

THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES :  
A STUDY OF DIFFERENCES IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

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## Preface

The Fifth Summit Conference of heads of States or Government of Non-aligned Countries in Colombo on 16-19 August 1976 has been once again a clearcut manifestation of the basically anti-imperialist character of non-aligned movement and a call to struggle for equality and economic independence basing on the unity of the member countries. The worldwide reverberations of the results of the conference are a clear proof of the growing strength of the non-aligned movement and its impact on the world scene. Non-alignment itself had become a catalyst of a new world economic order. Nations amidst their colourful diversity are united in their search for freedom, equality, peace and stability for their own peoples and for all the world. Non-alignment is the courage of true independence, which keeps away itself from the power blocs.

But unfortunately at Colombo, we have seen in many cases the disputes and conflicts between and among non-aligned nations threatened the movement from inside. In the early years of the movement such divisions and conflicts were lightly dismissed but one can no longer maintain this position, in view of the eruption of far too many cases in recent years.

In many cases the attitude of non-aligned states towards each other has been no different from those of the aligned with respect to disputes and conflict situations; they seem to follow

the traditional pattern of power politics and thereby negate the very concept of non-alignment. Apart from the disputes and conflicts between and among non-aligned countries at times they also encourage the intervention of foreign powers in the internal affairs of states. The results of these continuing disputes and conflicts could be reinforcement of the traditional feudalistic hierarchy of the existing multi-state system.

Colombo Summit expressed its concern about the internal threats to the movement on a number of issues. The non-aligned countries differed from each other at Colombo on many issues. At times the differences were general and at times ideological or bilateral.

In the introduction, I have made a flashback study of the past, the genesis of the movement, its aims and objectives. In the second chapter, I have analysed the differences among the non-aligned countries in general and in the third chapter I have made a study about the controversial membership issue. Finally, the last chapter deals with the non-aligned unity and differences on national and international problems.

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor Professor K.P. Misra, who provided me valuable guidance and encouragement in completing this study. Moreover, I cannot forget his humane interest in my personal problems and also being a constant source of encouragement and inspiration. Once again I would like to express my

indebtedness to Professor Misra for taking keen interest in day to day progress of my work, in his characteristically affectionate manner in spite of his heavy engagements as the Dean of the School of International Studies.

I am indebted to the staff of JNU Library, Indian Council of World Affairs Library, United Nations Documentation Centre and Documentation Centre of the School of International Studies, for making available to me relevant materials.

I am also thankful to several friends of mine who helped me a lot to complete this work. I am extremely thankful to my wife, who in spite of her serious illness allowed me to work hours together in the library and was a constant source of inspiration to me. My sincere thanks are also due to Mr Dawarka Jagdish who did the stoic job of typing this dissertation so nicely.

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Chapter I

## INTRODUCTION

The independence of India marked the beginning of the process of liquidation of the world colonial system as well as the birth of a new force in international politics - the non-aligned movement. As the process of the liquidation of colonial system was accelerated, the non-aligned movement also turned into a reckoning force in international relations. The dismantling of the global colonial 'Leviathan' began in 1946 mainly in Asia and then extended in the sixties to Africa and parts of Oceania. Today when the old colonial order has nearly been liquidated, the non-aligned movement has become mature enough to transform itself into a socio-political movement embracing almost all the newly independent countries.

Since the end of the Second World War which more or less coincides with the emergence of India as a sovereign state, international politics has passed through many stages.

In the last thirty years from its more or less first broad articulation by Nehru - a man who was not only one of the pioneers of the non-aligned movement but also the first Foreign Minister of the second most populous country, a hero of one of the world's most epic freedom struggles and a vibrant advocate of Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace - non-alignment has passed

through various stages of refinement and clarity. From an impulse to an idea, from an idea to a policy, and from a policy to a movement. Non-alignment today has become one of the most dominant trends in international relations.

As an impulse and an idea, non-alignment is rooted in the ethos of world politics that developed as a consequence of the great collapse of the hegemony of the West European imperial system after the Second World War. Thus represent a decisive turn in the fortunes of mankind. Today the process of decolonization is almost over, yet there are vestiges, few but obstinate, particularly in Africa, where the blood of the freedom fighter has still not ceased to blow.

Non-alignment became a framework of foreign policy for countries like India, that were eager to generate national development, without getting entangled in the animosities of big powers. Non-alignment signified the assertion of sovereignty in the conduct of foreign policy without associating itself with any military alliance of superpowers.

In September 1970, Lusaka Conference declared that the following to be the basic aims of non-alignment:

The pursuit of world peace and peaceful co-existence by strengthening the role of non-aligned countries within the U.N. 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. To fight against colonialism and racialism which are a negation of human equality and dignity.

The settlement of disputes by peaceful means. The ending of arms race, followed by universal disarmament.<sup>1</sup>

Opposition to great power military alliance and pacts.

Opposition to the establishment of foreign military bases and foreign troops on the soil of other nations in the context of great power conflicts and colonial and racist suppression.

The universality of and strengthening of the efficacy of the United Nations.

And the struggle for economic independence and mutual co-operation on a basis of equality and mutual benefits.<sup>1</sup>

(To perceive the relevance of non-alignment in the contemporary epoch, we can briefly survey the stages of major developments in international politics in the last three decades. The first stage: 1945-1953 was marked by the sudden termination

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Declarations of the Third Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries in Lusaka, 8-10 September 1970, in Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol.20, no.491-92, September 1970, pp.25-40.



of the war time alliance between the Western allies and the Soviet Union resulting in the politics of bloc-formation, arms build up, counter subversions and the generation of Cold War.)

( The second stage: 1953-1959 with the establishment of Soviet-US nuclear parity, the politics of bi-polarity dominated the world scene, resulting in what was called the 'balance of terror'. It was, however, in this phase of intensive bloc-confrontation that a creative break-through was made by India and Bandung powers to promote the policy of peaceful co-existence, 'Panchasheel', that became the bedrock of the eventual expansion of the non-aligned powers, constituting now famous 'Third World'. )

( The third stage: 1959-1964 witnessed a political setback to the process of friendship and solidarity of the newly emerged sovereignties of Asia and Africa due to the basic shift in China's international outlook and strategy resulting in the Sino-Soviet split and Sino-Indian conflict. Regional wars in Asia, the rise of autocracies in the developing world, the massive liberation of African countries and rise in U.N. membership were others factors of consequence. )

( The fourth stage: 1964-1970 saw the steady growth of schism in the bloc-monoliths as exemplified by the break between Moscow and Peking, Washington and Paris and the tussle between Moscow, Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest on the one hand and Washington, Paris, Bonn, London on the other. The decline of NATO and the rise

of European community, further consolidation of socialist world and the decisive shift in favour of socialism, non-alignment and in defence of the newly independent sovereignties in Asia and Africa provided a new context to international politics.

The current, fifth stage that began in 1971 will be remembered for the magnificent process of detente generated primarily by the Soviet Union's initiative for rapprochement with Western Europe and the United States. A clear shift in the United States perception of its role in world politics in the new context of change in power equation was reflected in its diplomatic overtures for normalising relations with China. So the complexity of power politics at times reflected in the non-aligned movement also. Non-alignment as an operational foreign policy was essentially directed against Western domination. While the rhetoric of non-alignment equated the two superpowers - United States of America and Soviet Union - sometimes even mindlessly, but in actual practice and beyond the rhetoric the fact is that non-alignment tilted towards the Soviet Union and the socialist world. Probably John Foster Dulles had this implication in his mind when he spoke in anger of non-alignment being immoral.

It is a movement of about 100 countries with different social, political and economic background. Superpowers have their own interest in these countries. So it is not a surprise

inspite of so much of differences among them. Internal situation within the non-aligned countries threaten the movement. The principle of 'distributive justice' is at question in Third World countries. But in spite of the Colourful diversity the non-aligned countries are united in their unvarying search for freedom, equality and peace.

### The Inexorable "Revolution of Independence":

The movement for non-alignment made up of an overwhelming majority of states of contemporary world - includes countries of widely differing social systems at different levels of economic, cultural and social developments.

The gathering together of a mixed bag of states and peoples led many foreign affairs analysts in the world to seek an explanation for it. Indeed the non-aligned movement caught on and spread with a speed which is without precedent in history of international relations. It has also become attractive to a few developed countries. It thus no longer belongs exclusively to the so called Third World. Many are wondering what is the cohesive force of non-alignment when this movement objectively contains contrifugal forces within itself?

The answer is not easy to find. It must be sought in the several simultaneous processes taking place in the modern day world which have made the idea of changing the existing

international order more and more attractive to a growing number of countries. This change is to be brought about not by war and not always by armed revolution, but rather by speeding up economic and social development, by fastening mutual confidence and equality among nations, which are increasingly interdependent and which aspire to strengthen independence and autonomy. Against the background of these apparently contradictory demands, the world is undergoing a gradual, but accelerated transformation.

At the same time states are insisting more strongly on controlling their own national resources, without which there can be no real independence. We are seeing such a tremendous awakening of national consciousness and the desire for an independent and autonomous choice of social and economic development that has been called an "inexorable revolution of independence". More and more countries are viewing respect for each nation's independent road of development, coupled with co-operation with other countries - primarily the underdeveloped countries - on the principle of mutual benefit and equality, as a guarantee of their own prosperity and stability. The policy of non-alignment is energetically advocating such a line.

Although it was long considered to be just a 'moral' and therefore limited, force - because of its modest material strength compared with the developed countries - the non-aligned movement in the meantime has become a real political force bent on bringing about progressive transformation of the world and relationship in it.

The non-aligned countries are mounting an energetic campaign in U.N. and at International gatherings convened to discuss appropriate world economic problems and to promote a redistribution of acquired wealth, an accelerated development of developing countries and the protection of their national interests.

Attempts are being made along two lines to undermine the non-aligned countries' firm stand on the need for a New International Economic Order.

The first play is for the developed countries to refuse to carry out even the obligations they agreed to at the U.N. Special Session as regards setting aside a percentage of their national income to be placed in a fund to finance the accelerated development of developing countries.

The West is dragging its feet in making any substantial financial commitment to programmes for the underdeveloped part of the world.

The East refuses to take part in such programmes through the specialized UN agencies, with the excuse that "socialism is not to blame for the economic backwardness of the developing countries, but rather colonialism and imperialism".<sup>2</sup> Instead,

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Y. Ettinger, and O. Metikyan, The Policy of Non-alignment (Moscow, 1966), p.25.

these countries are invited to increase their economic cooperation directly with the socialist countries, the latter often being motivated by the advantages they stand to gain from such ties.

The second way in which the activities of the non-aligned countries are being thwarted is becoming more prevalent. This is the establishment of "special economicities", between individual advanced industrial nations and selected developing countries. These ties are, of course, linked with certain economic benefits which hold the developing countries hostage to their creditors to the extent dictated by the donor of capital.

In recent years the internal affairs of the countries in which capital is invested were frequently influenced or even directed in this way and there have been even cases of a direct incitement of coups and forced changes of regime. Such situations are conducive to divisions among the non-aligned countries and to attempt to use economic pressures where political means fail.

Either with Us or with Them:

"If the modern day world and the process taking place in it are seen solely in terms of the existence of two antagonistic socio-political systems. Then the only conclusion is that no 'third way' is possible. And such is the logic of the bloc confrontation".<sup>3</sup>

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Miltan Komatina, "Non-aligned Helping to Change International Relations", Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol.27(622), March 1976, pp.1-6.

The non-aligned movement, however, is gaining momentum and this fact does not fit in with such a black and white picture of the world, for it shows that a "third way" is not only possible but imperative: block confrontation must be replaced by the active peaceful co-existence of countries having different social systems.

The blocs must either resign themselves to this fact, which is not in their interest, or interpret it in their own way. Hence many pens of both East and West have addressed themselves to the task of explaining the whys and wherefores of non-aligned movement and predicting its future.

According to their amazingly identical way of thinking even though they are at two opposite ideological poles - non-alignment is a fringe phenomenon, with no real influence on the major alternatives of the contemporary world: either capitalism or socialism, of course both seen as an expansion of the blocs and their influences.

The only difference is that the West thinks that its economic strength and more advanced technology, as well as "more democratic political system", are more attractive, while the East emphasizes the "revolutionary and anti-imperialist character of the processes of the emancipation of peoples in newly emerged states, which objectively brings them closer to the socialist community".

The fate of the non-aligned movement is thus in their eyes a foregone conclusion: the countries belonging to it will join either the Western or Eastern bloc, and it is just a matter of time before this happens. It will most probably take place, say some, when certain figures who "represent the 'heart of the movement' disappear from the political scene because the movement itself is merely the product of the operation of the subjective ideological and political factor".<sup>4</sup>

The theory about the inevitable polarization of the non-aligned movement does not simply reflect the old black and white views of the world as divided into two opposing camps, which is in fact just a hold over of the Cold War mentality and a deeply engrained conservative attitude towards anything different and new. It also reflects an aspiration for hegemony, no matter by what names it is called.

The basic premise of bloc logic is that the bloc is a powerful and decisive factor ruling the world and relations in it; small and poor countries are not able to oppose it, and any "disobedience" on their part may be severely punished. Political and economic pressure and blackmail are the levers which the bloc operates. Their approach is "more democratic" than that of the brutal imperialist or colonial powers, because

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Leo Mates, "Non-alignment and the Great Powers", Foreign Affairs (Belgrade, 1970), vol.15, no.105, pp.525-36.



each country is offered a 'free' choice as to which bloc it will associate itself with upto a point of course. Beyond that point they do not shrink from restoring to the well known forms of armed intervention or carefully arranged internal coups, so as to assure a more acceptable regime in the country belonging to a given sphere of influence.

Subjected to pressures and ceaseless attempts to cause splits precisely over the question of attitudes to bloc policy, the non-aligned movement is not losing its non bloc character but is rather enhancing it. This is true even if some member countries maintain close economic and other ties with one bloc and others with the other bloc. The non-aligned countries do not want to be divided up between the blocs, but would like to be independent and equal partners with the bloc countries in dealing with the world problems. Each non-aligned country wishes to foster relations with all countries on the basis of mutual interest, regardless of whether their partners belong to either of the blocs or to neither of them.

Meeting between Tito, Nehru and Nasser in 1956 and the Belgrade Conference in 1961 offered new auspices under which nations could join forces to promote their common interests, to combat the Cold War and to fight for peaceful co-existence for peace in the world and for a new world system of economic and political relations among nations. The original name by which

this movement designated itself the non-bloc countries - testifies to its basic and lasting commitment to an anti bloc policy.

Those advocating the alignment of the non-aligned countries proclaim their non-bloc character to be 'obsolete' and 'out moded'. The movement they say, was plausible during the Cold War, but now there is detente, and even the blocs are seeking co-operation with one another. So how can one go on talking about an anti-bloc policy? The major six ascribed to the non-aligned movement is that it allegedly equates the blocs, which are not identical nor can they be.

Each of these theses deserves scrutiny, not just because of their historical inaccuracy but because of their tendency to cause ideological rifts between the non-aligned countries. If this situation is tolerated it could cause dissensions that would completely deflect them from the basic objectives of the movement and would in fact mark its end.

#### Non-alignment and the Blocs:

The non-aligned countries view the existence of blocs as a fact of life, and they do not advocate them mechanical dismantling of nor champion the interest of one to the detriment of other. They want the conditions that called the blocs into existence to be changed, and this should be done by fostering

equitable relations among all states - large and small, powerful and weak, developed and developing.

The non-aligned countries are opposed to the arms race, which is objectively fueled by the global bloc division of the world. They also believe that various economic, political and ideological measures aimed at preserving and strengthening the cohesion of the blocs are creating new problems in relations among nations and raising the spectre of new military conflicts. The non-aligned do not believe that a global bloc division holds out any prospects for a stable peace, and this conviction lies at the heart of their attitude towards the blocs.

If this is the view of the movement as a whole, what then is the attitude of individual non-aligned countries towards bloc member countries?

Here there is a diversity, as could be expected. Because of the differing characters of their social and political systems and their ideologies the non-aligned countries do not, and cannot have identical opinions about one or the other bloc. Nor could they do so because of the different international position which each of them has in world affairs.

Furthermore, neither the two blocs nor indeed the countries belonging to them taken individually have an equal role in the events and conflicts that are taking place in today's world.

Where as the behaviour of the blocs is determined by their different socio-economic systems which one bloc protects from the other, and their strategic goals, the different attitudes to problems of the contemporary world displayed by individual countries in the East or the West are determined by an entire set of highly diverse circumstances. This fact explains why some countries remain in the blocs and adhere to joint decisions, even though the policies they pursue have many anti-bloc features. Is it any wonder that individual state-members of the Warsaw Pact - NATO, SEATO, or CENTO - called for the dissolution of the blocs and take part as guests at meetings of non-aligned countries, endorsing the majority of their decisions.'

Each non-aligned country has tailored its stance towards members of blocs or economic communities of the West or the East in accordance with its own appraisals of the advantages of cooperation.

A non-aligned country's close cooperation with one or the other great power, or a bloc member or the blocs themselves present no problem for the non-aligned movement.

On the contrary, provided this cooperation is based on principles of independence and respect for differences, it can only promote the application of the principle of co-existence and extension of detente, which the non-aligned countries feel should be universal.'

Therefore the claims that the non-aligned countries take a hostile attitude towards the blocs and their members are not entirely correct.

"An independent formulation of a policy of international problems - and not as a prior commitment to either great powers, to either bloc - will in fact determine the attitude of the movement of non-aligned countries towards each individual great power or bloc, and this will completely depend on the policy of each power or bloc on specific international issues".<sup>5</sup>

Lest there be any doubt what questions he had in mind, Milos Minic listed then in the following order of importance: "war and peace, disarmament; international economic relations, the crisis in the middle-east, South-East Asia, Southern Africa and else where; respect in practice for the principle of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and settlement of disputes by peaceful means".<sup>6</sup>

Historical facts and the very principle of non-alignment provides no confirmation for the alleged non-aligned hostility towards the blocs and their members, nor do they prove that the non-aligned movement equates the existing blocs and their policies, why then, has there been a theory of equidistance or equal confrontation with both blocs?

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<sup>5</sup> Milos Minic, Devisive Attempts in the Non-aligned Movement (Belgrade, 1978), pp.34-35.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.38.

The explanation is that in the blocs have from time to time stepped up their efforts to woo some non-aligned countries over to their side, so that they might become mouth-pieces for bloc theses and thereby undermining the unity of the movement from within.

This is a mdeal with two sides proponents "on the right" proclaim the non-aligned movement to beea "third bloc", a new organised force seeking confrontation in an already divided world. On the left, the theory that the two blocs are considered equal by the non-aligned movement is accompanied by accusations that "class views of the world" have been abandoned and by the same token the revolutionary goals of the non-aligned countries. The eastern bloc, as a "community of socialist countries" is portrayed as a "natural ally".

The aims of both supporters of this theory are identical, to influence various countries among the non-aligned to take sides and join the "closest bloc".

In order to prompt these countries to do so, they divide according to their own criteria, into progressive and conservative. In the minds of the Western theoreticians, those states are progressive which opt for a bourgeois democracy, as it is hoped that this also implies the introduction of a capitalist social

system, while the conservative states are all those which after armed revolution or certain political changes opt for socialism and are branded as "authoritarian regimes" and 'prison states'. In the eyes of the East European theoreticians, the situation is exactly opposite.

The most recent development show a tendency for the great powers to seek, "social-political relations" with some non-aligned countries, while keeping them out of their multi-lateral military political alliance so that they might not lose their status in the non-aligned movement. They instead conclude bilateral treaties on friendship and mutual assistance and make them members of economic alliance having a bloc stamp. In recent years this play has been behind all actions breaking up the movement.

Josip Vrhovec, Yugoslavia's Foreign Secretary, described these tendencies in the following way:

"Bloc and other forces outside the movement are persistently toying to deny or atleast encroach upon the basic principle of the policy of non-alignment, because they clash with their view of the world. Unfortunately, we are also witnessing similar attempts by various member countries of the movement, which have linked their policy to a greater or lesser extent with various blocs of great powers. This fact merely shows that

the proponents of such views either objectively fail to understand the essence and full value of non-alignment, or they do not wish to do so for their own subjective reasons and special interests".<sup>7</sup>

There are disagreements of a different kind from those which have occurred in the non-aligned movement over the last twenty odd years. They lead to divisions on an ideological basis - founded on a subjective assessment of the internal conditions in individual non-aligned countries.

The objective results of describing some countries as progressive and others as conservative is only mainly designed to foment internal conflicts within the movement over matters which do not belong to their area of concern and impose alliance with blocs as a principal orientation of the policy of non-alignment.

In the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau in Colombo the majority of countries not only rejected such propositions, insisting that the movement should remain as a spiritual, political and economic independent force; but in a confrontation

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Josip Vrhovec, "Notes on the Colombo Summit Conference", Yugoslav Survey, vol.14(4), November 1976, pp.75-80.



of views pointed to the motivations underlying such actions. "certain blocs are trying to cause a split in our movement and to weaken our non-aligned position, and therefore we must eliminate differences and influence within and without" was the demand of the representative of Sudan.<sup>8</sup>

Foreign Minister Vajpayee of India concluded: "No country or group of countries will be able to deflect the movement of non-aligned countries from its goals. All non-aligned countries should strive to keep the movement from being used for national, regional or ideological purposes and should strive to maintain unity and solidarity".<sup>9</sup>

"The authentic character of the movement", stressed Tito and Desai, "can only be preserved if there is a consistent adherence to the original principles and goals of the policy of non-alignment".<sup>10</sup>

#### Non-alignment and Hegemony:

The powerful countries have their propaganda mills turning at high speed, to try to glorify their own policies and practices,

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8 Documents of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Countries (Delhi) 7-11 April 1977 (United Nations Document A/32/74).

9 Ibid.

10 Milos Minic, n.5, pp.59.

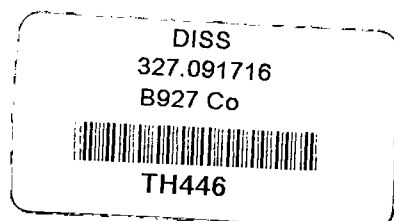
while denying the validity of all others that do not fit into their own scheme of things. They always seek to restore their influences and carryout their hegemonistic designs.

The modern policy of gaining control over nations seems to have rejected the conventional and other forms of dependence of peoples on a metropolis country; there is no longer any talk about direct rule over nations, for it is no longer practical and necessary. It has been replaced by effective instruments, means and relationships of economic and political dominations, monopoly, political hegemony and neo-colonialism.

The blocs have replaced confrontation with the balance of power. The great powers however have shifted the focus of their rivalries to non-bloc areas in line with long range plans for expanding their sphere of influence and supplanting the influence of the other side.

Their policy is to infiltrate developing countries and to win over non-aligned countries to the blocs, thereby gradually bringing about a change in the nature of non-alignment in line with their own global or regional strategy.

In stead of facilitating the accelerated development of the newly liberated countries and thereby helping resolve complex internal contradictions the great powers are injecting dangerous elements into international relations by their interference.



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One of the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement is to wage an active struggle against all forms of domination over nations, against subjugation to the interest of others.

Non-alignment and Socialism:

One of the principal issues over which attempts have been made to engineer a split among the non-aligned is the relationship between non-alignment and socialism. The non-aligned movement is accused of 'hindering the expansion of the world socialist system', while the movement in its defence states that thanks to its policies of re-ordering international political and economic relations the non-aligned are creating favourable conditions for the development of socialism as a world process. Who, then, is right?

By striving to put the principles of non-alignment into practice respect for the sovereignty of countries and nations, non-interference in their internal affairs and the right of each nation to choose the system which suits it best - the non-aligned movement is thwarting attempts at outside interference and is creating favourable international conditions for the progressive development of the countries of the Third World.

The non-aligned movement is not concerned with the kind of social system that its individual members might have. Interference or arbitration in the internal disputes in various

countries are nothing other than the imposition of a form of domination; in which the rights of the people to independence and sovereignty are inevitably violated. The non-aligned countries in particular have had this sad experience.

Attempts to classify the non-aligned countries into those taking a "socialist road" and those following a "capitalist road" do not stop merely at dividing the movement into "progressive" and "reactionary" regimes. There are other motivations here. One such aim is already trying to gain legitimacy, namely to apply the principle of "socialist internationalism" to relations among those, which according to this criterion have opted for socialism, such a principle introduces into the non-aligned movement the idea of "special relationships" among the countries of the "world socialist system" which seeks to limit national sovereignty for the sake of common objectives. Such tendencies have been noted in recent years among the non-aligned countries as well, both in Africa and in Asia.

The pressure being brought to bear on the non-aligned countries in recent years and the rifts that have appeared and have caused then serious difficulties. Matters are made worse by the armed conflicts, that, for the reason already discussed, breakout among them, first on one side then on the other.

All those who want to see the movement preserved as a real political force of the modern world, without which none of the overriding problems of today's world can be resolved, are deeply concerned over the serious situation in the non-aligned movement resulting from outside meddling and internal conflicts. Majority of the non-aligned countries feel that attempts to cause splits among them should be countered by consolidating the action unity of the movement.

It has been proven once again, as so many times before, that only if the non-aligned countries solidly back the true principles and aims of the movement will they be able to achieve the common goal and preserve the independence and autonomy of each one of them in its own internal development. If this is to be achieved, conflicts must be overcome, for they harm the movement. If problems and differences cannot be avoided, they at least can be solved by peaceful means through joint efforts.

In the words of Tito, "The non-aligned countries must not allow any one to endanger the solidarity of the movement and dull the cutting edge of its basic line and action unity. They must not allow any one to waterdown the policy of non-alignment or decrease the degree of our solidarity with the peoples who are fighting for their independence freedom and an autonomous choice of their own roads of development. All sectarianism is alien to non-alignment. Divisions on the basis

of ideological, religious or other criteria and grounds, regardless of the slogans behind which they shield, are unacceptable".<sup>11</sup>

It is truly difficult to be non-aligned in 1979, for there are not only dangers lurking from without, but also dangers threatening within the movement which was bounded by Tito, Nehru and Nasser twenty years ago.<sup>12</sup> These are the lines of a well-known commentator who could not be accused either of malice or of hostility towards the non-alignment, were penned at the time of Co-ordinating Bureau's meeting of the non-aligned countries in August 1976.

They reflect the doubts, which were then assailing may, perhaps most of all the non-aligned countries themselves, as to whether the movement would be able to contend with the alarming tendencies of divisions among the non-aligned, which pose of the greatest threat to the very existence of the movement.

The differences have never posed a threat to the non-aligned movement unless used to incite passions, to overdramatize conflicts of interests or to push countries, most of which had just won their independence and were getting established as state communities and distinct social systems into resolving their

11 Tito addressing the Foreign Ministers' Conference of Non-aligned Countries held in Belgrade, 24-30 July 1978, Foreign Affairs (Belgrade), 1978, vol.22, no.118, p.1.

12 Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta), 28 August 1976.

historical legacy of problems by means of conflicts. "The greatest danger to the non-aligned is a dispute that cuts right across the Third World, such as a failure by the cartels of primary producers of oil and other raw materials to provide economic support for the poorest developing states. The future of the non-alignment will depend not on Cold War detente, but on the politics of non-military alliances for the Third World".<sup>13</sup>

In the non-aligned movement, as nowhere else, differences are viewed as a reality of the times; the old colonial and imperialist world has broken up into new societies with their own differing views, policies, strategies and goals. The non-aligned movement's respect for these differences is well illustrated by its observance of the principle of consensus in the adoption of all decisions, so that a majority can not impose its will on minority, most often represented by the less powerful underdeveloped and small countries, as is today the prevailing practice in international relations.

Differing and often conflicting interests are reconciled within the non-aligned movement in a democratic way: the differing view points are giving a hearing, and common ground is sought for

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Willetts Peter, The Non-aligned Movement (Bombay, 1978), p. 234.

achieving the main objective, which is to change the existing international and political and economic relationship based on the bloc divisions and the hegemony of the stronger countries.

Some call this a "policy of compromise" and do not give it chances of a very long survival. All those who, observing the open and heated debates at the ministerial meetings and non-aligned summits prophesised "dramatic rifts" have always been amazed to find their prognostications proven wrong. Such gloomy forecasts - sometimes a product of wishful thinking and sometimes based on a misconception to relations among the non-aligned countries - have been made for this movement since its very inception.

The First Summit Meeting of Non-aligned Countries held in Belgrade in 1961 was described a "Utopia", as though history had not provided enough lessons that progressive ideas are usually first considered Utopian, until a persistent revolutionary struggle makes them a historical inevitability. The next four summits held in Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo, were also predicted to be the swan song of the movement, "because of the profound contradictions dividing the non-aligned countries".

The actual outcome of these conferences is well-known, but they did not promise an end to further disagreements among the non-aligned. They have certainly not removed all contradictions and dilemmas from their ranks.



Such an idyllic prospect is hardly to be expected at this historical moment when the movement is gaining full affirmation and for this reason is suffering blows both from within and outside, and it has nothing in common with the philosophy of non-alignment as a peaceful movement towards progress on the basis of co-existence among countries having different social systems and political convictions of tolerance for differences and different interests.

In the words of Tito, "A movement that champions the democratization of relations in a world scale, as does the movement of non-alignment, is obliged more than others to respect democratic norms of behaviour in their mutual relations. We must be aware of the danger that the imposition of narrow selfish interests will lead to a sapping of the solidarity and strength of our movement".<sup>14</sup>

Indeed this is the way to preserve and strengthen the action unity of the non-aligned movement, whose full involvement is highly necessary in order to improve relations in the human community, and which is expected to take fresh united and decisive actions. Because it is a movement of hundred countries with different socio-political and economic background and super powers interest in it, it is a real surprise that such a great movement has survived in spite of so much differences. The major differences among them in Colombo Summit of 1976 are analysed in subsequent chapters.

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Tito addressing the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Belgrade, 25 July 1978, Foreign Affairs (Belgrade), vol.22, no.118, p.1.

Chapter II

## DIFFERENCES IN GENERAL

The unity of the non-aligned countries was widely discussed in the context of the Fifth Summit Conference not just by the non-aligned themselves, but equally so by both countries sympathetic to their efforts to help resolve international issues and those forces and countries, opposed to the policy of non-alignment.

The attention given to this theme is understandable as unity is a prerequisite for their influence and role in international life; while the democratic and progressive forces and peaceful countries see it as a ferment of positive processes and a contribution to international stability.

For the opponents of non-aligned policy, the unity of non-aligned is a matter of particular interest, as its weakening would create scope for increased and more effective influence on the policy of non-alignment as a whole.

Hence the theory of a "crisis of confidence", multiplication of sources of conflict, reduced consensus between the non-aligned countries and so on. Hence, too the current re-examination of global and regional balances and attempts to influence the policy of non-alignment, refute its values and prevent the implementation of its programmes. It is not difficult to see that the current

propaganda, which is assuming the character of an organized campaign against the Fifth Conference, is essentially an effort to prevent the non-aligned countries from attaining their global objectives and to restrict their action ability.<sup>1</sup>

But, let us leave aside the gloomy forecasts of the opponents of non-alignment who are ever ready to see any difference of view between the non-aligned as the beginning of the disintegration of their movement and who have never really understood the nature of their unity or its motivation and justification, and have regularly anticipated - prior to each of their Conferences - a crisis or total collapse of the movement.

When defining the nature of the unity and plausible degree of co-ordination of activities of non-aligned countries, it is necessary to bear in mind a few basic facts. First, the non-aligned movement rallies countries with differing economic and political positions and interests, social and political systems and dominant social forces, cultural backgrounds and tasks in the field of socio-economic development, not to mention the influences exerted on them by external factors with the aim of deepening those differences.

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<sup>1</sup> Miltan Komatina, "Unity and Differences", *Review of International Affairs* (Belgrade), vol. XXVII, 5 May 1976, p.1.

The non-aligned movement is not developing independently of world development and the various problems, interests and conflicts which exist in the world are reflected on it. The disintegration of the existing structures and regrouping of forces on a world scale confront the non-aligned countries with new dilemmas and new questions which need to be answered. The fact that non-alignment is increasingly moving from the sphere of ideas to the sphere of concrete actions on the concrete interests of individual non-aligned countries is likewise an element that provokes different approaches to particular issues.

Yet the non-aligned movement at once is a group of countries sharing similarities in terms of objective position and aspirations than other group of countries. A concerted effort and a maximum degree of unity of action are therefore essential to their increasing influence in international life.

But the unity of the non-aligned countries aspire for is not the monolithic kind based on uniform stands in regard to each problem. The diversity of the present day world in the social, economic, cultural and other senses, the quest for independent ways of development and the rapidly changing position of nations necessarily give rise to differences of view and interest which which should be freely resolved, this being a condition to free, non-bloc collective action. Consequently, what matters is not the actual differences, but the manner in which they are resolved. "It is precisely for this reason that the non-aligned movement has rejected every idea of monolithic unity and adopted as its motto the concept of 'unity in diversity' which has more durable

Since the differences between the non-aligned countries have come to the fore, some of which are new while others, which existed even before, have taken a different character. Before the Fifth Summit Conference external forces resorted to increased interference and intensified their efforts to divide the non-aligned countries or to have the conference consume its energies in mutual disputes between participants in stead of concentrating on a resolution of the essential issue facing the present day world and reinforcing the policy of non-alignment. Now the differences between the non-aligned countries are not of the same significance and some can be easily surmounted while others may require some time and effort to be smoothed out. They roughly belong to three different kinds.

Differences are over individual aspects of a particular problem, and actually concern the method of dealing with the problem, rather than its essence. We say normal differences because they are of the kind that can hardly be avoided in co-operative undertakings between independent states which have discarded the method of imposing views and which cultivate democratic relations and mutual respect. The controversial matters are thus discussed in a liberal way with the aim of arriving at an optimal common denominator. Differences are also known to exist over methods of approaching and over the priority aspects of a number of problems such as the Middle East Crisis, the Korean problem, the Indian Ocean or the so-called small colonial territories. The differences in question have found more or less expression in votings in the United Nations, amongst others, on the proposed resolution of Zionism, on the re-unifica-

tion of Korea and others. In Lima, the non-aligned countries had detailed discussions on whether or not there was a justification for an action to bring about the expulsion of Israel from UNO.

The differences existing between the non-aligned countries, however, have never called into question the unity of their movement which indeed, has essentially grown stronger through their transcension. The fact that the non-aligned countries did not all approve the actions of certain Arab countries has not prevented them from extending continual and increasingly effective support for the legitimate rights of the Arab countries to recover their occupied territories, and for the legitimate national rights of the Palestine people and from striving to put an end to foreign occupation and aggression. Some of them even extended military aid to the Arab countries during war.

The differences among non-aligned in the United Nations voting on the resolutions on Korea does not preclude support for a peaceful re-union of that country without external interference. The assessment of the character of the military presence in the Indian Ocean is of secondary significance compared with the unanimity on the fundamental aim - the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and security. The different approaches of some countries to the so-called small colonial territories have not altered the global attitude in favour of self-determination and decolonization. Whether all the non-aligned countries have been equally active in all these fields or not does not really matter very much. The essential thing is that a consensus has been achieved on the basic issue by an unprecedented number of countries.

The second category is associated with disputes involving particular countries and taking on the character of a conflict. The roots of the disputes vary and range from external influences designed to undermine the stability of the non-aligned movement as a whole, through different interests, disregard of the principles of non-aligned policy, to strivings to fulfill some narrow minded national interests.

Such disputes provide fertile soil for the involvement of foreign forces for undermining and weakening the policy of non-alignment, for restricting its action ability, and if protracted, they may lead to a grave situation and bring the non-aligned countries into the orbit of foreign interests against their will. The non-aligned movement has always endeavoured to ensure that controversies are settled on the principles endorsed by non-aligned policy, as stipulated in the recommendation of its Fourth Summit Conference concerning the principles, "the non-aligned countries consistently adhere to the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all states, avoid resort to the threat or use of force, and settle their disputes in a peaceful manner, in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nation's Charter".<sup>3</sup>

As has been pointed out in some cases, the disputes may be settled by the countries involved themselves; in others, they may

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Ibid., p.4.

have to be resolved in the United Nations. The essential thing is that in resolving disputes the non-aligned countries fully honour the basic goals and principles of non-aligned policy and never seek solutions tresspassing on the right of peoples to self-determination.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, differences are sometimes manifested in the ideological-political approach to the policy of non-alignment, and sometimes of a sincere desire, too, to impart a great dynamism to the policy. However, one should not rule out the influence of the alien concepts and the illusion that reliance on one or another power or grouping might help to satisfy one's own interests. Ever since the movement came into being and began to take an organised form, discussions have never ceased about its character, its role, its orientation, and its effectiveness. The different attitudes adopted to the policy are expressed in endeavours to give it a ideological line, to reduce or expand its platform and support, to draw it nearer to the leading powers or away from them, to neutralize it or to identify it with a small group of countries. There are instances of meaningless radicalism being mistaken for the progressive substance of non-aligned policy, extremism for a revolutionary character, verbatism for an anti-imperialist orientation, and

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Stanne Dolanc, "Self Management and Non-alignment",  
Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol. XXVII,  
5 January 1976, p.1.



neutralism for objectiveness and realism. The actual effectiveness of the entire policy is sometimes measured by the extent to which the individual interest<sup>s</sup> of particular countries or groups of countries have been met. This way of thinking has resulted in discussions being imposed directly or indirectly about the closure of the policy of non-alignment within the limits of a smaller group of countries.

At times, the claims of non-alignment exceed its actual potentialities in a given situation, and at others attempts are made to discourage the non-aligned movement from tackling the real problems of the contemporary world.

The prevalent view within this movement from its inception has been that it is not an ideological front of countries of the same mind, but a community of countries desirous of helping to change the present system of international relations and of solving their own problems within that context. The strategic objective of the non-aligned countries has always been - more so today than ever before - to promote their unity in pursuit of their global aims, irrespective of the fact that they may not always be able to achieve the desired degree of unity on every matter. Unity, however, is not an abstract notion, but a concrete aim which needs to be consistently pursued in the given circumstances with an eye on priority programmes endorsed by all.

The Cyprus problem was one of those crises that served as the grimmest of concernings to the non-aligned countries because of the assault on their unity, but also as an encouraging sign of their effectiveness and their moral-political strength in the world. For although they were not able on every occasion to thwart actions aimed at 'fail's accomplis' they asserted themselves at the session of the United Nations General Assembly and the Ministerial Conference of the non-aligned in Lima, as a very important factor in the resolution of this crisis, putting forward a platform that won the united support of the entire international community. It is of great significance that in addition to national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, non-alignment was included in this platform as an integral part of the generally accepted status of the Republic of Cyprus. The non-aligned countries must now set-up action along these lines.<sup>5</sup>

#### Dilemmas of Non-aligned Movement:

Certain dilemmas in the movement give a grave threat to it from within. One of them has been the problem of whether priority in the activity of non-aligned should be given to the preservation of world peace or the solution of the problems of

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Miltan Komatina, "Non-aligned Helping to Change International Relations", Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol. XXVII, 5 March 1976, p.1.

the less developed portion of the world, the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and economic under-development. This problem was posed at Belgrade Conference, when a broad conception of the preservation of world peace as the chief-pre-occupation of the progressive forces of the world as a whole and of the non-aligned in particular was countered by the position of necessity of struggle against colonialism, imperialism and under-development as the primary interest of the non-aligned movement.

The question of whether priority should be given in the activities of the non-aligned to the preservation of world peace or to be problems of decolonization and development is an element of a broader dilemma, which may be summarized in the question of, "whether the movement of the non-aligned should primarily deal with world problems or primarily with their own problems".<sup>6</sup> The variation in the answers given has been similar but has not corresponded completely to the answers to the previous question. At Colombo the participants differed from each other on this issue.

The next dilemma included the question of whether priority should be given to political questions or efforts to ensure economic development of non-aligned and developing countries. At the time of the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences,

<sup>6</sup> Bojana Tadic, "Characteristics and Dilemmas of Non-alignment", Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol. XXVII, 5 July 1976, p.34.

unequivocal emphasis was placed on the political elements of the platform of the non-aligned; although economic elements were not neglected, the two fields were more often considered separately.

Presently, following the Algiers Conference the major activities of the non-aligned continue to be aimed at the resolution of economic problems. But this has presented new problems. One group of non-aligned countries might affect other developing countries, who as purchasers of raw materials on the world market may also be affected by price increases. This has become a problem with oil importing countries. over this issue non-aligned movement faces a great dilemma.

The next dilemma is: "whether the activity of the non-aligned should be universal, or as broad as possible, and encompass the largest possible number of non-aligned countries, or whether it should be primarily regional in character - emerged long ago at the Cairo Conference, but is not yet considered to have been surmounted".<sup>7</sup>

Although there are cases of differences between regional and general interests in the non-alignment movement, the significance of this dilemma is often overstated. Nevertheless, the clash between regional interests and universal character of the movement affects its survival and development.

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Ibid., p.35.

A very topical problem at Colombo Summit was that of criteria for participation at the meetings of non-aligned countries, this boiled down to the dilemma of whether or not the existing criteria adopted at the Cairo meeting preparatory to the Belgrade Non-alignment Conference should be modified and adopted to the changes that have occurred generally in international relations and in the non-aligned movement in particular.

The very enumeration of these dilemmas facing non-alignment at the present moment suggests the conclusion that the non-aligned movement is abandoning the phase of passing declarations and entering into a period of striving for specific solutions. Answers to these questions will require wisdom, and a sense of reality and vision on the part of the statesmen of the non-aligned countries; they will also call for an analytical spirit on the part of the researchers and the non-aligned world possesses.

At the Colombo Summit, imperialist forces were trying their best to divide the non-aligned movement, because it was obvious that the unity it has forged is its strongest defence. This effort could be seen in abundant measures before and during the Colombo session. An effort was also made to get several countries included in the membership of the non-aligned movement. The idea was simple: to dilute the concept of non-aligned movement and operate through countries which do not have commonality of position with non-aligned countries.

But this is not to suggest that all the 85 countries participated in the Colombo Summit were unanimous in every aspect of the issue before the summit. As was seen in the UNCTAD-IV in Nairobi, there were three clearly discernible trends in Colombo as well. Among the participants there were those who together with the socialist countries would like to put up a determined battle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, for removing these disparities which dog the path of development of the non-aligned and developing countries.

There was another trend which wanted to avoid a direct confrontation with imperialism or a break with what the imperialist world represents. The third trend was that of a middle-of-the road position opting more than for conciliation and compromises. But the main emphasis of the summit was on economic issues which was a running thread in all the deliberations and in that context the question of unity among the non-aligned was held up as the most important plank of the platform of non-alignment.

The aim of superpowers is always to divide the movement through their meddlesome policy. So non-aligned movement faces equal challenges from the superpowers as from within. The United States equated non-alignment with pro-communism, while the Soviet Union considered it to be subservient to imperialism.<sup>8</sup>

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V. Suryanarayan, "India and South-East Asia", in K.P. Misra (ed.), Janata's Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1979), p.97.

The Chinese leaders shared the Russian views on non-alignment; to quote the famous words of Mao Tse-tung, "neutrality is a camouflage and a Third World does not exist".<sup>9</sup>

As we have pointed out earlier, the inherent features of the non-aligned movement and the social character of the member states make it obligatory to adopt decisions at the summit by consensus and it is not surprising that conflicting approaches and compromises find expression therein.

But as we find today the differences between the non-aligned countries themselves posing a great threat to the movement. The main cause of these is the growing political, economic and cultural diversification within the movement with the differences among member countries becoming steadily more important than the similarity of out-look and historical experience that has so far brought and which still keeps them together.

The adoption by different Third World nations of varying economic models and political systems, dissimilar, sometimes even mutually opposed, regional roles, divergent sources of cultural and religious inspiration conflicting territorial claims, these forces are driving each country to take an individualistic view of

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Ibid.,

events. Such a view inevitably makes a collective stand that much more difficult to sustain.

Egypt for instance, has now effectively drifted as much into the Western Camp as Cuba has always been, again effectively, in the Soviet bloc. Iran's Islamism is giving a number of Arab rulers <sup>ulcers</sup>. Yugoslavia after Tito may come under severe internal strains that could affect its so far staunch non-alignment, staunch because of political compulsions peculiar to it as a maverick Balkan communist state.

Arab Africa does not always see eye to eye with black Africa. Neither is necessarily on the same wave-length as South Asian or South-East Asian non-aligned states.

Nowhere is the growing complexity of Third World political attitudes more evident than in conflicts over the legitimacy of - governments.

Who "legitimately" represents Kampuchea, the ousted Pol Pot regime or the Heng Samrin one now in power? Did the government that succeeded Idi Amin in Uganda come to power "legitimately" with Tanzanian armed assistance? How "legitimate" is the Zia-ul-Haq regime in Pakistan? Is the Ethiopian government engaged in a bitter, protracted war against the Eritreans, "legitimate" merely because it succeeded in toppling Haile Selassie? Is success the gauge of legitimacy? If the Ethiopian junta is not legitimately in power can the Eritrean guerillas be described as "secessionists"?



The fact is that the greatest threat to non-alignment comes not from either super power bloc but from the heterogeneity of its adherents. As they grow, their interests are beginning to dictate their policies, as they must.

As Morgenthau puts it, "Statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power".<sup>10</sup> So the new states. Those policies might seem, as with Egypt today, to incline some of them sometimes to the Western bloc, at other times as with Cuba ever since Castro took power, to the Eastern. Whether, despite these pressures of self-interest, they will be able to forge a fairly united stand on major global issues that is based on equidistance is the most important question that overhangs the future of non-alignment. For the time being, thanks to the events in Afghanistan, they are still very much in business.

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H.J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations (New York, 1962), Third Edition, p.5.

Chapter III

## CONTROVERSY OVER MEMBERSHIP

The non-aligned nations in the early days of their association used to be brushed aside as an undefined group without an identifiable character and trying to offset their lack of military and economic strength by pretensions of other kinds. The Western bloc believed that the non-aligned could exist but negatively, in relation to the already existing camps of nations and that they had no positive significance. The Socialist bloc of nations, however, realised fairly early that the anti-alignment made it a force of tremendous world significance as it has indeed proved to be.

Nearly thirty-five years of evolution has endowed non-alignment with vitality, depth and richness. During this period, non-alignment as a concept has come to acquire varied and diverse facets that are intrinsically woven into loosely knit core of ideas.

Non-alignment achieved three important objectives. One, by aggregation of power it imparted a sense of security and protection to the small, weak and newly independent nations without asking for any price. Secondly, by emerging as a new formation in an otherwise bi-polar situation, it blunted the edges of bi-polarity, curtailed the alliance system and as a result stopped the dangerous movement of military bloc formation that was

fast pushing the world into a situation of serious imbalance. Thirdly, non-alignment injected a powerful thrust towards integration in a situation which was leading the world towards a split. It not only acted as a much needed cushion between the two hostile blocs but also provided them with the mechanism and an impetus to negotiate rather than fight.

The power strategy of non-alignment secured by the end of the fifties, and the first two non-aligned summit conferences in 1961 and 1964 were an expression of this success. However, towards the late sixties, serious doubts were raised regarding the relevance and efficacy of non-alignment. No summit could take place between 1964 and 1970. This period of set-back has been explained by Western observers and scholars as an evidence of inherent weakness of non-alignment. No doubt, these were weaknesses in the movement. The momentous transformation in the entire world's power system affects the non-alignment movement today. Therefore, non-alignment countries face twin challenges today; of internal strains and external pressures.

Internally, the socio-economic and political fabric of the non-aligned states in experiencing severe strains and the success of the non-aligned movement will depend upon the strength and skill of the non-aligned ruling elites in ensuring the viability of their respective social system. Externally, some powers have tremendous stakes in the economic and political status

quo and therefore, they will resist any radical move towards transformation. The non-aligned movement will have to evolve and pursue a strategy which can successfully neutralise the visible and invisible pressures from the powers unsympathetic to social change.

In considering the role of non-alignment, it has to be emphasised that what is at issue are not principles of non-alignment. Those principles have proved their effectiveness over decades. What is at issue is only the application of those principles so as to make them more effective, taking account of the important changes in the international situation.

Today we find as the movement is gaining momentum the differences among its members are becoming more visible. The main cause of this, is the growing political, economic and cultural diversification within the movement. With the differences among member countries becoming steadily more important than the similarity of outlook and historical experience that has so far brought and which still keeps them together. In the Fifth Summit Conference, we find the differences among the non-aligned became very sharp. One of the major issue over which there was a great controversy was the 'Membership issue'.

The criteria for membership of non-alignment was a subject of great controversy at the Colombo Summit. Differences of approach surfaced at the meeting of 17-nation Co-ordination Bureau in Algiers at the end of May 1976. The reason was, of course,

that some countries which were not members became interested in joining and their sponsors within the group were concerned about finding ways by which they could be accommodated. Some member countries were strongly against 'dilution', while some others favoured more flexible approach.

The criteria of non-alignment, as they were adopted in Cairo on June 5, 1961, are:

(a) The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of states with different political and social systems and on non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy.

(b) The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence.

(c) The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance or a bilateral military alliance concluded in the context of great power conflicts.

(d) If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a great power, or is a member of a regional defence pact; the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of great power conflicts.

(e) If it has conceded military bases to a foreign power, the concession should not have been made in the context of great power conflicts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the First Summit Conference of the Head of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries at Belgrade 1-6 September 1961, Review of International Affairs (Belgrade vol.12(274/275), 5-20 September 1961, pp.1-47.)

The most striking feature of the criteria is their simplicity. The eighteen countries represented at the preparatory meeting knew what had brought them together and they apparently had relatively little difficulty in formulating their position.

But just before the beginning of the Colombo Conference, the controversial membership issue was discussed by Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries from 11 to 14 August in Colombo. In Colombo, 85 countries were entitled to participate as full members and other 21 including both countries and organisations as observers. In addition, four European countries Austria, Sweden, Finland and Switzerland were chosen to be present as guests.

The controversy over admission related to Roumania, Portugal and Phillipines and Australia which were keen to attend the Conference atleast as guests. Australia had not formally sought an invitation but had indicated its interests in attending.

Since there was no consensus on this matter at the Algiers, the issue was referred to the Foreign Ministers. The Bureau had recommended the admission as members of three African countries, Angola, Comores, and Seychelles.

#### Changing Criteria:

It is obvious that the struggle of the non-aligned is now entering a new phase when most developed nations of the world appear to be accepting in principle the need for a new international

economic order. It is equally obvious that some of these nations while paying lip service to the concept of new order would try to preserve as much as possible of the old and protect their own vital interest through various methods. Economic cooperation between the developed and developing countries constitutes a part of the three-fold strategy advocated at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-aligned States at Algeria.<sup>1</sup> The three standards were (a) reliance on their own resources; (b) fostering cooperation with advanced states, with the objective of promoting such relations as would restrict exploitation and contribute towards resolution of the problems of world economy as a whole; (c) promotion of co-operation among the non-aligned states themselves.<sup>2</sup> Some of the lasting friendship between the advanced and non-aligned states are in the process of being built on the basis of this revised approach, which may be described as balance of cooperation.

Therefore, at Colombo the Conference was divided over this issue on the ground that in the changing international situation from time to time the membership issue should be decided in keeping with the spirit of time. While other group argued not to dilute the criteria determined at Cairo in 1961.<sup>1</sup>

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Documents of the Fourth Conference of Non-aligned Countries at Algiers from 5 - 9 September 1973, Yugoslav Survey, vol.14(4), November 1973, pp.93-120.

The criteria of non-alignment are clear enough, but in practice there can be difficulties in applying them, and there are consequently different approaches to this question of admitting new members, observers and guests.

A group supported the argument that the criteria for admission had changed from summit to summit, if not in form atleast in spirit. Therefore every application for membership should get due consideration. Malta was admitted while it was still a member of NATO. So were Malaysia and Singapore while foreign troops were still on their soil, and more recently North Korea despite its defence pacts both with China and Soviet Union. Obviously, these examples violated the criteria laid down at Cairo in 1961. These countries actual camouflaged the military alliances to something else and got into the movement.<sup>3</sup>

It was argued that in considering the application of these countries the non-aligned community did not consider the membership of military pacts or the existence of foreign bases as an absolute bar against their admission.

However, opponents of this view argued that in order to preserve the true character of non-alignment, the criteria should be applied as rigidly as possible. If an attempt is made

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Amrit Bazar Patrika (Calcutta), 14 August 1976.



to vary these criteria, when the membership has more than trebled, it is almost certain to run into trouble. It will be certainly more difficult now than it was then to get the agreement of all the members to changes in the wording, leave alone changes of substance. Furthermore, modification might threaten the very concepts embodied in the present criteria and thus rob non-alignment of something of the impressive significance the movement has acquired during 30 years of its existence. Despite the divergence in national interests on particular issues, which is an inevitable feature of international groupings there should not be any attempt to dilute the original criteria, was the argument of the opponents.<sup>4</sup>

In this connection, the then India's Minister of External Affairs, Mr Y.B. Chavan, had warned that in the name of flexibility non-alignment should not be reduced to a shapeless concept. He added that the criteria for admission have stood the test of time and have helped preserve the unity and cohesion of the movement and the conferences. Therefore, there was no need for their modification or improvement.<sup>5</sup>

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4 Ibid.

5 Ministerial Meeting of the Bureau of Non-aligned Countries, Algiers, May 30 - June 2, 1976, United Nations Document A/31/110.

India was of the view that the criteria for admission whether as a member, observer or a guest should not be diluted to the point where non-membership of a great power military bloc ceases to be regarded as essential. That it would be renaisance and premature to take a rosy view and to conclude that military alliances and their confrontation are things of the past. At the same time non-alignment should not be turned into a bandwagon on which everybody jumps.<sup>6</sup>

At Colombo this issue became a real problem and no formula to resolve this could be accepted by all. A compromise was suggested that while there should be strict application of the criteria for the full membership, a liberal approach should be made to those interested in attending the Conference either as observers or guests. This question even today is fundamental to the future growth and expansion of this movement.

Those who advocated for the strict application of the criteria were of the opinion that the non-aligned need unity above all the fight for their objectives and this unity depends fundamentally on their retaining their essential character. The moves that are being made by some states to dilute the criteria of membership of the non-aligned to enable admission of

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Patriot (New Delhi), 2 August 1976.

some governments involve the risk of diluting the government itself and making it a much less effective force than it is today.

However, it was seen at Colombo, that there were many groups inside the movement and each group tried to support its favourite into the movement. Sri Lanka's Minister of Finance and Justice Mr Felix Dias Bandarnaike said that, any non-aligned country can have a defence pact for her own security provided she exercised her own sovereignty. This does not disqualify her from continuing as a non-aligned country.<sup>7</sup> However, in this context it is difficult to understand why South Korea was refused membership. It was decided to admit Angola, Comoros and Seychelles as new members. The applications of Roumania and the Philippines to be observers could not be decided by Foreign Ministers so it was left for the Summit, so also the application of Portugal to be a guest.<sup>8</sup>

At the UN we have seen there have been sharp differences on a number of issues between non-aligned nations, but at

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7 Amrit Bazar Patrika (Calcutta), 3 August 1976.

8 Ibid.

Colombo the differences on the membership issue became very sharp, rather it was a major issue. India took a fairly categorical stand and wanted a strict application of the five point criteria laid down at Cairo while some other countries like Yugoslavia favoured a certain flexibility on this issue. India's stand was balanced and judicious on this issue.

Yugoslavia argued that guest membership could be offered to countries which followed progressive and independent policies, even though they were formally members of a military bloc.

Therefore, Roumania's application for guest status was favoured by Yugoslavia on the plea that for admission might encourage the eventual break-up of the military blocs.

But India held that this could be wishful thinking only. India cited the case of Malta, which was admitted to the non-aligned fold at the Algiers Conference although Malta had one of

the biggest NATO bases. Malta was admitted because they were persuasive in their argument and they assumed that the NATO base would be dismantled by phases. The question was whether the country which sought admission was able and willing to fulfill the obligations of membership.<sup>9</sup>

So the applications of Roumania, Phillipines and Portugal for admission as observers concerned the summit very much. For these countries never adhered to the principle of non-alignment. Roumania was a member of Warsaw Pact, Portugal has its NATO membership and Phillipines having a close link with <sup>W</sup>USA, raised controversies in the Summit.

Roumania's case was pressed by Yugoslavia and Algeria although India opposed it. Yugoslavia and Algeria argued and Sri Lanka also shared their views saying that - while the criteria for admission laid down at Belgrade must be adhered to, in respect of application for full membership; these should be made flexible for those seeking the status of an observer or guest as the world situation has changed a good deal since Belgrade Conference, because of the policy of detente pursued by the superpowers.<sup>10</sup>

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9 National Herald, 4 August 1976.

10 Times of India, 19 August 1976.

Some other countries, however, took the line that if the Belgrade criteria were allowed to be diluted, it would open the doors of membership to all countries which are members of one military alliance or the other and non-alignment would cease to have any meaning. Yugoslavia and Algeria zealously supported the case of Roumania while Cuba like India felt that criteria should be adhered to.<sup>11</sup>

At this point, critics of Cuba questioned the non-aligned bonafides of Cuba; bearing in mind its role in Angola. They also wondered about the non-alignment of communist countries like North Korea, and Vietnam which are playing according to the tune of a super power. Singapore voiced its concern about the less committed nations which pose a threat to non-aligned movement. Over this issue it was observed that the unity which brought non-aligned countries together thirty years ago had given way to conflicts. Singapore delegates warned that compromise on membership issue would make the movement shapeless and weak. The delegates of Ghana also shared their views with Singapore and urged that the current summit in admitting members must screen them thoroughly and see to it that they conform to the Belgrade principles.<sup>12</sup>

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11 Kuwait Times, 12 August 1976

12 Ibid.

Saudi Arabia made a surprise move at Colombo Summit to get Pakistan into the non-aligned movement but it was promptly put down by the chairman of the Foreign Ministers Conference. Pakistan's request was rejected as it did not apply properly. Pakistan's request did not come directly, it came through a third party.<sup>13</sup>

A Libyan proposal was also turned down for the admission of Maldives on the ground that no proper application had been made. The Libyan delegates questioned the ruling and said that it would be a historic mistake as Maldives is not a member of any military pact.<sup>14</sup>

India appealed to the Conference to refrain from discussing internal affairs and bilateral differences. India argued that any deviation from old principles would divide the movement, because some countries were trying to raise the bilateral disputes in the context of membership issue. This question was raised because one extreme Arab group liked the expulsion of Israel from United Nations but discussion among the Arab delegates failed to bring a consensus on the matter.<sup>15</sup>

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13 Indian Express (New Delhi), 13 August 1976.

14 The Hindu (Madras), 13 August 1976

15 Indian Express, 13 August 1976.

However, Roumania, Portugal and Philipines were given guest status on the basis of consensus for the Colombo Conference only.

Cuba, Cyprus, India Lybia were among those who maintained that Belgrade criteria should not be diluted. Cyprus while speaking for the criteria asked if the Phillipines was to be admitted, why not the United States and the Soviet Union who are also aligned.<sup>16</sup> Also, the issue of upgrading of Grenada met strong opposition from certain Latin American countries who raised serious doubts as to whether the country deserved to be in the non-aligned movement.<sup>17</sup>

As we have pointed out earlier the inherent feature of the non-aligned movement and the social character of the member-states make it obligatory to adopt decisions at the summit by consensus and it is not surprising that conflicting approaches and compromises find expression therein. So most of the differences among the members of non-aligned movement regarding membership were resolved by consensus. It is but naturally that there should be differences of approach and attitudes in a large gathering of nations, fully free and sovereign to determine their own policies. For no country is non-alignment

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16 Times of India, 14 August 1976.

17 Ibid.



the only aspect of its foreign policy.

Depending on its size, strategic location and importance, every non-aligned country is called upon to protect its vital national interests through its foreign and defence policies. Non-alignment is the manifestation of their reformist urge and applies to questions of great power relations, world order, international economic relations and the broad structure and system of world politics. These policies, influence their perception of structural problems of world politics and hence their view of non-alignment. Thus a degree of divergence of opinion among the non-aligned has been manifested at various conferences. There might have been some influences of the Great powers outside the non-aligned club in bringing about these differences, depending on international situations. But each country arrived at its own conclusions out of its own experiences and different great powers were not equally hostile or equally friendly to all the non-aligned.

The point to be stressed, however, is that these honest differences of opinion about membership did not prevent the emergence of a consensus at these conferences. And notwithstanding their apparent differences there was no doubt that non-aligned nations were working towards a common objective through non-alignment.

None of the non-aligned countries which subscribe to non-alignment seriously doubt that dilution of criteria will not subserve the goals of national security and development. The controversy was in fact revolved round the admission of certain states which have so far not been regarded as qualified for invitation to the proceedings of the group.

But if modification of the criteria is inadvisable, because they embody as well as may be the irreducible. Minimal of non-alignment dilut~~ation~~ can be of another kind.

It is precisely in the application of criteria that dilut~~ation~~ is possible. As has been emphasized, these are essentially political judgements. Countries will be guided by national interest in formulating their approach to particular cases. And this formulation will rest with the political representatives assembled at periodic gatherings, not with the high priests of doctrine. Simple as they are, the five criteria offer enormous scope for interpretation. While membership of regional defence pacts or the concession of military bases to foreign powers are matters about which there should be hardly any difference, there could conceivably be any endless argument about agreements deliberately concluded in the context of great power conflicts.

Similarly, a country giving hidden aid and encouragement to internal subversion or destabilisation, could claim on the superficial facts, to be following an independent policy based

on the co-existence of states with different political and social systems. It is really this kind of erosion of the criteria, and not change of wording about which member nations will have to be specially vigilant. It is here that give and take, compromise and even apprehension of the powerful, operate in the council of nations.

Therefore, insistence on the sufficiency of the criteria will carry little weight unless it is backed by the political will of member countries to interpret them as they are meant to be. The real danger, to the criteria of non-alignment, is not so much their abandonment or dilution but rather the appeal of a different manner altogether. The non-aligned and the 'Third World' should Marshall all their forces and march in step towards the goal of new international economic order through the preservation of national independence and world peace.

Chapter IV

## THE NON-ALIGNED : UNITY AND DIFFERENCES

( Divergence of interests and disputes between non-aligned countries are not new. They are often objectively determined and inevitable, as the legacy of a historical development in which they were not determinants; )occasionally they are even the product of the development of non-alignment of which more is demanded today than before because of its greater influence. What must be underlined here is the necessity of settling crises, disputes and clashes in a way that simultaneously takes all the interests of the affected parties into account and strengthens the policy of non-alignment as a whole.

( It is a movement of 95 countries with different socio-political and economic background. The adoption by third world nations of varying economic models and political systems, dissimilar, sometimes even mutually opposed, regional roles, divergent sources of cultural and religious inspiration, conflicting territorial claims, these forces are driving each other country to take an individualistic views of events. Such a view inevitably makes a collective stand that<sup>is</sup> much more difficult to sustain. The fact is that the greatest threat to non-alignment comes not from either superpower bloc but from the heterogeneity of its adherents. As they grow, their interests are beginning to dictate their policies, as they must. This

spirit was demonstrated to a great extent at Colombo Conference.)

There were a great deal of differences over some sensitive issues in the Bureau meetings. The persisting differences relating to sensitive problems like Sahara, Cyprus, Lebanon, Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, Timor, Korea landlocked states and the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola.<sup>1</sup> While on issues like the Indian Ocean, disarmament, seabed resources and amendment of UN Charter, there was no difference of opinion for the third South Asia seat in the bureau the differences between Afghanistan and Bangladesh become very acute. While Afghanistan was ready for negotiations, Bangladesh was not.<sup>2</sup>

While a majority of members continue to have reservations about setting up a permanent secretariat of the non-aligned conference, a Yugoslav initiative to invest the expanded consultative committee with new responsibilities and authority was proposed at the summit.

Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam were opposed to any form of permanent representation and particularly resented what they saw in the committees domination by two of the founder members of the Conference - Yugoslavia and India.

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1 The Hindu (Madras), 19 August 1976.

2 Ibid.

Nepal argued that Himalayan Kingdom wedged between India and China should be declared as a "Zone of Peace". But as it was seen, India was not receptive to that plan.<sup>3</sup> In this context another insidious campaign that was started concerned India directly. Countries opposed to the policy of India started a through campagin against India in the Summit. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship of 1971 was interpreted by some as a defence alliance and hence India they argued is no longer a true non-aligned country! This campaign had a dual purpose: to undermine India's position and second to show that the non-aligned movement has already been diluted and hence its doors should also be opened to those who are members of militaty alliance.'

But it should be noted that Indo-Soviet Treaty certainly does not go against the criteria of the non-aligned movement; in fact the Treaty takes forward the support to national liberation and the pursuit to an independent foreign policy. The treaty juridically recognises the non-alignment policy of India. It is the Article IX of the Treaty that is being deliberately misinterpreted in the canard against India. But this clause is not a defence clause at all! It only says that the two countries (India and Soviet Union) will not assist a

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Observer (London), 15 August 1976.

third country which engages in an armed conflict with either of the treaty signing countries and if either of them is attacked or threatened to be attacked, the two countries "shall immediately enter into mutual consultation in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries".<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that this is not a defence treaty nor is it directed against any other country or countries.

It should be realised that behind this propaganda, there was also the effort to drive a wedge between the solidarity of the socialist and the non-aligned countries. (Dr Castro alleged that imperialism was trying its best to divide the non-aligned movement because it was obvious that the unity it has forged is its strongest defence. He said that the effort in this regard could be seen in abundant measures before and during the Conference.<sup>5</sup> The critics of Cuba questioned the bonafides of Cuba in the non-aligned movement.)

The problem with such argument is that each of the critics have their own definition of what is essential to non-alignment. Because as we have discussed earlier that each country forms its definition according to expediency. So in such a vast

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<sup>4</sup> K. P. S. Menon, Indo-Soviet Treaty : Setting and Meaning (Delhi, 1971), p.83.

<sup>5</sup> Colombo Summit Conference : Documents and Selected Speeches of Fifth Summit Conference (New Delhi, 1976), p.11.

movement it is not surprising when they accuse each other from ideological view points of their own.

At Colombo Summit several other members privately encouraged the Fretilin Liberation Movement in East Timor to the intense irritation of Indonesia's Adam Mallick, who did not like the issue to be discussed in Colombo. The Moroccan Foreign Minister, Ahemad Laraki, threatened to 'unmask Algerian's designs' if any attempt was made to discuss the former Spanish Sahara.<sup>6</sup> It seemed that the members opposed to each other tried to pull each other's leg in Colombo. It was observed there that by bringing the bi-lateral issues into discussion a number of states demonstrated the lack of unity in the movement.

There was some confusion over the final nomination of members by the Asian and African groups to the expanded Co-ordination Bureau of the Non-aligned Conference. The nomination of Bangladesh was opposed by so many members on the ground that Afghanistan is a founder member of the movement and it has a better claim. Both Afghanistan and Bangladesh appeared to be adamant in staking their claims to inclusion in the Bureau. There was also a tussle between Vietnam and North Korea over the same issue and Vietnam

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Observer (London), 15 August 1976.



reported to have an edge over North Korea.<sup>7</sup>

Bangladesh a young member of non-aligned community saw it fit to raise before the Colombo Summit, one specific dispute with and several vague charges against India. General Zia-ur-Rehman had earlier complained against India over Farakka at the Islamic Conference at Turkey. In Colombo, the General also accused India of interference in Bangladesh affairs. Although it was against the ethics of non-alignment to raise the bilateral disputes, Bangladesh did not observe the rules.<sup>8</sup>

The President of Bangladesh although did not mention India by name, yet by his reference to the problems of sharing Ganga waters left no one in doubt about the target of his oblique criticism. But the Indian delegation sources at Colombo preferred not to comment on this issue, as, it was explained, it would not be in keeping with the general policy of avoiding bilateral disputes at non-aligned conference.

An amendment proposed by Laos on the Sri Lanka draft on the need to declare Indian Ocean a 'Zone of Peace', also ran into heavy weather. Most members from the Asian group

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7 Times of India, 17 August 1976.

8 Indian Express, 18 August 1976.

opposed the amendment on the ground that in some places it smacked of giving a hand to the so-called national liberation movement.<sup>9</sup>

In this context Cuban presence in Angola was justified by its Deputy Prime Minister. He tried to justify the stand of Cuba in Angola. Cuba tried to act as the conscience-keeper for Angola. When Cuba's non-aligned stand was questioned, then Cuba argued that non-aligned movement is not a homogenous political movement and its broad nature of programme unites the countries together to fight against imperialism and colonialism.<sup>10</sup>

(The deep division between communist and pro-Western states within the non-aligned movement emerged at Colombo with a great force. The conflict between countries which see the developed West as the historic enemy and those which see it as an erring partner was brought to out by speeches on behalf of the West's favourite Asian statesman Lee Kuan Yew and the champion of military international solidarity Castro.<sup>11</sup>

Lee had already treated this conference in a calculatedly cavalier way and announced at an earlier stage that he would

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9 Times of India, 19 August 1976.

10 Colombo Summit : Documents and Selected Speeches (New Delhi, 1976), pp.70-71.

11 Guardian (London), 19 August 1976.

not attend unless the conference took it seriously. On both political and economic fronts, Mr Lee put the case for cooperation with the West, in his 'statement' with a good deal of frankness and courage. He strongly implied that the Communist group's interest in hard bargaining with the West was an interest "destabilising and destroying" it, rather than in "reforming it", into a more equal economic partner.<sup>12</sup>

Lee also threw in some statistics which everybody knew but which were rarely mentioned, showing the meagreness of the Soviet aid participation in international financial arrangement. He took a look at the rhetoric of "collective self reliance" which has been a big theme of the Conference. He argued that the economic prospects of underdeveloped are better in cooperation with the developed countries of the West. He criticised the 'concept of genuine independence' as professed by Cuba and Indo-Chinese countries. The double definition of independence which classified the Marxist state as genuinely independent and others were not being genuine became a debatable point at Colombo. Because states believing in 'genuine independence' saw nothing wrong in supporting people to overthrow democratically established government by violence. Cuba and Vietnam were obvious targets of such criticisms.<sup>13</sup>

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12        Ibid.

13        Ibid.

Cuba was also no less effective in defending its stand in Angola. Cuba argued that the non-aligned movement must recognise the capitalist West as its main enemy and the Soviet Union is its chief ally. Angola, Cuba argued, was the prime example of the alliance of the non-aligned with the Soviet Union. Had not the USSR existed, Cuba said, imperialism would have defeated the Angolan people through the use of their satellites.<sup>14</sup>

So we find the argument between Cuba and Singapore was the expression of conflict of ideology. (If the non-aligned movement was to stay united, members must be prepared to live with the different economic and political systems within the movement. Interference in internal affairs of any member-state would be suicidal for the movement.)

In the early years of the movement of non-alignment, the recurring division, conflicts and disputes between the non-aligned states were lightly dismissed as evidence of non-aligned states not forming a bloc, that these divisions were inherent in the policy of non-alignment itself which stood for taking a position on the merits of a case and toeing the line of any major power.

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Colombo Summit: Documents and Selected Speeches  
(New Delhi, 1976).

(But after Colombo Summit one can no longer maintain this position, in view of eruption of far too many cases of disputes and conflicts between and among the non-aligned nations in recent years. There have been armed conflicts among some non-aligned nations with the aid and even assistance of foreign military forces from a fellow non-aligned country (Cuba). This situation has become grave.)

The point is that in far too many cases, the attitude of non-aligned states towards each other has been no different from those of the aligned with respect to disputes and conflict situations; they seem to follow the traditional pattern of power politics and thereby negate a distinguishing characteristic of non-alignment as a new and more wholesome foreign policy choice.

The communists lost some ground when Vietnam and North Korea were seen to be disputing one of the Asian seats on the Co-ordinating Bureau. Even believing in the same ideology countries fought for their own national interests.

In Colombo, the statement of Lee represented the private feeling of many members as some of his points were accepted by many others. Other leaders like Gadafy who also spoke preferred the old non-aligned theme of "a plague on both your houses". He said that actions against 'Trojan horses' in the movement should be taken immediately. He said that it is not

everyone who is attending this non-aligned conference, is actually non-aligned. His remarks were generally interpreted as aimed at both the Communist groups and at the more pro-Western members particularly Egypt.<sup>15</sup>

With the fore knowledge of Bangladesh's canvassing before the summit as also the existence of bilateral disputes between many other non-aligned nations, especially in North-Africa and West Asia, Yugoslav President Tito, and Indonesia's Foreign Minister Adam Malik and several other spokesmen of the movement had pointedly asked members states in the course of their speeches not to raise bi-lateral issues which divide the movement.<sup>16</sup>

Singapore took objection to a draft amendment proposed by Laos to the non-aligned political declaration. The amendment referred to the Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (Cambodia) victories as an example for revolutionary movements and struggle against new colonialism in South East Asia. That was the definition of 'genuine independence' according to Laos. The vehement protest of Singapore at Laos move was the manifestation of the internal division in the non-aligned movement.<sup>17</sup>

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15 Guardian, 18 August 1976.

16 The Hindustan Times, 19 August 1976.

17 The Hindu, 19 August 1976.

Benin (former Dahomey) said that two non-aligned states were behaving just like old imperialist powers over Western Sahara. They had militarily occupied that newly freed country and the people there were fighting again for their freedom. The basic problem in Western Sahara was a question of decolonisation.<sup>18</sup>

But having rejected the traditional power model by opting for non-alignment, many of the non-aligned states seem actually to practice the traditional power model in international relations - and what is applying - even with respect to fellow non-aligned states, as in Western Sahara. There have been far too many wars and conflicts between the non-aligned nations which are not only contrary to the theory of non-alignment, but which have also corroded considerably faith in the non-aligned movement.

(The non-aligned countries, above all the African members of the Organization of African Unity, have not yet reached a unified position on the way out of this crisis although they are not, despite appearances, divided on the definition of the crux of the actual problem.)

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Times of India, 20 August 1976.

( The crisis in the non-aligned movement has been created by the failure of certain non-aligned countries, to hold the principle of self-determination and the standards of the policy of non-alignment for the sake of territorial designs and prestige. This gives rise to disputes and conflicts between the non-aligned countries themselves. Disputes that are sometimes of minor importance but which could give way for intervention by foreign powers, which is detrimental to the effectiveness of the policy of non-alignment and weakens its moral, political strength of actions.)

For the last three decades, passing through the vicissitudes of international power politics, non-alignment as a movement has successfully opposed regional and global military alliances, racialism, colonialism and domination, insisted on peace, peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of disputes, worked ceaselessly for disarmament, for positive bilateral and multilateral relations and increase in the volume and components of foreign trade in order to bring in a new international political and economic order. Non-aligned movement today has become one of the most dominant trends of our epoch. Yet paradoxically due to the expansion in its ranks from a mere 25 at the time of First Summit in 1961 to 84 at the Fifth Summit at Colombo in August 1976, together with the broadening of national and regional diversities and



different scales of priorities of its member states, not to mention their predilections in foreign policy and patterns of bilateral and multilateral relations, the movement has indeed faced with three crises: the crisis of identity; the crisis of unity; and the crisis of action.

In bare essentials, the identity of a movement is determined by the interaction of two factors: composition of its membership and collective orientation to common goals. In a movement like <sup>U.</sup>non-aligned which is based on sovereign state entities as its basic unit, spanning the major continents and hemispheres and reflecting obvious differentiations and diversities the task of compositional homogeneity is both challenging and critical. Challenging, because it demands 'congregation' and not mere 'aggregation' and that too voluntarily - a challenge the like of which in terms of scale and magnitude the sovereign states have never before faced in the history of international politics. Critical, because without minimum homogeneity in consonance with common goals, the movement would, as it were, halter and falter. Commonality of goal orientation is a pre-requisite both for abiding and operational unity as well as for the validation of the very first purpose of the movement, namely a new identity based on rejection of alignments with power blocs and assertion of the right to form free and equal alliances for development and peace.

For the maintenance of compositional homogeneity scrupulous adherence to the five point criteria approved and adopted at Belgrade in 1961 is the safest and most practical way out.

(Maintenance of identity is really a factor of commitment to common objectives. For this, it is necessary to be clear as to what ought to be excluded more than what should be included in the movement of non-alignment. Perception should be clear as to who are the foes and who are friends. The new identity of the non-alignment will depend on their capacity to build cohesion around these agreed goals. The crisis of identity would be averted in the measure in which such cohesion is built.)

To respond effectively to the crisis of unity it would be necessary to work out strategies for widening and deepening the expanding areas of unity between the non-aligned. In this glorious participation the non-aligned would not only have to work out new strategies for concerted diplomatic initiative and action, but also be vigilant against infiltration of their ranks by those who have the propensity to succumb, to the powers that be against 'overt' and 'covert' designs for subversion and destabilization of legally constituted regimes, and remain alert to the ever present danger of division and split in the ranks of non-aligned.

( The crisis of action stems from the inadequate response of the non-aligned to the challenges of the unfinished revolution in their own countries. For the successful completion of the long delayed and much desired process of change, the non-aligned world will have to work out interlinking strategies at three levels: national, inter-non-aligned and international. )

Chapter V  
CONCLUSION

The theory of non-alignment calls for abstention from power politics, for peaceful co-existence of nations of differing ideologies, political and social systems and for active international co-operation between and among all nations. It is by definition opposed to everything that the Cold War and bloc politics stood for, which necessarily provoked international tensions often ending up in international disputes and situations endangering international peace and security. Non-alignment is meant to replace power politics with "adjustment politics", to project an alternative model of international relations and behaviour to that of the traditional model based on power and the desire to increase it, which in the nuclear age threatens the very survival of mankind.

There are also people who are of the opinion that non-aligned policy is no longer of any use since the Cold War has thawed, bi-polarisation of power between the Western and Eastern blocs has eased, military pacts have become more and more loose and relations between big countries and superpowers have come to be based on the principle of peaceful co-existence. In short, since a sort of detente has been achieved in their relations.

There are also people who think that non-aligned policy has no future, because the non-aligned countries have different views and national interests among themselves, even conflicting interests. But it is a fact that whenever independent and sovereign countries incorporate themselves into a group, a bloc, a pact or an alliance, differences of views and interests will be found.

It is but natural that there should be differences of approach and attitude in a large gathering of nations, free and sovereign to determine their own policies. For no country is non-alignment the only aspect of its foreign policy. Depending on its size, strategic location and importance, every non-aligned country is called upon to protect its other vital national interests through its foreign and defence policy.<sup>1</sup>

Thus a degree of divergence of opinion among the non-aligned has been manifested at various conferences. At times the differences are general in nature~~at~~ and at times they are ideological. In the early years of the movement of non-alignment the recurring divisions, conflicts and disputes between the non-aligned states were lightly dismissed as evidence of the non-aligned states not forming a bloc, that there divisions were

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<sup>1</sup> Sisir Gupta, "Ethos of Non-alignment", Secular Democracy (New Delhi), vol.9, nos.14-15, August 1976, p.80.

inherent in the policy of non-alignment itself which stood for taking a position on the merits of a case and not toeing the line of any major power or group.

There might have been some influence of the great powers outside the non-aligned club in bringing about these differences. In the famous Nehru-Soekarno divergence<sup>2</sup> at the First Summit Conference at Belgrade in 1961 one could detect the shadow of one of the great ideological divides that had just come to the surface. Each country arrived at its own conclusions out of its own experience and different great powers were not equally hostile or equally friendly to all the non-aligned. And not withstanding their apparent differences there was no doubt that the non-aligned nations were working towards a common objective.

There is no instance where such differences are not found. But they may not necessarily harm solidarity and competence of the non-aligned group and its mutual interests. But one can no longer maintain this position, in view of the eruption of far too many cases of disputes and conflicts between the non-aligned nations in recent years. There have been armed conflicts among some non-aligned nations with the aid and even assistance of foreign military forces from a fellow

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Proceedings of the First Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries at Belgrade 1 - 6 September 1961, Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), vol.12(274-275), 5-20 September 1961, pp.1-47.

non-aligned country. The example is Cuba. The situation has now become so grave that the July 1978 (Belgrade) Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned Countries had to devise a procedure for peaceful settlement of disputes between non-aligned countries - namely the offer of good offices of informal ad hoc groups of non-aligned countries (when the parties to a dispute so request) for help in settling a dispute.

The point is that no longer the disputes among the non-aligned states can be dismissed lightly as earlier. The attitude of non-aligned states towards each other has been no different from those of the aligned with respect to disputes and conflicts. They seem to follow the traditional pattern of power politics and thereby negate a distinguishing characteristic of non-alignment as a new and more wholesome foreign policy.

The recent demand of many Arab States to remove or suspend Egypt from membership of the non-aligned movement raises some new issues concerning the relevance of disputes among members of the movement. It is undesirable that the members of the movement should be divided among themselves from time to time as a result of bilateral disputes.

Because, as a principle, bilateral disputes are not to be discussed in Summit Conferences. This mixing up of the essence of the policy of non-alignment with the attitude of member states towards the collective stand of the movement on concrete problems, situations in international relations has been for many years a standing source of confusion, misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the nature and scope of the policy itself. Unless, bear in mind, this simple distinction between the policy of non-alignment and the stand of members on other questions and issues, they would not only be doing injustice to the integrity of the policy but also to the unity of the non-aligned movement itself.

It is obvious that the struggle of the non-aligned is now entering a new phase when most developed nations of the world appear to be accepting in principle the need for a new international economic order. It is also inevitable that some of the aligned nations would try their best to sow the seed of discord and conflict among the non-aligned when they discuss vital international issues. One of the methods by which discord can be sown is to introduce the question of membership of the non-aligned club. This happened in Colombo Summit. If at one time the attempt was to crush non-alignment by preventing nations from declaring themselves non-aligned, in



the changed context of today an indirect attempt is to encourage more and more nations to enter into the movement so as to dilute its character and deprive non-alignment of all meaning.

It can be assumed that the vast majority of non-aligned nations are aware of these attempts and that in tackling the problems before them they would be guided by the knowledge that there may be interested external powers who are trying to pull the string from behind. Because essentially, "non-alignment frees a nation from the pressure to borrow foreign models or adopt other ideologies which may be alien to a nation's civilisation or its ethos".<sup>3</sup>

Certain obvious conclusions emerge from this brief analysis that the non-aligned countries of the world towards assertion of their sovereign control over their national resources.

Firstly, the need for conceptual clarity which would enable the movement to identify its hard core from the countries who are drawn to it because it is a great movement consisting two-third countries of the world. The undoubted need for horizontal expansion of the movement should never be

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S.C. Gangal, "Trends in India's Foreign Policy", in K.P. Misra (ed.), Janata's Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1979), p.29.

allowed at the expense of diffusing its anti-imperialist goal. The movement in its process of horizontal expansion should be allowed to find its tactical allies on specific issues.

Secondly there is the question of structural delinking of the non-aligned world from the imperialist world which is the essence of non-alignment and against which, the imperialist world continues its multipronged attacks through various mechanisms of which some have been discussed in this analysis. Without this delinking non-alignment - in the sense of sovereign control over national resources - can never be real.

Capitalist development process by its very nature, puts differential rates of disadvantages to its centre and periphery and it is axiomatic that its aid and trade policies are an integral part of the imperialist world's profit mechanism. The homely virtue of self-reliance, and mutual aid seems to be the only viable alternative for the non-aligned world's main battle against imperialism.

Thirdly, the non-aligned movement needs to be redirected from its hitherto defensive postures - being always at the receiving end of imperialist machination to a more effective and concerted offensive strategy against imperialism and colonialism. Because non-alignment is not passive neutrality

nor equidistance from the power blocs but a dynamic policy of action that does not accept any subservience and comes out firmly against exploitation and subjugation.

Fourth is the problem of radical restructuring of the international economic order which at present is weighted heavily in favour of the imperialist world. This is basically a political battle tied up inseparably with the battle against imperialism as was brought out again in bold relief at the UNIDO recently.

It should now be obvious that there is a dialectical relationship between imperialist economic order and imperialism and the Third World could not hope to alter one without affecting the other. The battle against imperialism is a battle for new economic order. Therefore, non-aligned movement must bear a testimony to this, because today non-aligned countries face twin challenges, of internal strains and external pressures as noted earlier.

The three main directions of the non-aligned movement as outlined at the fifth summit so aptly are: individual self-reliance, intensification of co-operation between the developing countries and strengthening of their solidarity and cooperation in a common front against imperialist pressure and disruption. The struggle for peace, peaceful co-existence and peaceful resolution of the problems of Cold War thus became one of the major planks of the policies of non-aligned nations.

Between Colombo and Havan Summits many things had happened. The international politics had undergone significant changes: from Shah of Iran to change of government in Kampuchia, the latest being the Soviet take over in Afghanistan. The Soviet takeover in Afghanistan, a non-aligned country has had one welcome result: it has highlighted the need for an effective non-aligned movement, and underlined the crucial roles its members still have in international crisis. When the Sixth Summit of Non-aligned Nations concluded in Havana, barely six months ago, the movement in the eyes of some had in effect surrendered its *raison d'etre*: maintaining the equidistance between the two superpowers that all those states comprising that admittedly amorphous entity, the 'Third World', had come to accept as essential for them to be able to retain their new-found freedom and have some say in the ordering of the globe.

Cuba, the host country, for one reason or the other was sympathetic to the Soviet bloc. Some other states besides Cuba, included Vietnam, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Souty Yemen plugged the line that the Soviet bloc is the "natural ally" of the Third World and that non-aligned movement should openly acknowledge this even while not repudiating equidistance. This is a grave contradiction of the non-aligned theory. Because, non-alignment by nature does not allow such tilt.

There is no doubt that non-aligned movement is facing a lot of problems in the modern world. The problem of armament or militarisation is a serious problem. The world's military expenditure is more than 400 billion USA dollars, and 100 million people are engaged in promoting militarisation. In this complex system non-alignment advocates disarmament.

Apart from the political and military problems the economic situation is far more dangerous. In the non-aligned world the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing. It might lead to a dangerous situation. The internal situation within the non-aligned countries at times is very disturbing. During the last 30 years wealth has increased, but how this wealth has been distributed between people? The principle of distributive justice is at question. Centres are exploiting the peripheries. Intra-state imperialism or internal colonialism is developing. These are some of the real dangers to this movement.

Non-alignment is rooted in a variety of situations. These situations have produced multiple actions. Non-alignment is a very large movement. To mobilise public opinion is absolutely necessary to make this a successful movement. It is a movement of about hundred countries with different social, political and economic background. Superpowers have their own interest in these countries. It is a surprise that such a great

movement has survived inspite of so much of differences. The main cause of these differences is the growing political, economic and cultural diversification within the movement, with the differences among member countries becoming steadily more important than the similarity of outlook and historical experience that has so far kept them together.

Therefore to preserve this great movement which is growing steadily, the non-aligned countries must not allow any one to endanger the solidarity of the movement and dull the cutting edge of its basic line and action unity. They must not allow anyone to waterdown the policy of non-alignment or decrease the degree of its solidarity. All sectarianism is alien to non-alignment.

It is not a static movement, it is dynamic in nature, because it is growing day by day. The aim of non-aligned movement is to bring new international economic order with justice. It fights with the peoples, who are fighting for their independence freedom and an autonomous choice of their own roads of development. The future of the non-aligned will depend not on Cold War and detente, but on the commitment of its members to its principles.

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