

**ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS
IN U.N.O. FOR PEACE AND
DISARMAMENT
1960 – 1987**

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By

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DECLARATION

I, O. Suryanarayanan, do hereby declare that the work reported in the thesis is original and carried out by me in the Department of History, University of Calicut as a part-time Research Scholar while I was working in the Post-Graduate Department of History, Govt. Brennen College, Tellicherry before my retirement from the Department of Collegiate Education after thirtyone years of service and after that while I am working in the P.G. Department of History in Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit, Regional Centre, Payyannur. I further declare that this thesis or any part thereto has not been previously submitted for any degree in this or any other University.

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Certified that this thesis entitled "ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS IN U.N.O. FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT FROM 1960 TO 1987" is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Sri. O. Suryanarayanan**, under my supervision and guidance.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I EMERGENCE OF NON-ALIGNMENT	51
CHAPTER II BANDUNG CONFERENCE AND THE EVOLUTION OF NON-ALIGNMENT	95
CHAPTER III NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER	150
CHAPTER IV THE ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS IN U.N.O. FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT	175
CONCLUSION	233
BIBLIOGRAPHY	249

INTRODUCTION

O. Suryanarayanan “Role of the non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament 1960 - 1987 ” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2002

INTRODUCTION

The Non-aligned Movement has greatly helped the cause of peace and Disarmament. The historic role of the Non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament is a fascinating subject for study. The Non-aligned movement is the voice of the people of the world who aspire for global peace and Disarmament. The policy and the movement of Non-alignment were responsible for easing international tensions and spreading the idea of Disarmament. Disarmament is the only hope of mankind today in the existing rivalry of super powers. If Disarmament comes true, then the part of the resources utilized for the manufacture of armaments can be diverted for economic development of the under developed countries. This will motivate mutual trust and friendship between the countries and people.

The United Nations organization and Non-aligned Movement are two distinct structures serving the two different requirements of the global aspirations of human beings were established sixteen years apart-the one in 1945 and the other in 1961.¹ The maintenance of peace and security has been and continues to be the major pre occupation of the United Nations Organization since its inception. The

¹ Harcharan Singh Josh, India's foreign policy, New Delhi, 1989, p.13.

major concern of the Non-aligned movement and Non-alignment are quite in tune with the principles and purposes of the United Nations charter.

In order to protect the civilizations that humanity erected over thousands of years, Disarmament is essential. In the world we hope for there won't be wars between nations and groups of nations, no country will use its superior material, military or economic strength to abuse or violate the weaker countries, an end to the causes of strife with nations, no endless class struggles, international relations will be governed by clear, just principles which always respect the people's rights and a lasting peace, free from fear and oppression.¹

The Non-aligned countries firmly believe that world peace can be achieved through the U.N.O. The Non-aligned states played an important role in international policies by making the super powers give up the course of action leading to direct conflict and engage instead in peaceful competition in the progress of countries less developed than themselves.² No one had made a proper study of India's contribution to the United Nations because we only go by newspaper headlines. It will take many years to understand what we did in the early

¹ Maria Christina Costa Diaz, *The UNESCO courier*, New York, Feb.1968, p.30.

² Michael Breacher, "Neutralism: An Analysis", in *International Journal*, Vol.17.,Toronto, 1968, pp.235-236.

years.¹ Krishna Menon who stated the above mentioned words particularly contributed for the evolution of the concept of Non-alignment.

The Non-aligned movement is not a monolithic bloc. The Non-aligned countries follow different foreign policies. It is a system of ideas and an approach to global problems, which governs a foreign policy, which affects a foreign policy rather than a single foreign policy.² If all the one hundred and fifteen Non-aligned countries follow a single foreign policy then the Non-aligned movement would have become another bloc and not an independent group of states. The United Nations was founded upon the principle of "the sovereign equality of all peace loving states." While becoming a member of the U.N.O. a state does not surrender its sovereignty. The United Nations and the Non-aligned Movement are both founded on peaceful co-existence of nations of different social, political and economic systems.³

The role of the Non-aligned Nations in U.N is important because it scored some valuable victories such as convening sessions on Disarmament, work on a resolution to reduce nuclear weapons and Declaration on non-interference. The

¹ V.K.Krishana Menon, "The United Nations 1945-70", in *Yojana* New Delhi, Vol.14, special number, Oct 1970, p.16.

² K.R. Narayanan, "Relevance of Non-Alignment", *Kerala Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. January, 1984, University of Kerala, pp.23-24.

³ M.S. Rajan (Ed.), *The Non-Aligned and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987, p.300.

Non-aligned Nations are active champions of Disarmament. This research work is an effort to highlight the role of Non-aligned Nations in U.N.O for peace and Disarmament from 1960 to 1987.

This research work begins from 1960 and ends in 1987. The reasons for choosing the above mentioned dates are the following. The Year 1960 is a watershed in the history of the liberation of colonial countries.¹ By 1960 the process of decolonization has gained importance and the western military alliances in Asia has suffered a set back due to collapse of Baghdad pact and racial upsurge in Cuba. Some of the pro-western countries of Asia and Africa and Latin America had also changed their political orientation particularly after the Revolution of 1958 in Iraq and Fidel Castro's victorious emergence in Cuba in 1959. This has an impact on other Caribbean and Latin American countries like Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia and Mexico. But U.N witnessed a major change in its composition by inclusion of countries including Cuba in 1960, which increased U.N membership from 83 to 100. It was a boost to the ranks of the Non-aligned as their strength increased to twenty five out of hundred mostly new inclusions and partly by the change of regimes in some states.

The path towards the advancement of the Non-aligned Movement started in 1960. At the session of the U.N General Assembly in New York in September

¹ Harcharan Singh Josh, *India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.29.

1960 the leaders of India, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and Ghana-Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamel Abdul Nasser, Josip Broz Tito, Ahmed Sukarno and Kwame Nkrumah-agreed to call a conference of all like-minded countries of Asia and Africa, Latin America and Europe,¹ to chalk out a future programme of action.

The year 1987 produced a more favourable element for future U.S., U.S.S.R., co-operation. Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives bore fruit in summer meetings with President Regan in Reykjavik (1986) and most successfully in Washington D.C. in December 1987. At Washington summit an agreement was signed to dismantle intermediate range Nuclear missiles in Western and Eastern Europe, a cautious beginning to a process that according to Gorbachev, might eventually end the nuclear threat.² Practical implementation of the ideas and principles of the new political thinking in the field of Disarmament has led to the signing of INF treaty.³

The aim and objective of this research work is to narrate clearly and coherently the role of the Non-aligned Nations in the U.N.O. for peace and Disarmament beginning with the emergence of the movement, evolution of the movement the in the light of its responses to various challenges, the establishment of a New International Economic order as the basis for future development in the

¹ Yuri Alimov, *The Rise and Growth of the Non-Aligned Movement*, Moscow, 1987, p.40.

² Marvin Perry, Myrana Chase and others, *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics and Society*, USA, 1989.

³ Gyanendra N.Srivastava, *Nam and the Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.20.

developing nations and highlight the point that if Disarmament becomes a reality the resources used for armaments can be diverted to economic development of the underdeveloped and developing countries.

The methodology adopted in this research work is analytical operation. The analytical operation concern itself with collection, scrutiny, shifting and testing the validity of the data. Thus the process of cutting historical material to its smallest unit to test its validity was undertaken backed up by proper documentary evidence.

For conducting research work on the role of Non-aligned Nations in U.N.O. for Peace and Disarmament experience no dearth of material. Besides the U.N documents devoted to Disarmament affairs and United Nations General Assembly proceedings, the primary sources of considerable assistance include the various documents of gatherings of Non-aligned countries, addresses delivered by the Heads of the state or Government of Non-aligned countries and the other related documents on international affairs.¹

The following documents are of great help to enrich our knowledge on Non-alignment.

The conference of Heads of state on government of Non-aligned countries, 1961, Belgrade: Proceedings, Belgrade 1961. The conference of Heads of state on

¹ Documents of International Affairs, 1953, London, 1956.

Government of Non-aligned countries, Cairo, Oct. 6-10,1964: speeches and statements, Cairo, 1964.

The Conference of Heads of state or government of Non-aligned countries, Lusaka, Sept. 8-9, 1970: Lusaka Declaration and Resolution, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi 1970.

The conference of the Heads of state on government of Non-aligned countries from Belgrade, 1961 to Georgetown 1972, Main Documents, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Georgetown, 1972.

The Fourth conference of Heads of state on government of Non-aligned countries, 6-9 Sept.1973, Algiers: Fundamental Texts, Declarations, Resolutions, Action Programme for Economic co-operation, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1973.

The conference of Heads of state or government of Non-aligned countries, Algiers, Sept. 6-9, 1973: speeches, Algiers, 1973. The Conference of Non-aligned states: Documents (up to and including the conference of foreign Ministers held in Georgetown, Guyana in Aug. 1972) Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi 1973.

The Colombo summit: Documents and selected speeches of the Fifth Conference of Heads of state on Govt. of Non-aligned countries, Colombo 16-19 August 1976, People's Publishing House, New Delhi 1976.

The Fifth Conference of Heads of state or Govt. of Non-aligned countries, Colombo, Aug. 1976: Fundamental Texts (Declarations, Resolutions, Action Programme for Economic co-operation) Colombo 1976.

The Documents and gatherings of Non-aligned countries 1961-1978, Jugoslovanska, Starnost- Medhunadorna, Politika, Belgrade 1978; The Conference of Heads of state or Govt. of Non-Aligned Countries, 1979, Havana 3-9 Sep. Havana 1980; The synthesis of Final Declaration of the VI summit of Non-aligned countries, Havana, information centre of the WPC for America and in Carribbean , 1980; The Documents and gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries 1961- 1976, Ministry of External Affairs, External Publicity Division, New Delhi 1981; The Conference of the Heads of state or Govt. of Non-Aligned Countries, 1983, New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, External Publicity Division, New Delhi; Eighth NAM summit: selected Documents Indian institute of Non-Aligned studies, New Delhi 1987.

From these documents we get a clear idea about the activities of non-aligned countries and their achievements and also the contribution that they have made in the U.N.O for Peace and Disarmament.

Apart from the above mentioned there are many works written by Indian and foreign scholars on Non-alignment, Peace and Disarmament, periodicals published by different Non-aligned nations on international affairs and proceedings of seminars and conferences held on Non-alignment from 1961 onwards are of great

importance to know the depth of the problem of Disarmament.¹ Review of International Affairs, newspaper reports and publications of Indian institute for Non-aligned studies, New Delhi also gives many details. The summary of proceedings and presentations of the international seminar on Non-alignment retrospect and prospects, held at Delhi in 1986 gives the view points of reputed scholars and political leaders.

It is often noticed that the policy of non-alignment has been often misunderstood and misinterpreted in India and abroad research. Plethora of books, research papers and articles by Indian and foreign scholars have appeared. Among them special mention may be made to the following.

M.S. Rajan one of the historians of NAM in his study points out the remarkable features of the policy of Non-alignment, the Non-aligned Movement and Disarmament.² He expressed the view that the existence of the Non-aligned Nations has provided a certain degree of stability to the United Nations. This book is an asset for the proper understanding of Non-alignment. The role of the Non-aligned states in the United Nations is highlighted by him³ in his thought provoking and enlightening article when the seventh summit conference of the Non-aligned

¹ Social Science Volumes, USSR Academy Sciences.

² M.S.Rajan, *Studies on Non-Alignment and Non-Aligned Movement*, New Delhi, 1986.

³ M.S.Rajan (Ed.), *The Non-Aligned and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987.

movement decided to observe 1985 as the "year of the United Nations". He points out that when the U.N was established in 1945 it was an "aligned" one. But in early sixties the Non-aligned member states have come to constitute a majority of membership, the U.N has been transformed from an originally "aligned" and select membership organizations to a genuinely "Non-aligned" and universal one as of the present. The Basic international concerns of the NAM and the United Nations are the same.¹ The Non-aligned countries pledged their support to enable the United Nations to play a more effective role in preserving peace. M.S. Rajan adds that the declaration of the third or the Lusaka summit urged the strengthening of the peace-keeping operations. According to the author, without the Non-aligned states, the U.N.O. would have become a forum for confrontation between the great powers and the cold war blocs, which might end up in disaster to the organization and eventually even to the world. For maintenance of peace and security, the part played by the Non-aligned states to spear head the U.N efforts to assist the economic and social development of colonial countries and cultural co-operation are properly discussed in the article. The merits and demerits of the role of the Non-aligned states in implementing the purposes or principles of the charter with particular issues are traced in a fine manner. Non-aligned countries have become a factor in U.N., yet, unlike regional groups, it is not formally recognized by the organization and hence no formal status in it. In fact M.S Rajan here justifies the

¹ *Ibid.*, p.303.

view of K.P. Saksena that "the so called Non-aligned states have as a group failed to cut much ice or to acquire a position of influence in the political processes of the United Nations".¹ M.S. Rajan in his unique article 'Non-alignment at cross roads'² examines the new trends and challenges to Non-alignment in the contemporary international situation. His article on "Indian Foreign Policy in Action. 1954-1956"³ reveals many aspects of the Indian Foreign Policy based on Non-alignment.

In his another work M.S. Rajan⁴ has compared NAM to U.N. According to him members of both United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement seek to promote the respective national interests but in terms of purposes of both. And since these purposes are similar, if not identical in all respects, the functioning of each reinforces the other, Maintenance of international peace and security, peaceful settlement of disputes, promotion of right to self-determination, co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction are objectives according to the author equally shared by both association.

¹ K.P. Saksena, 'Non-Alignment and the United Nations' in *International Studies*, New Delhi, Vol.20, 1981, pp.99-101.

² M.S. Rajan, "Non-Aligned Movement at Cross Roads", *World Focus*, Vol.1, No.9, September 1980.

³ M.S. Rajan, "Indian Foreign Policy, 1954-56", *India Quarterly*, Vol.16, No.3.1960.

⁴ M.S. Rajan, *Non-Alignment and Non-Aligned Movement: Retrospect and Prospect*, New Delhi, 1990.

M.M. Rehman's book on Politics of Non-Alignment, brilliantly illuminates social aspects of Non-alignment like the goals of Non-alignment, its meaning and the part played by the movement by countries like India and India's role in Korean crisis, the Suez crisis, Hungarian Revolution and the Congo-crisis.¹ In his study he has tried to clarify some of the misunderstandings by examining the policy of Non-Alignment in its proper perspectives as propounded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Joseph Broz Tito and Gamal Abdul Nassar. He has examined the Non-aligned movement in the light of domestic conditions in these countries and prevailing international situation.

Independent India formulated its foreign policy in an era of bipolarity and cold war. Foreign policy planning is a very difficult work. Every time new opportunities emerge and new challenges crop up, foreign policy framers plan to meet the new challenges and utilize opportunities in the best possible way. K.P. Misra, Historian of NAM, in his study² deals with the planning of foreign policy of India. The author points out a major plan in the Indian foreign policy formulation. He is of the opinion that at the time of the formation of a foreign policy experts in the field are not consulted and the job is solely entrusted to career diplomats. He argues to remedy this inadequacy at the earliest. A similar view is explained by P.

¹ M.M. Rehman, *The politics of Non-Alignment*, New Delhi, 1969.

² K.P. Misra, *Foreign Policy and its Planning*, New Delhi, 1970.

Ratnam in his study,¹ which stresses the need for consultation with the parliament in general and opposition parties in particular. He maintains that this will ensure the elimination of personal factors in foreign policy planning and may lead to objective thinking in foreign affairs.

K.P. Misra² in his pioneering work described the super-power diplomacy in the U.N over the Indo-Pakistan War. Unlike Tashkent in 1972 they decided to sort out the things and settled the disputes through mutual consultations at Simla, rather than in a third country. While examining the Non-alignment policy of India, the capacity of political parties for influencing the foreign policy moves also may be looked into. In March 1977, the Janatha party came into power in India breaking the thirty-year rule of the Congress party. Observers in India and abroad felt that Indian foreign policy under the new regime might undergo a major change. A large number of articles appeared in different journals on different aspects of the Janatha Party's foreign policy. K.P. Misra's book³ is a collection of such articles.

The change of government in March 1977 has not affected India's policy of Non-alignment. Speaking at a reception in Srinagar on August 1977, foreign

¹ P.Ratnam, "Policy Making and Parliamentary Accountability with particular reference to India's Foreign Policy", *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies*, Vol.9, No.1, March 1975.

² K.P. Misra, *The Role of the UN in the India-Pakistan conflict-1971*, Delhi, 1972. Also see, "UN and US Attitudes", *Indian and Foreign Review*, Vol.8. NO.15, December 1971.

³ K.P. Misra (Ed.), *Janatha's Foreign Policy*, Delhi, 1979.

Minister Vajpayee said that when he was first elected to Lok Sabha, foreign affairs were being handled by Jawaharlal Nehru who had clearly stated that India could have no other policy except that of Non-alignment in dealing with foreign affairs. And it would not change even if any other party were voted to power in place of Congress. "Since then he added, it had not changed".¹ Kamalakanta Panda and Pramod Kumar Mishra explain the Janatha party's foreign policy of India in detail.² They point out that even though the political shade of the Government has changed, the policy of Non-alignment has not changed. Various chapters of the book discuss the theoretical content analysis of foreign policy making, Janatha Government's policy of "Genuine Non-alignment", its policy good neighbourliness, its relation with major powers and its performance in the international forums during a short span of twenty eight months. An attempt is made to analyze Janatha government's China dealings in a global perspective and to find out whether India had become a target of new Peking intrigue and its impact of New Delhi's role are explained in detail.

K.P. Misra³ point out that Nehru's dominance in the field of foreign affairs was an accepted fact in the Congress before 1947 and the pattern was maintained,

¹ The Hindustan Times, 10 April, 1977.

² Kamalakanta Panda and Pramod kumar Mishra, *New Perspectives in India's Foreign Policy (The Janatha Phase)*, Delhi, 1980.

³ K.P. Misra, "Foreign Policy Planning in India", in K.P. Misra (Ed.), *Foreign Policy of India*, New Delhi,(1977).

indeed reinforced by the apparent successes of Indian Non-Alignment after independence. It was only after the Indo-Chinese war and Nehru's death that a degree of institutionalization took place in regard to the making of Indian foreign policy. K.P. Misra¹ in his study point out that there are large group of countries which is sympathetic to at least some of the concerns of the Non-aligned countries. He further argues that there is similarity of views between them on several peace initiatives which have taken by them within and outside U.N. The same author² points out terminologically, since the term Non-alignment owes its origin to India, it is relevant to consider the ways of thinking of Indian people. Even a casual look at the philosophical and civilizational tradition indicates that the Indians have been fond of the noun with negative. He also argues in another work³ that Non-alignment is not neutrality. This aspect has also attracted wider attention in diplomatic pronouncements and scholarly writings. He points out⁴ Non-Alignment's similarity with Monroe doctrine. Though this doctrine was formally enunciated in December 1823, it has been more or less a running theme of American foreign policy since the founding of the republic till the Second World War. Since the United States rose to the top position in international system, some

¹ K.P. Misra, *Non-Alignment in International Relations*, New Delhi, 1993.

² K.P. Misra, *Non-Alignment and Neutrality*, New Delhi, 1982.

³ K.P. Misra, "the Concept of Non-Alignment : Its Implications and Recent trends", in K.P. Misra (Ed.), *Studies in Foreign policy*, New Delhi, 1969.

⁴ K.P. Misra, *Op. cit.*, (1982)

people attribute it, at least partly to its policy of neutrality. It is further suggested that the Non-aligned Countries are attempting to follow the same policy in order to reap a similar harvest.

K.P. Misra¹ point out that NAM consists of 101 independent sovereign states having their own geopolitical and geostrategic compulsions, their distinct historical and political experience. According to him they differ in cultural and economic development. The ideas and ideals of their rules were different. But there is one thing common among all the Non-aligned Countries. All of them have experienced political and economic exploitation by the developed countries. Their vast source of raw materials and cheap labour had been exploited and the goods produced by the industrialized countries were marketed in those poor countries. He further argues that since the Non-aligned Countries are economically poor, militarily weak and in some cases their rulers may have connections with the industrialised world it is but natural that great powers are able to make a section of Non-aligned Countries to dance to their tunes.

He further says that differences of opinion in the movement have been flashed in the front page of the western influenced newspapers and the contribution news of NAM has been ignored. According to him the NAM is working for peace, security and disarmament on one hand and independence, development and co-

¹ K.P. Misra, "Non-Aligned movement Under India's Chairmanship", in D.R. Goyal (Ed.), *Non-Alignment: Concepts and Concerns*, Delhi, 1986.

operation among nations on the other. But this difficult task cannot be attained all on a sudden. The author points out that if the movement had achieved some success in the field of decolonization, Disarmament, Détente, Development, Dissemination and Democratization of international relations, one can be optimistic about its future.¹

K.R. Narayanan while he was the Union Minister of State for External Affairs in an article pointed out the "Relevance of Non-Alignment".² He says that it is more relevant today when we are facing many divisive, fissiparous forces, may be at a higher level of development, but still they are fissiparous and divisive. In such a situation co-existence among different parties and different forces in our country becomes increasingly difficult. So from the point of view of nation building, from the point of view of having even a slender consensus for working together in India and the world as a whole, we need Non-Alignment and peaceful co-existence as a policy. Mr. K.R. Narayanan is of the opinion that the origin of Non-alignment was rooted in the search for peace. In this nuclear age, the world is threatened by virtual annihilation not only by nuclear weapons through the pursuit of policies like power politics, balance of power and deterrence. These are different incarnation of the same theme whether we style it deterrence or balance of

¹ K.P. Misra "The Ideological Base of Non-Alignment: An Overview" in Hans Kochler (Ed.), *The Principles of Non-Alignment*, London, 1982, pp.62-74.

² K.R. Narayanan, *Op. Cit.*

power. Therefore he is of the opinion that it is not necessary for any one to labour the point. He therefore expresses firmly that from the point of view of world peace, Non-alignment has very practical relevance for the world.

The evolution and progress of Non-Alignment and the basis of India's foreign policy is described in detail in addition to other aspects by Shashi Bhushan in his work on Non-Alignment, Legacy of Nehru.¹ The Indian National Congress in the pre-independence days passed many resolutions. All these resolution reflected the general outlook of the party towards world affairs. There was rarely an important international development to which the Congress did not react. Nehru visualized a linkage between Indian struggles for independence with worldwide struggle against imperialism. So foreign affairs cell was established in the office of the All India Congress Committee in May, 1936. Thus Indian National Congress was the representative of the Indian mind. Its importance has been recognized by several writers on Indian foreign policy. Bimal Prasad's study² traces the background and the origins of India's foreign policy with special references to the role of Indian National Congress. Karunakar Gupta's scholarship has enormously enriched the study³ of India's foreign policy analytically and, concluded that India's initiatives for maintenance of international peace and her detachment from the

¹ Shashi Bhushan, *Non-Alignment, Legacy of Nehru*, Delhi, 1976.

² Bimal Prasad, 'The Origins of India's Foreign Policy', Calcutta. 1962.

³ Karunakar Gupta, *Indian Foreign Policy-In Defence of National Interest*, Calcutta, 1956.

super power rivalry were in the service of her larger interests. Yuri Nassenko's study¹ examines Nehru and his policy of Non-Alignment in the historical and political context. Various noted scholars like C.P. Bhambhuri, A.P. Rana, Nikhil Chakravarty, V.P. Dutt etc. have contributed articles² on the genesis, development, the role and the new trends and challenges to Non-Alignment in the contemporary international system. Sanripada Bhattacharya's book³ is another study of India's foreign policy in Nehru era. The major thrust of the book is to examine and evaluate, in the author's own words, "correlation between India's national interests and Non-alignment neutralism as defended by her decision makers during the period 1947-64 and over that in most important respect India's national interests were indeed served by her chosen diplomatic instrument of Non-Alignment-cum-neutralism".

A.P. Rana illustrates the imperatives of Non-Alignment. It is a detailed study of India's foreign policy strategy in Nehru period. His work⁴ may be designated as a 'proto theory' of India's foreign policy technique during the time of

¹ Yuri Nassenko, *Jawaharlal Nehru and India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1977.

² "Non-Aligned Movement at the Cross-Roads", *World Focus*, Vol.1, No.9, September 1980.

³ Sanripada Bhattacharya, *Pursuit of national interest through Neutralism, India's Foreign Policy in Nehru era*, Calcutta, 1978.

⁴ A.P. Rana, *The Imperatives of Non-Alignment: A Conceptual Study of India's Foreign Policy Strategy in Nehru Period*, New Delhi, 1976.

Nehru. M.L. Sondhi¹ in his critique of India's foreign policy of Non-Alignment asserts that it hardened into a static view, which hindered India from fully utilizing her policy options. He is of the opinion that indiscriminate appeasement ingrained in Indian foreign policy resulted in failure to formulate national objectives with clarity, especially in the context of Indo-Pakistan relations. In order to restore dynamism to India leadership on world affairs and in order to foster an improvement in India's image abroad, the status quo attitude towards the super powers and the dogmatic moralization of the foreign policy has to be replaced with new approach in the foreign policy on the bed rock of Non- appeasement.

D.N. Malik² has traced the historical origins of Non-Alignment in India's foreign policy from the attitude of the Congress party from November 1921 to August 1946. He has also studied the progress and decline in the policy of Non-alignment from September 1946 to October 1964 or from the establishment of the interim Government in India to the Cairo-conference of Non-Aligned states. Various aspects of Non-Alignment like the origins, bases and the various dimensions and implications of Indian foreign policy of Non-Alignment has attracted the attention of many scholars, notably, T.M.P. Mahadevan, N.G. Ranga,

¹ M.L. Scndhi, *Non-Appeasement: A New Direction for Foreign policy*, New Delhi, 1972.

² D.N. Malik, *The Development of Non-Alignment in India's Foreign Policy*, Allahabad, 1967.

Joze Smole and C. Parameswaran.¹ All of them made great contributions to the study of Non-Alignment. Thus Non-Alignment became one of the best-studied areas due to their contributions.

Rikhi Jaipal² while discussing about the origin, growth and potential for world peace point out the following. The status of neutrality in war was recognized as one of several possibilities open to Indian kings in the Arthasastra the well-known work of Kautilya otherwise known as Indian Machiavelli. Some of the Indian writers trace the origin of Non-Alignment to Buddhist roots and indeed the teachings of Buddha were against war and violence. The above mentioned author says that one must turn to Nehru, the architect of Non-Alignment for truth, as it was he said once: "I have not originated Non-alignment, it is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India in the conditioning of the Indian mind during the struggle for freedom and inherent in the very circumstances of the world today."

Rikhi Jaipal says that since 1921 the All India Congress Committee began to take an increasing interest in India's relations with its neighbours and to make pronouncements on the elements of the foreign policy of independent India. Nehru

¹ T.M.P. Mahadevan, "Indian Foreign policy of Non-Alignment", *The Indian Year Book of International Affairs*, 1953; N.G. Ranga, "Bases of India's Foreign Policy", *Eastern Economist*, 2 Jan, 1948. Joze Smole, "Nehru's Policy of Non-Alignment Unquestionable" *Indian Foreign Affairs*, November 1959; C. Parameswaran, *Nehru's Foreign Policy X-rayed*, New Delhi, 1954.

² Rikhi Jaipal, *Non-Alignment: Origin Growth and Potential for World peace*, New Delhi, 1983.

became the head of the foreign department of this committee in 1925 and shortly thereafter in 1927 the Indian National Congress deplored the use of Indian troops in China, Mesopotamia and Persia. The following year it sent fraternal greetings and support to the peoples of Egypt, Iraq, Palestine and Syria who were fighting against imperialism. And in 1939 it proclaimed the desire of the Indian people to stay clear of the war between imperialism and fascism, to both of which they were opposed and thus to preserve peace and freedom of India. This Indian trend to keep aloof from the power games of European states was a natural by product of the main struggle for independence from the imperial rule of Great Britain. India refused to alien itself even with Britain's enemies in the hope of furthering its own nationalist aims, because it had always been its policy to stand on its own feet and do its fighting according to the above stated writer.

Harcharan Singh Josh¹ argue that the Non-Aligned nations have the supreme task of chalking out, in the light of the latest developments in the world, a programme of action which should be followed to formulate positive programme. They should be the following five points. (1) Nuclear Disarmament (2) Peaceful settlement of border disputes (3) Freedom from foreign domination, aggression, subversion and racial discrimination (4) Acceleration of economic development through international co-operation and (5) Full support for the United Nations and

¹ Harcharan Singh Josh, *India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989.

its programmes for peace and development. He is of the opinion that a United Non-Aligned group will make an impact on world peace and on the evolution of new economic order for the millions of poor.

A.K. Damodaran in his article¹ says Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Sukharno and Nkrumah were the founding fathers of the NAM. In fact certain objective compulsions united them. There were however, local, regional and also intensely personal factors, which from the very beginning, led to difference of emphasis and tactics between the members of the movement. In his paper² on 'International situation', presented in a symposium held in May 1980 in New Delhi A.K. Damodaran stated the three great positive developments making détente have been agreement between the super powers, their allies, their clients and also several neutral and Non-Aligned Nations animated by idealism, nuclear non-proliferation followed by bilateral negotiations between the United States and Soviet union to halt nuclear arms race through the SALT agreements. Secondly there has been the achievement under conditions of comparative stability, of legitimacy in the post war borders in Europe as marked by the Brandt Brezhenev agreement on German question, followed by normalization of West Germany's relations with the East European countries. Almost as if to underpin these political and nuclear

¹ U.S. Bajpai (Ed.), *Non-Alignment: Perspective and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1983.

² K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan (Ed.), *Non-Alignment and Contemporary International Relations*, New Delhi, 1981.

arrangements, there has been an indispensable third factor, the achievement by the Soviet Union of comparative equality in strategic and tactical fields with United States and its allies.

The work of Peter Willets¹ describes Non-Alignment as an ideology, the institutionalization of Non-Aligned movement etc. The subtitle of his study is clearly objectionable because like the term "Power Politics" the term "Alliance" too has in international relations come to acquire distinct meaning. About the meaning of alliance one may refer to the writings of well-known American Scholar, Arnold Wolfers who observes "In technical language of statesmen and scholars an "alliance" signifies a promise of mutual military alliance between two or more sovereign states." R.A. Mortimer² also mentions about the origin of NAM.

The Korean War created an international climate whereby the Non-alignment of India was put to an acid test. Nehru said in his speech³ "we have always been of the opinion that the problem of Korea can only be solved with China's co-operation, whatever the result of the Korean conflict might be in the military sense, the problem cannot be finally solved with the acquiescence, if not active co-operation of China. We laid stress on this fact right at the beginning.

¹ Peter Willets, *The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of Third World Alliance*, Bombay, 1978.

² R.A. Mortimer, *The Third World Coalition in International Politics*, New York, 1980.

³ P.H. Patwardhan, *Jawaharlal Nehru: the Ecstasy and the Agony*, Poona, 1966, p.173.

That was one of the reasons why we felt that China should be represented at the United Nations and the issue at stake was an urgent one. R.P. Kaushik in his work¹ has dealt with the dilemma of Non-aligned countries in the Korean War. The main aspect of the book is that it was in Korean War that the Non-aligned assumed its pronounced positivist character in international relations.

Contrary to this Michael Brecher in his article² explores the interaction between India and the West during the 1962 war and its immediate aftermath. The author maintains that due to this interaction the principle of Non-alignment stood at the brink of collapse. India's birth as an independent sovereign state on 15 August 1947 could materialise only at the cost of partition into two separate political units, India and Pakistan. Surendra Chopra³ has analyzed the role of U.N in the Indo-Pakistan War keeping in view of the changing super power perceptions in the light of the changed political condition in the subcontinent in the wake of Chinese diplomatic offensive in Pakistan since the early sixties.

A study of Nuclear weapons, Indian Ocean, Peace, Détente and the role of the Non-aligned Nations in the United Nations is made in the scholarly work of

¹ R.P. Kaushik, *The Crucial Years of Non-Alignment*, Delhi, 1972.

² Michael Brecher, "Non-Alignment Under Stress: The West and the India-China War", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol.52, No.4, winter, 1979-80.

³ Surendra Chopra, Indo-Pakistan War and the UN, *Journal of African and Asian studies*, Vol.2, No.1, 1969.

Attarchand.¹ This work is immensely useful to know about the part played by the Non-aligned countries in the special sessions at the United Nations and summit conferences.

The twenty years history of the United Nations by Clark M. Eichelberger² gives an over all view of the development of the United Nations and the principles of United Nations charter.

Oksana Reznikova³ has authored an eminently readable volume. A clear view about Non-Aligned Movement and the West is properly traced by the author. The book examines both general and specific features in the policies of the United States, western Europe and Asian Pacific nations with regard to Non-aligned movement, some areas where interests are likely to clash and possible fields of co-operation.

G.N. Srivastava⁴ in his book describes the constructive contribution of the Non-aligned movement as a major factor in the developing countries struggle against colonialism, domination and subjugation and the movement's positive role in consolidating not only peace and security but also to create favourable conditions

¹ Attarchand, *Non-Aligned Nations, Arms race and Disarmament*, Delhi, 1983.

² Clark M. Eichelberger, *UN the First Twenty Years*, Delhi, 1966.

³ Oksana Reznikova, *The West and the Non-Alignment*, New Delhi, 1988.

⁴ G.N. Srivastava, *India, Non-Alignment and World Peace*, New Delhi, 1984.

for the establishment of a new international order based on co-operation and fraternity and not on exploitation and oppression.

Mahendra Kumar's work¹ analyzed the meaning of certain key concepts of international politics namely ideology, foreign policy, Non-alignment, collective security, Disarmament and arms control. The analysis of these concepts not only brings out their theoretical implications but also examines their relevance in the nuclear age.

Massive literature is available regarding the Non-aligned Movement and its role in the United Nations and contemporary international politics. They are the works of R.L. Jackson, A.W. Singham and U.S. Bajpai in addition to the works of K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan.² Also many books have been written about the key role played by India in the establishment and conduct of NAM. They are the works of K.P. Misra, P. Mathur and K.M. Sritastav, H.D. Malayia and M.K. Saini.³

The western media has always attempted to underestimate the achievements and success of the Non-Alignment; it has also tried to magnify the differences

¹ Mahendra kumar, *Theoretical Aspect of the International Politics*, Delhi, 1980.

² R.L. Jackson, *Non-Aligned, The UN and the Super Powers*, New York, 1983, A.W. Singham (Ed.), *Non-Alignment Movement in World Politics*, Delhi, 1979, U.S. Bajpai (Ed.), *Non-Alignment: Perspectives and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1983.

³ K.P. Misra, *Non-Aligned Movement: India's Chairmanship*, New Delhi, 1987, P. Mathur and K.M. Sritastav *Non-Aligned movement: New Delhi and Beyond*, Delhi, 1984, H.D. Malayia, *Non-alignment Onward March*, New Delhi, 1981, M.K. Saini (Ed.), *Aspects of Non-Alignment*, New Delhi, 1980.

among the Non-aligned members. But the relationship of the Non-aligned movement with the socialist countries, particularly U.S.S.R was very cordial. G.N. Srivastava's unique work¹ *NAM and Soviet Foreign Policy* based on the primary sources include the papers relating to NAM summits, Asian Relations Conference and Bandung Conference. The primary source also includes the documents of the Congresses of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. As secondary sources, the author examined the books written by Soviet, Indian and Western scholars. It is a useful book for scholars as well as the general readers keen to understand the identity of the perceptions of Non-aligned Movement vis-a-vis the Soviet Foreign policy. The author points out that since 1950, India became the cornerstone of Soviet Policy in Asia and vice versa. Indo-Soviet relations in 1950's were the test case for Soviet Union's foreign policy in Asia, it led her to establish relations with other countries of Asia and Africa. The Soviet Union realized that to establish peace, policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism of the newly free countries should be given backing, because they alone could not resist western pressures. Gradually the Soviet path was followed by the other East European Socialist countries and interaction between the developing and the socialist countries became a striking phenomenon of 1950's.

¹ N. Srivastava, *NAM and Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989.

The attitude of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries towards the policy of Non-alignment is described by Dr. E.K.G. Nambiar.¹ He says that Soviet attitude during the period from 1946 to 1954 reflected a lack of proper understanding of Non-alignment formulated by India. But after that period India's policy of Non-alignment was hailed by the Soviets. The attitude of the socialist countries towards the policy of Non-alignment is pointed out by J.D.B. Miller.²

Peaceful spirit and outlook of India is projected by T.B. Mukerjee³ in his work dedicated to the problems of disarmament. India's perspective of peace, India's view point on Disarmament, India's concept of security and India's action plan for nuclear weapon free world is dealt in detail by Mukerjee. The role of the United Nations in peaceful co-existence as conceived and promoted by its Secretary General is analyzed by Smt. Padma Srivastava.⁴

Francis Parakatil's book⁵ discusses in great detail India's role in Korean, Middle East, Congo operations as well as the reaction to UN's intervention in Kashmir. He also points out India's contribution in implementing effectively the United Nation's peacekeeping decisions. He adds that Non-alignment policy and

¹ Dr. E.K.G. Nambiar, "Non-Alignment and Soviet Union", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. I XII, Trivandrum, 1984.

² J.D.B. Miller, *Politics of Third World*, London, 1966.

³ T.B. Mukerjee, *Peace, Security and Disarmament, Indian Perspective*, New Delhi, 1989.

⁴ Padma Srivastava, *UN and Peaceful Co-existence*, Delhi, 1969.

⁵ Francis Parakatil, *India and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, Delhi, 1975.

Non-aligned states have played a great role in the United Nations. One of the major benefits in connection with peacekeeping operations was that Non-aligned Nations enhanced the role of the United Nations General Assembly in which all members are represented equally and reduced the role of Security Council. They also forestalled the dangerous consequences of the United Nations functioning as a peace enforcement agency in a bipolarized world and converted it into peace observing and peacekeeping organization.

The part played by the Non-aligned Movement in the world arena is properly examined by Yuri Alimov. The Non-Aligned Movement is a new and unique phenomenon in the system of international relations, which is still a puzzle to many people. The debates according to the author are directed on questions that seem quite simple: Non-Alignment with whom and why? Whom or what should the movement oppose? With whom does it not align itself and why? Who are its friends and enemies? What role does it play in the international scene? Why does it enjoy international prestige? How does the movement develop organizationally? What are the general goals and principles of Non-alignment? Yuri Alimov¹ in a fine manner attempts to give answers to these and other questions.

¹ Yuri Alimov, *The Rise and Growth of Non-Aligned Movement*, Moscow, 1987.

Jai Prakash Srivastava¹ closely examines the dimensions and trends in a nuclear race and relationship between security, disarmament and development. The Non-aligned countries stated even in 1961, in the true tradition of Non-alignment, that the greatest peril facing the world is the threat to the survival of humanity posed by the existence of nuclear weapons. The author points out that there are different categories of weapons-nuclear, biological, chemical and conventional and argues that the Disarmament is essential for the best interest of humanity and it cannot wait.

V. Benevolensky² gives an account of the origins of Non-aligned Movement, its major landmarks, the unity of the Non-aligned Movement and the enemies and allies of the movement. He is of the opinion that after coming into existence in the early 1960's the Non-aligned Movement emerged as an influential force in the struggle for easing international tensions, for disarmament, peace, freedom and progress throughout the world. He points out the movement has tried to establish a new world order based on respect for independence, equality and co-operation which envisions a radical restructuring of both economic and political international relations. He examines in detail the origin of the Non-aligned Movement, its major land marks, the Non-alignment, neutrality and equidistance

¹ Jai Prakash Srivastava, *Towards a nuclear weapon Free and Non-Violent World*, New Delhi, 1989.

² V. Benevolensky, *The Non-Aligned Movement: Belgrade to Delhi, Moscow*, 1985.

from the bloc of states and the "non-bloc" nature of the movement. He also narrates the relationship of US and attitude towards the Non-aligned nations. The US mass media never cared to highlight the merits of the movement. He argues that the US has launched an offensive against the developing countries in general and the Non-aligned states in particular. On the other hand the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries welcomed the foundation of the Non-aligned movement and have always considered it as a positive factor in the development of international relations.

Dr. S.K. Sahni and Dr. R.N. Srivastava¹ in their study made an effort to highlight the contribution of the Non-Aligned Movement towards nuclear and conventional disarmament. The contribution of NAM towards world peace is properly highlighted in this work. The book gives an objective assessment of the role of Non-aligned nations in U.N for Disarmament and peace. The financial implication of arms race, the risk of nuclear annihilations, disarmament efforts of the developing countries, the issue of international security are surveyed in detail in that book. It is argued that we in the third world countries face immense problems. The only war we can afford to fight is a war against poverty, disease and hunger. Thus it is obligatory on the part of Non-aligned countries to work for peace and disarmament.

¹ Dr. S.K. Sahni and Dr. R.N. Srivastava, Non-Aligned Movement and Struggle for peace and Disarmament, New Delhi, 1989.

In the 'Non-alignment-concepts and concerns' edited by D.R. Goyal¹ an attempt has been made to put together some of the outstanding writings both on concept and concerns of Non-aligned movement. The book has been divided into four sections-concept, development, disarmament and decolonization. The contributors of the first section Narendra. P. Jain, D. R. Goyal, K.P. Misra and K. Subramanyam traces the conceptual frame work in terms of its historical development and the issues it has taken up from time to time. They point out that Non-Alignment is less understood in the light of its various responses to different challenges. In the second section economic experts like Manmohan Singh, Sukhamoy Chakravarty, V.R. Panchamukhi and Subrata Banerjee analyze the problems of economic development, the key issue before the movement. In the third section, disarmament, peace and security, Martin Zuberi discusses in detail about the nuclear threat. Muchkund Dubey mentions about Non-Aligned, star wars and disarmament. He argues that the arms race in the outer space can be prevented only if there is a genuine desire and the necessary political will on the part of those who are developing such weapons to prevent such an extension of the arms race. This is possible only if these countries decide forthwith to forego the so-called defensive option and explicitly commit themselves to negotiation of a new agreement or agreements. In the same section on disarmament Jasjit Singh's article elaborates the developing countries and nuclear issues. He stated that what is

¹ D.R. Goyal, *Non-Alignment: Concepts and Concerns*, Delhi, 1986.

required is the universal consent to outlawing nuclear weapons and declaring their use as a crime against humanity.

The Fourth section of the D.R. Goyal edited work puts together perceptions on the process of political and cultural decolonization by V.D. Chopra, S. Viswam, N.V.K. Murthy, A. Rahman and Jayashree Jalali. The Non-aligned countries have recently broken the shackles of colonialism and are faced with the problem of health, education, science and technology left behind as a legacy by the colonial rulers. Even though the various chapters of the book are written by different writers, in a single volume, we get lot of information.

India as the leader of the Non-aligned movement played an important role in the United Nations. There are many books, articles and documents, which narrate about that. C.K. Kochukoshy's monograph¹ deals with the role and attitude of India in different organs of the U.N and the various problems it undertook from time to time. Charles P. Sehleier and J.S. Brains in their study² have examined the role of India in the UN. A noteworthy aspect of the study is that it deals with the administrative organization and procedures of various ministries particularly the ministry of external affairs for developing and administering policy of the UN and its agencies.

¹ C.K. Kochukoshy, *India and United Nations*, Delhi, 1953.

² Charles P. Sehleier and J.S. Brains, *The Administration of India's Foreign policy through the United Nations*, New York, 1968.

Alka Gupta¹ deals with India's role in the United Nations and its contribution to its peacekeeping operations in Korea. The Non-partisan attitude of India, towards the problem seems to have helped India to play an important role in the Korean crisis. Many other thinkers have dealt with India's role in the Korean crisis. R.K. Kaushik and Shiv Dayal have done remarkable studies² dealing with the historical role played by India. Many books and articles deal with India's role in various disputes in the UN. Raj Govinda, C. Kondapi, P.C. Mukerjee and B.S. Rao³ have done useful scholarly works.

In the Nehru era the most influential decision maker was V.K. Krishna Menon. He was responsible for shaping India's foreign policy concerning the United Nations and issues before it, according to Michael Brecher.⁴ Achin Vanaik⁵ states in his book, the two of the most striking aspects of Nehru era were the high visibility of India in UN efforts to intervene in International disputes (Korea, Suez, Congo etc) and the complete dominance of Nehru himself in the formation of

¹ Alka Gupta, *India and UN peacekeeping Activities*, New Delhi, 1977.

² R.K. Kaushik, *United States and India's Policy in Korea: 1950-53*, (Ph.D. Thesis. JNU, New Delhi), 1969, Shiv Dayal, *India's role in Korean Question*, Delhi, 1969.

³ Raj Govinda, *India and Disputes in UN*, Bombay, 1959, C. Kondapi, *Indian Opinion of the United Nations*, *International Organization*, Vol.5, Nov.1951, P.C. Mukerjee, *India and the United Nations*, *Modern Review*, Vol.103, February 1968 and B.S. Rao, *India's Peace aims through the United Nations*, *National Peace Conference Bulletin*, 10 October 1950.

⁴ Michael Brecher, *India and the World Politics*, London, 1968.

⁵ Achin Vanaik, *India and the Changing World*, New Delhi, 1995.

foreign policy. For seventeen years Nehru held the portfolio as foreign Minister. Satish Kumar¹ had made a comprehensive collection of documents pertaining to India's foreign policy vis-à-vis United Nations in the year 1972-73.

Anti-colonialism and peaceful co-existence was the two major global objectives of India's diplomacy in the United Nations. These aspects are highlighted by Charles H. Heimsath and Surjit Man Singh in their thought provoking scholarly work.² During most of 1960s the emphasis was on getting arms control and ensuing a more balanced distribution of the world's resources among all states, they point out. Many other studies also narrate more or less similar views of the Indian efforts in the UN.³

One basic foreign policy objective of independent India according to Nehru was pursuit of peace with any major power, but through an independent approach to each controversial issue through a policy of Non-alignment⁴. K.P. Saksena in an article "The United Nations in India's Foreign policy strategy" argue that a perspective analysis of free India's policy and diplomatic interactions at the United

¹ Satish Kumar, *Documents on India's Foreign policy 1973*, New Delhi, 1976.

² Charles H.Heimsath and Surjit Man Singh, *A Diplomatic History of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1971.

³ Gertrude C. Boland, "Solidarity in the General Assembly: The Indian role 1946-1957", *Claremont Asian Studies*, No.10,1962, the Indian Councils of World Affairs, India and the United Nations, New York, 1957.

⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign policy (Selected Speeches. September, 1946-April 1961)*, New Delhi, 1961.

Nations, reveals the sordid truth that we have not been able to grasp the reality of the United Nations as an integral part of international power politics, nor its potentiality as an instrument for promotion of national interest. The above mentioned author in another¹ article states that in spite of diplomatic laurels won by India from time to time for its role in resolving international crisis, there is lack of "consistent concerted and containing direction" due to weak institutionalization of thinking and policy planning. Oran R. Young and P.N. Haskar² have also given a similar opinion about India's UN diplomacy. India's contribution to maintain peace through the UN is the outcome of historical events that demanded similar leading role to be played by India according to Swadesh Rana in an article.³

By the early 1960s the newly independent developing countries had started demanding better deal. Depending on such organizations as Non-aligned movement and group 77, they created the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) argued for fair terms of trade and liberal terms for financing development. The formal idea of The New International Economic order was put forward in the Algiers Conference of Non-aligned Countries in 1973. In

¹ K.P. Saksena, India and Diplomacy in the United Nations, *International Studies*, Vol.17, Nos. 3-4. Jul- Dec. 1978.

² Oran R. young, United Nations and International System, International Organisation, Boston, Vol.22, No.4, 1968, P.N. Haskar, Diplomacy and Diplomats, *The illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, 10 October, 1978.

³ Swadesh Rana, India, the United Nations and World Peace, in M.S. Rajan(Ed.), *Op. Cit.*,

1975 a declaration for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) was adopted along with the programme of action in the sixth special session of the United Nations Conference on trade and Development (UNCTAD). In essence the New International Economic Order aims at social justice among trading countries of the world. D.M. Mithani¹ provides the details mentioned above in his book. Mehboob-ul-Haque² observes the demand for NIEO is to be viewed as a part of historical process rather than specific proposals. Its important facts are the emergence of Non-aligned movement, the politicization of development issue and the increased assertiveness of the Third World countries. The new international order has been the less explored area. It is because of this reason not much literature is available.

After attaining independence the leader of the Non-aligned movement, India has been advocating the cause of democratization of international, political and economic order. In this context the role of Indian policy of Non-alignment, co-operation and mutual trust has been most vital. It helped in easing international tension, but also promoting social and economic progress of developing countries.

¹ D.M. Mithani, *International Economics*, Delhi, 1992.

² Mehboob-ul-Haque, "Towards a New Frame work for International Resource Transfer", *Finance Development*, September 1975.

K.B. Lall¹ has discussed the role that India has played and can in future in changing the international economic situation.

India's approach towards the New International Economic Order has been not to seek few benefits or little more foreign assistance. Its real aim has been to seek structural changes in the prevailing market mechanism and power structure. The New International Economic order, the essence of which was simply full and complete emancipation of developing countries. B.N. Mehrish² in his article deals with these priorities and India's approach towards New International Economic order.

The need for New International Economic Order arises because of glaring inequalities between the rich and poor nations of the third world. A very wide gap exists between the people of advanced countries and the people of developing countries. The concentration of economic and political power in the developed states enabled them to make and impose decisions on the developing states. An important factor, which strengthened the need for NIEO, was the emergence of few developing countries as economically powerful nations. Those countries were

¹ K.B. Lall, India and International Economic Order, In Bimal Prasad (Ed.), India's Foreign Policy: Studies in Continuity and Change, New Delhi, 1979. For Similar view also see, B.N. Nehru, Western Democracy in Third World", *The Third World Quarterly*. Vol.1. No. 2, April, 1979.

² B.N. Mehrish, India and the New International Economic Order, *Punjab Journal of Politics*, Vol.3, October, 1979, Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's suggestion at U.N.G.A. Sixth special Session, Official Records, 2223 Plenary Meeting, 19 April 1974.

Brazil, India, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Iran. Few weeks after the fourth Non-aligned summit, the members of the organization of petroleum exporting countries (OPEC) took matters into hand. These include Algeria, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Ecuador, Gabon, Qatar and Venezuela. The oil became for the first time a political weapon in international politics. Oil price was increased. Apart from that a political weapon against those developed countries, which sided, with Israel during the war between Egypt and Israel in 1973. Besides India emerged as a major industrial power. These details can be found in the paper of Santosh Taneja.¹

India being a leader of Non-aligned movement has always stressed the fact that USA being a leader of developed countries with vast resources can play an important role in the emergence and establishment of a New International Economic Order, Indo-US bilateral relations therefore can serve as a useful balance in the mechanism of such an economic order, according to A.K. Sen Gupta.²

A former Indian Diplomat, Perla Retnam in an article³ stresses India's consistent role in the United Nations since its inception in the decolonization

¹ Santosh Taneja, *New International Economic Order: India's Role in its Emergence*, Punjab Journal of Politics, Vol.3, October, 1979. Similar view can be seen in Lester R. Brown, *World Without Borders*, New Delhi, 1973.

² A.K. Sen Gupta, *Span*, Vol.20, No.1, January 1976.

³ Perla Retnam, *the New World Economic Order: India's Role*, In Verindra Grover (Ed.), *International Relations and Foreign Policy of India*, New Delhi, 1992.

process, readiness to assist UN peace-keeping operations in Gaza, Cyprus and Zaire, its initiatives in defusing explosive and tense situations, its pursuit of disarmament and the creation of zones of peace. It is further hoped that its role in the advancing international economic and social objectives would receive added impetus.

Prospects of a new International Economic Order depended on the co-operation of the developed countries. But in view of their reluctance towards various proposals put forwarded by the developing countries at various international forums, India favours regional co-operation and regional producers associations on the model of OPEC, for increasing their bargaining powers. V.K.R.V. Rao pointed out this view at a symposium held at Bucharest, Romania.¹

S.N. Tawale² has focused on India's role in promoting international co-operation under UN auspices. In recent years UN has become an important forum for bringing about an amicable and mutually beneficial solution of the North-South controversy. India has utilized the UN platform as the ladder of the Non-aligned movement for lobbying support for the New International Economic Order.

¹ V.K.R.V. Rao, *New System of International Economic Relations*, Symposium held at Rumania 29 to 31 May, 1975, C. Parthasarathy, *Op. cit.*,

² S.N. Tawale, *India's Economic Diplomacy and the United Nations*, Meerut, 1975.

Mahendra Kumar¹ in the chapter, "Disarmament and Arms control" states that after the First World War attention was paid towards finding necessary means to prevent the threat of war and guarantee peace. It was argued that war resulted from armaments and it can be checked only by disarmament. But efforts made in this direction before and after the Second World War show how difficult has been the attainment of the state of disarmament. Obviously, then one should be interested in knowing the nature of the problem of the disarmament in all its important aspects. The questions that are directed to this knowledge are; what is the meaning of Disarmament and what are its basic theoretical premises? What has been the nature of disarmament negotiation? What are the obstacles that stand in the way of the disarmament? What are the future prospects of the problem of disarmament? These questions are properly answered in the strict sense of the term in his work. His first argument in support of disarmament is that it is a direct approach to peace. His second argument in support of disarmament is economic, and his third argument in support of disarmament is moral.

The role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament is narrated in a beautiful manner by P.C. Sinha.² The character of the United Nations according to him is against the use of force or threat of force in international relations. So

¹ Mahendrakumar, *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, Delhi, 1978.

² P.C. Sinha (Ed.), *UN Disarmament Efforts*, in *50 years of United Nations and World Affairs*, Vol.8, New Delhi, 1997.

disarmament plays an important role in the UN. He points out that in 1976 the General Assembly at the initiative of the Non-aligned countries decided to hold a special session entirely devoted to Disarmament. The details about the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, Arms Limitation and Disarmament affairs, advisory body on Disarmament studies, establishment of the Disarmament commission and the role of UN in the field of Disarmament, are treated in detail. Detailing comprehensive programme of Disarmament, nuclear arms race and Disarmament and nuclear weapon freeze the author argues the following. Non-aligned countries for their part held that a nuclear weapon freeze while not an end in itself, would constitute in effective measure for creating a favourable environment for the conduct of negotiation on the limitation of the nuclear arsenals. He also adds that the political declaration of the seventh conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries held at New Delhi in March 1983 had included a recommendation for a freeze on the development, production, stock piling and development of nuclear weapons. It is also stated that a freeze on nuclear weapon was also called in for in the New Delhi declaration of 28th January 1985 issued by the Heads of the state or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. In an envying manner the author narrates the question of prohibiting or restricting the use of conventional weapons, nuclear arms limitation, disarmament and related matters.

For the summary of Disarmament efforts made by the Non-aligned movement, the article written by Guijeto Job and Mico Cusic¹ are of immense use. At the first Non-aligned summit meeting (Belgrade 1961), the three main documents were concerned with peace, Disarmament and aggression. The conference called upon great powers to conduct Disarmament talks under their auspices and conclude a treaty on general and complete Disarmament. Great realism has accrued over the years and it is now recognized that the total Disarmament must be sought in incremental stages with emphasis being placed on nuclear disarmament. Hence the later resolutions adopted at Non-aligned summit and other conferences have called for banning the nuclear tests, destroying existing stock piles, regional de-nuclearization and assurance from nuclear weapon powers that they would not use or threaten use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

The emphasis on nuclear disarmament was re-affirmed at the first session of Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly. The declaration noted:effective measures of nuclear Disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority. To this end it is imperative to remove the threat of nuclear weapons, to that and reverse the nuclear arm race until the total elimination

¹ Guijeto Job, "The Non-Aligned and Disarmament", *Review of International Affairs*, Belgrade, Vol.XXVIII. 5 October, 1977.pp.7-8 and Mico Cusic, *The Freedom, Independence and Integrity of the Non-Aligned Countries*, Belgrade, 1979, pp.23-29 and 39-44.

of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems have been achieved and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the same time other measures designed to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and to lesson the danger of the threat on use of nuclear weapons should be taken.¹

At the Second Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly, Indira Gandhi's and India's stand was explained by foreign Minister, Narasimha Rao.² Indira Gandhi's message called for a binding convention on non-use of nuclear weapons, freeze and stoppage of further production of nuclear weapons, immediate suspension of all nuclear weapons tests, negotiations for reaching a treaty on general and complete Disarmament and public education programme highlighting the danger of nuclear war.

The other side of the coin is exposed by Nikhil Chakravaty.³ He points out that the Second Special Session could not even prepare a document with the consent of all and the Indian delegation had to disassociate itself from the report prepared. Apart from that, he argues that, the Non-aligned countries could not unite at this session. It shows the lack of purpose within the movement and the victorious efforts by the great powers to sow dissensions in their ranks. This failure

¹ Final Document Adopted on 3 June 1978 in *Strategic Analysis*, New Delhi, Vol.VI, Nos.1-2, April-May, 1982, p.107.

² For text refer to *Strategic Digest*, New Delhi, Vol.XII, No.12, Dec. 1982.

³ Nikhil Chakravarty, Role of Non-Aligned, *World Focus*, New Delhi, No.28, April, 1982, p.28.

according to him is not at all shocking for there has been a "conspicuous absence of any Non-aligned initiative in the last ten years on the question of Disarmament... it has very little to contribute directly to the strategy of détente or its realization".

No Nuclear war has ever been fought. But there are so many instances of Nuclear threat in the past. In 1969 the Soviet Union threatened China during the Ussuri clashes. The United States used this threat in 1948 in Berlin crisis, in 1953 in the Korean war, Quemoy-Matsu crisis in 1958, Cuban Missile crisis in 1962 and fourth Arab-Israel war in 1973. But the incapacity of the nuclear weapons to achieve territorial gains, since the territory sought would be destroyed completely. This can be understood if we examine the report of the group of experts on a comprehensive study on Nuclear weapons made by the United Nations. Apart from innumerable casualties of human beings the nuclear blast would increase with collateral damage to essential services like water, electricity, communications, hospitals and so on. In addition to that the effects of the nuclear war may cause major epidemics and the possibility of unchangeable ecological changes.¹

The nuclear arms race anyhow is a threat to world peace. The multiplication of nuclear weapons increases the danger is being used by accident. The very existence of nuclear-weapons system, even under the most sophisticated command

¹ "UN study on Nuclear Weapons", published in *Strategic Digest*, Vol.X,Nos.11-12, November-December, 1980.

and control procedures, obviously is a source of constant danger. Despite the most elaborate precaution, it is conceivable and technical malfunction on human failure, a misinterpreted incident or unauthorized action could trigger a nuclear disaster or nuclear war.¹ The Non-aligned countries are aware of the fact that, greater efforts towards nuclear disarmament is a must. P.R. Chari² in an article point out certain measures of Nuclear Disarmament. Firstly the Non-aligned movement should highlight the aspect of arms control and disarmament negotiations and pave the way friendly discussion with the super power to prevent war in future. Secondly UN study on relationship between Disarmament and Development,³ global expenditure on military Rand D has been estimated at \$35000 million in 1980, engaging five lakhs scientists and engineers comprising around 20 percent of the numbers available. The super powers account for 85 percent of the total expenditure. The Non-aligned countries must point out that the resources utilized for military purposes to be diverted to areas like new energy sources, pollution control, combating ecological degradation and so on that are useful to humanity. Thirdly the Non-aligned movement might make efforts to provide non-use guarantees to non-nuclear powers in clear terms from the western nuclear powers

¹ Arms control and Disarmament Agreements, (US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, 1977), p.102.

² P.R. Chari, "Non-Alignment and Nuclear Threat" in Verindra Grover, *Op. Cit.*,

³ UN Study on Disarmament And Development In Strategic Digest, Vol.XI, No.12, Dec. 1981 Paras 403 and 407.

for the benefit of world peace and stability. Fourthly cessation of nuclear testing is a must. The Non-aligned movement should press for comprehensive test ban treaty to reduce nuclear arms race. Fifthly nuclear arms race has so many dangers. The Non-aligned movement should pay more attention to the above mentioned according to the veteran writer.

The Meaning of Non-alignment, Causes of Non-alignment, Motives of Non-alignment, Role of Non-aligned movement in U.N.O. for peace and Disarmament from 1960 to 1987 and the importance given by Non-aligned countries for Economic liberation are discussed briefly in this thesis. The Non-aligned movement made the United Nations organisation a more powerful instrument for maintenance of International peace and Security and the promotion of justice in International relations. This aspect is highlighted in the first chapter of the thesis. Non-aligned in fact reduced International tensions and amplified the idea that arms control and disarmament is the only cure to the problem posed by War.

In the Second chapter of the thesis the evolution of the Non-aligned movement from Belgrade to Harare or its History of little over twenty five years are discussed and pointed out that one of the highly significant truth about NAM is its staunch commitment of strengthening the U.N.O. with remarkable ability from its very inception. All important aspects discussed by the Eight Summit of Non-aligned countries are stated in detailed manner.

At the first Non-aligned Summit meeting or the Belgrade Summit in 1961, the conference called upon great powers to conduct disarmament talks under UN auspices and conclude a treaty on "General and Complete" disarmament. Greater realism has accrued over years and it is now recognised that total disarmament must be sought in incremental stages with Emphasis being placed on Nuclear disarmament. Hence later resolutions adopted in all summits including Harare have called for banning of Nuclear tests, Destroying existing stock-piles, Regional De-nuclearisation and Assurance from Nuclear weapon powers that they would not use or threaten use of Nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

Disarmament ultimately depends of Far-reaching changes in the political and Economic structure of the world, leading to a removal of the Basic causes of War. Proceeding towards the New International Economic order and establishing socially just could alone remove those fundamental causes of conflict. How the frame work and the design of a New International order was made at the sixth special session of the General assembly, how it originated, the demand of the newly independent developing countries for a better ordering of international economy and trade relations and the dire need of the new international economic order, are properly analysed in the Third chapter.

The next chapter is devoted to the role of the Non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament. How non-aligned countries became activities champions of peace and disarmament in U.N. is described in detail. It is also

stressed that disarmament would permit the creation of new International security regime based upon the Principles of co-operation and mutual accommodation between states to replace the present system which works so much to the disadvantage of weaker states.

Finest ideals of Non-aligned movement is a hope of humanity. Those ideals will become a reality in future. Non-aligned countries are not united by blood, birth or soil. They are bound by ideals and inspire them to play an active role in UN for peace and disarmament.

EMERGENCE OF NON-ALIGNMENT

O. Suryanarayanan "Role of the non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament 1960 - 1987 " Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2002

CHAPTER I

EMERGENCE OF NON-ALIGNMENT

The founding of the Non-aligned Movement constituted one of the great acts of creative statesmanship of 20th century. Among the main aims which motivated it was that of making the United Nations a more powerful instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of justice in international relations. The Non-aligned movement is the voice of the people of the globe who aspire for world peace. The world witnessed the emergence of Non-aligned movement when many countries of Asia and Africa became independent. As rightly pointed out it is "the product of world anti colonial revolution and emergence of larger number of newly liberated countries".¹

Of the many momentous changes brought about by the Second World War, the emergence of United States of America and the Soviet Union as the major contending power, each convinced of their supremacy of their respective ideologies and social systems, was perhaps the most important in shaping the post war world. The second most important development was the dissolution of European and Japanese empires and the birth of colonial territories as independent nations. Both these developments in their own way paved the way to the emergence of Non-

¹ Two Decade of Non-alignment, Document of the Gatherings of Non-alignment countries 1961-1982, New Delhi, 1983, p.45.

alignment as an instrument of foreign policy.¹ The First gave rise to "Cold war" and it was the desire of newly independent countries not to become involved with the cold war which gave birth to the idea of Non-alignment to the newly independent nations in Asia and Africa, when large number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America refused to join any of the blocs.² It is pointed out that in the period of the cold war, the influence that Non-alignment was able to exert was positive and explicit.³ Non-aligned Movement was born in bi-polar world, a world which was presided over by the two and only two super powers, each hostile to the other.⁴

After the second World War and the partition of Germany into two West and east – the world was divided into two blocks. France, Italy, Britain, West Germany, Portugal, Spain, Belgium etc. under American influence came to be known as Western bloc, while East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, Hungry etc, were known as Eastern bloc and satellites of Soviet Union. Subsequently Asian countries were also drawn to the membership of rival blocks. The rivalry between these two blocs was responsible for various kinds of tensions which resulted into cold War. The anti-alliance attitude is the key stone of the

¹ Linus Pauling (ed.), *World Encyclopaedia of Peace* Vol. 2, New York, 1986, p.59.

² K.P. Karunakaran, *Modernisation, Capitalism, Communism and World Politics*, Meerut, 1974, p.137.

³ A.P. Rana, *Détente: Perspective and Repercussions*, Delhi, 1975, p:198.

⁴ Pranchopra, *the Crisis of Foreign Policy: Perspectives and Issues*, Delhi, 1983, p.149.

policy of the Non-aligned countries. The Non-aligned states are "Conscientious objectors to ideological war. The Non-aligned states had served as 'Prophylactic' to cold war.¹ By withholding support to the west to certain issues it has indicated areas of western vulnerability and when supporting west, it has drawn attention to "communist excesses".² Without Non-aligned states U.N.O. would have become a forum for confrontation between great powers and cold war blocs, which might end up in disaster to the organization and (eventually) even to the world.³ Non alignment has defused in the United Nations the bomb of division of the world for the existence and successful functioning of the United nations. The two cold war blocs can cause trouble to the U.N. by extremist demands. For the system to be stable, there should be a body of neutrals who are relatively intense about their nationalism, that is who maintain middle position and who do so with some degree of involvement with an active effort to uncover ground of agreement between the extremes and to produce solutions.⁴

¹Rikhi Jaipal, *Non-Alignment: Origin, Growth and Potential for World Peace*, New Delhi, 1983, p.175.

² John F. Triska and Howard E. Koch Jr. "Asian African Coalition and International Organization: Third Force or Collective Importance?" *Review of Politics*, Vol. 21, Notre Dam, 1959, pp. 417-455.

³ M.S. Rajan (Ed.), *The Non-Aligned and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987, p.311.

⁴ Ignac Golob, "The Non-Alignment and the United Nations:" *Review of International Affairs*, No. 784, Belgrade, 5th Dec. 1982, pp.1-2.

Majority of the newly independent countries under colonial rule had the experience of being dragged into big power rivalries and wars. The newly independent countries had won their freedom after long struggles and they wanted to safeguard that. So they decided to keep a distance from the super powers. The big changes that happened after the Second World War resulted in among other things, in the emergence of Non-aligned Movement which was a logical out come of the national liberation revolutions at the new stage or as the Third Conference of Heads of state or Government of Non-aligned countries formulated it "the product of the world anti-colonial revolution and of the emergence of a large number of newly liberated countries.¹ The policy of Non-alignment has emerged as a result of a determination of the independent countries to safeguard the national independence and legitimate rights of their people.² Non alignment is an active creed to promote a world where weaker nations can live unmolested by powerful nations, choosing their own ideologies and developing political and economic systems in accordance with their own traditions, needs and potentialities.³ Non-alignment emerged largely as a major non-military initiative of the independent countries of the Third World to ensue peace, security and development in the

¹ Hayward R. Alker Jr, and Bruce M. Russett, *World Politics in General Assembly*, Newhaven, Coun, 1965, p.200.

² *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, Document and Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983.

³ The main documents relating to the conference of Non-aligned countries from Belgrade 1961 to Georgetown 1972, Georgetown, 1972, p.66.

period following the Second World War.¹ Non-alignment means keeping away from cold war. Since military pacts have been an important feature of cold war, non-participation in cold war naturally required dissociation from military pacts. The United States has been party to a number of bilateral and multilateral military pacts which keep her association with more than forty countries and the Soviet Union has military pacts in which about a dozen countries participate.² These military pacts have been considered by Non-aligned states as stumbling block to world peace.

Historically Non-alignment arose from the struggle of nations for freedom and independence against colonialism and imperialism. In fact, India arrived at Non-alignment through this path. Asian countries like Burma and Indonesia followed suit. Yugoslavia also evolved its policy of Non-alignment in the fight against aggression and struggle against foreign domination.³ Non-Alignment as a principle of foreign policy is deeply rooted in the belief that poverty, colonization, racism, the domination of the world by major world powers, and the arms race are not isolated events but interrelated phenomena aimed at the perpetuation, in one

¹ Lingus Pauling Ed., *World Encyclopaedia of peace*, Vol. 2, New York, 1986, p.60.

² S.D. Muni, "Non-alignment and security parameter" in K.P. Misra (ed.), *Non alignment: Frontier and Dynamics*, New Delhi, 1982, p.160.

³ K.R.Narayanan in his paper "Non alignment independence and national interest" see K.P. Misra and K.. R. Narayanan (eds.), *Non -alignment in contemporary international relations*, New Delhi, 1981, p.94.

form or another, of control and influence by economically and militarily powerful countries.¹ As the situations currently stands, the majority of the developing countries have to depend on the richer countries for their economic survival. Export of arms to strengthen certain Government and to pull down certain Government has become highly lucrative both to west and East. The two super powers are the largest exporters accounting for nearly seventy per cent of all arms exports to developing countries.² Super powers have not hesitated in subverting and destabilizing inconvenient regions. In a clandestine way the super powers give training to anti-governmental forces and also provide them with weapons and finance. There are other forms of interference with the freedom of poorer nations to determine their own economic destiny. One of the most blatant forms of ideological subversion of developing economics comes through the international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary fund. From their very inception, these agencies have been used by the United states as a tool of its foreign policy and a measure of economic penetration of developing countries by its multinationals.³ The towering position of citizens of the united states and other developed nations in the agencies has also ensured the imposition market oriented development strategy on developing countries. The IMF has undermined

¹ Linus Pauling (ed.), *Op. cit*, p.60.

² Taylor and Francis " A year book of world Armament and Disarmament' Sipri or Stockholm international peace research institute. London, 1982, pp. 176-77.

³ Linus Pauling Ed., *World Encyclopaedia of peace*, Vol. 2, New York, 1986, p.61.

programmes involving subsidised distribution of food to the poor, implementation of minimum wages and subsidies to the nationalised industries. The examples of these are contractionist policies imposed on Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico as a part of rescheduling of their debt. Srilanka's food distribution programme was streamlined which resulted in the nutritional inadequacies among the underprivileged.

The other forms of cultural and ideological subversion came directly or indirectly through educational, material and news media.¹ The media of powerful countries wanted to paint their former colonies incompetent and corrupt. United states central intelligence agency (CIA) funded a wide range of propaganda activities.

Non-alignment originated from the common desire of the newly independent countries to develop their own forms of Government and methods of economic, social and cultural development unhindered by the richer and military more powerful nations. From the very beginning of the post war period was characterized everywhere by an intense urge towards accelerated economic development. This carving was particularly strong in countries which, when they re-emerged on the world scene as independent nations, have found themselves far

¹ *Ibid.*, p.62.

behind those which were more industrially developed.¹ Non-alignment symbolized the inability and unwillingness of the most of the states to accept or reject the ideology of either bloc in its totality. It therefore implied a policy of peaceful and friendly relations with both the blocs without any kind of commitment-military, material or political, that would restrain their freedom of choice.² It responded to the aspirations of vast member of people who emerged into freedom from foreign domination and were eager to attain the status of respect and equality with other nations of the of the world. Indeed the world that emerged after World War II, the soil was fertile for the growth of Non-alignment.³ Non-alignment was born in defiance of global bipolarity, which started with the policies of containment. The cold war beleaguered the new countries in the wake of their independence. Their nationalism irked at the demand for conformity. They refused to accept an "either" 'or' choice of socio-economic systems. Nor was they prepared to accept that a military alliance with one or the other contending blocs was the only guarantee for preserving national independence.⁴ Non-alignment does not mean keeping aloof from burning international issues. On the other hand it means a positive stand

¹ Leo Mates, *Non-Alignment and the Great Powers*, Foreign Affairs, April, 1970, p.525.

² Urmila Phadne's ,*Non-Alignment as a Factor in Ceylon's Foreign Policy*, International studies April, 1962, p.425.

³ C.S. Jha, "Non-Alignment in Changing World" *Indian and Foreign Review*, Sept, 15, 1967, p.2.

⁴ Jagat Mehta, "Non-alignment" a spent Force? " *Seminar*, No. 287, July, 1983, p.21.

based on the conviction of the Non-aligned nations and completely uninfluenced by any one of the power blocs.¹

Maintenance of International peace and security, peaceful settlement of disputes, promotion of the right to self determination, co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction are the basic aims of Non-alignment Movement and United Nations organisation.² While NAM is clearly based on the principle of "sovereign equality" there is no gradation of membership between the privileged permanent members and the under privileged non-permanent ones of the security council, quite unlike the United Nations.³ NAM is strongly committed to strengthen the United Nations. They both supplement and complement each other in many ways. In fact the following is mistaken view. "The Non-alignment takes precedence over United Nations and that the principle of impartiality is like to be held to override any obligations occurring merely as a result of the procedures of the international obligations."⁴ It is pointed out that a Non-aligned commitment to

¹ Parala Ratnam, "Non-alignment in the Seventies", *Indian Quarterly*, July-Sept. 1976, p.262.

² M S Rajan, Ed., *The Non-Aligned and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987, p.300.

³ *Ibid.*, p.301.

⁴ John Burton in his article, "Rights and obligations of Membership", *Australian Outlook*, Melbourne Vol. 16, 1962, pp. 292-303.

the United States is stronger than that of most other members and an almost proprietary view of the institutions.¹ The United Nations was never intended as an organisation of like-minded states, rather an area to accommodate and respect different policies and different interests.² This was the stance of Non-aligned nations in 1950's which were not listened to by the Non-aligned nations then. Even Henry Kissinger gave expression to it in 1975. According to him "ways must be found for power and responsibility in the Assembly and in specialized agencies to be more accurately reflective of the realities of the world."³

The Non-aligned countries have changed both the composition of the United Nations and its role in the world. When the U.N. was formed in 1945 it was a white man's club representing the interests of the victors of the second world war. The entry of the newly independent states, most of them were former colonies in the third world has transformed the U.N.⁴ The newly independent states soon after gaining independence sought membership of United States. This set a seal on its independence by according to international recognition and formal equality: one

¹ Richard Jackson, *The Non-Aligned, the UN and the Superpowers*, New York, 1982, pp. 101-2.

² Portfolio for Peace, New York, UN n.d p. 22.

³ *US Department of State Bulletin* Washington D.C. No. 1880, 4 August, 1975, p.154.

⁴ A W Singham, "Principles Of Non-Alignment", in U.S. Bajpai, ed., *Non-Alignment: Perspective and prospects*, New Delhi, 1983, p.15.

state, one vote".¹ In order to influence the existing international system, active participation of the newly independent states after becoming a member of the U.N.O. is a must, because each state have voting right . But they lacked resource for that. But the U.N.O. gave them a helping hand. By establishing just one embassy (named as Permanent Mission to the United Nations in 1948) they could maintain diplomatic contact of the international level. It was to the U.N. the Non-aligned countries bring their final declaration of action. It would be wrong to assume that the Non-aligned countries act as a unified bloc in the U.N. system. The movement is not a political party, rather members act as a coalition group within the U.N. supporting issues with which they find themselves in agreement, particularly those confirming to the principles of NAM. Non-aligned Movement has no permanent office, secretariat or constitution like the U.N. or OAU or GATT. The success of NAM depends upon the nature of co-operation and eagerness to follow the principles of the movement among its members.² Non-alignment in indissolubly linked with that it does or what it is trying to accomplish.³ Active, peaceful co-existence remains the sole option of mankind faced with the danger of

¹ K.P. Sakena, "Non-Alignment and United States", in K.P. Misra Ed., *Non-Alignment: Frontiers and Dynamics*, New Delhi, 1982, p.82.

² Ramamurthy, K. Member of Parliament and President of the Indian Institute of Non-aligned studies. See summary of the Proceedings and Presentations of the International seminar held on 1 to 3rd August, 1986, New Delhi.

³ CL No. VI: 194 22 PN 7 MIAC No. 88059, Documents and Gathering of Non-aligned countries, 1961,-1979.

general military confrontation and the policy of force.¹ NAM is the voice of the people of the world who aspire for world peace. It is a major democratic alliance of the newly independent states. It is the anxious desire for peace and development that the countries have come together.

The non-aligned policy was founded upon Indian tradition, which led Jawaharlal Nehru to say that it was "inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the conditioning of Indian mind during our struggle for freedom."² India was the first Non-aligned country and the main principles of Non-alignment were first formulated by her outstanding leader, Jawaharlal Nehru. A phrase first suggested by Jawaharlal Nehru in his radio speech of 7th September, 1946 in which he listed all the constituent elements of the concept of Non-alignment.³ The term 'Non-alignment' appears to have been coined by Nehru in a speech of April 28, 1954 in Colombo. To western ears the word implies a sense of balance or equidistance between the 'aligned' nations or super powers.⁴ The pivot of the concept of Non-alignment was laid by Jawaharlal Nehru in a radio broadcast soon after assuming

¹ Conference of the Heads of the States of Government of Non-Aligned countries, Havana, Sept. 3-9-1979.

² Nehru's speech in Parliament on 9-12-1958, Cited a, Appadorai in J. Black and K. Thomson Eds, *Foreign Policies in a World of Change*, New York, 1963, p.485.

³ Gupta M. G. *Encyclopaedia of contemporary International Affairs 1945-1988*, Vol. 2, (J-Z) Agra, 1987, p.94.

⁴ Richard L. Jackson, *The Non-alignment the UN and Super Powers*, New York, 1983, pp. 5-6.

office in the interim Government of India as Vice President.¹ In 1946 Nehru said "we propose as far as possible to keep away from politics and group, aligned against one another, which have led in the past two world wars and which may again lead to disaster on an even vaster scale."² It is pointed out that the Non-aligned movement did not began simply because there were blocs. It opposed bloc power configurations, because they involved limitations imposed by the world political environment upon freedom.³

Kaundilya in his famous work '*Arthsastra*' tells us that neutrality in war was considered as one of the many possibilities open to Indian kings. Some Indian writers trace the origin of the concept of Non-alignment to Buddhist roots and pointed out that the teaching of Buddha was against war and violence. Nehru said "I have not originated Non-alignment, it is the policy inherent in the very circumstances of the world today".⁴ Nehru understood that in the prevailing international situation, the only hope for India lay in keeping itself away from

¹ K.P. Misra, Ed., *Non-Alignment and Neutrality*, New Delhi, 1982, p.28.

² Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy (Selected Speeches Sept. 1946, April, 1961)* New Delhi, 1961, pp. 2-3.

³ Michael Manley, "The Third World War Under Challenge, The Politics of Affirmation", *Third World Quarterly*, Jan, 1980, p.29.

⁴ Rikhi Jayapal, *Non-alignment, Origin, Growth and Potential for World Peace*, New Delhi, 1983, p.9.

military pacts and grouping and in remaining non-aligned.¹ Nehru advocated peaceful co-existence, energetically urging the easing of international tension and the containment of arms race and propounding general disarmament.² Nehru's commitment of Non-alignment was not the product of his personal whims. It was the national outcome of the past of Asia, fitted into the mood of the Indian people and gradually took shape as events conditioned it. It was the natural expression of the millions of men and women who were again raising their voice after many years of suppression.³

During India's freedom struggle, Mahatma Gandhi had a clear vision of the future of India as a free country and saw connection between his fellow countrymen's struggle against the whole imperialistic system of oppressing the people of Asia and Africa and this idea was reflected in the declaration of the young Indian National Congress, which became the first political organization in the world to declare and translate into reality the idea of Non-alignment.⁴ Gandhiji believed that peace in the world could be achieved only through non-violence.

¹ Shashi Bhushan, *Non-Alignment Legacy of Nehru*, New Delhi, 1976, p.28.

² Rostislav Ulyenovsky, "The legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru" in *Social Science* Vol. VIII, No.1. 1977, USSR, p.151. (A quarterly of the section of social sciences).

³ Gopal Sarvepalli, "Contribution of the founders to Non-alignment." *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 38, Jan. 1987. No. 882. p.16.

⁴ G.N. Srinivastva, *India, Non-Alignment and World Peace*, New Delhi, 1984, p.2.

A study of the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress took a deep interest in certain external question from its inception and that it based its position on certain fundamental principles which still shape the foreign policy of India today.¹ A resolution was passed at the first session of the Congress in 1885, criticizing the annexation of upper Burma by the British. In 1892 the Congress objected to the military activity going to beyond the national lines of defences of this country, in pursuance of the imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe.²

After 1921 the All India Congress Committee began to take active interest in India's relations with its neighbouring countries and to make declaration on the elements of the foreign policy of India after attaining freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru became the chief of the foreign department of this committee in 1925. In 1927 the Indian National Congress criticized the use of Indian troops in China, Mesopotamia and Persia. One of Nehru's greatest services to history was his constant striving for unity and alliance with all progressive forces of the world. In 1927 this striving led him to take active part in anti-imperialist congress of oppressed nationalities in Brussels. He told the Burssels congress that the emancipation of India would play an important role in abolishing the colonial rule all over Asia. It was in 1928 the

¹ Norman D. Palmer, *The Indian Political System*, London, 1961, p.239.

² All Congress Resolution cited above are given in full in N.V. Rajkumar Ed. *The background of India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1952.

congress passed a resolution declaring that the struggle of Indian people for freedom was part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism. Ideas of some common action between oppressed nations interests as well as between them and the labour left wing were very much in the air.¹ That is why Nehru wrote it was felt more and more that the struggle for freedom was common one against the thing that was imperialism and joint deliberation and possible, joint action were desirable.² This was a major step towards recognizing the unity of National liberation movement with revolutionary including the working class movement through out the world. In the person of Nehru revolutionary nationalism responded to the call for broad co-operation for unity in the struggle against imperialism made by Lenin the leader of the proletarian revolution.³ The Indian he said inevitably adopted a stand side by side with progressive forces of the whole world against Fascism and Imperialism, Socialism in the west and the awakening nationalism in the Eastern and other dependent countries were opposed to this alliance of Fascism and Imperialism.⁴ Inspired by Gandhi, and supported by great intellectuals like Einstein and Bertrand Russell, Nehru made it India's role to place the goal of peace, nuclear and general disarmament beyond the world.

¹ Rostislav Ulyanovsky, *Op. cit.*, p.29.

² Jawaharla Nehru, *An Autobiography*, New Delhi, 1982, p.161.

³ Rostislav Ulyanovsky, *Op. cit.*, p.29.

⁴ Bipan Chandra and *et. al.*, *India After Independence*, New Delhi, 1999. P.150.

Mahatma Gandhi's concept of foreign policy was that of "isolation but of international co-operation". The congress has extended its support to Abyssinia, Spain, China, Palestine, Arabs and Czechoslovakia when they were badly in need of it during the times of difficulty. The independence of Iraq, Jordan and Arab states were hailed. To China was extended support in her war with Japan. In 1938 the Indian National Congress declared the desire of Indian people to live in peace and friendship with all nations, particularly with their neighbours and their allegiance to the world order based on international co-operation, good will and peace.¹ Jawaharlal Nehru openly stated his opposition to Fascism and Imperialism and expressed his willingness to throw in the resources of India for backing up democracy during the Second World War.

In 1939 the Indian National Congress declared that the Indians had nothing to do with war between imperialism and fascism to both which they were opposed and thus to preserve peace and freedom for India.

This Indian trend to keep aloof from the power games of European states was a natural by product of the main struggle for independence from the imperial rule of Great Britain. India refused to alien itself with Britain's enemies in the hope of furthering its own nationalist aims because it had always been its policy to stand

¹ Bishashwar Prasad, *Spirit of India*, vol. 2, Indira Gandhi Abinandam Samiti, Bombay, 1976, p.750.

on its own feet and to do its; fighting.¹ The roots of India's Non-alignment, as has been noted, go deep into the Indian National Movement to Gandhi's unique method of struggle cum negotiation with the occupying power.² When Nehru participated in the freedom struggle of India he brought to Indian nationalism wide outlook and gave it recognition with longer world forces of anti colonialism, anti-imperialism and liberation of oppressed peoples of the globe. While fighting for India's independence Nehru always felt that the Indians were not fighting alone and he always asserted that when India wins freedom so many other countries who were fighting for their freedom will also attain independence.

The Quit India resolution of the Indian National Congress of the 8th August 1942 includes a paragraph which says "the freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, India, China, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be understood that such countries as are under Japanese control, now must not subsequently be placed under control of any colonial power."³

Inspired by the non-violent struggle from the freedom of India, Nehru advocated peaceful co-existence and tried to Ease international tension. Nehru, a firm believer in the policy of Non-alignment was of the opinion that Non-alignment

¹ Rikhi Jaipal, *Op. cit.*, p.11.

² A.K. Damodaran, *Op. cit.*, pp. 203. 204.

³ P.H. Patwardhan. *Jawaharlala Nehru, Escasty and Agnony*, Poona, 1966, p.46.

by means signified passive neutrality. He said "when freedom and justice are in jeopardy, when aggression is committed we cannot and will not be Neutral"¹ The Policy of Non-alignment should mean non participation in cold war and also the struggle for peace, disarmament and for equality and co-operation among all countries. However he did not view this goal in a pacifist way. Nehru said the prevention war may include providing for our own defence.² If other countries are aggressive he said "We have to protect ourselves against their aggression".³

The national leaders of India repeatedly stressed on the eve of independence, respect for world organization, world peace and equality and freedom of all people, adherence to the principles of solidarity of Asian and African people then submerged under the crushing weight of imperialism, support for the freedom of Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China and the Arab states and non involvement in the conflicts of two blocs of power. They had sympathy for the Soviet Union, which had emerged in eliminating imperialism.⁴

Non-alignment is more a movement than an organization and while organized action is essential, it is a movement that can withstand the domineering

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru: His Life and Work, Moscow, 1965.

² Jawaharlal Nehru, India; Foreign Policy, Ministry of information and broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1961, p.46.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Bishweshar Prasad, *Op.cit.*, pp. 749-62.

force of blocs and super power and exercise influence on the minds of the people everywhere, including the camps of the aligned.¹ Nehru considered the policy of Non-alignment as a tool to pursue the self determined foreign policy by the newly independent countries. The new states of Asia and Africa which had become Non-aligned believed that the United Nations "not only provides the means of easy contact between representations of the Great powers, but also brings these relations under the moderating and harmonizing influence of the agreed purposes and principles of the United Nations and of the mediatory action of other states not directly involved in the Great power conflict, but deeply committed to the avoidance of war and the advancement of general peace and welfare."²

Authors like Michael Breacher and Vincent Sheen have all agreed that Nehru was the fulcrum round which the policy of Non-alignment revolved. Nehru established this policy for India and was the pioneer of the emergence of the policy in global contents as well as its development encompassing adherents from the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin American and Europe. With President Tito of Yugoslavia, Nassar of Egypt and Nkrumah of Ghana, Nehru shares the honour of being the father of Non-alignment.³ Among the three eminent statesmen who

¹ K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan Eds., *Op.cit.*, p.19.

² Leland and M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons, *United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*, West Point, Conn. 1974, pp. 625-26.

³ Salim Ahmed Salim (Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Tanzania) "Jawaharlal Nehru Centenary volume", Sheila Dikshit, Natwar Sing, Parthasarathi, Sharada Prasad, S. Gopal and Ravi Kumar Eds., New Delhi, 1989, p.559.

formulated (Tito, Jawaharalal Nehru and Nassar) the principles of Non-alignment,¹ Nehru should be regarded as the father of the Non-alignment not only because he gave birth to this idea but also because by pointing out the hidden potentialities of non-alignment as an instrument of peace he raised it to the level of world force.²

The Delhi conference of 1947 was the first Asian meeting which signaled the real awakening of Asia and its emergence in the world arena. Nehru said "for too long have we of Asia been petitioners in western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. He further stated that "we propose to stand on our own legs and co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operative with us".³

The agenda of Asian relations conference among other things included (1) national freedom movement in Asia (2) racial problems and racial migrations. The conference resolved to recommend exchange of mutual experience, experts in technology and also peaceful settlement of bilateral and international disputes. It also resolved to help African countries to get their legitimate status in human family. The Asian relations conference was the first international forum where so many countries of Asia assembled. In 1976 in the summit conference in Colombo,

¹ Sarveppalli Gopal, *Op.cit.*, pp. 16-18.

² Mahendra Kumar, *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, Delhi, 1978, p.388.

³ Yuri Alimov, *Op. cit*, p.27.

the Non-aligned countries came to the following conclusion that Asian commitment to Non-alignment first found expression in the Asian relations conference held in New Delhi, 1947.¹ The Asian relations conference was the first international forum where so many countries of Asia gathered with the aim to unite. One of the important decisions taken by the conference was to strive for upliftment of the status of women and the need for inter-Asian communication.

The Second Asian relations conference was held in Delhi in 1949, mainly to consider the negotiated settlement of Indonesian question in the context of Dutch action in Indonesia. A resolution was passed by the conference suggesting the establishment of proper machinery for improving co-operation among them selves within the framework of United Nations. The soviets praised the resolution and stated that it laid the foundation for organizing Anti-imperialist and anti-colonial unity of the young states at the U.N. It led to the formation of Afro-Asian groups there.² Thus two Asian conferences developed unity and friendship among the Asian countries.

The second World War left Europe weak and USSR became powerful. Thus there was a plan to form an alliance. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was found in April 1949 under the leadership of United States.

¹ Two decades of Non-alignment, Document and Gathering of non-aligned countries, 1961-82, New Delhi, 1983, p.191.

² G.N. Srivastva Nam and Soviet Foreign Policy, New Delhi, 1989, p.20.

Invitations was extended to newly independent countries to join military blocs. Rejecting American invitation for military agreement, the Government of India declared that she under no condition and under no pretext would allow the presence of foreign army in her territory. If any country would ever attack India, she would put up the needed resistance.¹ Like NATO, the Warsaw Pact is provocative. The United states has military pacts with more than forty countries and the Soviets has military pacts in which about a dozen countries participate. The Non-aligned countries are not linked with any of these military blocs.

The Korean crisis was started between a communist North and the Pro-western south Korea in 1950. North and South were not satisfied with a divided country. But their terms were different. It was the first test for India's Non-alignment. That is why it was pointed out that the role of the Korean crisis emerged the whole range of India's foreign policy objectives.² On June 25, 1950 North Korean soldiers "suddenly invaded" South Korea. When trouble started India supported the U.S. in the UN security council, condemning North Korea as an aggressor and calling for cease fire. But India's stand of abstaining from voting on another resolution, calling for assistance to south Korea was not liked by U.S. Nehru stated that "The incursion from North Korea into South Korea was brought to the notice of United Nations and was described by the security council as an act

¹ Birdwood, 'Two nations in Kashmir' Suffolk, 1956, p.158.

² M.M. Rahiman, 'The politics of Non-alignment' New Delhi, 1969, p.92.

of aggression. We supported the decision and gave our vote accordingly. Subsequently other developments took place.¹

The swift events that followed the out break of the Korean war brought out for first time a dynamism in the conduct of India's foreign Policy. For the first time they refused to yield to America's pressure.² For the first time in September 1950, India's permanent representative to UN, Initiated an informal caucusing with Afro-Asian member states to plan a common strategy and to co-sponsor draft resolutions in regard to Korean question. From then onwards India developed the practice in initiating proposals in co-sponsorship with Afro-Asian members.³

India's main aim was to prevent the entry of outside powers into Korean conflict. Nehru appealed to Truman and Stalin and received a warm response. But in the mean while the head of U.S. forces under the U.N command without the consent of U.N. pushed North Korean forces out of South Korea and crossed the 38th parallel into North Korea and marched towards the river that separated Korea from China. Chou En-Lai, the Chinese Prime Minister issued a warning. After that he sent army to push back American Troops to South of 38 a parallel and succeeded in that attempt though there were heavy casualties on both sides. Nehru

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches 1949-1953. New Delhi, 1957. P.168.

² K.P. Sakesana, 'The United Nations and India's foreign policy strategy in M.S. Rajan, V.S. Mani and CSR Murthy (ed.), 'The Non-aligned and the United Nations, New Delhi, 1987, p.201.

³ *Ibid.*, p.202.

made an attempt to end the war by summoning a conference. But U.S. queered the pitch with an U.N. resolution declaring China as an aggressor, but India voted against it because China was not an aggressor in North Korea. A military stalemate followed. Despite India's sincere efforts it took till June 1953 to get both sides to agree to a cease-fire and evolve an accepted formula. It was Krishan Menon who finally succeeded in framing a formula, that the General Assembly of the U.N. and after Stalin's death the Soviet block accepted.

Defending Indian stand, Nehru said "ever since the Korean war was started we have been very much concerned with it not because we wanted to interfere or bully others but because we were perhaps in a position to help more than any other country could. Our relations with countries, in conflict were cordial. This was not true of other countries. This was not true of other countries and therefore it is difficult for them to do anything. We realized our peculiar responsibility to the poor people of Korea and strongly felt that the utter ruin and destruction of Korea should be stopped at any cost.¹

In 1953 cease-fire was proclaimed in Korea. The Non-aligned countries played an important role in the UN to find an amicable settlement to these

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949,-1953, *Op.cit.*, p.237.

problems. NAM does not merely pay 'lip services' to the doctrine of 'sovereign equality' but practice it in its formulation of policies.¹

Korean war had tested India's devotion to Non-alignment. She first faced Chinese and Soviet displeasure because she considered North Korea as an aggressor. She then faced America's anger for refusing to go along with western intervention in the war and for not declaring China as an aggressor. In the meanwhile in 1950 China invaded Tibet and annexed it. But even after this, Nehru never changed his stand on Korean war. India pleaded for a seat to Communist China in the Security Council. India depended on US for food. Yet in the Korean crisis India never danced to the tunes of U.S. In the end India's stand was vindicated: both sides had to recognize the same boundary they had tried to change. The world now recognized the worth of Non-alignment.²

No-aligned nations desire that it is their essential policy to enable the United Nations to function properly and successfully.³ Even the United States accepted Jawaharlal Nehru's five principles of peaceful co-existence and U.S. President Nixon signed a formal communiqué with Peking during his visit in 1972 stating that the five principles were the basis of the relation between the two

¹ M.S. Rajan, *Non-aligned Nations and United States*, the summary of the Proceedings of international Seminar on NAM, Delhi, 1986, p.26.

² Bipan Chandra, Aditya Muckerjee and Mridula Muckerjee "India after independence" New Delhi, 199, pp. 153-54.

³ Narendra Mehra, *Foreign Policy of Great Powers*, Jallander, 1979, p.17.

countries.¹ It is said that the Non-aligned movement strove for the democratization of international relations and for the establishment of a more just and equal world order.² An eminent authority on Non-alignment has pointed out that most of the leaders of the Non-aligned states in the immediate post war years saw themselves engaged in a historical process of Liberation struggle of disfranchised people in which they had been given a pioneering role by history.³

The Non-alignment movement takes its roots from Bandung conference (in the city of Indonesia) of Afro-Asian countries held from April 18 to 24, 1955 in which twenty nine Afro-Asian countries took part. It was the first collective act on world scene of the countries now free from colonial and semi colonial dependency.⁴ Bandung was attended by 23 Asian and 6 African countries. The conference adopted a declaration of World peace and co-operation conforming its faith in the aims and principles of U.N. charter and the right of sovereign nations to live without foreign interference and advocated the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means. Those who attended the Bandung conference were trying to present a combined moral and political presence in the world which might make it difficult for the super powers to indulge in indiscriminate action against

¹ Attarchand, *Non-aligned World Order 1961-1982*, New Delhi, 1983, p.31.

² V.P. Dutt, 'India is Foreign Policy', New Delhi, 1984, p.6.

³ Karen Brutents, 'Non-aligned Movement Today' *Social Sciences* Vol. XVI No.2. 1985, U.S.S.R. p.4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.18.

weak countries. Beyond applying moral pressure, there was nothing much they could do.¹ The Bandung conference came out in defence of basic human rights and the rights of the oppressed nations, against racial discrimination and segregation and demanded that the right to self determination be conditionally observed. It resolutely denounced the practice of submitting nations to foreign domination and exploitation.²

The Key document of the Bandung conference was the Declaration on the promotion of World Peace and Co-operation. They worked out the principles of inter state relations. At Bandung conference India became the acknowledged leader of the Non-aligned countries.³ Atal Bihari Vajpayee complimented the role of Nehru in the formulation and implementation of the policy of Non-alignment.⁴ It was Nehru who carried the philosophy of Non-alignment to the world at large. The Bandung conference devoted great attention to another universal issue that of peace and security of nations. They expressed the utmost anxiety at the international tension which existed at that time of cold war, at the atomic war menace and called for arms reduction, universal disarmament, and destruction of nuclear weapons.

¹ Linus Pauling (ed.), *World Encyclopaedia of Peace* Vol. 2. New York, p.63.

² *Non-aligned movement in Document and Materials*, Moscow, 1979, p.423.

³ Kamala Kanta Pande and Pramod Kumar Mishra, *New Perspectives in India's Foreign Policy: The Janatha Phase*, New Delhi, 1980, p.6.

⁴ *Sunday*, Calcutta, 18 March, 1979, p.14.

Soon after Bandung, the policy of blocs and the policy of Non-alignment with blocs became so clearly incompatible that the countries that had taken part in the conference was again divided. Turkey remained in NATO, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan remained in SEATO (this organization ceased to exist in June 1977) and Iraq in Baghdad pact, though all these blocs were openly used in the private interests of the imperialist powers. Japan and some other countries followed in the wake of U.S. Policy.¹ In July 1958 the People's revolution in Iraq pulled down pro-western monarchic rule. The republic took the path of Non-alignment and left the Baghdad pact. That was a shock to the policy of blocs followed by western powers in Asia. To save whatever there remained in the pact, it was renamed as Central Treaty Organization (Cento) but the idea of bloc was already undermined.²

Almost within a year of Bandung conference came the invasion of Egypt by the combined forces of United Kingdom, France and Israel in retaliation of the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal. The cold war was further intensified at a beginning of 1960s. In 1960 an American reconnaissance plane, which was flying over Soviet territory was shot down and this led to the failure of the Paris Great power summit. In 1961 came the Bay of Pigs. This was a blatant attempt by the United States Government to engineer the overthrow of legitimately constituted

¹ Yuri Alimov, *Op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

² *Ibid.*, p.39.

government.¹ It was in this context of growing world crisis that the first formal conference of the Head of States of Non-aligned countries was convened in Belgrade in 1961.

Such was the situation when the Belgrade conference was assembled on September 1-6, 1961 at which the Non-aligned movement took shape organizationally. The seeds sown in Bandung blossomed in Belgrade, six years later where they provided the conceptual impetus for the birth of the movement of Non-aligned countries. The Belgrade conference added two more principles; one of them gave a name to the whole movement, Non-alignment with the military blocs. The second principle defined aid to the liberation movements as one of the chief targets of Non-alignment movement.²

At the 20th session of U.N. General Assembly in New York in September 1960 the leaders of India, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and Ghana – Jawaharlal Nehru, General Abdul Nassar, Josip Broz Tito, Ahmed Sukarno and Kwame Nkrumah agreed to call a conference of all Non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. At first the presidents of Egypt, Yugoslavia and Indonesia undertook to organise the conference. They addressed the Heads of the States and Government of twenty eight countries in April 1961 asking them to

¹ Linus Pauling, *Op. cit.*, p.63.

² Karen Brutents, *Op. cit.*, p.

attend the conference in May 1961. They were requested to send their representatives to Cairo to prepare for the conference. This May invitation however, mentioned that Nehru had also subscribed to it. Later at the meeting in Cairo, a similar statement was made by a delegation of Afghanistan. Thus the organisers of that meeting and of the Belgrade conference which followed it, were Egypt, Yugoslavia, India, Indonesia and Afghanistan.¹

The Cairo meeting of twenty countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America decided to hold an international conference of the Heads of the States or Government of Non-aligned countries in September, 1961. The delegates of the meeting drew upon agenda for the forthcoming conference and for the first time formulated the criteria to be used in sending invitations to the conference. No invitation was sent to countries which were Non-aligned in name only. The criteria were adopted at the preparatory meeting of the Non-aligned countries held at Cairo in 1961. They are the following.

1. A country should follow an independent policy of co-existence and Non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy.
2. It should consistently have supported movements for national independence.

¹ "The Third World without Super Powers, *The Collected Documents of Non-Aligned Countries*, Vol. 1. Pp. 33-34.

3. It should not be a member of multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of great power conflicts.
4. If it has conceded military bases these should not have been made in the context of great power conflicts.
5. If it was a member of bilateral or regional defence arrangement, this should not be in the context of great power conflicts.¹

The above mentioned criteria can be regarded as the principles of the policy of Non-alignment countries. The first summit conference of NAM of Belgrade in September, 1961 regarded these rules are essential for the membership of Non-aligned movement. Its application of finalising the list of invitees to the conference was quite liberal. Saudi Arabia and Morocco with permitted military bases to United States were among the participants. When these criteria was applied only 15 out of 29 countries that had participated in the Bandung conference was invited to the first conference of the Non-aligned Movement. They are Afghanistan, Burma, India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Iraq, Lebanon, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Ceylon. (By that time Egypt and Syria had united and were represented in Belgrade as one state, the United Arab Republic (UAR)). The Belgrade conference were also attended by representatives

¹ Two Decades of Non-alignment: Document, p.2. Rikhi Jaipal, *Non-alignment, Origin, Growth and Potential for World Peace*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 64-65.

of Algeria, Guinea, Cyprus, Congo, Cuba, Mali, Morocco, Somalia, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. Algeria was represented by a provisional government, as an armed struggle for independence was under way there. Besides the delegates, the three Latin American countries – Bolivia, Brazil, and Ecuador, were present as observers.¹

The Belgrade conference of the Head of the state of Non-aligned countries was held on September 1-6-1961. Though the delegates represented diverse trends, their adherence to Non-alignment proved to be a uniting factor. In their diversity, the Non-aligned countries have raised number of common issues – cultural identity, interdependence of cultures, cultural co-operation.² Besides affirming independence, the NAM endorsed cultural and racial equality. The Belgrade, conference was largely conceived with political issues – issues of decolonisation, particularly, granting of independence to Algeria and Angola, the withdrawal of French troops from Tunisia, cessation of foreign military intervention in Congo, ending of apartheid in South Africa and granting of legitimate rights of Arabs in Palestine.³ It declared unambiguously that lasting peace could be achieved only in a world where domination of colonialism,

¹ Yuri Alimov, *Op. cit.*, p.42.

² Bisera Cvjeticanin, Cultures of Non-aligned Countries, *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 38, No.877, Octo. 1986, p.12.

³ Linus Pauling ed., *Op. cit.*, p.63.

imperialism and neocolonialism in all their manifestation is radically eliminated.¹ In its search for peace the conference appealed both to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev to renew their negotiations, so as to remove the danger of war in a world and enable mankind of embark upon the road of peace.² The conference demanded that efforts should be made to remove economic imbalance initiated by colonialism and imperialism.

Addressing the Belgrade conference Nehru said Non-alignment means nations which object to this lining up for war purposes military blocs, military alliances and the like . . . We want to throw our weight, such as it is in favour of peace.³ The Belgrade conference was attended by 25 member and three observers (Bolivia, Brazil and Ecuador). Its participants included Nehru, Tito, Nassar, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Sukarno, Nkrumah UNu, Dorticos, Makarios and Keita.⁴ The conference adopted the declarations of the Heads of state on Government of Non-aligned countries. A statement on the Dangers of war and appeal to peace. The declaration said, "the Non-aligned countries represented at the conference do not wish to form a new block and cannot be a bloc. They sincerely

¹ *Two Decades of Non-Alignment* , Documents, pp. 5-6.

² Government of India, 1981, Documents of Gathering of Non-aligned countries, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, New Delhi, pp. 7-8.

³ H.D. Malaviya, Non-alignment, Onward March, Delhi, 1981.

⁴ V, Benevolensky, the Non-alignment Movement from Belgrade to Delhi, USSR, 1985, p.27.

desire to co-operate with any government, which seeks to contribute to the strengthening of confidence and peace in the world.¹ The Non-aligned leaders appeared convinced at the Belgrade summit that the imminent and ominous prospect of conflict would almost certainly later develop into a world war.² The main trust of the Non-aligned strategy during this initial phase was therefore, the elimination of the possibilities of conflict between super powers. In this way peace and security was assured for the Non-aligned world.³ In 1961 the Non-aligned countries met to create an independent path in world politics.

The term Non-alignment denotes different meanings to different people at different times. The westerners often use the expression neutrality or neutralism and try to understand the movement. The west views Non-alignment merely as variety of neutrality. Quite a lot of western scholars have almost consistently preferred the terms neutrality and neutralism to Non-alignment.⁴ Perhaps George Liska was the first to come close to accepting the term Non-alignment in really

¹ *Two Decades of Non-alignment*, p.6.

² Documents and gathering of Non-aligned countries, 1961-1973, Belgrade, 1973, Belgrade Summit Documents, Dangers of War and Appeal to Peace, Pt. No.I, p.15.

³ S.D. Muni, Essays on Non-alignment and Security Parameter, in K.P. Mishra, Ed., *Non Alignment, Frontiers and Dynamics*, Delhi, 1982, p.161.

⁴ Hans, J. Morgenthau, "Neutrality and Neutralism" in his *The Decline of the Democratic Politics*, Chicago, 1962, pp. 257-81.

scientific sense.¹ In fact Non-alignment does not imply neutrality nor does it prohibit taking positions on international issues.² The distinction between Non-alignment and Neutralism may be summed up as the difference between an activist and an isolationist approach.³ Later some scholars gave up their bias for neutralism and gradually accepted Non-alignment.⁴ Non-involvement is common to both neutrality on one hand and to neutralism or Non-alignment on the other. Jawaharlal Nehru held the view that the neutrality is a concept which can have relevance only in war. The political neutrality is a concept which can have relevance only in a war. The political neutrality is an attribute of diplomacy rather than of foreign policy. When a state abstains from voting in U.N.O. when it refuses to take sides on an international issue, it presents a case of diplomatic on political neutrality. Non-alignment or neutralism also aims of keeping away not from a particular issue or conflict but from a continuing international situation. This continuing international situation is cold war. Since military alliances constitute an important

¹ George Liska, "Non-alignment and Neutralism" In his *Nations of Alliance*, Hatlimore, 1962, pp: 202-254.. See also his, *The third Party, The rationale of Non-alignment:* in Lawrence W. Martin (ed.), *Neutralism and Non-alignment*, New York, 1962, p. 80-92.

² P.R. Chari, "Non-alignment and Disarmament", in US Bajpai (ed.), *Non-alignment: Perspective and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1983, p.118.

³ Peter Willets, *The Non-aligned Movement: the origin of a Third World Alliance*, Bombay, 1978, -.20.

⁴ Laurence W. Martin (ed.), *Neutralism and Non-alignment*, New York, 1962, Harry Sichrovsky, *Non-alignment, Bias, History and prospects, is Afro-Asian and world Affairs*, New Delhi, 2, Spring, 1955, pp. 19-27.

feature of cold war, Non-alignment naturally insists on keeping away from those alliances.¹

There are authorities like Hans Morgenthau² and Robert Scalapino³ in the western countries and A. Appadorai⁴ and M.S. Rajan⁵ in India who regard Non-alignment as the only means and are not prepared to grant it even the status of a policy. Nehru pointed to the hidden potentialities of Non-alignment as an instrument of peace and raised it to the global force. The western writers failed to understand the significance of Non-alignment as a technique of peaceful settlement of international disputes. That is why George Schwarzenberger regarded Non-alignment as a self-centered policy, and writers⁶ like Hans Morgenthau⁷ and Reinhold Neibuhr⁸ viewed it as only an ideology.

¹ Mahendra Kumar, *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, Delhi, 1978, p.365.

² Hans J. Morgenthau, "Nationality and Nationalism," In his *Op. cit.*, p.

³ Robert A Scalapino, "Nationalism in Asia", *American political Science Review* (Menasha Wis) 48, Chicago, 1962.

⁴ A. Appadoral, "The Foreign Policy of India" in Joseph E Block & Kenneth W. Thompson (ed.), *Foreign Policies in a World of change*, New York, 1963, p.485.

⁵ M.S. Rajan, "The Need for a Pragmatic Indian Foreign Policy" *The Political Science Review*, Jaipur, 1964, pp. 1-25.

⁶ George Schwarzenberger, *The Scope of Neutralism*, Year Book of World Affairs, 1961, London, p.241.

⁷ Hans J. Morgenthau, "Power and Ideology in International politics" in James N. Rosenan (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, New York, 1961, pp. 170-77.

⁸ Reinhold Neibuhr, "The Relation of Strength to Weakness in The World Community" in Lawrence W. Martin (ed.), *Neutralism and Non-alignment* pp. 196-210.

Among the big powers, Britain was the first to recognize the importance of Non-alignment in international relations. It therefore encouraged the newly independent countries to follow their own policies. It did so when the big powers like the Soviet Union and the United States were critical of Non-alignment and viewed it with suspicion.¹ Western scholars and statesmen during the early post war years refused to accept the term Non-alignment. For when it was neutrality the term Neutralism was also used. Even now these terms have not vanished.² According to U Nu of Burma, "This policy (Non-alignment) has been called Neutralism in cold war. Perhaps it is the right name for it."³ General De Gaulle did evolve a policy akin to some kind of Non-alignment in this opposition to military blocs, judging each international issue on its merits and economic aid without political strings. This of course, is not comparable with Non-alignment for his formulations were meant strictly for a France which according to him was superior to other nations in the world.⁴

¹ Vivekanandan 'Non-alignment: Frontiers and Dynamics' in K.P. Mishra (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p.481.

² K.P. Mishra and K.R. Narayanan (ed.), *Non-alignment in Contemporary International Relations*, Delhi, 1981, p.223.

³ William C. Johnstone, *Burma's Foreign Policy*, Cambridge, Mass, 1963, p.102.

⁴ H.S. Chopra, "Changing European Perspective on Non-alignment", International Seminar on Non-alignment, Delhi, 1986.

U.S.A. from the very beginning opposed Non-alignment. On June 9, 1956, the United States Secretary of states, John Foster Dullas said "Non-alignment has increasingly become an obsolete conception and except under very exceptional circumstances, it is immoral and short sighted conception".¹ The Non-alignment has been welcomed by U.S.S.R. even through it was viewed with disapproval earlier.² At first China attacked Non-alignment but later it began to make efforts to penetrate the movement in order to make it serve its interests. It proclaimed the Peoples Republic of China a developing nation, spreading the ideas about its community of interests with the third world countries and declaring itself a genuine defender of the developing countries in their struggle against super powers.³

The policy of Non-aligned movement to avoid intimate military relations with super power started getting eroded soon after under the thrust of new developments in the international security situations. India faced this dilemma in the wake of the conflict with China in 1962.⁴ The growing military ties with the

¹ *New York Times*, 10th June, 1956, p.24.

² E K G Nambiar, 'Non-Alignment and Soviet Union', in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XII 241-261. For detailed account of Soviet and Communist attitude to NAM see Thomas Perry Thomson ed. *The third World in Soviet Perspective*, 1954. See also *International Affairs*, Moscow, Feb, 1956, pp. 78-81.

³ Karen Brutents, 'Non-alignment Movement Today' *Social Sciences*, vol. XIV, No.2. 1985.

⁴ Michael Breacher, 'Non-aligned under stress: The west and the India-China Border War' *Pacific Affairs*, Vancouver, B.C. Winter, 1979-80.

Soviet Union, including controversial friendship treaty of 1971 (9th August 1971).¹ The close military relations established by Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Vietnam with Soviet Union were the results of regional threat to those Non-aligned countries. On the other hand, countries like Cyprus, Malta, Morocco and Saudi Arabia have conceded military bases to western blocs. Countries like Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya, and Somalia have even changed military relations from one super power to the other.² There are reports that Kenya and Sri Lanka has agreed to provide bases and facilities to United States.³ A number of Gulf countries like Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are extending and strengthening their military ties with western powers like France and the United States.⁴

When China committed aggression on India in 1962 and Pakistan aggression of 1965 and 1971, the policy of Non-alignment followed by India was criticized by many. It was argued that, since Non-alignment could not prevent Chinese

¹ It is argued how can India style herself Non-Aligned after signing the treaty. But the Government of India has stated that Indo-Soviet treaty does not mean any deviation from the policy of Non-alignment because under article IV of the treaty, the Soviet Union has guaranteed to respect India's policy of Non-alignment.

² S.D. Muni, "Non-Alignment and Security Parameter" in K.P. Misra, *Op. cit.*, New Delhi 1982, p.166.

³ M.S. Rajan, "The Dichotomy between theory and Practice in Perspective" *India Quarterly*, New Delhi, Vol. 36, No. 1 Jan-March, 1980, pp. 45-46.

⁴ *Times of India*, New Delhi, 3 March, 1981, and *Hindustan times*, New Delhi, 5 March, 1981.

aggression, India should give it up. With this Nehru responded that even if India is reduced to dust, he is not prepared to give it up. Nehru looked at the ultimate and not at the immediate. It is often forgotten that Colombo proposals on which India insisted on the basis of the solution of her border issue with China were put forth by Non-aligned countries and that insistence is an indication of her belief in the efficacy of Non-alignment as a technique of resolving conflicts.¹

India was able to get military aid from both the blocs without compromising the essentials of Non-alignment even during Chinese aggression. But some were of the opinion that it would eventually lead to abandonment of Non-alignment. Countries like China and Pakistan even said that India has surrendered Non-alignment. In fact while receiving military aid India proved the dynamic nature of Non-alignment by stating that it would not permit any foreign bases in her soil. Yugoslavia got military aid from the United States in 1961. Tito needed economic aid to counter act the blockade imposed by the Cominform and to forward his economic plans, he needed military help to deter Soviet attack and he got both. Ethiopia got military aid in 1961 from United States under mutual security programme. Some countries among Non-aligned nations, permitted foreign

¹ Mahendra Kumar, *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, Delhi, 1980, p.379.

military bases and yet remained Non-aligned. According to some scholars accepting military aid India has not violated Non-alignment.¹

The policy of getting aid from both the blocs is criticized by many as "double alignment". But the leaders of the Non-aligned nations believe that friendship with both the blocs can be retained by receiving aid and at the same time they can improve their commercial activity with friendly countries.

Speaking about western appraisals of Non-alignment it is pointed out that their evolution of the concept has endeavoured to dispel them and to emphasise that in the last analysis, nations embrace Non-alignment for essentially the same reason that United States remains dedicated to "containment" of the Soviet Union advocates, peaceful co-existence.²

Non-alignment came to be not just an "unprincipled neutral confrontation" with blocs but opposition and resistance to those who wanted perpetuate domination.³ The greatest significance of Non-alignment perhaps lies in the fact

¹ Devdutt, "Military Aid and India's Non-alignment", AICC Economic Review, New Delhi, 15 (20), 24 March, 1964, pp. 37-40. A Appadorai, "An Independent Foreign Policy", Yojana, Delhi, 5 (24), 9 December, 1962, pp. 7-8, K.P. Misra, "The concept of Non-alignment: Its implications and Recent Trends", Paper submitted to all India Seminar on Asian Studies held at the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, Feb-March, 1965.

² Cecil V. Crabb Jr. *The Elephants and the Grass*, London, 1965, p.217.

³ Kdvard Kardelj cited in his paper " Forces and Paths of War and Peace", Zagreb, 1975, presented for Scientific conference on Path ways of War and Peace.

that it announced the desire of the Asian and African states to enter the balance of power struggle in their own right. According to an American writer the most important difference of the Non-aligned countries cited to have more influence in the international affairs, whereas classical neutrals did all possible so as to stay away from the policy of power."¹

Non-alignment contributed to the political stability of post colonial societies as the key input in the process of national building, economic, development and building of liberal democratic institutions.² International tension was reduced due to the work of Non-aligned nations. Arms control and disarmament is widely regarded as the cure to the problem posed by war and weapons, despite the fact that its practical impact has been marginal.³

Nehru's policy of Non-alignment in the words of Khrushchev is the "highest watermarks" of moderns statesmanship in its ideal sense. The avoidance of excessive intimacy with either cold war bloc thus become the essential feature of Nehru's foreign policy and the principle of Non-alignment was evolved to achieve

¹ Business week, 21 October, 1961.

² Ashwini K.Ray, *Non-Alignment and Neutrality*, Delhi, 1982, P.83.

³ Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear, Britain*, 1983, p.201.

this objective.¹ Non-alignment influenced as strongly as it was by the desire to bring about a climate of peace, played a predictable part in disarmament and arms control negotiations, but as strategy was unable to influence the course of these negotiations.²

¹ Leo E. Rose, *World Politics, An Introduction*, New York, 1976, p.209.

² A.P. Rana, *The Imperative of Non-alignment*, Delhi, 1976, p.257.

BANDUNG CONFERENCE AND THE EVOLUTION OF NON-ALIGNMENT

O. Suryanarayanan "Role of the non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament 1960 - 1987 " Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2002

CHAPTER 2

BANDUNG CONFERENCE AND THE EVOLUTION OF NON-ALIGNMENT

From Belgrade to Harare

Non-aligned movement is the greatest bulwark of peace, freedom and justice on the planet. Its growing importance and values are hailed by all nations of the world, except United States and a handful of its allies.¹ The Non-aligned Movement is working for peace, security and disarmament on one hand and independence, development and co-operation among nations on the other. A study of the proceedings of each Non-aligned summit from Belgrade to Harare makes it evident.

The Non-aligned movement takes its roots from Bandung conference of Afro-Asian countries held in 1955 in which twenty nine states took part. The seeds sown in Bandung blossomed in Belgrade six years later in 1961, where they provided the conceptual impetus for the birth of the movement of the Non-aligned countries.² One of the highly significant fact about NAM is its staunch

¹ D.R. Goyal, "Secular Democracy on Global Scale", in D.R. Goyal Ed, *Non-Alignment: Concepts and Concerns*, Delhi, 1986, p.31.

² Ali Alatas (Ministry of foreign Affairs of Indonesia), *Disarmament: United Nations Dept; for Disarmament Affairs*, New York, 1991, p.9.

commitment of strengthening the United Nations with remarkable persistence from its very inception.¹ The growing impact of Afro-Asian nations, most of them Non-aligned, effected "a profound transformation which quite transcends anything the framers of the charter foresaw."² Non-aligned movement acquired its momentum in the backdrop of the strength against colonialism. Afro-Asian solidarity became naturally its strong base. There was a common struggle which acted as a binding force.³ The Bandung Conference, in the words of V.K. Krishna Menon, "had established the personality of Asia and Africa without isolating itself from the rest of the world". This conference was also a precursor to the Belgrade Non-aligned conference as it passed resolutions on world peace and the dangers of the nuclear weapons.⁴

The idea of having a summit conference of Asian and African countries was put forward by the then President of Indonesia, Sukarno in 1953. In April 1955 prior to Bandung conference representatives of fourteen Asian countries met at

¹ M.S. Rajan, " The role of the Non-Aligned states in the United States", in M.S.Rajan, V.S. Mani & C.S.R. Murthy (ed.), *The Non-Aligned and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987, p.301.

² Francis O. Willcox, *the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Nations*, Headline series, No.155, New York, Sept.-Oct., 1962, p.3.

³ Narendra P. Jain, 'New Approach to International Relations' in D.R. Goyal, *Op. Cit.*, p.14.

⁴ Bipanchandra and others, *India After Independence*, New Delhi, 1999, p.151.

Delhi and decided to unite themselves with some African states, despite their difference in social and political systems. They decided to establish unity and friendship with the aim of (1) promoting co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa, (2) to consider social, economic and cultural difficulties (3) to consider any topic of special interest to Asian and African peoples and (4) to evaluate the position of Asia and Africa in the existing world and contributions they could make to increase world peace.

Thus with the aim of discussing ways and means by which people of Asia and Africa could actively further economic, cultural and political co-operation and to eliminate racialism and colonialism, the Asian countries met at Bandung (Indonesia) on April 18-24, 1955. Participants of the conference belong to 23 Asian and 6 African countries. So twenty nine delegates attended the conference. The convening the conference was indeed worthwhile. It had significant role to play in promoting mutual co-operation among Asian-African nations and it helped to create a favourable atmosphere for the reduction of international tensions and promotion of world peace.¹

Out of 29 members who took part in the conference only eight followed the principle of Non-alignment (India, Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Nepal and Egypt). Some states had military commitments to United

¹ A Appadorai, *Essays in Politics and International Relations*, Bombay, 1962, p.112.

States (South Vietnam, Iran, Thailand, Turkey, the Philippines and Japan) and their foreign policy was determined by their membership in these organizations like NATO, ANZAM and SEATO.

The important document of Bandung conference was the declaration on promotion of world peace and co-operation. At the conference it was unanimously declared the absolute right of all nations to choose a political and economic system and a way of life in keeping with the U.N. charter principles. The participants worked out the principles of inter-state relations, which constituted a further development of Panchasheela principles. These principles were the following. (1) Respect for the U.N. charter (2) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations (3) Recognition of equality of all races and nationalities-big and small (4) Abstention from intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other countries (5) Respect for the right of every country for individual or collective defence in conformity with U.N. charter (6a) Abstention from exerting pressure on other countries (6b) Abstention exploiting agreement on collection defence of self interests on the part of big powers (7) Abstention from acts or threats of aggression and the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country (8) Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means e.g. Negotiation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other means as the parties may

choose in conformity with the principles of U.N. charter (9) Assistance in mutual interest and co-operation and (10) respect for justice and international obligations.¹

At the Bandung Conference it became clear which countries were sincere supporters of the idea of Non-alignment and which ones aimed at compromising the idea of an independent peaceful development. The participants represented mainly the people of young states, which had been set up as a result of the new balance of forces of democracy and freedom on one hand and of colonialism and oppression on the other established after the World War II.²

Sukharno said "we cannot, nor we are supposed, to limit our interests to the problem of our own continents also. The problems of entire world are problems and the future of our countries depends on the solution of international problems". The obvious link between the ideas voiced by Sukharno and the treaty of interrelation and interdependence between national liberation and universal peace elaborated by Jawaharlal Nehru is a confirmation of the Universal value of the Indian born principles of humanity's genuine development.³

The Bandung Conference discussed global issues of special interest to Asia and Africa and to increase economic, political and cultural co-operation among

¹ The Non-Aligned Countries, London, 1982,p.12. Benevolensky, *The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to Delhi*, Moscow, 1985,p.17.

² G.N. Srivastava, *India, Non-Alignment and World Peace*, New Delhi, 1984, p.8.

³ *Ibid.*, p.9.

Afro-Asian countries. The main discussion revolved round issues of world peace, the security of Afro-Asians, comity and friendship among them and to free Asia and Africa from the iron grip of colonialism and racialism. It was very difficult to attain the aim of the conference because the participants had different ideas and opinions. But they were for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity. So all of them worked for the success of the conference.

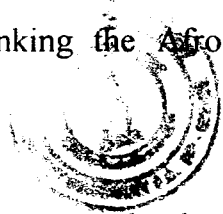
The Bandung Conference came out in defence of basic human rights and rights of the oppressed nations against racial discrimination and segregation and demanded that the right of self-determination and segregation be unconditionally observed. It resolutely denounced the practice of submitting nations to foreign domination and exploitation.¹

It was the Bandung Conference which showed a different way of grappling with human issues and to different mode of evolving the principles of international political action, universal global co-operation, the necessity for economic and cultural inter-dependence, the desire for general peace and security. All those point out the new facts of international situation and all of them are parts of nationalism. "By refusing to have faith in the orthodox dichotomies between the east and the

¹ *The Non-Alignment Movement in Documents and Materials*, Moscow, 1979, p.423.

west or between democracy and communism, Non-alignment transforms contemporary nationalism into internationalism.¹

According to V.K. Krishna Menon, Jawaharlal Nehru was the spirit of the Bandung conference. Commenting at the success of the conference Nehru said, "Bandung proclaimed to the world the capacity of the new nations of Asia and Africa for practical idealism for we conducted our business in a short time and reached agreements of practical value, not quite usual with international conferences. The conference devoted much importance to peace and security of nations. They expressed their great anxiety at international tension which existed at the time of cold war, at the atomic war menace and called for arms reduction, universal disarmament and destruction of nuclear weapons. The Bandung Conference served as a major support of the bridge linking the Afro-Asian, European and Latin American people."²



At the Bandung Conference the ideas of Non-alignment was clearly pointed out and some of them even became part of the document. In Bandung, the banner of Non-aligned was clearly elevated and exhibited and some of them even became part of the conference documents. The groundwork for Non-aligned Movement conducted at Bandung can be regarded as partially correct. The meeting of the

¹ G.N. Srivastava, *Op. cit.*, p.9.
² *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, p.111.

Non-aligned countries at Colombo in 1976 recorded that in Bandung "the concept of Non-alignment itself was given concrete expression".¹

After the conference the term "the spirit of Bandung" is synonymous for the unity of Afro-Asian nations for joint solution for urgent international problems for safeguarding world peace and establishing the main aspects of peaceful co-existences.

The Bandung Conference proved historic in as much as it showed that despite socio-economic differences, the Afro-Asian countries could unite on common platform of struggle for peace and international security. The Bandung Conference thus marked the beginning of the Afro-Asian countries working cohesively, as a group in the U.N.O. on different international issues.²

After the Bandung Conference, the concept of Non-alignment was further developed during the meeting of Josip Broz Tito and Gamel Abdul Nasser had in Yugoslavia in July 1956. They hailed the ideas of Bandung conference. Later on Tito said "to be able to uphold successfully the basic legitimate rights and to influence international processes, it was necessary to work towards the pooling of those efforts of ours. Despite all the differences, Nehru, Nasser and subsequently joined by Sukarno, Nkrumah and others had similar ideas and strove after one and

¹ Mehendra Kumar, *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, Delhi, 1978, pp.390-391.

² G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.23.

the same thing, and they made immediate steps to form the Non-aligned movement".¹

With this aim in view a preparatory meeting of the Heads of the Non-aligned states was held at Cairo. They worked out a five point criteria for admission, in the conference of the Heads of the State or government of Non-aligned Countries in which was to be held in September 1961. The five point criteria are the following.

(1) A country should have adopted an independent policy based on co-existence of states with different political and social systems and on Non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favour of such policy. (2) A country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements of national independence. (3) A country should not be a member of multi-lateral military alliance concluded in the context of great power conflicts. (4) If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a great power, is a member of a regional defence pact, the agreement of pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of great power conflicts. (5) If it had conceded military bases to a foreign power, the concession should not have been made in the context of great power conflicts.² An agenda for the forth coming meeting was also drawn. Later these criteria became the accepted definition of a

¹ *Review of International Affairs*, Belgrade, No.704-705, August 20, 1979, p.15.

² *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, Documents, p.2.

Non-aligned country. Assessing the world situation for the past few years, the Havana summit conference in 1979, in particular repeated them word for word.¹

The first summit conference of Non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in September 1961, passed a unanimous declaration that the struggle for peace, against colonialism and racism was the principle orientation of Non-aligned Movement.² It was represented by 25 states and there were three observers. Its success is largely the result of the work of India and its Prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. The conference was viewed with displeasure by the Western Powers. U.S.S.R wished the participants of the conference success in their work for world peace. The subjects to be discussed in the first summit of NAM were (1) current state of international relations and (2) the establishment of strengthening of international peace and security".³

On the opening day of the conference, Tito, President of the Republic of Yugoslavia, said that it was a forum during which representatives of the Non-aligned countries could "with utmost frankness and in full express their points of view of how to form relations between nations and states and how to find ways to

¹ Yuri Alimov, *The Rise and Growth of Non-Aligned Movement*, Moscow, 1987, p.42.

² See, "First Conference of Heads of States on Government of Non-Aligned Countries", Belgrade, September, 1-6, 1961.

³ Main Documents relating to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, From Belgrade 1961 to George Town, George Town, 1972, pp.7-13.

solve most problems by peaceful means, strengthening peace throughout the world and constructive co-operation between nations.¹

Peaceful co-existence became NAM's main aim from Belgrade Conference onwards. It was regarded as an only alternative to cold war. It was resolved that to avoid economic presence of the western countries, it is a must. The conference adopted a 27 point declaration. A document called "the danger of war and appeal for peace" was adopted at the conference. The first summit of NAM declared "war had never threatened mankind with greater consequences than today". So complete disarmament under international control is a must. As the Non-aligned countries were keen to impose ban on nuclear weapons, they called a special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament. The participants of the conference urged upon both the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R to put a check on their war preparation.

The pinnacle of Nehru's efforts was reached in 1961 when he stood with Nassar of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia to call for nuclear disarmament and peace in Belgrade. By now he was convinced that the remnants of colonialism would give way very soon to the next challenge the world faced was that of preventing a nuclear war.²

¹ Socialist Thoughts and Practice, Belgrade, 1979, No.9, p.9.

² Bipin Chandra, Aditya Mukherjee and Mridula Mukherjee, "India After Independence" (New Delhi 1999) p.151.

The participants of the conference resolutely condemned the policy of apartheid practiced by the Union of South Africa and demanded the immediate abandonment of this policy. They further state that "the policy of racial discrimination any where in the world constitute a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".¹

In the economic sphere the conference supported the right of a country on its national wealth and resources. Though NAM gave greater importance to the economic issue only in the later years, the foundations were laid in the Belgrade summit itself.

The participants were of the opinion that efforts should be made to remove economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and imperialism. They consider it necessary to close, through accelerated economic, industrial and agricultural development, the widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and many economically less developed countries. The participants in the conference recommended the immediate establishment and operation of a United Nations Capital Development Fund. They further agreed to demand just terms of trade for the economically less developed countries and in particular, constructive efforts to eliminate the excessive fluctuations in primary commodity trade and the restrictive measures and practices which adversely affect

¹ The Documents relating to the conference of the Heads of the States or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961, Belgrade Proceedings, Belgrade, 1961.

the trade and revenues of the newly developing countries. In general they demanded that the fruits of scientific and technological revolution be applied in all fields of economic development to hasten the achievement of international social justice."¹ The participating countries in the conference declared that the recipient countries must be freed to determine the use of the economic and technical assistance which they receive, to design their own plans and assign priorities in accordance with their needs. It was also proposed to hold an international conference for discussing the common problems and ways of co-operation among the third world countries so as to enable them to resist the economic pressure of western industrialized countries. Responding to that call the developing countries convened their International Conference in Cairo and later set up the group 77.²

At Belgrade "the participating countries considered the establishment and maintenance of foreign military bases in the territories of other countries, particularly against their express will, a gross violation of sovereignty of such states. They declared full support to these countries who are endeavouring to secure the vacation of these bases. The conference called upon those countries

¹ *Ibid.*,

² Yuri Alimove, *The Rise and Growth of the Non-Aligned Movement*, USSR, 1987, p.45.

maintaining foreign bases to consider seriously their abolition as a contribution to world peace.¹

At Belgrade the Non-aligned movement took shape organizationally. NAM as an international association has no charter spelling out its goals, principles and structure and strictly regulating its functions and operations of its organs. The Belgrade Conference added two more principles. One of them gave a name to the whole movement Non-alignment with military blocs. The second principle defined aid to liberation movements as one of the chief targets of Non-aligned movement".²

Nehru, Nasser, Tito and other leaders of the Non-aligned countries stated in Belgrade declaration that "peace and stability in the world depend, to a considerable extent, on the mutual relations of the Great powers".³ In its search for peace the conference appealed both to President Kennedy of U.S.A and Premier Khrushchev of U.S.S.R "to review the negotiations, so as to remove the danger of war in the world and enable mankind to embark upon the road to peace."⁴

¹ Document and gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries 1961-1976, 1976, Ministry of External Affairs, External Publicity Division, New Delhi, 1981.

² Karen Brutents, "The Non-Aligned Movement Today", *Social Sciences*, Vol.XVI. No.2.1985, USSR.

³ Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents, p.6.

⁴ Documents and gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, Government of India, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, New Delhi, 1981, pp.7-8.

The Belgrade Conference was an important event in the history of international relations. It heralded the emergence of a new independent political group of states capable of influencing the world balance of forces when it comes to the solution of major issues. It placed the Non-aligned countries on a new level of collective policy making, the level of international summit conference.¹

According to G.H. Jansen "the first and best known and most influential Non-aligned summit"² was purely ad hoc in character in that it did not even consider holding a second summit Tito had in his inaugural address unequivocally stressed that the Non-aligned countries had no wish to form any kind of third bloc."³

In a speech at the special meeting of foreign ministers of Non-aligned countries held in 1981 in Delhi to mark the 20th anniversary of the Belgrade Conference. It was pointed out that "Even before that conference, nation after newly free nation had proclaimed its allegiance to and adoption of non-alignment. Close bond of fellow feeling and common purpose had already been established

¹ Yuri Alimov, *The Rise and Growth of the Non-Aligned Movement*, Moscow, 1987, p.47.

² G.H. Jansen, 'will they safeguard the Ramparts' *Illustrated Weekly of India*, March, 1983.

³ Jansen, Muraleedharan in his article 'Non-Alignment of the Summit, *Kerala Journal of Political Studies*, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, vol.1, No.1, Jan 1986.

among them. Belgrade represented a formal demonstration of community of interest".¹

The second Non-aligned conferences was held at Cairo October 5-10, 1964 in which 47 countries and ten observers participated. Since the last Non-aligned Conference at Belgrade, there was a substantial increase in the membership of NAM from the African continent. The initiative for the second summit conference of NAM was taken by Yugoslavia, Egypt and Ceylon. "It was called the second conference" which meant that the Belgrade one was admitted to be the first. But that time too no mention of a 'Non-aligned movement' was made.² Since the last Non-aligned meet at Belgrade a number of important developments had taken place. The world has passed through the Cuban missile crisis (despite coming to the brink of conflict over Cuba, the super powers patched up that differences and the process of rapprochement led to détente. The signing of nuclear Test Ban treaty of 1963 helped better understanding between the super powers), the conflict between India and China in 1962 (when India contacted U.S.A. and U.K. for military help, China declared a unilateral withdrawal) Addressing the U.N. General Assembly in October 1963, Tito said that "Non-alignment is thus changing both in quantitative and qualitative terms and is transforming itself into a general movement of peace." He even went so far as to suggest that the very term Non-

¹ *Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents*, p.532.

² Yuri Alimov, *Op. Cit.*, p.49.

alignment was being "overcome by new and positive developments in international relations".¹

The participating heads of the state or Government note with satisfaction that thanks to the combined efforts of the forces of freedom, peace and progress, this second Non-aligned conference is being held at a time when the international situation has improved as compared with that which existed between the two power blocs at the time of the historic Belgrade Conference."² Heads of the state or Government also proclaimed the fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence. The Non-aligned countries decided to step up its campaign against nuclear weapons. To achieve disarmament they suggested the freeze of nuclear arms. "The conference requests the great powers to abstain from all policies conducive to the dissemination of nuclear weapons and their by products among those states which do not at present possess them. It underlines the great danger in dissemination of Nuclear weapons and urges all states, particularly those possessing nuclear weapons, to conclude non-dissemination agreements and to agree on measures providing for gradual liquidation of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons."³ The Non-aligned countries were opposed to taking part in pacts and alliances.

¹ Leo Mates, "Non-Alignment and the Great Powers", *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1970, p.529.

² Documents and Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1976, Ministry of External Affairs, External Publicity Division, New Delhi, 1981.

³ Excerpts from NAM summit declarations, quoted from D.R. Goyal (Ed.), *The Non-Alignment Concept and Concerns*, Delhi 1986, p.390.

They were also against the existence of military blocs and stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries against the will of those countries.

The second conference reiterated to the principles and goals of the movement as formulated in the declaration of the first conference and adopted a programme for peace and international co-operation.¹ Among the old leaders, Nasser of Egypt, Nkrumah of Ghana and Tito of Yugoslavia participated at the Cairo summit. Nasser played an active role in the deliberation of the summit and Cairo declaration was the result of his efforts. The summit also mourned on the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, an architect of NAM.² At Cairo much importance was not given to cold war but relations among the problems of the Non-aligned countries was given prominence. The Cairo declaration was more action oriented in nature and held "imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic course of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security".³ Compared with the first conference, the Non-aligned countries outlined in greater detail their attitudes to the problems of eliminating the vestiges of colonialism and liberating the people from foreign domination. It was agreed that Non-aligned countries should support the colonies militarily and economically in

¹ V. Benevolensky, *the Non-Aligned Movement from Belgrade to Delhi*, Moscow, 1985, p.23.

² Gyanendra N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet Foreign Policy*, Delhi, 1989, p.41.

³ Main documents relating to the Conference on Non-Aligned Countries: From Belgrade 1961, 50, George Town, 1972, George Town, 1972, p.19.

their struggle for emancipation. The Heads of State of Government declared that racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid is a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principle of the equality of peoples. The conference expressed their support for the U.N. resolutions on sanctions against South Africa, and for the first time called on all the countries to break diplomatic and other relations with the South African racists.

In the economic sphere the final documents stated that all countries were obliged to facilitate the speedy development of new more just world system of economic relations.¹ Since the Cairo summit of Non-aligned countries, was held after the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), it supported the decisions of the UNCTAD and the efforts of group 77 in it. The principles and procedures underlying it were regarded as the fundamental cause of the bargaining position (in tariff reduction negotiations) of the less developed countries. Hence it was desired to have some new institutional arrangements of international economic co-operation to deal with the problems of world trade and development, especially those which may reduce the 'trade gap' of developing countries. Thus the UNCTAD was created.² Group 77 was a group of developing countries which represented the Third world countries in economic negotiations

¹ V. Benevolensky, 'The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to Delhi' U.S.S.R 1985, p.39.

² D.M. Mithani, *International Economics*, New Delhi, 1992, p.335.

with the developed countries. The active participation of Group 77 within the United Nations system is certainly one of the most significant economic development in the post-war period.¹ The Group 77 was formed at the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva from March 23 to June 16, 1964 with the aim of working out concerted positions of the Asian, African and Latin American developing countries on foreign economic problems. The member countries are very diverse in terms of size, population, political regions and geographical location as well as degree of development. Nevertheless all members of the group 77 agree that international economic environment is hostile to them as the rules of the same are unjust and inequitable. This is the basic reason for their support to the concept of the New International Economic Order (NIEO).² It was developed at the initiative of Non-aligned countries.

In this final conference communiqué entitled "Programme for peace and international co-operation" was adopted. The Non-aligned countries urged mankind to recognize "peaceful co-existence as the only way to strengthen peace based on Universal freedom, equality and justice, that peaceful co-existence cannot fully materialize through out the world without the abolition of imperialism,

¹ Manuel Perez Guerrero, "The Group 77 as an indispensable Instrument of the Third World", in M.S. Rajan, V.S. Many & C.S.R. Murthy (Ed.), *The Non-Aligned Nations and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987, p.118.

² *Ibid.*, p.119.

colonialism and neo-colonialism".¹ The Cairo conference had also taken note of the persisting disparity in the economic field between developed and developing countries.

After the second summit and before the third summit of the Non-aligned countries many events took place in the international scene, which changed not only the super power relations, but also relations amongst the NAM countries as well.² In the military coup d'etat the noted Non-aligned leaders Sukarno, Nkrumah and Ben Bella were pulled down from power. The period was marked by certain other events like U.S.A. dropping lethal bombs on Vietnam, the Peoples Republic of China becoming a Nuclear power in Asia in 1964, the Indo-Pak war in 1965 and Arab-Israel conflict in 1967. In 1967 Britain declared her withdrawal from East of Suez and thus decided to reduce her involvement in the former colonies. U.S. President, Richard Nixon declared at Guam in July 1969 stating that the U.S. involvement in Asia, particularly in South-West Asia would decrease in future.³ In March 1969 the Sino-Soviet border conflicts deteriorated the relations between U.S.S.R and China. No wonder the next summit was held after the expiry of six years in 1970 and that too because of the personal prestige and preservance of one of its surviving father-Tito. During the interregnum it seemed that the Group 77

¹ Keesing's Contemporary Archives, p.20433. 1969.

² G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.42.

³ Keesing's Contemporary Archives, August 16-23, 1969, p.23509.

and similar other bodies might be the only bodies for the exemplification of Third World priorities and not Non-alignment which was supposed to be impracticable.¹

The third conference of Non-aligned countries was held on September 8-10, 1970 at Lusaka at Zambian capital. Eleven members were added to the list of NAM and its strength increased to 54. Nine Latin American countries and South Vietnam were observers and two European countries Australia and Finland were guests for the conference. Five full members did not attend the summit. The Jordanian move to get Pakistan admitted into the group was negated by India on the suggestion that it would not be fair to admit new governments except on the basis of the criteria agreed to in 1961 and again in 1964.

The third summit is of vital historical significance because of the three decisions it made greatly affected the future of Non-aligned Movement. The conference decided (1) that a Non-aligned summit should be held regularly at intervals of about three years (2) that the chairman of the last summit conference should act as the principal spokesman for all the Non-aligned in the interval between summit meets and (3) the chairman should assure responsibility for some servicing arrangements at and between conferences.² As a result, the Chairman of

¹ C. Muraleedharan, "Non-Alignment at the Summits", *Kerala Journal of Political Studies*, Vol.1, No.1, Thiruvananthapuram, January, 1996, p.64.

² Peter Lyon, "Non-alignment at the Summits", *Indian Journal of Political Sciences*, March, 1980.

the movement (the President or Prime minister of the country which hosted the latest conference) was entrusted "with the function of taking all necessary steps to maintain contacts among member states, ensure continuity and to carry into effect the decisions, resolutions and directions of the conference of Non-aligned countries."¹ The Lusaka conference was the first to have as guest representatives of national liberation movements, including the front for the liberation of Mozambique, the people's movement for the liberation of Angola, the Zimbabwe, African People's Union, the Zimbabwe African National Union, the African National Congress of South Africa, the National Movement for the liberation of the Comoro islands, the front for the liberation of the coast of Somalia and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The conference declared to continue the policy of world peace and peaceful co-existence by strengthening the role of Non-aligned countries within the United Nations so that it will be more effective obstacle against all forms of aggressive action and the threat or use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country. The fight against colonialism and racism which are a negation of human equality and dignity, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, ending of the arms race by Universal disarmament, opposition to great power, military bases and foreign troops on the soil of other nations in the

¹ Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of the Gathering of Non-Aligned countries, 1961-1982, Delhi, 1983, p.57-58.

context of great power conflicts and colonial and racist suppression, the Universality of and the strengthening of the efficacy of the United Nations and the strength for economic and mutual co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. It was decided that what is needed is not redefinition of Non-alignment but a rededication by all Non-aligned Nations to its central aims and objectives."¹

The main focus of the summit at Belgrade was the need for peace and negotiations for disarmament. The second summit at Cairo stressed the important of national liberation and socio-economic justice. And the third summit at Lusaka perpetuated the dangers of dependence on imperialism, its new grab of neo-colonialism and the need to develop a comprehensive strategy for carrying on struggle for its elimination.² The third summit of NAM expressed its conviction that universal peace and security can be assured only by general and complete disarmament. The declaration on disarmament proclaimed the 1970's as the disarmament decade and gave detailed recommendations to reduce nuclear and conventional weapons to take confidence building measures to use nuclear power for peaceful purposes and to explore and use outer space for peaceful purposes

¹ The Document relating to the Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-aligned Countries, Lusaka, September 8-9, 1970; Lusaka declarations and Resolution, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1970.

² D.R. Goyal, "Secular Democracy on Global Scale" in D.R. Goyal (Ed.), *Non-Alignment Concept and Concerns*, New Delhi, 1986, pp.25-26.

only. The conferees suggested that a World Disarmament conference should be convened.¹

It was at the Lusaka conference that the Non-aligned countries openly criticized for the first time the U.S. , France, West Germany, Italy and Japan for their political, economic and military co-operation with South Africa, which encouraged the racist regime to carry on the policy of apartheid.² The conference adopted a manifesto on South Africa calling for the end of colonialism and racist regime with an appeal to Non-aligned and other developing countries to isolate South Africa. Resolutions on apartheid, Portuguese colonies, Zimbabwe, Namibia were also adopted. Another important decision taken by the third NAM summit was to give material help to the liberation movements against imperialism and colonialism. The organization of African Unity (OAU) set up a committee, which would act as a conduit for military assistance from the Non-aligned the developing countries.³

Lusaka summit was remarkable for the beginning of a more clearly defined economic dimension of Non-alignment. It declared that in view of increase in the ability of the Non-aligned countries to plan, organize and manage their own

¹ Two Decades of Non-Alignment, 1961-1982, Delhi, 1983, p.57.

² Resolution No..NAC/CON F.3/RESS and NAC/CON F3/RES 8, respectively. Quoted in main documents relating to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries: From Belgrade 1961 to George Town 1972, George Town, 1972, pp.73-75.

³ V. Benevolensky, *Op. cit.*, p.40.

economic development both individually and within a multinational co-operative movement and in view of the progress made by them during the sixties, the conference felt convinced that the second United Nations development decade provides an opportunity to bring about structural changes in the world economic systems so as to meet pressing needs of poor nations to strengthen their independence and to provide for a more rapid and better balanced expansion of the world economy".¹ The economic problems confronting the NAM were elaborately deliberated upon in the summit.²

In a special declaration adopted by the conference it was stated "the poverty of the developing nations and that economic dependence... constitute a structural weakness in the present world economic order" and that "the persistence of an inequitable world economic system inherited from the colonial past...poses unsurmountable difficulties in breaking the bondage of poverty".³ The resolution also pointed out the ways and means of bringing about these changes. Thus these economic demands became the blue print of the South-South co-operation.⁴ In recent terms the most dynamic expression of South-South co-operation has

¹ Documents Relating to the Lusaka Declaration Resolution, New Delhi, 1970.

² Main Documents Relating to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries: From Belgrade 1961 to George Town 1972, George town, 1972, pp.81-86.

³ *Ibid.*, p.81.

⁴ Euphemistically the developed countries are called 'North' and less developed countries are called 'South'.

probable been that of Economic Co-operation among the Developing Country (ECDC).¹ Since in the world economic system-in terms of gaps in per capita income, technology, benefits from trade etc, have been increasing, the imperatives of structural changes and rapid development in the developing economies have become more acute.² The Non-aligned movement took of the question of the debt problem for the first time at its third summit and called for "appropriate measures... to alleviate the burden of debts of developing countries".

After the third summit conference there occurred many changes in the international political situation. As a manifestation of détente among super powers, President Nixon of U.S.A. visited communist countries of China and U.S.S.R in 1972. The Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT) was signed in 1971. The Vietnam War ended in 1973 and there was ceasefire in Laos. The emergence of Bangladesh happened following the India-Pakistan War in 1971. India signed a treaty of Comity and friendship with the U.S.S.R for 20 years. New Peace Zones were announced: the South Asian Countries declared Indian Ocean as peace zone and the ASEAN countries declared South East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and

¹ Frank Enrique Bracho, "Utopia and Reality of Economic co-operation among developing Countries: Lessons from the implementation of the Caracas Programme Action", in M.S. Rajan et. al., (Ed.), *The Non-Aligned and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987, p.110.

² Panchamukhi V.R, "South-South Co-operation and Economic Non-Alignment", in M.S. Rajan, et. al., *Op. cit.*, p.102.

neutrality (ZOPFAN). Thus the developing countries tried to de-nuclearise their respective regions.¹

The fourth summit of the Non-Aligned countries took place at Algiers in September 6-9, 1973 with seventy five member states attending it. Besides there was eight Observers and three Guest States and representative of some Liberation Movements. These constituted more than half of the member states of international community and represented the majority of world population.

The Algiers summit stressed upon all issues ranging from détente, decolonization, Disarmament and development, not only in comprehensive manner, but also with an assertiveness and confidence of an ideology. It gave to the movement a spirit of dynamic and forward-looking motivation.²

The political declaration of the summit stated, "the participants noted that over half the countries of the world, representing the majority of world population attended this conference. The number and the level of participants and the general tenor of the meeting are an indicator of the vitality and dynamism of Non-alignment.³ In their political declaration they mentioned certain favourable aspects

¹ G.N. Srivastava, *Op. cit.*, p.44.

² Narendra P. Jain, "The New Approach to International Relations", in D.R. Goyal (Ed.), *Non-Alignment: concepts and concerns*, Delhi, 1986, p.11.

³ The Fourth Conference of the Heads of States or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, New Delhi, 1973.

of obtaining international situation and the marked strengthening of the forces of peace, independence and progress. At the same time they pointed out that "although substantial progress has been made in the easing of tension between East and the West, the fact that nations are faced with colonialism, domination and occupation, neo-colonialism, imperialism and zionism remains an indispensable reality of our times."¹

The political declaration adopted in the conference supported the national liberation movements and criticized Israel, Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia for ignoring the U.N. resolutions. It also criticized the U.S.A. for its imperialist policy in Vietnam and Cambodia. The Palestinian Liberation Organization was recognized as the true representative of Palestinian people.²

The summit also gave importance on the institutional side. A co-ordinating Bureau was set up which could meet regularly at Ambassadorial level at the U.N. head quarters in New York and periodically at ministerial level elsewhere to provide consultative mechanism for the movement during two summits.³

The fourth summit discussed the economic condition prevailing in the developing world. The conference took note of the deteriorating economic

¹ Two Decades of Non-Alignment: 1961-1982, Delhi, 1983, p.93.

² G. N. Srivastava, *Op. cit.*, New Delhi, 1989, p.46.

³ Narendra P. Jain, *Op. cit.*, p.11.

situation of the developing countries except OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) members. The developed countries were generally the producer of capital goods and the prices fixed by them, when they sell it, were really high. Developing countries when they sell their raw materials faces lot of competition among themselves because the buyers are few industrialized nations and there is a tendency to reduce the prices. So the price of raw materials either declined or remained stagnant. As such the developing countries as producers of raw materials needed special safeguards viz. the establishment of effective solidarity organization for the defence of the interests of the producers of raw materials.¹ The economic declaration took note of the "heavy servicing of foreign debts" which had "quadrupled in the last decade".

Algiers summit was significant for developing the economic dimension of Non-alignment by highlighting the concept of collective self-reliance among developing countries and the need to establish a New International Economic Order was put forward in the Algiers Conference of the Non-aligned countries in 1973. In 1975, a Declaration for the establishment of New international Economic Order (NIEO) was adopted along with a programme of action in Sixth Special Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).² As

¹ Documents Relating to the fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, Algiers, New Delhi, 1973, p.13.

² D.M Mittani, *Op. cit.*, p.365.

Mehboob-ul-Haque observes the demand for NIEO is to be viewed as a part of a historical process rather than a specific proposals. Its important facts are the emergence of Non-aligned movement, the politicization of the development issue and the increased assertiveness of the Third world countries.¹ In essence NIEO aims at social justice among the trading counters of the world. It seeks restructuring the existing institutions and forming new organizations to regulate the flow of trade, technology, capital funds in the common interest of the world's economy and due benefits in favour of less developed countries. Its aim is to provide poor nations increased participation and to have them say in the decision making processes in international affairs. At the Algiers summit "the heads of state on Government recommended that Non-aligned countries should play the role of catalysts in the group of 77 so as to increase the effectiveness and solidarity of the developing countries."²

The economic resolution adopted at Algiers urged upon socialist countries to increase their economic relations with the developing countries. The action programme of Economic Co-operation said that, "the Non-aligned countries are determined to encourage the development of scientific and technical co-operation with socialist countries primarily by signing inter-government conventions, by

¹ Haque M, Towards a New Framework for International Resource Transfer", *Finance and Development*, Sept. 1975, p.40.

² The Fourth Conference of the Heads of state on Government of Non-Alignment Countries, 6-9, 1973. *Op. cit.*, p.

creating the necessary mixed committees and by strengthening relations among interested organizations and institutions."¹

Socialist countries supported the cause of NAM more clearly and consistently since Algiers summit.² In 1974 in the sixth session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Soviet Foreign minister has stated: "the role of the newly independent states has increased in all spheres of international relations. The prestige of the policy of the movement of Non-alignment, towards which we have on more than one occasion expressed our positive attitude, is growing...let the words and deeds of those states weigh fully on the scales of peace".³ In the U.N. General Assembly the socialist group mostly voted among with NAM members on the issue namely decolonization, human rights, apartheid, nuclear free zone in South Asia and Indian Ocean as peace zone. Fischer, the representative of German Democratic Republic in U.N. said that his country's policy on international political and economic questions "is in line with or close to the position of Non-aligned states".⁴

¹ Two Decades of Non-Alignment Documents of the Gathering of the Non-Aligned Countries, *Op. cit.*, p.107.

² G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and Soviet Foreign Policy*, *Op. cit.*, p.53.

³ A Gromyko, *Lenin and the Soviet Peace Policy, Articles and Speeches*, 1949-80, Moscow, 1980.

⁴ General Assembly Debates, Seventh Special Session, 2336th meeting, 3rd September, 1975, p.3.

In regard to the achievements of the summit "there can be no doubt that the meeting at Algiers in 1973 and the active Algerian chairmanship, in what was now increasingly and widely spoken of as the Non-aligned movement, imparted a strong sense of dynamism, purposefulness and forward looking momentum to NAM."¹

The fifth conference of Non-aligned countries held from August 16 to 19, 1976 in Colombo (Sri Lanka) with the increased membership of 86, had the distinction of being the first summit of Non-aligned countries to be held in Asia, the original home of Non-alignment. The Colombo conference was joined by two guests- Portugal and Romania, is the first instance in the history of NAM in which members of the military alliances like NATO and Warsaw pact were received as guests. After this conference Sri Lanka became the chairman of the co-ordinating Bureau for three years. The Bureau co-ordinated the activities of the Non-aligned countries in the U.N.O. and outside it. "The conference considered that the growing role and importance of Non-alignment made it imperative that its members exercise unceasing vigilance to preserve intact the essential character of Non-alignment, maintain unswerving fidelity to its principles and policies and show full respect of its decisions as the best safeguard against any threat to the integrity and

¹ Peter Lyon, *Op. Cit.*, p:

solidarity of the movement."¹ The conference adopted thirty three political resolutions and thirty two economic resolutions.

The idea of New International Information Order originated from this conference. The resolution adopted at Colombo said "self-reliance is the source of information is as important as technological self reliance since dependence in the field of information in turn retards the very achievement of political and economic growth". It was decided to establish a Non-aligned News Agency Pool to strengthen the national mass media in a bid to check and restrict the spread of disinformation by the monopolist western information system in developing countries.

The heads of state of Non-aligned countries were "determined to reinforce their activity towards strengthening the role and influence of the United Nations in negotiations and in reaching the solution of disarmament issues".² The conference stressed that expenditure on armament should be stopped and "a substantial part of the resources freed by measures in the field of Disarmament by the main world military power could be used to promote the economic development of the developing countries."³ The African and Latin American issues dominated this

¹ The Colombo Summit; Documents and Selected Speeches of the Vth Conference of the Heads of the States or government of Non-Aligned Countries, Colombo, 16-19, August, 1976, New Delhi, 1976.

² *Ibid.*,

³ Two decades of Non-Alignment, *Op. cit.*,

conference. In 1976 the Colombo conference called upon all countries to give all out support and military, moral and natural assistance to the Arab states and Palestine Liberation Organization, in the struggle to end Israel aggression.¹

In 1973 Algiers conference advanced an economic programme pointing out the need to put an end to all foreign domination and exploitation and "to ensure genuine independence by eliminating foreign monopolies and taking over control of national resources and utilizing them for the benefit of the people".² In 1976 the Colombo conference adopted an economic declaration and an action programme for economic co-operation.³ It was a modified programme stressing upon the need for economic co-operation amongst the developing countries. The action programme stressed the need for and made concrete proposals, for co-operation between Non-aligned and other developing countries in the fields of raw material, industrialization, food, agriculture, trade and other financial matters.⁴

The essential elements of the new international economic order designed by the Non-aligned movement according to the economic declaration of the 1976 Colombo conference should be a radical restructuring of the entire mechanism of

¹ *Ibid.*, p.197.

² *Ibid.*, p.94.

³ Documents and Related Speeches of the V th Conference of the Heads on Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Colombo, 1976, New Delhi, 1976, p.106.

⁴ Gynendra. N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.47.

international trade with the interest of developing countries taken duly into account: a cardinal restructuring of world production and effective control over the activities of transnational corporations in accordance with the advancement goals of developing countries, a radical revision of existing international currency agreements and the establishment of a new rational, fair and universal monetary system, meeting the needs of developing countries as well.¹ It was noted at the Colombo summit that "nothing short of a complete restructuring of the existing international economic relations will provide an enduring solution to the world economic problems, particularly those of the developing countries."² In the words of the chairman of the conference, Smt. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, "if we really and truly want to blunt the weapons of imperialism and colonialism we must surely fashion countervailing weapons of imperialism and colonialism in the areas of international money and finance".³ The Colombo summit seriously affected developing countries and in particular those that had suffered from foreign occupation and aggression.

Reaffirming United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2932 (XXVI) declaring the Indian ocean for all time a zone of peace as well as resolutions 2992 (XXVII), 3080 (XXVIII) 3529 (XXIX) and 3648 (XXX) the fifth summit of the

¹ Yuri Alimov, *The Rise and Growth of Non-Aligned Movement*, USSR, 1987, pp.129-130.

² Two Decades of Non-Alignment, *Op. cit.*, p.210.

³ Documents of the Vth Conference, *Op. cit.*,

NAM moved a resolution to establish a zone of peace in Indian Ocean. The idea about transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace came before the U.N. General Assembly on 16th, December 1971. But U.S. and its allies resort to every possible way to prevent such possibility.¹ The main reason for this may be observed from the U.S. employment of force without war in coercive diplomacy in Indian Ocean and its littoral which represents developing countries.

U.S. Employment of force in Indian Ocean and its Littoral

PERIOD	AVERAGE NO. OF INCIDENTS PER YEAR	AS % OF TOTAL INCIDENTS
1946-77	1.25	18.6% in the world ²

Colombo conference felt that the progress towards developing a new international economic order was unsatisfactory and the Non-aligned nations would have to establish machinery for carrying out the decisions taken at the various conferences. Some concrete decisions were taken with regard to setting of press agencies pool and co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned.³

¹ M.M.Verma, in his paper "Militarization of the Indian Ocean and Near East", University of Delhi, 1983.

² B. Blechman and Skaplan "Force without war, 1975-82", Journal of strategic studies (London March 1984)

³ D.R. Goyal, *Non-alignment: Concepts and Concerns*, Delhi, 1986, p.27.

The sixth NAM summit was held in Havana (Cuba) in September 3-9, 1979 attended by 93 countries constituting two thirds of the world community and representing more than half of the world population. 'At Havana deep cleavages that had been developing for well over a decade within the Non-aligned block as to the meaning and direction of the Non-alignment was subject to a stark exposure. Moreover the differences and divergences aired at the sixth Non-Aligned Summit actually reflected the divisions within the world as a whole'.¹ At this conference the Non-aligned movement was confronted with divisions. The radical members including Cuba, Vietnam etc. asserted their view of the spirit of 'détente' and co-operation prevailing between the two blocs, the movement could not afford to mention equidistance between two blocs and must ally itself within the socialist bloc which was committed to the principles of anti imperialism and anti-colonialism. The states like Singapore and Zaire insisted that the Non-aligned should move closer to the western bloc because west along with its abundant resources and technical superiority could help Non-aligned countries to attain economic development and realize its aspirations.² At the Havana summit there was heated discussion on the following aspect. It is whether the Soviet Union (or Socialist bloc) is "natural ally" of the movement. Some countries supported this

¹ T.V. Satyamurthy, "Non-Alignment: A meaningless mantra", *Illustrated Weekly of India*, May 15-21, 1983.

² U. Sharma, *International Relations: From 1914 to the Present Day*, Agra, 1993, p.65.

view countries like Afghanistan, Cuba, Ethiopia and Vietnam. India, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Yugoslavia took the view that the concept of Non-alignment ran counter to the philosophy of natural alliance, while it is true that the socialist countries have been sympathetic to and helpful in the attainment of some of the objectives of Non-alignment. It was also felt that there is no denying the fact that in the whole lot of political security and economic issues the record of the socialist countries not qualitatively different from the west. Both blocs in recent decades have relentlessly pursued the objectives of classical power politics.¹ Fidel Castro Ruz, the President of the Republic of Cuba said, "we are firmly anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-racist, anti-zionist and anti-fascist because those principles are a part of our thinking, they constitute the essence."² By avoiding decision on two controversial issues (a) admission of Kampuchea to NAM and (b) suspension of Egypt from the Non-alignment movement for its act of signing the Camp David, the unity of the movement was saved.³ Alarmed at the overt dilution of the basic philosophy of Non-alignment and its anti-bloc character, Burma announced its

¹ "Alliances", *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, New York, 1968, Vol. P.268, p.207.

² Cl. No. VI. 1942, Pn 79. MOAC NO. 84606. Address delivered at the 6th Conference of the Heads of States of Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Havana, 1979.(Hereafter Referred as 6th Conference).

³ Two Decades of Non-Alignment, *Op. cit.*, p.44.

decision to withdraw from the Non-aligned movement. Pakistan participated as full member of the movement for the first time at Havana.

A compromise formula worked out by India and Yugoslavia which acknowledged the co-operation received by Non-aligned countries from other "peace, freedom and justice loving democratic and progressive states" sought to collect the tilt but was of no avail.¹ The final declaration of the Havana Conference was possible due to the consensus arrived at by all the participating members... a manifestation of political making and an expression of solidarity of on the part of NAM members.²

The declaration adopted at the conference stated "the search for world peace and peaceful co-existence among all states is intrinsically linked to our struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism and all forms of foreign occupation, domination interference and hegemony. It implied political, moral and material support for the national liberation movements"³ The conference gleefully hailed the Strategic Arms Liberation Treaty II (SALT-II) between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. It was pointed out by the delegates that the freedom and equality of the developing countries is prevented

¹ C. Muraleedharan, *Op. cit.*, pp.69-70.

² G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and Soviet Foreign policy, Op. cit.*, Delhi, 1989, p.49.

³ G.N. Srivastava and K. Ramamurthy (Ed.), *NAM today*, Delhi, 1985, p.62.

by imperialism. The conference hailed the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which stood for peace, security and equality among the member nations for the last sixteen years. The Havana conference also adopted the declaration of Human Rights of the people. The struggle of the developing countries for their economic independence is praised by the conference. The debt problem of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is alarming. In the words of Fidel Castro "in 20 years we will have to pay three trillion dollars-three million, million dollars". In fact this is not an exaggeration. Writing in News Week (24 January 1983) Henry Kissinger admitted this debt problem "is in fact insoluble in the immediate future". The economic declaration of the Havana summit recognized the reality that the increased debt burden, higher interest rates and shorter terms of loan amortization combining to limit import capacity are being used to coerce the developing countries in any negotiations.¹

Recognizing the evolving role of UNCTAD, the Non-aligned countries reaffirmed their clear recognition of UNCTAD as the principal instrument of the General Assembly for international economic negotiations on international trade and related problems of economic development, particularly in the context of negotiations on the establishment of the New International Economic order and its role as one of the major instruments for review and follow up of international

¹ Subrata Banarjee, "The Tightening Debt-Noose", in D.R. Goyal (Ed.), *Non-Alignment...*, *Op. cit.*, p.139.

economic development, with due regard to the relevant provisions of the General Assembly Resolution 1955 (XIX) and Conference Resolution 90 (IV). They also reiterated that the strengthening of UNCTAD should be seen as one of the key elements in the ongoing process of restructuring of the social and economic sectors of the United Nations. In this connection they urged all countries to provide full support to the implementation of the resolution adopted at the UNCTAD on institutional issues with respect to the work of UNCTAD on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. The summit reaffirmed their constant commitment to seek to achieve through negotiations and restructuring of world economy on the basis of principles of justice and equality.¹ The conference decided to enlarge the strength of the co-ordinating Bureau from 25 to 36. It also decided to convene the next summit of NAM at Baghdad in 1983.

The seventh Non-aligned conference held at Delhi from 7-12, March 1983 was attended by delegates of 101 countries, 15 observers and 26 guests. So far the Delhi conference was the most representative one in the history of Non-aligned movement. The war between two Non-aligned countries, Iran and Iraq had necessitated the change of venue from Baghdad to Delhi. The bitter controversy regarding the "natural ally" theory raised at the promptings of U.S.A just did not get off the mark because the question was not raised at all.² It was sealed up when

¹ 6th Conference.

² D.R. Goyal, "Secular Democracy on Global Scaole", *Op. Cit.*, pp.29-30.

tributes were paid to the leadership given by Fidel Castro Ruz. In her inaugural address Indira Gandhi said, " Before I take up this issue of our present conference, I should like to express our movement's gratitude to president Fidel Castro for the burden of chairmanship he has bore with characteristic determination, capability and dignity over the last three and a half years. The time was not easy and was further complicated by world crisis. But president Castro thought only the unity and strength the our movement and its contribution to the reduction of international tensions". It may be noted that the foreign policy of a Non-aligned country may not be in harmony with the general view of the movement. A study of the proceedings of each Non-aligned summit from Belgrade to New Delhi makes it clear that there are differences of opinion on various issues. Even though the movement was able to solve them fully it was able to live with these issues. If the movement has achieved minimal success in the fields of decolonization of international relations, its future is not dark.¹ By the time of the seventh NAM summit Tito, the last surviving founder of the movement had also disappeared from the world scene.

The New Delhi declaration took a global view of the current international economic crisis. The five D's – Decolonization, Development, Disarmament, Detente and Democratization – became the watch words of the Non-aligned

¹ K.P. Mishra, "Ideological Bases of Non-Alignment : An Overview", in Hans Kochler (Ed.), *The Principles of Non-Alignment*, London, 1982, pp.62-74.

movement.¹ Opening the conference Smt. Indira Gandhi, chairperson of NAM for the next three years, spoke of the crying need to fight for Disarmament, Detente and abandon weapons of mass annihilation. The Delhi conference concentrated on global negotiation centering on four point programme for world economic recovery, food, energy, trade, finance and on individual and collective self reliance.² She further said "Let us reaffirm our increasing faith in the five principles which are the foundations of Non-alignment, namely sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence."³

At the seventh conference while dealing with the basic policy of Non-alignment, Article II of the political declaration stated "the essence of the policy of Non-alignment is a struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism including Zionism and all form of external aggression, occupation, domination interference and hegemony, and also against the great power policy tending to perpetuate the division of the world into blocs. It rejects all forms of subservience, dependence, interference and intervention direct or

¹ B.N. Mehrish, "The Non-aligned Movement : the United Nations system and Development: Issues and Problems", *Problem of Non-Alignment*, Vol.2, No.1, March-May, 1984, p.42.

² J.H. Taleyarkhan, "Summery of the Proceedings and Principalities on the international Seminar held on 1-3 August, 1986, New Delhi, p.20.

³ Seventh NAM summit, *Selected Documents*, Vol.II, Indian Institute of Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi, 1984, p.9.

indirect overt or covert and all forms of pressure-political, diplomatic, economic, military and cultural in international relations.¹ The conference gave utmost importance to nuclear disarmament and peace movements. The conference reaffirmed their lasting commitment to and strict adherence to the principles and objectives in Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo and Havana. The violation of these principles by any country is unjustifiable under any circumstances and is totally unacceptable.²

Smt. Indira Gandhi set for the summit three immediate tasks:

1. To demand more purposeful steps to carry forward the democratization of the international system and to usher in a New International Economic order;
2. To call an international conference on money and finance for development which will devise methods to mobilize finance for investment in critical areas of food, energy and industrial development, and;
3. To reassert our commitment to collective self-reliance.³

The soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the Kampuchean imbroglio, the Iran-Iraq war, Indian Ocean etc. were some of the issues which agitated the members.

¹ Twenty Five years of Non-Aligned Movement, Vol. II, Government of India, ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1986, p.17.

² The Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, 1983, New Delhi, ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.

³ *Indian Express*, Cochin, March 8, 1983.

In the summit tradition of consensus Afghanistan has only lightly referred to in the final communiqué, the Kampuchean seat as before was left vacant and Diego Garcia was referred to in the section on the problems of Mauritius. It is pointed out that NAM did nothing for Kampuchea.¹ The government of Kampuchea was overthrown in 1970. Having got its independence from France in 1953, Kampuchea chose to follow a policy of Non-alignment under the leadership of prince Norodom Sihanouk. This was not palatable to the United States which stated putting pressures on Kampuchea to make it a member of U.S. sponsored alliance system.² The anti-imperialist character of the policy followed by Non-aligned countries of socialist orientation with respect to many contemporary burning problems was especially manifested in their stand on the so-called "Kampuchean" and "Afghan" questions. It is well known that a significant number of Non-aligned countries for reasons arising primarily from pressure brought to bear on them lay in the forces of imperialism and international reaction supported the essentially unfriendly U.N. General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea and Afghanistan. The majority of the countries of socialist orientation voted against this resolution while a few abstained.³ The summit set up an eight nation peace panel for west Asia to work out a just, durable and comprehensive peace of that

¹ Satish Kumar, "Non-Alignment as a Diplomatic Strategy" in K.P. Mishra (Ed.), *Non-Alignment Frontiers and Dynamics*, Delhi, 1982, p.107.

² Wilfred Bruchett, *My war with CIA*, Harmonds Worth, 1973, p.73.

³ Y Etinger, *NAM, History and Reality, A Study*, New Delhi, 1987, p.34.

region. The chairperson of the summit appealed to Iran and Iraq to bring about an immediate end to the war.

The Delhi conference stated in its economic declaration that beginning with 1980, the economic growth of 36 least developed countries, 26 of them in Africa, stopped, while a decrease in the gross domestic per capita product was registered in many newly free states for the first time since world war II. The incomes developing countries receive from the main area of foreign trade namely trade with the west, dropped considerably because the prices of their raw materials in real terms were lowest in the past fifty years and access to these manufactured goods to western markets was limited by protectionist measures imposed by western countries, while the prices of imported manufactures soared high.¹ The Delhi Non-aligned conference stated in 1983 that, "their past achievements are being undermined and their growth jeopardized".² As a result of the immense balance of payment deficit and huge debts the conference said, "almost all of them have had to curtail vital development activities and many of them are on the brink of economic collapse".³

¹ Yuri Alimov, *The rise and Growth of Non-Alignment*, USSR, 1987, pp.145-146.

² UN Document, A/38/132/S/15675 April 8, 1983, p.66.

³ *Ibid.*, p.113.

According to the economic declaration "the Non-aligned, countries are committed to promote a major restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of the New International Economic order... In this context, they stress that imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, expansion, apartheid, racism, Zionism, exploitation, policy of force and all forms of manifestations of foreign occupation, domination and hegemony had given rise to the evils, the effects of which continue to effect many developing countries and was now hindering their present struggle for development. In fact these factors constitute major obstacles to the economic and social progress of these countries and a threat of world peace and security.¹ The economic declaration called for thorough going restructuring of the existing economic order through a process of global negotiation. It pledged to impart fresh impetus to collective self reliance on the basis of principles of equality, justice, mutual benefit and full respect for independence and sovereignty. The summit decided to contact organizations like International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD) to help the developing countries to solve their economic problems related to aid, trade, food and energy etc. It told the rich nations that the economic revival of the North was not possible without economic survival of the south and urged them to help in the restructuring of the existing international economic order with a view to promote world trade. It urged the

¹ *Twenty Five Years of Non-Aligned Movement*, Vol. II, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, 1986, p.45.

elimination of restrictive, conditional, selective and discriminatory measures. It asked for bilateral and multilateral co-operation in the field of sports. It favoured organization of sports events at national, regional and international levels for this purpose. The declaration of collective self reliance among Non-aligned countries gave emphasis on south-south co-operation and five projects were selected for this co-operation viz. the centre for information on transnational co-operations to be set up at Havana, the centre for science and Technology to be established in New Delhi, the operation of the Non-aligned Solidarity fund, establishment of a Project Development Facility and the creation of the Council Of Producers' Association.¹

While the declaration received general approval from all over the world, U.S.A. expressed regret over the political parts of the declaration which made an attack on the United States without in any way criticizing the Soviet Union.² The Non-aligned meet at New Delhi displayed the unity, vigour, wisdom and remarkable sense of purpose among the Non-aligned nations.

Peace lovers of the entire globe welcomed the decision of the Delhi conference. Indira Gandhi declared the theme of "equidistance" and said, "it is untenable to interpret Non-alignment as equidistance from the super powers. On the contrary Non-alignment is something positive. It means taking every chance to

¹ K.P. Misra, *Non-Aligned Movement: India's Chairmanship*, New Delhi, 1987, p.24.

² U. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, p.67.

improve the outlook of peace and to adopt a clear stand on matters on which we have strong convictions."¹

India's chairmanship of the movement, on the whole has done good to the health and vitality of Non-alignment. There is greater faith in the credit and credibility of the NAM since its leadership came in the hands of "a country that represents tradition and exercise of authentic Non-alignment".² India has tried to extent it was possible, to impart greater dynamism and balance to the movement.

The eighth Non-aligned conference was held in Harare in the capital of Zimbabwe from 1-7, September 1986. As NAM moves to Harare the world witnesses a matured movement, which has become increasingly respectable. And not only that its debates and decisions have made an impact on decisions taken at the U.N. and in national capitals, major issues of concern and interests to the developing countries.³ At Harare summit, the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi presented a report of the achievements of NAM during the period from 1983 to 1986. He said "this has been the period of reaffirmation of the continued significance of the policy of Non-alignment, its capacity to play a constructive role

¹ *Times of India*, 13 March, 1983.

² Prime Minister Peru's Words at the Foreign Ministers Meeting in New York, *Times of India*, 3rd October, 1983.

³ Narendra P. Jain, *Op. cit.*, p.13.

on world stage and its ability to present major part of human kind it represents.¹ Non-aligned conferences-especially the seven summit conferences held so far have constantly upheld the primacy of the United Nations as the most representative forum and effective instrument for the conduct of international relations within the community of nations.²

The eighth Non-aligned summit conference was attended by celebrities and plenipotentiaries of ninety eight countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Oceania and two national liberation organizations, the PLO and SWAPO, which are full members of the movement. Among the conference participants were numerous observers and guests. For the first time the status of observer was given to the national liberation organization of New Caledonia and the guest status to Australia, Greece, Mongolia and to several regional organizations of developing countries.³

The Harare summit helped to consolidate and further assert the policy of Non-alignment and to enhance the movement's presence in seeking a fair solution to the acute problems encumbering the world today... The destiny of the world no

¹ *Times of India*, 3rd September, 1986.

² M.S. Rajan, "The Role of the Non-aligned States in United Nations", in M.S. Rajan, V.S. Mani and C.S.R. Murthy (Ed.), *Op. cit.*, p.302.

³ Yuri Alimov, *Op. cit.*, p.202.

longer depends on actions of great powers and blocs. And this is the immediate result of Non-aligned movement's activities.¹

The eighth NAM conference discussed about apartheid, Namibia's independence issues and South Africa's attempt to destabilize front line states. So the conference adopted a thirteen-point action programme detailing steps to be taken against South Africa.² The summit also decided to establish the African Fund to assist the front line states and the freedom fighters of South Africa and Namibia to counter the effects of possible economic sanction by South Africa.³ Indian Prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi was elected chairman and Zambia the Vice Chairman of the proposed fund.

Four acute global and regional problems was given importance by the eighth summit. They are:

1. The question of peace and security and in this context checking of arms race and initiating the process of Disarmament featured prominently in the work of the conference. "The meetings in Reykjavik between the leaders of the two super powers is in itself a positive event indicating, then really are possibilities to check the arms race and gradually begin disarmament, first by step by step reductions and

¹ Markoorlandic, "Distinctions and Effects of the 8th Non-Aligned Summit in Harare", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol.38, January, 1987, p.7.

² Eighth NAM Summit, Selected Documents, Delhi, 1987, pp.48-49.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.54-55.

then liquidating all forms of nuclear weapons, all this could be done by negotiation and following the lines of the well known appeal at Harare".¹

2. The economic declaration introduced a new method to increase the bargaining power of the Non-aligned countries. It was decided the real fight on independence in the economic field will have to be fought and also decided that economic co-operation among the developing countries is necessary.

3. The Racist regime in South Africa was discussed with utmost importance. The support of the broader international community is necessary to banish the racist regime from the world stage.

4. The conference pleaded the Iran and Iraq to stop fighting. Non-aligned countries also discussed trouble spots like Middle East, Palestine, Central American and the Caribbean especially the situation in Nicaragua, the Afghanistan and Kampuchea issue.²

Harare conference appealed to the leaders of United States and U.S.S.R "to reach an accord on a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests".³ Members who attended the conference felt that "such a step would be well received by the peoples

¹ Markoorlandic, *Op. cit.*, p.8.

² *Ibid.*, p.9.

³ *Eighth NAM Summit: Selected Documents*, Indian Institute of Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi, 1987, p.40.

of the world and would make a great contribution in alleviating the danger of nuclear arms proliferation and encourage progress in other areas of Disarmament".¹ The political declaration urged upon the U.S. to help the implementation of SALT II, it however opposed the star war programme.² The summit set up a standing ministerial committee to review and harmonise policies and programme of the Non-aligned and other developing countries to ensure economic co-operation among them in the light of the charging world economic situation. It condemned U.S. aggression against Libya in April 1986. Finally it reiterated its resolve to carry on the struggle against imperialism, colonialism neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, Zionism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony.³

The Harare resolutions open up new possibilities for Non-aligned countries. Continuous efforts were made to implement the important decisions. The year 1987 produced a more favourable climate U.S., U.S.S.R co-operation which led to the signing of INF treaty.

The Non-aligned movement at the global plane contributed to lessening of international tensions. Non-aligned conferences-eight summit conferences held so

¹ *Ibid.*, p.40.

² G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet Foreign policy*, Delhi, 1989, p.61.

³ U.Sharma, *Op. cit.*, p.67.

far- have consistently upheld the primacy of United Nations as the most representative forum and effective instrument for conduct of international relations within the community of nations. Even the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly and Non-aligned summit conferences are broadly similar. Disarmament has been a major pre-occupation of Non-aligned countries that two special Disarmament sessions of U.N. General Assembly were called.

The first special session on disarmament was organized from May 23 to July 1, 1978 was the largest and the most representative meeting of Nations ever conceived to consider the question of Disarmament. The second special session was held from June 7 to July 10, 1982 was addressed by 18 Heads of State or Govt. and 44 Foreign Ministers. All Non-aligned summit conferences have been concerned with numerous other matters before the principal United Nations organs and even specialized agencies. In all these cases the Non-aligned summit conferences tried to strengthen the United Nations.

Hence within a short span of time the Non-alignment was embraced by most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today it has become an international movement with concrete ideas and principles and is respected by the international community as a champion of Peace and Disarmament.

NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

O. Suryanarayanan "Role of the non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament 1960 - 1987 " Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2002

CHAPTER 3

NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Non-Alignment is an active creed to develop a world where weaker nations can live in harmony with powerful nations, choosing their own ideologies, political and economic system in accordance with their own traditions, needs and aspirations. The newly independent countries have invariably found that their political sovereignty does not have real meaning unless they have economic freedom as well. One of the most offensive manner of ideological subversion of developing economies comes through the international agencies such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These agencies have been used by the United States as an instrument of its foreign policy and means of economic penetration of developing countries by the multinationals.¹ The supremacy of the United States and other Western Capitalist countries in these agencies has also ensured the imposition of market oriented development strategy on developing countries. There are so many instances when IMF has undermined programmes involving subsidized distribution of food to the poor, implementation of minimum wages and subsidies to the nationalized industries. The most recent examples are contractionist policies forced on Argentina, Brazil and Mexico as a part of the

¹ Linus Pauling (Ed.), *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, vol.2, New York, 1986, p.61.

rescheduling of their debts. Yet another example is the re-designing of Sri Lanka's Food Distribution Programme which led to the nutritional problems among the poor. These multinational penetration of their economics is opposed by the Non-aligned movement and their call for new international economic order is genuine out come of their colonial past.¹

The world was forced during the colonial period to accept the economic edifices built by the West. They gave very low rate for the raw materials purchased from the colonies and sold manufactured goods to the colonies at exorbitant prices. Thus the western countries were benefitted by this economic policy. When former colonies became sovereign and independent, the old situation changed. Thus corrective measures to economic imbalance created during the colonial period became necessary. This can be styled as an economic earthquake trying to correct the uneven economic strata of developed and developing countries. This process has already commenced in the western countries such as England, is now operating on world economy. It forms the most prominent factor influencing the world's prospective economic revolution. This is more than any other cause provides the necessary driving force to western countries as well as the developing countries to plan a New International Economic order.²

¹ *Ibid.*

² Perala Ratnam, "The New World Economic Order: India's role", in Verinder Grover (Ed.), *International Relations and Foreign Policy of India*, New Delhi, 1992, p.450.

In Lusaka (Zambia) at the third conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the economic content of the Non-Aligned was defined.¹ The Lusaka Conference in 1970 made a Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress. The document pointed to the widening gap between the economics of the rich and poor nations, the decline in the share of developing countries from the mainstream of world economic life, the decline in the share of developing countries in the world export trade and the decline in financial flows from developed to developing countries and the increase in financial flows from developing countries to developed countries by way of payment of debts, dividends and royalties. Keeping in mind the circumstances unfavorable for the developing countries the participants in the meeting decided to foster mutual co-operation among developing countries, to contribute to each other's economic and social progress by an effective utilization of complementarities between their respective resources and requirements, to intensify and broaden to the maximum extent practicable the movement for cooperation and integration among developing countries at sub regional and interregional levels and to take into account the necessary measures required to guarantee that the people of developing countries concerned receive the benefit of integration and not the foreign companies operating within the integrated area.²

¹ K.B. Lall, "India and International Economic Order", in Verinder Grover (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.429.

² Two Decades of Non-Alignment, p.57.

The participating heads of the states of Non-Alignment countries recorded in the Declaration, their determination to raise at the next UN session the question of adopting a declaration on the International strategy, which would envisage the aims and tasks of the development and also the policy and measures to accomplish them.¹ The resolution of the Fourth Non-Aligned countries held at Algiers in 1973 had a great impact on the discussion of economic problems at the United Nations. In fact the main credit for the initiative in the search for a new relationship between the developed and developing countries goes to African state-Algeria.²

The third summit conference of Non-Aligned countries merely called for joint actions and cooperation and suggested that the problem of altering international Economic relations be tackled at the UN. At the fourth summit at Algiers went as far as to approve recommendations to the developing countries participating in the Non-aligned movement to set up "bodies of solidarity to defend the interest of the primary producer countries, such as the organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the Inter Governmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries which are able to undertake a large scale exploitation of natural resources and to make possible greater exports and real earnings as well as the utilization of these resources for development purposes and raising the standard

¹ V. Benevolensky, *The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to Delhi, Moscow, 1995*, p.43.

² B.N. Mehrish, *Op. cit.*, p.460.

of living of their people."¹ The entry of the multinational companies was criticized by the conference as an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the developing countries. Depending on the resolutions passed by the Algiers Conference on economic problem, the Non-Aligned states began using in practice collective forms of the struggle against neo colonialism and for the introduction of new principles of international economic relations.

Rupert Emerson speaks of the demise of old colonial order.² Soon after the demise of colonial order the developing world is rising rapidly in economic and political terms.³ For example the Brazil gives aid to every other country in Latin America. India even though for peaceful purposes became a nuclear power. After attaining political independence the developing countries wanted to achieve economic independence. Article 54 and 55 of the UN charter provided an easy base for the erection of a superstructure for economic co-operation within the UN system itself. Indian representatives played a prominent role in perusing the UN to designate the sixties as the First Development Decade and undertake certain measures for setting up the UN conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) as an Organ of the General Assembly. By the early 1960s the South had started

¹ *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, p.102.

² Rupert Emerson, "Colonialism", *The Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.4: No.1, 1969.

³ Tony Smith, "Changing Configurations of power in North-South Relations Since 1945", *International Organization*, Vol.31, No.1 Winter, 1977.

demanding a better deal. Depending on such organizations as the Non-Alignment, they create the UN Conferences on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) where they demanded for fairer terms of trade and more liberal terms for financing Development. The North responded with assertions of its good intentions but also with stern insistence that proper forum for any economic changes contained to be the Bretton Woods Institutions where they held the balance of power.¹ Thus in 1964 representatives of 130 nations assembled in Geneva to discuss the needs, process and patterns of trade and development.² At the end of UNCTAD, the developing countries constituted themselves into a separate group, the group of 77. In February 1968 UNCTAD II met in New Delhi. The record of UNCTAD clearly shows that the efforts of the developing countries to attain self-sustained growth have not received adequate support. The method of international trade still favours the developed countries.³ "Under development in the third world is by no means a national phenomenon. The one sided dependence of which the countries of the third world are experiencing today gained its most extreme form in the colonial system".⁴

¹ Greenwood.com.File://A:/New International Economic Order.htm.

² K.B. Lall, *Op. cit.*, p.425.

³ B.N. Mehrish, *Op. cit.*, p.457.

⁴ UN Document, A/PV 2220, 19 April 1974, p.11.

In fact there was glaring inequalities between the rich and the poor nations of the third world. The term third world first came into use in the last fifties to designate the poor countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.¹ It is the fact of their being poor, new, non-white and weak that gives the third world states their common identity as a group of members of international society.² According to the report of the Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD, "We have nearly 70% of the children in the third world suffering from malnutrition although the world has a means to feed them. We have mal-distribution of the world's resources on the scale where the industrialized countries are consuming world's resources on a scale about 20 times more of the resources than poor countries."³ This grave situation has been due to the fact that the political and economic destinies of these people had traditionally been determined by other nations.⁴ The existing economic system created a gap between the rich and the poor. The strings of world economy were in the hands of North America and Western Europe. They faced no challenge from communist countries including Soviet Union because of their centrally planned

¹ B.N. Mehrish, "New International Economic order and Third World", Seminar Paper at Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 28 January, 1977.

² Foreign Affairs Report, Vol.XXVII, No.7-8, July-Aug, 1978, p.43.

³ Report of the Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD UN monthly chronicle, April, 1975, p.32.

⁴ Tolbert (President of Libya), UN Doc. A/PV 2209, Sixth Special Session, 10 April, 1974.

economy and development policy of isolation.¹ The less developed countries of the third world could not challenge the western dominated economic system because of their political and economic weaknesses.² Historically, political dominance took the form of colonial empire.³ Mr. Usher of Ivory Coast pointed out in his speech in the Sixth special session of General Assembly the following. "Underdevelopment is not biological fatalism and still less of geographical determinism, but merely certain historical circumstances which have unfortunately put the developing countries outside the power of World-Economic development."⁴

The developing countries are directed from outside as far as their economy is concerned by the developed countries. This process is known as neo-colonialism. "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its internal policy is directed from outside".⁵ As a result of neo-colonialism some grow richer. The desire to acquire and cling to that position of dominance over world resources has been the

¹ Joan Eldelman Spero, *The Politics of New International Economic Relations*, London, 1977, p.21.

² Robin Jenkins, *Exploitation: The Third World Power Structure and Inequality of Nations*, London, 1965, pp.21-22.

³ Jyoti Shanker Singh, *New International Economic Order: A Fair Distribution of World Economic Resources*, New York, 1977, Preface.

⁴ UN Doc. A/PV 2220, 10 April, 1974, p.11.

⁵ Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism*, London, 1965, p.IX.

motivating spirit in the behaviour of the major imperialist powers of the world.¹ The examination of the international economic order over the past three decades will reveal inequalities and imbalances in the relation among states, particularly in those between developed and developing countries.² Three decades of neglect and injustice of the developing countries created frustration and disappointments in such fields as trade and aid flows, transfers of technology and scientific know how, debt and monetary problems all of which are in one way or the other interrelated. In the sixth special session of the General Assembly, David Harowitz, the president of the republic of Gambia said, "the affluent sector of the world cannot remain a quiet island in the midst of stormy ocean, an oasis of prosperity in a desert of desperate poverty".³ Thus there is the urgent need of change the structural relationship of inequality and dependence between poor and rich nations. By the late 1960s, however, the Bretton Woods dream of a stable monetary system of fixed exchange rates with the U.S. dollar as the only international currency was collapsing under the strain of U.S. trade and budgetary deficits. A guarded optimism took hold in the South fuelled by moderately high growth rates and a boom in the power of Third World produced primary commodities, particularly oil. This came to a head in 1974 with the declaration of principles for a New

¹ See David Vital, *The Inequality of States*, Oxford, 1967.

² See Jagdish N. Bhagwati (Ed.), *Economics and World Order*, Orient Longman, 1972.

³ UN Doc. A/PV 2211, 11 April, 1974, p.20.

International Economic Order. The response of these sweeping demands for change was a few tinkering, inconsequential reforms.¹ The costs of Vietnam War were very significant for the U.S. economy and extremely beneficial for its rivals. By the early 1970s the U.S. felt that it could no longer sustain its traditional position as essentially international banker, which was codified in the Bretton Woods agreements at the end of the Second World War.²

Bretton Wood system was adopted to alleviate the economic and social effects of worldwide depression of 1930s. This system designed the creation of institutions- International Bank of Development and Reconstruction (IBRD) or World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The World Bank gave developing loans at a moderate rate of interest to developing countries. IMF gave financial assistance to developing countries for correcting the disequilibrium in the balance of payments. But the financial policies of these institutions are very much influenced by the U.S.A. Hence the third world countries pleaded for justice. The third world countries faced the problem of unfavourable balance of trade. This problem can be tried to be solved through GATT. But GATT could not bring relief to underdeveloped countries. It failed to bring any increase in their export earnings. GATT is biased in favour of developed countries. Hence the third world

¹ Greenwood.com, File://A: International Economic Order.htm.

² Noam Chomsky and David Barsamian, The Emerging Economic Order, February 1, 1994, File://A: Rabble Global Economic Order.htm.

demanded the re-orientation of trade relations between rich and the underdeveloped countries.

The framework and design of a New International order was made at the sixth special session of U.N. General Assembly, where the developing countries tried to add a code of conduct for the states in their economic relations.¹ It was through UNCTAD the idea of the new International economic order had its origin.² At the session of UNCTAD II held in Delhi in 1968 the newly independent developing countries demanded for a better ordering of international economy and trade relations. The third session of UNCTAD III held in Santiago, Chile in April 1972, the wonderful growth of the developed countries and the backwardness of the developing countries were pointed out. The U.N. Secretary General argued that Justice most prevail in the Third World by adopting some corrective methods. Louis Echeverrin Alvarez, the President of Mexico suggested at the plenary meeting of UNCTAD III, that the international economy should be placed on firm legal footing through the formulation of a charter of Economic Rights and Duties of the State. The President of the UNCTAD at the Second fifth plenary meeting held on 18th May 1972 presented a draft resolution of a Draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of the States for the concurrence of the General Assembly, which

¹ General Assembly Resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI).

² B.N.Mehrish (1992), *Op. Cit.*, p.459.

was agreed with reservation by the major developed countries.¹ This charter gave hope for the developing countries because their interests of developed and developing countries will be safeguarded. The twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the U.N. discussed about international economic co-operation.

The fourth Non-aligned conference held at Algiers in 1973 is very important because it discussed economic problems in great detail. As the socialist countries never had any colonial interests what so ever, both the groups co-operated in finding mutually acceptable solutions for international problems. The socialist countries gave military and economic assistance to NAM members to make them stronger and self-reliant less they should fall victims to imperialism and colonialism.² In 1974 in the sixth special session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Soviet Foreign minister, Gromyko had said, "the role of the newly independent states had increased in all spheres of international relations. The prestige of the policy of the movement of Non-alignment, towards which we have on more than one occasion expressed our positive attitude is growing..... Let the words and deeds of those states weigh fully on the scales of peace".³ The U.N. thus had also

¹ General Assembly Resolutions 3231 (XXIX), For Reservations, See UN Documents, A/AC2/1649,1650,1651.

² Gyanendra n.Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.53.

³ A Gromyko, "Lenin and the Soviet Foreign Policy", *Articles and Speeches*, 1949-80, Moscow, 1980.

discussed the NAM's proposal for New International Economic Order, which received support from other socialist countries as well.¹ The goals of the Non-aligned movement are democratization of international relations, equal participation of all countries in solving international problems and the earliest establishment of a New International Economic order on a fair and democratic basis.² Few weeks after the Algiers Conference, the members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) decided to make oil, a political weapon in international politics. A combination of price increase for oil, with the imposition of an oil embargo in order to exert pressure on the supporters of Israel to change their policy on Arab-Israel conflict which erupted in October 1973 in War.³

It was for the upliftment of the developing countries the New International Economic Order was planned. This was discussed also at a conference of 110 developing countries in Dakar (DAKAR) in February 1975, at the Fifth Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Lima in August 1975, at a second conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in March 1975.⁴ The demand for the establishment of the New Economic Order is an effort of the third world countries to institutionalize the supremacy of every state

¹ G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.53.

² Yuri Alimov, *The Rise and Growth of Non-Aligned Movement*, Moscow, 1987, p.115.

³ C. Fred Bregsten, "The Threat from the Third World", *Foreign policy*, No.II, Summer, 1973, pp.102-124.

⁴ Report of the UNIDO Conference, UN Documents ID/CONF.3/SR18/Add.1/Rev.1.

over its natural resources and economic independence through a co-ordinated action for peace through development.

On May 1, 1974 at the VI special session of the U.N. General Assembly a "Declaration on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order" was adopted.¹ Before 1974 there was talk about the New International Economic Order and theoretical phrase of it was in the air. But in 1974 steps were formulated to change the theoretical phrases into practical action.² Thus the declaration planned to change the inequitable economic system, which was engineered at the Bretton Woods Conference after the Second World War.³ The aim of the New International Economic Order was to rectify the inequalities and ensure speedy economic development, peace and justice to all. "The New order is intended to restore social justice in the world which was disappeared over decades of capitalism, imperialism and the monopoly of technical talent".⁴ India played a prominent role among the third world in the emergence of NIEO. The birth of New International Economic Order created a new era in the history of international relations. "It is wealth and poverty, not communism and capitalism that established

¹ G.A.Res. 3202 supp.1 (S-VI) 6th Special Session. UN Document A/9559 (1974).

² S.K. Agarwal, "The Emerging International Economic Order" India's role in its emergence" in Verinder Gover (Ed.). *Op. Cit.*, p.484.

³ Santosh Taneja, "New International Economic Order" India's role in its emergence" in Verinder Grover (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.484.

⁴ V.K.R.V. Rao, "New System of International Economic Relations", (Symposium held in Romania 29 to 31 May 1975).

much of tone and tensions of international relations".¹ If 1950s and 1960s could be described as the era of nationalism and cold war politics, the 1970s and 1980s will probably come to be known as decades of global interdependence".²

The need for NIEO arises because of the inequalities between the rich and poor nations of the Third World. Another main factor which created a gap between the rich and poor nations has been the monopoly position enjoyed by the developed countries in the fields of capital and product markets. They have complete control over raw material markets. They have control over capital and other services. They fixed the prices of raw material imported from developing countries and finished products exported to developing countries. Both ways these countries exploited the third world which led to the poor state of affairs of the developing countries. In this connection the role of multinational corporations must be stated. There are about little over five thousand multinational corporations of U.S.A., France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada, which are controlling half of the World's production. These corporations are firmly established in the soil of the developing countries and have gained control over the natural resources and primary raw materials.³ Multinational corporations make huge profits from

¹ Tony Smith, "Changing Configurations of Power in North-South Relations, Since 1945", in *International Organization*, Vol.31, No.1, Winter 1977, p.409.

² Michael P. Todaro, *Economic Development of the Third World*, London, 1977, p.409.

³ Santosh Taneja, *Op. cit.*, pp.486-87.

developing countries. In India alone there were 752 companies under the control of foreign investors. The assets of those corporations in India amount to Rs. 3710 crores. Economic exploitation in such gigantic scale can push the developing countries to economic slavery.¹ The glaring disparity between the developed and developing countries by those corporations which is styled by Magdoff as "New Imperialism".² In addition to this those corporations indulge in local politics and act as unofficial ambassadors of U.S.A.'s foreign policy. Those corporations give the feelings of dependence which can be manipulated with the help of marine military basis, bribery, CIA operations etc.³ In 1965 -66 U.S.A. put pressure on Indian government to permit more scope for private enterprise in the fertilizer industry.⁴ The U.S. government has used multinationals to extend its influence over these governments to bring economic pressure to achieve political ends. Caltex is an American Oil Company. It refused to supply lubricating oil to the

¹ Stane Povlic, "Developing Countries and Multinational Companies", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol.XXV. No.570, 5 January, 1974, pp.31-35.

² Harry Magdoff, "The Age of Imperialism", *The Economics of US Foreign Policy*, New York, 1969.

³ Santosh Taneja, *Op. cit.*, p.487.

⁴ Michael Tanzer, *The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries*, Boston, 1969.

British ship at a Japanese port because the ship was carrying carbon and sugar to Liberia.¹

To understand the activities of the multinationals the UN Department of Economic and Social affairs set up the UN center on transnational corporations. The UN commission on transnational corporations at its second session held in Lima (Peru) in March 1976 suggested the establishment of a working group to prepare a code for multinationals. It was suggested to set up a Board of foreign investment and control. Its members must be experts in international law, industry and finance. The Board was given the power to supervise and control operations of multinationals in India.²

Another factor, which strengthened the need for NIEO, was the emergence of some developing countries on the basis of economic power. Those were Brazil (Latin America), India (Asia), Nigeria (Africa) and Saudi Arabia and Iran (OPEC countries). Oil was used as a weapon against those developed countries which sided with Israel during the war between Egypt and Israel in 1973. India cannot be silenced by the developed countries in the international forums because India has emerged as a major industrial power and India's industrial production is less than

¹ Edith T. Penrose, *The Large International Firm in Developing Countries: The International Petroleum Industry*, Cambridge, 1968.

² V. Gauri Shankar, "The Performance of Transnational Corporations in India", *India Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII. No.2, April-June 1977, pp.183-93.

that of nine other countries in the world. India's total scientific manpower is the third largest after USA and USSR. India has the longest set of mineral and metal deposits. 85% of the world's thorium deposits are in India and as such can be regarded as a major potential economic power.¹ This opened the eyes of western countries to give up the old policy of one way dependence of the poor countries on the rich and follow the policy of global interdependence. This made the developed countries to think in terms of a new international economic order.

The Sixth Special Session of UN General Assembly held from 9 April to 2 May 1994 to discuss the demand of third world in general and India in particular for the establishment of NIEO. For little over thirty days the declaration on the Magna Carta for the developing countries with the following principles were adopted.

1. Full permanent sovereignty of every state over its natural resources and all economic activities including the right to nationalize or transfer its ownership to nationals.
2. Right of all states and peoples to restitution and full compensation for exploitation and depletion of and damages to, the natural resources and all

¹ B.N. Mehrish, "India and the New International Economic Order", Seminar Paper presented at Guru Nanak University, Amritsar, 8-10 March, 1979.

other resources under foreign occupation or alien or colonial domination or apartheid.

3. Regulation and supervision of activities of transnational corporations.
4. Just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary products, manufactured and semi manufactured goods exported by developing countries.
5. Development aid without string and flow of real resources to developing countries.
6. Transfer of science and technology to developing countries and improvement of their indigenous technology.
7. The need for all states to put an end to waste of natural resources.
8. Facilitating the role of producers' associations in the sustained growth of economy and accelerating the development of developing countries.¹

Another resolution passed the same day stipulates the programme of Action on the Establishment of New Economic order.² It gives guidelines to the following.

¹ General Assembly Resolutions 3201 Supp. I (S-VI), 6th Special Session, UN Document A/9559, (1974).

² GA Resolution 3202 Supp I (S-VI) 6th Special Session UN Document A/9559, (1974).

1. Fundamental problems of raw materials and primary commodities related to trade and development (raw materials, food, general trade, transportation and insurance have been covered under it).
2. International Monetary System.
3. Industrialization.
4. Transfer of Technology.
5. Regulation and control over the activities of transnational corporations.
6. Charter of Economic Rights and Duties.
7. Assistance in the exercise of permanent sovereignty of states over national resources.
8. Strengthening the role of UN system in the field of International Economic co-operation.

The declaration and programme of action were adopted without vote. USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan and UK felt so strongly about some provisions. But Sweden and Finland gave full support to the document. Representative of USSR, Andre Gromyko said "we shall never accept, either in theory or in practice the fallacious concept of division of the world into 'poor rich' countries – a concept which put the socialist states in the same footing as certain

other states which extracted so much wealth from the countries which was under the colonial yoke.¹ At the 29th Session, the charter of rights and duties were accepted with the idea of making international economy on a more firm legal footing and removing economic co-operation from the realm of goodwill.² After 18 months of seventh, special session of the General Assembly was summoned. The main task before the General Assembly was to solve the means for giving a practical shape to the proposal to put forward by the member countries at the sixth special session. The developed capitalist countries did not show any displeasure and accepted the new circumstances and relevant approach to the economic problem.³

India's role in the birth of NIEO is very important. After attaining independence India's aim was to give importance to economic and social upliftment of the people. For obtaining this aim India required the assistance of international environment.⁴ India needed new technical know how advanced machinery and tools, new markets and new resources as far as financial matters and concerned for its development process. It has been the view point of India that "Economic and Social Development cannot just be a domestic effort for anyone of us, it has to be a

¹ UN Document A/PV (S-VI) 6th Special Session 19 April, 1974, p.7.

² G.A. resolution 3281 (XXIX) 15th January 1975.

³ G.A. resolution 3362 (S-VII) 7th Special Session, 16 September 1975.

⁴ K.B. Lal, "India and the New International Economic Order" in Bimal Prasad (Ed.), *India's Foreign Policy: Studies in Continuity and Change*, New Delhi, 1979, pp.57-59.

major international concern".¹ India's policy of Non-alignment, co-operation and mutual trust is to some extent functioning together in harmony with themes of NIEO. Leaders of NAM Pandit Nehru (Prime Minister of India), Col. Nasser (President of Egypt) and Marshall Tito (President of Yugoslavia) put forward the view that underdevelopment and graceless poverty of the third world was the outcome of a "fundamental identity that they had been colonized".² India's contribution in the sixties has been significant in bringing changes in the international economic relations. Indian leaders succeeded in getting GATT rules amended to allow the developing countries to impose import restrictions with the new improving their export potential. In the meeting of Trade and Development Board, India suggested the acceptance of a new integrated international policy for raw materials and finished products which would ensure of just and equitable relationship between the prices of imports and exports of developing countries.³ In the general debate on the NIEO in the UN General Assembly India offered the following suggestions. In the first place, as the bulk of external resources of developing countries accrue to them not through the process of aid but through the process of trade. India emphasized urgent need to take definite and concerted

¹ Mrs. Indira Gandhi's address at 4th Non-Aligned Conference held at Algiers in 1973. Ministry of External Affairs, Publicity Division, Government of India, New Delhi.

² Peter Worsley, "How Many Worlds?", *The Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No.2, April, 1979, p.102.

³ Trade and Development Board / SR.392, p.118.

action in the field of international trade in commodities, safeguarding the interests of both importing and exporting developing countries.¹ The voice of the developing countries gained strength in the international forums like UNCTAD and India played an active role in UNCTAD IV, the group 77 received financial commitments to fund from nearly thirty countries.

The New International Economic order is described as "a hopeless and unending confrontation" by some. It is the design for the future to eliminate the Third World deficiency. The United Nations has got this dialogue going and in the process has tried to soften the harsh edges of international suspicion.² Prime Minister of India, Morarji Desai addressing a meeting in San Francisco on 11th June 1978 said, "The road to the New International Economic order may be rough, tortuous and long, but it must not be allowed to become a mirage. It was here that countries like the United States have a crucial role to play by giving the lead in the implementation of various decisions aimed at eradicating the sin of poverty from this earth".³ The then Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee expressed the same view before UN General Assembly session on October 11, 1978. He demanded time bound means to attain the goals of New International Economic order. The

¹ UN Chronicle, Vol. XII, No.9, October, 1975, p.40.

² Bhaskar P. Menon, "Global Dialogue", *The New International Economic Order*, Oxford, 1977.

³ *The Hindustan Times*, 12 June, 1978.

means must include a common fund for commodities, adequate flow of financial resources in a dependable basis and softest terms and conditions reforming international monetary system and a code of conduct for multinational corporations.¹ Differences concerning trade, commodity prices, aid, debt relief, and technology transfer are really difficult issues and it cannot be solved all on a sudden. It has been rightly said that the New International Economic order will not come "in rush". It will come "brick by brick".² Equality of opportunity within and among nations is the genuine meaning of New International Economic order.

¹ *Indian Express*, 12 October, 1978.

² B.N. Mehrish (1992), *Op. cit.*, p.459.

NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

O. Suryanarayanan "Role of the non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament 1960 - 1987 " Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2002

CHAPTER 4
**THE ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS IN UNO
FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT**

The Non-aligned Movement and the United Nations organization have interacted at the most basic level with lasting impact on both institutions. Representing about two thirds of the total U.N. membership, the Non-aligned movement has an undeniable impact on world today including the functioning of both general assemble and the Security Council. The Non-aligned today largely control the machinery of the U.N. deliberative organs and set the agenda and structure of the organization.¹ To the smaller nations and the Non-aligned countries in particular to United Nations has tremendous value.² There is similarity of views between them on several peace initiatives which have taken by them with them and outside U.N.³ The most profound ideal that inspired the fathers of United Nations was to save the succeeding generations from the suffering of war. After signing the charter on 26th June 1945 in San Francisco they proclaimed the maintenance of international peace and security as one of the major objective of the

¹ Richard, L. Jackson, *The Non-Aligned, The UN and the Super Powers*, New York, 1983, pp: 27-28

² Francis O. Wilcox Lawrence w. Martin (Ed.), "Neutralism and Non-Alignment" *The New states in World Affairs*, USA, 1962, p.64.

³ K.P. Mishra, *Non-Alignment in International efforts*, New Delhi, 1983, p.196.

Today outside the U.N. General Assembly there is no international organizations as largely representative as the Non-aligned community. There is scarcely a third World country,¹ which does not subscribe to Non-alignment as its credo.² Our feature of the movement has been phenomenal growth. The four fold increase in membership has certainly led to certain degree of dilution of the criterion of admission which in turn has encouraged the growth of regional blocs and ideological groups within the movement threatening at times to defeat the very purpose of Non-alignment.³

Disarmament implies reducing arms or banning them altogether on the assumption that military build up in itself a major source of tension and promotes the likelihood of war. A general reduction of arms was the goal of League of Nations Conference in 1932. In only a few cases the League succeeded. In those cases the parties of disputes were small nations. But in every dispute involving one or major powers, the League failed. Its authority was flouted by Japan in seizing Manchuria in 1931. During the height of the cold war, Disarmament proposals had a purely propangdistic tone. After the agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet

¹ Third World is collective name for the state of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, Western liberal democratic states called the First World. The Eastern Communist States, the Second World.

² Shri. Ram Sharma, 'India's Foreign Policy'. *Annual Survey*, 1981, New Delhi, 1985, p.170.

³ G.K. Reddy, "Economic Self-reliance, Non-alignment's New Goal", *the Hindu*, 25 January, 1981.

government on broad general principles, new proposals concerning general and complete Disarmament were tabled in 1962. This goal has been exposed by the United Nations General Assembly in three special sessions (1978, 1982 and 1988).¹ The term Disarmament is taken as encompassing a broad spectrum of measures relating to regulation, limitation reduction and elimination of armaments, armed force and military expenditures. Disarmament also encompasses limitations or prohibitions on the development, testing, production, emplacement, deployment, proliferation and transfer or use of arms.² Disarmament is the result of international harmony as armaments are the result of international rivalry. The Disarmament theory of UN and NAM envisages a World order in which the Disarmament can proceed international harmony.

Collective Security offers an approach to international peace. The basic principles of collective security is that, if a nation attacks another nation, all the rest should come to the rescue of the victim of the aggression. Thus co-operation among all nations, except the aggressor is the essence of collective security. When compared with balance of power, collective security attempt to collective forces, not to balance forces. The idea of collective security sought to abolish war. President Woodrow Wilson of the United States was the important figure behind

¹ April Carter, *Success and Failure of Arms Control Negotiations*, New Delhi, 1989, p.4.

² United Nations Documents, Sales No. e. 82, IX 4, New York, 1982.

the movement for a project collective enforcement of peace.¹ But by the time it took a clear stand in forum of collective security, the idea had already become an established passion of international life.² So much so that the concept of collective security was generally accepted at Paris negotiations which led to the signing of the Treaty of Versailles and the establishment of League of Nations. The various drafts, which formed the basis of the covenant of the League clearly showed that there was an awareness of the need for an international mechanism by which peace could be ensured by the combined use of force.³ Thus it was only in the League of Nations that the idea of collective security was accepted. Thus collective security became the operating philosophy of United Nations. Military pacts like NATO, SEATO, the Warsaw Pact were signed keeping in view one specific enemy or another. Collective security does not provide strength against any specific opponent. If it intended to work against any and every country which commits aggression. Collective security knows no probable aggression but it assumes that any state may become an aggressor.

Under the United Nations, the first experiment in collective security was made in 1950 when the United Nations took action to halt the North Korean attack

¹ Edward H. Buchring, *Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power*, Bloomington, 1955, p.207.

² Ruhi J. Bartlett, *The League of Europe Peace*, pp: 55-56.

³ D.H. Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, New York, 1928.

on South Korea. On 27 June, 1950 the Security Council identified with the action of United States by voting that urgent military measures were required. But only sixteen members of the United Nations out of the total sixty, could send armed forces. Out of these sixteen only the United States, Canada and Great Britain contributed substantial forces. South Korea and the United States provided about ninety per cent of the armed forces which fought in Korea.¹ Other members of the United Nations having military capacity such as Argentina, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Mexico and Poland took no active part in military operations. Collective security could not operate successfully due to the intervention of Communist China on the side of North Korea. That intervention and the indirect support of the Soviet Union to the aggressor completely transformed the character of the Korean War.² Thus the Korean war which started as a collective security was became a traditional war. In the case of Korean crisis the condition of most nations making there forces available for collective security could not met because of the Non-aligned countries through that the participation of United Nations collective action in Korea would mean, there involvement in cold war. India took a lead in this.³ In the Security

¹ See United States participation in the United Nations: Report by the President to the congress for the Years 1951. Department of State Publication No. 4583, Washington D.C. 1952, p.288.

² Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, New York, 1956, p.397.

³ See Indian Council of World Affairs, *India and United Nations*, New York, 1957, pp. 53-55.

Council, India voted for urgent military action. But after that according to India other development took pace. Nehru said "I understand that some member have disapproved our action in sending a medical unit to Korea. We sent this unit to Korea purely for medical relief work and we must say it was done remarkably well, gaining for itself, in addition some valuable experience. Of its kind it is one of the best units in the world today. It did not take part in fighting because though we are prepared to give medical aid we have nothing to do with war as such.¹ There are other cases which are cited as indicative of the United Nations experiment in collective security. Suez and Labanon. Israel, France and Great Britain launched a joint attack on Egypt over Suez in 1956. This led to the calling of the emergency session of the General Assembly. The three nations – Israel, France and Great Britain – accepted the demand of the Assembly and withdraw the forces. But this cannot be styled as the victory of collective security because Great Britain, France withdraw, their forces due to public opinion and due to the fear of Soviet intervention. Two years later in 1958, the United Nations had to face another serious situation created by the Lebanese charge that Syria had started large scale infiltration into the Lebanon in an attempt to overthrow the pro-western regime of President Chamoun. Two days later British forces were sent to Jordan on the request of king Hussain. The United States forces were dispatched to the Lebanon on the request of President Chamoun. Two days later British forces were sent to

¹ Jawaharlal Nehur's Speeches, 1949-53, Delhi, 1957. P.24.

Jordan on the request of King Hussain. The situation brought the Soviet Union and the United States into conflict with each other in United Nations. The United States held that her action was necessary to meet the "indirect aggression" on the Lebanon while the Soviet Union argued that the landing of American armed forces constituted a direct aggression and consequently a threat to peace. Eventually it was the secretary General's intervention, which paved the way for the gradual withdrawal of forces.¹

If we assess the current relevance of collective security it will be clear that the threat of nuclear war poses new problems which make collective security irrelevant. The victim of an aggression today may be totally destroyed beyond the collective security action is even given a start. Apart from, aggression cannot be defined easily. That is why even the founders of the League of Nations and the United Nations did not attempt on clear definition of aggression.² But it can be said that collective security has neither become wholly obsolete nor has lost its relevance. The idea of collective security can contribute to peace if it works in co-operation with other approaches to peace has been used as the basis of Soviet plan of what has come to be known as Asian Collective Security. Soviet leaders like,

¹ United Nations Documents, A/3934/REVI, 29 Sept., 1958. (From the Report of the Secretary General on this issue).

² Erich Hula, "the Evolution of Collective Security Under the United Nation" in Arnold Wolfers, (ed.), *Alliance Policy in the Cold War*, Baltimore, 1959, pp. 75-102.

Brezhnev since 1969 was advocating this plan and hence it is called "the Brezhnev Doctrine of Collective Security". It was based on such principles as renunciation of the use of force in relation among states respect of sovereignty and inviolability of frontiers, non interference in internal affairs, extensive development of economic, and other co-operation on the basis of full equality and mutual advantages.¹ This pointed out that there is nothing new with any of these principles because they are universally accepted international norms. But the extensive economic and other co-operation security remains much too vague and conveys no new meaning to the "collective" or the world "security". It is a new plan of Soviet diplomacy in Asia. As long as cold war persist and till such time a international community in its true spirit is born collective security would remain a dead latter. The relationship between collective security and Disarmament are mutually complimentary approaches to peace. Collective security requires for its own success at least a partially disarmed world. Both Disarmament and development were related to security. Without adequate security there could be neither Disarmament nor development.² The Non-alignment desires a New International order in which there is considerable diffusion of power. Such a move is by all means in the direction desired by the principle of collective security in ideal terms. For this sake

¹ Ian Clark, "Collective Security in Asia", *The Round Table*, London, No. 252, Oct., 1973, pp. 477-78.

² K. Natwar Singh, "Disarmament Development and Non-alignment", in VD Chopra (ed.), *Disarmament and Development: their Relationship*, New Delhi, 1988, p.3.

Non-aligned states have been engaged in the North-South dialogue and South-South co-operation. It is for this reason that the Non-aligned states have rendered their co-operation in the peace-keeping operations and thereby lessened the importance of the role of international peace and security. "In their view the final decision affecting international relations should not be the responsibility of powers which happen to be the most powerful military they would agree that peace will be possible only when their powers are not in a position to be the final judge as to what national interests justify world war".¹

In order to sustain their world supremacy the rich countries, particularly the super powers, have come to develop more and more sophisticated weapons and have built up their nuclear arsenals. Mutual suspicions coupled with the desire to attain superiority of one over of the other, further fuels the arms race endangering the very existence of human kind. The promotion of military strategic interests also requires them to co-opt allies and satellite nations internationally by economic and military ties. This tends to widen the zones of conflict. Non-aligned nations tends to narrow this zone of conflict. Taken to its logical conclusion, Non-aligned nations could isolate the super powers. This isolated super powers, finding that a direct confrontation would bring about mutual annihilation would try to find ways and means to avoid that. In this sense Non-alignment as a principles of foreign

¹ J W Burton, *Non-Alignment*, London, 1969, p.17.

policy can be an instrument of peace and can play an active role in the United Nations for Disarmament.¹ Non-aligned countries have always insisted that the United Nations should become the basis of resolution of conflict between the major powers and indeed have suggested Special Session on Disarmament to draw attention to the arms race.²

Non-alignment has played a stabilising and balancing role in the United Nations organization. It has not allowed any bloc from having a decision thereby alienating the rival bloc forever. The declaration of the Non-aligned group have constantly contained a plea for meaningful Disarmament. The achievement of the special session of Disarmament fall far short of our expectations. But we like to regard the session as only the beginning of real effort, the pursuit of continuing commitment in order to achieve general and complete Disarmament.³

The U.N.O. for Non-aligned movement is a forum to articulate its demands in the presence of the representation of global community and offers its members and institutions format for negotiations on certain issues of concern. Conceived as a response to cold war dynamics, Non-Alignment permitted newly emerging

¹ Linus Pauling (ed.), *World Encyclopaedia of Peace*, Vol. 2 New York, 1986, p.60.

² A W. Singham, "Principles of Non-Alignment" in Bajpai (Ed.), *Non-alignment: Perspectives and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1983, p.64.

³ A C Shahul Hameed, *In pursuit of Peace of Non-Alignment and Regional Co-operation*, Bombay, 1983, p.14.

countries to reject military alliance and resist ordering of the international system into two antagonistic blocs.¹

Achievement of Disarmament, can be facilitated by stronger adherence to the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and great resort to diplomatic methods . . . when nations are convinced that their disputes and conflicts can be solved by diplomatic or judicial means, they will naturally be less inclined to resort to force of arms.²

Non-aligned countries are active champions of peace and Disarmament in U.N. It was on the initiative of the Non-aligned countries that two Special Disarmament sessions of the U.N. General Assembly were called. While stressing the importance of complete Disarmament for peace and security in the world, the Non-aligned countries also understood that in the immediate future this aim is not attainable. Non-aligned want a world free of weapons and for attaining the purpose they are active in the U.N. The only way to prevent proliferation of Nuclear weapons is to bring about complete cessation of the production of nuclear

¹ P R Chari, *Non-Alignment, Perspectives and Prospects*, Delhi, 1983, p.11.

² Yasushi Akashi, Opening speech of the United Nations Conference on Disarmament Issues and Proceedings, 19-22, April, 1989, New York, 1989, p.13.

weapons and simultaneously cut off the manufacture of all weapon grade fissionable material. All nuclear establishment would then automatically become peaceful.¹

The idea of Non-violent world and peace to save the world from destruction was mooted first by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. Nehru believed Disarmament was the most important question facing humanity. Nuclear weapons are capable of destroying mankind. So India attached much importance to nuclear Disarmament and the use of atomic weapons. Even before India attained independence, the all India Congress Committee adopted a resolution in September, 1945 deploring the appearance of Atom Bomb. While addressing the constituent Assembly on 2nd January, 1947, Nehru said that "the conflict in contemporary world was between the atom bomb and the spirit of humanity." He further stated "both because of our adherence to the principles of Non-violence and from practical considerations arising from our understanding of world events, we believe that complete Disarmament of all nations states should be aimed at and is in fact an urgent necessity if the world is not to be reduced to barbarism."² To Pandit Nehru Non-alignment was something positive and not negative. To him the Non-alignment meant an alert, active positive effort to maintain harmony among nations to give wise counsel to warring groups, to remind them of their greater

¹ A B Vajpayee, *India, Foreign Policy*, in Bimal Prasad, (ed.) New Delhi, p.7.

² Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy*, in *Selected Speeches*, New Delhi, 1961, p.99.

responsibility to a higher idea to pursue peace and save the humanity. To Follow a policy of Non-alignment requires courage and conviction, a high moral attitude to life, to oppose evil i.e., aggression or intervention.¹

Within months of the establishment of the United Nations the commencement of the cold war effectively prevented it from assuming the role assigned to in its character. Nehru described it in the following words. "The accumulation of destructive power and the military alliance which subserve them . . . cut right across the conception, the purpose, the procedures and machinery proved and contemplated in the charter of the United Nations."² But the United Nations has shown that it is capable of discharging the responsibilities entrusted to it. The Non-aligned movement strongly believes that the United Nations and its principal organs must be strengthened to enable them to play there role effectively.

Nehru viewed India's struggle for independence as a part of world wide struggle against imperialism. He was aware of the existence of surplus American capital at the end of the world war and its compulsion to seek markets abroad³. He was aware of the American nuclear monopoly, the process of decolonisation, declining European imperialism, the rising tide of third world nationalism and the

¹ T B. Mukerjee, *Peace, Security, and Disarmament*, New Delhi, 1989, p.16.

² Srivastava, *Towards a Nuclear Weapon Free non-violent World*, Delhi, 1989, p. 17.

³ Jawaharlal Nehru' the Discovery of India (London, 1960).p. 556.

emergence of super powers transforming in its wake the international system of multipolarity into an essentially Bipolar world.¹ Nehru family believed that India's backwardness could overcome only through the application of modern scientific knowledge and technology. He accordingly visualised India developing a scientific temper of mind for acquiring and keeping abreast with the current developments in various fields of scientific thought aimed at realising self-reliant economic growth.² Thus nuclear policy of India was the extension of her efforts to promote development of modern science and technology to fulfill the socio-economic aspirations of her people. Being alive to the potentialities of nuclear energy for peaceful uses, India under Nehru's leadership decided to harness the atom for the country's developmental needs. The experience in the west, with the taming of atom, had, opened vast possibilities of another industrial revolution.³

International efforts to regulate armaments in a world wide scale resumed only after the war within the framework of the United nations which was created to save the coming generations from future wars. The articles 26 of the U.N. Charter provides that "in order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armament of the world's

¹ K.P. Karunakaran, *The Phenomenon of Nehru* (New Delhi, 1979) pp. 53-58.

² India, Lok Sabha Debates Series 2. Vol. 13. No. 23, 13 March, 1958, cols. 47369.

³ K.K. Pathak, *Perspectives of Nuclear Policy of India*, Teaching politics, Vol. IV, No. 3 1978, p.43.

human and economic resources, the security council shall be responsible for formulating . . . plans to be submitted to the member of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments." Under the Charter one of the main functions of the General Assembly is to consider "the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing Disarmament and the regulation of armaments" and to make recommendations to member states or to security council or both.¹

As a result of the discovery of atomic energy, the question of regulation of armaments was recognized as essential. The very first resolution approved by the General Assembly on January, 24, 1946 sought the elimination of atomic weapons and other weapons mass destruction. In 1946 the general assembly established the Atomic Energy Commission to ensure that such energy was used for peaceful purposes. To that end the United States proposed the creation of an international atomic development authority. Once the system of control effectively operates, further production of atomic weapons would cease and the existing stocks would be destroyed (the BARUNCH PLAN). The USSR for its part, proposed the draft convention which would prohibit the production and use of atomic weapons and would provide the destruction of all atomic weapons within three months form its entry into force (GROMYKO PLAN). In 1947 another body, the commission for

¹ Basic Facts About the United Nations, New York, 1983, p.35

conventions armaments was established by the security council. It was called upon to submit proposals for the general reduction of armaments and armed forces.

Within the United Nations and its related organs, the conference on Disarmament, the attempt to establish an institutions linkage, between Disarmament and development has a long history. It was first raised by countries in the south, but the principles has since found widespread support within the U.N., both North and South. In 1950 a draft resolution was submitted by India to the General Assembly which recommended the establishment of a peace fund for development, to be financed from the savings from Disarmament.¹ Disarmament was interpreted by Nehru thus, "Disarmament ultimately depends on far reaching changes in the political and economic structures of the world leading to the removal of the basic cause of war. So long as this is not done, the conflicts continue to bad to worse".²

Although no concrete progress towards Disarmament was made prior to 1959, the efforts undertaken during the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s contributed to the measures later achieved. In 1959 the General Assembly adopted as a goal for the United Nations, General and Complete Disarmament (GCD) under effective international control. This remains the ultimate aim of the United Nations

¹ Linus Pauling (ed.), *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, New York, 1986, p.225.

² S. Gopal, (ed.), Jawaharlal Nehru, An Anthology, Delhi, 1980, p.338.

Disarmament efforts based on the expectation that each stage.¹ Since 1950, the General Assembly had adopted a number of resolutions appealing for all over all reduction of military spending and employing the funds for economic and social purposes particularly for the benefit of the developing countries.² Starting in 1959, the United Nations began to pursue Disarmament efforts two distinct, yet parallel approaches. The General Assembly acknowledging the need to concentrate on more far reaching objectives placed its agenda on the item entitled "General and Complete Disarmament under effective International Control". Consequently agreement on partial Disarmament measures were pursued. In 1959, Antarctic treaty which provides the demilitarization of Antarctica was signed. It prohibits in the Antarctic region any measures of military nature, such as military manoeuvres, weapon tests, nuclear explosions, building of installations on disposal of radioactive wastes. In 1959 the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament was established with East and West represented in equal numbers.

There is no dearth of instances to prove that Non-aligned states have offered their sincere co-operation to United Nations in the maintenance of peace for example, in the case of Korea, Suez, Cyprus, Namibia, Somalia, Bosnia and the like. Great statesmen of Non-aligned countries like Nehru of India, Tito of

¹ Basic Facts about the United Nations, New York, 1983, pp. 35-36.

² The Relationship between Disarmament and Development, United Nations, Sales No. E. 82, IX, 1, New York, 1982.

Yugoslavia, Nasser of Egypt and Sukarno of Indonesia often stressed the point that their countries stood for peace.¹

Nehru's mortal fear of a nuclear holocaust emanated from his inherent belief that some irresponsible country would be in a position to set fire to the world. He also differed with American stand of tying up Disarmament with the banning of nuclear weapons. Nehru said "The U.S. is afraid that Minus the nuclear weapons, it will be weaker in the military sense than the Soviet Union. I do not believe in this approach and I think that Atomic weapons should be banned and not manufactured".²

In a resolution drafted for the first Afro-Asian conference at Bandung Indonesia in April 1955, Nehru devised a frame work for Nuclear Disarmament, the most substantive feature of which was mutual agreement on stopping of nuclear tests that would put all countries "roughly to equal disadvantage in developing newer and more effective types of nuclear weapons."³ V.K. Krishna Menon worked with passion for Disarmament. He passionately opposed to Nuclear weapons and together with Nehru, he pursued the objectives of bringing about Nuclear

¹ Peter Willets. *The Non-aligned Movement: Origin of a Third world Alliance*, Bombay, 1978, p.18.

² 'The Hindu' August, 6, 2001.

³ *Ibid.*

Disarmament and made great impact in the United Nations for consideration of the issue.¹

The Non-aligned have figured prominently in the United Nation's efforts at conflict resolution and peace keeping. India played a central role on the neutral national repatriation commission at the end of Korean War and Troops of various Non-aligned nations have served the cause of peace in the Congo, Suez and other scenes of conflict.²

Ever since the inception of Non-alignment, among its preoccupations in World Affairs, Disarmament and related matters have consistently remained its main target. The Non-aligned countries understood that Disarmament and development are intertwined throughout the world, but particularly in the North, military expenditure is too high, individual countries are "over armed" and a reallocation of resources would improve rather than degrade the prevailing system of international security. In the words of Inga-Thorsson former Swedish Disarmament minister "it is wrong to squander resources on armaments when the basic needs of so many people remain unmet".³

¹ The Hindu, May, 3, 1995.

² Soedjatmoko, 'Non-Alignment and Beyond' in verinder Gover (Ed.), Internaitonal relations and foreign Policy of India, Vol. 10, New Delhi, 1992, p.360.

³ Thorsson Inga, Militarism and Militarization, North-South Conflict.

Military Expenditure in Select Non-aligned Countries are follows:

[Sources: Sipri Year Book (1982), World Development Report (1982).
* 1979 Figures]

	Expenditure as a 1970	% of GDP 1980
Afghanistan	—	—
Algeria	2.1	—
Angola	—	—
Argentina	1.9	2.0
Bangladesh	—	1.3
Benin	2.1	—
Bolivia	1.6	1.7
Botswana	—	—
Burma	5.7	—
Burundi	1.5	2.22*
Cameron	1.9	—
Central African Republic	2.4	—
Chad	5.1	—
Congo	5.0	—
Cuba	6.9	—
Djibouti	—	—
Egypt	15.8	9.6*
Equatorial Guinea	—	—
Ethiopia	1.9	8.8*
Gabon	1.4	1.9*
Gambia	—	—
Ghana	1.9	—
Guinea (R P R)	—	—
Guinea Bissau	—	—
Guyana	1.3	—
India	3.0	2.8*
Indonesia	3.1	2.3

Iran	6.3	—
Iraq	11.2	—
Ivory Coast	1.2	—
Jamaica	0.4	—
Jordan	17.8	15.5
Kampuchea (P.R)	—	—
Kenya	1.1	3.3
Korea D.P.R.	—	—
Kuwait	5.0	5.0*
Lao PDR	—	—
Lebanon	2.8	6.6*
Lesotho	—	—
Liberia	0.9	1.2*
Libyan A.R.	4.6	—
Madagascar	1.4	3.0*
Malawi	0.4	1.7*
Malaysia	4.1	5.46
Mauritania	1.4	11.6*
Morocco	2.6	6.1
Mozambique	—	—
Namibia	—	—
Nepal	0.6	1.2
Nicaragua	1.6	—
Niger	0.9	—
Nigeria	5.7	—
Oman	11.8	22.3
Pakistan	3.8	5.2
Panama	0.8	—
Peru	3.7	3.6
Qatar	—	—
Rwanda	1.4	1.7*

Senegal	1.9	2.6
Sierra Leone	0.9	—
Singapore	5.4	5.9*
Somalia	—	—
Sri Lanka	0.9	1.0
Sudan	4.4	—
Surinam	—	—
Swaziland	—	—
Syrian A.R.	11.9	16.6
Tanzania	3.4	6.6*
Togo	1.1	2.3
Trinidad and Tobago	0.4	—
Tunisia	1.6	2.2
Uganda	2.0	—
UAE	—	4.1
Upper Volta	1.3	2.6
Vietnam S.R.	16.5	—
Yemen A.R.	3.1	—
Yemen (P.D.R)	11.8	—
Zaire	5.0	1.8*
Zambia	1.8	2.0*
Zimbabwe	3.2	11.3*

The same idea can be seen in most of the United Nations reports on the subject. "The Economic and Social consequences of Disarmament" published in 1972, concluded that only a fraction of arms spending need to be reallocated to have a significant beneficial effect upon development. A 1972 report entitled "Economic and Social consequences of Arms Race and Military Expenditure"

stated that major Disarmament measures would "make fundamental change in the prospects for economic and social development". Another report in the same year called "Disarmament and Development" pointed out that "National and international efforts to promote the development should neither be postponed or allowed to lag merely because Disarmament is slow.¹ Another change has been systematic attention paid to proposals to reduce military expenditure. These efforts was given notable impetus by the 1974 expert report entitled reduction of military budget of states permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries.² The U.N. reports, "the relationship between Disarmament and Development" published in 1982 is known as Thorsson report because Inga Thorsson chaired the group, which compiled the report. According to the report "... The arms race and underdevelopment are not two problems; they are one. They must be solved together or neither will even be solved". The Thorsson report takes the establishment of New International Economic Order (NIEO) as the basis for future development in developing countries. Thorsson identifies on two levels of importance of disarmament to the establishment of a New International Economic

¹ Mac Graham and Chris Smith, "Disarmament and Development" in Linus Pauling (Ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

² A/9770/Rev.1. (United Nation Public Sales No. E. 75, I. 10). A series of expert report extending these efforts was prepared in 1976, 1977 and 1980 although with less wide participation.

Order. First, Disarmament would permit the creation of an international security regime based upon the principles of co-operation and mutual accommodation between states to replace the present system which works so much to the disadvantage of weaker states. She argues that the second aspect is that Disarmament is important because of the range of key resources it would release.¹

The first Non-aligned summit held in Belgrade in 1961 proclaimed "Disarmament is an imperative need and the most urgent need to mankind" and that of 'radical solution' to the problem can be achieved only by means of a general, complete and strictly and internationally controlled Disarmament". While calling for Disarmament of weapons every kind, not only on earth but also in outer space, it urged the super powers to sign a treaty for the purpose. At Belgrade NAM recommended a special session of United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, with a view to setting in motion the process of general Disarmament.² Jawaharlal Nehru said "Have world lost all their meaning and have men's minds lost all challenge? For this surely is the way to madness, and the great men who control our destinies are dangerous self-centered lunatics, who are so full of there conceit and pride of power that they will rather rain death and

¹ Mac Graham, *Op. cit.*, p.256.

² M.S. Rajan, "The Non-aligned movement and Disarmament; the seventh summit and after" *Disarmament*, Vol. 6, No.2, Summer 1983, p.1

destruction all over the world than give up their petty opinion and think and act all right."

Nehru, Nassar and other leaders of Non-aligned countries stated in the Belgrade declaration that "peace and stability in the world depend, to a considerable extent on the mutual relations of great powers.¹ Therefore the conference urged the great power to sign with out delay a treaty on general and complete Disarmament to conclude and agreement on banning all nuclear tests and use the outer space only for peaceful purposes. The participants in the conference pointed out that if Disarmament is implemented the resources now being spent on armaments can be used for the peaceful economic and social development of all mankind.

The participating countries also consider that:

1. The Non-aligned nations should be represented in all future world conference on Disarmament.
2. All discussion on Disarmament should be held, under the auspices of the U.N.

¹ From an article 'The Death Dealer National Herald' (New Delhi), 2 April, 1954 in S. Gopal (ed.) Jawaharlal Nehru: An Anthology (Delhi, 1980) p.395.

3. General and complete Disarmament should be guaranteed by effective system of inspection and control, the teams of which should include members of Non-aligned nations.¹

The idea of convening, a world Disarmament conference originated at the first conference of the head of state or Government of Non-aligned countries, held at Belgrade in 1961. The declaration adopted by the conference, inter alia that the General Assembly should take a decision with respect of convening either a special session devoted to Disarmament of a world Disarmament conference under the auspices of the united Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of General Disarmament. (A/AC. 187/30 and corr I).²

Among the Non-aligned countries, India played an important part in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) in facilitating the US-USSR agreement on September 1961 which provided the end ENDC with certain directive or guidelines for its work. When India first suggested the adoption of such directives in 1960. Both the power blocks had opposed the India sponsored draft resolution on the question. But the Joint statement of agreed principles of Disarmament negotiations accepted by super power reflected the directive

¹ Excerpts from NAM summit declaration. Quoted from Non-alignment, concept and concerns, D. Goyal (ed.), New Delhi, 1986, pp. 386-87.

² Two decades of Non-alignment, Documents P.6.

principles proposed by India. In this statement both the super powers accepted the goal of Disarmament efforts should be general and complete Disarmament. India played critical role in articulating this goal.¹

In 1962 the Eighteen Nation Committee for Disarmament was established. Infact it was an enlargement of the Ten Nation committee on Disarmament of 1959 with East and West representing in equal numbers. The Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament held its first conference in 1962 with the addition of Eight Non-aligned members. It was attended by several nations prominent among them being U.S.A. U.K. Canada, Italy, U.S.S.R, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, India, U.A.R., Sweden, Nigeria etc. France the 18th nation boycotted it from the beginning. United states proposed a cut of 30% in nuclear delivery vehicles and major conventional armaments in the first stage to be carried out in three years. A ban was to be imposed on the production of nuclear weapons. U.S.S.R. proposed General and complete Disarmament with effective international control to be reached in four years in three stages beginning with the destruction of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons and the simultaneous elimination of all foreign bases. The neutral nations proposed the establishment of an international

¹ Special report on the Adhoc Committee on World Disarmament Vol. 1. United Nations, New York, 1978.

commission of scientists to report on any nuclear explosion and process all data received from an agreed systems of observation posts.

It changed the name of the conference of the committee on Disarmament in 1969 when the membership was expanded to twenty six nations. The membership was expanded once again to thirty one in 1975.¹

The peace efforts of Non-aligned countries failed in 1962 when the Cuban missile crisis developed. Both super powers were ready to act. But Cuban missile crisis passed off. It showed the possibility of negotiated settlement. Non-aligned nations prevented great power confrontation and escalation of conflicts between them as in the case of Korea, Suez, Cuba and Congo by non-partisan initiatives.² In the early years of United nations, it was Non-aligned India that spoke for other Non-aligned states, was the first to propose (In April 1954) and nuclear test ban and pursued the proposals until the partial test ban treaty was signed in 1963.³ IN 1963 treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere in outer space and under water (partial test ban treaty) considered a partial measure in that it does not Ban under ground tests. The signing of the partial test ban treaty showed, better

¹ S.K. Sahni And R.N. Srivastava, 'Non-aligned movement and struggle for peace and disarmament, New Delhi, 1989, p.23.

² P.C. Sinha, "U.N. the Disarmament efforts, in Fifty years of United Nations and world affairs, New Delhi, 1989. P.23.

³ M.S. Rajan,. "The Non-aligned and the United Nations, New Delhi, 1987, p.330.

understanding between the super powers.¹ The "partial test Ban treaty" was agreed by to the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. It banned nuclear tests from the atmosphere, outer space and under water., The general assembly adopted unanimously a declaration of legal principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space.

The leader of the non-aligned countries, Jawaharlal Nehru was the first political leader of the world who proposed banning of nuclear weapons tests in 1954. He highlighted the effect of atomic radiation on people and other living beings caused by nuclear test.²

Nehru said : US. Is afraid that minus nuclear weapons, it will be weaker in the military sense than the Soviet Union. I do not believe in this approach and I think that atomic weapons should be banned and not manufactured.³ Addressing meeting of commonwealth prime Minster's conference in London in February, 1955, He said "A nuclear bombs become relatively easier and cheaper to make, the danger would increase, that small countries, might possess them, and we should

¹ U.N. chronicle, "Arms Limitations and Disarmament Agreement" Vol. XXV. No.3. (Sept 1988) p.20.

² G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet foreign Policy*, Delhi, 1989, p.41.

³ The Hindu August, 6, 2001, Quoted from selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru published by Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial fund recently.

live in constant apprehension that some irresponsible country would be in a position to set fire to the world".

An estimated 1,440 nuclear explosives were detonated between 16th July 1945 and 31 December 1983: 729 by the United States, 527 by the Soviet Union, 120 by France, 36 by United Kingdom and 27 by China. Since signing of the partial test ban treaty, extensive underground tests have been carried out, particularly by the United States (389) and the Soviet Union (363). In 1974 India exploded a nuclear device underground stating that the explosion was strictly for peaceful purposes.¹ The Soviet Union and the United States and the United Kingdom have ratified the partial test ban treaty. While France and China have not accepted it, the former announced that it would discontinue atmospheric testing in 1974 and China has not conducted any atmospheric testing since 1980.²

The second conference of the Head of state of Government of Non-aligned countries held at Cairo in 1964, urged the participating countries to take, at the next session of the General Assembly, all necessary steps for holding a world Disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations to which all countries would be invited and any other special conference for the conclusion of

¹ Sahani and Srivastava, *The Non-Aligned Movement and struggle for peace and Disarmament*, Delhi, 1989, p.28.

² *Ibid.*, p.79.

special agreement on certain measures of Disarmament.¹ At the 1964 Cairo summit the Non-aligned states under took a commitment "not to produce, acquire or test any nuclear weapons. It also urged all countries to enter in to similar undertakings and to take the necessary steps to prevent their territories, ports and airfields from being used by unclear powers for the deployment and disposition of nuclear weapons.² Non-aligned countries began demanding as early as in 1964 that big power presence in Indian ocean should be removed. The U.S. presence in the region of Indian ocean has turned the region into a new hot spot of the earth. That is why Cairo summit criticised the plan to establish bases in India Ocean by the imperialist powers.

On 3 June 1965 a draft resolution sponsored by 36 member states, was submitted to the United Nations Disarmament commission, which *inter alia*, affirmed the proposal adopted at the Cairo conference and recommended that the General Assembly should give urgent consideration to that proposal at its twentieth session.³ ON 11 June 1965 the Disarmament commission adopted a resolution in which it welcomed the proposal by the Non-aligned countries and recommended

¹ Special Report of the Ad-Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament conference, Vol. I, United Nations, New York, 1978.

² Disarmament and Development, Lok Sabha secretariat (New Delhi, Sept. 1986) pp.34-35.

³ Special Report of Ad hoc Committee on World Disarmament conference, Vol. I. United Nations, New York, 1978.

that General Assembly should give urgent consideration to the subject at its twentieth session.¹

In accordance with that resolution, the item was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly for the first time at its twentieth session and on 29 November 1965 the Assembly adopted resolution 2030 (XX) in which it endorsed the proposal adopted at the Second conference of the Heads of the states or Government of Non-aligned countries on convening of world Disarmament conference to which all countries would be invited and urged that the necessary consultations to be conducted with all countries for the purpose of establishing widely representative preparatory committee which would take necessary steps for the convening of a world Disarmament conference not later than 1967. In 1966 in the introduction of the annual report on the work of the organization, the Secretary General reported that little progress had been made towards preparing the ground for holding the conference.² As far as 1962 this idea appeared in the draft treaties on general and complete Disarmament put forward by Soviet Union and United States in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC). In 1964 the United States submitted to the ENDC a specific plan for a verified freeze on the number and

¹ Official records of the Disarmament commission, supplement for January to December, 1965, Document DC/224.

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty first session, supplement Noia (A630/ADD.1) sect. II

characteristics of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear delivery vehicles. The Soviet Union at the time opposed the proposal, holding that it would in essence introduce control without Disarmament and would allow the retention of all existing delivery means and overall capacity of the United States. The Non-aligned members of the ENDC in seeking to reconcile differences in approach between the U.S.S.R and the United States suggested that the idea of a freeze should be linked to other proposed collateral measures such as non proliferation and cut-off the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes.¹

In 1967 the treaty on the principles of Governing the activities of the states in the exploration and the use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies (outer space treaty) also creates a nuclear free zone by prohibiting objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other weapon of mass destruction from Earth's orbit, prohibits the military use of celestial bodies or placing of nuclear weapons on those bodies and bans the stationing of weapons on outer space.² Non-nuclear states have taken several initiatives to strengthen their security against nuclear weapons, most notably by the creation of nuclear weapon zones. The first such agreement to prevent nuclear weapons from being brought into specific area was in 1959 Antarctic treaty which by the end of 1984 had been signed by thirty two states. The

¹ UN Chronicle Sept. 1988, Vol. XXV No.3. p.20.

² Sinha, *Op. cit.*, p.76

idea of freezing stock piles of Nuclear weapons at a given level as first step in the comprehensive process of Disarmament is not a new idea. As far as 1962 this idea appeared in the draft treaties on general and complete Disarmament put forward by Soviet Union and United States in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament committee. (ENDC). In 1964 the United States submitted to the ENDC specific plan for a verified Freeze on the number and characteristics of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear delivery vehicles. The Soviet Union at the time opposed the proposal, holding that it would in essence introduce control without Disarmament and would allow the retention of all existing delivery means and over all capacity of United States. The Non-aligned members of the ENDC in seeking to reconcile, differences in approach between the U.S.S.R and the United States, suggested that the idea of a freeze should be linked to other proposed collateral measures, such as non-proliferation and cut-off in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes.¹

In 1967 the treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) which created the first nuclear weapon free zone in a densely populated area. It was also the first arms limitation agreement to provide for the verification by an international organization.² It was also the first agreement to

¹ Dr. P.C. Sinha, 50 years of United Nations and world affairs (New Delhi, 1997), p.267.

² U.N. Chronicle, Sept. 1988. Vol. XXV. No.3. p.20.

establish a system of international control and a permanent supervisory organ the agency for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America all the five nuclear weapons states (United States, U.S.S.R., China, United Kingdom, and France) have signed a protocol pledging to respect fully the status of denuclearization in Latin America and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against parties to the treaty. The establishment of nuclear free zones constitutes a major activity of Non-aligned countries. The Tlatelolco treaty was concluded in 1967 by 23 countries of south and central America as well as Caribbean, namely Antigua, Barbados, Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia, Costa, Rica, the Dominican republic, Ecuador, EL Salvador, Grenada. Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela.¹

The treaty does not prevent nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes. There is another treaty the developing countries have concluded making the South Pacific nuclear free zone. The 16th South Pacific forum held on the island of Rarotonga (The cook Islands) and attended by 13 countries and territories of the area decided on August, 6, 1985 to establish a nuclear free zone in South Pacific. The Rarotonga treaty came into force on December, 11, 1986, following its ratification by Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, the cook Islands, Kiribati, Western Samoa, Niue and Tuvalu which were later joined by Nauru.

¹ Sahni and Srivastava, *Op. cit* p.9.

In 1968 treaty on the Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (Non-proliferation treaty) prohibits the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear weapon countries and at promoting the process of nuclear Disarmament and guaranteeing all countries access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.¹ A genuine and generally acceptable non-proliferation treaty on regime should have aimed stopping the production acquisition of nuclear weapons by all states combined with a cut off in the production of fissionable material for military purposes by all states. In that event since all nuclear facilities in all states would have become peaceful, a uniform system of international safeguards to prevent the diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful to military purposes, could have been made universally applicable to all states by they non-nuclear weapon states or nuclear weapon states.²

India, the leading Non-aligned country has not signed the treaty the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) because it is an unequal and discriminatory treaty. India has however signed, ratified or acceded to every other multilateral treaty in the field of Disarmament that has been negotiated namely the Geneva Protocol of 1925, the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 etc." In between the second and third NAM summit there were so

¹ P.C. Sinha, *Op. cit.*, p.76.

² Sahni and Srivastava, *Op. cit.*, P.35.

many changes in the international field. Non-aligned leaders like Sukarno of Indonesia, Nkrumah of Ghana and Ben Bella of Algeria were pulled down from office. U.S.A. had dropped lethal bombs on Vietnam, Indo-Park War in 1965 ended and in 1967 there was Arab-Israeli conflict.

In 1969 the General Assembly declared the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade and called on government to intensify without delay their concerted and concentrated efforts for effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to Nuclear Disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction for the treaty on General and complete Disarmament under the strict and effective international control.¹ By 1976, the assembly deploring the "meager achievement" of the Decade in terms of truly effective Disarmament and arms limitation agreements decided to hold a special session in 1978 on Disarmament.²

During 1970's in fact the whole problem of Disarmament and arms control has assumed several new dimensions. The Non-aligned countries have made a notable contribution to the cause of Disarmament both in theoretical and practical way. Theoretically Non-alignment has strengthened the argument that there is a

¹ United Nations: What it is? What is does? How it Works? New York, 1970, p.22.

² "Disarmament" in *United Nations at forty: A Foundation of Build on United Nations*, New York, 1985, p.84.

close relationship between Non-alignment and Disarmament. But the Non-aligned countries have contributed to the cause of Disarmament in a practical way. The protracted post-war Disarmament negotiations produced limited agreement in 1963. This was the American –British-Soviet treaty signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963 by foreign ministers of three powers. This treaty sought to prohibit the nuclear tests. That is why it is known as the test ban treaty. Apart from three countries, India was among the first countries to sign this treaty. The preamble of the test ban treaty point out the fact that nuclear test contaminate man's environment by radio activity. Non-aligned countries were mainly responsible for getting these resolutions adopted by General Assembly. It may be noted that Eight Non-aligned countries on the conclusion of the test ban treaty. The countries submitted to the nuclear powers a Joint Memorandum on 16 April 1962 containing suggestions for negotiations on the discontinuance of nuclear tests. This Memorandum must be given special importance in view of its subsequent approval by the General Assembly. One of the points made by Non-aligned countries has been that the settlement of the problem on Disarmament should not be the monopoly of the super powers and that all countries of the world should be allowed to participate in the Disarmament negotiations.¹

¹ For interest of this memorandum see official records of the Disarmament commission supplement for January, 1961, to December, 1962, Document DC/203, annex.1. Secion.J.

In the third NAM summit at Lusaka in 1970 new demand was made to effective Disarmament. They are reduction in stock-piles of weapons, freeze in the manufacture of nuclear weapons, starting of nuclear weapon zone and also to declare Indian Ocean a zone of peace. An International summit on the non-use of nuclear weapons was to be summoned as per the proposals of NAM.

In 1971 treaty on the prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear weapons and other weapons of Mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil there of (sea-bed treaty) which bans the placement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and facilities for such weapons on or under the sea-bed outside a 12 mile coastal zone was adopted. In 1972, a sigh of relief was made by peace lovers when Nixon visited China and U.S.S.R.. U.S.A. and US.S.R signed the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT) in 1971. Thus in terms of Disarmament, the immediate effect of SALT was less impressive. The composition combined to be fuelled by new technological advances.¹

In 1971, the NAM played a very important role in the U.N. General Assembly by taking up the problem of Middle East, Cyprus, Zimbabwe and Namibia besides bilateral conflicts among NAM countries e.g. between Somalia and Ethiopia, Libya and Chad and Angola and Zaire. The Non-aligned countries took and active part in drafting the U.N. resolutions regarding these acute

¹ G.N. Srivastava, *NAM and the Soviet foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.48.

international problems in order to find amicable peaceful settlement of disputes.¹ In 1972 Biological weapons convention prohibiting the development, production and stock piling of biological (bacteriological) weapons and other multilateral agreement took place². The Non-aligned countries are also unanimous in their call for total ban on biological weapons. So far only 65 third world countries have joined the convention banning development, production and stock piling of biological and toxic weapons. But as a group they have made their mark on the elaboration of measure to reduce the risk of mankind's annihilation through the use of biological weapons.³

The fourth NAM summit at Algiers in 1973 criticized Israel, Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia for ignoring U.N. resolutions. IN 1974 the U.N. ad hoc committee of the Indian ocean on the Indian ocean recommended convocation of an international conference on the subject. In 1975 the General Assembly decided to examine the role of the United Nations in the field of Disarmament primarily with the view of strengthening that role and established for that purpose an ad hoc committee. The committee upon completion of its work submitted a report to the assembly. The fifth NAM summit at Colombo in 1976 stressed that

¹ G.N. Srivastava, India, Non-Alignment and World Peace, Delhi, 1984, p.57.

² M.G., Gupta, (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary International Affairs*, Vol. 2, Agra, 1987, p.302.

³ Sahni and Srivastava Non-aligned movement and the struggle for peace and disarmament (New Delhi, 1989). P.46.

the expenditure on weapons that has been increasing greatly and has now reached a staggering figure should be stopped and "a substantial part of the resources freed by measures in the field of Disarmament by the main military powers could be used to promote the economic development of developing countries. Such a measure would certainly contribute towards bridging of the gap between developed and developing countries within the foreseeable future.¹ IN 1976 the General Assembly at the initiative of Non-aligned countries and with widespread support from other member states decided to hold a special session devoted entirely to Disarmament.

In 1977 convention on the prohibition of military or any other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (ENMOD convention), which prohibits the use of techniques that would have widespread, long lasting or severe effects in causing such phenomena as earthquakes, tidal waves and changes in weather and climate patterns was adopted.²

The first session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament was held at New York from 23rd May to 30th June, 1978. It was the largest and the most representative meeting of nations ever gathered to consider the question of Disarmament. It was the tenth special session of the General Assembly. It was also the first at which the views of the public were heard, through representatives of

¹ Two Decades of Non-alignment, p.207.

² UN Chronicle, Vol. XXV, No.3 (Sept., 1988) p.20.

non-governmental organization. Petitions against the arms race signed by millions of people were delivered to United Nations Head Quarters during the session.¹

The emphasis on nuclear Disarmament was reaffirmed at the special session on Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly. The declaration noted "... effective measures of nuclear Disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority. To this end, it is imperative to remove the threat of nuclear weapons, to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race until the total elimination of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems has been achieved and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the same time other measures designed to prevent the out break of nuclear war and to lessen the danger of the threat or use of nuclear weapons should be taken."² During the special session India submitted a draft resolution declaring that the use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of the charter of United Nations and a crime against humanity and should therefore be prohibited pending nuclear Disarmament. The draft also requested all states to submit to the General Assembly proposals concerning the Non-use of Nuclear weapons and the avoidance of nuclear war in order that an inter national convention on the subject might be formulated through further discussion and

¹ Disarmament. The United Nations at Forty: A foundation to Build on, New York, 1985, p.84.

² Adopted on 3 June, 1978. Final document reproduced in "Strategic Analysis" (New Delhi) Vol. VI No.s-2 April- May 1982 p.107.

agreement. As all Decisions were to be taken by consensus, India did not press its draft to vote, however at the subsequent regular session of the General Assembly in 1978, the draft was submitted again co-sponsored by 34 countries mostly Non-aligned and adopted by vote of 103 to 18 (United States and other Western countries) with 18 abstentions (USSR and other Eastern European countries) reflecting different views on the issue by the various political and geographical groups.¹

The final document of the session pointed out that United Nations has a central role and primary responsibility in the field of Disarmament. The document consisted of four parts: an introduction, a declaration, a programme of Action and machinery.

"The introduction recognized that "the attainment of the objective of security which is an inseparable element of peace has always been one of the most profound aspirations of humanity",

The declaration whose aim was to review and assess the existing situation and outline the objective priorities, tasks and principles of Disarmament negotiations made explicit reference to the interrelationship between international

¹ P.C. Sinha. 50 years of United Nations and World Affairs (New Delhi, 1997) p. 262-263.

security and Disarmament.¹ The declaration also contained a number of important principles. One of which states "Disarmament and arms limitation agreement should provide for adequate measure of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned in order to create the necessary confidence and ensure that they are being observed by all parties".

The programme of action contained a statement of priorities and measures, the former succinctly expressed: "priority is Disarmament negotiations shall be: nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction including chemical weapons including any which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects and the reduction of armed forces". Other measures included consultations among major arms suppliers and recipient countries on limiting all types of international transfer of conventional weapons, gradual reduction of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis and further study of the question of verification.²

The last section machinery noted the urgency of revitalizing the existing Disarmament machinery and outlined the consensus agreement reached on the establishment of appropriate forums with a more representative character of

¹ P.C. Sinha, *Op. cit.*, p.75.

² Basic Facts about United Nations, New York, 1983, pp. 38-39.

Disarmament negotiations and deliberations as well as their activities to the undertaken.

In order to facilitate the attainment of the objective of the final document, the General Assembly declared in 1980s as the second Disarmament decade. The new declaration stated the goals of Decade should remain consistent with the ultimate objective of the Disarmament process: general and complete Disarmament under effective international control.

To carry out the world outlines in the final document, the special session agreed on the re-establishment of Disarmament commission, with all members of the United Nations represented. It was to deliberative body, with mandate to cover the same ground as the Assembly itself. To revitalize multilateral negotiations on Disarmament, the assembly entered into new relationship with committee on Disarmament.¹

Four years following the first special session international situation became very bad and global military expenditure increased. As a result the programme of action laid down in 1978 final document remained largely unimplemented.²

¹ Disarmament, The United Nations at Forty, *Op. cit.*, p.86.

² Fifty Years of United Nations and World Affairs, New Delhi, 1997. P. 75: U

The Sixth NAM summit at Havana in 1979 welcomed the strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. In this connection it is pointed out that notwithstanding the large number of multilateral and bilateral agreements in the Disarmament field currently in force, the real picture remains one of rather marginal progress in genuine and meaningful arms control of the global arms race.¹ The NAM summit condemned the activities of the imperialist powers in the Middle East and urged the U.N. security council to adopt sanctions against Israel in keeping with chapter 7 of the U.N. charter and if vetoed by the U.S. to convene a special General Assembly session. The conference decided to work towards converting the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace by implementing the declaration adopted by the U.N. General Assembly session on December, 16, 1971.

The declaration called on the Great Powers to start immediately consultation with the states in the region in order to check the escalation of military presence to dismantle all foreign bases, military installation and means of military communication to prevent the development of nuclear and others mass destruction

¹ Disarmament: The United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations, New York, 1991, p.10.

arms in the India Ocean. The resolution was voted by 61 delegations with no negative vote and 55 abstentions.¹

In 1979 Agreement Governing The Activities Of The States On The Moon And Other Celestial Bodies (agreement on celestial bodies), which prohibits the use of the Moon and other Celestial bodies for military purposes was adopted.²

In 1981 convention on prohibition on restrictions on the use of certain conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects, which restricts or prohibits the use of the mines and booby traps, incendiary weapons and fragments not detectable on an x-ray in the human body was approved.³

The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament was held from June 7 to July 10, 1982 and was addressed by 18 Heads of the state or Government and 44 foreign Ministers. Altogether more than 140 states took part in the general debate.⁴ Over three thousand representatives from four hundred and fifty non governmental organizations in 47 countries around the world also attended the session. Thousand of communications, petitions and

¹ U N Document, A/Res/2832 (XXVI).

² U N Chronicle, Vol. XXV. No.3. Sept., 1988. P.20.

³ P.C. Sinha, UN The Disarmament efforts, *Op. cit.*, p.79.

⁴ Lok Sabha Secretariat "Disarmament and Development New Delhi, Sept., 1986, p.32.

appeals with many millions of signature were received by the United Nations from organizations, groups and individuals all over the world. Over Sixty proposals and position papers by member states were circulated. In contrast to its experience at the first session in 1978 the assembly was unable to reach consensus on any specific course of action.¹

Nuclear Disarmament received particular attention at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament in 1982. However the views expressed by states during the debate were quite different. Non-aligned countries felt that all nations whether or not possessing nuclear weapons and a vital interest in nuclear Disarmament measures because nuclear weapons threatened the entire world. Five draft resolutions two of which dealt solely on the question of non-use nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war were presented at the session. But the possibility of reaching a consensus did not materialise on that occasion and the sponsors therefore, decided not to put them to vote. Three draft resolutions on the question were put to vote at the regular session of the general assembly in 1982. The draft entitled convention on prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, initiated by India and co-sponsored by other Non-aligned countries requested committee on Disarmament to undertake on priority basis negotiations with the view to achieving agreement on an international convention

¹ P.C. Sinha, *Op. cit.*

prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances taking as a basis the text of a draft, convention annexed to the draft resolution. It was adopted by a vote of 117 to 17 (Western States) with 8 abstentions. The draft entitled prevention of nuclear war, also sponsored mainly by Non-aligned states, requested the committee on Disarmament to under take negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on measures to prevent nuclear war. It was adopted by vote of 130 to none, with seventeen abstentions (Western states).¹

The impact of these grand exercises on Disarmament comes out very closely in the observations of the president of General Assembly, Mr. Ismat Kittini. He raised the question in his address. "What has happened during the four years (since 1978) and he proceeded to give the answer himself" we all know the answer, but I want to state it loudly and clearly for the world to hear. Nothing. Not a weapon has been destroyed over the past for years . . ." It is a very sorry record of (The UN's) failure."² Surely there have been over the years several arms control or Disarmament agreement like salt-1, salt – II and IMF treaty.

The Indian proposal as the second special session on Disarmament of the General Assembly called for binding convention on Non-use of nuclear weapons,

¹ P.C. Sinha 50 years of United Nations and World Affairs (New Delhi, 1997) pp 264-265.

² S.C. Gengal in an article '50 years of U.N. and unimpressive record'. The Indian Express. Oct., 26, 1995.

freeze and stoppage of further creation of nuclear weapons, suspension of all nuclear tests, negotiations for reaching a treaty on general and complete Disarmament and public education programme, through the United Nations, highlighting the danger of nuclear war.¹ Unfortunately the second special session could not even draw up a generally accepted document and Indian delegation had to non-co-operate itself from the report prepared. Apart from that the Non-aligned countries could not united at this session demonstrating both lack of purpose with in the movement and victorious efforts by great powers to sow dissensions in their ranks. This failure not at all shocking for there has been a "conspicuous absence of Non-aligned initiative in the last ten years on the question of Disarmament . . . it has very little to contribute directly to the strategy of détente or its realisation."²

In the concluding document of the session, the General Assembly unanimously reaffirmed the final document of the first special session on Disarmament. In other decisions at the second session, the general Assembly decided to launch a world Disarmament Campaign with a view to inform, to educate and generate public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and Disarmament. The observance

¹ Indira Gandhi is message conveyed in foreign Minster Narasinha Rao's statement to the United Nations General Assembly during the second session on Disarmament. This may be seen in Strategic digest (New Delhi) Vol. XII. NO.12 Dec., 1982.

² Nikhil Chakravarthy 'Role of Non-aligned'. World Focus (New Delhi) No.287, Dec., 1982.

each year of disarmament week, beginning with the United Nations Day October 24, was made in integral part of the world Disarmament campaign.¹

The seventh NAM summit at Delhi from March 7th to 12, 1983 gave priority to Nuclear Disarmament and Peace Movement. The political declaration adopted by the summit once again reiterated that "international peace and security can only be ensured through general and complete Disarmament . . . under effective international control". In order to prevent effectively the horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons all urged the nuclear weapon states to adopt urgent measures for halting and reverting the nuclear arms race. The summit called upon the committee on Disarmament "the sole multilateral negotiating body in the field of Disarmament to take concrete measures and urged major nuclear weapon states to pursue their negotiations on arms limitation and Disarmament with great vigour."² Secretary General Javier Perez De Cueller addressing the seventh summit of NAM on 8th March 1983 in New Delhi said, "I believe the Non-aligned movement could play a leading, even decisive role in promoting a more constructive use of the United Nations".

¹ Basic Facts about United Nations, New York, 1983; p. 39-40.

² Seventh Conference of Heads of States on governments of Non-aligned countries, New Delhi, 1983: Documents: NAC/CONF.7 (DOC.1) Rev.2 10 March 1983.

Soon after the New Delhi summit, the then Prime Minister of India. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi who was also the chairperson of the Delhi summit, wrote to various Heads of states or Government of member states of the U.N. with a view to bringing to their attention the New Delhi message and final declaration. The view point of NAM was once again brought to the attention of the world community when she addressed the U.N. general Assembly in September 1983 on behalf of the Non-aligned world.¹

Even after that, the NAM continued its efforts towards Disarmament. A communiqué issued on 5, 1984 at the end of the five day meeting of the foreign members of NAM countries held at the United Nations, appealed to the General powers to undertake "genuine negotiations" in constructive and accommodative spirit in order halt arms race.² The conference of NAM foreign ministers at Luanda, in a communiqué issued on September 8, 1985 expressed deep concern at the renewed escalation of arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. It also stressed the urgent need for a comprehensive treaty on the prohibition of testing all types of nuclear weapons in any medium for all times.³

¹ Seventh Conference of the Heads of States, cited above, pp. 52-54.

² *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October, 7, 1984.

³ *Times of India*, New Delhi, September 9, 1985.

In 1985 Rajeev Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, along with the leaders of Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania made six nation initiative on Nuclear Disarmament. The United Nations has on several occasions emphasized the need for Disarmament, yet no concrete step has been taken other than calling for an end to arms race. The conference of NAM foreign ministers at Luanda in a statement issued on September 8, 1985 expressed deep concern at the renewed escalation of arm race particularly in nuclear weapons of mass destruction. It also stressed the urgent need for a comprehensive treaty on the prohibition of testing all types of nuclear weapons in any medium of all times.¹

The conference of NAM foreign ministers in New Delhi in the political declaration adopted on April, 19, 1986 criticized the concept of "nuclear deference" which they felt had increased insecurity and instability. Stressing that absence of means of verification should not be used as an excuse for the further development of nuclear weapons, they called for moratorium on nuclear testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons while negotiations were on for a comprehensive test ban treaty. Supporting the six-nation Disarmament initiative, they urged the United States to stop nuclear tests and called upon Soviet Union to continue its moratorium until an accord on a comprehensive test ban treaty was signed at least till the next super power summit level meeting. They also emphasized the direct

¹ *Ibid.*

link between peace, Disarmament and development and pointed out that stable development particularly in developing countries, required an end to arms race, especially nuclear arms race.¹

The 8th Non-aligned conference at Harare in 1986 in the political declaration stated that outer space as mankind's common heritage must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes to the benefit and in the interest of all countries. The leaders of Non-aligned countries urged the Geneva conference on Disarmament to begin talks with a view to concluding an accord to prevent the extension of the nuclear arms race to outer space. The Harare conference also urged suspension of the development of anti satellite weapons, elimination of the existing systems, a ban on placing in outer space new weapons systems and full implementation of the existing arms control accords, including ABM treaty. The Non-aligned movement also invited the U.N. Secretary General and the conference of Disarmament to examine international ways and methods of monitoring military satellites.² The third world countries were also unanimous in their call for a total ban on biological weapons. The 8th Non-aligned conference in Harare urged the states to refrain from improving conventional weapons and underlined measures to

¹ Indian Express, New Delhi, April, 20, 1986, Economics times, New Delhi, April, 20, 1986.

² Sahni and Srivastva, *Non-aligned Movement and struggle for peace and Disarmament*, new Delhi, 1989, p.45.

limit and gradually reduce armed forces and underlined measures to limit and gradually reduce armed forces and conventional armaments. A political declaration adopted at Harare reaffirmed the determination of the Non-aligned countries to continue their effort to turn the Indian ocean into a zone of peace.

In 1987 treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic on the Elimination of The Intermediate –Range and Shorter-Range missiles (the INF treaty), the first accord reached between the two countries to reduce nuclear weapons, actually totally eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles. The treaty which covers nuclear missiles with a range of 500 – 5,500 kilo meters (300-3, 400 miles) will require the Soviet Union to destroy 1,752 such missiles and the United States to destroy 859 within a period of three years.¹

The Disarmament theory ignores the idea of international rivalry. But this Disarmament will not eliminate a nation's will to wage war. The stoppage of arms race is the key to the solution of the global issues. NAM's and UNO's inability to prevent wars within the group members gives us a dark picture. Even then the historic role played by NAM and UN for of peace and Disarmament is really praiseworthy. Due to the constant struggle of NAM within and outside UN international tension has been lessened.

¹ U.N. Chronicle. Sept. 1988, p.21.

In the field of Peace and Disarmament the direct contribution of Non-aligned movement for obvious reasons, is rather limited but indirectly by spreading the acceptability of Non-alignment as a principle of foreign policy for many developing countries, it has limited the zone of conflict between the super powers and thereby has had a dampening influence on the East-West crisis. In some cases such as Iran hostage crisis, Non-alignment provided the basis for Algerian success in defusing the crisis. However the movement has been plagued by the continuing tendency among member countries to take to arms to solve their territorial disputes with other member countries. This has certainly undermined the credibility of the movement.¹

A careful examination of U.N. activities reveals that the Non-aligned countries play a very active role in the introduction of new resolutions and the passage of all resolutions. It would be incorrect to assume that the Non-aligned countries act as a unified bloc in the U.N. system. The movement is not a political party, rather members act as a coalition group within the U.N. supporting issues with which they find themselves in agreement, particularly those conforming to be principles of Non-alignment. They are primarily responsible for example, for calling of the two special sessions on Disarmament at the United Nations. Within

¹ Linus Pauling (Ed.), *Op.cit.*, p.64.

the U.N. the Non-aligned have also pushed for the rights of indigenous peoples and end to colonialism and racism in all their forms. ¹

¹ Singham, A.W. "Principles of Non-alignment" in Bajpai (Ed.), 'Non-alignment Perspectives and Prospects', New Delhi, 1983. p.15.

CONCLUSION

O. Suryanarayanan “Role of the non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament 1960 - 1987 ” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2002

CONCLUSION

The Non-aligned movement could play a leading, even decisive role in promoting a more constructive use of United Nations. If the resources of statesmanship commanded by the movement, fully applied in the wider forum of world organization for Peace and Disarmament, will greatly benefit the world community as a whole. Non-alignment has many dimensions. It has played with considerable success its political role of hastening the process of decolonisation and national liberation and progressing freedom and equality. It has also evolved adequate responses to make its force felt in international economic relations.¹ In the field of Disarmament and Peace the direct contribution of the movement for obvious reasons, is rather limited but indirectly by spreading the idea of Non-alignment as a principle of foreign policy for many developing countries, it has limited the zone conflict between the super powers and there by has had a further reducing effect on the East-West crisis. The Non-aligned Movement repeatedly comes out for maintenance of peace, the cessation of arms race and the peaceful co-existence of all states.² Disarmament will only become a reality when political conditions permit a definition of security which approximate something altogether

¹ K.B. Lall and s.D. Muni, "Non-alignment and the New International Economic Order" in Misra and K.R. Narayanan. *Op. cit.*, pp: 135-53.

² D.R. Goyal, "Secular Democracy of Global Scale" in his own edited Book, *Non-Alignment Concept and Concern*, Delhi, 1986, p.31.

different than it cannots at present absolutely uncontrolled dependence upon advanced military technology.¹

The Non-aligned countries had made a major contribution to the effort of the United Nations Organization to establish peace. It was on the initiative of Non-aligned countries that two special Disarmament Sessions of U.N. General Assembly, were called in 1978 and in 1982. In the General Assembly, India submitted a draft resolution declaring that the use of Nuclear weapons would be against the charter of the United Nations and a crime against humanity and should therefore be prohibited pending Nuclear Disarmament. As all decisions meant to be taken by consensus, India did not press its draft to vote. However, at the following session of the General Assembly in 1978 the draft was submitted again co-sponsored by 34 countries mostly Non-aligned and adopted by a vote of 103 to 18 (United States and other western countries) with 18 abstentions (USSR and other Eastern European countries). At the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament in 1982, the draft entitled convention of prohibition of the use of Nuclear Weapons initiated by India and co-sponsored by many Non-aligned countries, requested the committee on Disarmament to undertake on priority basis negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on an international convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons

¹ Mac Graham, Chris Smith, "Disarmament and Development", in Linus Pauling (Ed.), *Op. cit.*, p.2.

under any circumstances, taking as basis the text of a draft convention annexed to the draft resolution. It was adopted by a vote of 117 to 17 (western States) with 8 abstentions. The draft entitled prevention of Nuclear War, was also sponsored by Non-aligned countries.

Non-alignment contributed to the political stability of post colonial societies as the key input in the process of nation-building, economic development and building of liberal-democratic institutions. At the global phase, the Non-aligned movement contributed to the lessening of international tensions.¹ Today UN has become a forum for lively debates on the real issues that face mankind, namely poverty, peace and human equality. Non-aligned countries must take considerable credit for strengthening and improving the level of discussion at the UN. In the final analysis the Non-aligned Movement has been responsible for the democratization of international relations. Leo Mates, one of the leading theoreticians on Non-alignment says " there may be different opinions about their (ie., non-aligned countries) role in some of the crisis and tense situations, but it is difficult to deny that they have contributed to the easing of the cold war by the very fact of their existences and of their increasing numbers."

The holding of the two special sessions on Disarmament, the proposal of the New International Economic order, de-colonization and opposition to neo-

¹ Ashwini K. Ray, "Non-Alignment: Retrospect and Prospect", in K.P. Misra (Ed), *Non-alignment and Neutrality*, New Delhi, 1982, p. 73.

colonialism, formulation of two covenants on human rights, promotion of the principle of Universality of membership, democratization of the UN structure, the assertion of the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of member states – all these could not have been achieved without the support of the Non-aligned states. The Non-aligned Nations especially after achieving majority of the membership of the United Nations have sought to use the UN forum for voicing the needs and aspirations of small, the weak and the new states in an international system that has been the subject of great power hegemony for centuries.¹

The world is engaged in potentially self-destroying arms races. It is worthless to argue whether the nuclear arms race or conventional arms race is more dangerous. In fact both are dangerous. Although a nuclear war will very likely destroy much if not the whole mankind, it is also a fact that since Hiroshima and Nagasaki no one has been killed by a nuclear bomb even though twenty six million people have been killed in conventional wars.² According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in 1984 since thirty-nine years of existence of the U.N., over hundred armed conflicts have occurred and more than 26 million people were killed. After 1945 nearly all the armed conflicts occurred

¹ Chars H. Heimsath and Surjith Manisingh, *A Diplomatic History of Modern India*, Bombay, 1971, p.84.

² T.T.B. Koch, "Non-aligned in Strengthening in United Nations", in M.S. Rajan, U.S. Mani and CSR Murthy (Ed.), *The Non-Aligned and the United Nations*, New Delhi, 1987, p.290.

were between the third world countries, many of them are members of Non-alignment Movement. As Rikhi Jaipal points out "There are on record, some 37 disputed borders conceiving Non-aligned countries . . . In addition there are some twenty Non-aligned countries now engaged in hostilities on subjected to foreign occupation in Africa, Asia and Latin America, were the Great powers are also involved directly of indirectly.¹ But Non-alignment can strengthen the United Nations in the field of maintenance of international peace and security by adopting the following measures.

1. Non-aligned Movement must call a spade a spade. If a friendly country or a member country has violated the rule of law, the movement must have the audacity to point out that.
2. The Non-aligned Movement should insist that its members should follow the policy of NAM strictly.
3. NAM should support the U.N. Secretary General in his efforts to mediate in disputes and conflicts between states.

The Non-aligned movement is not using the United Nations properly to bring about great progress in the field of arms control and Disarmament. The following reasons attribute to that. First, the Non-aligned movement has lost its

¹ Rikhi Jaipal, *Non-alignment: Origin Growth and Potential for World Peace*, New Delhi, 1983, p.178.

original prestige and glory which it possessed during the days of great statesman like Nehru, Tito and Nasser. Second, the Non-aligned Movement does not have the unity which the movement enjoyed during the early years. The main reason for this is the infiltration of the movement by a group of countries such as Cuba, Vietnam, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Syria, Mozambique, Angola and others which are not Non-aligned but which are allies of the Soviet Union. The presence within the movement of these groups of countries is a constant source of friction and disunity, because they try at every turn, to attach the Non-aligned train to the Soviet locomotive.¹ Membership of the Non-aligned movement has generally included some political organization of countries, which are not members of United Nations, except of Cairo summit (1964). At Belgrade summit (1961); Algeria, though invited as a full member of the summit, was not a member of the United Nations. At the Havana summit (1979), four participants were not members of the United Nations – the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), The People's Republic of Korea (North), the Patriotic front of Zimbabwe and the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO). Third, in the movement itself, the presence of a Pro-Soviet fraction, the movement is neither objective nor impartial in dealings with the super powers. Fourth, very few Non-aligned countries have been prepared to assign representatives to work on a full time basis in the field of arms control and Disarmament. Fifth, the Non-aligned movement has never had the courage of

¹ T.T. B. Koch, *Op. cit.*, p.290.

facing the difficult issue of conventional arms race. The conventional arms race was taking place not only between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, it is also occurring between certain regional rivals in the Third World. Until NAM has the audacity to face up this issue, it can have very little moral standing by preaching sermons to others.¹

The foreign Minister's conference of Non-aligned nations was held in New Delhi from 9 February to 13 February 1981. The New Delhi conference of Foreign Ministers, which also celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the first Non-aligned summit, issued a plea for the "avoidance of War and (the) consolidation of international peace and security". Whereas the message of Belgrade summit on the same topic was directed to the super powers only, the New Delhi appeal was directed to all nations.²

The global strategic situations continues to be controlled by the super powers. The content of mutual relations of those super powers has undergone various changes. Whereas the military blocs do not now manifest the same degree of cohesion as before, the relations between the super powers appear to have entered upon a era of a new cold war. This era is marked by near strategic parity between the two super powers. This in effect makes it rather unlikely for them to

¹ *Ibid.*, p.290.

² *The Times of India*, New Delhi, 12 February, 1981.

engage in a direct conflict. At the same however the super powers show a greater interest to encourage and control conflict in the third world to serve their own respective strategic goals.¹ In addition to the relations between the super powers, new areas of strategic concern have emerged. One such area is the increasing arms build-up in the Third World both in the field of conventional weapons and in the field of capabilities.² This is closely connected to a spurt in inter-state conflicts, local wars and internal mutinies and insurgencies in the Third World.³

As a result of the changing strategic relations and the increasing number of conflicts in the Third World, military interventions directly and indirectly by the super powers have increased. Take for example the crisis in the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and El Salvador, as also the US proposal for the establishment of a Rapid Development Force (RDF) by 1985 for the use against targets in the Third World. NAM is therefore faced with the situation when, instead of fighting exclusively with each other, the super powers are fighting directly or indirectly within and through the Third World. Further, the Non-aligned countries are facing a threat, not only from the super powers but also from their

¹ K. Subramaniyan, "The New Cold War", *Strategic Analysis*, New Delhi, Vol. 4. Nos. 5-6 August-September, 1980, pp: 272-89.

² Edward A. Kolodziej and Robert Harkavy, "Developing States and International System", *Journal of International Affairs*, New York, Spring/summer, 1980, pp. 59-87.

³ Andre Gunder Frank, "Arms Economy and Warfare in the Third World" *Third World Quarterly*, London, Vol. 2, April, 1980, pp. 228-50.

internal conflicts. The Non-aligned countries never anticipated such a situation. They have not framed any formula to challenge this situation. All that they have done so far is to reiterate their opposition to intervention. They have also condemned specific instances of such intervention etc., on the part of the super powers.¹ Special resolutions on development in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America (Chile and Puerto Rico), Vietnam, Cambodia etc., were adopted at the summits held in Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973), Colombo (1976) and Havana (1979). Similar resolutions were passed at the ministerial conference also.

The Non-aligned enjoyed a large proportion of vote in the General Assembly. The General Assembly is the forum, which gives nations, which would otherwise be voiceless, a voice in the world. All members in the General Assembly irrespective of their size and weight have one vote. Since the Non-aligned countries command a majority in the Assembly, they can easily push a resolution through the Assembly. The Security Council becomes an exceptionally important body to the vast majority of Non-aligned countries. The Non-aligned countries are a majority in the Security Council, but this majority is made impotent by the veto power of the permanent members.² Secretary General Javier Perez De Cuellar

¹ Ranko Petkovic, "Non-intervention and Non-interference within the System of Collective Security and Non-aligned Policy", in K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan, *Op.cit.*, Pp: 108-21.

² A.W. Singham, "Principles of Non-alignment" in Bajpai (Ed.), *Non-Alignment Perspectives and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1983, p.16.

addressing the Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-aligned movement on 8th March 1983 in New Delhi said, "As the Non-aligned movement now comprises a vast world-wide constituency, I believe that the part played by it is crucial to any serious enterprises of the United Nations. The security council in its present composition has eight Non-aligned members, a highly significant proportion".¹ In so far as the movement is concerned with creating a sense of awareness among the member countries of the need for collective action against the arbitrary actions of the super powers, the Non-aligned movement has devoted its best efforts to identifying goals for the world community to pursue. The Non-aligned countries can play an active role to strengthen the practical capacity of the United Nations to resolve the great issues of our time.

On number of occasions the Non-aligned countries have taken initiative at the United Nations on various issues. Such initiative however was invariably been qualified by an important factor: the countries concerned were acting or reacting singly or collectively as individual members of the United Nations and not at the behest of Non-aligned group or in responses to decision taken by their consultative/coordinating committee. Here again, more often than not, the initiative by member states having Non-aligned status was diplomatically maneuvered by one or both the super powers in order to reap political advantage. For instance during the Arab-Israeli War 1973 the two super powers jointly led the

¹ UN Chronicle, Vol. XX, 1983, No.2, p.2.

security council to act to their "dictation" which resulted in two resolutions, S/338 and S/339 of 22 and 23 October 1973 respectively. Having set the council to a particular course of action, they let the eight Non-aligned countries (acting in their individual capacity) to sponsor a proposal of establishing UNEF II vide S/340 (1973), 25 October, 1973. The third resolution helped to lessen the criticism of super power dictation.¹

If we critically examined the Non-aligned movement it can be seen that more than two-third of the so called Non-aligned countries drew inspiration and strength not so much from their Non-aligned states as from the major centres of the Economic power of the World, particularly London, Moscow, Paris and Washington D.C. of course, there are other competing centres for instance Beijing, Bonn and Tokyo. So Non-alignment is like a hat that has lost its shape and identity because of too many people wearing it without consideration of size.² A quick count of the leading international disputes of the last two decades in which one or more Non-aligned countries have been involved would suggest that the Non-aligned movement has failed to provide Non-aligned solutions to all of them. They

¹ UN Chronicle, Vol. 17, Nov. 2, March, 1980.

² Anton Vratusa, "Non-Alignment and the United Nations", in K.P. Misra (Ed.), *Op. cit.*, p.101.

are 1) Sino-Indian border dispute; 2) the Arab-Israeli dispute' 3) the Vietnam-Kampuchean dispute; 4) the Afghanistan question and 5) Iranian-Iraqi dispute.¹

The Non-aligned movement has been criticized by many. The critics have highlighted the heterogeneity of membership and expressed the view that such a large unwieldy body cannot take any practical decisions. This may be true but on the other hand it can be argued that diversity, looseness and flexibility is the strength of the movement. After all, the member countries "belong to different continents and cultures, their nature and level of socio-economic development is not the same, their geo-political compulsion vary considerably, their historical experience is distinctive and above all, the international political perspectives of that ruling elites, though broadly similar, are far from identical. In other words, there is great deal of variety and diversity which calls for a far degree of flexibility and dynamism.² Non-alignment if it is to survive as a dynamic international movement covering more than two-thirds of the countries of the world, should prescribe only broad and generalized ideology, barring the specifics and details of each country to fill according to its national needs and requirements.

¹ Sathish Kumar, "Non-alignment as a Diplomatic Strategy", in K.P. Misra (Ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

² K.P. Misra, 'Ideological basis of Non-Alignment', in Kochler. H. (Ed.), *The Principles of Non-Alignment*, London, 1982.

It is also pointed out by critics that the movement takes a less critical view of the Eastern bloc than of the West. Typical examples of this would be a more vocal criticism by India of the Anglo-French action on Suez than the Soviet action on Hungary. United States action in Vietnam was criticized like anything. But at the same time Soviet involvement in Afghanistan is viewed in a mild manner. The Non-aligned movement must take such threats seriously by and raise its collective voice against them if it hopes to retain credibility.¹

The greatest act of creative statesmanship of the 20th century was the founding of Non-aligned movement. The meaning of Non-alignment, causes of Non-alignment, motives of Non-alignment, Role of Non-aligned movement in U.N.O. For peace and Disarmament from 1960 to 1987 and the importance given by Non-aligned countries for economic liberation are discussed briefly in this thesis. The Non-aligned movement made the United Nations organization a more powerful instrument for maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of justice in international relations. This aspect is highlighted in the first chapter of the thesis. Non-Aligned Nations in fact reduced international tensions and amplified the idea that arms control and Disarmament is the only cure to the problem posed by war.

¹ Linus Pauling (Ed.), *Op. cit.*, p.65.

In the second chapter of the thesis. The evolution of the Non-aligned movement from Belgrade to Harare or its history of little over twenty five years are discussed and pointed out that one of the highly significant truth about NAM is its staunch commitment of strengthening the U.N.O. with remarkable ability from its very inception. All important aspects discussed by the eight summit of Non-aligned countries are stated in a detailed manner.

At the first Non-aligned summit meeting or the Belgrade summit in 1961, the conference called upon great powers to conduct Disarmament talks under an auspices and conclude a treaty on "General and complete" Disarmament. Greater realism has accrued over years and it is now recognised that total Disarmament must be sought in incremental stages with emphasis being placed on nuclear Disarmament. Hence later resolutions adopted in all summits including Harare have called for banning of Nuclear tests, destroying existing stock-piles, regional de-nuclearisation and assurance from nuclear weapon powers that they would not use or threaten use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

Disarmament ultimately depends on far-reaching change in the political and economic structure of the world, leading to a removal of the basic causes of war. Proceeding towards the new international economic order and establishing socially just societies could alone remove those fundamental causes of conflict. How the frame work and the design of a new international order was made at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, how it originated the demand of the newly

independent developing countries for a better ordering of international economy and trade relations, the dire need of the new international economic order India's role in the birth of New International Economic order are properly analyzed in the third chapter.

The next chapter is devoted to the role of the Non-aligned nations in U.N.O. For peace and Disarmament. How Non-aligned countries became active champions of peace and Disarmament in U.N. is described in detail. It is also stressed that Disarmament would permit the creation of new international security regime based upon the principles of co-operation and mutual accommodation between states of replace the present system which works so much to the disadvantage of weaker states.

Finest ideals of Non-aligned movement is a hope of humanity. Those ideals will deliver the goods in future. Non-aligned countries are not United by blood, birth or soil. They are bound by ideals and inspire them to play an active role in UN for peace and Disarmament. Time alone will show how far the Non-aligned nations will succeed in making use of United Nations for peace and Disarmament. When Non-aligned nations succeed in that the narrow nationalism and irrationality in world affairs will disappear. At that time if we hope for the best type of freedom which Rabindranath Tagore wished for India in the past and by implication all countries may come to true.

"Where the mind is without fear and
The head is held high;
Where the world has not been
Broken up into fragments by narrow
Domestic walls
Where words come out from the
Depth of truth;
Where the clear stream for reason has
Not lost its way into the dreary desert-
Sand of dead habit;
Into that heaven of freedom, my
Father, let my country awake".

May this vision Tagore motivate the Non-aligned countries to play a useful
role in the U.N.

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