

# NAM AND WORLD PEACE

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the Degree of  
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

**RAMESH CHANDRA SAHOO**

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS  
ORGANISATION AND DISARMAMENT  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI-110067,  
INDIA  
1992



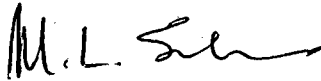
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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
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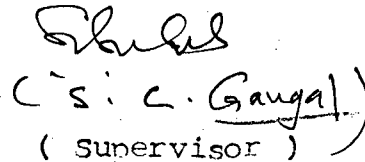
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil) of this University is his  
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other University to the best of our knowledge.



( Chairperson )

Centre for International Policy,  
Organization and Disarmament  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067

  
( Supervisor )

## C O N T E N T S

Acknowledgement

Preface i-ii

Abbreviation iii

Chapter I : NONALIGNED MOVEMENT : HISTORY AND ORIGIN 1-17

Chapter II : AN EVALUATION OF ITS ROLE-PERFORMANCE ~~18~~-37

Chapter III : POST COLD WAR GLOBAL SCENARIO AND THE FUTURE OF NAM 38-54

Chapter IV : NAM AND ITS ECONOMIC AGENDA 55-76

Chapter V : CONCLUSION 77-80

Bibliography 81-92

## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

For the successful completion of this venture,  
I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude - -

To, my supervisor, Professor S.C. Gangal, who despite his other scholarly preoccupations, gave me ample time for discussing the topic and enlightened me by constructive supervision and valuable suggestions throughout the duration of this project.

To, Professor R.C. Sharma, Chairperson, for his wholehearted support and timely help on many occasions.

To, my father, whose faith in me and whose hope from me encouraged me, at every step, in my whole academic life and particularly in writing this dissertation.

To, Baboo, my intimate friend, whose continuous inspiration and encouragement made me possible to make it complete.

To, Allubhai and Palbhai, who helped me in comprehending the theoretical and the most tedious part of my project.

To, my other friends Aditya, Aja, Anup, Binod, Chotu, Jagat, who did their best to get my project ready for submission in time.



RAMESH CHANDRA SAHOO

3 July 1992

PREFACE

Literature on NAM is so vast in India that a dissertation on it would seem repetitive and hence unwelcome, for a student of international politics. It is better to take off from such a negative premise and justify my endeavour inspite of for whatever it is worth.

This dissertation does not gloss over the usual arguments advanced in favour of or against the movement for nonalignment. It seeks to explore the reasons that lend the movement, its continued historical importance. It seeks to shift the argument to a different plane and focus upon an aspect of NAM which had been given somewhat less attention till now: the economic agenda -- on the basis of which the movement has discovered new grounds to work upon and justify its functioning. Indeed with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the phenomenon of bipolarity, Cold War died down too. The biographers of NAM were suddenly at a loss regarding the relevance of the movement. This indeed featured on NAM discussion forums. After protracted discussions on the theme it was argued that the movement could offer a ready-made platform to bring about a revolution on the economic front in the underdeveloped world. It will be misleading to conclude however that this aspect was not given any attention earlier, but the accent on it was overshadowed by international political calculations to strive for world peace. Thus it was only to be a shift in emphasis rather than a novel area of activity. This dissertation deals with the whole question with particular

thrust on its role in the past in preserving world peace.

The dissertation branches out into five Chapters. The first chapter is introductory; it traces the origin and history of the movement. With the second, we enter into the mainbody of our discussion: role of NAM in securing world peace. Here the liability of NAM as a shifting fulcrum in the international bipolar power game has been analysed. The analysis has been supplemented with empirical evaluation of the performance of NAM through different conflict situations which threatened world peace. The third chapter deals with the crucial issue of relevance (or irrelevance?) of NAM in the changed international context. The fourth chapter is a corollary to it: it spreads before us the economic agenda and examines the fate of the movement in the light of its past performance in the field. The fifth and the last chapter is the concluding part where the discussion draws to close with an optimistic note. I have done my bit. And I humbly await the evaluation by my teachers and examiners.

Abbreviations Used :

C P S U	:	Communist Party of Soviet Union
E C O S O C	:	Economic and Social Council
G D P	:	Gross Domestic Product
I D A	:	International Development Association
I M F	:	International Monetary Fund
I N F	:	International Range Nuclear Force
N A M	:	Non-Aligned Movement
N I E O	:	New International Economic Order
P L O	:	Palestine Liberation Organisation
U N	:	United Nations
U N C T A D	:	United Nations Conference on Trade And Development
U N O	:	United Nations Organisation
S W A P O	:	South-West African Peoples' Organisation

CHAPTER - I

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT : HISTORY AND ORIGIN



No theory of international relations is complete without taking into account the development of nonalignment.<sup>1</sup> The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in general, and India's nonalignment in particular is a post World War II phenomenon. In international relations nonalignment demonstrates in three forms: as a foreign policy doctrine of majority of the developing Third World countries, as a specific foreign policy orientation, and as a political association of the developing countries - NAM.<sup>2</sup>

Nonalignment, as a novel idea, rooted in the ethos of the world politics but developed at the height of the "Cold War" or East-West conflict is an alternative to the bipolarity of the Super Powers. The Second World War and its aftermath represented a threshold point for the reshaping of the globe. The world witnessed the dominance of two and only two Super Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, each hostile to the other on each and every global issue on the ground of their contradictory ideologies. The result was that most of the independent nations came to be grouped into mutually antagonistic blocs. It was not practically possible for any nation to keep aloof from this power politics. Against this backdrop the doctrine of nonalignment opened its veil and started to play an important role on the world stage.

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- 1 J.W. Burton, International Relations: A General Theory (Cambridge, 1967), p.163.
  - 2 Y. Etinger, NAM History and Reality: A Study (New Delhi, 1987), p.1.

Nonalignment emerged during the Cold War period in which the world divided into two blocks; one led by Soviet Union and the other United States. But Cold War was by no means the sole cause of that emergence. Its basic roots lie in Jawaharlal Nehru's historic declaration of India's foreign Policy on 7 September 1946. He declared :

"We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to World Wars and which may again lead to disaster on an even vaster scale. 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 people, and equal opportunities for all races".<sup>3</sup>

So nonalignment is in every sense a brain-child of the incomparable Nehru.<sup>4</sup> He was indubitably the chief, if not the sole progenitor of a movement that is known today as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

The first definition of nonalignment as a position of non-entanglement in the confrontation of the two sides was the consequence of a complicated and complex picture of international relations after the Second World War. As the international conflicts and tensions were in offing there emerged

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3. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches September 1946-April 1961 (New Delhi, 1971), p.2.

4. Times of India, 31 August 1986.

an ever stronger tendency towards the complete emancipation and liberation of all peoples in the world and their free development, without pressure from outside. This process was to witness steady growth. It was to develop in variegated ways, from politically passive resistance movements. In this context first dramatic expression of this situation came with the War in Korea.<sup>5</sup>

The original nonaligned countries, among them both India and Yugoslavia, refused to become involved in the conflict rather on the other hand they tried their efforts for the reestablishment of peace. In connection with this conflict the word 'nonalignment' apparently came for the first time into general usage. This state of mind led also to adopting the term nonalignment for the joint activities in world politics. In other words, the origin of nonalignment must be traced back to the decision to stand outside of the world-wide confrontation putting one major power against the other shortly after the war.

Nonalignment during its initial phase meant not to be aligned with either of the two blocs. As for example, during the early phase of years of its inception during the Korean War its ideologues thought, it is unwise not to step in and

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5 Leo Mates, Nonalignment: Theory and Current Policy (Belgrade, 1972), p.104.

act positively, first working for the cessation of hostilities and then creating an environment for co-existence which could serve the purpose of preventing similar new clashes in the future. As such nonalignment evolved right from the beginning neither as a dogma nor as a creed nor an immutable plank of policy. It was more "a state of mind" which a nation or an individual would adopt to meet individual or international situations.

It is very clear that the foreign policy of India has always been structured in such a way as to conform to the principles of NAM, as would be seen from her regular stress on the following points :

- (a) disentanglement in the Cold War politics and avoidance of military alliance with any of the two Super Powers;
- (b) pursuit and promotion of the ideas of peace and freedom;
- (c) emancipation of colonialism;
- (d) and eradication of practice of radicalism in South Africa and in any part of the world.

These principles formed the core of the foreign policy options of a host of newly independent countries of Asia and Africa as their aspirations were to become independent subjects in international life. Nonalignment was chosen to be an instrument, or a means, of a foreign policy by its founders, like India, in order that they might give fuller meaning and content of their newly achieved political independence.

Moreover, they wanted to shape autonomously their destiny in a manner in which their national interests can be protected and promoted. In this direction they aspire to organise themselves at interstate level in order to ensure more favourable international conditions for their specific economic and political interests. For this they looked upon international peace as a prerequisite for achievement of this objective. That is why they opposed Cold War, bloc politics. The Prime Minister of Jamaica made this point very clear by saying that "nonaligned movement did begin simply because there were blocs. It opposed block power configurations.... because they involved limitations imposed by the world political environment upon freedom."<sup>6</sup>

During Nehru's tenure as the Prime Minister of India India's foreign policy came to be recognised in course of time as a model pattern within the fold of "Nonalignment", and with the active cooperation of world figures like Gamel Abdel Nasser, the president of Egypt; Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the president Sukarno of Indonesia, and president Joseph B. Tito of Yugoslavia the same nonalignment policies formed the basis of their foreign policy. The bases of the concept nonalignment were made evident by the pronouncements of its founding fathers and thereafter summarised and crystallised in the Cairo Preparatory Conference held in June 1961. It is there that the

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6 Michel Manley, "Third World Under Changes: A Politics of Affirmation", Third World Quarterly (London), January 1980, p.29.

criteria for nonalignment were laid down. And among these, first priority was given "an independent policy based on peaceful coexistence and nonalignment". Next in importance was the support for "movements for national independence". And the rest three points were prohibitive in nature; i.e. the nonaligned countries were not to become members of multilateral military alliances, not to concede military bases, and not to become members of bilateral or regional defence arrangements made "in the context of Great power conflicts".<sup>7</sup>

The term "nonalignment" has been difficult for outsiders to understand and interpret. For western scholars it has hardly meant anything more than equal distance from the Super Powers. But this is too simplistic an explanation of nonalignment. Nonalignment is not passive neutrality nor equidistance from two power blocs as it seems to common people. Rather it is a dynamic policy of action which makes its best efforts to bring an end to world-wide exploitation and subservience in one form or another. The demands for liberation and the right for self determination have been the guiding principles of nonalignment. For Nehru and other founding fathers of the nonaligned movement, nonalignment was not just non-membership of military blocs or alliances rather for them it was an attitude of mind, a sense of loyalty, a commitment to the idea of national independence and establishment of peace

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7. G.H. Jansen, Afro-Asia and Nonalignment (London, 1966), pp.285-6.

inspired by the desire of every country to chart its own course for welfare of its own people without external interference. As Gamel Abdel Nasser stated in 1961 that nonalignment "means that we ought to decide what we believe in and not according to what might satisfy and particular country. It means that our policy is not attached to the policy of any other country or the big powers".<sup>8</sup>

Many scholars have viewed nonalignment is an effective strategy for maximising economic aid from rival blocs eager to extend their influence or limit that of another.<sup>9</sup> Yet for Nehru, its content, articulated before the actual term in speeches dating from 1946, embodies a separate identity and role for developing states. Unlike alignment, nonalignment is not directed against any ideology, bloc of nations.<sup>10</sup> It is evident from the beginning that the nonaligned countries did not adopt an antagonistic attitude towards the one or the other major military alliance. The aim was rather to prevent clashes, to restore peace if it was broken and to continue to the overcoming of the Cold War and other form of permanent

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8 Interview of President Nasser with Hanz Fleig of Hamburg TV, 1961, Published in Gamal Abdel Nasser, On Non-Alignment (Cairo: Information Administration, Ministry of National Guidance, (1966), p.17 Quoted in Richard L. Jackson, The Nonaligned, the UN and the Super Powers (New York, 1983), p.7.

9 Jackson, no.8, p.6.

10 M.S. Rajan, Nonalignment and the Nonaligned Movement (New Delhi, 1990), p.12.

confrontation among great powers. So nonalignment is not "sitting on the fence" in respect of world issues of the day; nor does it mean lack of conviction. It is certainly not opportunism or expediency.<sup>11</sup>

Nonalignment is certainly not "neutrality" of non-belligerent nations during a general war; nor is it neutrality of the Swiss and the Austrian brands in peace times. It is also not "neutralism" evidenced in non-official circles in some aligned countries; nor is it the 'neutralism' of non-bloc states, such as the Sweden and Ireland.<sup>12</sup> The nonaligned were always aiming at a world in which all nations, small or populous, rich or poor, would live together in peace and have an equal chance to enhance their well-being by replacing the confrontation of organised and armed groups of states by universal cooperation. The main objective of nonalignment as told by Nehru at Columbia University in 1949 :

"...the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major group of powers but through an independent approach to each controversial and disputed issue; the liberation of subjected peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of social discrimination; and the elimination of wants, disease, and ignorance with greater part of the world's population suffers".<sup>13</sup>

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11 Ibid., p.11.

12 Myron Weiner, "Neutralism and Nonalignment" on Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1972 edn., vol.11-12, pp.166-172.

13 Jawaharlal Nehru, no.3, Quoted in K.P. Misra, ed., Nonalignment: Frontiers and Dynamics (New Delhi, 1982), p.24.



It is this anti-imperialist struggles that brought various newly independent countries of Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Carribbean regions to appreciate the basic thrust of nonalignment. In this context the nonaligned movement (NAM) is the natural product of that historical situation which became a powerful force and achieved fruitful results in a wider scale. The peoples liberated recently from the yoke of colonialism have realised that their ability to safeguard their independence and remain a vocal force in a world where the rules are made by the Super Powers will be minimal unless they combine forces, unite efforts, and organise their potential for joint action in international arena within the framework of a trend or movement based on humanitarian principles and a fair and just view of international relations. Therefore, a group of small newly-independent countries which had bitter experience of colonialism took the initiative in establishing this important movement.

The early meetings of Asian, African and Latin American delegations during 1940s and 1950s were an indispensable gestation period for nonaligned movement (NAM). However, the meeting at San Francisco to set up the United Nations inspired a separate meeting of Asian States which materialised in 1947 the Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi. Besides this one, conferences were also held on Indonesia in New Delhi, 1949, and in Colombo in 1954. Though several meetings of representatives of the developing countries had been held before

1955, historians view the Bandung Conference (1955) was a stepping stone for the Movement of the nonaligned countries.<sup>14</sup>

The Bandung Conference was held from April 18 to 24, 1955, in the city of Bandung, Java (presently Indonesia) which justifies its name. It represented 29 African and Asian countries. The participants of that conference were Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia (Kampuchea), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), China, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, the Phillipines, the Saudi Arabia, Siam (Thailand), South Vietnam, Syria, Sudan, Turkey and Yemen. Moreover the well known leaders who attended the Conference in Bandung were Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamel Abdel Nasser, Ahmed Sukarno, Pham Van Dong, and Chou En Lai.

The final communique unanimously adopted by the conference gives a clear outline of the ideas of positive neutrality and active nonalignment, which were subsequently reflected in the deliberations of the First Summit of the movement of the nonaligned countries, which met in Belgrade. During that time, the United States was pursuing its aim of world domination, put into effect a number of unilateral and multilateral moves. Faced with this growth of military blocs, the participating countries at the Bandung Conference adopted the

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14 Karen Brutents, "Non-Aligned Movement Today", Social Sciences (USSR), vol.XVI, no.2, 1985, p.148.

following principles :

- (1) respect for the basic rights of nations in keeping with the principles enunciated in the United Nations charter;
- (2) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
- (3) recognition of the equality of all races and all nations, both large and small;
- (4) non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other countries;
- (5) respect for the right of every nation to defend itself individually and collectively in agreement with the United Nations charter;
- (6) refusal to participate in collective defence projects designed to serve the particular interest of the great powers, no matter which powers they are; condemnation of any pressure put on another country at the instigation of any great power;
- (7) abstention from any act or threat of aggression or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of another country;
- (8) settlement of all international conflicts by peaceful means such as negotiation or conciliation, arbitration, international tribunals, or any other peaceful means which may be chosen by the interested countries in accord with the United Nations charter;
- (9) promotion of mutual interests and cooperation;
- (10) respect for justice and international obligations.<sup>15</sup>

Bandung meeting was a necessary step along the way. Philosophically, Bandung was strongly influenced by five principles (Panchsheel). These principles derived from India's

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15 Bandung Document in Ivo Dvorak, trans., Nonaligned Countries (London, 1983), p.11.

tradition of nonviolence, promoted by Prime Minister Nehru at that time. This panchsheel were elaborated into the above ten principles and provided a framework for the evolution of nonaligned movement (NAM). Moreover, the year 1956 is a landmark in the evolution of the nonaligned movement. The crisis over the nationalisation of the Suez Canal led to the Anglo-French military invasion of Egypt in collusion with Israel. This resulted consequently a greatest confrontation between radical nationalism and imperial powers in the first twenty years of the post-war era. The Polish uprising and the Hungarian revolt led to a clearly defined shift in Yugoslavia foreign policy. This double crisis brought India, Egypt, and Yugoslavia together which became the nucleus around which the nonaligned movement gathered momentum.<sup>16</sup>

Nonaligned movement, however, registered its beginning from the first Nonaligned Summit in September 1961. It was the heightened consciousness among new states and the evolving partnership of Tito, Nasser and Nehru were essential elements leading to the Belgrade Summit. In the course of the six years which passed from the Bandung Conference to the first Summit Conference of the movement of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade, the anti-colonial process had reached momentum in Africa and Asia, and to a lesser degree also in America.

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16. Peter Willets, Nonaligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay, 1978), p.3.

This anti-colonial process helped in inspiring a movement of solidarity at both regional and international levels.

In the history of the nonaligned movement, it is the Belgrade Summit of 1961 which was most important not only because it was a starting point but also because of the mutual confrontation and diversity of opinions it sprang up regarding the top priorities for NAM's future action plan. While all the important leaders emphasised for decolonisation, it was only Nehru who put top priority on peace considering at that time the prevailing international situation which was a great threat to the survival of humankind. However ultimately Nehru's ideas prevailed upon others because stabilisation of peace was considered to be the most important task as it was felt that mankind has never been threatened with graver consequences than today. Since then (Belgrade, 1961) the nonaligned movement has been on the way of progress in terms of both its membership and frequency of conferences, as well as there has also been a widening of the horizons of the movement. It has swollen to 104 nations of the world. With its starting from Belgrade, in every three years NAM has been holding its summit, except the year of 1967 and 1982. In the meantime it has completed nine summit conferences by giving emphasis on various issues and problems of the world. For our understanding we should look briefly these conferences and their top priorities in a very brief way.

The Second Summit Conference of nonaligned countries was held in Cairo from October 5 to 10, 1984. It adopted a final declaration entitled, "A Programme of Peace and International Cooperation". The declaration was made that "lasting world peace cannot be realised as long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their fundamental rights to freedom, independence and self-determination."<sup>17</sup>

At the Third Summit Conference held in Lusaka from September 8 to 10, 1970 where the membership increased from 47 to 54, adopted two declarations. One on peace, development, cooperation and democratisation of international relations. The second one on nonalignment and economic progress. The former contained a pledge on the part of the nonaligned countries to cultivate a spirit of self-reliance and to foster mutual cooperation among developing countries so as to impart strength of their national endeavour to fortify their independence.

The Fourth Summit Conference, held in Algiers from September 5 to 9, 1973, was attended by 75 member countries. The Summit Conference in Algiers adopted a political Declaration, Economic Declaration, a programme of Action for

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17 Final Document, The Programme for Peace and International Cooperation, Second Conference & Nonaligned Countries, Cairo October 5 to 10, 1964 in Mates, no.5, p.434.

Economic Cooperation among countries and also passed a number of other resolutions.

When the nonaligned Summit met at Colombo from August 16 to 19, 1976 its membership had grown to 86. In this context it was reiterated the opposition to forces of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and many other forms of alien domination as they constituted the underlying cause of international tensions which imperilled world peace and security.

Havana was the venue of the Sixth Summit Conference of the nonaligned countries, which took place from September 3 to 9, 1979. It was attended by 95 members and the session gave emphasis on political, economic programmes.

The Seventh Summit meeting was held between 7 and 12 March 1983 which was attended by 101 member countries. The meeting gave a due consideration at global crisis and in this direction it gave more emphasis on peace, disarmament and development which were very important to human civilisation.

The Eighth Summit of the nonaligned movement assembled at Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, in 1986. It was observed the 25th anniversary of the unique movement of the have-nots of the world. In this meeting emphasis was given an economic situation as it has been adversely affecting the terms and balance of trade of the poor countries and the gap between the rich and the poor, the haves and

have-nots grows on a wider scale. Besides, disarmament, development and the regional disputes were discussed, debated and redrafted. But the prime focus was undoubtedly given on South Africa and this what made Harare stand out from other similar occasions - the agreement on a concrete action plan.

The Ninth Summit of the nonaligned movement was held at Belgrade in September 4-8, 1989. The cause of human rights and democracy was argued out during this summit. It also brought into focus the growing global concern for the environment and other problems. It is suffice to say that the meeting as a whole was devoted to economic programmes for the development of poor countries. The building of a more peaceful, secure, just equitable democratic and human world.

It would be appropriate to point out here that from the early phase onwards nonaligned movement's efforts has been on the liberation struggle, freedom, justice, prosperity, and peace. It prevented a possible military confrontation and international conflict and thus helped in moderating the tensions of the Cold War and promoting peace. It should be reminded that the end of the Cold War, cessation of confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, NATO and War Sav Pact pose ever new problems before the nonaligned movement. But this does not call for "cessation of its existence" or "dying away" of the movement.<sup>18</sup> It has been striving for the establishment of New International Economic Order. The nonaligned

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18. Bangladesh Observer (Dacca), 11 August 1990.



movement today is giving more attention towards the inequities of the existing international monetary and financial system which goes in favour of rich countries of the globe. Therefore to bring an eyecatching change, nonaligned movement today pledged with a strong determination to strive for the establishment of just international economic relations and next in order of importance for the protection of environment in an ever most polluted world as it is today.

Thus, the evolution of the NAM is the history of struggle for peace which is indispensable for the survival of human civilisation. The nonaligned movement's overall and consistent exertions have been the cause of World Peace. To quote our

late Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi's statement "nonaligned movement is the greatest peace movement in the world".<sup>19</sup> In spite of multifacet internal and external challenges for the nonaligned movement nonalignment has not only survived as a movement but also has thrived, much to the dismay of West. Decades of attacks on it as "immoral", "stooping for the Soviets", "inconsequential", etc. have not stopped its rank from becoming the greatest movement on the earth that has ever produced. It continues as a principal instrument for a peaceful, egalitarian world order and for a better tomorrow for the long suffering of the have-nots confirming its credentials as a highly relevant moral force in contemporary international relations.

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19. National Herald (New Delhi), 17 March 1991.

CHAPTER - II

AN EVALUATION OF NAM'S ROLE PERFORMANCE

It is the appropriate time to examine the achievements and shortcomings of the nonaligned movement and to evaluate its future role. Whether NAM deserves an eulogy or elegy in its role for peace-making during Super Power rivalry is the most important question. To give a fit answer to it we must trace its stand on various international issues troubling the world.

The post-Second World War era witnessed a turbulent phase in international politics. Both Super Powers became party to a number of bilateral and multilateral pacts. Divergent ideologies, conflicting interests, lust for power and position, border disputes, political dissensions, religious discord, personal animosity, struggle for supremacy, etc. made international situation highly disquieting. Besides, the growing deterioration of the international relation cumulated due to the policy of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racial discrimination and all forms of aggression, foreign occupation, domination, interference, intervention and great power rivalry.

In this context, nonaligned movement, born as a third force to play a useful mediatory role against the background of Super power rivalry, focused its attention on various problems shaping the nature of international relations. Amidst the Cold War and escalating tensions, it kept itself alive to the need of peace and harmony in the world. Nonaligned movement's

role can be assessed from the following basic aims of nonalignment :

...the pursuit of world peace and peaceful co-existence by strengthening the role of nonaligned countries within the United - Nations so that it will be a more effective obstacle against all forms of aggressive action and the threat or use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of any country, the fight against colonialism and racialism which are a negation of human equality and dignity...<sup>1</sup>

Concern for internal peace has been the most objective of NAM. But NAM's struggle for peace has a striking difference and a remarkable uniqueness. For three decades, passing through ups and downs and vicissitudes of international power politics, nonalignment as a movement has successfully opposed regional and global military alliances, racialism, colonialism, insisted on peace, peaceful coexistence and peaceful settlement of disputes, worked ceaselessly for disarmament for positive bilateral and multilateral relations. On the whole nonaligned movement's contribution can be reflected in terms of six Ds :

- decolonisation;
- disarmament;
- development;
- detente;
- dissemination; and
- democratisation.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-78 (Belgrade, 1978), p.45.

2 Hans Kochler, ed., The Principles of Non-Alignment (Third World Centre for Research and Publishing Ltd. (London, 1982), p.62.

The most spectacular achievement of NAM is found on its struggle against colonialism. The Second World War ended but vast areas of the world were still subjugated to colonial rule. The abolition of colonies and the struggle for independence of colonial countries have been the main objectives of the nonaligned movement. For the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America colonialism, that is to say, the policy of subjugating and exploiting other countries and nations, has been and continues to be enemy number one.<sup>3</sup> World peace and decolonisation are both equally important and correlated. The early members of the movement demanded that the process of decolonisation should be hastened and completed. The issue of decolonisation always found a priority over other issues on the agenda of the nonaligned movement from time to time.

At the first nonaligned summit, held at Belgrade in 1961, virtually all leaders demanded the end of colonialism. In the Declaration adopted in Belgrade it is stated that "a lasting peace can be achieved if... colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations are radically eliminated".<sup>4</sup> It is significant that 27 point charter of the conference began with the problems of colonialism. Nonaligned countries have accepted all means and forms of struggle,

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3. C.P. Bhambri, "The Chinese Aggression and India's Foreign Policy", Political Science Review (Jaipur), October 1965, pp.42-45.

4 Dawn (Karachi), 15 April 1980.

because they consider that freedom and independence constitute the inviolable and inalienable rights of peoples. It is this belief which made the nonaligned countries into one of the chief sources of international support for numerous national liberation and peoples revolutionary movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, providing them extensive and political backing and material and financial assistance. During the past three decades, the policy of nonalignment indentified itself with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Algeria, Cango, Angola, Mozambique, Palestine, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Namibia and a number of other national liberation and people's revolutionary movement.

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The policy of nonalignment is<sup>5</sup> a policy of struggle against imperialism and racism.<sup>5</sup> However, the task of decolonisation has been more or less accomplished. Colonialism that had come to grip our planet in the course of the last four hundred years collapsed in about forty years. Though the role of NAM in the process of decolonisation is not so praiseworthy but it can be concluded that the colonial question was in the focus of nonaligned countries' attention from the very beginning, and it remained there but in rather different conditions. These changes derived both from the successes achieved in decolonisation, which multiplied the number and increased the importance of the nonaligned countries.

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5 Y. Zhukov et al, The Third World Problems Prospects (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p.60.

Closely allied with the problem of colonialism is the more dangerous doctrine of racial discrimination. While the spirit of freedom and equality burns fierce in the human heart, yet there is no lack of agents to suppress it. Even in the last quarter of the twentieth century, with its mind-boggling technological advances where the equality of all men has to be accepted as an indisputable norm, in one corner of the world, in South Africa, prevails a system based on the outdated concept of the supremacy of one particular race over the others. And the hateful system of apartheid remains as an ugly scab on the face of humanity. Ruthless suppression, discrimination, institutionalised exploitation and oppression of the blacks by the minority whites are common features.

For the first time, NAM by the very logic of world developments and also of its own growth, has had to take up a concrete plan of action. The determination of NAM members to help the freedom fighters in South Africa to dismantle the apartheid regime and thereby bring to birth a new democratic South Africa, has led them to come forward with a concrete plan of action to enforce sanctions against the Pretoria regime. From its very first Summit at Belgrade in 1961, NAM has vigorously condemned the "inhuman policy of racialism pursued by South Africa". It has expressed support to the armed struggle going on for its eradication. As Rajiv Gandhi, once chairman of NAM, said India and the rest of the nonaligned

world would spare no effort to bring the racist regime in South Africa to an end. Moreover the NAM's declaration on the struggle for National Liberation, adopted at the Fourth Conference of Nonaligned Countries (Algiers, September 1973), gives a good idea of how the nonaligned movement matures and grows stronger. The declaration notes :

"Having exhausted all peaceful means, and faced with the obstinacy of the colonial powers and the complicity of their protectors, in particular some NATO member-states, namely the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, the oppressed people have no alternative but the legitimate recourse to armed struggle in order to impose respect for their right to self-determination and independence".<sup>6</sup>

Besides, NAM also urged for the unconditional release of prisoners who have been imprisoned for their opposition to apartheid, including Nelson Mandela, the African Congress leader. However, since the New Delhi Summit, the nonaligned movement has vigorously continuing its struggle against apartheid at its meetings in New York and at the Ministerial level meeting in Luanda and New Delhi.

Related to the policy of apartheid, South Africa's domination over the black nation of Namibia, formerly known as South West Africa, is also subject to discussion. In Namibia's independence the role of the nonaligned movement should not

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6 Review of International Affairs vol.24, no.564, 5 October 1973, pp.14-15.



be ignored. Namibia was supposed to be an independent country but it was no better than a colony or a dependency governed by Whites from Pretoria - the South African Capital. For years Namibian people did fight against heavy odds to shake off the fetters. But in their success NAM's role should not be underestimated. It is the struggle of the people of the Namibia, and the support of members of the NAM and the UN, is a test of the legitimacy and credibility of the nonaligned movement.

NAM since its inception has continuously played a significant role in galvanising support for Namibian Independence. NAM championed the cause of freedom and liberty of the Namibian People. The Ministerial Meeting of the Nonaligned Coordinating Bureau at New Delhi on 19 April 1985 expressed its solidarity with Namibia "that brave nation yearning freedom". The announcement of an "interim government" in Namibia in June 1985, further aggravated the situation. At a special meeting of the UN Council for Namibia, India as chairman voiced the "grave concern and profound indignation" over the formal installation by South Africa a "puppet" administration in Namibia. NAM recognised the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) as the role authentic representative of the Namibian People and proposed that SWAPO must secure greater assistance in its struggle. Ultimately Namibia got its independence recently after a prolong struggle sacrificing many men

and material. So NAM's effort in the independence of Namibia is no less important.

Similarly, on 19 May 1986, South Africa launched aggressive attack against three Frontline States - Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana, the target being the guerilla facilities and the offices of the African National Congress. This had been widely condemned, NAM called on the UN Security Council to deal "with promptly and effectively" with the serious threat to peace and security. The Movement's Coordinating Bureau, reiterating its stand on sanctions against South Africa, condemned the policies of "constructive engagement" and active collaboration with the apartheid regime. From the above active role it seems that NAM has reached a point of transition from a platform to an organ of action.

NAM's efforts at establishing world peace did not end with fighting against colonialism. In its capacity, NAM has also made its contribution for the preservice of peace and security by acting as a chief agent in crisis management. The movement's charismatic leaders like President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, and President Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt provided enough prestige to the nonaligned movement. They lent their ready support to the resolution of international conflicts. Here an attempt should be made to point out the role of NAM on the following set of international disputes.

We may start with the Middle East which is undergoing a crucial phase in the history. With the Palestine problem and Arab-Israeli conflicts, the region is volatile enough to light the fuse for World War III. The problem of the region, arising out of Israel's uneasing aggression against the Arab World, has been a matter to which the nonaligned countries have always paid the utmost attention and particularly since the Arab-Israel War of June 1967. The fact is that the international community has reached such a degree of interdependence in its evolution that violence, subjugation and local aggressive wars in any part of the world may well provoke wider explosions and conflicts and even a universal catastrophe.

Several attempts were made periodically by mediators sponsored not only by the Nonaligned bloc but also by the United Nations and many Islamic countries to bring about a settlement of Iran-Iraq war. In February 1981, at the Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Conference, the Ministers laid emphasis on the principles of territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states, called upon both the combatants to cease war and to settle claims peacefully. Again the 1983 Delhi Summit's appeal for cease of war was made. Though the war came to an end in a late, one should not forget the initiative and efforts of the nonaligned movement in this regard.

The Palestine problem is another knotty one. Since the adoption of the Palestine partition plan by the UN General Assembly in November 1947, and the subsequent establishment of the Jewish State of Israel in May 1948, fighting has been going on with intermittent spells of peace between Israel and the Arab-states. With the indirect involvement of the Super Powers the intensity of conflict enhancing.

In this context the movement's attempt at Cairo Conference should be noted. The Conference bluntly declared that it considered it was necessary to "endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the peoples of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self determination; declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism".<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the Fourth Algiers NAM Summit in 1973, responded to the call of the Palestinians. It demanded that the national rights of the Palestinians must be restored and asked its member states to put pressure on big powers and take action in the UNO to achieve this objective. It appealed to US to stop supplying arms to Israel and asked its members to boycott Israel. NAM's stand was strengthened when in 1974 the UN affirmed the right of Palestinians to self-determination. India in her part as the NAM chairman, has urged an early international peace conference to find a just

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7. Ibid, p.13.

solution to the situation in West Asia and it is also not possible without the PLO being involved in peace negotiations. However, the constructive approach of the nonaligned countries to their analysis of international tension is seen in the Declaration on the struggle for National Liberation adopted in Algiers in September 1973 is subject to praiseworthy. It stated : "In this connection, the case of Palestine, where Zionist settle colonialism has taken the form of systematic uprooting of the palestinian people from their homeland and represents a very serious threat to their survival as a nation is exactly the same as the situation in Southern Africa, where racist and segregationist minorities are using the same method of colonial domination and exploitation pursuant to the requirements of a single imperialist strategy".<sup>8</sup>

Central Asia was also inferment for some time. The Afghanistan crisis began with the entry of Soviet troops in December 1979 under the pretext of the Treaty of Friendship signed in December 1978. It is the game of super powers which are playing the game of power politics to the disadvantages of the small countries.

Since then, efforts have been made by both Western and Afro-Asian countries to persuade Moscow to withdraw from Afghan tettirotty. The Nonaligned Foreign Ministers' Conference 1981, urged a political settlement that would ensure the Afghan peoples' right to determine their own destiny. NAM in it

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8 Times (London), 3 September 1976.

urged the main parties to the dispute to discuss the issue directly and to settle the problem amicably.

Another area of the world where the security environment has steadily deteriorated is the Indian Ocean region. It has become the battle ground of big powers rivalry, where military build-up is escalating at a feverish pace endangering the security of the littoral and hinterland states of the Ocean. After World War II USA took the responsibility of protecting Western interest in the area by making Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean its principal naval base. Over the years, its presence in the Ocean has grown steadily. The Soviet Union, not to be left behind, has also built its military presence in the Indian Ocean.

'Militarisation' of the Indian Ocean is resented most by the Asian and Pacific nations. Even though the UN has declared the Indian Ocean a 'Zone of peace' since 1971, there has been no significant demilitarisation in the region. At its Colombo Summit of 1976, NAM took a serious note of it. NAM has proposed an international conference on the Indian Ocean which could force the big powers to implement the UN declaration. In February 1981, NAM again expressed concern at its Foreign Minister's Conference. It called on the Super Powers to keep their hands off the Indian Ocean, and has laid great hope in the proposed international conference on the ocean.

Besides all these, NAM has also took its interests in solving the problems like Iran-Iraq war, Cambodian independence struggle, Lebanon crisis, Vietnam and issues like Nicaragua and many others. NAM played a significant role in international politics when the situation was aggravated due to super power rivalry. Though the performance of NAM in crisis management is very poor but its attempt for the establishment of world peace cannot be ignored. So the allegation that non-committed states in general happen to be revisionists; and that they represent disruptive forces themselves and are, therefore, disqualified the role of crisis managers is not justified.<sup>9</sup>

Again, in the process NAM's concern for disarmament for preventing war pschy in human mind and establishing peace should be noted. During Cold War period arms race reached its ultimate climax threatening the very survival of human species. It brought all of us close to a catastrophe that raised the question - "If we at all have a future, let alone a peaceful future".

Disarmament was one of the first issues that came up before the United Nations immediately after its very foundation.<sup>10</sup> Before the Bandung Conference and especially before the formal constitution of the nonaligned countries in 1961 at the Balgrade conference, this question had already been discussed. However, the nonaligned countries, at their

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9 Morton A. Kaplan, "Bipolarity on a Revolutionary Age", in Morton A. Kaplan, ed., The Revolution in World Politics (New York, N.Y., 1963), p.264.

10 The Yearbook of the United Nations 1946-47, pp.64 and 139.

gatherings in the United Nat  
devoted attention to this question.

In Cairo the need for disarmament was explained for the first time with the argument that the very existence of armaments creates a danger for peace. There it was insisted upon because "weapons of mass destruction and their stockpiling threaten the world with armed conflict and annihilation". Moreover the nonaligned states urged that research and development of new types of nuclear weapons and means of their delivery be terminated as quickly as possible along with the production of fission materials for military purposes.

In the 1980s, against the backdrop of worsening international situation, the Nonaligned countries stepped up their activity to achieve concrete results in the field of nuclear armament. A large number of nonaligned countries took part in drawing up documents condemning the development of neutron weapons by the United States.<sup>11</sup> In the drive to curb the nuclear arms race were the efforts of the nonaligned countries to bring about a complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. Unfortunately, the United States and other nuclear powers did not respond positively to this offer. But the Soviet Union took a bold and resolute step and unilaterally stopped nuclear tests.

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11. 36th and 37th UN General Assembly Sessions.



The nonaligned states took realistic and responsible positions as regards the most acute problem of preventing the arms race in outer space. As against Washington's fiendish "Star Wars" plan, the nonaligned countries put before the world community a programme of "Star Peace" which provides for mutually-advantageous cooperation on the use of space for peaceful purposes.

One more attempt on the part of nonaligned movement is to create nuclear free zones is subject to analysis. The issue of creating zones free of nuclear weapons began to figure prominently in the diplomacy of nonaligned countries in the early 1960s. In 1974, the nonaligned countries advanced the idea of a nuclear free zone in the Middle East. The nonaligned countries are still more explicit and radical in regard to demands for the abolition of foreign bases.<sup>12</sup>

But, it is paradoxical that while there was a growing consensus for nuclear disarmament, there was at the same time an uncontrolled nuclear arms race, and an increasingly unstable deterrence. And the passivity of some nonaligned states in the struggle for disarmament was based on their insufficient realisation of the simple truth that any form of nuclear war, from 'limited' all out will affect every country of the world. It is suffice to say that NAM not only did

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12 Paragraph 11 of the Bandung Declaration and Chapter VIII of the Cairo Programme.

fight for disarmament, still its struggle going on from the escape of unpredictable catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war - spreading radiation, global ecological and genetic changes and deterioration in atmospheric and other conditions of life on earth.

Lastly, NAM's role in United Nations should be taken into consideration for evaluating NAM's role in establishing world peace. Although United Nation's main objective is to preserve international peace and security, but nonalignment as a policy concept remains most relevant to the effective functioning of the United Nations. As the relevant study on NAM describes :

"Nonalignment as a foreign policy pursued by a handful of Afro-Asian countries in the 1950s played an important role during that critical period and helped contribute to the survival of the United Nations as also to its on evolution as an international movement with a non-partisan and universal character. As a policy objective characterised by the judging of each international issue on its merits rather than by power politics nonalignment still has special relevance to the effective functioning of the United Nations.<sup>13</sup>

The United Nations today differs radically from the fledging structure of the late 1940s. Worthy of note is also the concrete and increasingly well organised activity

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13      Quoted in Krishan Gopal, Non-alignment and Power Politics: A Documentary Survey (New Delhi, 1983), p.36.

of nonaligned representatives on the most important matters on the agenda of the United Nations, in the General Assembly and its principal committees, in the Security Council and other organs and commissions.

The nonaligned countries became a factor to be reckoned with on the international scene and in the United Nations. The nonaligned countries succeeded in making their voice heard and their posture respected in the United Nations. They were able to influence the gradual changing of the positions of the great and developed countries on matters on which they were at variance with the view points of the nonaligned countries. Such activities and such influence on the part of the nonaligned countries led the United Nations to settle the most important problems of international relations. Ultimately it focused for the preservice of world peace.

All have been said and done, the credentials of non-aligned movement have been challenged from time to time.<sup>14</sup>

It has been alleged that lack of cohesion and internal conflict and many other factors acted like leg-pulling for effective performance of NAM's role for the maintenance of world peace. As a forum for peace NAM, in fact, presents a paradox. The response of the NAM either to regional conflicts

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14 Oran R. Young, Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crisis (Princeton, N.J., 1967), pp.92-102.

or its struggle for decolonisation has not been adequate. It is obvious that the break up of the large colonial empires and the easing of tensions cannot be regarded simply as the victories of the nonaligned movement. The phenomena of decolonisation preceded and subsequently contributed to the full development of nonalignment and made it a very wide-spread movement in world politics. Although the nonaligned countries took an active part in this process, they cannot ascribe the success of the anti-colonial movement exclusively to their own policies. The break up of the colonial empires was principally the result of the determination of the colonial people to win their independence and freedom. Here it would be enough to reflect that in none of the conflicts - Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan-Pakistan, Cambodia, to mention only a few has NAM been able to play a meaningful role as peace-maker. All it has done, summit after summit, is to issue pious, long-winded and ineffectual declarations and appeals. And ironically, in most cases it has tended to pass the buck to the United Nations.

However, it would be unfair to say that the NAM has totally failed on this score. To comprehend the significance of its role one has to only contemplate the state of affairs if the NAM were not there. Would it have been possible, for example, first to get Resolution 435 for the decolonisation of Namibia passed and then to prevent its dilution if the non-aligned community had not put up united effort for it? Would

the world at large have been aware of the gross injustice perpetuated against the Palestinians if they were left to the tender mercies of those who had issued the Balfour Declaration and of those who steam rolled the United Nations into partitioning Palestine and creating the Zionist state of Israel?

So we must not completely discard its role in the process of decolonisation. The nonaligned movement has always believed that the struggle being waged by the peoples in the colonies was a component part of movement. The general changes in relations in the world during the 1960s provoked some deep changes in the status of the nonaligned countries. They were less and less able to play the role of mediator and catalyst in the dispute, since they were preoccupied with defending themselves as they increasingly became a target of attacks and pressures from outside. In a series of intervention, the nonaligned countries were brought into the position of opposing the actions of the Super powers.

The full credit is due to NAM as it preserves. For instance, it has successfully pulled out the ticklish situations from the contest of East-West confrontation. Similarly, it would be great blunder that the role of NAM was confined only to analysing a situation and passing a resolution, important though these were. One can conclude by saying that success or effectiveness of a movement like the NAM cannot be

measured in terms of quick and immediate action.

On a long-term view, it cannot be gainsaid that for all its practical limitations, NAM has been a potent-force in generating a global environment oriented towards peace, decolonisation, disarmament and a new international economic order.

CHAPTER - III

POST COLD WAR GLOBAL SCENARIO AND  
THE FUTURE OF NAM

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Over the last few years we have witnessed the demise of the Cold War structure in every corner of the world. There have been sudden drastic transformation in Eastern Europe, the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the unification of Germany, the signing of the INF treaty by the United States and USSR, etc. Above all, a series of regional conflicts that had procrastinated over a long space of time are settled or being settled like Namibia, Angola and Kampuchea and many others. All these represent the end of the Cold War confrontation between the two military blocs of the East and West. After the Malta Summit, Gorbachev was reported to have said, "we are leaving one epoch of the Cold War and entering into another". And George Bush also proclaimed that, "the era of confrontation is over and an era of cooperation is to begin".<sup>1</sup> It would be not wrong to say that for the first time after World War II, we are entering into Post-Cold-War era.

In this context one is tempted to ask an important question: What did drive the world towards a post cold war era? To this end we must examine the following few but important points.

Firstly, cold war is based on the bipolar world which presumes the global struggle over the third world between

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1 International Herald Tribune, 4 December 1989.



the Soviet Union and the USA. In order not to be surmounted by each other, two countries maintained heavy military build-ups over the world. The principle of confrontation and competition predominated the world. The effectiveness of military means as a protective power for national survival became questionable. As the destructive power of nuclear weapons reached a parity between the two nations, it turned out to be a 'paper tiger'. Several military engagements provided two nations with too much financial costs and bad images. It inflicted much deeper wounds on American society. Preoccupation with external affairs led to neglect of domestic reforms, even of basic services. The development of secret police organisations, the erosion of civil liberation, the stifling of political debate in the interest of bipartism consensus, the concentration of decision-making in the executive branch, the secrecy surrounding executive actions, the lying that has come to be accepted as routine in American politics - all these things derive either directly or indirectly from the Cold War.<sup>2</sup>) So ineffectiveness and costliness of military means made the leaders of nations to review the cold war structure. As a corollary, Gorbachev and Bush signed INF treaty in December 1987, which marked a meaningful starting point to Post Cold War history. American political

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2 Ibid; 13 July 1990.

and academic circle on the opinion that it is economic national interest which preceded America.<sup>3</sup> And at the same time Gorbachev was pushing ahead with a vigorous scheme to revitalise deteriorising economic condition.

Secondly, more emphasis is given to technology than ideology. Without technological edge, no country can survive in a rapidly changing world. The cold war world was that of a ideological conflict. But the era of ideology is passing by. As the low politics gains more attention from the public, the discussion whether socialism or liberalism is better no longer matters. What counts is how a nation can improve a quality of life. The reforms of the socialist system does not prove the superiority of Western system nor the inferiority of socialist system itself. Perhaps, the reform process in the East European countries is due to their earnest desire to come up with developed countries of the West and to improve their economic and social conditions. Considering speed and scale of technological change, it became evident that centrally controlled and bureaucratised state craft has a clear limit to take over technological development.<sup>4</sup>

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3. Norman Orstein and Mark Schmitt, "Post-Cold War Politics", Foreign Policy, no.79 (Summer, 1990), pp.169-86.

4. Silviu Brucan, World Socialism at the Crossroads (New York, 1987), Preface.

Thirdly, the trend towards open society both internally and internationally. In the cold war era, power politics among sovereign nation states overwhelmed. National security defined in terms of national defence was a prime motive of politicians, so the decisions were made only among a few informed leaders. However, the two kinds of developments - deepening interdependence among nations and rapidly changing information, technology - reshaped the world. To be competitive, the imperative for shared information on diffused decision making process have grown, which inevitably brings democratisation of a society. Both parties USA and USSR allowed on spot inspection, which is one of the key points in developing confidence building measures.

Besides, cold war ended because of profound changes, in what Karl Marx called the mode of production, that began more than two decades ago but recently started to affect the "super structure" of human relations and values. These changes both eased the main causes of conflict and forcing nations to cooperate with each other to prosper. In brief the cold war ended because the compulsions exerted on political relations and attitudes by an increasing interdependent economic world can no longer be denied.

Last, but not the least, is particularly Gorbachev's new thinking to foreign policy and a long series of enlightened action preceded cooperation between Washington and Moscow on various fields. Mikhail Gorbachev, being the

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) and the first executive president, it is possible to make some judgements about the degree to which his policy towards America differed from that of his predecessors. Gorbachev frequently surprised western observers by speaking in a different way about the entire Soviet policy agenda. He stated on numerous occasions that for him domestic policy had primary priority over foreign policy and that to carry on his ambitious domestic programme, he needed peace and lowering the international tensions. It was Gorbachev's hope that the Soviet Union and the United States would not appear to future historians like, "two dinosaurs circling each other on the sands of nuclear confrontation."<sup>5</sup>

All the above factors preceded to end the Cold War confrontation. So today the whole international scene has changed. The world has witnessed the profound and dramatic transformation in the system of international relations. New structures and new balance of power are emerging. The Cold War strategy of containment has been replaced by "New National Security Strategy (or the struggle for a New World Order)". To quote the US Secretary of the Navy, H. Lawrence Garrett III; "If our strategy for the Cold war was one of

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5     Marsall D. Shulman, "The Superpowers: Dance of the Dinosaurs", Foreign Affairs (New York), vol.66, no.3, 1988, p.494.

containment, our new strategy should be one of stability, focussing on peace time presence and regional conflict.<sup>6</sup>

From this it is reflected that the cold war politics of confrontation, contention and competition have gradually given to new periods of dialogue understanding and cooperation. Peaceful coexistence has become the goal of every country. The political-territorial and even the ideological-social map of Europe has changed substantially as compared to what it used to after the World War II. Parallel with disintegration in the Eastern Europe, there is growing integration process in the western part of the continent of Europe.

Europe is no longer divided into power blocs, into political and ideological East and West. East and West becoming mere geographical notion. The Warsaw Pact which was formed on May 14, 1955 at the height of Post War East-West tensions and on fears of a third world war has been transformed from a force of feared in the west to an increasingly hollow organisation without a clear purpose. On the otherhand the Warsaw Pact's dissolution has brought NATO into a political entity. "The purpose of NATO is achieved", Mr. Clark said on remarks to a London audience.<sup>7</sup> It is suffice to say that superpower competition is replaced by a new world order, where, according

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6 John F. Morton, "The US Navy in the 1990",  
US Naval Institute Proceedings, vol.117, no.7,  
May 1991, p.124.

7 International Herald Tribunal, 27 December 1990.

to George Bush, "the rule of law supplants the rule of jungle."<sup>8</sup> Hence the word of today is multipolar rather than bipolar. The present period is marked by the disappearance of ideology from its once permanent place in international relations; the daggers drawn of the cold war have given way to negotiations around the conference table; instead of the hue and cry of the anti-colonial revolution.

The old international order no longer works. All argue for maintaining a stable world situation and settling conflicts between them by peaceful means. All are willing to develop mutually beneficial and cooperative internal relations; and all value the United Nations important role in tackling global issues. Besides, there is also common language to varying degrees of such questions as disarmament, environmental protection, human rights and the war on drugs. For the first time in more than 20 years, the United Nations organisation is an active participant in the world affairs. Whatever any one now thinks about the Gulf War, that catalysmic event has coincided with an unprecedented amount of fresh UN sponsored peace-keeping all over the world. It is an undreamt of expansion in the UN's work. To quote a young French Diplomat who said without a trace of cynicism that "the United Nations is in its second youth".<sup>9</sup>

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8. George Bush, "Toward a New World Order", Address before the Joint Session of Congress (Washington DC: The White House, 11 September 1990).

9. Deccan Herald, 3 January 1992.

The features of bipolar world are no more visible. While some scholars count it as a unipolar world others have assumed it as a multipolar world taking into consideration Japan and Germany as the new Super Powers. From this perception follows their questioning of the relevance of the nonaligned movement in the contemporary international era. A comment in the Herald Tribune came: "The Nonaligned nations are facing an identity problem now that they donot really have anybody to be nonaligned and the enemy is more likely to be a neighbour than a super power".<sup>10</sup> To many, nonalignment has lost its validity. Nonalignment is no longer a viable policy. The nonalignment movement has become ineffective, powerless, passive and disunited. It has become marginalised and shifted to the fringe of international events. Now the cold war is over and confrontation has given the way of dialogue and UN seems to be taking centre stage in resolution of international conflicts. So the nonaligned movement should be allowed to die a natural death. Besides, the apparent impotence of the nonaligned movement to prevent the conflict between the two member states of the movement, Iraq and Kuwait from degenerating into war in the Gulf have added to their argument that the NAM has outlived its usefulness in the contemporary era and should therefore fold up or disband.<sup>11</sup>

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10 Herald Tribune, September 6, 1989.

11 Dr. Mohamed Iben Chambas, "The Nonaligned Movement in the Post-Cold-War era", Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol. XLII, no. 984, 5 April 1991, p.17.

Such arguments are harsh and precipitous based on flawed understanding about the nature of nonalignment. It is true that NAM is a child of the cold war, but it cannot be defined in terms of the Cold War. Over the years it has acquired a life of its own. The substance of the nonaligned policy has never been one of balancing or manoeuvring between the two blocs, though some such role became necessary in the bitter years of the cold war. So whether it is a unipolar, bipolar or multipolar world, nonalignment has a place in it. Rather present changes have confirmed the correctness of nonaligned policy based on the main principles and aims by the movement since its inception.<sup>12</sup> The comprehensive assessment of the theory and practice of the nonaligned movement for last three decades reveals that the doctrine of nonalignment, as it was defined by the founders of the movement, remains valid and relevant to the changing world scene.

In this background, we should examine its role and how it remains relevant .

Nonalignment has assumed a dynamism of its own and have preoccupied with Third World issues. Therefore, its task is to protect the freedom, identity and dignity of the developing nations opposing the politics of balance of power and domination

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12 Marko Vrhunec, "Nonalignment: New Options", Review of International Affairs, vol.XLI, no.970, 5 September 1990, p.17.



and working for international cooperation and democratisation of international relations. Nonalignment's role will be as long as the world is characterised by inequality among nations.

Over the three decades of operation of NAM as national policies of large number of states and as an international movement has some basic and abiding principles as peace and disarmament, development, decolonisation and democratisation of structure of world economy. Though significant progress has been made in most of the fields, a lot of work still needed to be done. Among these, the emphasis is now upon restructuring the egalitarian international economic order in the form of equal voice in the international institutions, reform of the international financial system, better prices of raw materials and so on. There is a demand for a dialogue between the rich countries of the North and poor countries of the South. Because as long as there is North-South disequilibrium, the world is not free from the threat of peace, security and stability. In this field we can be taken for certain that as the confrontation between blocs is over, it has a positive effect on resolving a long-standing international problem. The new developments have justified the future relevance of the NAM. Nonalignment and the NAM are only powerful in instrumentalities for the establishment and promotion of the proposed New International Economic Order to back up the new

political order that the NAM stands for.<sup>13</sup>

Another major issue has moved to the top priority of the nonaligned agenda that is ecological issue. It is a common threat faced by all nations irrespective of rich and poor. The threat against which no single nation, however wealthy and powerful, can protect itself. Only common global action can ensure human survival. The growing adverse impact of climatic change, pollution by industrialised countries through acid rains, toxic wastes and automobile exhausts, etc. have already started to sensitise those populations. The role of nonaligned movement as an alternative organisation concern for human well being, has a vital role in this field.

The basic interests and the need to enhance the effectiveness of the nonaligned movement is attached to questions of human rights and human dignity. We do believe in human rights and human dignity. Human rights are, however, not a matter exclusively of the individual citizen's relationship with his own government. Human rights as a human being can and are being abrogated by the actions of others who deprive him of his destiny by making him and his country the battleground for the proxy confrontations of the power blocs. There can be no doubt that these are a world problem of the utmost urgency

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13 M.S. Rajan, "The Nonaligned World in the 1990s", International Studies (New Delhi), vol.26, no.3, July-September 1989, pp.214-22.

and priority preoccupation of the movement of nonaligned countries.

In this fast changing world, the threat presented by armaments is no less danger. The mere control of armaments cannot bring world peace. One should not be encouraged by the positive development in the field of disarmament brought about by the INF Treaty signed by the USSR and the USA<sup>14</sup> which abolishes an entire range of nuclear weapons. It does not imply that the time has come for the world to line up in peace or that the global security mechanism has been established to cover equally all regions and all the countries of the world. The full disarmament has not been achieved yet, the remaining nuclear bombs and warheads can produce ten of thousands of the Hiroshimas. Besides, the risk of nuclear proliferation, incidents and uncontrolled use are still with us. Nonaligned Movement's role in this end is to keep general and complete disarmament as one of its primary goals.

Right from nonaligned movement's emergence, the prime concern of it has been pursuit of peace, enlargement of freedom in the world, abolishing colonialism and racialism and protecting national interest. Though a major and decisive contribution has been made to the national liberation and independence of the people of Asia, Africa and

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14. INF treaty was signed in 7. December 1987 between Gorbachev and Bush.

Latin America, there are still people suffering under colonial bondage.<sup>15</sup> There are people still waging their national liberation struggle, for instance, the Palestinian, the Caharawai, the non white majority exploited by the hateful apartheid regime. Thus the total eradication of colonialism is an indispensable precondition for maintaining and strengthening their political independence remains an unfulfill primary task of the nonaligned movement.

The self-determination of people, a central tenet of the movement, is not fully accomplished. So in today's world which created a favourable climate, the nonaligned movement has to gear itself to defend its principles and objectives. The right of each nation to express its opinion independently on a world or regional issue without fear and to use its own resources for the benefit of its people without domination of multinationals, which are mere extensions in other forms of the domination by colonial predators of olden times.

Lastly, all these have been said and done, we should not underestimate the future of role of NAM for world peace. Many scholars and intellectuals view the Post-Cold-War-World is free from competition and confrontation and peace is the

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15 For example Puerto Rico, the Micronesia, the Malvinas Islands and New Caledonia, etc.

order of the day. Rather, today's world is most complicated and the world of tomorrow is very unpredictable. We must note that the threat to peace arises from the fact that there is no counterweight to the United States which remains an imperialist state with world wide hegemonic ambitions.<sup>16</sup> } whatever was the characteristics of the Soviet Union no one can deny that it served to blunt and even neutralise the adventurism of Pentagon. A victory by the Vietnamese people would have been much more bloody and according to some, even impossible without Soviet aid. The recently published "Declassified Documents" show that the USA had elaborate plans to use nuclear weapons against the Vietnamese people (Operation Vulture) in 1954 and (Operation Duck Hook in 1969) but they were all cancelled because of the fears of Soviet retaliation. Also the existence of the Soviet Union accelerated the growth of guerilla movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It was because of the Soviet Union that the Cuban revolution was established despite all the efforts made by Pentagon over the years to destabilise it. However, without the Russian counterweight, the CIA will definitely treat the entire world like it has been treating Latin America where there is no counterweight. The infamous Monroe Doctrine, which condemned the peoples of America to two centuries of poverty and misery, will now be extended to the world. What happened in the so called Gulf war amply proves the point made above.

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16 Lajpat Rai, "Reflections on Soviet Events",  
Mainstream (New Delhi), vol. XXX, no. 11,  
January 4, 1992, p. 15.

Apart from the above-mentioned threat, there is another danger. The United States is not what it used to be in terms of economic strength and is now faced with a challenge posed by the rise of Germany and Japan. In the process of transition from the old international order to a new one, the United States will come up against two powerful economic rivals. The future position of the United States will depend, to a large extent, on its national strength as well as in science and technology. The Single Market establishment in Europe will play a vital role in the future world. To meet this challenge, the United States is making preparation for the setting up of a North American free trade zone while Japan is working on its own economic sphere in Asia. The confrontation between the two military blocs in the world arena has been superseded by the competition among two economic blocs. Whether they can strike a balance between competition and coordination or split ranks in confrontation as a result of intensified competition will be of great consequence to the future order of the world.

Moreover, the past decade has been a time of loss to the developing countries whose gap with the developed countries has been widening, a situation made all the worse by the reverse flows of capital, crippling debt burdens and deteriorating terms of trade. The changes in Eastern Europe will further divert the flow of funds and the gulf between the North and the South may continue to expand. This serious

imbalance in North-South relations will become one of the least stabilising factors in a new world order. It will intensify regional turbulence and ignite new regional conflicts, so there can be no stable international order.

We may mention that the distinct feature of Post-Cold-War-World: a process of return from the bipolar political military structure to an evolving multipolar international relations constellation. In long term security premises, military issues still plays a substantial role, but the centre of gravity in the imminent period is moving to a economic issues.<sup>17</sup> Yet, the alliance system remains a great obstacle to peace as it was in last years. The NATO leaders approval for new military strategy for the post-cold-war era and President Bush's remark: "to hell with the United Nations" are burning evidence. NATO Secretary General Montred Woerner once said that: without our political and military alliance, such a new, peaceful and stable order will be neither achieved nor maintained.<sup>18</sup> While during the last 40 years NATO exercises have been planned on the assumption that there was a real enemy across the East-West divide, in the present exercise, for the first time, "the enemy appears not from the East, but from the South".<sup>19</sup>

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17 Marek Thee, "The Post-Cold-War European Landscape", Current Research on Peace and Violence (Finland), vol.XIII, no.2, 1990, p.63.

18 Hindustan Times, 8 November 1991.

19 The Times (London), 11 September 1991.

Thus, it is imperative-in the light of the above discussion - to draw the conclusion that the world is still dangerous. Peace, stability and security are no guarantee as the events taking place in such a speed and in radical manner. To this end the principles and purposes of the NAM remain as relevant and valid as ever. But NAM must rectify its loopholes: the conflict within the movement's member countries, lack of unity, solidarity and spirit de corp, etc. to continue to work diligently and to contribute tirelessly to the solution of global and regional problems. Moreover, the movement should change and improve the methodology of its work and timing of actions in order to further strengthen its role. Then nonaligned movement can fulfill the remaining tasks. And these remaining objectives - new international economic order, an equitable North-South relationship, environment pollution control and independence and development of nonaligned and developing countries - postulate for the further existence and activity of the nonaligned movement.



CHAPTER IV

NAM AND ITS ECONOMIC AGENDA

Nonalignment is a political movement. It stands for the rejection of military alliances and bloc politics by the newly independent countries and is usually described as a product of the Cold War. This is both narrow and misleading. Response to the Cold War constituted an important dimension of nonalignment. But it is not all. There are other equally important dimensions of nonalignment.

It is relevant to recall at the outset that the roots of nonalignment as a policy lie in the struggle for national independence from colonial domination.<sup>1</sup> So the *raison d'être* of the movement was the desire of the weaker nations for economic and political viability as nation-states. The economics of nonalignment has never been spelt out. One should not be wrong if one suspected that the movement could not be entirely devoid of economic implications. The prime concern of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement was to plan for rapid economic development. Most of the nonaligned countries had just shaken off their political dependence. They knew very well that if their newly-acquired freedom was to be preserved, their economic base had to be strengthened. They could not but think that economic dependence could erode their sovereignty and expose them to continuing exploitation by the affluent countries, including their erstwhile rulers.

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1. A.P. Rana, The Imperatives of Non-Alignment: A Conceptual Study of India's Foreign Policy Strategy in the Nehru Period (Delhi, 1976), p.86.

Moreover, the global economy had been moving in favour of the North industrialised countries and against South. The economic gulf between the developed and the developing world and the danger to our common future is mounting menace. There is a general interest for all poor countries in the debt burden, trade barriers, the crunch in resources, intellectual property rights, etc. The developed countries grew more and more prosperous, while the rest of the world, comprising about 70 percent of the world's population remain undeveloped. We have thus the spectacle of a world divided into rich nations and poor nations. A study observes :

"The economies of the Third World are still today characterised by an imbalanced, structurally defective, incoherent economic circuit which is a result of their historically-rooted integration into a system of unequal international division of labour; thus representing a reflex reaction to the developmental direction of the world economic system which is decisively determined by the capitalist industrial nations. Therefore it is still correct to term these industrial nations metropolis and the societies of the Third World peripheries: it makes sense, further, to describe the dependency of the metropolis on the peripheries for specific goods and services as such (dependency), and the integration of the peripheries into the world market as structural dependency; for in the latter case the reproduction dynamics of the metropolis are transferred into the structure of the peripheries themselves (with considerable deforming repercussions), whereas no comparable process takes place in the opposite direction".<sup>2</sup>

The weaker nations are now anxious to change the old order; the common platform that they are seeking to urge the

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2 Dieter Senghaas, "Overcoming Underdevelopment",  
Journal of Peace Research (OSIO), vol.12, no.4  
(1975), p.250.

establishment of an order under which there might be a reversal of the traditional trend. Broadly, the new order envisages a planned transfer of capital and technology from the developed countries, and a controlled international price system for primary commodities, favourable to the countries producing them. And the importance of the struggle to alleviate poverty from within and minimise economic pressures from abroad was recognised at the very founding meeting of the nonaligned nations. At the first Belgrade Conference, Jawaharlal Nehru had asked the nonaligned nations to accept that :

We are socially and economically backward countries and it is not an easy matter to get rid of this inheritance of backwardness and under development. It requires clear thinking, it requires action and it requires a tremendous amount of hard work.<sup>3</sup>

The NAM is committed to promoting a major restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The New International Economic Order embodies exhaustive and ambitious proposals. The main objective is no less than the creation of a new structure of economic relationships warranting fundamental changes in a large number of related fields - commodity trade, market access and preference, aid flows, the activities of multinational corporations, the international monetary system,

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3. Cited in K.B. Lall, "Nehru and International Economic Cooperation", in B.R. Nanda, ed., Indian Foreign Policy: The Nehru Years (New Delhi, 1976), p.185.

the restructuring of international institutions, the transfer of technology etc.

The spirit of the New International Economic Order is envisaged in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the United Nations 29th General Session on December 12, 1974, asserting its main objectives:

"The achievement of more rational and equitable international economic relations and the encouragement of structural changes in the world economy, the creation of conditions which permit the further expansion of trade and intensification of economic cooperation among all nations; the strengthening of the economic independence of developing countries, the establishment and promotion of international economic relations taking into account the agreed differences in development of the developing countries and their specific needs"<sup>4</sup>

The broad thrust of the struggle for an NIEO and the nonaligned movement is ~~that~~ there are generic linkages between them. The struggle for an NIEO is inherent in the wider struggle of nonalignment for the elimination of colonialism - imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations. In theory and practice, the nonaligned movement and the struggle for an NIEO are complementary to each other. To this end, therefore, each nonaligned summit, starting from the Belgrade Meeting of 1961, has been devoting increasing

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4 GA Resolution No. 3281 (XXIX) Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.  
UN Doc: GAOR, 29th Session, Supplement no.31 (A/9631), pp.50-55.

attention to the economic problems of developing countries. For a clear grasp regarding its role let us have a look at various nonaligned summits.

The first non-aligned summit in Belgrade in September 1961 called for efforts to remove "economic imbalances inherited from colonialism and imperialism". It felt that such efforts were "necessary to close, through accelerated economic, industrial, and agricultural development, the overwidening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and the many economically less developed countries".<sup>5</sup> It also demanded that the gains of technological advancement be applied to all fields of economic development to hasten the achievement of international justice. President Tito of Yugoslavia proposed the holding of a world conference within the UN framework to consider the economic problem of the South. To this effect a resolution was passed at the General Assembly of 1961 despite Northern Opposition.<sup>6</sup> This resolution called upon the United Nations to consult the member governments regarding the holding of a conference on international trade and the possible agenda of such a conference. Ultimately in 1962, the North

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5 Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, 1961, Paragraph 21.

6 J.E. Speiro, The Politics of International Economic Relations (New York, 1977), pp.168-9.

abandoned its opposition and agreed to a decision of the ECOSOC of the same year to convene UNCTAD which was done in 1964.

The demand for NIEO was raised for the first time at the second summit meeting of the nonaligned countries at Cairo in October 1964. The forty leaders of the nonaligned countries declared in the course of this summit :

... it is the duty of all countries to contribute to the rapid evolution of a new and just economic order under which all nations can live without fear or want or despair, and rise to their full stature in the family of nations...<sup>7</sup>

In this meeting, they recognised the increasing widening gap between the rich and the poor and the problems faced by the latter. In their attempt to decrease this disparity, they attempted to strengthen the UNCTAD which had been the brainchild of Belgrade and also gave birth to a new group the "Group of 77". It underlined the resilience of the nonaligned movement in enlisting the cooperation of even those countries of the Third World which were members of military blocs in the struggle for economic emancipation, since in terms of economic objectives there was no basic

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7 Janez Stanovnik, Towards the New International Economic Order (Beograd, 1979), p.5.

contradiction between the nonaligned countries and the other developing countries. The Cairo Conference made the first attempt to articulate the developmental demands of the Third World and to evolve a consensus on the broad parameters of the changes needed in the international economic system.

The Third Conference held at Lusaka 1970 devoted itself considerably to the demand for a change in the international economic relations. Lusaka summit was a land mark in the history of the nonaligned movement. It set the tone and drew a blue print for assertive action by the nonaligned countries for the establishment of an NIEO. It brought the economic component of the movement into full focus. It adopted a separate, full-length Declaration of Non-Alignment and Economic Progress in which it laid down specific guidelines for policies and action programmes.

Here it is important to note that the efforts of the nonaligned countries initially had a positive response from the developed countries. The Generalised Scheme of Preferences, the pledge to provide official development assistance, the setting up of the World Bank's soft loan affiliate, IDA, the Extended Fund Facility in the IMF, the formulation and acceptance of a development strategy for what were successively designated as Development Decades by the United Nations created a climate of hope.



But sudden major domestic problems of the developed countries gave a setback to the need and aspirations of the developing countries. They began to ignore and bypass all the promises they had made after World War II. Hence a shift in the political economic paradigm of the movement was fully asserted at the Fourth Nonaligned Summit at Algiers in September 1973. An appeal was made for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.<sup>8</sup>

It was the Algiers Nonaligned Summit that gave a concrete shape for the first time to the idea of NIEO. The Summit adopted an Economic Declaration as well as an Action Programme of Economic Cooperation. The main problems of continued neocolonial exploitation of the developing countries, problems of trade and protectionism, failure of the Brettonwoods systems, and the lack of political will among rich countries to improve equality and cooperation with the developing nations were discussed and condemned. In the Action Programme, several reformatory measures concerning the South South Cooperation and North-South interaction were put forwarded. It is also called for a special UN session on these problems.<sup>9</sup>

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8 A/9330 and Corr, 1 September 1973.

9 Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries (Belgrade, 1978), p.73.

The relevant theme of the session follows:

...to ask the United Nations Secretary General to convene a Special Session of the General Assembly, at a high political level, to be exclusively devoted to problems of development, including reactivation of institutions for achieving the goals of the international strategy of development considerably prior to the study set for 1975 at the end of the first half of the decade.

All the above mentioned problems of NIEO were given due consideration in the proposals adopted by the UN General Assembly's Sixth Special Session on 1 May 1974. A "Declaration" and an "Action Programme" in this regard were put forth by the Sixth Special Session.<sup>10</sup> With this it is assumed that a new phase started characterised by a comprehensive and consistent approach towards the problems of the less developed countries and towards evolving suitable methods for transcending unequal relations<sup>11</sup>.

The United Nations General Assembly "Declaration on the establishment of a New International Economic Order" says :

We, the members of the United Nations, having convened a special session of the General Assembly to study for the first time the problems of raw material and development, devoted to the consideration of the most important economic problems facing the world community.

Bearing in mind the spirit, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to promote the economic advancement and social progress of all peoples.

Solemnly proclaim our united determination toward for the ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

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10 UN resolution no.0202 (S-1) adopted by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly containing the "Action Programme".

11 A.W. Singham, ed., The Nonaligned Movement in World Politics (London, 1978), p.183.

based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and cooperation among all states, irrespective of their economic and social systems which shall correct inequalities, and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations, and to that end declare :

The greatest and most significant achievement during the last few decades has been the independence from colonial and alien domination of a large number of peoples and nations which has enabled them to become members of the community of free peoples...progress has also been made in all spheres of economic activities in the last three decades, thus providing a solid potential for improving the well-being of all peoples. However, the remaining vestiges of alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, apartheid and neo-colonialism in all its forms continue to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and all the peoples involved...the gap between the developed and the developing countries continue to widen in a system which was established at a time when most of the developing countries did not exist as independent states and which perpetuates inequality.<sup>12</sup>

The Declaration further says that the present international economic order is in direct conflict with current developments in international political and economic relations.

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12 Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, 3201 (S-VI) resolution adopted by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly on 1 May 1974.

The Declaration stressed that the survival and continued development of both developed and developing countries is at stake. It also emphasises the sovereign equality of all states, self-determination and self-reliance of all peoples, international cooperation on the basis of equity, sovereign rights of states to safeguard their natural resources and environment, regulation and supervision of transnational corporations, etc. The promotion of the transfer of technology to the developing countries, and South-South economic cooperation are also very significantly expostulated in the Declaration.

The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order asks for eliminating the instability of the international monetary system—the uncertainty of exchange rates in particular.<sup>13</sup> Full and effective participation in the processes of international decision making is also put forward in the "Programme of Action" in order to create equitable and more democratic international institutions.

From the above analysis it is clearly manifest that the Nonaligned Movement had been transformed and converted into a highly organised international economic pressure group

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13 Programme of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order, 0202 (S-I) resolution adopted by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly on May 1, 1974.

for the reorganisation of the international economic system. The transformation was first, the change in the level of attention given to economic issues of developing countries; second, the shift from mere reform of international economic relations towards a radical change in the international economic order; third, the formation of a semi-permanent organisational institution to handle economic issues; and finally the drastic change in the agenda of the international order, giving priority to economic issues of underdevelopment. Thus from a "primarily political strategy individually and collectively followed by newly independent states, it has transformed itself fundamentally into a collectively economic movement".<sup>14</sup> So the NAM has played a very significant role in giving a tone and shape to the demand and need for NIEO. Thanks to the nonaligned unity and their numerical strength for their lobby very strongly for NIEO.

In spite of the fact that, the movement was being slowly institutionalised, it could still in no way be compared to the United Nations. The demands of the community have been difficult to observe and carry out with the enthusiasm which the summits generate. The euphoria created by a summit and the aspiration soon die down for lack of a regular machinery. So the subsequent summit of nonaligned at Colombo 1976 became aware of the shortcoming of the movement. The Heads of State

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14 J. Bandyopadhyaya, North Over South: A Non-Western Perspective of International Relations (Delhi, 1982), p.206.

or Government reaffirmed that the achievement of the full economic potential rests on the developing countries and entails the following factors :

- (a) individual self-reliance in order that developing countries may utilise their economic potential to cooperate among themselves;
- (b) intensification of economic cooperation between developing countries;
- (c) strengthening of their solidarity and the coordination of the activities of the developing countries in a common front against all attempts of imperialists to sow division and to apply pressure.<sup>15</sup>

It sought complete restructuring of international economic order: (a) fundamental restructuring of international trade with special reference to the terms of trade-ensuring fair and remunerative price in real terms for primary export products; (b) fundamental restructuring of world production on the basis of a new international division of labour; (c) radical overhauling of the international monetary arrangements by removing the dominant role of international currencies in international reserves; (d) adequate transfer of resources on an assured, continuous and predictable basis; (e) urgent and adequate solution to the problem of external debt particularly of the "least developed and the most seriously affected nations"; and (f) financial and technological

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15 Declaration of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, Colombo 1979, Paragraph 2.

assistance to the developing nations for the development of their agriculture.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, the Colombo Conference also welcomed the "exemplary unity" of the nonaligned states at the UNCTAD-IV and the General Assembly of the UN towards the Global economic issues". It is suffice to add that the Colombo Summit showed an initiative more towards South-South Cooperation than North-South.

However, two landmarks in this context are the New Delhi Consultations among forty-four developing countries (February 22-24, 1982) and the Seventh Summit of the Nonaligned countries held in New Delhi from March 7 to 12, 1983. The New Delhi consultations have greater importance for the South-South Cooperation. The Seventh Nonaligned Summit covered a wider spectrum of international politics, though it laid great emphasis on creating a new international economic order through North-South Dialogue and South-South Cooperation.

The summit at New Delhi expressed grave concern at the world economic crisis and its adverse consequences for the developing countries. It focused on the international negotiation scene. The declaration accused some of the developed

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16 Abdal A. Bashai, Non-alignment: North-South and South-South", in Mohammad El-Sayed Salim, ed., Non-Alignment in a Changing World (Cairo, 1983), p.103.

countries for a symmetrical interdependence, as a result of their negative attitude, for they neither allowed nor facilitated the "adoption of an integrated approach to the solution of international economic problems". The summit lamented that for the first time since the Second World War there had been a decline in the per capita GDP of many developing countries. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Late Prime-Minister of India, highlighted the fact that lately there has been four consecutive years of stagnation or decline in the world economy. World production has regressed 1.2 per cent in 1981 and trade had stagnated.

Unemployment in developed countries now exceeds 30 million or 10 percent of the labour force on the average, the highest level since the Great Depression. In poorer countries, where unemployment is chronic, the situation is particularly harrowing. Human problems have grown enormously in oil importing developing countries, especially the low income ones.<sup>17</sup>

The meeting with its programme of decolonisation, disarmament, detente and development gave much emphasis to the economics of the prevailing international crisis as to the political. Though an urgent need was felt for world monetary reform, because of great Depression, the Summit gave equal emphasis to the removal of immediate hardships faced

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17 Indira Gandhi, "Independence, Development, Disarmament and Peace are indivisible" (Indira Gandhi's Inaugural Address to the Summit), Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol. XXXIV, no.792, 5 April 1983, pp.15-18.



by the developing countries. It reiterated that the international economic crisis was merely a cyclical phenomenon, rather a symptom of structural mal-adjustment marked, inter alia, by increasing imbalances and inequalities to the detriment of the development prospects of the developing countries.

The Heads of State or Government at the New Delhi Summit stressed their determination to continue their efforts for strengthening and promoting international cooperation. They attached special importance to cooperation among nonaligned and other developing countries as an essential part of the NIEO and as an instrument for building it.

The Nonaligned Movement has stood firmly for a thoroughgoing restructuring of international economic relations.

We are against exploitation. We are for each nation's right to its resources and policies. We want an equal voice in the operation of international institutions. We reiterate our commitment to the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equality...An International Conference on Money and Finance for Development, which is not weighted in favour of the North, is an urgent need. Problems of money and Finance also burden the countries of the North and have to be solved in a mutually beneficial manner. Such a conference should suggest comprehensive reforms of the international monetary and financial system which is now recognised as out-of-date, inequitable, and inadequate. It should facilitate the mobilisation of developmental finance for investment in vital areas such as food, energy and industrial development. A major debt restructuring exercise must be undertaken. The debt problem of developing countries has assumed unprecedented dimensions. Its servicing alone absorbs over a quarter of their total effort of earnings.<sup>18</sup>

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18. Ibid.

New Delhi Summit elevated the analysis of the economic problems of entire world. Presumably, it was because of this reason that the outcome of the summit was warmly welcomed. Even 'New York Times', "applauded its draft as a polemicfree appeal".<sup>19</sup>

In this context, the eighth summit of Non-aligned countries at Harare in 1986 proved purposive and successful within the parameters that define the 25-year-old initiative. Indeed, in many ways the Harare meeting marks a definite advance over the previous summit in New Delhi. The attention was given the grave economic situation of the third world. The economies of the developed world were being subsidised by the developing world. The cost of the debt servicing alone had gone up to 54 billion dollars, and the total debt burden of the third world amounted to a staggering 1,000 billion dollars, a figure someone uninitiated into arithmetic would be hard put to write correctly. This economic vandalism must stop if the unjust structure of the world economy is to be dismantled. It was also expressed for liberalisation of restrictions on the lending policies of the International Monetary Fund and increase in the World Bank capital and its transfer to the developing countries. There was also a

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19 New York Times, 13 March 1983.

demand in favour of establishing a South-South Commission to open a dialogue within the third world on economic cooperation.

The last Summit of the Nonaligned countries which began in Belgrade on September 4, 1989 and concluded in the early hours of September 8 has once again brought into focus the continued efforts of the nonaligned movement in the economic sphere. One of the practical results achieved during the Summit was the setting up of a South-South group through consultations among leaders assembled at Belgrade. Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chairman of the South Commission, in the early hours of September 9 - that is just before the Summit's concluding plenary session announced :

"We must look within. There is need to complement the North-South dialogue by South-South Cooperation ... expanded cooperation among ourselves with accelerate our development. It will enhance our cohesiveness and, therefore, our credibility in world fora. It will increase our collective bargaining power in the international community".<sup>20</sup>

The document also proposed for the setting up of a "Debtor' Forum" that had been advocated earlier as well. This forum was intended "for the exchange of experiences and information and for mutual consultations with a view to strengthening their negotiating position in the area of external debt".

THE MAIN ISSUES AND PROBLEMS OF NIEO

A Gandhian Future in NIEO: After discussion of NAM's role for the establishment of NIEO one is hunted by the questions like what are the main issues, problems and proposals of NIEO. In this context, there are two main aspects of the larger NIEO problem. First, the issues involved in NIEO proposals and, secondly, the problems or obstacles in their realisation.<sup>21</sup> In most of the proposals of NIEO, a realisation of Gandhian outlook of problems of development is implicitly and often quite clearly evident. It is especially notable in the underlying NIEO assumption of the world wide good neighbourliness and the essential cooperation among men and nations.

The real and the most important issue—the emergence of a peaceful and equitable world of free nations — constitute the theme of NIEO. The questions of development and survival and peace are related to armaments and disarmament; hunger and nourishment; population and poverty; unemployment, industrialisation and agriculture; urbanisation, ecology and mechanisation; oil and energy; free and faster source of communication; depletion of natural resources, democratisation of international institutions, reformation of financial

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21. Anurag Gangal, New International Economic Order: A Gandhian Perspective (Delhi, 1985), p.12.

and monetary bodies and procedures; establishment of a new information order; and the peaceful uses of nuclear power, etc. These numerous problems could be effectively solved - only through massive, many-sided effort backed by strong political will.<sup>22</sup>

The condition of poverty in the developing countries is so acute that it poses a great threat to their social existence. There are 800 million people mostly in the developing and poor countries for whom starvation is routine.<sup>23</sup> Yet, there is another harsh truth. Despite such facts and experiences, the developing countries are unquestioningly following the Western path of high technological development which may further aggravate their food and unemployment burdens. The greater the mechanisation, the lesser the need of manual labour. The higher technological development necessitates the involvement of fewer hands in the process of production.

The enormous expenditure on armaments by the North; tend to aggravate poverty, hunger, and unemployment. For they also mean diversion of resources from areas of production such as food and agriculture, and cottage and small-scale industries which would have provided food to the masses and generated employment.

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22. Ibid, p.13.

23. The Economic Times (New Delhi),  
9 August 1983.

After everything has been said and done one comes to the question of, "what is the achievement of NAM in the context of NIEO?" Frankly speaking, despite the efforts made by the NAM leadership and the consensus reached by the countries concerned, even though they are a majority of the world community, very little has been done in real terms. The struggle of the movement for an NIEO is not very encouraging. Because there are several obstacles to NIEO. The first and foremost problem lies to NIEO is the great diversity among the developing countries in the fields of languages, customs, political ideologies, forms of government, political strategies, etc. Besides another lacuna lies in investing their wealth for luxurious goods and useless armaments.

Last, but not least, obstacle to the economic and political postulates of NIEO arise from the unchanging attitudes of the developed North and United States in particular. The countries like United States, Britain, France are not ready to give fuller representation to the developing countries in various decision-making international fora like the World Bank and IMF. The North has been imposing several trade and other restrictions on exports from the developing nations. Apart from the fluctuating prices in the international market, the fluctuating exchange rates also put hurdle in the developmental process of these developing countries.

However, the contribution or role of NAM for reordering international economic relations is no less important. Over the years the nonaligned movement has changed its emphasis from political to economic sphere. So the most important trend in the transformation of the movement has been the realisation of the need of the new international economic order. The idea of the traditional nonalignment was anti-colonialism, anti-neo-colonialism. But the traditional nonalignment underwent a dramatic change. It has made an awareness among the developed countries that same sort of change in the economic system has to be brought about. The North-South dialogue has therefore been effective in one way at least as it has prevented the North from imposing new contentions based on its own personal needs.

Though the progress on the economic front has not been <sup>encouraging</sup> yet the quadrupling of the membership of the nonaligned community in thirty years is positive proof of its popularity. Every new membership means one more nation subscribing to the ideals of the movement. What the movement has achieved in three decades might not impress some but just a thought of what things might have been if the nonaligned movement had not sounded a note of caution and put in a word of sanity in times of international stress and strain makes one aware of its role not only in economic field but also related to other contexts also.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION



Nonalignment was born in concept and action, during the era of bloc confrontation and anti-colonial revolution. Its main motivation and objectives were to help its member countries to fight for and try to maintain their sovereignty, political independence and economic development. However, the leaders of the movement were aware of the organic link between the national development and world peace. But the face and character of the movement has undergone significant changes. From about 25 members at its first summit (Belgrade), NAM has drawn now more than 100 member nations and many observers and guests representing various continents. The most surprise matter is that it has converted its initial critics to staunch supporters.

Right since its inception, the nonaligned movement has emphasised the importance of peace. It is through NAM that the concepts of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence have acquired world-wide significance. Peace, cooperation, freedom and economic well-being have been the main objectives of nonaligned movement. The most explicit expression of nonalignment was a rejection of military pacts. This produced some strange but significant results. It has helped in hastening the process of decolonisation in various parts of the world. The struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination is also a contribution towards the elimination of causes of tension and wars. The initiative for detente originated with nonaligned countries.

Another aspect of the struggle for peace, is the nonaligned campaign against military intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such interventions aggravate tensions within and between states. Moreover, preservation of independence is essential for the promotion of peace and justice in international society. The movement has promoted the cause of peace by insisting on the peaceful settlements of disputes and by denouncing the use of force regardless of attempted justification and by insisting that all crisis situation should be dealt with under the auspices of the United Nations. Apart from it, the movement has consistently championed the cause of disarmament. It is the persistent efforts of this movement which brought the nuclear powers around to the view that "nuclear war is unwinnable and should never be fought. Last, but not least, NAM's struggle for establishing new international economic order for economic development of third world countries is noteworthy. The gap between the developed North and the under development South has threatened world peace. It would be sufficient to say that during the last three decades, the nonaligned movement has served as a beacon of hope for a troubled humanity seeking peace and sener world, free from arms race, the cold war, underdevelopment, racialism, apartheid, poverty and hunger. It is the NAM, the only international organisation subservient to United Nations which played a greater role for world peace.

However, NAM is also too often criticised for its inability to succeed in certain fields. The movement could not prevent the Chinese aggression of 1962, nor the Pakistan aggression of 1965 and 1971 against India and the latest Iraq's attack on Kuwait. And recent changes regarding super-powers status have added fuel to the fire of criticism. But this does not mean that NAM has not achieved any concrete result or not achieved any success and failure is only hallmark of its identity. Every organisation has to take in its stride both failures and success. It is true also even with the United Nations, which was hailed at its inception as a great instrument of peace. After all, it is better to have fought and lost, than not to have fought at all.

Besides, failure in case of NAM is very obvious due to its over-size and lack of ideological inspiration. Its heterogeneity has made it vulnerable to outside pressures. It has no clear-cut ideology or goals except the preservation of world peace. And within the organisation itself, NAM is riddled with bilateral quarrels, open wars and covert as well as overt interference in the internal affairs of others. Moreover, there are subgroups within the movement with their local or regional interests which run counter to the professed goal of world peace.

All these have been said and done it would not be presumptuous to say that NAM has been contributing to the cause of world peace in its own small way and according to its own

judgement arrived at by consensus. With over 100 members, diverse interests, strong subgroup loyalties and Big power affinities NAM has imparted to the cause of world peace. It has survived and made contribution amidst superpower pressures, economic domination, neo-colonialism, bilateral quarrels and ideological overtones.

The role of the nonaligned movement in the preservation of world peace and security is viewed in this sense. Supporting the basic rights and duties of third world countries particularly, the nonaligned movement is the only historical force of such a gigantic size at the present period which can influence the solution of different problems posing a threat to world peace. It has to survive for tomorrow, because today world peace is also in danger. It also has to keep up the name of its founding fathers and rise to the fore with determination and clarity of thought to achieve its basic aim - preservation of world peace. It has to prove the vision of late Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi that "the nonaligned movement is the greatest peace movement in the history."

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1722