they decided to assess each issue on its merit, rather than on the basis of power politics. } Consequently, this period gave the movement a moral stature and political impetus that endured for several years.⁸

A new and effective mediatory role was opened for them in 1950 due to the Korean issue (to be discussed in detail in a later chapter). The United Nations thus provided a mechanism whereby the non-aligned could play an important role by bringing pressure to bear on the two Super Powers to realise some kind of compromise of the problem.⁹

{ Their participation in the United Nations was further intensified when India's B.N. Rau initiated in August-September 1950, an informal caucusing of the Afro-Asian states which led them to protest unanimously against the United Nations armed forces crossing the 30th parallel

8 Michael Brecher, India and World Politics: Krishna Menon's View of the World (London, 1968), p. 1.

9 Cecil V. Crabb Jr., The Elephant and the Grass (New York, 1966), p. 132.

in Korea.

Incidentally, it was during this period that India, Egypt, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and later Ghana assumed leadership. By now, non-alignment had become the sole basis of Afro-Asians, and the 6 years which divided Bandung from Belgrade (where the first foundation conference of the NAM was held) can be described as the period of formalising the process in the evolution of the NAM. The climatic event in this period was undoubtedly the UN resolution of 14th December 1957 on peaceful and neighbourly relations among ^{states,} sponsored by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia. } The participation of the non-aligned nations was increasing steadily in the UN as they realised the importance of international accountability to all acts abhorrent to them. In 1960s a large increase in the number of Afro-Asians in the United Nations made the group a more organised body. A new situation was created in the world and for both the blocs. The pressure of voting force in the United Nations which could not be manipulated, was bound to have far-reaching consequences to the working of the international bodies and conferences.¹⁰ Anti-colonialism was possibly the strongest bond uniting Africa and the Arab world and Asia which fostered their determination to utilise

¹⁰ Leo Mates, Non-Alignment: Theory and Current Policy (New York, 1972), p. 232.

their strength in the United Nations.¹¹ In the 15th session of the General Assembly on 3 October 1960 Nehru said:

"...we can definitely say that the United Nations has amply justified the existence and repeatedly prevented recurrent causes from developing into war." Uptil now, non-alignment had not received formal recognition as a coherent set of ideas - when the states forming this ideology came together to articulate their common interests. The non-members of military alliances, 20 in number, assembled in Cairo from 5-12 June 1961 and adopted certain criteria of participation in the forthcoming Belgrade Conference - the country should have adopted an independent policy, support national independence, not to be a member of a multilateral military alliance, not be involved in great Power conflict, and not concede military bases to foreign Powers. Since then, the interaction among them has become frequent, and the idea of holding periodical conferences that emerged as a consensus among them has brought them closer to one another, both inside and outside the United Nations. {At the first non-aligned summit held in Belgrade in September 1961, twenty-five¹² countries participated. One of the most important

11 Saksena, n. 3, p. 114.

12 Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, UAR, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

features of the Declaration of the Conference was the recognition of the United Nations as the supreme body approachable for solving the world problems and tensions.}

The agenda before the leaders once again echoed that of the United Nations. They reiterated the right of the peoples to self-determination, respect for territorial integrity of states, an end to racial discrimination and general total disarmament, promotion of peaceful coexistence, implementation of the resolutions passed in the United Nations and study problems concerning uneven economic development and technological co-operation.

These are the basic issues of the accepted policy which are taken up by them in the General Assembly of the United Nations. These will be studied and expatiated in the following chapters. In Belgrade, they reaffirmed their support to the Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples adopted in the 15th session of the General Assembly. They called upon the Assembly to expand the membership of the Security Council and of the ECOSOC and advocated the representation of the People's Republic of China in it.

All the summit conferences have spelt out their commitment to the United Nations; ¹³ they have invariably

13 Belgrade : 1-6 September 1961, Cairo : 5-10 October 1964, Lusaka : 8-10 September 1970, Algiers : 5-9 September 1973, Colombo : 16-19 August 1976, Havana : 3-9 September 1979, and New Delhi : 7-12 March 1983.

been concerned with major world problems and with situations of general interest to all. The resolutions of the General Assembly are used as bases for common and collective strategy by members of the movement to push through the United Nations the accepted points of view. Though individually non-aligned nations are poor and militarily weak their strength lies in their capacity to act collectively on basic issues facing them.

Since the Lusaka Summit, such conferences are held every three years. At the end of the summit it was decided to appoint an official spokesman and it formed the beginning of the permanent executive committee which in turn led to the development of the present Co-ordinating Bureau. It was also decided that the consultative meetings should be held at the United Nations and the functions of the Bureau was to co-ordinate the actions of the non-aligned countries within the framework of the United Nations system on the basis of the decisions of the conferences of the non-aligned countries and the execution of the tasks assigned to it by the group of non-aligned countries in the United Nations.¹⁴

Here, decisions are taken by consensus. The Chairman of the Summit Conference remains the official

14 M. S. Rajan, "Institutionalisation of Non-aligned : Widening Gulf Between the Belief and the Prospect", International Studies, vol. 20, no. 1-2, January-June 1981, p. 72.

spokesman of the NAM until the next conference. He or she reports to the annual UN General Assembly on the decisions reached. The meetings in the United Nations decide on the diplomatic tactics to be adopted and conference strategies are devised for pushing through the United Nations the resolutions desired by non-aligned members. Besides the documents adopted by the non-aligned conference are now always circulated as documents of the General Assembly.

The Lusaka directives followed by the Colombo and Havana Summits instructed the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned to meet at the United Nations headquarters periodically, and later directives called for a meeting at least once a month. In addition to preparing for future conferences, the Co-ordinating Bureau was given a mandate of co-ordinating activity and policy in the United Nations and supervising the growing range of work in economic spheres.¹⁵

In New York, the non-aligned caucusing group began meeting after 1971, and became particularly active from early 1973 onwards. The process became regularized when the Algiers summit entrusted the Bureau with

15 Peter Willets, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay, 1978), p. 39.

co-ordinating the activities of the non-aligned and decided that meetings at Foreign Ministers' level should be held once a year in a non-aligned capital. The UN co-ordinating Bureau meeting at least once a month, has the responsibility for developing the tactics of drafting resolutions, lobbying and negotiating. The Bureau also decides whether or not to agree to the requisitioning of extra-ordinary meeting at ministerial level.

We shall analyse the developments of the NAM in its various stages. The first stage is concerned with national revolutions and historical strivings for national independence, for which it addressed itself through the United Nations. It witnessed the efforts of the non-aligned states to provide assistance to national liberation struggles; this phase would be dealt in the chapter on Decolonisation problem. Suffice it to say here that the NAM came to grips with this problem by providing active support to it in the forums of the UN. The political problems eventually gave a way to activities in the redistribution of the world's resources for economic developments, demands for which have been made in the forums of the United Nations.

From this brief historical survey of the NAM's association with the United Nations, it is obvious that the NAM remains potentially a very important international

grouping. The movement is not based on geographical contiguity like the OAS, OAU or the ASEAN. It is certainly not a military grouping like the NATO or the Warsaw Pact. The birth of the movement is not some accident of history, or geography or economics. It is a grouping of like-minded that sit together periodically and evolve, by consensus certain policies to be pursued through the United Nations. They function as a group in the United Nations at the sessions of the UNCTAD and other international forums. Realising the significance of the United Nations as an effective peace-keeping body and its role in the economic development of the developing countries, the Chairperson of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit at New Delhi, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi emphasized the need and necessity of strengthening the United Nations. Her sentiments were also echoed at the Summit by the UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar; he remarked that the United Nations needs strengthening and should be strengthened not only by the non-aligned countries but by all the countries of the world. 3

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CHAPTER II

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY

(Once the process of decolonisation was achieved, the newly independent countries realized that to safeguard their political and economic independence, they must seek international peace and security.) Consequently, their attention focussed itself on the elimination of conflict between the Big Powers and in keeping themselves away from being sucked into their conflict. Emphasis was, therefore, placed by them on the importance of peaceful negotiations, and once again, they stressed the importance of the United Nations in finding solutions to major world issues.

(There are three basic elements for the maintenance of international peace and security under which we will attempt to study the role played by the non-aligned countries in the United Nations. They are: Peace settlement; Enforcement Action, and Arms regulation.)

The desire for the achievement of these objectives has led to an increasing use of the General Assembly by the non-aligned nations, where they are in a majority. It is to their credit that they have managed to forestall the

dangerous consequences of the United Nations functioning as an enforcement agency in a bipolarized world.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

(A major objective of the NAM has been peaceful settlement of disputes, elimination of local conflicts and strengthening of the mechanism of co-operation and security within the forum of the United Nations. It has emphasized the importance of direct negotiations, mediation and the good offices accepted by the parties concerned, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.)

(Successive non-aligned summits have reiterated the basis of their pursuit of world peace and peaceful co-existence by strengthening the role of the non-aligned countries within the United Nations.) They have adopted declarations and statements demanding peaceful settlement of disputes and have insisted upon the policy of non-interference and non-intervention. (They have elaborated a set of universal principles which can lead to the resolution of the most diverse situations and conflicts.) They have made demands for unconditional and immediate ending of armed conflicts, for the withdrawal of armed forces from foreign territories and for the mediation of the United Nations. (By now the question of colonialism and racism has passed into the realm of peace and security.)

At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in 1960, Nkrumah, Nehru, Soekarno, Nasser and Tito put following two initiatives. One was a letter dated 29 September 1960 addressed to the President of the General Assembly along with a draft resolution asking the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to review their respective policies and renew their contacts for finding solutions for all outstanding problems. But it came in for much procedural wrangling and was eventually withdrawn. The other initiative was a joint communique addressed to the UN Secretary General¹ regarding the Congo issue which has been discussed in the preceding chapter. It expressed the view that Prime Minister Lumumba represented the legitimate government of the Congo. They were at the same time willing to accept Kasavubu as President. The attempt was to support the credentials of the delegations named by Lumumba and also to promote a reconciliation between the two leaders.

The Belgrade Conference (1961) of the non-aligned countries, in an effort to find solutions to the major conflicts demanded the termination of imperialist intervention in the Congo, withdrawal of the French troops from Tunisia and an end to apartheid in South Africa and the recognition

¹ UN General Assembly, Document, A/4522.

of the legitimate rights of the Arab people in Palestine.

The Cairo Conference (1964) emphatically denounced the imperialist policy in Indochina and demanded that the countries of the region should be left free to decide their own future. The Lusaka Summit (1970) reiterated concern at the continuation of war caused by the presence of foreign armed forces in Indochina and considered that "it is only through negotiations between the parties concerned that a peaceful solution can be found...." It condemned the presence of South African troops in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. It appealed to France and Spain to allow their dependencies to exercise under the aegis of the United Nations their right to self-determination.

It felt that only the resolution of the rights of Arab peoples of Palestine to their homeland could help restore peace in the Middle East and called upon the Security Council and all members of the United Nations to prevent a repetition of the aggression of Israel on Lebanon.

The Algiers Conference (1973) reiterated the pledge made by the non-aligned countries to solve mutual controversies and differences by peaceful means. It upheld the Arab peoples struggle to evict Israeli occupation. Bearing in mind this resolution, the non-aligned countries took advantage of the 28th meeting of the UN General Assembly to

exert fresh efforts to help find a just settlement and demanded that Israel withdraw from the occupied Arab territories.

The Fourth Arab-Israeli war sparked the non-aligned countries to condemn the Israeli aggression. Their representatives in the Security Council put forth a resolution demanding an immediate ceasefire and proposed the setting up of a UN Force to control and maintain the truce, from which the Permanent Members of the Security Council were excluded. This was a commendable effort to find a just, peaceful and durable solution. They demanded the breaking off of diplomatic ties with Israel in accordance with the recommendations of the Fourth Conference of the non-aligned countries, since Israel was unwilling to vacate the occupied Arab lands. They demanded the Security Council to invoke the powers vested in it with a view to imposing on Israel sanctions to force it to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories.

Support for the Palestinian Arabs was emphasized at the Colombo Summit (1978) where the Palestinian Liberation Organization was represented as a full-fledged member of the movement. The Conference called for depriving Israel of the UN membership. Demand was also made for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea to de-escalate tension in the region. The agenda also included the Cyprus question and demand was made to find a just and peaceful

solution to this problem. It reviewed consideration at the next Conference held in Havana in 1979, where the non-aligned countries demanded immediate withdrawal of all occupied forces from Cyprus. They demanded that all disputes be solved through negotiations within the forums of the United Nations. In their endeavour, the non-aligned countries succeeded to a large extent. The efforts made at the Sixth Summit in Havana culminated in the adoption by the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of states contained in resolution 36/103.

The non-aligned countries condemned the refusal of Israel to receive the tripartite committee set up under the Security Council Resolution 46 (1979) to enquire into conditions in settlements in the occupied Arab territories. At the New Delhi Summit (1983) they noted with satisfaction the efforts made by the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in the search for a just solution to the question of Palestine.

Another area of conflict which posed a threat to world peace to which the non-aligned countries attached importance was Indochina. At the Lusaka Conference a special resolution was passed affirming "full support" to the people of Indochina. It pointed to the presence of foreign troops

as the cause of the escalation of war. The non-aligned countries spoke out in the United Nations when the United States of America used arms against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They condemned this act as an impermissible use of force to impair a settlement on a nation fighting for its freedom and asked the contending parties to negotiate an agreement.

Once the agreement on ceasefire and restoration of peace in Vietnam was signed, the non-aligned countries in the United Nations endorsed the provisions of the agreement and gave due recognition to the peoples of Vietnam and their right to decide their own future. In the same spirit, they affirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny.

As regards the Afghanistan problem, they have regarded the discussions through the intermediary of the Secretary-General as a step in the right direction and urged its continuation with a view to promoting an early practical settlement of the problem.

They accorded firm support to Argentina's right to have its sovereignty over Malvinas islands restituted through negotiations between Argentina and United Kingdom with the participation and good offices of the Secretary-General to ensure speedy solution to the problem. Similarly they have demanded a peaceful solution to the Iran-Iraq

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conflict. It needs to be added, however, that the two non-aligned states have themselves violated the NAM norm of peaceful settlement of disputes.

They have expressed deep concern over the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist South African regime in flagrant violation of the UN resolutions. They have called upon the Security Council to consider further action towards the implementation of its plans for Namibia's independence and thereby assumed some responsibility for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). They have expressed their concern over the increased acts of military and economic destabilization perpetrated by the South African racist regime in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and Seychelles.

The New Delhi Summit (1983) reiterated the concern of the non-aligned countries over the risks to the peace in the region of Western Sahara and appealed to the parties to the conflict to negotiate a settlement in accordance with the UN General Assembly resolution 1514(XV).

The Conference recalled that the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes remained central to the philosophy of peaceful coexistence advocated by the non-aligned countries and that all disputes should be resolved by peaceful means in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.

PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS

The non-aligned movement itself has emerged largely as a major non-military initiative of the independent countries to ensure peace and security for themselves. And, their refusal to be drawn into entangling alliances by the Big Powers is, therefore, compatible with the principle of collective security within the framework of the United Nations. This is so, because the UN forces are deployed in active conflict situations to bring about an end to fighting and thereafter maintaining an impartial preserve between the opposing sides.

The emergence of such nations, lending support to the peace-keeping operations which depend on impartiality and non-coerciveness has been one of the most important developments in the preparedness activity of the United Nations. They have been effective in not only safeguarding their own national interest, but also in contributing significantly to world peace.

It was especially during the Korean Crisis that the non-aligned nations of Afro-Asia were able to exemplify the policy of impartiality and total commitment to the UN endeavour. It also proved a challenge to them as they had to take a clear stand in the great trial of strength between the two antagonistic blocs. They took a position which had

a much needed sobering effect on the Western Powers and persuaded them not to allow the United Nations in escalating the war.²

An important development during this crisis was that the Afro-Asian nations left the fold of the Western nations and took up an independent stance. When North Korea made the attack, two Afro-Asians, India and Egypt, then members of the Security Council, voted with the others in naming North Korea as aggressor. But soon, they adopted an independent posture when two days later, on 27 June 1950, they abstained on the second resolution empowering the United Nations to give military assistance to South Korea. India even suggested seating of People's Republic of China in the Security Council in order to break the deadlock which had caused the USSR's absence from the Council.

When the Soviet delegates did return, a deadlock was created and India informally suggested the appointment of a committee of non-permanent members to study all proposals of settlement, but received lukewarm reception, and the proposal was dropped.

Despite such setbacks, they maintained their stance. When the Six Power Resolution in the Assembly named the Chinese "aggressor", it was not endorsed by the non-aligned

2 K.P. Saksena, "Non-Aligned and the UN", International Studies, Special Double Issue on Non-Alignment, vol. 20, no. 1-2, January-June 1981, p. 84.

nations, and they sponsored a resolution creating a three-men committee "to determine the basis on which a satisfactory ceasefire in Korea can be arranged".³ Simultaneously, twelve Afro-Asians sponsored a second resolution recommending that an unnamed number of governments should 'make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of existing issues'. The first resolution was approved by 55 to 5 and 1 abstention (Nationalist China), but the second was opposed by the West and was dropped. This activity skilfully edged out the Six-Power draft resolution, but it ultimately won as the three-men committee could make little progress. Here, it can be said that the non-aligned nations at least induced the Assembly to explore possibilities of peaceful settlement before taking the drastic action that was desired by the United States and its allies.

The resolution on crossing the 38th Parallel separating the two Koreas was passed by 47 to 5 with 7 abstentions; the abstainers being India, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria and Lebanon, while Indonesia did not participate.⁴ The opposing non-aligned

3 The Committee was to consist of B.N. Rau of India, Entezam of Iran and Lester Pearson of Canada.

4 The UN General Assembly Resolution 376 (V), 7 October 1950.

nations argued that the essential purpose of the United Nations is to preserve international peace, and this resolution would eliminate that purpose in future negotiations, while a moderate resolution would leave the United Nations more room for manoeuvring.

Thereafter the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution was pushed through in November 1950. Here, it is of interest to note that the voting record of the Afro-Asians shows that the 'group' acted as a group only at a moment of real crisis and only on its own resolutions and did not formulate a common policy; countries like Lebanon, Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia could not resist Western pressures and succumbed to them.⁵

But a majority of the non-aligned nations opposed this resolution. They did not deny the competence of the Assembly, but only the expediency of the proposed action. They felt it was an attempt to ignore the basic security framework envisaged in the UN Charter and it turned the organisation into an anti-Communist alliance.

When People's China's "volunteers" launched the attack, an attempt was made by the non-aligned nations to diffuse the crisis. India's B.N. Rau rallied the Asian

⁵ G.H. Jansen, Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment (London, 1966), p. 109.

opinion in support of an appeal to the Chinese not to cross the 38th parallel. Though the suggestion was spurned, this act of the fourteen Afro-Asian nations represented the real beginning of group action in the United Nations and the development of cohesion among them. It was due to the subsequent Chinese intervention that the first determined and significant initiative was taken in the United Nations by the non-aligned nations to bring about alleviation of East-West conflict on the basis that would assure to them maximum opportunity to determine their own future without the interference from outside. Their desire was to steer clear of power politics; so, it was but natural that India, a non-aligned nation, was called to shoulder the responsibility of maintaining the armistice negotiations when the war ended which began in July 1951 and was made Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

Korea was the only case of the application of the UN military sanctions to suppress external aggression and to preserve peace and security. On the other hand, the first major peace-keeping operation took place during the Suez Crisis of 1956 in which the non-aligned nations took an active part and emphasised that the force would not in any sense be used. It is true that the dispute has remained unresolved till today, but the United Nations can point with satisfaction to the contribution it has made to

alleviate the dangers of escalating the conflict, at least for the time being.

This crisis gave the non-aligned nations, a further occasion to demonstrate their solidarity, since it was a direct challenge to the very concept of the movement as the sovereign rights of a nation (Egypt) were violated. In keeping with their policy, they aimed at decoupling the struggle from the rivalry between the Super Powers and therefore, supported the UN action.

When Egypt was attacked by the Western Powers, Yugoslavia took the initiative of calling for a Special Emergency Session of the General Assembly where the United Nations Emergency Force was created. In the Assembly, the non-aligned nations provided support to the Egyptians and demanded the imposition of sanctions against Israel. Their move was strengthened when it was agreed that the USSR and the USA would not contribute any contingents. The forces came mainly from distant countries with a relatively small interest in the political problem of Palestine; India and Yugoslavia were the two main contributors.

Expectedly, the non-aligned countries maintained a neutral stand. If in Korea, they had opposed the USA, so in the Suez Crisis, they opposed the Soviet condemnation of

the West and joined the US in effectuating efforts by the United Nations to secure withdrawal of the invading forces-- British, French and Israel.

In the Suez Crisis, the UNEF succeeded in preventing serious incidents on the Egyptian-Israeli border for a decade; as soon as it withdrew, war took place. It was the first of the force level operation conducted by the United Nations based on the principle of third party peaceful intervention, rather than enforcement and therefore caused support of the non-aligned world.

We now turn our attention to the Congo crisis which showed the dangers and perils which an underdeveloped nation faces when it is caught in the web of imperialist intrigues and intervention. Here, the UN military assistance was called to protect the national territory against external aggression and the non-aligned nations supported this move.

The conflict had resulted in Super Power involvement as Prime Minister Lumumba was backed by the Russians and President Kasavubu by the West. This threatened to bring the Cold War into the heart of Africa which was a very alarming situation and a threat to the policy of non-alignment.

To avert such a confrontation Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Tunisia had proposed in the Council a resolution that

would have permitted the UN force to maintain order and have the authority to influence the ultimate structure of the Congolese government. But this was vetoed by the Soviet Union and the matter was taken to the Special Session of the Assembly. On 20 September 1960, a resolution was passed by 70 to 6 and 11 abstentions appealing to Congo to resolve its own problem "with the assistance...of Asian and African representatives appointed by the Advisory Committee on the Congo". Unlike the UNEF, in which the contingents came from distant countries, the Secretary-General, with a view of preventive diplomacy in setting up his force in Congo, attempted to obtain contingents from neighbouring states with the greatest interest in the problem of restoring peace.⁶ The military personnel came from neutral countries, excluding the permanent members of the Security Council. It seems that the ultimate aim was that the future political shape of the Congo must be determined by the Congolese themselves.

Though the foreign policies of the non-aligned nations themselves did not show a uniform approach towards the events in the Congo, there was a basic similarity of objectives in their policies that Big Power politics should

6 David W. Vainhouse, International Peace Observation: A History and Forecast (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 289.

be eliminated, national integrity preserved and democratic forces within the country should be encouraged to develop.

In general, the sympathy of the African states, especially those which had contributed troops to the UN force, were with Lumumba, but they were initially not prepared to do anything which might retard the success of the UN operation.

There were three categories of Afro-Asian behaviour in the Congo--militant, moderate and impartial. Of the nineteen Afro-Asians which contributed contingents to ONUC, six were militants. They were anti-colonial nationalists seeking leadership among Africans--Ghana, Mali, Morocco, UAR, Guinea and Ceylon. Eight were moderates of pro-West leadership--Ethiopia, Nigeria, Liberia, Malaya, Iran, Pakistan, Philippines, and Sierra Leone. Five were impartial, having little direct interest in the Congo situation and supported the United Nations totally--Tunisia, India, Indonesia, Sudan and Burma.⁷ Under such circumstances, differences were bound to erupt among the Afro-Asians. The African states were exerting pressure upon Lumumba to desist from the use of force against Katanga, but found it

⁷ David W. Wainhouse, International Peacekeeping at the Crossroads: National Support - Experience and Prospects (Baltimore, 1973), p. 307.

difficult to keep up the pressure in the face of UN policies which supported Kasavubu. It was a turning point in the attitude of the UAR, and other African states with forces in the Congo towards the United Nations. On 6 September 1960, UN refused Lumumba permission to use the Radio Station which irked the Africans. Further, their move to seat his delegate in the United Nations failed when the Assembly accepted on 22 November 1960 Kasavubu's delegation by the vote of 53 to 24 and 19 abstentions.

Earlier, the first non-aligned summit held at Belgrade had also resulted in an address to the UN Secretary-General on Congo that Lumumba represented the legitimate government, but that they were willing to accept Kasavubu as President, but had failed in their effort. On 19 December 1960, UAR, India, Yugoslavia, Ghana, Indonesia, Ceylon, Iraq and Morocco drafted a resolution urging the release of all political prisoners under detention, convening of the Parliament and withdrawal of all Belgian forces. But it was also rejected.

Nasser appeared to be moving away from the UN policy and contemplated unilateral intervention while Nkrumah was pressing for the creation of an African High Command. It was the downfall of Lumumba and the unwillingness of the United Nations to coerce Tshombe which ultimately reduced the consensus and led Morocco,

Guinea, Yugoslavia, UAR and Indonesia to withdraw their contingents. Nasser said in his address on the Victory Day Celebration in Cairo on 20 December: "The United Nations has become a vehicle for imperialists". But, India, Malaya, Tunisia, Ethiopia and Liberia decided to send troops and thus rescued the United Nations from its worst crisis.

The Congo operation led to another crisis situation over the problem of the payment for the operation. The non-aligned nations showed a mature view when the US demanded that France and the USSR not to be allowed to vote in the General Assembly for the non-payment in the Congo operation. It was not endorsed by most non-aligned nations, as it would hurt the character of the United Nations as an universal non-partisan organization. They did so again when the "Troika" proposal was brought forward by the Russians to replace the Secretary General. They opposed it as it would have undermined the integrity of the office of the Secretary General and render it ineffective.

This idea was an ingenious way of flattering the neutralist countries by offering them more formal participation in the United Nations decision making.⁸ But

⁸ Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., The Elephant and the Grass (New York, 1966), p. 129.

the non-aligned nations realized that it would only succeed in bringing the Cold War into the office of the Secretary-General. Yet, they managed to achieve a triumph when U Thant was elected to the post of Secretary-General and his accession can be interpreted as the Great Power acknowledgement of the importance of the non-aligned movement.

Peace-keeping is a concept of peaceful action and not of persuasion by force and has a better chance of maintaining the impartial image, because of its avoidance of direct involvement in the disputes. The Observer Missions of the United Nations which are part of the peace-keeping operations, have succeeded in this respect. They investigate incidents and where possible by negotiations, prevent incidents from escalating into serious issues. Moreover, they perform the task of supervising armistice and ceasefire agreements, and it is because of the role performed by them of prevention, containment and moderation of disputes that the non-aligned nations have supported them.

In West Irian (1962-63) the UN peace observation mission was sent for supervising and conducting ceasefire agreements and a number of non-aligned countries participated. A temporary administration was established and sovereignty of the island was transferred from Netherlands to United

Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) which later handed it over to Indonesia. The Secretary-General designated his military adviser, General Indarjit Rikhye of India, to head the UN military observation team to deal with the cessation of hostilities. Indonesia itself provided assistance and bore the cost along with the Netherlands of the mission's expenses. The bulk of the forces were provided by Pakistan, while Brazil, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Ireland, Nigeria and Sweden provided military observers for the ceasefire agreements. Notably, this mission proved that success of such endeavours depend upon the co-operation of the disputed parties and non-partisan attitude of the observers which was amply done by the non-aligned nations.

Earlier in 1958, the UN Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) was constituted mainly as an arms control mission and was to ensure that no illegal information of personnel or arms took place from across the border. Hammarskjöld had appointed three members to make up the 'observers group' - Gale Pleza of Ecuador, Rajeshwar Dayal of India, and Major General Odd Bull of Norway. Military personnel were provided by Burma, Ceylon, Chile, India, Indonesia and Nepal belonging to the non-aligned world. They fulfilled the task of providing objective reports that helped the interested parties to resolve threatening situations in a

peaceful manner. The mission fulfilled the task of contributing to the maintenance of international peace through observation, investigation and negotiations and received full support and endorsement of the non-aligned nations.

An important fact emerged from these operations: that the United Nations is more successful in negotiating and supervising ceasefire than the parties to the conflict themselves. This was proved in the case of Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir. Both the countries agreed to a ceasefire under the UN supervision and the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) came to make the border violence minimal between the two countries. In 1965, when the two sides opened hostilities, the UN India-Pakistan observer Mission was established to strengthen UNMOGIP. Brazil, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Nepal, Nigeria and Venezuela provided observers and helped to keep the situation under control. Both UNMOGIP and UNIPOM are unique among the UN Missions in that the parties in dispute provided the bulk of assistance as they believed in the ability of the United Nations to bring an end to the hostilities.

Realizing the role the United Nations played in defusing the crisis, a number of non-aligned nations supported the observer mission in Yemen (UNIPOM) in 1963.

Saudi Arabia and the UAR were involved in Civil War but their trust in the United Nations importance led them to give full support to it. They agreed to give formal assistance to the Mission and the UAR even placed the air-fields at its disposal. In 1964, India and Pakistan made their contribution to the Mission. The close ties between two non-aligned leaders, Nasser and Tito, led the largest single reconnaissance unit being provided by Yugoslavia. But this affinity between the two led to the feeling among many quarters that Yugoslavia was not an 'impartial observer'.⁹ Still, we can say that the non-aligned countries have maintained a neutral stand which is probably the most difficult attitude in peace-keeping operations.

We can deduce from these case studies that the non-aligned countries have given ample support to the UN peace-keeping operations as they are the only means of achieving peaceful solutions. In 1947, India, Iran, Peru, Uruguay and Yugoslavia were made members of the Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to study the problem. It is because of their desire to achieve and maintain international peace and security that all such UN efforts have received their undaunted support.

The increasing authority of the Assembly by the non-aligned nations in peace and security matters made

9 Wainhouse, n. 7, p. 182.

necessary the consideration of methods by which it might discharge its functions more effectively. As it is, the origin of the movement had coincided with the evolution of Cold War, and the basic interest for them was naturally directed towards enlarging the context of their security. So, they directed their energies towards the idea of arms control to create a harmonious climate in the world.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

Arms control and disarmament have become a major concern of the non-aligned nations, as it would lead to the establishment of international peace and security. They generally agreed that arms race is an important cause leading to a considerable reduction in the level of development of all underdeveloped countries. At the First Summit Conference in Belgrade the three main documents were concerned with peace and called upon the great Powers to conduct disarmament talks under the aegis of the United Nations. The programme for peace and international co-operation adopted at the Cairo Conference (1964) contained a special (VII) section devoted to action aimed at achieving general and complete disarmament and banning all nuclear tests. These objectives have been reiterated at all the subsequent summit meetings of the non-aligned nations which have repeatedly called for banning nuclear tests, destruction

of existing stockpiles and have demanded regional de-nuclearization.

They have opposed the stationing of foreign troops and building of foreign bases on the soils of other nations and feel that the multilateral and bilateral pacts and alliances are a threat to their freedom. They need peace and security to allow their plans of economic development to progress smoothly and their demand for arms control and disarmament aims at turning the resources towards constructive development.

Consequently, their desire received due importance in the forums of the United Nations. In 1946, by the resolution I(I) of the General Assembly declared that all weapons of mass destruction, especially the nuclear weapons should be eliminated and Resolution 1553 (XVI) of November 1961, declared the use of nuclear weapons to be violatory of the UN Charter. Between 1955 and 1962, the non-aligned nations rallied in the United Nations calling for immediate stoppage of tests and grew in number to sponsor and help ensure the passage of the UN resolutions calling for nuclear test ban.¹⁰

10 M. Samir Ahmed, The Neutrals and the Test Ban Negotiations: An Analysis of the Non-Aligned States Efforts Between 1962-1963 (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 1967), p. 1.

The matter eventually went to the Eighteen Member Committee on Disarmament which had for the first time 8 members from the neutral world.¹¹ The non-aligned nations at the United Nations were pleased at this development as the Nuclear Powers had heeded their call made at the Belgrade Summit of desiring representation in the Disarmament Conference and ^{the} General Assembly in December 1961 by endorsing their selection acknowledged the importance of the movement in this field. They drew up and submitted draft resolutions which in majority of cases were eventually adopted by the Assembly. They avoided giving the impression of forming a bloc but were tied together by the similarity of circumstances and purpose. In April 1962 they presented their first joint memorandum embodying the principles for comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Soon their role as a 'diplomatic mission' spilled over to the First Committee (Political and Security) of the UN General Assembly beginning with the Seventeenth Session. Here they focussed primarily on the issue of cessation of tests rather than on general and complete disarmament and maintained that a test ban actually constituted the most important and most urgent measure which ultimately led to the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963.

11 Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and UAR.

In 1965, the 20th General Assembly adopted five resolutions on disarmament and related matters at the behest of the neutral states belonging to the Eighteen Member Committee on Disarmament. They spearheaded the Assembly action on Resolution 1762 A which called upon the parties to enter into an immediate agreement prohibiting nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in the outer space and under water and called upon all states to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear free zone. In 1971 the Treaty on the prohibition of emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor subsoil was passed by the General Assembly. It banned all facilities related to weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed beyond a twelve mile limit from land.¹²

The Lusaka Summit (1970) adopted a Declaration on Disarmament which called for measures towards nuclear disarmament and for the holding of a world Disarmament Conference. It welcomed the designation of the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade and expressed its determination to work for its success. Gradually realism had occurred upon them that total disarmament must be sought in stages

12 T.A. Imobighe, "Nuclear Non-Proliferation and the Third World", IDSJ Journal, vol. 13, no. 1, July-September 1980.

and greater emphasis should be laid on nuclear disarmament. This was reaffirmed at the first special session on Disarmament. The Declaration adopted on 30 June 1978 noted "effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority". In the Second Special Session on Disarmament (1982) the Assembly called for a binding Convention on non-use of nuclear weapons, freeze and stoppage of production and complete disarmament through the United Nations. The two Special Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly did not produce much results. Still, they made one important contribution-- that of creating awareness among general public about the dangers of arms race and stockpiling of nuclear armaments. The First Session proved more successful as it had adopted by consensus a Final Document comprising important guidelines for disarmament defining areas of priority and affirming the central role of the United Nations in promoting Disarmament. But the subsequent failure of Governments to make any progress towards achieving even one goal made the task of the second session more difficult. The Second Special Session which ended on 12 July 1982, could not even draw up a consensus document and the non-aligned countries could not unite, revealing a lack of consensus; the Great Powers were apparently successful in sowing dissension in their

rank.¹³ Moreover, certain non-aligned countries like Singapore, Pakistan, Malaysia and Somalia, provided bases to outside Powers and kept the situation tense in their regions. Pointing to this fact during a conference in May 1979, in Kingston, Jamaica, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid made it clear that the US, Israel and at least seven others were responsible for five African nations to develop and test nuclear bombs.¹⁴

Earlier in December 1973, the nuclear Powers had abstained when the Assembly had called on them "to bring to a halt without delay all nuclear weapons tests". But even in the face of such opposition, the non-aligned nations continued to fight for disarmament.

On 14 December 1978, a resolution was put forth sponsored by many non-aligned countries declaring that

- (a) the use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of the Charter of the UN and a crime against humanity; and
- (b) use of nuclear weapons should, therefore, be prohibited pending nuclear disarmament.

13 P.R. Chari, "Non-Alignment and the Nuclear Threat", in Uma Vasudev, ed., Issues Before Nonalignment: Past and Future (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1983), p. 124.

14 UNSCAA Report, 7 March 1979.

103 nations voted in favour, 13 against (Western Bloc) and 11 absented themselves.

The non-aligned nations underlined the central role and primary responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and felt that the Committee on Disarmament is the sole multilateral negotiating body in this field. They desired that the use of nuclear energy should be utilised for peaceful purposes and discussed this issue at the meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade in 1978. The participants in the meeting emphasized the importance of the application of nuclear energy for the developing countries.

Their aim to curtail the spread of nuclear weapons in the non-nuclear world led them to expound the idea of nuclear free zone. A study conducted by the United Nations¹⁵ stated that the increasing trend towards nuclear proliferation in the non-nuclear world has to be arrested in order to promote peace and security. The study suggested that one way of doing so is that the non-nuclear world should accept the need for the establishment of nuclear weapon-free zones. This concept found its first concrete expression in the Treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America. It was signed by twenty one nations of Latin

¹⁵ United Nations Comprehensive Study of the Question of Nuclear Weapon Free Zones in all its aspects, Special Report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (New York, 1976).

merica on 14 February 1967 at Tlatelolco, Mexico, on the initiative of the non-aligned members of the Commission on Disarmament.

The non-aligned nations also showed their commitment to the idea of establishing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace which sought to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states of the region and to bring about the elimination from the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions of foreign bases and to free the region from any manifestation of Big Power rivalry. At the Lusaka Summit in 1970, they put forward this demand, but little progress was made until 1971 at the instance of Sri Lanka, the resolution was adopted by the UN General Assembly.¹⁶ Some other non-aligned countries also sponsored it; they were: Iraq, Iran, Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Yemen, Zambia, India and Yugoslavia. But countries that abstained from this included a large number of non-aligned nations which showed once again a lack of purpose and cohesion among them. Still the same resolution has been reiterated in all the Summit Conferences reflecting the urge of most of the non-aligned littoral and hinter land countries to establish peace and security in this region.

¹⁶ Resolution 2832 (XXVI), 16 December 1976. . . .

In 1974 a resolution was passed by the General Assembly declaring the Continent of Africa a nuclear free zone. The same was decided for South Asia at the insistence of Pakistan in 1974 as it feared India's nuclear potential and desired to strengthen the prospects of security of the non-nuclear states. It also requested the Secretary-General to convene a conference of South Asian States. But India opposed it since it excluded China, a nuclear-weapon Power, which caused great anxiety to the littoral states. Such proposals can succeed only when the nuclear-weapon Powers also agree to denuclearize. Many have-nots^{have} displayed their unwillingness to abandon their quest for nuclear weapons and became a permanently under-privileged lot ^{if} the nuclear powers^{are} to keep their arsenals intact. The nuclear powers abstained during a resolution which expressed "deep concern" at the continuation of nuclear weapons tests both in atmosphere and underground.¹⁷ The failure of the UN General Assembly to make any progress is to be attributed mainly to the confrontation between the two power blocs and their refusal to make any commitment within the framework of the world forum. For this reason the Treaty on Nonproliferation has not been endorsed by many non-aligned countries like Argentina, Chile, Egypt,

17 Keesing's Contemporary Archives (1974), p. 26433.

India and Pakistan.

Despite setbacks received in the field of disarmament due to rigid attitude of the nuclear weapons Powers and inner dissensions among the non-aligned countries, their desire for disarmament has continued unabated. They realize that their demand for a new economic order cannot be implemented unless there is a concomitant demand for a new world order for peace. The linkage between disarmament and development was perceived in 1950, when the UN General Assembly passed a resolution which stressed the need to reduce to the minimum the diversion of resources to armament, and to direct larger resources to the underdeveloped regions. Apparently disarmament and development are two distinct problems, yet their intrinsic connection becomes evident from the most deplorable socio-economic conditions prevailing in the Third World. The non-aligned countries have identified the spending of vast resources in arms production as an important factor contributing to the aggravation of economic crisis. Conversely, they feel that the international community cannot be assured of peace and security so long as economic disparities exist. It is to these problems that we will turn our attention next.

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CHAPTER III

THE STRUGGLE FOR DECOLONISATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

(As has already been pointed out in the introductory Chapter, the NAM arose from the struggle of nations fighting for freedom and independence against colonialism and imperialism. Many Afro-Asian nations adopted this policy to save themselves from being sucked into the vortex of the rivalry of big Powers and their military alliance system. Rather, it was the strongest bond which united them in fostering their determination to utilise their newly acquired strength of numbers in the United Nations commitments to a common policy.) Their fight was for the elimination of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, eradication of racialism and apartheid and all forms of foreign, political, scientific, technological and economic domination, and to accelerate the process of self-determination. Since these aspirations were already enshrined in the United Nations they decided to utilise the forum to internationalise these problems and obtain world-wide support. Besides, in view of their colonial experience, the Afro-Asians entertained instinctive suspicion of bilateral relations between the ruling states and subject peoples.)

This is a fact of history that the transformation from dependency to freedom in Africa and Asia took place at a slow pace after the First World War. But the Second World War demonstrated the flaws and weaknesses of the colonial system. The leaders in the newly-liberated countries filled the power vacuum left by the battered down allies. They were opposed to continued colonial domination of any sort, either by reason of their having been once colonies themselves or because of their national policies. Under such circumstances, international co-operation within the United Nations would obviously have been an impossibility without a consideration of the colonial problem in its entirety.

The newly-born United Nations pledged to promote self-determination and guarantee territorial integrity, political independence, sovereign right of states voiced the sentiments of the non-aligned countries and thus it served as the most powerful medium for them to realize their national dreams and aspirations. It further aided them in the process of decolonisation. The United Nations became involved in colonial issues--as a supervisor over colonies, in the liquidation of colonial relationship, and as an agent for assisting newly independent states and in easing their entry into the world community.¹

¹ Yassin El-Ayouti, The United Nations and Decolonisation: The Role of Afro Asia (The Hague, 1971), p. 40.

In the initial stages of the United Nations, very few Afro-Asian nations had attained freedom. The majority of the members of the Organisation belonged to the Western world or were pro-Western and followed policies opposed to those of the non-aligned nations. But the few Afro-Asian countries that had the privilege of being the founder members of the United Nations worked hard for the independence of the colonies and displayed firm solidarity on this issue.

The revolt of the colonial peoples against bondage and political domination brought a major portion of the world's enslaved population to independence, increased the membership of the United Nations which brought about a momentous change in the life of the Organization. It served as the forum for mobilising and maximising forces which helped in the emergence of various new states and granted them formal equality with the rest of the sovereign nations. The Preamble of the Draft Declaration by the war time "United Nations" on National Independence dated 9 March 1943 made the Atlantic Charter universally applicable, since it affirmed the "opportunity to achieve independence for these people who aspire to independence".² Here we can

2 George Thullen, Problems of the Trusteeship System : A Study of the Political Behaviour in the United Nations (Geneva, 1964), p. 24.

say that the United Nations unlike the League of Nations has been successful in maintaining almost irresistible pressure of international sentiments and public opinion on the colonial and imperialist Powers.

At the San Francisco Conference, the participants were aware not only of the horrors of the war, but also of the over-riding necessity of removing the causes that lead to wars. During the conference the Leader of the Indian Delegation, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar said that to lay the foundation of peace to last, the "fundamental human rights of all beings all over the world should be recognised, and men and women treated as equals in every sphere".³

The UN Charter under Chapter XII provided for a Trusteeship Council to perform functions that were similar to the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations, but in addition asserted the principle to be applied by members to all their colonies; it also examined petitions and received annual reports. The Council was composed equally of states which administered trust territories and of other states, which gave a voice and provided an effective forum to the Afro-Asian nations to condemn and denounce colonialism and imperialism of every shade and description, particularly political and later on economic.

³ Cited in S. Hasan Ahmad, The United Nations and the Colonies (Bombay, 1974), p. 10.

Under Ch. XI of the Charter, the United Nations had also assumed responsibility for the well-being of the non-self-governing people. This growth of international responsibility for the colonial peoples formed a vital point of the Organization's concern and conformed to the development of ideas and ideologies of the mid 20th century. The Afro-Asian nations insisted on standing machinery under Chapter XI, which emanated from their adherence to the concept of continued international responsibility for colonial administration for as long as they remained non-self-governing territories.⁴ The Afro-Asian nations acquired considerable say in the Trusteeship Council. They interpreted its role of ultimately leading the Trust Territories towards self-government under Article 73(e) of the Charter. /

In the words of Ralph Bunche "the acceptance of the principle that the international community does have a proper concern for these territories and a right to devote its attention to them automatically removed them from the hidden realm of exclusive domestic jurisdiction."⁵

(The process towards decolonisation was slow and in the early years the "anti-imperialist lobby" wrung only

4 El-Ayouti, n. 1, p. 224.

5 Cited in The Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 1950 (New York, 1951), pp. 149-50.

a small number of concessions from the West. By the years 1946-48, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) had gained independence but the freedom struggle still continued in Indonesia, Indo-china, Malaya, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. Of course, the newly independent states fully supported the aspirations of the colonial people.)

The colonial problem in the United Nations was fed by a major challenge of the times - the forward movement of the peoples of Afro-Asian countries for full national emancipation and for equal participation in the community of Nations at the United Nations. By 1960 the decolonization campaign inside and outside the United Nations was in full swing. The resultant internationalization of the colonial issue, a goal towards which the Afro-Asian bloc had always worked was achieved when the Assembly adopted a list of principles which gave primacy to independence as the best means of attaining a full measures of self-government. At this stage we can point out that the non-aligned nations have been involved in trying to influence the behaviour of other states outside the group and have used the forum of the UN General Assembly to mount an attack upon colonialism. In this respect they succeeded when in the year 1960, the General Assembly passed the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial

Countries and Peoples. This resolution was sponsored by 43 Afro-Asian states.⁶ The Declaration condemned the subjugation of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation and gave a call for the transfer of all powers to peoples of dependent territories. Thus in this momentous declaration, the internationalisation of the colonial issue--a goal towards which the Afro-Asian nations had worked--was completely achieved. They had realized that for Chapter XI to be transformed from a mere Declaration into a set of binding obligations, they had to perfect the technique of compromise vis-a-vis the administering Powers and to work gradually towards it. So they sought to move general consensus as far as possible in this direction. A Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was set up in 1961. Its role was further consolidated in the 17th session by reaffirming of the mandate, expansion of the membership from 17 to 24 states (1962) which weighed heavily in favour of anti-colonial states and it became the watch dog of decolonisation.

⁶ General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV), 14 December 1960 adopted by 89 to 0 with USA abstaining.

In February 1962 the Afro-Asian states succeeded in using the Special Committee and the General Assembly to put pressure on Great Britain to call a constitutional conference for Rhodesia, so that Great Britain was forced to use a veto in September 1963 to forestall a Security Council resolution, which would "invite the United Kingdom Government not to transfer to the colony of Southern Rhodesia as at present governed, any powers or attributes of sovereignty".)

The "Committee of 24" also took into hand the issue of military bases and installations in dependent territories and considered their existence as an infringement of both the Charter and the Declaration on Independence and further considered it a direct threat to the liberation movement in such territories.

(The main Afro-Asian and Latin American states approach to the Declaration regarding the non-self-governing territories was that it implied international accountability for its administration; The Afro-Asian states maintained and put forward the plea that any violation of the substance of the Declaration would be taken as the violation of the Charter itself.) To them, the principles of the UN Charter emphasized the primacy of independence, recognition of the rights of the United Nations to supervise, constitutional evolution in the territories, and curtailed

the resort by colonial Powers to the security and constitutional consideration of A73(e).⁷

(In the light of the responsibility undertaken by the United Nations changes in some of the non-self-governing territories were orderly and peaceful, but in some of them a struggle took place as in the case of Netherland Indies. In such a struggle the non-aligned member states played a very active role. Their demands were reflected in the demand in 1968 that mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council on Southern Rhodesia should be backed by force and should be extended to cover South Africa and Portugal as well.)

In course of time, the Committee established effective communication with the OAU and in 1965 it recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa and drew the attention of the Committee on the Human Rights, thereby linking the problem of Decolonisation to Apartheid.

The Afro-Asian members made the United Nations take up the responsibility in both the dependent and newly freed nations. This factor assumed great importance since it could effect territorial settlement, racial conflicts and refugee question.

7 Peter Willets, The Non-Aligned Movement : The Origin of a Third World Alliance (Bombay, 1978), p. 153.

Further, they strongly emphasized that the issues of Human Rights and fundamental freedom were directly associated with the question of colonialism and that the Colonial Powers had to recognise the paramountcy of the interests of the inhabitants.

(By the end of 1961, there were three committees the Special Committee on colonialism, a Committee on the Situation in Angola, and a Special Committee on territories under Portuguese government's administration. Needless to say, the Afro-Asian states were clamouring for justice in these areas. It will be appropriate to point out at this stage that the United Nations is not a world government and cannot impose its will on a determined state. For instance, when the General Assembly appealed to the International Bank to deny economic aid to Portugal, it was ignored.⁸)

But this has not been so in all cases. In the case of Indonesia the Asian African states could take credit for bringing about its independence. When the Dutch took Police Action against the infant Republic of Indonesia, strong protests were voiced against the Dutch action by Afro-Asian states. The Conference in New Delhi (1949) made specific proposals which probably prodded a reluctant Security Council into pressurising the Dutch. They

⁸ Ibid., p. 156.

recommended to the Security Council to take necessary action to have the leaders released, the independent government to be allowed to function, and by the 1st of January 1950, power be transferred, and the United States of Indonesia should emerge. But no action was taken as has already been pointed out, because the Western Powers-dominated Security Council was not prepared to antagonise a West European nation since they were in the process of establishing the NATO.⁹ In contrast to the United Nations inaction, several Afro-Asian countries resorted to direct action. They resolved on 13 April that the Indonesian problem should be raised by their Permanent Representatives in the General Assembly and economic sanctions be imposed and all transit facilities by land and air be denied to the Netherlands. The action was now quickened. Partial sovereignty was granted to Indonesia on 27 December 1949, four days before the deadline imposed by the New Delhi conference and Indonesia obtained full membership of the United Nations in September 1950.

Other areas of vital interests were now tackled. From 1951 onwards, pressure on France was exerted at each successive General Assembly session on behalf of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. The non-aligned in the United Nations

9 G.H. Jansen, Afro-Asia and Non-alignment (London, 1966), p. 79.

It reaffirmed the inalienable rights of people of Namibia to self determination and to national independence. It recalled that the year 1982 had been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanction against South Africa and welcomed the UN General Assembly's decision to hold an international conference in support of the struggle of Namibian people for Independence in Paris in April 1983. They reiterated the view that the UN Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained the only basis for peaceful settlement of the Namibian struggle. It also reiterated its support for the UN Council for Namibia in its role as the sole legal administering authority of Namibia until it achieved independence. It condemned Pretoria's racist regime and called for cessation of all assistance to South Africa by all UN agencies. It also condemned the occupation of Angolan territory as an act of aggression against the movement of Non-Alignment.

(It is true that the victories won by the people of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique indicate a serious weakening of imperialism, but it is quite obvious that the real struggle still lay ahead in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and the heartland of imperialism, South Africa. ¹¹)

11 Introduction by Ben Magubane in A.W. Singham, ed., The Non-Aligned Movement in World Politics (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 88-89.

(There were certain specific areas in which the anti-colonial forces concentrated in recent years in the white minority regime in Rhodesia, Portuguese colonies in Africa and the obnoxious system of Apartheid that the South African racist Government followed. It was in this period that maximum anti-colonial resolutions were passed.)

This was also a period in which the non-aligned movement was institutionalized. The exploited nations had shown their collective will to unite. In the first Summit Conference (1961) at Belgrade respect for the rights of the peoples to self-determination was urged, among other things. They were fully aware that the domination of colonial empires can be abolished only through the determined struggle of the subjected nations. The Declaration condemned the demand for cessation of intervention and invasion of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It stated that "a lasting peace can be achieved only if...colonialism, imperialism and new-colonialism in all their manifestations are radically eliminated". It wholeheartedly supported the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960). It demanded termination of intervention in Congo, Tunisia and Palestine and an end to apartheid in South Africa. The Cairo Conference also reiterated such demands and denounced imperialist intervention in Indochina. It is a

noteworthy fact that with every conference the number of members increased. This was due not only to the emergence of new nations but also to the anti-imperialist orientation of the non-aligned policy. The Lusaka Summit (1970) adopted condemnatory resolutions against South Africa, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Namibia and against the Portuguese imperialist policy in Africa. They condemned the South African policy of apartheid and the continued presence of their troops in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. The Conference denounced Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the imperialist interference in the affairs of Cyprus and the continuation of war in Indochina caused by the presence of foreign forces. The Conference urged the need to strengthen the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations and urged the organization for a speedy declaration on the granting of Independence to the colonial countries and peoples. They resolved to impose embargo on Portugal and South Africa and Rhodesia. In the first decade from Belgrade to Lusaka, non-aligned states were mainly preoccupied with issues of political independence and East-West tension and in supporting nationalist movements seeking liberation from foreign Powers that ruled them. So, even though the emphasis has shifted to economic issues, decolonisation still figures prominently in their deliberations. The Algiers Conference (1973) foresaw

that there cannot be true political independence without economic independence. It declared that having exhausted all peaceful means, the oppressed peoples had no alternatives but the legitimate recourse to armed struggle in order to impose respect for their right to self-determination. It made a Declaration on the Struggle for National Liberation, which accentuated support for the liberation movements in South Africa, sub-Sahara and the Middle East. Their struggle succeeded after the Algiers Conference witnessed the downfall of the Portuguese Colonial empire. The peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Sao Torre and Principe, Mozambique and the Cape Verde Islands achieved independence and Angola proclaimed independence in 1975.

The Colombo Conference (1976) welcomed the victory of nationalist forces in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It concentrated on the problems prevailing in South Africa, Middle East, Cyprus and Korea. It gave full importance to the Palestine Liberation Organization and demanded expulsion of Israel from the United Nations. The Havana Summit focussed considerably on the situation in South Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. It condemned the US, Britain and other Western countries of being accomplices of the apartheid system in South Africa and in aiding Israel in the Middle East. They expressed their concern over the

imperialist policies followed in Puerto Rico and Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. The 7th Summit at Delhi also reiterated its commitment to elimination of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The problems of South Africa needs a detailed discussion as it is a complicated issue at the moment and has many ramifications in the context of different countries that are involved in the politics of South Africa. In this process of decolonisation and protection of Human Rights in South Africa, United Nations has helped the cause of justice and freedom by focussing international attention and have dealt directly with African dependent population.

South Africa has been in continued conflict with the United Nations right from its emergence on the international scene, over the question of South West Africa's status. Initially, the issue was raised by India's complaint against South African legislation discriminating against citizens of Indian origin, at the first session of the General Assembly held in London in 1946. From 1952 onwards, under racial discrimination the apartheid question became a separate item on the agenda of the United Nations. Since then the problem of racial segregation and discrimination has figured in the agenda of every General Assembly session. Till 1961 the non-aligned countries

had not endorsed any specific action against the ruling Power in South Africa - some were still trading with them.

On 6 November 1962, the General Assembly resolved to establish a special committee to keep racial policies of the government of South Africa under review when the Assembly was not in session.¹² By 1965, the Special Committee of 24 recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples of South Africa as an exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It appealed to the Committee of Human Rights to take cognizance of the violation of the fundamental human rights in South Africa; thereby, it linked the problem of colonialism and apartheid together and deemed it a threat to international peace and security. Moreover, it led the General Assembly to issue a series of calls to major trading partners and "allies" of all white-controlled regimes to take into account and give proper heed to the international community by interrupting and avoiding commerce, trade in arms and giving economic or financial assistance.

In 1962, the General Assembly called upon all states to break off diplomatic relations, exports, block air and sea communications. It also established a special committee on Apartheid. The non-aligned nations were unable

¹² Resolution 1761 (XVII).

to obtain an endorsement by the Security Council of general trade boycott, but in 1963, they did gain a point when a call for an embargo on the sale of arms and, later on, sale of equipments for the manufacturing of ammunition to South Africa was made. The General Assembly also established a United Nations Trust Fund for the legal defence of political prisoners, relief for their families and assistance to refugees, in complete disregard of the consideration that the Security Council will withhold its indispensable support.

The General Assembly adopted four resolutions in 1969 which reflected its mood of transforming the colonial-apartheid issue with a pressing peace and security problem. Legitimization of the African national struggle was made in the same year,¹³ and soon a resolution was adopted on Namibia in which a call was given to all the states to assist the Namibians in their struggle against the illegal presence of South Africa.¹⁴ In 1973 through the Resolution 3068 (XXVIII) an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was adopted to help the cause of human rights.

13 G.A. Resolution 2517 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969.

14 G.A. Resolution 2517 (XXIV) of 1 December 1969.

South Africa has till today remained a major concern and also of frustration to the United Nations and to the aspirations of the non-aligned.

Not much progress has been achieved on Namibia by the non-aligned nations, but they have succeeded in so far as South Africa has had to abandon the goal of incorporating Namibia as a Fifth Province.¹⁵ So, non-alignment, as a policy concept, has remained relevant -- to an effective United Nations functioning and in establishing an almost irresistible pressure of international sentiments and public opinion upon the recalcitrant countries.

In October 1974, African countries had presented a draft resolution to the Security Council recommending the General Assembly to expel South Africa from the community of Nations. This motion had obtained a majority, but due to the veto of the US, Great Britain and France, it failed in its acceptance and implementation. The year 1982, had been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Mobilisation of Sanctions against South Africa, which represented a firm commitment by the international community to the struggle against the racial regime. But they entertain deep regret that the Security Council, time and again, has been prevented from imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanction under Chapter VII of the Charter. But

¹⁵ Willets, n. 7, p. 159.

the non-aligned nations started dealing directly with the African dependent population through their national movement. In 1978, the non-aligned UN heads of delegation reviewed the priorities for convening a General Assembly session as the situation was bad in Namibia. As a major boost to SWAPO's international position the meeting decided to admit SWAPO as a full-fledged member and called the first-ever extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Coordination Bureau to spell out action within the United Nations.¹⁶ They have acknowledged their dependence on the United Nations and realized the importance of its value in the process of orderly decolonisation. Over a period of time, in the forums of the United Nations they have shown concern over the conflict in Western Sahara in the General Assembly and have supported the implementation committees' efforts to resolve the conflict. They have supported Mauritian sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago which includes Diego Garcia, detached from the territory of Mauritius by the former colonial Power in 1965, in contravention of the UN General Assembly resolution 1514(XX) and 2066(XX).

16 Peter Willets, The Non-aligned in Havana : Documents of the Sixth Summit Conference on Analysis of their Significance for the Global Political System (London, 1981), p. 15.

They have supported Puerto Rico's right to self-determination. But they have failed to bring about a positive result in this case. The Cairo Summit (1964) requested the UN Committee on Decolonisation to take up the issue. The committee overwhelmingly consisted of the non-aligned members, but it was not effective. In 1975, for the first time, a non-aligned nation, Syria, raised this question but in an individual capacity. Australian desire to defer it for a year was accepted even when 15 out of 24 members were non-aligned; and the question was not raised in the General Assembly as well. It is evident from this example that the non-aligned solidarity was being eroded from outside as well as from within. An another example of their failure is of the Palestinian problem.

The non-aligned movement has, from the beginning supported the Palestinian people for the liberation of their homeland and recovery of their inalienable national right to self-determination in their own homeland. The movement of non-alignment has undertaken to give full support to the Palestinian people. They have demanded the Security Council to invoke the powers vested in it with a view to imposing on Israel to withdraw from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. They have noted with satisfaction the efforts made by the United Nations in

establishing a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in their search for a just solution to the question of Palestine. They consider the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They have similarly supported Lebanon and Syrian territorial integrity and right of self-determination without foreign interference¹⁷ and have expressed their deep concern over the foreign occupation of parts of the Republic of Cyprus.

But even on this issue, dissensions have emerged among the non-aligned, and they have refused to accept attempts for Israeli expulsion from the United Nations.

Dissension among the Arabs themselves have marred their influence and strength. They cannot agree on any common strategy against Israeli aggression over Lebanon which led to the eviction of the PLO. This lack of cohesion even affected the OAU which could not hold meetings because of the conflict among the members on Western Sahara and the representation of Chad. Besides conflict in the Horn of Africa and between Libya and Sudan weakened the anti-imperialists and racial struggle in Africa.

When the non-aligned movement was small and members were few they could unite due to their commonness of causes and similarity of interests. They had come together in

¹⁷ Resolution 3236 (XXIV), 22 November 1974.

agreement over the question of Hungary. For instance, in all the 16 UN vote calls taken during the 2nd Emergency session they had maintained identical voting pattern. Some Afro-Asian states had abstained themselves from condemning Soviet action in Hungary, for they felt there was no point in trying to force the UN's resolution on the Soviet Union, which it was not prepared to accept. Unfortunately, the same affinity of sentiments is lacking now. On the question of West Timor, as opposed to the earlier situation (when in 1961 India had freed Goa from the Portuguese rule) the whole of the non-aligned group had stood behind, and so also when Indonesia took action against the Dutch in West Irian. But when in 1975 Indonesia decided to take the eastern part of Timor island, the General Assembly condemned it and 48 non-aligned nations voted against Indonesia, while 8 were against the resolution and another 19 abstained.¹⁸

When colonialism was at its height, it was the strongest bond uniting the non-aligned. Now, the associations are more on the basis of geographical, political and economic considerations and dissensions have sprung up within the group itself. Now the problems of South Africa are handled by African states and the non-aligned speak only on issues which concern the question of apartheid in general.

¹⁸ K.P. Saksena, "Non-Aligned and the United Nations", in K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan, ed., Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations (New Delhi, 1981), p. 91.

On the question of Kampuchea in the General Assembly of 1979, division among the non-aligned became evident in their voting pattern. 35 out of 91 voted for the Government of Democratic Kampuchea (Pol Pot), 25 for People's Republic of Kampuchea (Heng Samrin) and 24 abstained and 7 abstained. Unexpected cleavage in voting appeared. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka voted against, India and Nigeria opposed Sierra Leone. All these examples indicated that there are cracks in the solidarity the non-aligned countries once stood for and projected to the world.

Another area where the non-aligned nations have suffered has been in Afghanistan. A challenge was thrown to the movement when for the first time a non-aligned nation--a founder member--suffered foreign interference with its political independence. In the Co-ordinating Bureau, no consensus could be reached; and at that time five non-aligned countries were in the Security Council.¹⁹ Their stance showed that the non-aligned nations were now divided due to their attitude to countries of their choice and had separate relations with the Super Powers. A mild draft resolution was moved calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops which failed due to Russian veto. Of the 24 members which had sponsored the draft

¹⁹ Bangladesh, Jamaica, Nigeria, Tunisia and Zambia.

resolution, 14 had been non-aligned. The voting pattern had been as follows:

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Abstained</u>	<u>Absent</u>
Total	108	89	18	12
Non-aligned	57	9	17	8

The debate on the intervention in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Afghanistan shows a drift among the non-aligned which became evident in their voting pattern in the General Assembly. This is due largely to strengthening of pro-bloc tendency within the movement.²⁰ Another important consequence of this dispute within the movement is that some erstwhile colonies have provided military bases to foreign Powers. Another hampering factor is the Super Power domination; for instance, the Security Council was never found prepared to go along with the General Assembly in raising demands upon South Africa.²¹ The proposal to expel South Africa from the United Nations (S/11543) was rejected by the Security Council.

An affinity of interest is lacking now. Earlier, they had to bargain with others to get two third majority; now, the non-aligned group is large but lacks cohesion and

20 K.R. Narayanan, "Non-Alignment, Independent and National Interests", in Misra and Narayanan, ed., n. 18, p. 120.

21 George J. De Lint, The United Nations : The Abhorrent Misapplication of the Charter in Respect of South Africa (Holland, 1976), p. 11.

solidarity. Some of the non-aligned states are formally non-aligned, but in reality have tied themselves to the apron strings of one bloc or the other.²² Still the Havana Summit noted with satisfaction the progress made by the United Nations towards achieving universality by admitting such countries as Angola, Vietnam, Seychelles, Djibouti, Grenada, St. Lucia, Dominica, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome, Principe and Guinea Bissau. Since the Colombo Summit (1976) the independence of Zimbabwe has been welcomed. This gradual elimination of colonialism has led to less emphasis being placed on anti-colonialism and more on demands against neo-colonialism.²³

Colonial administration is a poor preparation for self-government and the economic and political system established by the colonial government left the Afro-Asian states at their mercy for stabilizing their political freedom and economic development.

With the numerous resolutions being adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, a fact has

22 Bimal Prasad, "The Evolution of Non-alignment", in Uma Vasudev, ed., Issues before Non-alignment. Past and Future (New Delhi, 1983), p. 46.

23 Leo Mates, "The Concept of Non-Alignment", in Uma Vasudev, ed., ibid., p. 75.

emerged that the transfer of colonial question, which had been until now linked to issues of apartheid and racial discrimination, from the field of political and legal interpretation of United Nations, have entered the field of maintenance of peace and security.

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CHAPTER IV

NON-ALIGNMENT : ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

A survey of the activities of the non-aligned countries in the economic sphere is necessary to emphasize the importance the NAM has given to the reconstruction of the economic order and the developments which took place at their Summit meetings and at the UNCTAD to establish the proposed New International Economic Order.

The events which followed the Second World War made nations realise the dangers of recurring economic upheavals which generated political conflicts and instability. The newly-emerging nations desired a self-reliant economy which would be possible only if they could reduce their dependence on the existing world order based on the so-called Bretton Woods system. Their colonial and post-independence experience made them suspicious of bilateral relations with the developed nations and they persisted in their quest for internationalisation of their problems and have since then played an important role in the struggle for political and economic independence. Many of them are convinced that non-alignment is the ideal solution to the economically deprived countries;

by joining either of these blocs, they would gain nothing. Mere political independence without economic independence, is meaningless, they felt.¹

Attention to this glaring issue had been drawn, first at the Bandung Conference (1955) which represented a turning point in the direction by treating economic development in the underdeveloped world as an international problem which demanded the involvement and engagement of the whole international community and the developing countries themselves. The Bandung Conference created condition for an idea to be evolved that stressed the need to establish new international institution which would specifically deal with the problems relating to the economic development of underdeveloped countries within the international community. It was this meeting of the developing countries that called for the creation of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) and the establishment of the International Finance Corporation within the framework of the IBRD to promote equity investment and joint ventures in the Afro-Asian countries and for the allocation by the World Bank of additional sums for capital development.

As early as this Conference, the non-aligned nations were already looking to the United Nations to promote and

¹ M.S. Rajan, Non-Alignment - India and the Future (Mysore, 1970), p. 27.

accelerate their economic development, because here they could negotiate a better deal through collective bargaining.² For them, economic self-reliance would be possible only if they reduced their dependence on the existing world order and if they worked in unison in the United Nations for the aggregation of their demands.

According to Article 68 of the UN Charter, the Economic and Social Council was enjoined to set up commissions in economic, social and related areas. Regional commissions were established for Europe, for Asia and the Far East, for Latin America and Africa. The reports that are submitted by these commissions provide material which facilitate evaluation of available resources and of needs to be fulfilled. Moreover, it provides nations of the area with a UN forum of their own.

Though non-aligned countries stressed the dominance of politics over economy, they increasingly acknowledged that their political goal would only be achieved when their economic aims were realised.

ECONOMIC ISSUES AT THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCES

The economic issues were further taken up by the non-aligned at their meetings where they gave ample

2 Arun C. Vakil, "North-South Debate", in Minoos Masani, ed., The Background in the Third World - Quo Vadis? (Bombay, 1979), p. 19.

importance to the United Nations. The first non-aligned summit called for "efforts to remove economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and imperialism". It also demanded "just terms of trade" sharing of scientific and technological knowledge and freedom over their resources. It is clear from this that the non-aligned nations saw the need for a new order, to be brought about by a process of struggle within a framework of co-existence among nations. They recommended the immediate establishment and operation of a United Nations Capital Development Fund and called upon the non-aligned to convene an international conference to discuss their common problems and find measures to ensure the realisation of their economic and social development. This desire to call a conference became the genesis of the idea which ultimately shaped itself in the first UNCTAD held in Geneva in 1964.

One year after the Belgrade Summit, a number of other economic problems were discussed at the Cairo Conference (1962). It stressed the need for low interest and long term credit and observed that aid should be channelled through the United Nations. It wanted the United Nations to allocate more funds for the development of manpower resources and called for the establishment of a specialized agency for industrial development (a vision

which was realised in the UN General Assembly). It also called for the inclusion of the statutes for converting the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) into a Specialized Agency of the United Nations. It welcomed the UN resolution entitled "International Trade as a Primary Instrument for Economic Development" and the aims and objects of the first UN Development Decade. They reiterated that discriminatory measures against developing countries were contrary to the spirit of the UN Charter.

The Cairo Conference (1962) was mainly significant in helping to build support for calling the UNCTAD meeting.³ The creation of UNCTAD was welcomed by the Cairo Summit (1964); but felt that it was not an adequate instrument.⁴ However, it called upon members to support the Final Act of the UNCTAD Conference and to co-operate in bringing into existence the new international institutions proposed in it. For the first time, mention was made for the need "to contribute to the rapid evolution of a new and just economic order".

The Lusaka Summit Conference in 1970 reaffirmed the strong conviction of the non-aligned nations that the

3 Peter Willets, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay, 1978), p. 27.

4 M.S.N. Menon and R.K. Sharma, No to Exploitation: The Economic Case of the Nonaligned (New Delhi, 1983), p.31.

complete exercise of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources was an effective condition for closer co-operation among the countries. It recognised the fact that developing countries were excluded from the world development process. In view of this, it was of the opinion that the UN Second Development Decade should undertake the task of structural changes in the world economic system, particularly, in the field of trade, finance and technology. It urged the United Nations "to adopt a programme of international action for utilization of world resources in men and materials, science and technology, benefitting developing and developed countries alike".⁵ It decided to undertake systemized and continuous endeavour with the United Nations to secure full implementation of their policy and to further the unity of the "Group of 77".

Here it would be pertinent to say a few words about the "Group of 77". Its formation created a sense of unity as regards economic issues and the Group became the spokesman of nations, most of whom were non-aligned, for economic issues under discussion. Very importantly, it is through it that the non-aligned nations have succeeded in mobilizing the support of those countries not members of the movement. This unity

5 Documents of the Gathering of Nonaligned Countries, 1961-73, Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council (Belgrade, 1973), p. 70.

6 Peter Willets, The Non-Aligned in Havana: Documents of the Sixth Summit Conference and an Analysis of their Significance for the Global Political System (London, 1981), p.29.

has been responsible for the adoption by the General Assembly in 1974 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

The non-aligned countries realized that co-operation among themselves was of utmost importance. When they felt that they could not adequately exert their influence in the functioning of the World Bank, they called a meeting of Foreign Ministers in Georgetown (1972) for economic co-operation and urged steps towards collective self-reliance. The Conference noted that the third session of the UNCTAD did not supply the desired corrective to international economic problems. The Action Programme adopted here was based on the call of the Lusaka conference to prepare practical measures to advance self-reliance.

Here, it should be noted that the non-aligned nations do not imply confrontation and conflict and division into blocs. They only want to participate in economic activities of the world as equal partners and they have urged the "Group of 77" to utilize all organizations and bodies in the United Nations system towards the implementation of their goals.

The Fourth Conference of the non-aligned countries in Algiers (1973) marks the beginning of a new phase in the effort to establish a New International Economic Order.

This conference called for a special session of the UN General Assembly exclusively for discussion of problems of development.⁷ It felt it necessary to put the goal of development back into their rightful place in the mechanism of the United Nations and to create a new system of international economic relations based on equality. The activities of the transnational corporations and the question of the transfer of technology were highlighted. Among the resolutions, there was one dealing with the establishment of an Economic and Social Development Fund for non-aligned countries. It emphasized the need for effective co-operation among the various existing organizations, including those of the UN System, at regional and inter-regional levels.

An important recommendation of the summit was to invite the Secretary-General to convene a Special Session of the UN General Assembly at a high political level devoted exclusively to the problem of development including the reactivation of institutions for achieving the goals of international strategy of development. The documents of the Algiers Conference may be said to have been the forerunner and inspirer of the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

The Colombo Summit (1976) declaration said that "the establishment of the NIEO calls for bold initiative,

7 Ibid., p. 29.

demands new concrete and global solutions". These aims were reiterated at the Havana (1979) and the New Delhi (1983) Summit conferences. The Havana Conference called for the launching of global negotiations and adopted policy guidelines on the reinforcement of collective self-reliance among developing countries. Subsequently, the launching of a new round of global negotiations on International Economic Cooperation for Development was enshrined in resolution 34/138 of the UN General Assembly.

The New Delhi summit stressed its determination to continue to work for strengthening and promoting international co-operation. It made assessments of the economic development and concluded that NIEO had not made much progress. Decisions on issues of major concern to developing countries could not be adopted unanimously at UNIDO III early in 1980 and because of the intransigence of many developed countries. It noted that the eleventh special session on the international development strategy for the Third UN Development Decade of the UN General Assembly (1980) failed to agree on the procedures and agenda for global negotiations. It also noted that negotiations under the UNCTAD integrated programme of commodities had not made any significant headway. While the UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy of July 1981 had resulted in

the adoption of the Nairobi Programme of Action, there was little progress in the implementation beyond the establishment at the thirty-seventh session of the UN General Assembly of an institutional machinery.

Before we discuss the proposed NIEO in greater depth it would be appropriate to throw light on the role of the non-aligned states in the working of UNCTAD.

After all, it had been responsible for the development of a concerted demand for a new economic order. The Third World countries had first begun to organize themselves into a coherent pressure group in international economic affairs with the founding of the UNCTAD which laid emphasis on preferential access by developing countries into the markets of the developed countries.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

Realising the growing need of the developing nations and to give them an added doze of confidence in the concern and interest that the United Nations had in their economic development and economic well being, the United Nations called a conference in 1964 in Geneva better known by the abbreviation UNCTAD. To this conference, 123 countries sent their representatives. The agenda was comprehensive and covered a large field of economic activity and economic relations and problems of economic developments in developing countries. Its

objectives were the expansion of international trade in manu-
factured ^{and semi-manufactured} goods. It gave importance to primary commodities
as the most important resources available to developing
countries and the financing for an expansion of international
trade.

The desire to call a conference had been made at
the Belgrade Conference and it found expression in the conven-
ing of the first UNCTAD. It was the beginning of a new phase
in the evolution of the treatment given to developing
countries within international economic relations. It was
an endeavour to find solutions to problems on a general world
level as well as solutions for particular fields of economic
relations. For the first time in the history of economic
relations, an organization had been set up with a specific
and particular task to perform-- that of contributing to a
qualitative change in the existing economic order. It
concluded that developed countries should refrain from
introducing any new custom tariffs or new tariff restrictions
which would prevent developing countries from marketing
products of importance to their export trade. The General
Assembly made the UNCTAD as the principal instrument for
international economic negotiations on international trade
and related economic development, especially NIEO.

The conference closed on a note of optimism. It
spelt out the responsibilities of international community in

fields such as stabilization of commodities process, volume and terms of aid and preferences.⁸ It was considered that for tangible results "bilateral and multilateral agreements are the proper instruments".⁹ The conference was able to achieve a compromise solution which unanimously approved the establishment of new institutions within the United Nations to deal more realistically with problems of trade and development. It owed much of its success to a great extent to the efforts of non-aligned countries in fostering feelings of solidarity among all the developing countries which found a visible manifestation in the emergence of the "Group of 77".

The developing countries hoped that economic progress could be made by UNCTAD through extension of the work of existing UN programmes and agencies and would lead to the realisation of benefits from development of trade, communication, mutual support within the Third World.¹⁰

The documents of UNCTAD's first session and later on the Algiers Chapter of the "Group of 77" as well as of

8 S.S. Mehta, "Nonaligned and the New International Economic Order", in K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan, ed., Non-aligned in Contemporary International Relations (New Delhi, 1981), p. 174.

9 Kamal M. Hagra, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: A Case Study on UN Diplomacy (New York, 1965), p. 26.

10 Documents of the Gathering of Non-Aligned Countries, n. 5, p. 29.

UNCTAD's second session held in 1968 in New Delhi, all contain positions suggesting the earlier statement.

Despite such efforts the economic condition did not improve for the developing countries. As a reflection of this failure of the conventional methods, the Lusaka Conference (1970) noted that the recent crisis of the world capitalist order was developing and that they could not rely totally on UNCTAD to deal with the major financial and economic problems they were facing. Therefore, the Georgetown Declaration (1972) emphasized the need to reform international monetary system and the structure of international trade. The first decade of development (1961-70) witnessed what was called a programme for international economic cooperation. But it did not produce favourable results in production and exports in regions which encompass the developing countries.

Mindful of the growing importance of the non-aligned movement and of the dependence on the UN structures for the institutional strength on matters of development, importance of UNCTAD III was emphasized. Considering the negative trends, particularly in terms of trade between the developed and developing countries, the representatives of the "Group of 77" in Lima (1971) recommended that UNCTAD's third session held in Santiago (1972) "examine ways and means of forming uniform prices for products exported from the

developing countries which should serve as a special means for the developing countries to increase their export earnings". Expressing deep concern over the fact that primary commodities were losing their traditional markets due to competition from synthetic products, they demanded that states encourage broader investigation into the situation bearing upon natural products and the competition they face. In primary commodities the role of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was particularly emphasized. UNCTAD recommended international organisations and developed countries to relax or abolish custom tariffs and other restrictions which hamper exports from the developing countries. It demanded control over the implementation of measures adopted within the framework of UNCTAD's conference, thus indicating one of the great weaknesses in the functioning of this institution since it was founded.¹¹

It witnessed decision both within the "Group of 77" and among the developing countries a phenomenon which has constantly been on the increase and has weakened their strength and ability to fulfil their goal in all spheres. No concrete measures were agreed to, to assist developing countries to export more of their primary products to

11 S. Kerim, "Activities of the Non-aligned in Building a New Economic Order", in A.W. Singham, ed., Nonaligned Movement in World Politics (Delhi, 1977), p. 182.

markets of the developed countries by removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers. But by resolution 83(III) on inter-governmental consultations on commodities in connection with Access to Markets and pricing policy, and resolution 82(III) on Multilateral Trade Negotiations, the Conference opened new avenues and offered new opportunities.¹²

In respect of stabilising the prices of primary products the role of the IBRD was emphasized. They recommended that close co-operation with IMF should be maintained for financing programmes. Since 1979, "Group of 77" has been trying to mobilise support within the United Nations against the rigidity of the Funds' conditionality and on the other hand the developed countries fear the wide global negotiations in the UN for they will lose their weighted voting advantage that they have in the IMF and IBRD.

The Committee of 20, of the IMF was established as a result of UNCTAD III Resolution on financial and marketing matters to assist the developing countries. In 1973, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 3083 (XXVIII) requiring the UNCTAD to prepare a comprehensive study on the indexation of prices of commodities produced and exported by the developing countries to serve an automatic linkage

¹² Willets, n. 6, p. 50.

with the prices of manufacturer from developed countries.

The successive meetings of UNCTAD testify to the lack of success in delaying the commodity problems. UNCTAD IV was held in Nairobi in 1976 against the backdrop of successful centralisation of oil producers but realisation soon dawned that the success of the OPEC could not be repeated in the case of other commodities and emphasis shifted in getting the prices of a whole set of vulnerable commodities raised. The principal item on the agenda of UNCTAD IV related to the integrated programme of commodities to establish a buffer stock and a common fund for ensuring stabilising of prices of key commodities and demanded cancellation of debts for the least developed landlocked and island countries.¹³

The question of technology transfer came up in a big way. A strong case was presented for choosing labour intensive technologies in order to solve the employment problem. It gave birth to the generalised system of preferences which opened up opportunities of great benefit to developing countries, especially with regard to export of manufactured goods. But, it too met with disenchantment, as non-discriminatory and non-reciprocal preferences by the developed countries in favour of the developing countries was not

13 Mehta, n. 8, p. 175.

conceded though the developed countries were recommended to draw up such plans as would take into account the product and export potentials of developing countries.¹⁴

UNCTAD V in May 1979, called for structural change in international economic relations. It agreed in principle on the establishment of a Common Fund. It called upon the developed countries to take prompt action for it to finance buffer stocks in a price stabilisation scheme and to reduce protectionism.

UNCTAD VI (1983) offered a major opportunity for a comprehensive and interrelated review of the international economic situations and the impact on the trade and development of developing countries.

The world community, now more represented and therefore more universal, dedicated itself to the adoption and launching the "International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade".¹⁵ It had rather a bad start. The growth rates of the developed countries followed declining trend under the impact of the monetary crisis and spiralling inflation, greater unemployment

14 Hagrais, n. 9, p. 74.

15 Bernhard Chidzero, International Dimensions of Regional Integration in the Third World: The Impact of UNCTAD in International Dimensions of Regional Integration in the Third World (Ottawa, 1975), p. 43.

and the decline of economic activities in these countries caused renewed protectionist tendencies.

Under such circumstances the UNCTAD created an international trade environment which would offset the trade disadvantage to developing countries. Neither foreign loans nor foreign investments provided a permanent solution which had led to the convening of UNCTAD.¹⁶

Suffice it to say that the work done by the Third World and non-aligned countries in UNCTAD succeeded in identifying and defining their presence and suggesting a way of moving towards NIEO.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The concept of NIEO is the result of continuous activity on the part of the non-aligned countries starting with Belgrade and developed further at the meetings of UNCTAD. The UNCTAD was the principal forum and the "Group of 77" the principal instrument working towards this end. The essence of the rising demands from the countries of the Third World for its establishment lies in a realisation that they can negotiate better deals by collective bargaining.

16 Irving Horowitz, "The United Nations and Third World : East West Conflict in Focus" in United Nations System and its Functions", in Robert W. Gregg and Michael Barkun, ed., United Nations System and its Functions (New Delhi, 1970), p. 353.

They felt that the "revitalisation of the world economy ^{cannot} be realised...on the basis of a perpetuation of the present unequal relationship between the North and the South".¹⁷ This feeling was stimulated by the Petroleum Exporting countries when they hiked the oil price in 1973 and sent the Western world reeling under its impact. It gave a new opportunity for substantial and sustained economic co-operation among the countries of the Third World.

With the 1973 Algiers Summit, the non-aligned countries became an international force for the reorganization of the international economic system. It reviewed the major developments with a view to determining what progress has been made. The activities of transnational corporations and the question of the transfer of technology were highlighted. The Summit said that it was necessary to put the goal of development back into the rightful place in the mechanism of the United Nations and to create a new system of international economic relations based on equality and the common interest of all countries. It called upon the United Nations to adopt a charter of economic system and duties of states.

The Algiers Conference with its economic declaration and its action programme, marked the beginning of a new

17 Final Documents, Seventh Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Non-aligned Countries (New Delhi, 1983), p. 6.

phase in the efforts to establish a NIEO. It was characterized by a comprehensive and consistent approach to the consideration of problems relating to the developed, to unequal economic relations and to the methods of transcending them. Thus, the documents of the Algiers Conference may be said to have been the forerunner of the UN Declaration on the Establishment of NIEO.

Its importance was carried over into the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. The NIEO was propounded and established in May 1974 at the Sixth Special Session. It was based on the desire for sovereign equality, interdependence, common interests and co-operation among all states and make it possible to eliminate the widening gulf between the developed and developing countries and set the scene for the North-South dialogue.¹⁸

Beyond the Algiers Summit and between the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions, a number of important meetings were convened to bring the working principles of the proposed NIEO closer to the functional requisites. It can be said that the campaign for NIEO has been the result of an impressive coalition, making maximum use of the United

¹⁸ Vakil, n. 2, p. 19.

Nations for joint demands.¹⁹

The emphasis was placed largely on acquiring new economic opportunities, access to the methods of industrialized countries for their export, access to international capital market, call for global strategy to tackle the problems of pricing, supply and fuel and permanent sovereignty of each state over the resources and economic activities and rights of nationalisation and preferential and non-reciprocal treatment in trade.

The Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions in September 1974 and September 1975, passed two important declarations, i.e. the Declaration on the Establishment of a new International Economic Order (Resolution No. 3201 (S-VI)) and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (Resolution No. 3202 (S-VI)). Resolution 3201 reflected the mood of the non-aligned countries about their widespread dissatisfaction with imperialism - political, economic and social. It recognized the sovereignty as right of states and suggested the right of countries to adopt the economic and social system they find most suitable to their needs. Their demands were the ones which had been emphasized at the various non-aligned

19 K.B. Lall, and S.D. Muni, "Non-alignment and the New International Economic Order", in Misra and Narayanan, ed., n. 8, p. 150.

summits and the UNCTAD. They have all along persisted in their struggle for redistributive economic justice, for the right to the use of natural resources, freedom from discrimination and equality in trade. The NIEO was the result of this continuous activity on the part of non-aligned countries which gained full expression at the fourth conference at Algiers in 1973 as has already been pointed out and which had been developed further at the meetings of the UNCTAD. It is pertinent to emphasize the fact that newly independent countries facing serious economic backwardness found expression in the non-aligned meetings and with the formation of UNCTAD they *acquired* a common platform to propound their grave economic plight and to endeavour to find solutions which eventually led to the desire for NIEO.

Under Resolution 3202 the problems mentioned above were identified. The main issues covered commodity trade, food, transportation, monetary reform, industrialization, transfer of technology, regulation of multinational corporations and strengthening of the United Nations, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. The last two items are of great importance to the non-aligned countries because they appear to believe that the United Nations will be the arena of struggle for international redistributive economic justice.

The new order envisaged a well planned transfer of capital and technology from the developed countries and a controlled international price system for primary commodities, favourable to the countries providing them. Since then the principal motivation and goal of the non-aligned has been the creation of a new world economic order based on rational, democratic, equitable and non-exploitative interests relations. In this process, the distinction between the economic objectives of non-aligned countries and of developing countries in general has disappeared.²⁰ The concepts advocated by the non-aligned countries does not imply confrontation, on the contrary, they have opposed the division of the world into blocs as well as of the partitioning of the world economy. They have advocated co-operation in seeking solution to world problems on the basis of negotiations of the legitimate rights and interests of all.

But the developed countries are wary of the NIEO and they fear losing their present advantage in the economic field and are, therefore, resisting the implementation of the Programme of Action. The international financial institutions are controlled by major capitalist countries and the non-aligned countries have not been able to find any alternative

20 Tarlok Singh, "On Giving Substance to Collective Self-Reliance", in Uma Vasudev, ed., Issues before Non-Alignment: Past and Future (New Delhi, 1983), p. 99.

to these and concern for this problem was shown at the Havana Summit (1979). The Economic Declaration had then asked the Special Session of the General Assembly in 1980 to review the implementation of the NIEO and to take effective measures to promote its establishment. The conference also stressed the need for joint activities of the newly free nations in the United Nations towards the training of personnel and for the development of technical and technological base, essential for setting up a new international information order.

A very important initiative was taken by the Havana Summit for the launching of a new round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development and was subsequently enshrined in the General Assembly Resolution 24/138.

The conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials, in Daker (1975) represented the beginning of a concrete implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the Fourth Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development. The UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy of July 1981 resulted in the adoption of the Nairobi Programme of Action. But unfortunately there was no progress in its implementation beyond the establishment at the 37th session of the General Assembly of institutional machinery.

Hence, it may be added as a digression that a feeling emerged that the NIEO would succeed only if South-South co-operation was possible. It was against this background that the New Delhi Summit took place in March 1983. It explained that the developed countries continue to adopt retrogressive policies which run counter to the objectives of the NIEO and the International Development Strategy for the Third UN Development Decade. It stressed the importance of the United Nations as the most appropriate international forum for finding solutions to major world issues of which the realisation of the NIEO was one. They believed that even when the UN can only make recommendations, it is a powerful and effective force as the resolutions are the nearest endeavour to a world public opinion. The non-aligned nations have insisted that all negotiations between them and the developed countries be held within the UN System where the most important issues were to be discussed and reviewed again and again.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES

The non-aligned movement was the result of the national sentiments of the Asian and African countries and led to a re-examination of indigenous values and cultures. There was a sense of cultural identity and solidarity among

then which led them to fight against social and cultural suppression. Their desire for national liberation and self-determination became active with a view to create conditions for securing peace, economic development and social progress.

Membership of such countries imposed duties and obligations on them to solve the problems of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established by Article 68 of the UN Charter helped the non-aligned countries to work towards this aim. The commissions set up by the Council provided them with a forum to fulfil their objectives and fight for a new socio-economic order.

The aims and objectives of the non-aligned countries have been enunciated in the various non-aligned summits. The Belgrade Conference affirmed the principle that all nations had right of self-determination by virtue of which they can determine their political status and freely ensure their economic, social and cultural development.

The Cairo Summit recognised that international understanding and progress requires a revival and rehabilitation of cultures. These objectives were reiterated at the subsequent Non-aligned Summits, but it was the Algiers Summit Conference which saw the development of more scientific analysis of social and cultural imperialism and a more specific strategy

to resist it.²¹ Under the title 'Preservation and Development' the Conference stressed the "need to reaffirm national cultural identity and eliminate the harmful consequences of the colonial era". It urged the Secretary General of the United Nations to establish a Special Chair so as to facilitate research on the historical evolution and the present and future role of non-aligned countries in the changing world order. It discussed promotion and increased contact between mass media, universities and planning and research bodies in the non-aligned countries. It gave attention to the food problems facing the developing countries and emphasized the need for the international community to take urgent measures to overcome it. In this field the Food and Agricultural Organisation has done much to overcome malnutrition and problem of food production in the developing countries. Special mention can be made of the joint effort of the FAO and WHO on the nutritional programme, and of the FAO which in collaboration with World Food Programme has given assistance to refugees in Southern Africa.

The WHO has done commendable work to look after public health, provided medical information and worked towards eradication of disease like small pox. most rampant in

21 Tran Van Dinh, "Non-Alignment and Cultural Imperialism", in A.W. Singham, ed., The Nonaligned Movement in World Politics (Delhi, 1977), p. 76.

the underdeveloped countries. The non-aligned countries having realised the significance have welcomed its contribution. The Fifth Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries held in Colombo included the health sphere in the Programme of Action for Economic Co-operation. They held a meeting in 1977 in the framework of the Thirtieth World Health Assembly and requested the WHO to give greater attention to projects in the developing countries. The New Delhi Summit also requested the WHO to initiate a process of strengthening exchanges of information and promote projects among the non-aligned countries to reduce infant mortality, communicable diseases and improve the environmental conditions.

A great concern has been expressed by the non-aligned countries to develop ecological balance. In 1968 they participated avidly in the convening of the UN Conference on Human Environment to seek solutions to problems of pollution and contamination. It is a noteworthy fact that the body of the UN Environmental Programme is based in a developing country at Nairobi.

The question of communication and information has figured much among non-aligned countries. The issue has been taken up by the ECOSOC, which at the 1959 session requested UNESCO to conduct a full scale survey at regional

level conferences along with the Commission on Human Rights. The 17th session of the General Assembly in 1962 adopted a resolution calling for removal of communication inadequacies in developing countries. In spite of the fact that the non-aligned world consists of many independent countries, means of communication and interpretation of events in one country to another are still being managed by Western agencies. The Summit Conference held in 1973 at Algiers recommended "concerted action in the field of mass communication". In May 1975, representatives of Fourteen non-aligned countries met in Belgrade to prepare the agenda for a non-aligned symposium on information to be held in Tunis in 1976.

Reflecting the development of the non-aligned movement and its expanding membership and being affected by the coherent aggression launched by the Algiers (1973) and Colombo (1976) Conferences against cultural imperialism, the UNESCO which in the past defended the "free flow of information" changed the concept to a "balanced flow of information". In July 1976 UNESCO sponsored a Nine Day Conference in Costa Rica for Twenty one Latin American countries to draw up communication policies for the region. The recommendations generally followed those propounded by the non-aligned countries.²² The New Delhi Summit urged the

22 Ibid., p. 80.

advance and acceleration of the development of communication infrastructure in accordance with the UN General Assembly resolution on World Communication Year, 1983.²³

Another area where the non-aligned countries have expressed the need for co-operation^{is} in the field of education and culture. The Cairo Conference, in particular, had stated that co-operation in this field was necessary for the deepening of human understanding. It suggested^{that} the establishment at regional and inter-regional levels of scientific and technological research institutes to study projects among the developing countries was essential. The Algiers Conference referred to the need to fight against ideological domination and to reaffirm national cultural identity. At the Colombo Conference on the sphere of education and human resources development was emphasised. A group of co-ordination for it was set up and its first meeting was held at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris in 1981 to strengthen non-aligned countries' joint action in context of their Programme of Action. They endorsed the resolution on the development of marine, scientific and technological infrastructure of the developing countries by the UN Conference on Law of the Sea.

23 GA Resolution No. 36/40.

The movement also expressed the interest in the development of physical education and sports. The Fifth Summit of the non-aligned countries denounced the policy of discrimination and apartheid in sports followed in South Africa. It has held meetings in UNESCO's Inter-governmental Committee on Physical Education and Sports to improve facilities in their countries where resources are lacking.

The non-aligned countries have played an important role in the field of energy development also. They have welcomed the setting up of an inter-governmental committee and a secretariat in the United Nations to deal specifically with new and renewable sources of energy and have expressed satisfaction over the approval of General Assembly resolution for the promotion of use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.²⁴

The non-aligned ministerial conference in New Delhi held in 1981 included the question of Housing in the Action Programme of the movement. It established a co-ordinating group to promote low cost housing programme. They have welcomed the designation of the year 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, by

24 GA Resolution No. 35/112.

the United Nations on the initiative of Sri Lanka,²⁵ The non-aligned countries also expressed their appreciation of the valuable and useful work done by the UN Centre for Human Settlements.

The development of human resources has been given much importance by the non-aligned countries. The alleviation and elimination of poverty, the education and advancement of men and full employment opportunities for all, is their goal. They presented the Tunis Programme of Action of the Ministers of Labour (1978) to the UN Conference on Technical Co-operation among developing countries (Buenos Aires 1978) which supported the recommendations relating to employment, training and appropriation of technical assistance. The question of population problem has also received much attention of the non-aligned countries and ^{they} have requested the United Nations to provide and accelerate the assistance to overcome this problem.

The question of the status of women was first taken up as a concerted action in the Colombo Conference. It was further emphasized when the Conference on Role of Women in Development for Non-aligned and other Developing

25 GA Resolution 36/71.

Countries was held in Baghdad in 1979. The Sixth Summit's main activities centered around the participation for and holding of the World Conference on UN Decade for Women. They played an important role in the UN Conference on Women held in 1980 in Copenhagen. They recommended the report of the UN Commission on Status of Women asking the United Nations system to have a special component for women's development programme.

The other areas which had received attention of the non-aligned countries consist of desertification and other calamities, especially in Africa which will adversely affect the economic and social conditions of the people. They have asked for the implementation of the United Nations resolution for material, economic, technical, general and humanitarian assistance in order to overcome it. They recommended in the General Assembly in 1982 to assist Yemen Arab Republic to reconstruct and overcome the losses suffered due to the earthquake.²⁶

They have expressed concern at the influx of refugees in Africa and have commended the efforts made by the United Nations to provide assistance to them. The same was done in 1971 when refugees from East Pakistan had

26 GA Resolution 37/166.

come into India. The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees established in 1951 has helped refugees, especially in Africa, Kampuchea and Pakistan. It makes efforts to protect the right of refugees for employment, residence, education and movement and has done commendable work for refugees of Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. They have also supported the UN General Assembly resolution of 1982 concerning the problem of remnants of war and requested all countries to co-operate with the UN Secretary General to help those states affected by the presence of remnants of war.

They have looked into the matter concerning the extremely meagre resources available to the UN Special Fund for the Landlocked developing countries. They have urged the need for the redoubling of efforts of the organs of the United Nations generally UNDP, UNIDO, IMF and IBRD to enhance the capacities.

One area where the non-aligned countries have carried on increasing fight has been in South Africa against social and political discrimination. In keeping with its policy of opposing all forms of discrimination they have urged breaking of political, economic and cultural relations with the minority regime of Pretoria ~~in~~ their conference and have urged the same in the United Nations also.

The Algiers Conference *decided* to establish a solidarity fund for economic and social development. Their aim has always been to better the socio-economic and cultural life of the people. The United Nations has done commendable work in assisting them and the non-aligned countries have participated in the forum actively and have achieved commendable success.

CHAPTER V

THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS AND THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

One of the primary purposes of the United Nations Charter is to promote international co-operation in encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. (The non-aligned countries emerging from the throes of imperialism and colonialism, having suffered from suppression at the hands of their colonial masters, have imbibed this quest for the promotion of human right. The experience of exploitation gave credence to these nations of human dignity and became the articulated goals of the Third World countries.)¹ Consequently, in the course of the discussion on the draft of the Declaration of Human Rights, they approved of the objectives on 10 December 1948 when the General Assembly approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (48 members for, none against and 8 abstained); the abstained included the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia and South Africa.² Saudi Arabia argued that they were ruled by the Islamic Law

¹ Adamantia Pollis and Peter Schwabed, "Human Rights : A Western Construct with Limited Applicability", in Human Rights : Cultural and Ideological Perspectives (New York, 1977), p. 7.

² General Assembly Resolution 217 (III)A.

which already emphasized on the rights of men; and the Declaration merely dealt with moral recommendations and provided no guarantee of legal safeguard.

These are the limitations under which the United Nations functions, yet the non-aligned countries have discussed all the issues in its forum and tried to find solutions; It can be said that while the Declaration does not impose binding obligations on members, it envisages a grave self limitation on the power and authority of member states.³

(It is of interest to note that the Declaration of Human Rights was adopted at a time when most of what is now called the Third World was still under colonial rule. Freedom of discrimination against race, colour, sex, language, religion and guarantee of life, liberty and equality were the objectives of the Declaration which echoed the sentiments of the Third World countries. These are the aims for which they have been fighting in the United Nations.)

It can be said that the United Nations organs have done a vast amount of work in formulating a large variety of specific Conventions like the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and have adopted

³ M.S. Rajan, The Expanding Jurisdiction of the United Nations (New York, 1982), p. 105.

declarations like the convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1969. It stated that "parties shall assure to every one within their jurisdiction effective protection and remedies...against any acts of racial discrimination which violate his human rights and fundamental freedoms".⁴

(Regional organisations composed of ^a number of non-aligned countries like the OAS and OAU have incorporated these ideas into their own Charter and have given these rights a universal standing. These aims and objectives have been endorsed by the non-aligned countries in their various Summit Conferences. The Cairo Summit (1964) declared that racial discrimination, especially apartheid constitutes a violation of Human Rights. It reaffirmed their absolute respect for the rights of ethnic and religious minorities and condemned genocide. The Colombo Summit (1976) and all subsequent conferences have noted with concern South Africa's repressive racial policy and have condemned inhuman torture and degrading treatment meted out to prisoners and detainees.) The presence of South African forces in Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) have been condemned as they impose upon the basic human rights. They have deplored the activities of the principal trading

⁴ General Assembly Resolution 1904 (XVIII).

partners of South Africa, who, in defiance of the appeals of the OAU and the United Nations continue to have trade relations with South Africa. Also to come under fire has been Portugal (in its African colonies before 1974) and Israel for their repressive policies.

(The area where the non-aligned countries have largely focused their attention most over the violation of human rights is in South Africa. The legacy of colonialism has been responsible and continued to contribute to the violation of human rights in Africa.)

The United Nations concern began when this question came up before the First Session of the General Assembly in the form of a complaint by India, but in the 1950s it merged with the wider question of race conflict in South Africa. The United Nations at the call of the Afro-Asian nations appointed committees and commissions to study and report about the situation in Africa. They have condemned the policy of apartheid and appealed to South Africa to enter into negotiation with India and Pakistan on the question of treatment of people of Indian origin.

In 1952 the African National Congress of South Africa and South African Indian Congress launched a campaign against repression in South Africa. At the request of Thirteen Asian and African countries,⁵ an item entitled

⁵ Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen.

"Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa" was included in the agenda of the General Assembly in 1952. It spoke against the basic violation of human rights as a threat to international peace and was adopted by the Assembly.⁶ It established a three-member UN Commission on the racial situation in the Union of South Africa to study the situation. The Afro-Asians condemned the policy of racial discrimination and the Sharpsville massacre of 21 March 1960 came under sharp attack. At the urgent request of twenty-nine African and Asian countries the Security Council condemned "the situation arising out of the large scale killing of unarmed and peaceful demonstrations against racial discrimination and segregation in the Union of South Africa".

At the 15th and 16th sessions of the General Assembly in 1961, African and Asian countries proposed diplomatic, economic and other measures against South Africa and in the 17th session adopted specific measures to break off diplomatic relations, boycott South African goods and refuse landing and passage facilities to South Africa. On 6 November 1962, the General Assembly resolved to establish a Special Committee to keep racial policies of

6 General Assembly Resolution 616 (VII).

the Government of South Africa under review when the Assembly was not in session.⁷

When Nelson Mandela and others were charged under the Sabotage Act in 1963 the Afro-Asian nations urged the General Assembly to condemn South Africa and called for unconditional release of all political prisoners. 106 countries voted in favour and only South Africa opposed it.⁸ Over this question the non-aligned countries displayed solidarity and unity of purpose. The General Assembly resolution of 13 December 1967⁹ requested and authorized the Special Committee to intensify efforts for investigation or fact finding with a view to protecting individuals from government oppression.

(During the year 1968, the Human Rights Year, the Afro-Asian nations engaged themselves in an attempt to expel South Africa from the UNCTAD. But this revolution failed as it could not achieve two-thirds majority. This proposal had come from the General Assembly's Second Committee in which proposal had been made by thirty-nine members, mostly from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean area. Already South Africa had been banned from the UN Economic

7 G.A. Resolution 1761 (XVII).

8 G.A. Resolution 1881 (XVIII).

9 G.A. Resolution 2307 (XXII).

Commission for Africa in 1963, which was a triumph for the Afro-Asian nations. The General Assembly in 1965 invited the specialized agencies to take necessary steps to deny technical and economic assistance to the Government of South Africa, but the appeal met with disappointment. The Assembly's Special Committee of 24 on Decolonisation composed of mostly Afro-Asian nations expressed "deep disappointment at the granting of new loans and the extension of credits" to South Africa and Portugal by the IBRD and IMF. It was the dominance of the West which was responsible for the negation of this demand and has been a major obstacle in the way of the non-aligned countries' demand for the promotion of human rights. But agencies like the UNESCO authorized the Director-General to withhold from Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia assistance as well as invitation to participate in UNESCO activities.

The threat of deprivation of South Africa's representation from the UN General Assembly suggested by the non-aligned countries would have been effective, but for the unwillingness of the Security Council. Still the fight against oppression is carried on unabated by the non-aligned countries and they speak in unison in the United Nations to fight for the promotion of the basic

rights. In the General Assembly in 1972 they worked towards launching the Decade for Action to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It urged measures with a view to identifying and rescinding those which provide for racial discrimination and apartheid, and requested the national sports federation to refuse participation in supports in South Africa.

Even after suggesting measures and remedies this problem has been very frustrating to the United Nations in general and non-aligned countries in particular, the violation of human rights continues in South Africa. On 17 December 1974 the Security Council adopted an African sponsored resolution which gave South Africa until 30 May 1975 to withdraw from South West Africa but failed due to Western Powers' influence. (The New Delhi Summit Conference (1983) condemned the racist regime of Pretoria for the barbarous acts of oppression. It expressed concern at the persistent refusal by South Africa to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions.)

The non-aligned countries have been extremely critical of Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory. They feel that this infiltration and denial of inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are the core of Arab-Israeli

conflict. The Cairo Summit declared their full support to the Palestinians in their struggle for liberation from colonialism. The New Delhi Summit like the previous summits reiterated its condemnation of repression and acts of genocide and exploitation of natural resources of Palestine. It called for the protection of civilians in time of war in all occupied territories and condemned Israel for the persistent violation of basic rights and freedoms of the inhabitants. They worked in the General Assembly to declare "null and void" all measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab land.¹⁰ The resolution asked Israel to put a stop to the violation of the human rights of the citizens of occupied territories and to abide by the Geneva Convention regarding the protection of civilians in time of war.

In 1971 the General Assembly on the basis of reports of the Special Committee made a lengthy condemnation of Israel's policies, practices and measures in occupied territories. It can be said that the United Nations has done commendable work for the Palestinian refugees and the non-aligned countries in general have provided considerable assistance. They are persisting in condemning Israel for

¹⁰ G.A. Resolution 3240A (XXIX).

the repressive policies it followed in the occupied territories.

(The non-aligned countries have shown that concern over human rights violation in Tibet, territories once under Portuguese administration and in South Vietnam.) The Tibetan question was brought up at the 14th session of the General Assembly by Malaya (now Malaysia) and Ireland and urged the United Nations to call for the restoration of religious and civil liberties of Tibetan people. The General Assembly referred to the "distinctive cultural and religious heritage" of the Tibetans and called for the respect of fundamental human rights. This question was last discussed in the 20th session of the Assembly and failed to find any solution because of the tough stand taken by China.

(The Portuguese Government has been criticised by the non-aligned countries in all their conferences until 1973.) The Belgrade Conference drew attention and expressed concern at "the intolerable measures of repression taken by the Portuguese colonial authorities against people of Angola".¹¹ At their instance, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly took steps in 1961 of granting hearing to petitioners from Portuguese Guinea,

¹¹ Documents of the Gathering of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-73 (Belgrade, 1973), p. 17.

against Portuguese wishes. Most non-aligned countries gave funds to the Education Programme and Trust Fund to the UN programmes. The Cairo Conference also condemned repression in Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia and called upon all countries to compel Portugal to carry out the decisions of the General Assembly. The UNESCO's Executive Board decided in 1965 not to invite Portugal to UNESCO meetings as a protest against the repressive measures adopted by Portugal. Portugal's request for the International Court of Justice to be asked for an Advisory Opinion on the validity of this decision was voted down by 60 to 38 with 4 abstention in 1966 meeting of UNESCO's General Conference.¹²

Over the question of the violation of human rights of Buddhist in South Vietnam, 14 Afro-Asian countries asked the 18th General Assembly to take action. But eventually it was dropped at the instance of the sponsors themselves.

(Freedom of information as a basis of human rights has occupied the attention of the non-aligned nations for a long time.) In the United Nations they reiterated the belief that free flow of "undistorted news and information" is essential basis for an accurate understanding of events

¹² John Carey, UN Protection of Civil and Political Rights (New York, 1970), p. 31.

and situation. Another resolution recommended that freedom of information should be particularly promoted in the case of dissemination of information on evils of apartheid, racism, colonialism and racial discrimination. The UNESCO had to change its concept of free flow of information to a balanced one at the initiative of the non-aligned countries which discussed this question in depth in Algiers and Colombo Summit Conferences. They have created awareness of the problems which they face and have worked towards the eradication of imperialism - economic, social or cultural, which hinder the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In some other spheres too they feel their rights are subjected or can be subjected to oppression ^{and} have come under attacks. They have whole-heartedly endorsed the resolution on the elimination of inequality in the administration of justice because it had been denied to them as colonial people and is still denied to those under foreign domination. They have worked in UN General Assembly for the promotion of human rights in times of war as in the case of the Palestine. They have provided assistance to the refugees in Africa and the Middle East and have clamoured for the restitution of their rights. Pakistan initiated a draft resolution successfully in 1970 on the importance of the Rights of Peoples to Self

Determination in context of human rights, alongwith
Algeria, Argentina, Ceylon, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Peru,
Saudi Arabia and Somalia.

They have worked for the betterment of the status
of women to grant them the basic fundamental rights. They
endorsed the UN General Assembly resolution on the Elimination
of Discrimination Against Women, and the designation
of the year 1975 as the Woman's Year.

The efforts of the non-aligned countries have not
always succeeded totally as in the case of South Africa
and the Middle East where violation of human rights is
continuing. But they have created an international awareness
of the problem and have sought to subject the
oppressors to accountability. Their efforts have been
successful on some occasions and are continuing unabated
to promote human rights the world over.)

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The non-aligned movement has consistently worked for the all round emancipation of the peoples all over the world. Despite many obstacles, the movement has achieved significant successes and has continued to play a major role in its efforts to promote a new world order based on equality, justice and peace. In the process, it has advocated certain global values that go beyond the narrow value system established by the former imperial Powers.

To fulfil their aims and objectives, the non-aligned countries have invariably recognized the importance of the United Nations, which has been described by the New Delhi Summit (1983) as "the most appropriate international forum for finding solutions to the major world issues". This dependence has been reiterated at all the previous Summits too. The Lusaka Summit (1970) emphasized the need for the maintenance of regular contacts in the United Nations to ensure continuity in the non-aligned movement and to appropriate implementation of the resolutions made at the Summit Conferences. They realised that these consultations would also help them to adopt mutually supportive positions

on the activities of the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

The participation of the non-aligned countries in the United Nations has benefited the organization considerably. The United Nations, as established in 1945, was essentially an organisation of 'aligned' states which fought the Axis Powers in the Second World War. But it was due to the emergence of newly independent countries that a change occurred and it is no longer subservient to, or aligned with any particular Power bloc. It is so because the new nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, by keeping away from Big Power alliance have helped the United Nations to survive as an independent, non-partisan, universal organisation. For this reason they did not (for instance) endorse the US demand (1961-65) for depriving France and the Soviet Union of their right to vote in the General Assembly for non-payment of their respective dues for financing of the UN peace-keeping operations in Congo. Likewise they did not endorse the 1960 Troika proposal of the Soviet Union, even though it promised to give the non-aligned movement a place of prominence in the Security Council.

Although the United Nations is still more of a forum for the consideration of the world's major problem

than a world government with a power of imposing its decisions, the non-aligned nations have strengthened it and led it to discuss and settle the major international problems. The selection of U Thant as Secretary General of the Organisation bears testimony to the fact that even the Big Powers have acknowledged the importance of placing the organisation under the direction of a diplomat from a non-aligned country in 1961.

Conversely, the newly independent countries have benefited much by the membership of the United Nations. It has provided them with formal recognition and an equal status. It has provided them with much needed economic relief as they can maintain contact at global level and save the expenses of establishing diplomatic missions in all the countries and can participate in international conferences initiated by the United Nations. They have also realized that if they want to achieve any success in influencing the existing international system, they must become active participants in the organisation. The General Assembly has provided them with opportunities to raise any questions for discussion and in the process curbed the tendencies of the Great Powers to discuss and settle international issues without regard to interests of the small and medium states. It has also helped them to overcome the fear and apprehension of losing their identity,

entity and individuality and it is quite obvious that the United Nations is of much relevance to them.

The policy of non-alignment was conceived at a time of growing polarization of international relations which had led to the formation of power blocs. The United Nations provided a mechanism whereby the non-aligned countries could play an important role by persuading the two Powers to arrive at some kind of a compromise to the existing international problems. This also implied that the policy of non-alignment could have practical meaning only if the United Nations was kept free from the control of the Super Powers. They demonstrated their courage of conviction for instance, by not supporting the Uniting for Peace resolution (1950).

It is a noteworthy fact that the issues which the non-aligned countries have raised have been timely and have synchronised with the needs of the hour. The handful of Asian and African countries that had the privilege of being the Founder Members of the United Nations, made it their business to see to it that their brethren who were still under colonial yoke attained their freedom and till then were treated with decency by their colonial masters. It was a long struggle, requiring a great deal of patience and endurance. Their struggle bore fruit and led to the

adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960) by the General Assembly. The United Nations, thus served as an institution for mobilising those forces which helped in the emergence of the new states from colonialism to independent statehood.

The policy of non-alignment identified itself with the liberation struggle of peoples of Namibia, Palestine, Algeria, Congo, Angola, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. In their endeavour they have achieved a large measure of success, but it would be an exaggeration to claim that all their endeavours have been quite successful. Their efforts still fall far behind the desired goals in areas like South Africa, Namibia and the Middle East. But this is due primarily to the non-co-operative attitude of the oppressors and the support given to them by the Big Powers.

The colonial experience and the consequent suppression of their fundamental rights has made them strong advocates of the promotion of human rights. Since the inception of the movement the non-aligned countries have led an unceasing war against racism and the policy of apartheid in South Africa and against the suppression of fundamental rights of the people of Palestine by Israel. The forum of the United Nations has been utilized to promote freedom from economic, social and cultural imperialism.

The issues of colonialism and apartheid have also become questions affecting the maintenance of international peace and security and the non-aligned countries have been working towards this goal. From their dedication to peace, not through alignment but through an independent approach has emerged a related dedication to an effective United Nations as the instrument for the implementation of their resolutions. They have worked for the termination of conflicts and mediation of the United Nations and have desired elimination of rival influences of the Great Powers. They worked in unison when the Dutch resorted to armed action in Indonesia in 1949. Similarly the position they took in 1950-51 on the Korean war had a much needed sobering effect on the Western Powers. But they also realized the strength of the Big Powers and did not condemn them in the Suez and Hungarian crises as it would not have helped solve the problems. They realized that a "condemnatory" approach would be self defeating and would aggravate the issues further.

They have successfully participated in the peace-keeping operations and special reference can be made of their role in Korea, Congo and the Middle Eastern crises. They have unanimously agreed with the view that development and disarmament are closely connected. They took up the

initiative in calling the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in 1978. But once again such efforts have produced only limited results as the Big Powers showed their unwillingness to implement their recommendations. Besides, a number of non-aligned countries have established links with the Big Powers and draw their inspiration and strength not so much from their non-aligned status as from the major centres of economic and political powers of the world. The Falkland Island war, the Gulf conflict and Israeli invasion of Lebanon have created a mood of insecurity which can hardly be conducive to discussions on disarmament. But the only possibility of attaining success is their sustained effort carried on in the United Nations to declare the use of nuclear weapons as crime against humanity. Their concerted demand has also been for the application of nuclear energy for peaceful progress of the world as a whole in order to hasten their quest for economic development.

Up till now we have observed that the movement has carried a progressive thrust in the context of its anti-imperialist orientation. We now see that its support for decolonisation, peace and disarmament are bound with the struggle for a new socio-economic order. The United Nations has been given a special role by the non-aligned countries

for their economic, social and cultural emancipation and development. In order to advance their objectives, they are trying to win recognition for their inalienable right over their economic activities and social and cultural development.

With the formation of UNCTAD the non-aligned under-developed countries have acquired the possibility of establishing a common platform and a high degree of unity within the new institution. Besides, their building of a coalition in the form of the "Group of 77" has resulted in the movement becoming one of the most sophisticated interest group in world politics. It means the assertion of their progressive concepts, the realisation of the gravity of their economic situation and the endeavour to find solutions on a general world level.

But unfortunately their efforts have not received desired co-operation from all quarters. The stalemate has not occurred for want of schemes but for want of will among the developed countries. Viewing the disappointing failure of the First Development Decade the Algiers Conference (1973) affirmed that the primary responsibility for development lies in the co-operation among themselves by the developing countries. It led to the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order in

the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly.

At this point we can say that one factor which has restricted the success of the non-aligned aspirations is the very structure of the United Nations. Its resolutions are not binding and the Big Powers are strong enough to stall any resolution or its implementation which hinders their policies. For this reason the demands of the non-aligned countries for economic freedom and equality have often been defeated or neglected.

Interestingly, a change has come over the movement in recent years. Before being institutionalised the non-aligned countries had come together in pursuance of their common objectives. The difference between then and now stems from the fact that until the Belgrade Summit the non-aligned countries were referred to as non-aligned by virtue of their declared foreign policy objectives. But since then, non-alignment is a mere label and the countries can claim that status even if they adopt policy of de facto alignment as is the case with Saudi Arabia. A lack of cohesion and solidarity has emerged as is evident on the question of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. But then, the movement was never intended to be a 'bloc' and consensus was possible only because of commonality of objectives. Now the large size, the individual and regional interests

and power affiliations have hampered their solidarity. The voting pattern in the United Nations indicates that the non-aligned countries are guided not by their principles and programmes but by other interests and commitments.

At the gatherings of non-aligned countries one can notice the existence of different views regarding developments in international relations. Under such circumstances the non-aligned movement has succeeded fairly. The fact that the number of the non-aligned countries has constantly been increasing testifies in a convincing manner the viability of the movement. Moreover in the United Nations they have ended the stronghold of the Great Powers.

They have fought and succeeded on a number of issues that they have taken up. For instance, the UNESCO had to change its communication concept from the "free flow of information" to that of "balanced flow of information" when the non-aligned countries developed (at Algiers and Colombo Summits) a coherent offensive against cultural imperialism. The adoption of the NIEO has also been a result of their concerted action and a recognition of their economic wants. They have also achieved success in the United Nations to develop public health facilities, fight malnutrition and environmental hazards and develop human resources by advocating advance in education, employment

opportunities and population control in the developing countries.

By the time the group was formally institutionalised, cluster of organisations based on geographical, political, ideological affinity had been entrenched in the United Nations. So the non-aligned countries as a caucusing group have not yet become a part of the UN system; however, as a group they have acquired a position of influence in the Organisation. Though they have suffered from doubts and hesitations they have played and can play a significant role in the future of the Organisation provided they maintain sincerity and moderation that has always distinguished them from some other groups.

The UN is largely what it is today because of its change: from one initially "aligned" to a non-aligned one because of the non-aligned group of states who are in a majority since the 1960s. They have helped to implement the Purposes and Principles of the Charter without being distorted by the aligned groups of nations to the extent that their majority position matters in the affairs of the world organisation. They have also helped to strengthen it in various ways by championing the principle of universality of membership, by expanding the membership of limited membership organs, by establishing new priorities in tune with the changes in the membership of the organisation and

so on. In general, it is largely due to their role that the World Organisation remains continuously relevant, nearly 40 years after its establishment and is still so to say "alive and kicking", despite difference of opinions on the effectiveness. In a way, they have proved the indispensability of international organisation for the conduct of international relations through multilateral diplomacy for which the United Nations remains the largest and the most important forum.

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