

**INDIA'S ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
NON — ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled: "INDIA'S ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT", submitted by SHAHBER PASHA in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY, has not been previously submitted for any degree in this or any other University. This is his own work.



We recommend this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Professor RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN

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## PREFACE

In the post IIInd World War period, the concept of non-alignment emerged as a policy and programme of the Third World countries in order to ascertain their independence in the midst of increasing imperialistic hegemony and competition. Within a short span of time, NAM has made remarkable success by gathering a large number of Third World countries under its fold and thereby influencing world opinion extensively on themes like anti-colonialism, disarmament, New International Economic Order, peace and development etc., In the solidification of NAM as the most important Third World organisation and in evolving non-alignment as a policy postulate, India has played a very crucial and concrete role. The present study is an attempt to discern the role played by India in the evolution and consolidation of the movement of non-alignment.

The first chapter analyses the role played by India in promoting consensus and solidarity among the non-aligned countries. It also discusses the specific efforts made by India in strengthening the movement. The second chapter deals with the New

International Economic Order which is one of the main concern of the movement and India's efforts in propagating the cause. It also discusses the initiative taken by India in advocating self-reliance and cooperation among the Third World countries. In the third chapter disarmament is focussed with reference to India. Since from the very inception of the movement, India has taken keen interest in emphasising peace through disarmament. As one of the founding members of the movement, Jawaharlal Nehru made significant contributions in fostering the movement. His statesmanship and world outlook were instrumental in providing proper guidance and direction to the NAM in its early stages. The fourth chapter examines the contribution made by Nehru in this regard. The concluding chapter provides an overview and summary of the earlier chapters.

I record my deep indebtedness to Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan for guiding this work. Without his generosity and kindness, I would not have been able to accomplish this task. I also express my gratitude to Prof. S.N. Jha and other members of the faculty for their encouragement. I am grateful to my friends, especially Mr. L. Laxman, Mr. Vapurmu Demo, Mr. Ajay Kumar Singh and Mr. Muzaffar Assadi, for their assistance and cooperation, finally I am thankful to Mr. & Mrs. K. Muralidharan for typing this dissertation neatly.



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INDIA'S ROLE IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF NAM

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## CHAPTER - I

### INDIA'S ROLE IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT

Non-alignment basically emerged as a policy of opposition to colonialism and imperialism and as an urge to assert the independence and equal recognition of the states in the world politics.<sup>1</sup> It was also an assertion of togetherness of the third world's oppressed people. India has played a very active and prominent role in consolidating the movement by providing the ideological impetus and skilful leadership.

The Indian National Congress which led the freedom struggle of Indian people, began to take interest in foreign affairs, as early as 1920. In 1920 it resolved to promote co-operation and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries.<sup>2</sup> Further in 1921, the Congress adopted a resolution on foreign policy that expressed its desire to have cordial relations not only with its neighbours but also with other states.<sup>3</sup> In 1927 Jawaharlal Nehru got an

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1. Bimal Prasad, "Historical Background of Non-Alignment", in K.P. Misra, ed., Non-Alignment: Frontiers and Dynamics (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1982), pp.13-14.
  2. G.H. Jansen, Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p.20.
  3. Bimal Prasad, n.1, p.14.



opportunity to meet some Asian leaders in the international Congress against imperialism in Brussels. Nehru attended this Congress as the representative of the Indian National Congress. He described it as "the outward symbol of the intense desire for mutual co-operation which had taken possession of the oppressed and the exploited all over the world"<sup>4</sup>. Expressing the necessity of fullfledge co-operation with the League against Imperialism, Nehru pointed out that

we cannot, in our own interest and in the interest of the world, afford to remain isolated from the great movements and<sup>5</sup> forces which are shaping the future .

The mainfesto of the conference ended with the resolution that

the oppressed and enslaved nations which represent the overwhelming majority of mankind, like the proletariat, can conquer the world, the world of the future. Oppressed people and oppressed nations unite.

By the end of the Second World War, Indian leadership could recognize the threat posed by the polarization

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4. Ibid., p. 15.

5. Ibid., p. 16.

6. Jansen, n.2, p.30.

of the world into two blocs. In response to the polarization Nehru commented that this situation confronts not only the Indians but "the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa also".<sup>7</sup> The Indian position was made clear by him in 1947 as president of the interim Government, when he declared,

we propose so far as possible to keep away from power politics of groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale .<sup>8</sup>

In 1947 India took an important step by hosting the first Asian Conference which is considered to be the "fore runner" of the nonaligned movement. Referring to the importance of this Conference G.H. Jansen says

When people think of the Afro-Asian Conferences it is the names 'Bandung' and 'Belgrade' that usually occur to them,...that is a pity, because the first, the biggest and the best of these gatherings was held earlier and elsewhere. This was the Asian Relations Conference that met in New Delhi in March 1947.<sup>9</sup>

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7. Bimal Prasad, n.1, pp.17-18.
  8. Ibid., p. 19.
  9. Jansen, n.2, p.13.

In his address to the Asian Relations Conference  
Nehru said

it is so happened that we in India convened  
this conference but the idea of such a  
conference arose simultaneously in many minds  
and in many countries of Asia. There was a  
widespread and an awareness that the time had  
come for us, people of Asia, to meet together,  
to hold together and advance together. <sup>10</sup>

Further, giving a clarification to avoid unwarranted  
suspicion Nehru remarked that the underlying idea  
of the conference "is in no way aggressive or against  
any other continent or country...we have no designs  
against anybody, ours is the great design of promoting  
peace and progress all over the world."<sup>11</sup> In 1949,  
again India took the initiative in holding the Second  
Conference of Asian countries to ponder over the Dutch  
attack on Indonesia.<sup>12</sup>

The Bandung Conference which was held in 1955  
is considered as the 'first crystallisation of collective  
thought on non-alignment.'<sup>13</sup> It was the period when  
cold war was in its full swing and the tentacles of  
imperialism could be seen in Asia through its military

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10. Asian Relations, Report of the Proceedings and Documentation of the First Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, April 1947, pp.21-22.
  11. Ibid., p. 24.
  12. Jansen, n.2, p.14.
  13. Rasheeduddin Khan, "India and the Non-aligned Movement" in Satish Kumar, ed., Year Book on India's Foreign Policy (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 1984), p. 78.

pacts like SEATO<sup>14</sup> which was threatening the pursuit of an independent policy in the region. India's consistent commitment to an independent policy based on peaceful co-existence helped to bring solidarity among the like-minded countries of Asia and Africa. At the concluding session of the Bandung Conference 1955, Nehru said "we have met here together, seen and made friends with one another and argued with one another to find a solution for our common problems."<sup>15</sup> He emphasized on the problem of peace in the world and its interlinkage with each and every country.

Thus, before the advent of NAM as an institutionalized body itself, India had taken successful steps in formulating a policy of non-alignment with power blocks in tune with its political and ethical heritage. The Indian statesmen tried to project this negative term as an affirmation of a positive concept.<sup>16</sup> The various conferences and interaction with third world leaders, provided Indian statesmen enough opportunity for propagating and streamlining the new policy.

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14. For details see Jansen, n.2; pp.14-15.

15. Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1971), p. 219.

16. For a discussion on the semantics of non-alignment, see R. Khan, n.13, p.81.

The Belgrade Conference of 1961 was thus a crystallisation of the earlier Indian endeavours. Though India had certain reservations<sup>17</sup> in the initial stages regarding the timing and the nature of the new group, but along with Egypt and Yugoslavia India provided the necessary strength and vision to the conference. Nehru in his speech emphasized the necessity for peace in the context of increasing nuclear threats.

From the Belgrade Conference onwards, India had been trying to bring out consensus among the members on various issues. India had also been keen on restraining from confrontation with developed countries. On the other hand, India had been emphasising on peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of disputes. For instance in the Second Non-aligned Conference while Indonesia advocated a policy of confrontation with the developed countries, India stressed the need for peaceful co-existence, nuclear disarmament and peaceful settlement of disputes.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1960s due to the Indo-China war, and worsening of the domestic situation, Indian prestige

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17. Jansen, n. 2, p. 281.  
Also see Rasheeduddin Khan, n.13, p.80.

18. Kapileshwar Labh, "Intra Non-Aligned Discords and India", India Quarterly, vol. 38, no. 1, January-March 1982, pp. 67. Also see Jansen, n. 2, pp.282-25.

in the international sphere was at a low ebb. And it was also a period when the movement of non-alignment which was supposed to play a vital role in the international arena was at a low profile due to lack of proper understanding among the nonaligned countries and also due to the deliberate attempts of the imperialists to put it down. The imperialists considered the new group as not relevant in the context of the relaxation of tensions between the two Super Powers in the wake of Cuban missile crisis.<sup>19</sup> In 1970s the non-aligned movement recovered again. India under the premiership of Mrs. Gandhi played a vital role in bringing about this transformation. She stressed the economic field as an important area, where the non-aligned countries have to operate.<sup>20</sup> In the

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19. Kapileshwar Labh, Ibid., p. 67. Questioning the relevance of non-alignment the bloc countries advanced arguments like, even if the non-aligned countries could play the role of some kind of mediator during the cold war they had now definitely lost this function, also as the great powers have established direct contacts and were no more in need of self-styled mediators. Ranko Pet Kovic, "Historical Vitality of Non-alignment", Review of International Affairs, vol. 36, no. 852, 5 October 1985, pp. 1-2.

20. Kapileshwar Labh, n.18, p.68.

words of Kapileshwar Labh

she not only highlighted the relevance of non-alignment but also sought to strengthen the movement by emphasising economic cooperation among the non-aligned countries...she discerned that the 'biggest danger' to non-alignment 'is the economic pressure of large countries' and laid stress on developing economic cooperation .<sup>21</sup>

The efforts by Mrs. Gandhi had its own impact. Non-alignment movement has undergone a major change in character and content in the 1970s by transforming itself into a collective economic movement of third world countries.<sup>22</sup> In international platforms like UN the non-aligned countries began to assert themselves by claiming equal terms in the trade with developed countries. They also stressed the need for self reliance and cooperation among the Third World countries.

Although the non-aligned movement was gaining strength in the 1970s, as it could be noted from its increasing strength from twenty-five at Belgrade in 1961 to about ninety three at the Havana summit in 1979, it had its own problems. Moreover, it is bound to have difficulties due to the very nature of the countries involved in it. The countries which belong

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21. Ibid.,

22. Qtd. in ibid., p. 68.

to the movement have their own histories, cultures and perspectives of international politics. Also other factors like geographical, political systems and economies differ from each other.<sup>23</sup> Even then, the effective leadership and guidance of India helped the movement in strengthening its unity. Some of the important issues that surfaced in the non-aligned movement were the ideological and bilateral disputes among the non-aligned countries. To a certain extent this was instigated by the United States through their pernicious theories of non-alignment as equi-distance.<sup>24</sup> In the Algiers summit conference, there has been exchange of hot words between Fidel Castro and Gaddafi.<sup>25</sup> But showing enough maturity India did not get involved in the tussle. Instead India continued to criticize the old power politics game practised by big powers. And despite the differences there had been total consensus on various issues like Palestine, South Africa etc.

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23. K.P. Misra, "The Ideology of NAM" in Hanskocher, ed., Principles of Non-alignment (Third World Centre, 1982), p. 63. Also see Samman Boutros Farajallah, "The Security Challenges to the Non-aligned Movement", in Bajpai, ed., Non-alignment Perspectives and Prospects (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 1985), pp. 84-85.
24. Rasheeduddin Khan, "The Non-Alignment Movement, Its Content, Crisis and Prospects", in Vijay Gupta, ed., India and Non-Alignment (New Delhi: New Literature, 1983), pp. 105-7.
25. Godfrey Morrison, "Role to Play for the Non-aligned Despite Groups Unwielding Nature Post-Algiers Assessment", International Perspectives, January-February



The major challenge to the non-aligned movement was to resist pressures, political, economic from the big Powers. Nevertheless India stressed the unity of the non-aligned countries and cautioned against pressure from the big powers to divide and weaken the movement.

In the Belgrade Foreign Ministers Conference, 1978 there was severe protest against the use of certain terms in the declarations of the non-aligned movement like "hegemonism", "natural allies" etc. Cuba particularly was in favour of considering Soviet Union as the natural ally of NAM opposed the use of the word "hegemonism" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and on par with United States of America. These disputes threatened to wreck the unity. And it was India which finally brought about a compromise. Similarly in 1979 Havana Summit India expressed the view that the concept of non-alignment is opposed to the philosophy of "natural alliance". The then Indian Foreign Minister S.N. Mishra, opposing it said: "We cannot have one foot in non-alignment and another in alignment".<sup>26</sup>

After the mid-seventies, conflicts between the non-aligned countries intensified. Earlier, these

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1974, pp. 41-42; also see K. Labh, n.18, p.68. p. 68.

26. Qtd. in Kapileshwar Labh, n.18, pp.69-70.

conflicts had no severe effects within the nonaligned circle. The conflicting countries use to attend nonaligned conventions where these conflicts were discussed, but without causing any major controversies or having effect on the course of the meetings or in the outcomes. But after mid-seventies, conflicts between some non-aligned countries had adverse effect on overall relations within the non-aligned movement, thereby threatening its integration.<sup>27</sup> The threat to unity of the non-aligned movement became so grave in 1978 that the issue dominated the Belgrade Conference of Non-aligned Foreign Ministers. In order to freeze the situation India proposed a code of conduct for non-aligned nations with a view to ensure strength and unity to the movement. Explaining the code, the then foreign minister A.B. Vajpayee said that there should be an agreement among the nations that they should respect established frontiers and should refrain from force in settling disputes.<sup>28</sup>

The increasing tension between the Super Powers in the late seventies and serious crisis in the international economic relations, and in addition, the

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27. Bojana Tadic, "Conflicts among the Non-aligned Countries (III)" Review of International Affairs, vol. 26, no. 852, 5 October 1985, p. 9.

28. Kapileshwar Labh, n.18, p.72.

crisis within the movement itself gave a serious jolt to the solidarity of the movement. It was under this crucial period that conflicts between some non-aligned countries became more intense. In 1977 Vietnam intervened in Kampuchea. Thus a new trouble spot was created within the movement.<sup>29</sup> The Camp David agreement between Egypt and Israel was vehemently opposed by most of the Arab states and they demanded its suspension or expulsion of Egypt from the membership of the non-aligned movement on the ground that the Camp David agreement is contrary to the decisions of the non-aligned conferences over the Arab-Israeli conflict. Even though India took a critical view of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, it opposed the Arab move to suspend or expel Egypt from membership. It was a time when the movement was getting regionalized. Cautioning the dispute as intra-regional, India argued that it is unfair to bring into question the membership of any member of the movement.<sup>30</sup> Even prior to this issue, India opposed the use of the forum of Non-aligned Conference for ventilating bilateral and

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29. Bojana Tadic, n.27, pp.9-10.

30. Kapileshwar Labh, n. 18, pp. 70-71.  
Also see M.S. Rajan, "Dangers of Regionalization",  
World Focus, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1983, p. 20.

regional differences. At the Colombo Summit in 1979,

Mrs. Gandhi said:

We should now allow such differences as may exist between some members on certain issues to affect our unity. With so many leaders the conference is too important to spend time on bilateral matters. There are risks when national goals completely supersede the collective purpose.<sup>31</sup>

The international scenario in the beginning of the 1980s was still more turbulent. Many old disputes and conflicts between the non-aligned countries continued. Some of them entering into an acute phase. In 1980, the disputes between Libya and Tunisia became grave. Likewise the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia escalated periodically, the disputes between Guyana and Venezuela became increasingly acrimonious, also differences between India and Bangladesh and the Falkland war between Britain and Argentina.<sup>32</sup>

After the late seventies the non-aligned countries began to take more interest in solving the conflicting problems among themselves which threatened

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31. Qtd. in Kapileshwar Labh, n.18, p.71.

32. Bojana Tadic, n.27, p.10.

the unity of the movement. In the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned held in Havana in May 1978, it was stated that "disputes between some non-aligned countries had created conflicting situations". It was decided to convene the Foreign Ministers conference in the same year at Belgrade so that it could consider

how the non-aligned movement as a whole might find ways and means of conducting peaceful solutions of disputes among the non-aligned countries .33

Despite the efforts of the non-aligned to cool down the bickerings among themselves and to strive for peace and development in the world, the situation deteriorated in 1983, when the Seventh Non-aligned Summit was supposed to be held at Baghdad. It was the time when the theory of the "crisis" of non-alignment appeared. It was alleged that the policy of non-alignment is ineffective and obsolete. It is unable to solve any international problem. Moreover the non-aligned countries do not even have the strength or power to unravel disputes and conflicts within their own ranks.<sup>34</sup>

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33. Ibid.,

34. Ranko Petkovic, "Historical Vitality of Non-alignment", Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol. 36, no. 852, 5 October 1985, p. 2.

In this grave situation India undertook the task of hosting the seventh nonaligned summit. Commenting on the dangerous international situation, Mrs. Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India said:

The hood of the cobra is spread. Human kind watches in frozen ear, hoping against hope that it will not strike.<sup>35</sup>

It is significant that India undertook the responsibility of hosting the Seventh Summit, when Iraq was not in a position to host due to its war with Iran. Moreover India was able to host it without any postponement, unlike the Algiers Conference, which was postponed due to domestic problems in Algeria. It reflected the incapacity of the movement to find out an alternative venue. But with the partial institutionalisation of the movement, it has become an effective participant in opinion formation at least to a minimum level in the global decision making. So it was natural that the Summit had to take place at the earliest. The summit was hosted only after a delay of six months with the agreement of both Iran and Iraq.<sup>36</sup> The successful holding of the meeting provided

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35. Quoted in K.P. Misra, Nonaligned Movement, India's Chairmanship (New Delhi:Lancer Books, 1987), p. 11.

36. A.K. Damodaran, "An Overview", World Focus, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1983, p. 3.

an added incentive to India's mature and skilful diplomacy.<sup>37</sup>

Arms race threatened peace and security. Huge amount of money is being spent on armaments. Added to this, the concepts like deterrence and "limited nuclear war" are propagated. Commenting on the dangerous impact of nuclear warfare Jonathan Schell in his works says that nuclear arms "are a pit into which the whole world can fall - a nemesis of all human intentions, actions, and hopes".<sup>38</sup>

Secondly the economic crisis due to the structural imbalances and inequalities, in the world and due to its integrated and interrelated nature, has made the situation aggravated. The impact of this economic crisis will be more on the developing and underdeveloped countries than the developed world.<sup>39</sup>

Some of the contentious issues within the movement made consensus-building an uphill task. One of them was the Kampuchean issue, regarding its representation in the movement. The consensus on this issue arrived in

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37. Rade Brajovic, "The Seventh Summit and the Role of India", Review of International Affairs, vol. 34, no. 790, 5 March 1983, p. 14.

38. Quoted in K.P. Misra, Op.Cit., n. 35, p. 11. Also see Miljan Komalina, "The Aim of Alignment", Review of International Affairs, vol. 34, no. 786, 5 January 1983, p. 10.

39. K.P. Misra, n.35, p.12.

the Havana Summit was challenged by a group of ASEAN countries. Even though India recognized the People's Republic of Kumpuchea, it decided in deference to the last Havana Summit, and in the interest of the movement, not to invite any of the two and to keep the seat vacant. Likewise, the Afghan issue was also tackled with care. Mrs. Gandhi in her inaugural speech said that India also hoped for early normalcy in Afghanistan.<sup>40</sup> With rigorous efforts and initiative of India along with other countries

a climate of opinion was created in which the consensus was to be seen not merely a pleasant myth, but something concrete and realizable after some fundamental brainwork and hard negotiations with subtly divergent regional, national and ideological factors.<sup>41</sup>

In this given situation India as the Chairperson of NAM tried her best to focus on the most important urgent issues which posed major threats. It focussed on issues like the threat of nuclear war and global economic crisis confronting mankind and the relation between disarmament and development and the burning political issues like Palestine, Namibia etc. and the strengthening of the United Nations.

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40. Ibid., pp. 15-20.

41. A.K. Damodaran, n.36, pp.4-5.



One of the important initiatives which New Delhi summit took was on disarmament and development. The Chairperson Mrs. Gandhi in her closing address cautioned the assembled world leaders that "the resolution to the dominating issues of our day, disarmament and development cannot be dramatic." She added:

We have only established the base Camp and have a long climb to the attainment of our goals and ideals .<sup>42</sup>

On this regard a six nation appeal on nuclear disarmament was issued. The countries include India, Tanzania, Mexico, Argentina, Greece and Sweden.

Regarding the burning political issues, India with other NAM countries attempted to give further impetus to the efforts directed towards their solution. It supported the heroic struggle of Palestinians, demanded the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Arab lands. It urged for the speedy achievement of Namibian independence, highlighted the need for peace in the world and extended support to

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42. K.P. Misra, "Delhi Summit and After", Review of International Affairs, vol. 36, no. 855, 20 November 1985, p. 11.

South Africans in their fight against racism and apartheid.<sup>43</sup> It strongly recommended to augment the role of United Nations in resolving these issues and to maintain peace and security in the world.<sup>44</sup>

Even though India had a tough time in hosting the Seventh non-aligned summit, it could succeed in it, due to its commitment and vigorous efforts to consolidate the movement.

India was successful in building bridges of understanding in bringing contending parties to the negotiating table and in exhibiting remarkable drafting skills which generally harmonized conflicting points of views for the larger good of the movement.<sup>45</sup>

In doing this the personality of Mrs. Gandhi,

as chairperson did play a contributory role in the smooth transaction of business before the Seventh Summit, ...she came to be recognised as... a champion of the principles of peace and peaceful coexistence, a valiant opponent of colonialism and racism and a powerful advocate of disarmament and development.<sup>46</sup>

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43. K.P. Misra, n. 35, p. 16.  
44. K.P. Misra, n. 42, p. 11.  
45. K.P. Misra, n. 35, p. 27.  
46. Rasheeduddin Khan, n. 13, p. 75.

In brief the Seventh Summit, under Indian chairmanship gave a lead for the rededication of the original principles of the movement, by preservation of its independent character. And also under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi the movement got a healing touch of reconciliation, which strengthened its unity and cohesion and provided dynamism and direction.<sup>47</sup>

After the sad demise of Mrs. Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi became the new chairperson and continued India's efforts in guiding the movement in the right track. One of the major steps taken by him was the reassertion of the six nation appeal in a refined fashion. It called for the curtailment of the arms race in the outer space and implementation of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

There had been vigorous attempts in focussing world attention on the plight of Namibian people. An extraordinary meeting of the coordination bureau of non aligned countries on the question of Namibia was conducted. It demanded the Security Council to

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47. Ibid., p. 75.

take immediate steps to solve the issue. A number of meetings were conducted on Namibian issue in order to provide ample attention on it. The same way the question of Palestine was also given attention.

Thus during India's Chairpersonship, there was remarkable success in mobilising world opinion in favour of disarmament, ban on nuclear weapons, decolonisation etc.

In evolving commonness and togetherness among the member states of NAM, India has succeeded to a great extent. It was this feeling of fraternity which Rajiv Gandhi stressed when he declared:

We are drawn together by a shared view of the world. We come from more than a hundred nations, but we belong to one common family. We want our family to live better,..We want it to be not half affluent, half deprived, but to be vivified by a sense of equality...We want to live not in fear but in freedom, not in shadow of war but in peace. 48



48. Rajiv Gandhi, "Non-alignment in changing history: Statement at the opening of the eighth conference," Review of International Affairs, vol. XXXVII Sep 20 1986. no. 875, p. 32.



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NAM AND NEW INTERNATIONAL

ECONOMIC ORDER

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## CHAPTER - II

### NAM AND NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

In the post second World War period, most of the developing countries were freed from the direct political domination of the colonial West. During colonial rule, these countries had been structurally integrated in the world capitalist system, and they were an integral part of the international capitalist division of labour and capital. They were used not only for the accumulation of capital, but also as territories of raw material and markets for finished manufactured products. And even after the acquisition of political independence, economic domination of the advanced capitalist countries persisted. This pattern of neo-colonial dependency, which is maintained without direct political control is assured through financial and technology transfer by the developed capitalist countries, to the newly liberated countries. In this kind of domination, profit maximisation is the main motive of the developed capitalist nations, since, terms of trade and market is directed by them in their own favour.

This neo-colonial dependency and unequal development of the Third World countries is predicated, as Rasheeduddin Khan points out:

in an arrangement and set of policies generated by the advanced industrialized (erstwhile colonial) powers in the contemporary global setting in which direct political-bureaucratic colonialism has become obsolete and redundant, but prospects for indirect techno-economic colonialism not only exist, but expand, due to the compulsions of the economy of interdependence operating in a shrunken world where the developed and developing have to co-exist, even though in an unequal equation, and yet share certain common layman concerns, at the national and international level.

Various institutions, which are under the control of the western capitalist power serves the interests of the neo-colonial plundering of the Third world. IMF, World Bank, OECD etc., through its financial capital assistance to the developing nations compels them to be under the control of world capitalist market system and its global designs. The International Monetary System and its controlling institutions are still functioning according to the Bretton Wood decisions of 1944. MNC's also, with their advanced technology and capital have widely penetrated developing nations.

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1. Rasheeduddin Khan, "Non Alignment: Leading the Struggle", World Focus, Vol. 5, No. 8, Aug 84, p. 14.

This has led to the increasing and widening gap between the developed and the developing nations.<sup>2</sup>

This unequal positioning in the dependency system, brought the realisation among the Third world countries that the old order has to be changed and a new economic order has to be implemented. In raising this demand for changing the old economic order, NAM has played a very influential role. India was an active participant in these deliberations. Here, it is necessary to make an examination of the important NAM Summits in order to get an idea of NAM's efforts in activising the demand for a new world economic order.

Though broader political issues were in the forefront, the Belgrade conference proposed that "efforts should be made to remove economic imbalances inherited from colonialism and imperialism."<sup>3</sup> It called for accelerated economic,

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2. See Girish Mishra, "Economic Implications TNCs Play Havoc; World Focus, August 1984 pp. 18-21.

3. Belgrade Conference Declaration, NAM Document, 1961-79, p. 6.



industrial and agricultural development to close the ever-widening gap in the standards of living between the advanced and the less developed countries. The Conference also invited consideration of concerned countries to call a meeting to discuss the most effective measures to ensure international social justice.

In 1962, a Conference on the problems of Economic Development was held in Cairo under the sponsorship of eleven countries including India, in which thirty one countries participated as full members and five countries and six international organisations participated with guest status. This was the first Conference of its kind ever held and the suggestions made by the Conference put forth many of the ideas which were to dominate later discussions regarding the restructuring of world economic order.<sup>4</sup> Calling attention to the growing disparity in the standards of living prevailing in different parts of the world, the Conference asked the developing countries "to cooperate closely with a view to ensuring economic progress and

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4. Nitin Desai, "Non-alignment at the New Economic Order" in U.S. Bajpai ed., Non-Alignment Perspectives And Prospects, New Delhi 1983, p. 179.

strengthening peace among nations."<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in 1962 UNCTAD (U.N. Conference on Trade and Development) came into being to conduct detailed discussions and negotiations on international economic relations with North-South participation. Its first session was held in Geneva in June 1964.

In the discussions the members from the South functioned as a cohesive operational force and came to be known as the Group of 77. Its permanent affiliation with the U.N. general council provided UNCTAD the necessary institutional character for future activities.

However, due to the non-cooperation of the developed countries, the proposals of Group 77 in the first UNCTAD could not get implemented. The Cairo Summit which was held after two years in 1964, assessed the situation with concern. It stated:

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5. Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries, NAM Document, p. 15.

While the Geneva Conference marks the first step in the evolution of a new international economic policy for development and offers a sound basis for progress in the future, the results achieved were neither adequate for, nor commensurate with, the essential <sup>6</sup> requirements of developing countries.

Possibly, this could have prompted the Heads of States who attended the Cairo Conference to draw attention to the structure of world economy and its institution. They noted that

the structure of world economy and the existing international institutions of international trade and development have failed either to reduce the disparity in the per capita income of the peoples in the developing and developed countries or to promote international action to rectify serious and growing imbalances between developed and developing countries.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, the Third NAM Summit Conference at Lusaka in 1970, also put emphasis on the structural imbalances of world economic order. It declared that "the poverty of developing nations and their economic dependence on those in affluent circumstances constitute a structural weakness in

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6. Cairo Conference 1964, NAM Document, p. 27.

7. Ibid., p. 27.

present world economic order". It is in this Summit that India had given the call for carrying out the unfinished revolution of eradicating the remnants of colonialism. India also insisted that a clear programme of action ought to be drawn for that purpose.<sup>8</sup>

A new dimension had been attached to NAM's perception of world economy, when the Foreign Ministers' Conference of Non-Aligned countries held at George Town in 1972 condemned the imperialist forces as well as Trans-National companies for their economic plunder of Third World countries. 'The Action Programme for Economic Cooperation' drafted by the George Town Conference in unequivocal voice said:

....imperialism continues to be the major obstacle in the way of developing countries and of the Non-Aligned countries in particular to attaining standards of living. Consistent with the most elementary norms of human dignity. Imperialism not only opposes the proposals made by the countries of the Third World but assumes a belligerent

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8. Lusaka Summit, NAM Document, p. 48.

thereto, systematically attempts to undermine its social, economic and political structures in order to maintain economic colonialism, dependence, and neo-colonialism. ....In analysing the problems of economic development and political independence, the Conference denounced the practices and activities of transnational corporations, some of which violate the sovereignty of developing countries. The Non-Aligned countries condemn such practices and activities of transnational corporations which invariably impair the principle of non-intervention and self-determination of the peoples, and at the same time make a call to the end that such activities be systematically denounced to world public opinion.<sup>9</sup>

In the fourth Summit of NAM at Algiers, the attack on imperialist forces were more vehement. The Economic Declaration of the Summit unveiled the new designs of erstwhile colonial forces. It stated:

Colonialism and imperialism have not been able to withstand the vast movement for political liberation, for which the Bandung Conference was a historical turning point, but they have revised their methods in order to be able to continue under some other guise robbing the riches of the third world, and they have secured markets and all manner of privileges for their manufactured product and services.<sup>10</sup>

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9. The Georgetown Declaration, NAM Document, p. 76.
  10. Economic Declaration, Algiers Conference, NAM Document, p. 98.

It demanded urgent steps for the restructuring of international monetary system worked out at Bretton Woods on the ground that so far it served the purpose of the developed countries only. Another major important feature of the Algiers Conference was that one of the items in the 'Action Programme of Economic Cooperation' opted for more cooperation with the socialist block.<sup>11</sup>

The conference also made a significant step by requesting the U.N. Secretary-General to convene a special session of the General Assembly exclusively devoted to problems of development. The mounting pressure from NAM countries was thus instrumental in convening the Sixth special session of the U.N. General Council to discuss exclusively the issues of economic matters. On 1st May, 1974, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and programme of action on the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The declaration in categorical terms stated

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11. Ibid., p. 106.

It has proved impossible to achieve even and balanced development of the international community under the existing international economic order. The gap between the developed and the developing countries continues to widen in a system which was established at a time when most of the existing developing countries did not even exist as independent States and which perpetuates inequality.<sup>12</sup>

Another prompt action taken by UN in response to the call made by Non Aligned countries was the appointment of a group of eminent persons to examine the activities of Transnational companies. Significantly, it was the Indian representative L.K. Jha who headed this group. The report of the group helped in focussing wide attention on the role of Transnational companies.<sup>13</sup>

In the next Conference of the Non-Aligned countries held at Colombo, in 1976, mounting attack on the uncontrolled and continuing plunder of Transnational corporations was made.

The economic declaration categorically stated that

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12. U.N. Press Release, May 1974, "Declaration of N.I.E.O." para 1.
  13. V. Gauri Shankar, "Transnational Corporations and Non-Alignment", in K.P. Misra, ed., Non-Alignment : Perspectives and Prospects, (New Delhi: Lancers Pub. 1983), pp.202-204.

nothing short of a complete restructuring of international economic relations through the establishment of the new international order will place developing countries in a position to achieve an acceptable level of development.<sup>14</sup>

The Conference reasserted their determination to secure through collective action the establishment and implementation of the New International Economic Order. In the Political Declaration it affirmed that

the non-aligned pledges themselves to make every effort, in association with other developing countries, to strive for international cooperation in the establishment of NIEO. Should they fail in their efforts, the responsibility for creating such a confrontation between the developed and the developing countries would fall squarely on the developed world.<sup>15</sup>

Another important assertion made by the summit was that the Non-Aligned movement was not at all becoming apolitical. Emphasising the

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For an account of the role of transnational corporations and the Third World in relation to NIEO, see Samir Amin, "After the New International Relations", Bajpai, ed., Non-Alignment: Perspectives and Prospects, (New Delhi: Lancers Pub, 1983), pp. 202-204.

14. Economic Declaration, Colombo Summit, NAM Documents, p. 210.
15. Political Declaration, Colombo Summit, NAM Document, p. 205.



indivisible link between politics and economics,  
the conference noted that:

...it is erroneous to approach economic affairs in isolation from politics... The increased importance given to economic affairs at non-aligned meetings does not imply acceptance of the view that the political aspects of international affairs should be left to the rich and powerful states, while poor and weak should mainly concern themselves with economic affairs. That view has to be regarded as part of an imperialist strategy aimed at preserving an international order favourable to the rich and powerful..... It is of supreme importance that the non-aligned, along with other developing nations, strive vigorously for the establishment of the New International Economic Order which would end exploitation of the weak and poor by the powerful and rich.<sup>16</sup>

The Havana Summit Conference of 1979 also stressed this point of the link between political and economic spheres. In explicit tone the political declaration of the Conference stated that the contrast between the rich and poor nations meant in practice "the perpetuations of the old colonial relations in their original form or under various disguises or attempts at the

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16. Ibid., p. 204.

imposition of new relations of dependence and subjugation."<sup>17</sup> The Conference also adopted an Action Programme for economic cooperation among the member States and emphasised the strategy of collective self-reliance.

The Seventh Summit which was held at New Delhi in 1983, took an unprecedented step in releasing a special message on the world economic situation. This message was an addition to the elaborate Economic Declaration. It itself indicates the paramount importance given to the economic sphere by the non-aligned countries. The message said:

Never before have the economic fortunes of the developed and developing nations been so closely linked together yet many rich nations of the world are turning in the midst of this common crisis to the catastrophic bilateralism of the 1920s and 1930s rather than to enlightened multilateralism. They still refuse to recognize that the economic revival of the North is simply not possible without the economic survival of the South. Solutions in these problems must necessarily be global.<sup>18</sup>

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17. Political Declaration, Havana Summit 1979, NAM Document, p. 361.

18. K.P. Misra, Non-Aligned Movement - India's Chairmanship, New Delhi, p. 23.

The Conference devised a parallel approach of adopting urgent measures in areas of crucial importance, such as money, finance, trade, food, energy etc. The other basic and fundamental problems were to be dealt in a later phase. Another important outline was that an appeal to the socialist countries to actively participate in the decision making processes of the international economic institutions.<sup>19</sup>

The Summit has given an added importance to the strategy of self reliance. As a part of the acceleration of South-South Cooperation five specific projects have been planned: the centre for Information on Transnational Corporations which is to be set up at Havana; the centre for Science & Technology which is to be established in New Delhi; the operation of the Non-Aligned Solidarity Fund; establishment of a project development facility; and creation of the council of producers' Association.<sup>20</sup>

Another important event was the releasing of the expert Committee's report on International

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19. Ibid., p. 24.

20. Ibid., p. 24.

Monetary and Financial system. It suggested the convening of an international conference on money and development financing with universal participation.<sup>21</sup>

It can be discerned from this overview that the importance of economic sphere in the agenda of Non-Aligned movement has accentuated over a period of time. Initially, the non-aligned countries were demanding for a better treatment of developing countries by the developed ones. Later they demanded structural changes in the existing economic system itself. These demands got wider legitimacy and recognition when the U.N. General Assembly itself declared the adoption of the Declaration on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order. Centering around this formulation a direction has also been given by the U.N. in the form of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. In this process, Non-aligned movement functioned as a pressure group in the various platforms representing

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21. See for details - Augustin Papic, "The future of the International Monetary and Financial System", Review of International Affairs, vol. 36, 1985, no. 835; pp. 4-7.

the developing countries' interest. And, unlike in the case of handling 'political issues', a climate of consensus among the members prevailed.

This transformation of NAM into a powerful collective economic movement of the third world countries has attributed a new label to NAM which was otherwise considered to be an organisation of newly independent countries which intended to keep away from the conflicts and confrontations of the global powers. This new stature of the NAM is that of "global trade union of the have-not states".<sup>22</sup>

This has provided in fact a deeper political dimension to the movement - fight against colonialism in its new form. It is to be recalled that the Colombo Summit made it clear that by giving primary concern to economic affairs the movement is striving to provide real meaning to political independence.<sup>23</sup> It is this realisation of the interlinkage between economic reality and political reality that which helps the movement to grip with the present day

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22. Rasheeduddin Khan "Non-Alignment: The context, dimensions and challenges"; in Rasheeduddin Khan (ed), Perspectives On Non-Alignment, (New Delhi, 1981), p. 3.

23. See NAM Document, Colombo Summit, n. 14, p.204.

needs. As it is shown earlier the declarations of the movement repeatedly stressed the anti-imperialist nature of this economic struggle. As Claude Ake perceives, the division between the developed and developing countries resembles the one between 'bourgeois and proletariat':

International politics is increasingly reflecting the importance of the contradiction between the bourgeois and the proletarian countries. As the contradiction has deepened, it has become politicised, and something similar to a class struggle is taking place.<sup>24</sup>

It is this politicisation which moves the Movement closer to the socialist countries. For instance, in the Algerian Conference there was a direct call for more cooperation with the socialist countries.<sup>25</sup> The corresponding response from the socialist block and their attempts into entering into an international dialogue on this

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24. Claude Ake, Revolutionary pressure in Africa, (London 1978) p. 19.

25. See, NAM Document, n. 10.

issue are indicative of the converging points of ideas and programmes.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, it is to be noted that in the developed capitalist countries also there is mounting criticism against the existing pattern of economic relations. There is an influencing section of western scholars and specialists who recognise and support the demand for a radical change in world economic system.<sup>27</sup> But how far does the developed countries are willing to cooperate with the efforts in restructuring the present economy? The picture is not at all encouraging. The developed countries had been continuously trying to block the translation of the programme inscribed in the U.N. declaration on New International Economic Order into actual practice.

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26. The resolution - 'International economic security - put forward by soviet Union was approved by the 40th session of UN General Assembly. The memorandum given to the U.N. General Assembly by the Soviet Govt. - "international economic security of States- A major condition for the improvement of International Economic Relations" - also reflects the converging viewpoints of Soviet Union and NAM countries in international economic relations. Y. Ettinger, NAM History and reality: A Study, (New Delhi; Allied Pub, 1987), p. 136. Also see Maciej Peregynski and Jerzy Prokopejak "Socialist Community-Natural Ally of Non-Aligned countries," in Cheidogin Gal (ed), Socialist Community and Non-alignment (New Delhi; Allied Pub 1979) pp. 41-53.

27. See, Alasair MacBean and U.N. Balasubramanyam,

In order to avoid radical alterations, the developed countries adopt various tactics. They either refrain from result oriented negotiations or put up hurdles in the course of discussions. Besides, unwilling to admit the in-built contradictions in the existing order, they cling to theories like 'cycle of stagnation' and 'Basic human needs'. They believe, that

incremental reforms constitutes the preferred means to strengthen the evolving post-Bretton Woods international institutional order and the economic and political relationships governed by that order<sup>28</sup>

In short, the developed countries are not ready for any "structural changes", but only for "structural adjustments".<sup>29</sup>

It is this adamant and unconciliatory approach of the Developed countries that has given

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Meeting the Third World Challenge, (London 1976) p. 159 and L.K. Jha, "New Economic Order", World Focus, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1983, p. 28.

28. See Rasheeduddin Khan, "Behind the North-South Dialogue: What impedes understanding - Clash of value system or clash of self-interest? An Indian View" (in mimeograph) Proceedings of a Conference, the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, University of Calgary, 1984.

29. Ibid.



strategic importance and a new validity to the economic co-operation among developing countries, i.e. South-South cooperation.<sup>30</sup> The decades of struggle for the implementation of the New International Economic Order has given a valuable lesson that unless the South commands sufficient strength, the North-South dialogue could not cut much ice. By proper handling of resources, skills and market, the South could increase its economic potentiality and reliance on North can be considerably reduced.<sup>31</sup> Thus the concept of collective self-reliance has become a "cornerstone of the philosophy of economic independence of the South".<sup>32</sup>

✓ Though India was an active participant in all these NAM deliberations, the specificity of India's role has to be noted. Like in the early stages<sup>33</sup> where India promoted disarmament and

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30. V.R. Panchamukhi "South-South Cooperation and Economic Non-Alignment" Mainstream March 9, 1985.
31. For the prospects of South-South Cooperation See R.C. Dutt, Self Reliant Development and NAM" Secular Democracy, August 1986, 45-49.
32. Sarita Bali, "Multilateralism: A Non-Aligned Perspective", Secular Democracy, August 1986, p. 66.
33. The need for a new international order was manifested in seminal form in the speeches of

world peace movement, during Mrs. Gandhi's chairpersonship, special efforts have been taken in projecting the eradication of economic inequality as one of the most important contemporary task of non-aligned movement. It was she who put forward the oft-repeated theme of the action programme to fulfill the 'unfinished revolution'. The fillip given to the economic sphere in the New Delhi Summit by the Indian proposal of collective self-reliance is of great significance to non-aligned countries' future role.

With the realisation of the necessity of South-South cooperation India has taken initiative for cooperation in areas like science and technology, agriculture and other development aspects. Number of joint industrial ventures in various field were planned. Programmes like ITEC, (Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation), SCAAP, (Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme)

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Nehru as well in various Afro-Asian conferences. For instance in Bandung Conference Nehru made an appropriate argument that is still relevant. He said in the economic field co-operation between the countries should be much as to encompass all aspects of development. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's foreign policy, Selected speeches Sep-1946 - April 1961 - New Delhi 1961. pp. 274-275.

were introduced for mutual assistance in scientific field.<sup>34</sup> India is also taking interest in the development of African countries through its participation in African development plans. It has taken interest in Africa fund to speed up the recovery of African economy.

Moreover India has increased cooperation with the neighbouring countries. Nepal and Bhutan are the major recipients of bilateral trade. According to the scheme countries like Bangladesh and Maldives are also provided assistance.

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34. Narendra P. Jain, "South-South Cooperation," Secular Democracy, Jan-Feb, 1986 p.

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INDIA AND DISARMAMENT

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## CHAPTER - III

### INDIA AND DISARMAMENT

World is heading towards a tragic situation where human survival may become impossible. It is due to the uncertainty created by the excessive militarisation of nations. Past experiences - destruction of life in two World Wars, and other innumerable wars fought between countries, and above all, the nuclear holocaust in Hiroshima and Nagasaki - have failed to open the human eye regarding the suffering and pain in a war situation. Arms race is still continuing and countries are intensifying their capacity for extermination.

The gravity of the situation can be gauged from the following account: (a) A military budget of \$660,000,000,000 for the world in one year; (b) a stockpile of over 50,000 nuclear weapons; (c) 25 million men and women under arms; (d) 1 billion people living under military governments; and (e) more than a million civilian deaths in conventional wars since II World War.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Cited in K.P. Misra: "Delhi Summit and After"; Review of International Affairs (Belgrade) no.855, vol.36, November 1985, p.11.

This arms race traps the developing countries in a worst situations. The developing nations are forced to spent their resources for getting arms from the developed nations. Seriousness of the situation is evident from the fact that 91.9% during the year 1979-83 of arms exports to the developing world is from six developed countries. Thus it is the developed countries, who are the beneficiaries in this process of arms export.<sup>2</sup>

This high expenditure for rampant militarisation, if used otherwise could alleviate the pathetic condition of millions of people in the world. As Willy Brandt Commission pointed out in its Report:

- a) The military expenditure of only half-a-day would suffice to finance the whole malaria eradication programme of the World Health Organisation;
- b) A modern tank costs about one million dollars; that amount could improve storage facilities for 1,00,000 tons of rice and thus save 4,000 tons or more annually; one person can live on just over a pound of rice a day. The same sum of money could provide 1,000 class rooms for 30,000 children;
- c) For the price of one jet fighter plane (200 million US dollars) one could set up about 40,000 village pharmacies;

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2. K. Subrahmanyam, "Security: The Arms Transfer Trap", World Focus, vol.5, no.8, Aug. 1984, p.23.

- d) Also one-half of one percent of one-year's world military expenditure would pay for all the farm equipment needed to increase food production and approach self-sufficiency in food deficit Third World countries by 1990.<sup>3</sup>

In this background, as it is pointed out by Ambassador Garcia Robles in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech, it is evident that "the time has come to seek security in disarmament".<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it is imperative to strengthen world peace movements and disarmament efforts to assure global development. In it, the political will of the Non-aligned countries in general, and India in particular have made wide contribution.

Since from an early stage India had been trying to put forth disarmament as one of its major areas of concern in foreign policy. The Indian position on disarmament was very much reflected in the Bandung Conference in 1955, The final communique of the Conference noted:

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3. W. Brandt, North South: A Programme for Survival, (London: Pan Books, 1981), p.14.
4. Acceptance Speech by Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the Committee on Disarmament, Oslo, 10 December 1982, (Stockholm: Nobel Foundation, 1982).

disarmament and the prohibition of production experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and the prospect of wholesale destruction.<sup>5</sup>

It also declared that "freedom and peace are interdependent and universal disarmament is an absolute necessity for the preservation of peace".<sup>6</sup>

The Conference made the appeal that all the concerned parties must take necessary steps for the regulation, limitation and control of armed forces and armaments. The participants at the conference took the responsibility of bringing about reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons through the United Nations acting as an international forum.

In 1957 India expressed its grave concern over the continued development and production of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of mass destruction through a Lok Sabha resolution. The resolution

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5. A. Appadorai, Select Documents on India's Foreign Policy and Relations, 1947-1972, vol.II (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.550.

6. Ibid., p.550.



expressed regret on the apathy of the nuclear weapons producing countries such as the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> During the discussions Nehru said that for India,

the questions of disarmament is more important than any other problem, internal and external, national or international, because it is a national problem, apart from being an international one. The whole future survival of India and every Indian depends on it.<sup>8</sup>

India's voice against the armament escalation in the international arena was expressed in various international forums. It was at the instance of India that for the first time the issue of nuclear tests was inscribed in the agenda of U.N. General Assembly.<sup>9</sup> V.K. Krishna Menon, in an U.N. Session suggested an international inspection body on disarmament to go into the production of nuclear weapons of mass destruction in the countries where there existed nuclear plants.<sup>10</sup> The destructive

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7. Ibid., p.558.

8. Qtd. in A.K. Chopra; "India's urgency of Disarmament", Journal of Pol. Studies, vol.XV, no.1, Feb. 1982, p.32.

9. T.T. Poullose, "India and Disarmament", International Studies, vol.18, no.1, Jan-March 1979, p.385.

10. Appadorai, n.5, p.569.

weapons, India considered, even if not used, remain a potential source of threat to peace since it could be used at any time. Hence India considered that the total elimination of weapons of destruction was the only suitable way out from a nuclear holocaust.

In 1960 India had sponsored a draft resolution with eleven other countries,<sup>11</sup> on the question of general and complete disarmament at the United Nations. The draft resolution said that among other things, "general and complete disarmament should result in a world in which the method of war for the solution of international problems and the continued existence of all the instruments and machinery of war should stand eliminated".<sup>12</sup>

The definition and scope of "general and complete disarmament" was so wide as to include:

- a) the elimination of armed forces and armaments and of armament production;
- b) the total prohibition of the manufacture, maintenance and use of nuclear and thermo-

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11. Other countries are, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Nepal, United Arab Republic, Venezuela and Yugoslavia, see ibid., p.621.

12. Draft resolution introduced in the UN on 15 November 1960, ibid., p.622.

nuclear weapons and of bacteriological and chemical weapons of war;

- c) the elimination of all equipment and facilities for the delivery, the placement and the operation of all weapons of mass destruction within national territories and of all foreign military bases and launching sites of all categories.<sup>13</sup>

The early Indian efforts against atmospheric nuclear weapons tests got wide acclamation and recognition by eminent scientists and intellectuals like Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein, regarding Indian efforts.<sup>14</sup>

✓In the Belgrade Conference of 1961; even though the emphasis of the other participants was on anti-colonialism, it was India which had given priority to nuclear threat and disarmament.<sup>15</sup> Reflecting on the new reality that classical colonialism is passed, the then Indian Prime Minister Nehru called

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13. Ibid.

14. T.T. Poulouse, n.9, p.384.

15. Rasheeduddin Khan, "India and the Non-Aligned Movement", Satish Kumar ed., in Year Book on India's Foreign Policy (New Delhi 1984), p.80.

for a proper perspective in giving priorities to issues. He argued:

First things must come first and nothing is more more important or has more priority than this world situation of war and peace. Everything else, however vital to us - and other things are vital to us - has a secondary place.<sup>16</sup>

This was taken in the proper spirit by the Conference.

Declaration number 15 stated that

disarmament is an imperative need and the most urgent task of mankind. A radical solution of this problem, which has become an urgent necessity in the present state of armament... can be achieved only by means of a general, complete and strictly and internationally controlled disarmament.<sup>17</sup>

The conference also requested the U.N. to convene a world conference on disarmament.

Thereafter disarmament and peaceful coexistence became the central theme in the Non-aligned Government's agenda. The Second Conference held at Cairo in 1964, decided to recommend that the U.N. General Assembly should adopt a special declaration on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The

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16. Qtd. in ibid.

17. Belgrade Conference, NAM Document, p.6.

Lusaka Conference of 1970 made it very clear that the ending of arms race followed by universal disarmament is very much part of the Non-aligned movements' objective. The Conference welcomed the designation of the 1970s as the "Disarmament Decade".<sup>18</sup>

At the Fourth Conference in Algeria 1973 and Fifth Conference in Colombo 1976, the importance of disarmament and world peace was restressed.

The Sixth Conference of Non-aligned countries at Havana in 1979 accorded special attention to the problem of disarmament. The urgent need for the process of genuine disarmament was realised and it was declared that

The problem of guarantees for the security of non-nuclear weapon countries has a special place in this process. The non-aligned countries do not accept guarantees that amount to taking shelter under one or another nuclear umbrella, instead they believe that the most effective guarantee of security for the non-nuclear countries is nuclear disarmament and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.<sup>19</sup>

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18. Lusaka Conference, NAM Document, pp.57-58.

19. Branko Brankovic, "The Sixth Conference and Disarmament", Review of International Affairs, no.710, 5 November 1979, p.7.

India's deep concern of disarmament was reflected in the Seventh Summit which was held at New Delhi in 1983. The great priority that India attached to disarmament is clear from the draft which India outlined and presented prior to the New Delhi Summit. The priorities in the first draft were:

- (1) peace, i.e. to deter the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union;
- (2) to develop a common strategy to face the economic crisis;
- (3) to engage in bilateral discussions to deal with special situations of conflict such as Palestine and West Asia.<sup>20</sup>

Linking disarmament with the very existence of human race, the political declaration stated that

the greatest peril facing the world today is the threat to the survival of mankind from a nuclear war. Disarmament, in particular, nuclear disarmament, is no longer a moral<sup>21</sup> issue; it is an issue of human survival.

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20. A.W. Singham and Shirley Hune, "The Non-Aligned Movement from Havana to New Delhi", Man and Development, vol.5, no.1, March 1983, p.101.

21. Seventh Summit, Political Declaration, para 28.

Mrs. Gandhi in her inaugural speech in the Summit said that "the drive for peace is universal even within countries which themselves produce nuclear weapons and in those where they are deplored".<sup>22</sup> She underlined linkages of "development, Independence, Disarmament and peace", without which she implied there could be no peace in the world.<sup>23</sup> She pointed out that it is only by diverting resources that which is used for armament to developmental purposes, progress can be achieved.

India went a step ahead in May 1984 when Mrs. Gandhi issued a six nation appeal on nuclear disarmament together with leaders of Argentina, Mexico, Sweden, Greece, Tanzania, The main objective of the appeal to the two global powers, United States and the Soviet Union is to "create a world free from the shadow of nuclear war". It also invited member States of the United Nations to "have a commitment to take constructive action towards halting

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22. Indira Gandhi, Inaugural Address to the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit, 7 March 1983, New Delhi, in Niranjan M. Khilhani, Realities of Indian Foreign Policy, (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1984), p.183.

23. Ibid., p.182.

and reversing the nuclear arms race".<sup>24</sup> This bold initiative on India's side is a major contribution in its own way to expressing India's as well as world opinion against the unlimited arms race.

This appeal was again reiterated in the Five Continental Six Nations Summit on Peace and Nuclear Disarmament held at New Delhi January 1985, convened by Rajiv Gandhi.<sup>25</sup> The new version of the appeal, known as the New Delhi Declaration, called for an immediate ceasing of the arms race in outer space and an early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear weapon treaty. The declaration called for parallel measures to transfer the resources currently wasted in military expenditure to social and economic development. The Declaration also called for accelerating the U.N. efforts in this regard. It appealed to the people, parliaments and governments world over to lend forceful support for the above cause. These new efforts got wide acclamation from all over the world.

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24. Rasheeduddin Khan, n.15, p.81.

25. Ibid.



Even though India is a spokesman and an active participant for disarmament in various international forums, India had to face criticisms for its nuclear options. Keeping in view the present day reality India considered nuclear technology as a prerequisite for non-nuclear nations, for "nuclear technology is the technology of the future and is likely to become the most crucial and potent instrument of economic development and social progress." <sup>26</sup>

The narrowness of such perception overlooks the main principles of India's foreign policy, peace and disarmament and development. India's consistent advocacy of disarmament is entirely bypassed by narrow linking of India's nuclear policy and Chinese nuclear threat.<sup>27</sup> India consistently denied that

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26. Azim Husain, member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, on 14th May 1968, on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, in A.Appadorai n.5, p.651.

27. The Hindu in its issue of 2 June 1970 said "few informed people in India pursue a real Chinese threat but the very proximity and enormity of Chinese power leave no alternative for India except to go in for an adequate nuclear deterrent of its own and it is only a question of time before India is obliged to enter the race by the sheer force of circumstances". Qtd. in Bhabani Sen Gupta, Nuclear Weapons? Policy Options for India (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1983), p.3.

it had any plan to go nuclear. Mrs. Gandhi said that underground nuclear explosions were absolutely essential to the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and were therefore an integral part of India's development programme.<sup>28</sup> Even Jawaharlal Nehru foresaw India's determination to go ahead in the task of exploiting atomic energy. He said:

The subject is naturally one which excites the imagination of everyone, and there is a feeling that in this matter at least we should not lag behind, ..... I can say nothing more about it than that we have no intention of lagging behind, in so far as our resources permit.<sup>29</sup>

India always made a clear and sharp distinction between nuclear weapons and nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. There was no let up or shift in India's foreign policy on disarmament even when the country was determined to pursue and explore the possibility of harnessing the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, in spite of innumerable obstacles created by the gang of nuclear powers.

A significant shift in India's disarmament

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28. Bhabani Sen Gupta, ibid. pp.4-5.

29. Jawaharlal Nehru, "Our Atomic Energy Resources", in reply to debate on demands of the Atomic Energy Department, Lok Sabha, 24 July 1959, Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, vol.III, March 1953 - August 1957.

strategy first manifested itself in the country's stand on nuclear non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). India and the non-aligned members of the eighteen nation disarmament committee agreed that proliferation was indeed dangerous and it is in order to deal with nuclear proliferation they insisted that the treaty should contain a provision to curb both vertical and horizontal proliferation. But the unpreparedness of the nuclear weapon countries to concede to the demands of smaller countries without nuclear technology or weapons strengthened India's suspicions about disarmament. Moreover the discriminatory clauses in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty divided the world into two; the haves with nuclear power and technology and have nots without these technological advantages.<sup>30</sup>

It is in this context of the divided opinion about the monopoly of nuclear technology that India's disarmament policy is to be seen.<sup>31</sup> The historic Pokharan explosion in May 1974 was in no way an aberrant in India's policy on disarmament. It was rather the continuation of a policy consistently

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30. T.T. Poulouse, n.9, pp.386-7.

31. For details see, Azim Hussain, n.26, pp.646-47.

advocated right from the 1960s.

Even before the Pokharan explosion Mrs. Gandhi expressed her plans for India harnessing atomic energy. She said in Lok Sabha on 15 November 1972 "The atomic energy commission is constantly reviewing the progress in the technology of underground nuclear explosions. The Commission is studying the conditions under which peaceful nuclear explosions carried out, underground could be of economic benefits to India without causing environment hazards".<sup>32</sup>

In 1973 as well Mrs. Gandhi reiterated India's deep resolve to conduct peaceful nuclear explosions. In the Rajya Sabha she made the point that

the economic value of such underground explosions is being studied with respect to available information in the various parts of the country. Its possible effects and the environmental and ecological conditions are also being studied. It is only after satisfactory to all these problems are available that the question of actual underground test for peaceful purposes can be considered'.<sup>33</sup>

It is clear from the two statements of Mrs. Gandhi that the purpose of nuclear technology is meant for peaceful economic purposes. And there is no

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32. India, Lok Sabha Debates, 15 November 1972 pp.125-6.

33. India, Rajya Sabha Debates, 15 November 1973, p.413.

immorality involved in such peaceful nuclear explosion.

The underlying theme of India's foreign policy remains the overall development of national interests with equal emphasis on peace and development, singular ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru, which were given an enormous thrust by policies of Indira Gandhi. India under her strongly believed that peace and development are indivisible and are the preconditions of progress of humanity. Emphasis was placed on these two goals in the context of the escalating arms race. India considered not hypothetically that international conflicts and disputes which are accompanied by arms race are much more likely to result in war than those in which an arms race does not occur. It assumed realistically that international tensions due to arms race leads to conflict and war. Therefore, it demanded not merely arms control of weapons of mass destruction but demanded a total disarmament. The Indian stand on disarmament has been duly endorsed by countries of the NAM at Delhi Summit in 1983 is a clear confirmation of India's unequivocal commitment to disarmament and by its committed policy, India contributes richly to the disarmament process in a coordinated way with the NAM.

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CONTRIBUTION OF NEHRU TO NON-ALIGNMENT

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## CHAPTER - IV

### CONTRIBUTION OF NEHRU TO NON-ALIGNMENT

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The significance and strength of India's foreign policy lies in the fact that it is oriented towards the broader outlook of maintaining development of the country's interest and pursuing peace in the world. The twin goals of development and peace so deeply rooted in the historical conditions of India were evolved slowly and consistently by Jawaharlal Nehru. As a towering representative of the Indian National Congress and a strong and committed anti-colonialist, Nehru evolved a Congress foreign policy from 1920s onwards, (the preparation for eventual independence of the country) best suited to India's conditions and interest, as a struggling country. The perspective and policy that he evolved and developed over these formative years formed a precursor to the future policy of non-alignment, when India became independent.

The essence of non-alignment is that it "represents a protest movement against multiple patterns of domination and hegemony, against dependence, "satellitism", and "neo-colonialism".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Rasheeduddin Khan, "Non-Alignment: The Context, Dimensions, and Challenges", in Rasheeduddin Khan, (ed), Perspectives on Non-Alignment (New Delhi: Kalamkar Prakashan P. Ltd., 1981), p. 4.

It may be added that "as a bargaining counter within the United Nations system and in the North-South dialogue, the non-aligned countries constitute a sort of "global trade-union" of the "have not states",<sup>2</sup> and for this reason Rasheeduddin Khan calls the movement of non-alignment as "the movement of new alignment".<sup>3</sup> As he points out the change of nomenclature is predicted upon the fact that non-alignment "is more an alignment than a non-alignment, a positive affirmation rather than a negative withdrawal, a norm setter of international politics rather than a deviant from the norm, a challenge rather than a response. It has helped to destroy 'old' alignments based on power, and create 'new' alignments based on peace, progress and prosperity".<sup>4</sup>

The major objectives that the formerly constituted non-aligned movement have come to possess, were clearly stated by Nehru, and the views expressed by him on peace, development, disarmament and other related issues are still relevant. A study of

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2. Ibid.,
  3. Ibid., p. 20.
  4. Ibid., p. 21.



Nehru's ideas on peace and development which are integral to India's foreign policy and are also a bed rock of non-alignment reveal how far his views are still relevant to our contemporary times.

In the following pages a conceptual understanding of Nehru on world issues such as peace and disarmament, development and co-operation among the third world countries is discussed. A proper study and analysis of Nehru's views on these aspects is called for, for many misconceptions surround India's foreign policy and its relation to the non-aligned movement.

For his contribution and systematisation of the concept of non-alignment, Nehru has rightly been described as a philosopher of India's foreign policy. In the words of one of his biographers "in no other state does one man dominate foreign policy as does Nehru in India. Indeed so overwhelming is his influence that India's policy has come to mean in the mind of people everywhere the personal policy of Pandit Nehru. And justifiably so for Nehru is the philosopher, the architect, the engineer and the voice of his country's policy towards the outside world".<sup>5</sup>

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5. Michael Brecher, Nehru: A Political Biography (London, 1959), p. 564.

In recent years new studies have come on the personality attributes of the individuals engaged in foreign decision making process. The personality traits of leaders are classified under two categories: "aggressiveness" and "conciliatory" character.<sup>6</sup>

Aggressiveness is identified with those leaders who are "high in need for power, low in conceptual complexity, distrustful of others, nationalistic and likely to believe that they have some control over events in which they are involved."<sup>7</sup> On the other hand those who are conciliatory leaders are "high in need for affiliations high in conceptual complexity. Trustful of others low in nationalism and likely to exhibit a little belief in them and in their own ability to control the events".<sup>8</sup>

Interestingly the study of Hermann includes the period of Nehru and his foreign policy. Specific attributes of leaders influence foreign decision making process in terms of national interest as well as of the overall progress among nations in the world.

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6. Margaret G. Hermann, "Explaining Foreign Policy Behaviour, Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders", in International Quarterly, vol. 24, no. 1, March 1980, pp. 8-9.

7. Ibid., pp. 8-10.

8. Ibid.

Nehru is classified under the broader framework of participatory democracy. This enables us to analyse and understand Nehru's contribution to non-alignment in historical perspective.<sup>9</sup> Nehru had a high conceptual understanding of international developments; was trustful of the third world leaders in their capacity as the prominent leaders of their respective countries; encouraged among them a sense of unity among the nations; created a climate of understanding based on mutual trust and co-operation, and at the same time his efforts were directed towards bringing the super powers to the negotiation table to thrash out the differences towards maintaining peace and towards eliminating arms race. To see Nehru on these lines in broader historical perspective the concept of participatory democracy in foreign affairs becomes a sophisticated tool of analysis.

Nehru as an international democrat had a wider vision of peace and progress in the world. Though it is not possible to know what transpired in the inner circles of diplomats and to read what is the reaction of the diplomatic circles in policy making

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9. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

process. It is assumed that the public pronouncements and foreign policy decisions of Nehru are taken to mean to refer to his decisive influence in foreign policy matters. Based on his correspondence, official statements and interviews the study of Nehru and his foreign policy can be constructed.

Non-alignment has been discussed in depth in scholarly journals and standard works. The concept has eluded precise definitions and ideological orientations. The scholars engaged in the study of what is called, in the words of Leo Mates, a "phenomenon"<sup>10</sup> of non-alignment have given definitions which inform national policies of individual countries.<sup>11</sup> That is to say, the definitions of non-alignment are in terms of national interest and national security which are considered to be a cornerstone of non-alignment.

The early writings<sup>12</sup> have not focused on configurations of the "phenomenon" of non-alignment

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10. Leo Mates, Nonalignment: Theory and Current Policy (Belgrade, 1972), p. 9.
  11. Adi H. Doctor, "Nehru's Foreign Policy : A Review", in V.T. Patill, ed., Studies on Nehru (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1987), pp. 148-9.
  12. A. Appadorai, "Non-Alignment: Some Important Issues", in K.P. Misra, ed., Non-Alignment, Frontiers and Dynamics (New Delhi, 1962), pp. 3-11; and Bimal Prasad, "Historical Background of Non-Alignment", in K.P. Misra, ed., Ibid., pp. 12-14.

in their impact on the member countries of non-alignment as well as on the two military blocs led by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Many scholars have seen non-alignment as a part of third world countries foreign policy.<sup>13</sup> Some have been seen non-alignment as a third world alliance.<sup>14</sup> Non-alignment is meant to refer to a set of principles which govern national sovereignty and national interest, at the same time it is meant to avoid the domination of big powers. Moreover they have seen non-alignment as the product of Nehru's fertile mind in the Indian context though they made passing reference to Nehru's advocacy of the interest of the third world countries - in Asia, in the Middle East and in Africa.

Nehru's role in the making of non-aligned movement has been seen in a chain of continuum of events only from the 1950s to the 1960s, that is the fifteen years period in which the traces of

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13. Leo Mates, Op.Cit., no. 10, pp. 9-10.

14. A criticism of the 'label' is given by K.P. Misra, in his article "Towards Understanding Non-alignment", in K.P. Misra, ed., n. 12, pp. 23-27.

non-alignment are seen.<sup>15</sup> The early writings in general have discussed the main features of non-alignment in terms of its relevance to the progress of India, and in its terms of its imperative need to steer clear of the influences of the military blocs. This is a simplification of the principles of non-alignment and reducing it to the level only India's foreign policy. However in recent times the role of Nehru in the formulation and crystallisation of the principles of non-alignment has been recognized. Thus in the words of Rasheeduddin Khan

there has been now a great realisation of India's early contribution in providing initial stability and direction to NAM, especially the creative role that the architect of the foreign policy Jawaharlal Nehru had played as the precursor (1947-55), progenitor (1956-61) and pioneer (1961-64) of the non-aligned movement thereby committing the largest newly liberated developing country with an active democratic policy and expanding industrial base, to the global task of building a decolonised world of equals with shared goals for common feature .<sup>16</sup>

This means that the role of Nehru should be seen in three stages: the period of evolution, that of

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15. A. Appadorai, n. 12, p. 5.

16. Rasheeduddin Khan, "Nehru's Vision of Peace and Security", in Mainstream, vol. 25, no. 19, January 1987, p. 35.

policy formulation and that of non-alignment. Though these three are interlinked the specificity of each period is discussed separately. Attention is paid to the contribution of Nehru and to the overall development of the concept of non-alignment. Though India is taken as the object of study the general view of Nehru is seen in a broader perspective as a representative of the interest of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America.

#### Period of Evolution

The inchoate beginning of India's foreign policy started in 1921 with the resolution on foreign policy adopted by the All India Congress Committee at its Delhi meeting on 4 and 5 November 1921. The resolution stated that the activities of colonial Indian government regarding its external activities - mobilizing resources for imperial war purpose and thereby expansionism - did not have the approval of the Indian people.<sup>17</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of the Indian National Congress participated in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities at Brussels in

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17. Bimal Prasad, The Origins of Indian Foreign Policy (Calcutta, 1962), pp. 71-72.

February 1927 which helped him in giving a new orientation to India's perception of world forces. Nehru's participation in the Brussel's Congress of Oppressed Nationalities and his experience with the League of Nations in subsequent years inspired common outlook, and regular contacts, with many leaders of the dependent peoples and countries economically dominated by foreign powers. Nehru developed interest in the nationalist movements of Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China and the Middle East.<sup>18</sup>

With its starting point in the association of the Indian National Congress with the Brussels Congress, the anti-imperialist and pan-Asiatic drive of this phase formed a basic factor in Nehru's thinking. In the annual Congress session held in 1936, Nehru emphasized the importance of understanding on the Indian situation in the context of world setting. He said:

I am convinced that there is intimate connection between world events, and our national problems is but a part of the world problems of capitalist imperialism.<sup>19</sup>

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18. Deva Narain Mallik, Development of Non-Alignment in India's Foreign Policy (Allahabad: Chaitanya Publishing House, 1967), p. 7.

19. Qtd. in Bimal Prasad, n. 12, p. 16.



✓ The Indian National Congress, whose principal spokesman in the realm of foreign policy and international relations was Jawaharlal Nehru, passed resolution in 1939 at the Haripura Session, which stated "India was resolved to maintain friendly and cooperative relations with all nations and avoid entanglements in military and similar alliance which tend to divide up the world into rival groups and thus endanger world peace."<sup>20</sup> K.P. Misra finds in this resolution the genesis of non-alignment.<sup>21</sup> But as Rasheeduddin Khan rightly points out as an impulse and an idea, non-alignment is rooted in the ethos of world politics that developed as a consequence of the great collapse of the hegemony of the West European imperialist system after World War II.<sup>22</sup> In fact it was immediately after the end of World War II in the wake of the crystallisation of bipolarity that Jawaharlal Nehru soon after assuming charge of the foreign affairs portfolio in the interim government of India made a statement on 7 September 1946 "which is probably the first more

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20. K.P. Misra, n. 12, p. 25.

21. Ibid., p. 26.

22. Rasheeduddin Khan, n. 5, p. 4.

or less clear enunciation of the policy that has since developed into the concept of non-alignment".<sup>23</sup> He stressed the perusal of an independent policy for India regarding its relations to great powers and extended whole-hearted co-operation towards the U.N. He said:

We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nations. We hope to develop close direct contacts with other nations and to co-operate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom. We propose, as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races.....We seek no domination over others and we claim no privileged position over other people. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go, and we cannot accept any discrimination against them. The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer cooperation and building up of a world Commonwealth. It is for this one

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23. Ibid., p. 10.

world that free India will work, a world in which there is the free cooperation of free peoples, and no class or group exploits another.<sup>24</sup>

In this statement we can find so many policies which constitute the bed-rock of India's foreign policy. These include avoidance of power politics of groups aligned against one another; the emancipation of dependent countries and peoples; equal opportunities for all races; repudiation of racialism; and closer cooperation and building of a world commonwealth. In the same statement the indivisibility of the concept of peace and freedom is emphasised, which after about thirty seven years of India's foreign policy was reiterated by Indira Gandhi in 1983. Later, addressing a press conference, Nehru made it clear that "India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another".<sup>25</sup>

Nehru's public statements and declarations on India's independent foreign policy based on self-

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24. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches, (New Delhi, 1971), p. 2.

25. Indian Annual Register, 1946, vol. 2, p. 252.

reliance are analogous to those of leaders of the Third World countries. Most of the countries in the post World War II, and in the cold war period evolved policies of their own which was a species of non-alignment with the military blocs. Their independent pursuit of foreign policies was a prerequisite for their own national progress. Still they did not evolve a formal policy of their own, nor did they give shape to what they thought about their relations to the military powers.

After India's independence, in the Constituent Assembly, Nehru reiterated India's evolving policy of non-alignment.<sup>26</sup> On the one hand the official recognition of People's Republic of China, and on the other Nehru's visit to the United States of America, were the important events which followed in this period. In this early stage of Indian foreign policy Nehru gave "a lead and a sense of direction to the movement of cooperation among the many countries which were not aligned and which wanted to strengthen the fight for defence and extension of freedom in Asia and Africa".<sup>27</sup> It is to be noted

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26. Rasheeduddin Khan, "India and the Non-aligned Movement", in Satish Kumar, ed., Yearbook on India's Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1984).

27. K.P. Karunakaran, The Phenomenon of Nehru (New Delhi, 1979), pp. 56-57.

specially that Nehru tried to expose the American ploy of posing 'communism' vs anti-communism' as the main issue confronting Asian politics. On the contrary he stated that it is the issue of 'colonialism vs anti-colonialism',<sup>28</sup> which is a major factor of international politics.

Interestingly, Soviet Union and other Socialist countries were also suspicious of India's posture towards external political issue. This situation continued more or less till 1955. Ironically, this was a period when Washington under the influence of McCarthyism, called Nehru as a 'Commie',<sup>29</sup> and Kremlin called him as a "running" dog of American Imperialism.<sup>30</sup> But the anti-imperialist position taken by India in both the Korean War and Suez Crisis, helped the socialist bloc to evaluate and change their perception.

#### Period of Policy Formulation

It is at Bandung 1955 that a clear cut policy of coexistence emerged among Asian and

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28. Leo Mates, n. 10, p. 85.
  29. N.V.K. Murthy, "Third World Problems and American Perceptions", Mainstream, Annual 1986, p. 63.
  30. T.T. Paulose, "India and Disarmament", International Studies, vol. 18, no. 1, January-March 1979, p. 384.

African countries. The Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African countries was held in the period of intense block confrontation and India took a leading role in the promotion of an operational policy of coexistence, "panchasheel which became the bed rock of the eventual expansion of the non-aligned powers, constituting the now famous third world".<sup>31</sup> The ten principles of Bandung Conference basically expressed the wishes of participant countries to provide opportunities for all countries of the world to develop in peace, independence and full national sovereignty without foreign threat and interference.<sup>32</sup>

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31. Rasheeduddin Khan, no.1, p.7.

32. These ten principles are: The respect for human rights in agreement with the UNO Charter; the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations and states; the principle of equality of all races and nations, regardless of their population; the principle of non-intervention and non-interference with internal affairs of other countries; the right of every nation to defend its freedom and independence in agreement with UNO Charter, avoidance of membership in military organizations threatening the interest of other countries; the principle of avoiding aggression and threat by aggression in international relationship; the solution of conflicts by peaceful means; peaceful co-operation and common actions directed towards common human interests; respect for international justice and international obligations... Ivo Sarajcic, "Non-Alignment, Independence and National Interests", in K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan, eds., Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1981), p.82.

The historic significance of Bandung Conference can be grasped in the words of Nehru himself who said:

Bandung proclaimed political emergence in world affairs of over half of the world population. It presented no unfriendly challenge or hostility to any one but proclaimed a new and rich contribution. Happily the contribution is not by way of threat of the creation of blocs. Bandung proclaimed to the world the capacity of the new nations of Asia and Africa for practical idealism.<sup>33</sup>

However, his advocacy of the principles of Bandung Conference was not unreserved. He had basic disagreement with some member countries who sought to bring under the label of colonialism, even certain liberated sovereign countries which come under the Warsaw Pact.<sup>34</sup> Nehru sought to avoid this controversy which obviously reflected the projection of Cold War affiliations.

Nehru extended unequivocal support to anti-colonial forces and projected the idea of peaceful coexistence of all nations. He declared that domi-

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33. Jawaharlal Nehru, n.24, p.279.

34. Ibid., p.276.

nation through force in global politics has to be prevented and the progress of the world must be based on peaceful coexistence. He said:

We raise our voice against domination and colonialism for which many of us have suffered for so long. And that is why we have to be very careful to see that no other form of domination comes to our way. We want to be friends to the West and friends to the East and friends to everybody. The only approach to the mind and spirit of Asia is the approach of liberation and friendship and co-operation and not the approach of aggressiveness.<sup>35</sup>

The first concrete step towards building up the non-aligned movement was the Brioni Conference of 1956 in which Nehru, Nasser and Tito came together to discuss various problems confronted by the newly liberated countries. They expressed the necessity of an approach of co-operation among nations. They said that peace cannot be achieved through division, but by working for collective security on the world scale and by expanding the region of freedom as well as by termination of the domination of one country over another.<sup>36</sup> The tri-partite conference put

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35. Ibid., p.271.

36. S.D. Muni, "Non-Alignment and National Security" in R. Khan, ed., Perspectives on Non-Alignment (New Delhi, 1981), p.133.



forward the idea of further organized consultation among the non-aligned countries.

Nehru, however, did not consider the coming together of small nations as a "third force".<sup>37</sup> In his view a "third force" implied the military bloc as an alternative reaction to two military blocs. But he recognized the fact that countries of similar way of thinking should come "close together, should confer together",<sup>38</sup> and he felt these countries "should jointly function in the United Nations or elsewhere".<sup>39</sup>

While categorically stating that undoubtedly Indian policy is 'un-aligned' and 'un-committed' to military blocs, he made it a point that it is a positive concept, and that it is neither negative nor passive, since it is 'committed to' various policies, various urges, and various principles.<sup>40</sup>

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37. Jawaharlal Nehru, n.24, p.78. For a refutation of the concept of 'Third World Alliance', see K.P. Misra, n.12, p.36.

38. Jawaharlal Nehru, n.24, p.78.

39. Ibid.

40. Rasheeduddin Khan, n.16, p. 39.

Period of Non-Alignment

Despite Nehru's initial<sup>41</sup> hesitation, Nehru along with Nasser and Tito provided active guidance in giving shape to the formal institutional and ideological structure of non-aligned movement at Belgrade in 1961. The first Summit of the non-aligned countries was attended by 25 full members and 3 observers, representing continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The starting point of the movement was made "from which the influence of the voice of the non-aligned nations has become a significant factor in world affairs".<sup>42</sup> The final declaration of the Summit was an attempt to underline the elements of non-alignment into a set of fundamental norms, whereby the credentials of nations claiming to be non-aligned could be measured.

In the First Summit, Nehru asserted that the era of classical colonialism is over and the present danger is that of war. Therefore, he argued first priority to be given to world peace. Addressing the conference Nehru said:

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41. Ibid., pp.38-39.

42. Qtd. in ibid.

The whole course of history of the last few years has shown a growing opinion spread in favour of the concept of non-alignment. Why? Because it was in tune with the course of events; it was in tune with the thinking of the vast numbers of people.. because they hungered passionately for peace.<sup>43</sup>

Nehru had shown remarkable statesmanship during the Belgrade Conference in bringing out consensus among various leaders and making the Summit a success.

However, a year after the Belgrade Conference, India faced its "greatest danger to its own non-aligned policy" when the border tension with China culminated into a direct military conflict.<sup>44</sup> This was the time when the Western bloc was wishfully thinking that India would be compelled to give up its non-alignment posture and ideological leanings.<sup>45</sup>

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43. Qtd. in ibid., p.39.

44. Peter Lyon "The Non-Aligned Movement", in U.S. Bajpai, ed., Non-Alignment: Perspective and Prospects (New Delhi: Lancer Pub., 1985), p.30.

45. For instance the wishful thinking is explicitly expressed in the following assumption made by the then U.S. under secretary, Georg Ball:

During the late 1950s and early 1960s we watched with misgiving the emergence of an increasingly powerful neutralist bloc among the less developed nations with Nehru as its prophet. But in the fall of 1962, Peking foray over the mountain barriers threw the Indian Government into a panic. The pieties

As A.K. Damodaran correctly points out, in this crucial juncture, Nehru saved the essence of non-alignment by maintaining the carefully cultivated relationship with the Soviet Union and not by entering into an ideological warfare with Communist China.<sup>46</sup>

In one of his last reflections on NAM, Nehru said:

Non-Alignment has become summary description of this policy of friendship towards all nations, uncompromised by adherence to any military pacts... essentially non-alignment is freedom of action which is a part of independence... non-alignment is now an integral part of the international pattern and widely conceded to be a comprehensible and legitimate policy, particularly for the emergent Afro-Asian States."<sup>47</sup>

To sum up in laying the foundation of a new world vision for the third world,<sup>48</sup> non-aligned movement

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45. of neutralism were forgotten in the frantic effort to seek military aid from the Soviet Union, and the United States and Great Britain\*.

Cited in Ashwani K.Ray, "The Two Worlds" and "Non-Alignment" in R.Khan, ed., no.1, p.

46. A.K. Damodaran, "India and Non-Alignment", in K.P. Misra, ed., n.12, p.207.
47. Jawaharlal Nehru, "Changing India", Foreign Affairs (New York), April 1963, p.407.
48. Rasheeduddin Khan observes that "Nehru's most conspicuous impact on the course of history Indian, Asian and global is probably as a system builder". Rasheeduddin Khan, "Why Nehru Remains Relevant", Mainstream, Nov.1982, p.7.

is the major contribution made by Nehru.

A platform for the third world was thus assured.

Its bargaining capacity, activities and organisational structures have undergone drastic change from the early period. But the Nehruian vision still remains valid. He brought to the forefront the supreme urgency of world peace and avoidance of war. By denying passive neutrality and by strengthening creative and constructive but not uncritical association with socialist nations Nehru had provided a progressive ideological orientation to the non-alignment movement. It was the capacity of understanding the linkage between national and international politics that helped Nehru and like minded leaders of the newly liberated countries, like Nasser, Tito, Sukarno and Nkruma to come together and to foster the idea of non-alignment.

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CONCLUSION

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## CHAPTER - V

### CONCLUSION

Though NAM had found its institutionalized expression only in the sixties, India had been projecting non-alignment as its worldview from an early stage. In the super power dominated global politics, it was a natural manifestation of India's external outlook, because the concept of non-alignment was well in tune with Indian ethos and values.

An overview of India's association with the movement clearly shows that India's main concern has been to strengthen the unity of, and solidarity among the member states. When membership increased, there occurred conflicts and disputes within the movement itself, due to the varying ideological orientations of the individual states. India tactfully tried to shift the attention from conflicting bilateral issues to broader global issues on which consensus could be built.

And at a time when the theory of 'the crisis of non-alignment', which claimed that the policy of non-alignment has become obsolete and ineffective,

was gaining ground, India took the saving mission of conducting the seventh Summit of NAM. India had shown remarkable maturity in evolving consensus among member states while dealing with such delicate issues like Afghanistan, Kampuchea etc. The seventh Summit was a great success since it provided a revitalised image to the movement. Under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi, the movement raised a powerful voice against economic exploitation of the Third World. Realising the linkage between disarmament and development a six nation initiative in disarmament was undertaken, also on India's prompting.

Owing to the demise of Mrs. Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi undertook the responsibility of the chairmanship of NAM. He efficiently provided effective leadership to India's efforts in strengthening the movement. Appeal of the Five Continental Six nations for Peace and Disarmament, once again emphasised the need for curtailment of arms race and ban on nuclear armaments. Vigorous efforts were made on the question of Namibia and Palestine, intended to mobilise world opinion and to pressurise the concerned parties.



Extending active attention and concern to the economic relations is a major development in the evolution of the movement of non-aligned countries. Though there had been appeals from various platforms of NAM and other Third World gatherings in the past, it was in the seventies that the pressing demand for a restructuring of the existing economic order got a wider and sympathetic attention.

India, under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi, was in the frontline in advocating the need for a new economic order. In world platforms, in the United Nations and its agencies, and especially in UNCTAD, she accused the developed countries for maintaining unequal terms of trade with developing countries. India was in the vanguard of the Third World countries collective endeavour to guarantee a better dealing for them by the industrialised nations. At the same time, India insisted that the member countries should increase their volume of trade among themselves and work on the principle of cooperation and self-reliance. India has taken initiatives in this regard by extending help in diverse fields to the Third World countries.

In the New Delhi Summit, 1983, India along with other NAM countries stressed the need for taking drastic steps to steer the world economy away from the present crisis and called for radical structural changes in the international monetary system.

By shifting the focus on the economic problem, NAM has taken a great step in its growth as the platform of the Third World countries. And, the contribution of India in this regard is a significant one.

Disarmament is another area where NAM had succeeded in bringing up the global opinion in favour of peace and peaceful co-existence. Here also India had played a prominent role in shaping NAM's position. No wonder, since from its independence peace and disarmament have been constant themes in Indian foreign policy. Through various proposals and resolutions India consistently emphasised in a number of gatherings the urgent need for disarmament and complete ban on nuclear weapons.

In the first Summit of the non-aligned countries, India made disarmament as a major item on the agenda. It advocated immediate curb on both vertical and horizontal proliferation of weapons especially nuclear weapons. India had been critical of the developing countries for their colossal investment on armaments. Highlighting the linkage between disarmament and development, India advocated that it is only through cutting the expenditure on armament that progress and peace could be achieved. India made enthusiastic efforts in making NAM the most powerful platform for mobilising public opinion against arms race and war. And, these efforts had not been a failure. As Mrs. Gandhi rightly claimed the NAM has been "history's biggest peace movement". Eventhough India is criticised for its nuclear option, it has repudiated these criticism by its consistent stand that nuclear power is used only for peaceful purposes.

Nehru's behaviour and performance in the Asian, African and other global platforms clearly reveals his personality as that of a true democrat who was consistently fighting for the equal status

of the newly liberated countries and sympathising and supporting those who were fighting for their national cause. At the same time, he had a wider vision of peace and development of the world.

His role in giving stability and direction to non-alignment can be classified into three stages as a precursor (1961-64), a progenitor (1956-66) and a pioneer (1961-64). Consequently based on these classification his contribution could be linked to three periods - evolution, formulation and crystalization of the movement of non-alignment.

In the first period, as the representative of the Indian National Congress he participated in the Brussels Conference of the oppressed nationalities. It helped Nehru to develop pan-Asian and African feelings for the common cause of independence and development, and to advocate for more co-operation and solidarity among the Afro-Asian people to achieve their aspired goals through collective and peaceful endeavours.

In the post Second World War period, the newly independent nations in the Third World were facing the unbearable challenge in sustaining their individual status in the new international order. It was in this context that Nehru as the leader of the independent India engaged in building the foundation of the non-alignment movement. Through platforms like Asian Relations Conference, Bandung Conference etc., Nehru gave concrete expression to Indian policy of anti-colonialism, peaceful co-existence, fight against apartheid and for Third World solidarity. He made it clear that India is striving not for creating new power blocks in the already polarised world but to maximise the possibilities for promoting global peace and progress.

When the Non Aligned countries formally launched the movement, Nehru as the founding father, had shown great statesmanship in providing the correct guidelines and orientation. He stressed the point that the movement is intended neither as a third force nor as a passive one. He portrayed it as a positive movement with positive programmes. He also brought to the forefront

the necessity for putting up disarmament as a major goal in the action programme of the movement. Thus the wider scope and aims of Non-Alignment Movement got a concrete definition due to the great vision of Jawaharlal Nehru.

To sum it up, India has contributed concretely over the decades in the consolidation and strengthening of NAM as a global forum of the newly liberated countries, committed to the five basic task of decolonization, development, detente, disarmament and democratisation of international organisation.

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