CHAPTER V

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As it has been studied in the previous chapters that there are certain features of the foreign policy of India, it has been based on the principle of Non-Alignment. When India became free, the world was divided into two camps, the Anglo-American bloc and the Soviet-bloc. Soon after the Second World War was over there started rivalry between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States on the other. This continued for years and has been given the name of Cold War. The view of Jawaharlal Nehru was that it was not desirable for India to join one bloc or the other. It was in the interests of India to remain away from the conflicts of the Super Powers. Prime Minister Nehru defended his policy on Non-Alignment by referring to the policy followed by the United states towards Europe after the independence.

The policy of Non-Alignment implies a refusal to accept definite commitment or to join a system of pacts or alliances committing India on one side or the other. It means a policy of peace, a policy of "talking in a quiet voice and not shouting" or a policy of "Converting strong feeling into strength and not into bad temper". Such a policy is not based on the inevitability of war but on the conviction that war can be avoided. It also means an independent
policy, conditioned and controlled by the strength of India. This independence of action enables India to judge issue on its own merits. Non-Alignment implies the position to judge issues without prejudice or bias. It does not imply pacifism or isolation. This policy is not based on a desire to build up "A Third force". The aim of India has been to build up "a third area", an area which does not want war, works for peace in a positive way and believes in cooperation. Non-alignment does not mean a policy of neutrality in the accepted sense of the term. It does not mean sitting on the fence or a refusal to examine or even to take sides. "It is not a cloak for partiality towards the West or the Communist Countries. It is not a posture of a priest lecturing to a sinful audience. This neutrality is not negative or static or didactic. It is rather positive and dynamic."(1)

The policy of Non-Alignment followed by Nehru can be explained in his own words. "Our policy is not to commit ourselves previously to follow a certain line. Our policy is independence of action. If we say we are permanently neutral, it has no meaning except permanent retirement from public affairs in the national sense, Sanyas. No country can do that and certainly we have no desire to retire from world affairs". "In the sphere of foreign affairs, India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of the groups aligned one against another. She will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial distinction wherever it may occur."
She will work with the other peace-loving nations for international co-operation and goodwill without exploitation of one nation by another. The use of the word neutral to describe India's foreign policy is wrong except in terms of war. If you say there is a war today, we are neutral. If you say there is a cold war, we are certainly neutral... We do not propose to join that war. It does not matter who is right and who is wrong. We will not join in this exhibition of mutual abuse, because we do not serve anybody that way, certainly not the cause of peace. The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of Non-Alignment. This does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. We believe, therefore, in Non-aggression and Non-interference by one country in the affairs of another and the growth of tolerance between them and the capacity for peaceful co-existence."

Non-Alignment spread of several complications. Non-Alignment enabled India to keep the avenues of initiate economic contacts with all the countries open. On account of her policy of Non-Alignment, India was able to serve the cause of peace in the world. She was in a position to examine every problem dispassionately and point out a solution for the same. India played an important part in bringing the Korean War to a close. India had no hesitation in telling the American Government that armies of the United Nations must not cross 48th Parallel. It was on account of
her Non-Alignment that India could afford not to sign the peace treaty between the U.S. and Japan in 1952. It was on account of her Non-Alignment that India was able to recognize Communist China at a time when the United States was deadly opposed to it. India played an important part in preventing the outbreak of hostilities between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over Cuba. Nehru was able to persuade Khrushchev to withdraw the anti-ballistic missiles from Cuba and also cancel his visit to Havana. Another feature of India's foreign policy has been her opposition to imperialism and colonialism. The reason is obvious. India herself was a victim of imperialism and colonialism. To quote Nehru "Asia till recently was largely a prey to imperial domination and colonialism: a great part of it is free today, part of it still remains unfree and it is an astonishing change that any country should still venture to hold and to set forth this doctrine of colonialism whether it is under direct ruler or whether it is indirectly maintained in some form of another. We in Asia who have ourselves suffered all these evils of colonialism and of imperial domination, have committed ourselves inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country. Any power, great or small, which in that way prevents the attainment of the freedom of these people, does an ill turn to world peace. Great countries like India who have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule."

Another feature of India's foreign policy is her opposition to
racial discrimination. In the words of Nehru, "We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresover and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no domination over other people. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment of our people wherever they may go and we cannot accept any discrimination against them." This explains the reason why India has condemned in strongest possible terms the policy of apartheid followed by the Union of South Africa. India has supported the fight of the coloured people in South Africa against White supremacy. India has been instrumental in getting passed the resolutions by the United Nations against the policy of racial discrimination followed by the Government of South Africa. In 1954, India abolished the office of the Indian High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa. It was under pressure from India and other Commonwealth Countries that South Africa was forced to leave the Commonwealth of Nations.

India stands for the maintenance of peace in the world through the United Nations. The Indian troops were sent to the Congo to maintain peace. Likewise Indian troops were employed to maintain peace between Israel and Egypt. As soon as those troops were withdrawn, there was a war between the two countries. The term Panchsheel is associated with the foreign policy of India. If this principle is strictly followed by the countries of the world, there is no doubt at all that this earth will turn into paradise. The nations of the world must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. No effort should be made by
any country to impose political and military control on less powerful and less populated countries. "There should be no peace for territorial or economic imperialism. Extra-territorial jurisdiction, forced economic privileges, establishment of puppet regimes in weaker states, retention of military bases on foreign soil, subversive activities, subsidies from foreign States to political factions in a politically unstable State, all of them constitute violation of the sovereignty of the State, and involve interference in its internal affairs. Interference can be economic, political or ideological and in every case it sets in motion a chain reaction of fear, suspicion and tension. Non-interference narrows down the area of war and widens that of peace, it lessens the prospects of war". (2)

Peaceful co-existence is possible only if constant and active endeavour is made to solve all important international problems. It is possible only when all nations believe and act upon the policy of non-aggression and non-interference in the affairs of others. Such an approach is likely to lesson tensions and pave the way for a firm and lasting peace. That would also enrich the total world culture. On the whole, the objectives of the various countries are the same, viz. peace, progress and plenty. Peaceful co-existence is a correct, natural and expedient approach to survival, prosperity and enrichment of culture. Co-existence is the dire need of the day, without it the very survival of human kind is impossible, it was felt by Indian leaders from the
beginning. Mrs. Indira Gandhi stated at one of the Non-Aligned summits "We in habit a fragmented world, caught in the clash of wills and objectives. The utter mistrust between the militarily strong has gone so deep that even the world peace is looked upon as a dangerous trap. But human kind can survive only if the big powers learn to co-exist."

Deeply concerned over the escalating arms race, the rise in international tensions and the absence of willingness for constructive dialogue among the major nuclear weapon powers which have increased the risks of the outbreak of a nuclear war. India has expressed the view that a concreted worldwide effort must be made to halt the arms race and its dangerous extension to outer space. With this view Indira Gandhi, together with the heads of Government of states of Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania launched on May 22, 1984 a major peace initiative. A joint statement issued by the six powers, including India, called upon the nuclear weapons and their delivery systems to be followed by a programme of arms reduction leading to general and complete disarmament. The six powers also ensure urgently needed transfer of substantial resources from the arms race to social and economic development.

Immediately on assuming office after his mother's tragic assassination, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi reiterated his commitment to the basic approach and principle of foreign policy,
bequeathed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi: He stated: "We have always believed in working for peace. Our policy is to be friends with all countries on the basis of reciprocity and mutual benefit our commitment to Non-Alignment and new economic order based on justice equality and mutual co-operation is unshakable. This means a total dedication to the twin causes of peace and development. We also believe in safeguarding the independence of states and upholding the principles of Non-interference and non-intervention".

Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of India's policy of Non-alignment, once said: "We have to achieve freedom and defend it. We have to meet aggression and resist it and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose. But even when preparing to resist aggression, the ultimate objective, the objective of peace and reconciliation, must be attuned to this supreme aim, and not swayed or clouded by hatred or fear.

This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy." Nehru loved freedom of all nations superbly that's what he said "We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom, from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for, and endeavour to practise in our own important way, is a binding faith in peace, and an unfailing endeavour or thought and
action ensure it." This statement of Nehru was pregnant with great meaning for the entire future of the Non-Aligned movement. Non-Alignment, in its historical origins as also in its birth and its later growth into a mighty world force was, and continues to be an assertion of our freedom of judgement and action in the international field. That's why it was natural for Nehru and India to support whole heartedly the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese struggle for freedom. It was equally natural for India to take an active part in establishing peace in Korea, as was its whole-hearted support to Egypt at the time of Suez tripartite aggression. "For us in India the rationale of Non-Aligned policy was reinforced by all that happened after China's aggression against India in 1962. It got for us the support of many nations of the world, including the U.S.S.R. The gloomy sooth-sayers saying that Nehru's 'fastidious' policies had left India high and dry and friendless in this world proved utterly wrong."(3)

Nehru's impact as a result of his policies and the attitudes of India under his leadership was the greatest in the liberation of oppressed peoples. Colonialism was the enemy. But, at the same time he was aware that the struggle between the two armed camps threatened the very existence of man. He felt that the Afro-Asians should also devote their energy to the maintenance of world peace. Peace, prosperity and socialism became the keywords for him, and Non-Alignment the way to ensure a world without war and peaceful constructive effort for development.
Along with other Non-Aligned nations India has offered realistic support for setting up a new system of international economic relations under Indira Gandhi's leadership the economic component was every more emphasised in the implementation of Non-Aligned policy. Indira Gandhi said, "It is necessary for the Non-aligned and the developing countries of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America and the Caribbean to strengthen their unity and solidarity. The international economic crisis is an additional reason for extending and deepening mutual co-operation.

India's Non-Aligned policy called for an essential change of the prevailing economic relations and the resolution of the problems which have resulted from the present international divisions of labour, the system of economic distribution and the privileged position of the developed countries in international trade and in the credit-monetary system. Time and again India has made it clear in recent years that the new economic order should be based on equality and respect for the interests of all countries. This involves deliberation, discussions and concreted action by Non-Aligned countries on such matters as sovereign control over national resources, their industrialization, sharing of the income of the world along just lines and transfer of finances and technology in a manner which really serves the interests of the less developed parts of the world. Concretely, in order to restructure the current international economic order, the idea of establishing a fund for economic development of Non-aligned
countries was advocated by India.

The signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and cooperation in August 1971, was an important event in Indira Gandhi's theory and practice of Non-Aligned policy. There was a clause in the Treaty saying that the Soviet Union "respects India's policy of Non-Alignment" "The Western imperialist press and media launched a frantic campaign that India had become a satellite of Moscow. India's general posture in foreign affairs and particularly its relationship with the two super powers since the Treaty, and especially during the recent past, make it abundantly clear that the essentials of Non-Alignment were not adversely affected by the Treaty. In shaping India's relationship with the world outside, the Prime Minister's basic motivation was the interest of the Nation."(4)

The basic elements of Indira Gandhi's policy of Non-alignment were adequately reflected in a resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its seventy-fifth session at Konagathamuru Nagar in 1975: "India's own unique struggle for freedom, its consistent support to the liberation struggle of people under colonial domination, its tradition of strong opposition to imperialism, neo-colonialism, and external intervention against the sovereignty and independence of any country, its rejection of the division of the world through military pacts and spheres of influence and its abhorrence of all forms of racialism and
discrimination provide the basis for its solidarity with other Non-aligned countries and progressive forces in the world." There statements make it clear that while retaining the framework of Non-Alignment, Indira Gandhi added new dimensions also, according to the changed international situation.

India's policy of Non-Alignment, a perfect exercise in continuity and change, received a jolt when the Janata Government took over in 1977. They advocated what they called "genuine" Non-Alignment, as though the Non-aligned policy hitherto pursued by India was not genuine. This was a pernicious attempt to divert India from its correct path in foreign policy interpreting Non-Alignment as "equi-distance" between the two big powers. It was a deliberate policy of effecting a tilt towards the West in India's foreign policy. Very aptly this Janata Policy was sharply associated in the Indian Parliament after Indira Gandhi was again voted to power in 1980. Mr. Eduardo M. Falario of Congress-I criticised the "Weak-kneed policy of the Janata Government and said its policy towards the United States was one of "appeasement" He was particularly critical of the "Secret talks" which the Janata Government had with Israeli Foreign Minister, Moshe Dayan.

In spite of its reactionary approach the Janata rulers during their little more than two years in office failed to effect any far-reaching change in India's traditional foreign policy of Non-Alignment and peace-such is the hold of this policy on the Indian
mind. A comprehensive spelling out of India's policy of Non-Alignment was given by India's Foreign Minister, P.V. Narashimha Rao while inaugurating an Indo-Yugoslav Symposium of Non-Alignment at New Delhi in May 1980. He clearly demacrated Indira Government's policy from the previous Janata regime's idea of 'genuine Non-alignment' The Indian Foreign Minister emphasized that 'Non-Aligment never was and never need be between the great powers of Power Blocs'. He underscored the misconception which "has gained wider currency through the Western media" that Non-Aligment "not laking sides and maintaining some kind of rigid balance in relation with the great powers" He explained, in this context, that there was no contradiction between the policy of Non-Aligment and the pursuit of national interests since the very purpose of a country closing to follow that policy "is to defend its national independence and sovereignty, which in turn take care of all its other interest".

He said that friendship with one great power or the IPSO facts, cannot vitiate Non-Aligment, especially since Non-Aligned countries seek friendship and cooperation with all. He called for regarding Non-Aligment an "Unique method adopted for the promotion of the national interest within the over-all framework of peace, co-existence and co-operation.

The following statement proves how much India believes and strives for a better world through the policy Non-Aligment: Mr.
Narasimha Rao said: "There is only one real deterrent, that is, mankind's desire to survive. It is up to the Non-Aligned movement to convert this desire into determination including in its fold the people of nuclear nations. There appears to be no other force, save the force of the Non-Aligned movement, capable of taking initiatives in this regard. The question of questions is whether the Non-Aligned movement would muster enough strength and unity of purpose to face up to this task."

Roots of Non-Alignment flowing from its policy of peace lie deep in Indian soil. Humanism is the predominant feature of India's ancient scriptures and an idea coming down to Indians from the past is symbolised in the slogan popular from the most ancient times - Basudhaiva Kutumbkam, that is, the whole world is one family. As a necessary corollary to this ancient adage, Indians never went out on wars of conquest. When Buddhism went from India to the countries of Asia and later when Hinduism became popular is some of the South-East Asian countries, the Indians never went as conquerers but as preachers and Indian rulers of the time lived peaceful co-existence with neighbours.

What a marvellous heritage India has! India has been a preacher of peace from its ancient time. Therefore, India still holds the banner of peace, friendship and mutual love. It is quite appropriate to quote "India's policy of Non-alignment, therefore, flows from its ancient past and also its dynamic present. As Nehru
said, past is every with us and we cannot get away from it. All 
that we are and we have, comes from the past. Life is to combine 
the past with the present and extend it to the future” (5) This is 
exactly what the policy of Non-Alignment does. It is an evolving 
concept and in the new phase which has opened at Havana, Non-
Alignment passes on to a higher stage wherein it begins to 
differentiate between friends and foes, all judgement being based on 
the anvil of world peace and progress and the upliftment of the vast 
millions who still lead a life of misery and want in the developing 
Non-Aligned countries.

Havana proved that it is possible, despite some initial 
desagreements to work out and formulate common positions which 
serve not only to maintain the unity of the Non-aligned but also to 
strengthen the movement. Havana, indeed, may be said to have turned 
a new chapter in the eventful histdory of the Non-Aligned movement. 
All first Non-Aligned Summit in Bengrade in 1961, Nehru stressed the 
positive character of Non-alignment. He believed that the Non-
Aligned developing countries could protect their interests only in 
the conditions of peace and should therefore work for peace in the 
world. What he had in mind was that the Non-Aligned would make use 
of every opportunity to promote their interests and peace through 
permanent or temporary cooperation with those peace-loving forces 
which support the ideas of the movement or share the movement's 
views on specific issues.

The message of Algiers, summarised by Mrs. Gandhi in her speech
on September 6, 1973, was however, keyed towards peace and prosperity of the world, not merely of Non-Aligned countries. Mrs. Gandhi said "We are responsible not to our individual countries alone but to peace and prosperity of the whole world. Indian tradition helps to look at the world as one, and today science and technology open immense possibilities to transform this dream into reality. How much more necessary it becomes to ensure that various hues of racialism and other forms of narrow-mindedness do not come in the way of man's freedom."

The Non-Alignment movement is playing an important role in the world-wide movement for averting the threat of war. In her inaugural speech at the conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned countries in New Delhi in February 1981 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said: 'The realities of the world situation - the possibilities of a nuclear armageddon by a single lapse of rash act - reinforce the relevance of Non-Alignment and demand a rededication to peace." She declared that "Peace could not be based on outmoded concepts of imperialism, military alliances, sphere of influence or balance of power and competition in nuclear conventional terror". In the same context it is quite pertinent to quote the following statement.

Non-Alignment is the only ray of hope for the most of the newly independent and developing countries for their stability and advancement, both politically and economically, in a world, where
the security environment has deteriorated. It is in this context that India and other important members of the Movement are keen that its unity should be preserved, so that the tensions can be minimised through collective endeavour. Peaceful co-existence, establishment of a New International Economic Order and New International Information Order remain the goals to which the Non-Aligned nations will have to address themselves."(6)

CHALLENGES OF THE EIGHTIES:

From the beginning, Non-Alignment has been an attitude of mind. It has obviously a political aspect, and to recent years it has collected to itself more and more economic connotations. But throughout, it has had what one might call a psychological aspect, a common way of looking at the world and its problems. It is this popular foundation on which the foreign policies of the Non-Aligned countries are poised. The great figures of Non-Alignment have been by any standards, among the outstanding individuals of this century - Nehru, Sukarno, Tito, Castro, Nasser, Bandaranaike, Indira Gandhi to mention but a few. But Non-alignment was not the product of the whims and caprices of a handful of men, however eminent. It was the natural expression of peoples who were again raising their voice after many years of suppression.

The idea of Non-Alignment concerns the circumstances of a changeable world moving towards more freedom, justice and progress.
Thus it requires a deep and creative treatment for the problems of political, economic, social and demographic growth. It is a historical attitude because it is corresponding to objective time. It is a stimulus to work for changing the world. Suffering from colonialism and backwardness have given prevalent concepts new implications. On the ideological and practical level the struggles and experiments of the Third World have acquired a new particularity which calls for independence and rebuilding of character. Hence Non-Alignment has become a vital field for building a new world with a common will and a new view of the world based on freedom, the will of advancement, peace and justice.

"The only present way to strengthen the role of the movement is to reinforce the Non-Aligned countries' unity, based on the principles of strengthening the independence of countries, the identity of Non-Alignment as a global, independent, anti-bloc force, of establishing a new international order, resolving crisis situations, support to the liberation struggle against colonialism, imperialism aggression, occupation, interference in internal affairs on no matter what grounds and for universal and complete disarmament - universal application of peaceful active co-existence."(7)

In order to draw the proper conclusion from the present complex situation, it is essential to abandon arbitrary abstract more strucctions and models and to switch from a simplified to a more complex, more rational and more manced vision of the world and of
the Non-Aligned countries position in it. Experience tells us that Non-Alignment can be dynamized and that the Non-Aligned countries can become more engaged in questions of common interest which have a common denominator. Consequently, it is imperative to launch a democratic adjustment of stands and to seek freely accepted solidarity without political accusations and disqualifications and constantly to expand the bases for equitable co-operations among all countries.

"If one is to obtain the proper answer to the fundamental question of how to dynamize the Non-Aligned movement and strengthen its unity, one must recall the paths of its ascendancy. Experience has shown that the Non-aligned became the basic force in the all round emancipation of nations and countries and in the democratization of international relations, constructive and equitable international co-operation, primarily as a result of their large-scale activities in international relations, as a global independent force based on a united strategy in the struggle for peace, rooted in equal security for all nations for liberation from imperialism colonialism and all forms of dependence: for economic development within the establishment of a new international economic order; independence sovereignty and free economic social and national development, and genuine democratization in international relations."(8)

Adherence to the conception of Non-Alignment simply means
accepting and supporting certain basic principles of international relations which guarantee all countries freedom, security and unhindered development. Similarly, certain historical conditions and the great variety in political and social organisation, do not permit all countries freedom, security and unhindered development. Similarly certain historical conditions and the great variety in political and social organisation, do not permit all countries pushing the policy of Non-Aligned to adopt and interpret those principles in the same way or in equal measure. Some countries make more rapid progress, others approach these principles with greater hesitation and caution. Non-Aligned policy requires full respect for these differences and rejects no one for approaching one question or another in his own particular way, if only he accepts that which is essential and foremost in the conception of Non-Aligned. Cooperation on a footing of equality, contacts and discussion, and the testing of these differences and promote greater homogeneity both in conceptions and in action.

It is necessary for the Non-Aligned movement to have very clear ideas about the linkages between the political and economic problems which are facing the world community today. India and Yugoslavia have a special responsibility in this. Each of these countries has a tradition of independence in this. Each of these countries has a domestic and foreign affairs, which made it not merely necessary but inevitable for it to become a founder member of the Non-Aligned movement. To each country a policy of freedom
from military or even political alliances of a closed nature was an essential prerequisite to the preservation of identity, let alone independence.

There are many forms in the world today where the North-South conflicts and the East-West adversary relationship are both discussed and attempts made to produce agreed results. The Non-Aligned world itself has been facing for the last 6-7 years problems produced by its own success as a movement. The great increase in membership has produced ideological problems at the fringes, both at the extreme left. There is also the major problems created by the accession of enormous wealth and consequent bargaining power to a small group in the Non-Aligned world because of the energy crisis. From the purely developmental angle the countries of the movement are divided into five or six fairly coherent groups: the least developed countries, the most serious affected nations, the land-locked states, the technologically developed but poor countries, and the resource-rich but culturally and administratively underdeveloped countries whose weakness has made it easy for older colonial links to continue uninterrupted.

As in the previous chapters it has been broadly and exitensively discussed that the role played by the Non-Aligned countries, through various sessions and conferences, to establish the friendship and amicable relations among the nations, has been
remarkable. The Non-Aligned and neutral states of Europe play the most prominent role in fighting to cement the principles laid down in the 1975 Final Act of Helsinki. The crisis is detente is reflected in big power confrontation in the global plane, and can be seen in Europe in the fact that the Madrid meeting of the CSCE (Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe) has been blocked from reviewing implementation of the Final Act. This leads great importance to the fact that the Non-Aligned and neutral states of Europe met in Stockholm on August 30, 1982 where they held a meeting for the first time at the level of foreign minister and formally outside of the CSCE session. The participants adopted a comprehensive political statement in which these countries do not set themselves up as a counter balance to the blocs, but rather as a factor which stimulates negotiation and understanding in Europe. The Non-Aligned and neutral States of Europe are governed by objectives which are very close to those of Non-Alignment and which help to pull the world out of the present state of tension and confrontation, reinforcing support for dialogue and universal detente. The Stockholm meeting reaffirmed that the Non-Aligned and neutral countries uphold their proposed Final document submitted to the Madrid meeting of the CESE. This draft met with a positive reaction from the other CESE. PARTICIPANTS I.E. FROM THE member-states of both NATO and the warsaw Pact, and so, in Europe, too, where the movement of Non-Alignment was formally form at the 1961 Belgrade conference. Non-Alignment is actively working in Europe penetrating into the political consciousness of the masses and into the stands of
political parties, trade unions, anti-war movement, youth and student as a positive alternative to bloc divisions and as an independent global factor of universal balance and stability.

"India is one of the acknowledged pioneers and leaders of the Non-Aligned movement. However, the government has sometimes failed to speak up for the rights of small countries when their freedom has been threatened. Afghanistan is a case in point. It was one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned club even if its credentials came under a cloud after the coup in April 1978. Less than two years later, its independent was snuffed out. It was only at a press conference in Moscow, that Indira Gandhi publicly called, for the first time, for the withdrawal of "Soviet troops" in so many words - and not of "Foreign" troops. Privately, to be sure, she has left the Russians in no doubt that she expects them to quit Afghanistan."(9)

It is too much to expect the Non-Aligned countries spread over four continents to view every international issues the same way. But divisions on basic issues such as independence and sovereignty of States weaken its cause. They impair the influence the movement can wield if it speaks with one voice on the fundamentals of good behaviour. If there is one issue which, more than any other, demands urgent attention, it is disarmament, especially the reduction of nuclear arsenals. This is one area where the Non-Aligned movement can help. Its members have a stake
in peace. Ideological bias should be cast aside and the legitimate needs of each power should be defined and conceded. A small group of experts from among the Non-Aligned could monitor, for example on START (the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) When they seem to be on the verge of deadlock, the group could formulate, impartially, compromise proposals to save the talks from breaking down. "Such quite and constructive efforts would be worth more than many General assembly resolution passed on the strength of Non-Aligned vote, which are often too ambitious to be implemented." (10)

The challenges that face THE Non-Aligned nations who are a clear majority of Third World, in the political and economic spheres are far more serious today. The retreat of imperialism from more areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the humiliating defeat of the US in the Vietnam war, the reverse suffered by the combined forces of imperialism, racism and colonialism in Angola and the insistent demand for a more just economic order from the developing nations have left an acute feeling of concern in Western Bloc. Detente has lifted the threat of insecurity and conflict from some areas of the world but the Western capitalist nations are aggressively determined that this historic change in the international climate shall not be utilized to right economic injustice on a world scale.

Non-Alignment is no longer regarded with decision, as it once
fashionably used to be in Washington or London but with a fierce hostility. The US secretary of State Henry Kissinger had at once time attacked the Non-Aligned as a rigid, ideological, confrontationist coalition and charged them with "self-righteous rhetoric" and "adolescent posturing" in seeking international economic co-operation on fair terms. The Non-Aligned nations have to explore ways to develop the necessary sanctions behind their demands, with the complete assurance of continued support from the Socialist world.

The Lima Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned in August 1975 had agreed upon a strategy of greater "Coordination and joining actions" among the Non-Aligned to oppose threat of force and closer economic cooperation which could "generate an increased collective power of negotiation to achieve a more democratic international order" The Algiers, Colombo, Havana and the New Delhi Summit have to be extended this strategy so that threats to peace and stability like the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean, the pilling up of arms in various parts of the world, destabilization and subversion, are met and the struggle for justice in new International economic order carried forward effectively.

"In fact, Non-alignment has proved itself to be not just a vague concept or an idea in thin air, but a positive policy based on certain principles capable of contributing to the promotion of
international peace and security, of fostering independence, freedom and equality between nations and peoples, a concept that helps international cooperation for the good of all and not only a few countries. Non-Alignment has come of age. Non-Alignment has come stay. Non-Alignment is getting stronger and has a continuing rôle to play. The success of the so far held summit conferences show this more clearly.

It is important that the resolutions passed at various conferences should be followed up with concrete actions. As in all decisions taken at international meetings, their implementation depends on the will of each Sovereign country. No decisions can be forced on any one: But increasing moral, economic and political pressures from within and without will compel all countries big and small, to heed the voice of the Non-Aligned world. "The philosophy of Non-Alignment does not aim at creating a third world but rather to create one world based on respect of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, Non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force or threat of force to settle international disputes, the equality of all sovereign nations and peoples, respect for the dignity of the human personality and the right of all peoples to be free and enjoy the fruits of freedom. Until this is achieved Non-alignment will find self fulfilment in its own Nirvana."(11)

At the beginning of the eighties, international relations in their entirety are in a deep crisis. The political and economic
crisis is rocking the biggest power centres in the world. It is also affecting the movement of N.A. which brings together two third of countries in the world. However, in this whole complex two things of prime significance stand out and should be borne in mind: that the power of blocs have demonstrated their inability to act as regulators of international relations and that Non-Alignment has established itself as the only international factor capable of affording comprehensive long term solution that could lead the world out of the political and economic crisis into which it has been pushed by the bloc powers.

The opinion is also frequently advanced that because bloc influences have increased within the Non-Aligned movement, because disputes and conflicts among Non-Aligned countries have multiplied, because the great leaders of Non-Alignment have now left the scene, because there is insufficient effectiveness and for a number of other similar reasons room for Non-alignment to exercise its historical role is being reduced. Some people even predict the beginning of the end of Non-Alignment. They obviously lack a sense of reality and of history. There have been similar predictions into past and they all have been proved wrong.

"At the beginning of the fifties, at the time when Tito, Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno and N. Krumah defined Non-Alignment as an independent policy outside the big power bloc, Dulles claimed it was a policy of "walking the tightrope" between East and West
which was doomed to be short lived. Zhdanov, in his turn, put forward the theory of the "Two camps" which left no room for those who might decide not to align themselves with any of the blocs. In the mid-sixties, protagonists of the movement of so-called new forces alleged that peaceful co-existence was the "luxury of the rich" and advocated a radical realignment of the so-called third world on the lines of the "Second Bandung". Early in the seventies when the superpowers has entered the honeymoon of detente, it was argued that the policy of Non-Alignment had lost its historical raison d'être as the big powers, now being able to resolve open world questions alone by negotiation and agreement, required no mediators any longer."(12)

"On the strength of these and similar examples from past history and the practice of Non-Aligned policy it is easy to show that the ill-advised predictions about the ephemeral future of Non-Alignment have always been prompted by specific bloc interests rather than by the real state of affairs and that this, quite certainly, is also the case with the present pessimistic views held by some bloc and bloc-inspired circles on the further prospects of Non-alignment. However, this does not mean that the policy and movement of Non-Alignment will not face a number of major problems in the years ahead." (13)

The following problems may be taken for study:
(1) The question of how to preserve the authentic historical identity of the policy and movement of Non-Alignment as a non-bloc independent and global factor in international relations. There are attempts to link the Non-aligned movement to one or the other bloc as a natural ally. Should this happen, it would mean the involvement of Non-Alignment in bloc. Confrontations and the transformation of Non-Alignment into a conveyor belt for a ruling bloc centre. This would have the way for a new and dangerous bipolarisation of international relations which, in the last analysis, would lead to a worldwide conflict—an unacceptable proposition for the policy and movement of Non-alignment. There are attempts to ease the Non-Aligned movement into a position of equidistance between the blocs. This would deprive Non-Alignment of its attribute of an active factor in international relations. Non-Alignment does not distinguish between blocs by the order of their emergence nor by any other characteristics. Non-Alignment takes its stance towards one or the other bloc international affairs.

There is a tendency to reduce the Non-Aligned movement to the concept of tricontinentalism even though by its membership. The Non-Aligned movement in the highest degree expressed the aspirations and interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are the principal targets of infiltration, expansion and domination for the bloc centres of power but whose historical density cannot be changed without fundamental transformation of
the entire system of international political and economic relations, on which the Non-aligned movement is concentrating its efforts.

Although at the sixth conference of heads of state or government of Non-Aligned countries in Havana and at the ministerial conference in New Delhi, the Non-aligned countries strongly reaffirmed the original principles of Non-Alignment, one of the decisive questions in the future will be the categorical insistence on the continued independent, non bloc and global orientation of the policy and movement of Non-Alignment.

(2) The question of achieving greater unity and solidarity with in the Non-Aligned movement. The Non-aligned movement does not aspire to what is called monolithic unity which is forged with in bloc grouping by means of a general line and by the power of a ruling centre. "The diversity of interests in the movement is an expression and result of differences in their geopolitical positions cultural characteristics and socio-economic and political systems and, above all, of their heavy colonial heritage". (14) Conflicts are unavoidable. The N.A.M. does not turn a blind eye on them as this would create room for interference and intervention by external powers. For this reason, there is insistence in the Non-aligned movement on the following requirements:
That Non-Aligned countries refrain from the use of force; that possible disputes should be resolved by peaceful means; that the good offices and mediation of other Non-Aligned countries, regional mechanisms and the U.N. should be accepted in settling disputes; that solutions should be sought on the basis of the principles of Non-Alignment. Unity and solidarity in the Non-Aligned movement should be achieved by democratic means, by greater respect for one another's interests and by greater tolerance.

(3) The question of how to counter the policy from the position of power, foreign intervention and interference in the international matters of sovereign states. The most important political objective of the policy and movement on Non-Alignment is to defend the independence and national security of Non-Aligned Countries. Today, the bloc groupings are stepping up their race for new spheres of interests. Therein lies a latent danger for Non-Aligned countries. The NAM must firmly oppose the export of revolution and counter revolution. Intervention and interference have no points of contact with genuine solidarity. Infiltration by the big powers into the movement of Non-Alignment leads to regional and subregional hegemonism. This is why the struggle for the independence and national security Non-Aligned countries is being waged not on one but on many fronts.

(4) The question of continual renewal of long-term aims and
visions of Non-Aligned, in the past 20 years the motive force behind the growth of the movement of Non-Aligned countries has been provided by the struggle for long-term historical objectives; decolonisation and the affirmation of the principles of active and peaceful co-existence. Apart from the continuing struggle to preserve the freedom, independence and national security of Non-Aligned countries and to strengthen world peace, it will be in world economy and in international economic relations - or to put in short the struggle for a new international economic order.

(5) The question of steady advancement of democratic relations and equality in the movement of Non-Aligned. In the course of 20 years, the Non-Aligned movement has developed mechanisms for the co-ordination of its member countries activities. But the Non-Aligned movement has not turned itself into a third bloc as there is no hierarchical divisions in it between those with greater and those with lesser rights. Summit and ministerial conferences are held on the principle of regional rotation and the co-ordinating Bureau is ever more frequently meeting in plenary sessions, with all Non-aligned countries eligible to participate and contribute to the proceedings on equal terms. All decisions in the movement are taken by consensus which is one of the Movements' great democratic achievements.

(6) The strengthening of the Non-aligned countries' effectiveness of action. Non-aligned countries are occasionally
taken as an example of insufficient effectiveness in international relations. The most striking example which argue against this view are to be found in the circle of those who act from the position of power. They were bent on overcoming one another and failed. They have created lethal weapons and now they cannot use them. They have been unable to sub-ordinate a single nation determined to fight its freedom and independence.

Today no international question can be solved without the participation of Non-Aligned countries. The Non-aligned countries pursue their activity within the movement but also in all world, regional and subregional organizations in which they have an impressive majority — from the United Nations to the Organization of African Unity, the Islamic Conference, the Arab League, ASEAN and Group 77 of developing countries. The Non-Aligned have brought about a dialectical change in the traditional formula that power plus brute force equals effectiveness.

"The effectiveness of Non-aligned countries lies in the correctness of their historic mission. To an all-important question such as what are the prospects of Non-Alignment, the answer must be sought in the resolution of the dilemma: is the world moving towards a total division into blocs or towards an affirmation of freedom and independence of all international relations".(15)
The following historical facts are the starting point in providing an answer to this question:

(1) Historical development shows a clear tendency for the world to move towards ever greater inter-dependence on the basis of equality and mutual interests despite inequalities existing in the political and economic sphere.

(2) Historical development also shows a clear tendency for the power of the agents of imperialist and other kinds of domination to decline despite the fact that centres of economic and military power in the world are still remarkably strong and that the number of free and independent factors in the international community is constantly increasing.

(3) Historical development shows yet another clear tendency - that room for the growth of socialism into a world process is expanding despite the difficulties and crisis accompanying it and that the balance of forces on the world stage is constantly shifting in favour of the factors of social progress.

All the mentioned tendencies in historical development however come into play within the geographical boundaries of Non-alignment. Non-Alignment per se is an expression and integral part of the every greater inter-dependence of the world which can come into its own to the greatest extent only in the context of new
International political and economic relations, based on equal and mutual interests, something that the Non-Aligned movement is fighting for. The policy and movement of Non-Alignment provide an optimal framework for progressive social changes on a national and international plane. The blocs are in sharp contradiction and the policy and movement of Non-Alignment in full harmony with the basic tendencies of development in the age in which we live.

The values which India seeks to promote through Non-Alignment revolve around the furtherance of National interest in an international order based on peace and justice. It understood, it unambiguously that the conduct of foreign policy was not an exercise in sainthood and, therefore, pursuit of national interest should have primacy over all other objectives. Because the national interest constitutes the foundation of Non-Alignment, it serves as a built-in limitation in projecting the concept of Non-Alignment as an integrated and coherent international doctrine. National interests of countries are determined by geopolitical, economic, strategic and other factors obtaining at a particular point of time. That is why the components of national interest change with the variations in national interest change with the variations in national and international circumstances. In defining national interest the ideology of the leadership of a country plays a decisive role. This point merits a little attention in this discussion.

The ideas and ideals of the leaders of the Non-Aligned
nations, particularly some of their high priest like Nehru, were shaped by the traditions of their ancient civilizations as well as by their Western liberal education. The Indian leaders were also influenced by their traditions and philosophy. Since India's historical experience is too long and too varied, it is essential to point out that the two most influential streams of thought in the country have been the positivistic philosophical framework of Kautilya and the moralistic philosophy enunciated and practised by Buddha and Asoka. Of the two, the later—the moralistic philosophical tradition—had a deep impact on Gandhijee. To an extent this also influenced a whole lot of India's nationalist leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, whose role in shaping the country's international behaviour was singularly important. This initial framework, in its essential respects, has to some extent continued to guide the Indian rulers during the last forty years or so though there have been traces of positivistic thinking in India's international behaviour during Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership. Nonetheless, the ancient moralist touch as reinforced by Gandhi and accepted by Nehru, though only really peripherally, constituted by an input of some consequence in India's international thinking.

All this resulted in India taking an enlightened and a broader view of its interests. Hence, in evolving the components of its national interests, India attempted a synthesis of nationalism and internationalism, a combination which gave much of
the positive content to the concept of Non-Aligned. The promotion
of enlightened self-interest is then, the most important aspects of
Non-Aligned. It is obvious that Non-Aligned is a means and an
end in itself. The end is the achievement or fulfilment of defined
national and international objectives.

The Non-Aligned should vitally concern itself with world
peace, especially when there is an escalation of arms and piling of
arms going on in Big Powers. India believes, that even the shadow
of war, which could mean devastation of frightening proportions,
ocasionally looms large on the international scene. The Non-
Aligned country like India continues to believe that a war would
imperial all chances of her development. India is keen on giving
economic and technological content to their newly achieved political
freedom.

The conviction of Non-Aligned is that progress, which is
so essential for banishing poverty and disease from the new
nations, is not possible unless peace is established. There is a
direct connection or an organic link between peace and domestic
development. That's why peace and progress have become the
watchwords or the rallying cry of Non-Aligned. The declarations
of Indian leaders provide sufficient testimony of this view.
Jawaharlal Nehru was very correct when he gave his view on Indian
economy.
"I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problem and of India's problem lies in socialism, and when use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. Socialism is however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjugation of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and the autocratic Indian states system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system, by a higher ideal of co-operative service. It means ultimately a change in our instincts and habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilization radically different from the present capitalist order." (16)

The promotion of enlightened national interest of the Non-Aligned demanded that their economic and technological backwardness should be taken care of at the earliest. In the early phase of their independence they asked for, and secured economic and other types of foreign aid from the developed countries. Not long after they discovered that foreign aid had adverse politico-economic consequences. As its moral and psychological implications were not in the interest of the recipient country. Hence a stage came when the Non-Aligned countries like India
became selective inviting foreign know-how and infrastructure for future development in a manner that assistance would no more be needed after a period of time.

Aside from the attitude of the individual counties, the Non-Aligned movement has been mobilized to evolve over the years a situation which, in their parlance, has been characterized as collective self-reliance. This idea calls for pooling of resources, exploring the complementarities in their economies and technologies and thus attempting to reduce their dependence on the developed world. Non-Alignment is in the initial phase of these efforts and a lot is needed in terms of political will before this idea is translated into reality.

Today India's food position is satisfactory, its foreign exchange reserves are comfortable, its advancements in the field of science, technology and industry permit to render economic and technological assistance to about 50 countries, mostly in South, South-East and West Asia and Africa. These countries are mostly Non-Aligned. Its economy is now much less vulnerable to external shocks or internal adverse factors like bad monsoon, than it had been everbefore. Thus, to a small extent, it is in a position to promote the ideal of collective self-reliance among Non-Aligned countries.

Another distinctive feature of India's Non-Alignment is that it envisages independence of judgement by countries on the event
and problems as they arise according to the merits of each case instead of prejudging them owning to ideological and other affinities or differences.

The concept of Non-Alignment, at least the India version of it, pleads for a democratic approach to international politics. When Secretary Dulles and Vice-President Nixon used almost abusive language for the Non-Aligned nations, Nehru urged them neither to suppress discussion nor give up tolerance in discussing the external relations of the new nations. He said: "I submit for consideration, that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dulles are saying something that is opposed to the democratic way of life... The very basis of democracy is tolerance for differing points of view."

It is true that economically the Non-Aligned countries have been extremely weak and their military strength has been practically of no consequence. But Non-Alignment was not born out of sheer material debility. During the period immediately following the Second World War, when bipolarity was more or less complete, it needed courage of conviction and unusual moral strength for a new nation to declare that it refused to be a camp-follower of any one of them. Nehru enunciated this policy which, in his vision, was renascent vital, fearless", having "a mighty past and mightier future."

Today more than ever before during the last forty three
years, there is as need that Non-Alignment should be strengthened. India's stakes in this task are of considerable importance. "With the renewal of the cold war, with the fierce competition between the two super powers in West Asia, with their accelerated rivalry in the Indian ocean and other areas, with the stubbornness of the developed countries in favour of international economic status quo in the various forms of North-South negotiations, with problems in South Africa, with the possibility of a nuclear war with a single lapse and, finally, with interventionist tendencies of powerful countries, Non-Alignment has to play a historic role."(17)

India as a developed among the developing Non-aligned countries has to concentrate on retaining the independent character of the movement working for the evolution of an international order which is based not only on peace but on justice, an order which enables the new nations to improve the quality of life of those millions who inhabit them in miserable existence. If Non-Alignment is not able to protect and promote independence and development, it would be failing in its historic task for which posterity will never forgive it.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Address to the Seventh Confernece of Heads of State or Government of N.A. Countries is worth quoting here in the context. She said "Non-Alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and the evoidance of confrontation. It wants global co-operation for development on
the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world's diversity." (18)

She was very much concerned about the world economic situation that's why she reiterated "Human kind is balancing on the brink of the collapse of the world economic system and annihilation through nuclear war. Should these tragedies occur, can any one of us, large, small, rich or poor, from North or South, West or East, hope to escape? Let us analyse the economic crisis. We of the developing world have no margin of safety. We shall be the first and worst sufferers in any economic breakdown. In this interdependent world, where you cannot 'stir a flower without troubling as star', even the most affluent are not immune to such disturbances". (19)

That's why she said firmly. "The Non-Aligned Movement has stood firmly for a through economic relations. We are against exploitation. We are for each nation's right to its resources and policies. We want an equal voice in the operation of international institutions. We reiterate our commitment to the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equality." (20)

Mrs. Gandhi had full faith in Non-Alignment its policies and programme. She believed that "Only with co-existence can there be any existence. We regard Non-interference, and Non-intervention as
basic laws of international behaviour. No single power or group of powers has the justification or moral authority to so interfere or intervene. You can not condemn one instance but condone another. Each situation has its own origins whatever they be solutions must be political and peaceful. All state must abide by the principle that force or the threat of force will not be used against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state.”(21)

The following statement proves how much she gave priority to world peace. "Our plans for a better life for each of our peoples depend on world peace and the reversal of the arms race, only general and complete disarmament can provide credible security. Negotiations confined to a close circle of nuclear weapon powers have made little progress. We are non-nuclear states, who want nuclear energy used only for peace. In the name of humanity and on behalf of us all, I call upon nuclear weapon powers to give up the use or threat of use nuclear weapons tests and the production and deployment of nuclear weapons; and resume disarmament negotiations with determination to reach agreement.”(22)

The message which Mrs. Gandhi gave on September 6, 1973 (Algiers Conference) is really remarkable which reflects India's view as a Non-Aligned country. "We are responsible not to our individual countries alone but to peace and prosperity of the whole world"... Non-Aligned countries should speak for those whose
numbers were large but whose voices were muted. Indian tradition helps to look at the world as one and today science and technology open immense possibilities to transform this dream into reality. How much more necessary it becomes to ensure that various hues of racialism and other forms of narrow mindedness do not come in the way of man's freedom."

After having discussed and studied all the aspects of Non-Alignment and its contributions in the need of the world, it is clear that Non-Alignment movement has done it utmost and still doing in the cause of world economy. There are still lots of opportunities and challenges ahead of Non-Alignment to meet, give its guidance and support to many such situations in international arena where Non-Alignment can do justice and create such atmosphere where all the nations can live under one umbrella of friendship, peace and prosperity. In this direction India is very keen to create such world, where there will be no fear of arms race or threat to human survival, where there will be no mouth without bread but every nation will enjoy the fruits of peace, prosperity and economic security. After all India has been preaching and believing in vasudhaiv Kutumbkam". If all the member countries of the NAM work and strive towards this goal, there is no doubt that this very earth will not become the paradise. India fully believes in the principles of Panchsheel. The super powers too want to live in peace but they have to
relinquish the idea of storing lethal and nuclear weapons. Animosity must give way to mutual understanding and fraternity, the problems will solve amicable. It means the solution of all the disputes are with Non-Alignment. The Non-Alignment is sure stepping stone to peace, prosperity and economic security. Though Non-alignment is a movement towards a better world where all the peoples could live in humanity and can prosper harmoniously, yet it is not a destination, but undoubtedly its destiny is a world where all the difference and disparities will no longer continue. After studying all other pacts and groups or organizations of our time, I am but sure to say that the NAM is the only organisation which really mean to its mission that is perpetual peace, prosperity and economic security to all.

I have no hesitation to accept the fact that in this direction India’s role is genuine and unmatched. India has power and potentiality to achieve this goal not through arms power but will power. The firm policy of India and its aspirations is working very hard to establish friendly and peaceful ties with all brother-members of this vast universe, where peace will ever rein and previal.
FOOTNOTES

1. International Relations - Foreign Polity of India by V.D. Mahajan, p. 460.
2. Ibid. p. 465
4. Ibid. p. 30.
5. Ibid. p. 34.
8. Ibid. p. 286-87.
16. Jawaharlal Nehru - From the Presidential Address before Lucknow Congress, April 12, 1936.


18. Keynote Address to the 7th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, New Delhi, 7 March 1983.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.


22. Ibid

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