CHAPTER III

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

ANTICOLONIALISM

It has been pointed out that from the beginning anticolonialism was one of the criteria of Nonalignment. At Belgrade Summit self-determination and liquidation of colonialism took the prominent position on the agenda. At the First Summit Conference in Belgrade in 1961, the founders of the Movement affirmed: All Nations have the right of unity, self-determination and independence by virtue of which right of them can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance and lasting peace can be achieved only if this confrontation leads to a world where the domination of colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism in their manifestations are radically eliminated (Declaration Belgrade Summit, 1961).

The participants in the conference demanded the immediate termination of all colonial occupation and the restoration of the territorial integrity to the rightful people in countries in which it has been violated in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the withdrawal of foreign
forces from their national soil. The participating countries demanded the immediate evacuation of French armed forces from the whole of the Tunisian Territory in accordance with the legitimate right of Tunisia to the exercise of its full National Sovereignty. The participating countries in the Congo must not be repeated and they feel that it is the duty of the World community to continue to do every thing in its power in order to erase the consequences, to prevent any further foreign intervention in this young African state and to enable the Congo to embark freely upon the road of its independent development based on respect for its sovereignty, unity and its territorial integrity. The participants in the conference resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid practized by the Union of South Africa and demand the immediate abandonment of this policy. They further stated that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the World constitutes a grave violation of the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The participating countries declared solemnly the absolute respect of the right of ethnic or religious minorities to be protected in particular against crimes of genocide or any other violation of their foundamental human rights. The participants in the conference declared their support for the full restoration of all the rights of the
Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the charter and resolution of the United Nations. 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 the sovereignty of such states. They declared their support to countries who are endeavouring to secure the vacation of these bases. They called upon those countries maintaining foreign bases to consider seriously their abolition as a contribution to World Peace. They also acknowledged that the North American military base at Guantanamo, Cuba, to the presence of which the Government and people of Cuba have expressed their opposition, affects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.¹

Thus since the First Summit Conference, the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism in any of its forms and the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of all nations and on that basis to create a lasting peace in the World, have been regarded as the goals of the Nonaligned Movement.

The Nonaligned Countries declared that lasting World Peace cannot be realized so long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their fundamental right to freedom, independence and
self determination. Imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger World Peace and security. The participants in the conference deplore that the declaration of the United Nations on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples has not been implemented everywhere and call for the unconditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism now. At present a particular cause of concern is the military or other assistance extended to certain countries to enable them to perpetuate by force colonialist and neocolonialist situations which are contrary to the spirit of the charter of the United Nations. The exploitation by colonialist forces of the difficulties and problems of recently liberated or developing countries, interference in the internal affairs of these states, and colonialist attempts to maintain unequal relationships, particularly in the economic field, constitute a serious danger to these young countries. Colonialism has many forms and manifestations. Imperialism uses many to impose its will on independent nations. Economic pressure and domination, subversion, intervention and the threat of force are the neocolonialist devices against which the newly independent nations have to defend themselves. The conference condemns all colonialist, neocolonialist and imperialist policies applied in various parts of the World.
For the first time since its inception, the Third Summit Conference asserted that the Nonaligned Movement was the product of the antiimperialist revaluation in the World, affirmed the antiimperialist character of the movement and worked out concrete measures to support the surging movement for national liberation in Africa. The conference categorically exposed and condemned neocolonialism, considering it a more suitable but more dangerous means to impose economic and political domination over the developing countries.  

The Algiers Summit Conference left the lasting memory in the movement with its political declaration of strong support and encouragement to the anti-imperialist struggle for total liberation of the remaining colonies in Africa and with its manifestation of economic emancipation and ownership of natural resources by the developing countries, starting all sided attack on imperialism.  

The Fifth Conference at Colombo witnessed a historical moment when South Vietnam was completely liberated. The conference hailed victory of the Vietnam's people and supported the Lao people and the Kampuchan people in their fight against aggression and the liberation of the peoples of Guinea, Bissau, Capeverde, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe. The conference also reaffirmed that the aim of the Movement in the new circumstances was to oppose imperialism, colonialism and
neocolonialism, apartheid, zionism and racism as well as any other form of foreign domination.\(^5\)

The Sixth Summit Conference started a new development in the Nonaligned Movement - the victorious fight against the counter-attack by the imperialists. All attempts at leading the movement away from the goal of anti-imperialism and undermining and dividing the movement have failed. The Polpot regime was expelled from the movement. The traitor to the cause of the Palastinian and other Arab peoples has been energetically condemned.\(^6\)

The Seventh Summit Conference gave top priority to the threat arising out of nuclear weapons. The New Delhi Conference was unique in many respects. The conference had many important issues to discuss, including the question of independence of Namibia, the ending of the racist regime in South Africa, recognition of Peoples Republic of Kampuchea, establishment of New International Economic Order. Their common commitment to World Peace, justice and cooperation, to elimination of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, racism, zionism, interventionism, hegemonism, expansionism and destabilisationism, but was careful to exclude from the litary capitalism and communism which are at the roots of these phenomena.\(^7\)
The Harare Summit Conference coincided with the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Nonaligned Movement and also used as an occasion for stock taking. Despite some of the lapses of the movement in obtaining practical result through collective action, its membership has more than quadrupled, and its summit conferences have drawn international attention. The experience of the last 25 years has shown that Nonaligned countries have had to pay a price often costly, for their Nonalignment. In times of emergency they have had to seek external aid from bloc countries so as to maintain, ironically their Nonalignment. Nonaligned countries, orphans of a colonial past have made and to make substantial contribution to the general danger from over population. These countries are a peculiar mixture of freedom and determinism, and they signify movement without progress.  

POLICY OF APARTHEID

The spirit of freedom and equality burns fierce in the human heart, yet there is no lack of agents to suppress it. Even in the last quarters of the twentieth century, with its mind-boggling technological advances, where the equality of all men has come to be accepted as an undisputed norms, in one corner of the World in South Africa, prevails a system based on the outdated concept of the supremacy of one particular race over the other. And the hateful system of Apartheid remains as an ugly scab on the face of humanity.
deriving sustenance from the paltry economic and other narrow interests of its few powerful backers. But peoples who once underwent the ignominy of being a subject race and who had to fight bitterly to throw off the colonial yoke, can not bear the persistence of apartheid. It is no wonder, then that the Nonaligned Movement, which brings together nations that have experienced the humiliation of subjugation and the thrill of attaining freedom, should fight to free the black majority in South Africa from the racial burden of apartheid. \(^9\)

At the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi on March 23, 1947, Nehru said "We of Asia have a special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to their rightful place in the human family". Through this historic clarion call, an Asian leader for the first time expressed Asia's solidarity with the people of Africa. A background paper on racial problems prepared for the conference, though it did not specifically mention South Africa by name, said that "the concepts of racial superiority and practice of racial discrimination were relentlessly being swept into the dustbin of history" and that the searching review that was being made of them at the United Nations and to a certain degree in this conference.\(^{10}\)
At the Asian African Nations Conference held from April 18 to 24, 1955 often called the Bandung Conference the obnoxious racial policies of South Africa came in for strong condemnation. The Asian African Conference developed the policies of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of Government and human relations in large regions of Africa and other parts of the world. Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of fundamental values of civilisation and the dignity of man.

The conference extended its warm sympathy and support to the courageous stand taken by the victims of social discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa, applauded all those who sustained their cause, reaffirmed the determination of Asian and African peoples to eradicate any trace of racism that might exist in their own countries and pledged to use its full moral influence against the danger of falling victims of the same evil in the struggle to eradicate it.11

The Belgrade Declaration stated, "the participants in the conference resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid practiced by the Union of South Africa and demand the
immediate abandonment of this policy". They further stated that policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world constitutes a grave violation of the charter of the United Nations and the universal declaration of Human Rights.12

CAIRO SUMMIT OF NONALIGNED, 1964

In the Cairo Summit, the Organisation of African Unity was accorded the importance that was its due, with its Secretary-General present as an observer. Decrying the policy of apartheid the Cairo Declaration castigated South Africa's friends and allies particularly some major powers. The Cairo declaration warned South Africa obliquely that if it continued with its racial policies the Nonaligned Nations would not tolerate much longer its presence in the community of nations.

On the issue of sanctions against South Africa, the Cairo declaration stated the following:

1. The conference regrets to note that the Pretoria Government's obstinacy in defying the conscience of mankind has been strengthened by the refusal of its friends and allies, particularly some major powers, to implement United Nations resolutions concerning sanctions against South Africa.
2. The conference therefore:

a) Calls upon all states to boycott all South African goods and to refrain from exporting goods, especially arms, ammunition, oil and minerals to South Africa;

b) Calls upon all states which have not yet done so to break off diplomatic, consular and other relations with South Africa;

c) Requests the Governments represented at this conference to deny airport and overflying facilities to aircraft and port facilities to ships proceeding to and from South Africa and to discontinue all road or railway traffic with that country;

d) Demands the release of all persons imprisoned interned or subjected to other restrictions on account of their opposition to the policy of apartheid;

e) Invites all countries to give their support to the special bureau set up by the Organisation of African Unity for the application of sanctions against South Africa.
LUSAKA SUMMIT, 1970

The following were the important features of the Lusaka Summit in relation to the struggle against apartheid:

1. Meeting for the first time in a front line state, the accent was on the Southern African situation. The Nonaligned countries sharply attacked South African racial policies. It helped to draw greater international attention to the problem of South Africa. There was also wider sympathy for Zambia which has been in the vanguard of the struggle against racism.

2. The United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan were named and condemned for their political and military collaboration with the Government of South Africa. This encourages and incites the Pretoria Government to persist in its racial policy, the declaration said. It urged the Government of the United Kingdom to reconsider forthwith its declared intention to resume the sale of arms to the racist regime.

3. The summit resolved to impose an embargo on trade with the three enemies of Africa; Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to sever diplomatic relations with Portugal and South Africa, to deny landing rights and all facilities
to any aircraft and vessels coming from or heading to those countries and to increase support and material aid to liberation movements through the Organisation of African Unity.

4. The Lusaka Summit denounced South Africa's outward 'looking' foreign policy through which the regime was trying to create a buffer zone of puppet states in its borders in order to defend and entrench apartheid.

5. The summit pointed out that, while the immediate danger of a conflict between the super powers had lessened, the continued oppression and subjugation of the African people in South Africa by the racist and colonial minority regime posed a serious threat to international peace and security. It said "the situation is becoming dangerously explosive as a result of the collusion between certain developed countries of the West and racist minority regimes in this part of the World".14

ALGIERS SUMMIT, 1973

A significant advance in the Nonaligned struggle against apartheid was the assertion made at the Algiers Summit to the effect that armed struggle was the only way to end colonial and racial discrimination. The Algiers Declaration
stated that "apartheid in South Africa is more than a system of racial discrimination: it is primarily a form of colonialism". It further stated that the strengthened military alliance "has already made itself known in the frequent intervention of South African troops in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola". Going a step further than the declaration of the Cairo and Lusaka Summits which had called for the release of political prisoners of South Africa, the Algiers Summit viewed "with profound anxiety" the uninterrupted imprisonment for over ten years of the leaders of the liberation movement such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others. Serious concern was expressed by the summit at the large scale expansion of military means of South Africa through the region.15

COLOMBIO SUMMIT, 1976

When the Nonaligned Countries met in Colombo, the situation in South Africa had radically changed with the independence of Angola and Mozambique, much to the satisfaction of the Frontline States and of the liberation movements. The Nonaligned leaders felt that this improved situation provided new horizons for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.
The Colombo Summit, for the first time ever dedicated a separate section of its declaration to Africa's role in giving a firm anti-colonial and anti-racist content to the Movement. The conference noted that the identification of the African continent as a whole with Nonalignment was a development. Africa gave numerical strength to the movement which contributed to making it a powerful force in the United Nations.

The Colombo Summit also recognised the important role played by the United Nations in regard to the elimination of the evil of apartheid, especially the role played by the United Nations special committee against apartheid. But the declaration also noted that the effectiveness of the United Nations has been limited because of the attitude of a few western powers which continue to collaborate with Pretoria.

HAVANA SUMMIT, 1979

When the sixth Nonaligned Summit met in Havana the Nonaligned were convinced that the decisive stage in the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa had begun. They decided to admit the patriotic front of Zimbabwe and the South-West Africa Organisation as full members of the movement. The Havana Summit commended the Africans for the Unswerving struggle they were waging for their full and complete
independence and recognised the role that the Nonaligned Countries, the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Socialist Countries, the Scandinavian Countries and other democratic and progressive forces played in supporting the struggle, especially in terms of aid given to the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The Havana Summit declared that Southern Africa as a whole constituted one, single theater of operation in which apartheid in South Africa was the central issue. "Freedom peace, security and progress cannot be achieved in Southern Africa unless the apartheid system of institutionalised racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression is suppressed and replaced by a democratic state, whose policy will conform to the principles of the organisation of African unity, the Nonaligned Movement and the United Nations".  

NEW DELHI SUMMIT, 1983

The period between the Havana Summit and the New Delhi Summit of the Nonaligned, saw a marked deterioration of the international political climate". The crisis in the process of detente has once again posed a threat to World peace and stability".
The grave concern of the Seventh Summit over the disturbed international situation was reflected in its declaration concerning South Africa and the apartheid. The conference condemned the United States policy of "constructive engagement" as aimed at countering the international campaign for the total isolation of apartheid in South Africa.

Peace, disarmament, development and cooperation are ideal that interest the Nonaligned countries as a whole. Regional issues, however, need in-depth attention from the regional groups. With the growth of a membership of the Movement, the regional groups - African, Arab, Latin American and South-East Asian - have come to assume greater importance. 18

HARARE SUMMIT, 1986

Harare Summit declaration against apartheid calls for the United Nations Security Council to impose sanctions against South Africa in the hope that Pretoria Regime be compelled to abolish apartheid and also withdraw from Nambia. In the event of South Africa taking retaliatory action against the neighbouring African states, the summit decided to setup a Solidarity Fund for providing assistance to the affected states. 19
DISARMAMENT

The First Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries which was held at Belgrade was considered that the parties concerned and more particularly the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. should immediately suspend their recent war preparations and approaches, take no steps that would aggravate or contribute to further deterioration in the situation, and resume negotiations for a peaceful settlement of any outstanding difference between them with due regard to the principles of the United Nations charter and continue negotiations until both they and the rest of the World achieve total disarmament and enduring peace. 20

The Second Summit Conference decided the programme for peace and international cooperation and special emphasis on disarmament and termination of military pacts, foreign troops and bases. The conference emphasised "the paramount importance of disarmament as one of the basic problems of the contemporary World" and stressed the necessity of reaching immediate and practical solutions which would free mankind from the danger of war and from a sense of insecurity. It regretted that despite the efforts of the members of the 18 Nation Committee on Disarmament, and in particular those of the Nonaligned Countries, the results have not been satisfactory. It urged The Great Powers, in collaboration
with the other members of that committee, to renew their efforts with determination with a view to the rapid conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.  

Lusaka Summit was the third milestone of the Nonaligned Movement. The conference was conscious of the threat to mankind posed by ever-spiralling arms race, especially in view of the existing large stockpiles of and impending new qualitative advance in the ever more devastating nature of nuclear armaments, the Heads of State or Government reaffirm their conviction, expressed at the Belgrade and Cairo Summit Conferences of Nonaligned Countries, the general and complete disarmament under effective international control is the most imperative and urgent need at the international community today. The conference welcomed the designation of 1970s as the "Disarmament Decade". The participating countries are determined to spare no efforts with a view to ensuring the success of the disarmament decade. They will cooperate closely among themselves and with other likeminded countries to help in the drawing up of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The conference is of the opinion that general priorities should be followed in drawing up this programme.  

The Fourth Conference has gone down in the history of the movement. The general declaration adopted by the Algiers Conference welcomed improvement in East West relations and said "detente in the relations between the East and the
West is major achievement of the peace process". The declaration stressed that the policy of Nonaligned Countries included cooperation with other peace loving, democratic and progressive forces, and constitutes an important factor in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the peoples and states, for universal peace and the security of all peoples for implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence, the democratisation of international relations, equal cooperation, economic development and progress, general and complete disarmament, including, in particular nuclear disarmament, under effective international control, is essential for the strengthening of international security. The Nonaligned Countries are convinced that the ever spiralling arms race is inimical to World Peace and security and serves only to increase tension in the World.23

The Colombo Summit Conference devoted considerable attention to the easing of World tension, to disarmament and to the consolidation of World Peace. The conference noted that World situation was becoming favourable to Nonalignment. The conference expressed its conviction that universal peace and security can be assured only by general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, under effective international control and that essential measures to that end should include the complete cessation
of all nuclear weapon tests pending the conclusion of a Test-ban Treaty, an unequivocal renunciation of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapon as well as chemical, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction and the elimination of arsenals of all such weapons.\textsuperscript{24}

The Havana Conference took a principled stand on all basic issues of World Policy, a stand serving the interest of peace and progress. Its documents underline the importance of strengthening the solidarity of forces fighting against imperialism and for ending colonialism in all its forms for strengthening peace, for disarmament. The conference reaffirmed the adherence of Nonaligned Countries to the objective of general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament under effective international control and determination to act within the United Nations and other bodies to achieve this objective. It drew attention once again to the fact that the Final Document of the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, convened at the initiative of the Nonaligned Countries, represents a solid basis for setting in motion the process of real disarmament, relieving mankind from the horrors of war and eliminating the increasing threats to human survival.\textsuperscript{26}
The New Delhi Summit gave top priority to the threat arising out of nuclear weapons. The political declaration, in fact, dramatically highlighted the situation by linking it with the very existence of the human race. The greatest peril facing the World today is the threat to the survival of mankind from a nuclear war. Disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, is no longer a moral issue; it is an issue of human survival. Thus instead of treating disarmament as a moral issue, it was taken up as something which vitally affected the very survival of humankind on the one hand and peace, independence and economic development, on the other. In the understanding of the Nonaligned States, disarmament is an urgent and practical necessity for all. The summit, therefore, gave a call for nuclear disarmament.27

The Harare Summit Conference would like to see that statement in a legally binding international convention foreveraing the use of nuclear weapons. The destinies of nations are in the hands of states that are possessed by and manifest the evil they see in each other, and have armed themselves with nuclear weapons. The destruction of mankind and indeed of science by its own hand could be the supreme irony of nuclear war. The main political declaration of Harare dealt with certain general issues, such as disarmament, in regard to which the well known Nonaligned positions and recommendations were reaffirmed.28
ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES AND NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The Nonaligned States saw themselves and their economies as legacies of the colonial past, their problems as the result of international exploitation, and their solutions as being possible only through international cooperation. To that end they called for integrated global negotiations and for the demonstration of the necessary degree of political will make the negotiations yield a New International Economic Order that would be more equitable and beneficial to all.²⁹

The Third Summit in 1970 was of special significance to developing the economic dimensions of the Nonaligned Movement. In view of the increase in the "capability of Nonaligned Countries to plan, organise and manage their own economic development, both individually and within a multinational cooperative 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 system 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.
For self reliance among the Nonaligned countries they proposed:

1. To cultivate the spirit of self reliance and to this end to adopt a firm policy of organizing their own socio-economic progress and to raise it to the level of a priority action programme.

2. To exercise fully their rights and fulfil their duty so as to secure optimal utilization of their natural resources on their territories and in adjacent seas for the development of their peoples.

3. To develop their technology and scientific capability to maximize production and improve productivity.

4. To promote social changes and to provide increasing opportunity to each individual for developing his worth, maintaining his dignity, making his contribution to the process of growth and for sharing fully in its fruits.

5. To promote social justice and efficiency of production, to raise the level of employment and to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition housing and social welfare.
6. To ensure the external components of the developmental process to further national objectives and conform to national needs, and in particular to adopt as far as practicable, a common approach to problems and possibilities of investment of private capital in developing countries.

7. To broaden and diversify economic relationship with other nations so as to promote true interdependence.

8. To foster mutual cooperation among developing countries so as to import strength to their national endeavour to fortify their independence.

9. To contribute to each other's economic and social progress by an effective utilisation of their complementaries between their respective resources and requirements.

10. To intensify and broaden to the maximum extent practicable the movement for cooperation and integration among developing countries at sub-regional and inter-regional levels for accelerating their economic growth and social development and take into account the necessary measures required to guarantee that the peoples of developing countries concerned receive the benefit of the integration and not the foreign companies operating within the integrated area.\textsuperscript{30}
ECONOMIC COOPERATION FROM BELGRADE TO HARARE

Belgrade Summit, September, 1961:

The participants of the First Conference considered that efforts should be made to remove the economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and imperialism. They considered it necessary to close through accelerated economic, industrial and agricultural development, the ever widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and the 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 respective measures and practices which adversely affect the trade and revenues of the newly developing countries. In general they demanded that the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution be applied in all fields of economic development so as to hasten the achievement of international social justice. 31

Cairo Summit Conference, October, 1964:

The Second Conference agreed

1. that peace must rest on a sound and solid economic foundation.
2. that the persistence of poverty posed a threat to World Peace and prosperity.

3. that economic emancipation is an essential element in the struggle for the elimination of political domination and

4. that respect for the right of peoples and nations to control and dispose freely of their national wealth and resources is vital for their economic development.

The Conference also believed;

1. that the participating states have a special responsibility to do their utmost to break through the barrier of underdevelopment

2. that economic development is an obligation of the whole international community

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

4. that the structure of World Economy and the existing international institutions of international trade
and development have failed either to reduce the disparity between the per capita income of the people in developing and developed countries or to promote international action to rectify serious and growing imbalances between developing and developed countries.

Lusaka Summit, September, 1970:

The third summit conference of the Nonaligned countries, which met in Lusaka united by common political and economic aspiration gave a "Declaration of Nonalignment and Economic Progress".32

Algiers Summit, September 1973:

The Algiers Summit Conference made a detailed study of changes in the economic and social situation of developing countries in the international context since the Lusaka Summit Conference, 1970 with special reference to the United Nations International Development Strategy, the Third United Nations on Trade and Development, the United Nations Conference on Human Environment, Preparations for Multilateral Trade Negotiations, Reform of the Monetary System and the important conference of Foreign Ministers of Nonaligned Countries in George town. The participants considered that the growing tendency for economic relations among the advanced countries to be strengthened should in no way work to the detriment of
the basic interests of the underdeveloped countries. To this end they gave the Economic Declaration on the following:

1. The struggle against imperialism

2. The economic situation of the developing World.

3. Assessment of the international strategy of development

4. Trade and monetary problems

5. Special measures to benefit the least developed countries, including countries with no access to the sea.

6. Problems of nutrition

7. Sovereignty over natural resources.

8. Multinational companies.

9. Transfer of technological know-how

10. Cooperation among the developing countries.

11. Cooperation between advanced and developing countries.

12. The human environment.


Colombo Summit, 1976:

The Colombo Summit Conference of 1976 was an important landmark in the evolution of the Nonaligned Movement for a variety of reasons. In the first place it was the first summit conference to be held in the continent of Asia the original home of Nonaligned Movement, secondly, it gave greater prominence than before to African and Latin American issues. The conference declared that nothing short of a complete restructuring of international economic relations through the establishment of the New International Economic Order will place developing countries in a position to achieve an acceptable level of development. The New International Economic Order must include, it said,

1. fundamental restructuring of international trade, with special reference to the terms of trade;

2. fundamental restructuring of World production of the basis of New International Division of Labour.

3. radical overhauling of the existing international monetary managements

4. adequate transfer of resources on an assured, continuous and predictable basis

5. urgent and adequate solution to the problems of external debt particularly of the least developed and the most seriously affected nations for the development of their agriculture; and
6. free access to sea for landlocked countries.

As regards the efforts of the Nonaligned Countries of their own economic development, the conference emphasized the need for collective self-reliance and the interdependence within the global economy. 34

Havana Summit, 1979:

The Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries reviewed the evolution of the World Economic situation and noted with grave concern that since the Fifth Summit conference, the economic problems facing the developing countries have become more acute, characterized by the continuing widening of the gap that separates the developed from the developing countries and by the state of negotiations to restructure international economic relations.

They recognized that the crisis of the international economic system was a symptom of underlying structural maladjustments, and basic imbalance aggravated by the unwillingness of developed market economy countries to control their external imbalances, high levels of inflation and unemployment, thus resulting in the creation of new imbalances within the international economic system and in the transfer of their adverse effects to developing countries through international trade and monetary financial relations. They
stressed that this crisis also results from the persisting inequality in international economic relations, characterized by dependency exploitation and inequality.

The Heads of State or Government once again stressed that the struggle to eliminate the injustice of the existing international economic system and to establish the New International Economic Order is an integral part of the peoples struggle for political economic cultural and social liberation. The economic and social progress of developing countries has been adversely affected, directly or indirectly including that of military intervention or the use of force, pressure, coercion and discriminatory practices, and often result in the adoption of aggressive attitudes towards those who oppose their plans, to impose upon those countries political social and economic structures which foster domination, dependence and exploitation of developing countries. These practices have been repeatedly condemned by the Nonaligned Countries and they constitute major obstacles to the economic and social progress of the developing countries and the main threat to World Peace and security. Elimination of such practices is therefore, a necessary condition for the achievement of development and international economic cooperation.
New Delhi Summit, 1983:

The New Delhi Summit Conference realised that under the present unjust world economic system the levels of power are firmly in the hands of a few developed countries and are often used to the detriment of the interests of the Nonaligned and other developing countries. Developed countries continue to adopt retrogressive policies and objectives of the New International Economic Order and of the International Development strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. There can be no hope of anything but at best a short-lived revival of the world economy, nor can there be an equitable and viable system of international economic cooperation without a basic and fundamental change in the approaches and policies of the developed countries with respect to the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

The economic concerns of the Nonaligned States received considerable attention at the New Delhi Summit. There was full awareness of the implications of the International Economic Crisis, particularly for the Nonaligned Countries. The summit was also cognizant of the fact that not much had been done in terms of implementing the economic ideas and principles of the movement. The awful fact that the debt burden on these countries had doubled in the past
three years amounting to US $600 billion and that since 1981, export revenues of these countries had shot up by 40 billion was looming large on the summit horizon. There was a keen desire to do something which would quickly begin a process of economic regeneration.

With a view to bringing home the urgency and importance of the economic problems the summit took the unprecedented step of addressing a special message known as the New Delhi Message. This was in addition to an elaborate Economic Declaration. The message in a sense, contained the essence of what had been said in the Declaration in detail.

The conference decided to act in unison in order to influence the course of international economic cooperation decisively and in the right direction, focussing on points of substance with a view to tackling the immediate and structural problems facing the world economy and to promote the establishment of New International Economic Order.36

Harare Summit, 1986:

The Summit Conference assessed the evaluation of the international economic situation and expressed grave concern that since the Seventh Summit Conference the world economic
crisis has continued to escalate, characterised, interalia by the accentuation of structural imbalances and inequalities resulting from the inadequacy of the present international division of labour of the balanced and equitable development of the world economy as well as in the breakdown of the international payments systems. The widening gap between the developed and developing countries and the persistence of the unjust and inequitable international economic system constitute a major impediment to the development process of Nonaligned and other developing countries and possess a serious threat to international peace and security. In this regard, they reiterated the commitment of the movement to continue to work for a restructuring of the international economic system with a view to establishing the New International Economic Order based on justice, equity, equality and mutual benefit. 

INFERENCE

In the years after its first conference the Nonaligned Movement, despite imperialist attempt to split it and emuculate its main ideas, has retaitned its anti-imperialist and anticolonialist essence. Thus conforming its loyalty to its fundamental principles. Nonaligned Countries demanded at every conferences their policy and programme is fight against colonialism and imperialism. During the period of
its emergence, it opposed the cold war and division of the world into two blocs; later it made an essential contribution to the decolonization process.

Through the sum-total of their activity the Nonaligned Countries have been instrumental in changing not only the structure of the United Nations but also the substance of its work and methodology. The Nonaligned Movement, founded on the principle of equality of nations and men, has striven for the elimination of all forms of exploitation and discrimination. It believes with firm conviction that the policies of racial discrimination from the beginning of the Nonaligned Movement strength against apartheid. The participants at every conference resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa and demanded the immediate abandonment of this policy. Nonaligned Countries through the United Nations straight against apartheid at ever stage.

The Nonaligned Countries' position has been collectively and clearly defined in document. The document consists of a draft declaration, a programme of action and machinery for disarmament. Disarmament has been a cardinal principle of the Nonaligned Movement. Since its inception, successive Nonaligned gatherings have called repeatedly for general and complete disarmament. The initiative of the Nonaligned Movement reflects its intense concern over the
problem of disarmament and its desire to act constructively towards a resolution of this problem. The Nonaligned have established a clear order of priorities in disarmament negotiations which they feel need to be observed if realistic steps are to be taken on a rational basis towards general and complete disarmament.

To move an era of proposing and not only opposing takes us into the realm if satisfying the economic needs of our people. Over the years, the space devoted to economic issues in our summit declarations has gone up. It is a reflection of the increasing importance of economic aspects which impinge on the day-to-day life of our people. The Algiers Summit is rightly regarded as a milestone making the increased emphasis on economic issues of the Nonaligned Movement. Since then we have designed action programmes for economic cooperation among ourselves and host of other initiatives have been proposed for the Nonaligned to take positive action in the economic field. The actual record of economic cooperation is unimpressive. It is because we still prefer to maintain economic relationship only with the developed world. If the Nonaligned is truely to perform its functions as a catalytic agent is bringing about the New International Economic Order, it must demonstrate a seriousness of purpose. The potential for economic cooperation within the Nonaligned and for collective self reliance is limitless
and unexplored work in this area can go on as the developing world remains at the negotiating table in global round of economic parleying.
REFERENCES


28. Ibid., pp.154-155.

29. Ibid., p.160.


