P R E F A C E

The Thesis is entitled "Third World" : General Assembly : World Peace : The Changed Paradigm ?" The purpose of this Thesis is to note the views of the Third World in the General Assembly on different issues, to ascertain if there was any interest aggregation of the Third World on these and to assess if on account of this interest aggregation there was any significant impact on decision making. We want also to analyze if the centre of gravity on that account was shifted from the Security Council to the General Assembly and if the UN Paradigm had in any way changed thereby. The SC under the charter was the most important organ and on all vital political and security matters the SC had the determining role and perhaps the final say. Other organs were either bypassed or ignored or subordinate in many matters. That was the UN Paradigm under the charter when the UN was born. Since the birth of the UN many new States were born and they became members of the UN. They began to make their voice felt in the General Assembly debates on various significant issues of international concern. We want in the Thesis to ascertain if there was adequate interest aggregation and interest articulation among the Third World States on these issues and what its impact, if any, was on the solution of world problems or on the decision making process. We want to go further and to assess if on account of this the GA in many matters became more important than the SC and if there was thus a changed Paradigm of the UN. Many issues have been taken up for assessment and analysis in this context. The details are to be seen in the different chapters.

In Chapter 1 We have discussed in detail the meaning of the 'Third World' and the dimension we want to attach to that term in our dissertation in the context of the new emerging concepts of Fourth World and Fifth World.

Chapter 2 is devoted to a study of the Third World's attitude to the following issues - Uniting for Peace Plan, Domestic Jurisdiction, Asian and African representation in the Un,
Recognition of a member State, Red China's admission into the UN and the Non-Self Governing Territories.

In Chapter 3 the point of view of the Third World in case of intervention by the UN or outside States in Korea, Hungary, Jordan and Lebanon and in connection with the Suez crisis, Algeria issue, the West Iran problem, Partition of Palestine and the Congo crises has been studied and the impact of Third World interest aggregation, if any, has been assessed.

Chapter 4 is a chapter on Third World's attitude to the World economic problem. We have noted that interest aggregation of the Third World in economic matters can achieve a lot - though complete success in the line still remains a distant goal.

Problem of colonialism, New-colonialism, Zionism, Non-alignment and Peaceful coexistence in the context of Third World's approach have been the main theme of study in Chapter 5. In these fields Third World's interest aggregation has made significant impact on world politics.

Disarmament problem is an old problem. It is as acute today as it was in the League era. In Chapter 6 we have analysed the Third World stand on disarmament and we have noted that armament producing and armament exporting countries cannot completely ignore Third World's say in the matter.

Chapter 7 is a study of the Third World stand on the important issues - Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and Genocide. Here Third World's verdict could not be ignored. Third World achieved through interest aggregation significant success. UN Paradigm is under a slow process of change under the impact of Third World interest aggregation in the field.

Chapter 8 is an assessment of Third World's position today in World Economy mainly and partly in world politics.

Chapter 9 is the chapter on conclusions. Here we have tried to summarise the main findings of the Thesis.
It has been noted that there was interest aggregation and interest articulation of the Third World in some cases: There was division or disunity in many others. Even in those matters in which there was interest aggregation, and the changes could be effected only when the interests of the Big Powers coincided with the aggregated interests of the Third World. In cases where the two were divergent, no effective impact was there and no significant change could be made. Simply there was the birth of a limited world public opinion which from the legal or effectiveness point of view could not be of any major significance. Hence we cannot say in general terms that the UN Paradigm has changed on account of the expanding role of the GA where Third World States have been larger in number and try to create demand inputs on the UN system through interest aggregation and interest articulation. Nevertheless, a new trend has set in: Third World has been more vocal in the UN: its voice is not always heeded but it is not ignored either. On many issues the Third World has achieved victory by getting UN decisions in its favour. That is no mean achievement. If the process started getting further momentum under the necessity of the imperatives of independence, perhaps in future some change in the UN Paradigm may be the outcome.

In preparing the Thesis I have received help and encouragement from various sources. The Calcutta University Library was my main place of work. All the documents are available there and I had to depend mainly on these documents. In fact the major portion of the data has been collected from the official records of the General Assembly containing the details of the meetings of the different committees of the GA and of its own plenary sessions. I have assiduously gone through the debates and discussions in the plenary sessions of the GA or in the meetings of the different committees to find out what the attitude of the different States of the Third World on different issues was. The documents consulted by me in this connection runs into hundreds. I also consulted all relevant books and journals in this connection.
I am specially indebted to Dr. S.K. Mukherjee, Professor of Political Science, Calcutta University (Retired), and Ex-Vice Chancellor, University of Kalyani (Retired), for his help, guidance and direction. In fact I worked under his supervision. I could not have completed the Thesis at all without his direction and guidance. The subject is a very complicated one. The materials collected from the documents, books and journals, had to be properly organised, assessed and analysed and thereafter conclusions had to be drawn. One is likely to be lost in the jungle of the data collected and to roam aimlessly without any direction unless there be a grip on the central theme. In all these matters I had to depend wholly on Prof. S.K. Mukherjee, my supervisor. I owe a permanent debt of gratitude to him.

I am conscious that even with my best efforts the Thesis must have many deficiencies. The topics taken up are numerous: hence the range is pretty wide. The Third World did not always act with cohesion. There were dissensions and disunity on many issues among members of the Third World. There was interest aggregation on many others. To ascertain the mind and attitude of the Third World out of these conflicting trends and approaches and to synthesise them into a concrete workable hypothesis is a highly difficult task. I have tried, however, within my limited capacity to do justice to this major problem in the Thesis and I hope I have been able to throw some new light on a subject which has remained hitherto unanalysed.