CHAPTER III
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While the policy of non-alignment was conditioned by the objective realities of domestic and foreign policies of each country over a given period of time, the collective approach of some countries, almost all of whom were newly independent countries of the developing South, vis-a-vis the Great Powers gave birth to Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Over a period it acquired legitimacy and symbolised the aspiration of the South. Egypt was a founder member of this movement - NAM as it came to be known.

While the policy of non-alignment of all pioneering countries like Egypt, Ghana, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia had different thrusts, keeping in view their different domestic and foreign policy compulsions, still they had a few things in common that created a common bond between them. These common aims and objectives were summarised, even before the first formal non-aligned Summit, by President Nasser during a speech on 27 November 1958. He said:

As for our international policy, it is one of work for easing tension now that humanity has reached a stage where it has become a necessity to end the Cold War and lay the foundation of peace. We support the right to self-determination; we stand by all the nations that are struggling for their independence and work towards ending the power policies pursued by the big powers. We work for the liquidation of the spheres of influence bearing in mind that the independence gained real so that the smaller nations would not be toys in the hands of the big ones. We are struggling for the prevention of atomic weapons and disarmament so that all efforts be directed towards development.... This is why we are determined
that our policy be one of neutrality and non-alignment, a policy that works for peace, prevention of war and disarmament for the sake of humanity at large.¹

These non-aligned states did need a forum to voice their common concern on issues dealing with world peace, nuclear disarmament, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism as well as the economic problems facing the countries of the South. Thus, much against the wishes of some non-aligned leaders, a loose grouping did emerge under the term Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This robust movement was the result of the strenuous efforts by a group of leaders, dedicated to national liberation and progress, of whom Nasser, Jawaharlal Nehru, Josip Broz Tito etc. were pioneers.² After the first conference of these states in Yugoslavia, the movement grew stronger over the years. Egypt, under Nasser, played a pioneering role in the NAM and even now continues to be an important member of the NAM.

Egypt played a crucial role in organising the NAM in its formative period. President Nasser, in a speech at the Belgrade Conference in September 1961, explained the objectives in the following terms:

There is no power to serve peace like the community of states following the policy of non-alignment. These states which live with the problems of their world, and do not isolate themselves therefore, and which do not submit in their stand vis-a-vis these problems to the pressure of one of the blocs dictating a certain attitude or a line

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of action, these states, inspired by the urge of peace based on justice, irrespective of any other consideration, are more able to place at the service of peace - justly and without bias - all their material and moral potentialities. In this way, we are in a better position to act freely, with integrity, and without bias, between the two blocs to shorten the gap separating them and consolidate the possibilities of understanding, particularly that the policy of non-alignment has earned the respect of all world powers, including the states within the spheres of the great blocs. We should secure our full liberty whether in reviewing the problems, in analysing their details or in finding logical solution to them.  

Non-alignment as an independent policy and active policy in the sense of independence to take one's own decisions and to express one's own opinion on any international question according to its own merits without a priori aligning with any bloc or with any interest of a certain power and to fight for them actively with a view to achieving world peace and prosperity, the abolition of colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism at the same time realigning all-round national development was also demarcated as the broad outlines of Egyptian foreign policy for the formation of this NAM. When the NAM was created, it was essentially an Afro-Asian movement, a bicontinental movement that became a moral and political shock force by incorporating the five principles of Pancha Sila (April 1954) and the ten Bandung principles.

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And the late President, Nasser, was the first to link Egypt's international policy with non-alignment. President Nasser along with other senior leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Joseph Broz Tito, Sukarno and Nkrumah gave a shape to non-alignment as a movement in the Belgrade Conference of 1961. But the Belgrade Conference which owes much to a foetus called the Bandung Conference had tremendous impact upon Nasser. This Bandung Conference was considered to be one of the important corner-stones towards the evolution of such a movement during that time.

Egypt's affinity with the NAM grew out of its new close contacts with the newly independent states of the South. In April 1955, a few weeks after the Israeli attack on Gaza, and the Iraqi decision on joining the Western alliance system, Nasser made his first journey to the East - to Pakistan, India, Burma and to Bandung. Nasser's previous contacts with Asian leaders had been in Cairo where Prime Minister Nehru had made a habit of stopping off on many of his trips to London. There is evidence that Nehru's persuasion was required to get Nasser to accept the invitation to attend the first Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung. The first Arab reaction to the proposed conference had been cool. But when Pakistan's insistence on the inclusion of Israel was finally accepted by the other sponsoring powers - India, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia, Arab interests quickened. Egypt's interests increased when it became known that a large


African delegation would attend. It seems that the chief attraction for Nasser in the journey lay in the prospects of closer ties with India and also with other Afro-Asian states.

A treaty of friendship between Egypt and India was signed in Cairo on April 7, 1955. Nasser hoped for strengthening that relationship. Nasser was a man with a mission. He hoped to convince Nehru of the justice of the Arab cause in Palestine and to win India's support for it in the United Nations. Moreover, he wanted to finish colonialism and imperialism in toto.

The common denominator which gave the leaders at Banung, a sense of genuine community of purpose, was the need to share in decisions affecting their own countries. The Conference had to be recognized first of all as a protest against the habit of colonial and Western powers of making decisions on Afro-Asian matters without consulting with those who were involved in it.

The first Afro-Asian Conference, held at Bandung, had a great impact upon the evolution of Egyptian policy of non-alignment. The Bandung Conference was the turning point in one of Egypt's Foreign policy as well as the course of NAM.  

There Nasser, who headed the Egyptian delegation, earned a reputation for astute diplomatic negotiation. For his logical points, of the ten Bandung principles, two of the Egyptian principles were included in 6a and 6b, and a third clause in respect of international obligation. It is clearly palpable that Nasser had taken strong neutralist convictions with him to Bandung and when he returned

to Egypt he brought back a conviction that neutralist principles, staunchly under
written by many Afro-Asian states, would in time form the basis for effective policy
in the United Nations. The Bandung consensus, in Nasser's view, had produced
practical policy to minimise the risks of a world war. After Bandung, a new
element was added to Egyptian neutralism.10 Earlier, Arabs in general and
Egypt in particular had a narrow pan-Arab view which was confined largely to the
Palestine issue and their own treaty relationship with the West. In Bandung,
Arabs were exposed to a large Afro-Asian ethos. Egypt, as the leading Arab
state, and a state that had opted for a policy of non-alignment, gained valuable
friends and supporters. Thus, it will not be wrong to say that the Bandung
Conference widened the Egyptian foreign policy horizon from the narrow Arab
angle to a wider Afro-Asian environment and subsequently to the NAM itself. The
Bandung Conference, which had witnessed some initial strife due to the inclusion
of nine Western aligned countries (that was to say they were party to security
agreements and pacts) and two communist countries, was successful due to the
prominent efforts exerted by Nasser, Nehru and Chou-En Lai.

The Bandung Conference, which was held in Merdeka (Freedom) Hall in
the small resort town of Bandung in Java island in Indonesia from 18 to 24 April
1955, was attended by 340 delegates representing twenty-nine countries. It was
the first Afro-Asian conference. The participating countries proclaimed that the
maintenance of international peace and security would be assisted by friendly co-
operation between states in keeping with the following ten principles:

10 Christina Phelps Harris, "The New Egypt After 1952", Current History
(1) Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations.

(2) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

(3) Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations. Large and small.

(4) Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

(5) Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the charter of the United Nations.

(6) (a) Abstention from the use of arrangement of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the Big powers.
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

(7) Refraining from acts of threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

(8) Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitra-tion, or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties’ own choice, in conformity with the charter of the United Nations.

(9) Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.

(10) Respect for justice and international obligation.

The Conference also reached the following agreement;

(a) in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;
(b) in affirming that the subjection of people to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights and is contrary to the charter of the UN and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.
(c) in declaring its support to the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and
(d) in calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

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12 ibid, pp.15-20.
President Nasser, speaking from the rostrum of the Bandung conference, said that the best thing that countries of the world could do was to establish a lasting and permanent peace on earth. The President also emphasized on that point which meant not merely the absence of war, but also such relations among states which called for vigorous and persistent efforts to create a climate of international stability, economic progress and social justice.

The Bandung Conference became the first major piece of coordinated action by the Afro-Asian countries on the world scene based on a common anti-colonialist, anti-war and democratic platform. Meeting on equal terms with Pandit Nehru, Chou En-Lai and other senior Asian statesmen, Nasser could feel that his forecasts about Egypt’s potential role in the world were coming true.\textsuperscript{13} Egypt and China also came closer during that Conference that paved the way for close Sino-Egyptian cooperation after 1955. Thus, the Bandung Conference had a tremendous impact upon Nasser. His active role in the Conference exercised a profound impact even in Egypt. Arriving home in Cairo after the Conference, Nasser was hailed as a hero whose three-week trip had propelled Egypt "three centuries forward".\textsuperscript{14} In response Nasser stressed that the states of Asia and Africa had met for the first time without the participation of those powers which dominated them. Elaborating on this theme, he stressed that Egypt desired that the world should go hand in hand and that its states should not be play things of the big powers in the arena of competition.


\textsuperscript{14} G.G.Stevens, n.7, p.148.
After Bandung, Nasser, Nehru and Tito periodically convened meetings to discuss a non-aligned approach to international affairs. Meanwhile, in July 1955, Nasser was to host to both Nehru and Indonesian President, Sukarno, issuing in each case a joint communique stressing renewed interest in peace and cooperation. The Tripartite Conference between, Nasser, Nehru and Tito at Brioni in July 1956 also strengthened Nasser's ties with these leaders. According to Cairo's interpretations, the three men represented the continents of Europe, Africa and Asia.\textsuperscript{15} Dulles' speech regarding them, "These people how arrogant they are", which also contained "the withdrawal of American assistance for Aswan Dam aid"\textsuperscript{16} drew the trio closer. The Brioni Conference provided an incentive to hold regular consultations either in the form of personal contacts or of exchanges of messages on important problems. The Brioni talks, in fact, established the pattern of close contacts between Nasser and other leaders of the Afro-Asian world.

The abortive attack on Egypt following the Suez Crisis, which followed soon after the Brioni Conference, brought about the reassertion of the Bandung and Brioni spirit. The perpetuation of the Bandung principles and the necessity of establishing a forum for voicing the aspirations of the dependent countries of Africa and Asia, was one reason that prompted Egypt to take the initiative in inviting an Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at Cairo in December 1957 which

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remained, till that date, as the biggest gathering Afro-Asians that had ever been assembled. Five-hundred delegates representing forty-five nations had come to attend this conference which was nick-named "The People's Bandung". "Russia asked and received permission", which was a notable one, "for observer to attend the Conference from the World Peace Council." This Conference established a permanent secretariat in Cairo and a Council which was to meet in regular sessions once a year.

Unlike the Bandung, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference was attended by public organizations and not by official representatives. But the stances of those peace and freedom-loving organisations were supported by the concerned governments and prominent political figures of Asia and Africa. In full accordance with the Bandung spirit, the conference laid down the political, social, economic and organisational foundations of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. Unlike the Bandung the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity meetings concentrated on anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policies. Western Middle East policy was the chief target, especially British "imperialism" in the Persian Gulf, the Baghdad Pact, the Eisenhower Doctrine, and Western imperialism on Israel. At the conclusion of the Conference an Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council with a permanent organisation and secretariat was established. The organisation was to implement the conference resolutions. Its Secretary-General was to be an Egyptian, and

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17 G.H. Jansen, n.9, p.257.

18 Don Peretz, "Non-Alignment in the Arab World", n.15, p.41.
among the eleven secretaries one each was to be elected by Communist China and by the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{19}

The Bandung Conference and the subsequent Brioni as well as Afro-Asian Solidarity Conferences were the vital forces for strengthening the Egyptian policy of non-alignment. It gained further momentum, following the invitation of President Nasser, President Tito, President Sukarno joined by Prime Minister, Nehru and the Government of Afghanistan, which decided to support the sponsorship of the invitation, when a preparatory meeting for the Conference of the uncommitted countries took place in Cairo from 5 June to 12 June 1961. It was held under the chairmanship of Dr.Mahmou\d{d} Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UAR.\textsuperscript{20} The Cairo Preparatory Meeting was attended by delegates of Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somali, Sudan, the UAR, Yugoslavia and the Provisional Algerian Government. "Brazil was represented as an observer".\textsuperscript{21}

The Cairo Preparatory meeting discussed suggestions for the agenda of the Summit and recommended a draft agenda. Egypt played a crucial role in preparing this agenda also. In fact, Egypt was instrumental in bridging differences in view points and in helping the conference to achieve agreements on the most

\textsuperscript{19} Afro-Asian People's Conference, Cairo, pp.64-65, quoted, ibid, p.42.


salient and most important criteria with regards to non-alignment. The five criteria put forth by the Cairo preparatory conference for the first Non-aligned Summit were:

1. That the member country should be pursuing an independent policy based on non-alignment and co-existence with nations of different social and political systems or that it should have manifested such a trend.

2. That the country should have been supporting national liberation movements.

3. and was not party to a multilateral military pact, within the context of superpower conflict.

4. If the state was party to a bilateral military agreement with a Super Power, or party to a regional pact, the agreement or the pact should not have been concluded within the context of Super Power conflict.

5. If the state had granted a military base to a foreign great power, this should not have taken place within the context of Super Power conflict.²²

As soon as the Preparatory Conference concluded its work, a committee was established at an ambassadorial level. It consisted of those countries that had participated in the Preparatory Conference. The Committee met in Cairo on 21 June to consider inviting nations which had not attended the Preparatory Conference. At the first meeting held to apply the five criteria, members vied with each other in proposing new members. Egypt, however, keeping in mind the five criteria, suggested only a few countries. Indeed, the Cairo Preparatory

Conference was a more thorough affair than the Bogor meeting which had preceded the Bandung Conference.

While the policy of non-alignment, can be traced back to the post-World War II period, the NAM is generally traced to the first formal conference of the Heads of the State and government of these states (known as first NAM Summit) which was held at Belgrade from 1-6 September 1961. Egypt, thanks to the important role in the Cairo Preparatory Conference, was one of the major founder-members of the NAM. Egypt along with Ghana, India, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia was one of the signatories to the proposal submitted to the United Nations General Assembly's 15th Session which stated:

In view of the present tension in international relations, and in the conviction that the countries-members of the UN sincerely wish to reduce this tension and pave the way for promoting further efforts towards peace, we have the honour to submit the enclosed Draft Resolution with the request that it be forwarded to the fifteenth session of the UN General Assembly for urgent consideration.23

The Belgrade Conference came as a logical sequel to the Cairo Preparatory meeting and also to the numerous meetings held on African and Asian soil. It was attended by 28 countries. Three Latin-American countries: Bolivia, Brazil and Ecuador were observers. The significance of the conference was that it was represented by nine Arab countries namely Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, UAR, Yemen, Algeria, Tunisia that marked the substantial contribution of the Arabs to the movement. The Arab viewpoint, according to one Arab writer, was based upon six premises:

The importance of the Conference lies not only in analysing and taking an attitude toward the situation prevailing in the world to-day and the acute aspects of crucial international issues, since in its historical aspect the Conference is not the product of a momentary situation, but the expression of a long evolution and crystallisation of the motive power of modern history. In his address, President Nasser reviewed this historic development since the Bandung Conference.

The basic platform to be developed at the Belgrade Conference should not be reduced to the mere statement that the countries concerned do not wish to be aligned with any bloc, since this statement would not afford a sufficient basis for active potential dealings. The joint action of the non-aligned countries is not to be conceived of as the basis for an imposed discipline in a bloc sense, for this would be intenable.

The Arab delegates refrained from offering solutions to such pressing international questions as the Berlin issue, as it was felt that the decisive factor was not what to do, but rather how to establish confidence between the two blocs and relax tensions.

Non-alignment, in the Arab point of view, did not mean isolation from the two power groups. The assumption that the division of the world is ideologically, as well as politically, final and irrevocable, was rejected as essentially a false and dangerous premise.

The Arabs outlined the need for stimulating capital investment in developing countries, preferably through international agencies so as to initiate the essentials for a self-generated economy.

The Arab delegation felt that it is incumbent upon them to reopen the Palestine issue in the interest of peace and progress.24

Nasser with the other inner-group members like Nehru, Tito, U Nu, Sukarno and N' Krumah placed unequivocal emphasis on the issues of colonialism and imperialism. Egypt played a prominent part in this conference and was actively involved in all its resolutions. The following is just one of many instances

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illustrating the importance of Egypt's role at the first Non-aligned Summit. The first question before the conference was that of tension and peace in the world. Numerous trends were noted and different views expressed on the means whereby to deal with that issue. In the light of this situation, the conference held its first closed meeting it was the fourteenth-at-head-of-delegation level, with only one counsellor in attendance. At this meeting, Nasser made two proposals:

1. That the conference should address a collective message signed by the heads of delegations, to Khrushchev and Kennedy inviting them to hold a conference in order to safeguard world peace.

2. That the message be conveyed by two delegations, each delegation be composed of two Heads of State.

The conference having approved these two proposals, the Egyptian President further proposed three suggestions so as to implement them:

1. That the conference entrust Prime Minister Nehru with the drafting of the message.

2. That the delegation which would convey the conference message to President Kennedy be composed of President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Madibo Keita of Male.

3. That the delegation which would convey the conference's message to Mr. Khrushchev be composed of Prime Minister Nehru of India and President N'kromah of Ghana. The Conference approved these proposals.25

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As far as all issues submitted to the conference were concerned, Egypt had a positive role, which brought about effective measures. This positive role was not limited to the conference, but went beyond it as it followed up the implementation of resolutions adopted. These resolutions were considered a victory, not only for non-alignment but for world peace and the peoples struggling for freedom as well. The Summit accepted the view that neo-colonialism was a new manifestation of imperialism. The Conference condemned the imperialist policy pursued in the Middle East and, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, decided to (1) endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, (2) declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism. President Nasser attacked Israel as a "Bridgehead of neo-colonialism in Africa and a tool of its ambition" and said: "certain major powers supported Israel in defiance of every law and justice." Egypt, along with other participants, resolved "to make a concerted effort to put an end to all types of neo-colonialism and imperialist domination in all its forms and manifestations." Arab nationalism was Nasser's vehicle for throwing off the shackles of western imperialism. And for that matter in between the Cairo Preparatory Conference of 1961 and the Belgrade NAM Summit of 1961, on 10 April 1961, Egypt along with Sri Lanka (Ceylon) submitted a draft resolution in the UN, whereby the Council would:

Endorse the Mixed Armistice Commission’s decision of 20 March 1961, and urge Israel to comply with that decision.29

The Belgrade Summit gave rise to a movement - NAM and Egypt became one of its founder members. Though the NAM Summit of Belgrade did not decide the holding of similar conferences in an uninterrupted manner. Still it accelerated the movement and conferences were held with the initiative of its founder members. One of the notable development of the first NAM Summit was the great debate that revolved round the creation of a permanent diplomatic instrument for the movement of NAM countries which was categorically rejected by almost all of the states whose representatives had met in Belgrade.30 Perhaps the reason was that it would create intra-NAM grouping due to the concentration and accumulation of power in the hands of the few, which might deter the movement.

Egypt, realizing the economic dimension of the NAM and supported by nine nations which had attended the Belgrade Summit, hosted the Third World Economic Development Conference in 1962, the year following the Belgrade Summit. Thirty-one countries participated in it in addition to four observers. This was the first attempt made at Third World level, to consider international trade and its impact on the economies of Third World countries in general and non-

30 Addresses, Sixth NAM Summit, 1979, p.187.
aligned countries in particular.\textsuperscript{31} In this Cairo Conference, the participating countries laid down the first collective plan aimed at standing up to the development challenges and overcoming obstacles raised by the affluent nations through co-operation of non-aligned countries in the economic field. The Cairo Economic Declaration was a statement reflecting the approach of the have-nots to the problems they faced as part of the world's economic structure with some indication of what could be done to help them and what they could do to help themselves. Though the conference could not foster any instant success in economic sphere among the non-aligned countries, still it strengthened the ties of cooperation among the non-aligned.

One of the Egypt's major contributions to the movement of non-alignment and a landmark in the history of the movement itself, was the second non-aligned Summit held at Cairo from 5-10 October 1964.\textsuperscript{32} Faced by a continuing world tension and an escalating conflict between Western countries and countries of the Third World, particularly an increasing number of military coups in the Third World, and threats posed to several non-aligned countries, particularly Sri Lanka, Egypt convened a Second Non-aligned Summit in Cairo in October 1964. The choice of Cairo as a venue for the Summit reflected Egypt's dynamic role in the movement and paid tribute to its initiatives in standing up to challenges posed to the movement. This meeting was a gigantic step for the movement, which did

\textsuperscript{31} Egypt Govt. Document II, p.11.

\textsuperscript{32} Egypt Govt. Document I, p.7.
away with the negative aspects of the first conference.\textsuperscript{33} This meeting held at Cairo University, on the banks of the Nile, was one of the biggest historical events. It brought the movement closer to liberation movements and to the causes of non-aligned countries, especially as the number of participating countries had risen to forty-seven. This Summit was an extra-ordinary event as it marked a major step forward in the strengthening of the movement.

The Heads of State or Government attending the Second NAM Summit were happy to express their warmest appreciation to the brave people, the Government and the distinguished President of the United Arab Republic, His Excellency, Gamal Abdel Nasser, for the superb way in which he had organised the conference, both materially and morally and for the generous and most brotherly hospitality extended to all delegations.\textsuperscript{34} The Indian Premier, Lal Bahadur Shastri, told the Conference:

\begin{quote}
We are meeting in this celebrated capital of a historic land. It is our esteemed friend, President Nasser who together with Tito and Sirimavo Bandarnake took the welcome initiative which has brought us all to Cairo from the four corners of the globe.\textsuperscript{35}
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The Cairo conference fully confirmed to the basic principles of the Belgrade Declaration and evolved a more comprehensive programme for safeguarding security, expanding international cooperation and preserving peace. The agenda for the conference covered wide-ranging subjects like strengthening of world

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\textsuperscript{33} Egypt Govt. Document II, pp.11-12.


\textsuperscript{35} Asian Recorder, 1964, p.6199.
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peace and security, concerted action for the liberation of the countries still dependent, elimination of colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, respect for right of peoples to self-determination, general and complete disarmament, economic development and cooperation etc.\textsuperscript{36}

Like Belgrade, Cairo owed much to the pressure of events as to personalities for its occasioning, but, in contrast to the former, there was a marked improvement in the world situation. While the Belgrade Conference was held at the height of the cold war military confrontation, the Cairo conference followed the detente of 1962. As the Cairo Document stated, "this second Non-aligned Conference is being held at a time when the international situation has improved as compared with that which existed between the two power blocs at the time of the historic Belgrade Conference.\textsuperscript{37} Not only the cold war tension, prevailing at the time of the first conference, had eased considerably but also a large number of former colonies had become independent and, in their attempt to overcome social and economic backwardness, were struggling against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Despite this improvement in international environment, some dangerous political issues had remained unresolved like the future of Palestine, racial discriminations, control of nuclear weapons etc.

The decolonisation process led to a marked increase in the number of membership of the NAM. Forty-seven countries participated in this conference. Several of them were the newly independent countries like Algeria, Angola,
Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Male, Nigeria, Uganda etc. There were also twelve observers: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela, the organisation of African Unity and the Arab League.

Many speakers at the plenary session of the conference felt the need to define non-alignment as it was argued that the NAM had lost its relevance. But Nasser, the host, strongly refuted this argument by giving non-alignment a two-fold definition. He maintained that the policy of non-alignment was not a trade in the strife between two blocks, aiming at securing the highest portion of privileges from each. He said, "The proof lies on the fact that we have adopted our main efforts to the dissipitation of this strife, to warning against its dangers and have taken positive action to evade it." The second point highlighted by him was that the policy of non-alignment was not passive wishing to remain aloof from the problems of its world. He said, "the proof is that we have endeavoured to deal with all the problems of our age and have come out with solutions which we put before the policy of blocs. In every situation, we were bowed solely by the obligation to adoption attitude based on an honest view governed by no previous obligation, except the principles accepted by the peoples in the most cherished document they have reached through their sacrifices namely, the charter of the United Nations, the charter of peace based on justice." 38

Whereas the first non-aligned Summit had resolved not to make concrete proposals for the solution of all international disputes, the second conference had

38 Egypt Govt. Document I, pp.9-10.
much to say and proposed solutions to almost all important questions such as the solution to problems in the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, South-East Asia and in South Africa. This conference accorded to it the pride of peace because a separate sub-heading "Settlement of Disputes without Threat or Use of Force" in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter pointedly called for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. The Summit also decided to:

(1) Endorse the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and

(2) Declare its full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation.39

The landmarks on the road to peace as enunciated by Nasser at the conference were eradication of imperialism, correction of painful disparity in living standards, removal of the barriers to freedom and a proper use of the United Nations.

Egypt's role during this time also reflected the consensus of the Arab Summit conference which had preceded the NAM Summit of Cairo and which was held at Alexandria in the UAR from 5-11 September 1964. Among other resolutions it had said that the Arab conference defined the national cause as that of liberating Palestine from Zionist imperialism ... for which plans have already been laid down. This declaration had confirmed the views of thirteen Arab states - Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the UAR, and Yemen - that their governments, separately and

jointly, had expressed in the U.N. and in international conferences to uphold and
restore the rights of the Palestinian people to their homeland.\textsuperscript{40}

The Egyptian President reiterated his stand on Palestine in the second
NAM Summit which dealt with security problems under four separate sections: on
the codification of peaceful co-existence, on respect for sovereignty, on settlement
of disputes without force and disarmament. They were accorded greater attention
in comparison to the Belgrade conference.

The Cairo conference was also significant because for the first time it put
forward the demand for the setting up of a new international economic order
(NIEO). The conference devoted much more time and attention to economic
problems. It stressed that economic liberation is an essential element in the fight
to end political domination which means that political liberation cannot be
completed without economic liberation.\textsuperscript{41} It also favoured the expansion of
economic relations within the Third World for national development. The Cairo
was a landmark in that direction since it suggested the creation of an integrated
and joint fund programme. A Soviet commentator has described the Declaration
of the conference as a document of tremendous international importance,\textsuperscript{42}
whereas the \textit{New York Times} termed the Cairo conference as an extra-ordinary
gathering of leaders and representatives of independent nations.\textsuperscript{43} The non-

\textsuperscript{40} The United Nations, \textit{Yearbook of the United Nations, 1964}, New York:

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Dawn} (Karachi), 22 October 1964.

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Hindustan Times} (New Delhi), 12 October 1964.

aligned countries' demand for a new international economic order launched in Cairo was accepted officially at the Sixth U.N. General Assembly special session on May 1974.

Egypt's emphasis on economic programme, basically an idea of Nasser, was pressed harder in the subsequent phases of NAM. President Nasser, along with Tito, at their Alexandria bilateral conference of May 1966, expressed great anxiety at the unsatisfactory economic progress of the developing countries and blamed the affluent nations for not having done enough to promote international trade and development. Both the Presidents agreed that the critical period through which the world was passing required that all states joined in the efforts to establish peace and seek to ensure an appropriate atmosphere in which all the nations of the world could concentrate on developing their resources to promote their economies and raise their standard of living. Nasser also reaffirmed his support for the principles proclaimed by the Afro-Asian and non-aligned conferences at Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo as a basis for international dealings. He also stressed the importance of promoting international cooperation in accordance with the principles of peaceful co-existence, equal sovereignty, non-interference and respect for the economic and social systems adopted by states and to settle international disputes by peaceful methods. The economic thrust was stressed at the Tripartite Conference held in New Delhi on 21 October 1966. In that Conference, Nasser with Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Tito expressed great anxiety at the unsatisfactory economic progress of the developing countries. He said that the poor nations should resist all economic pressures that were applied by the aid-givers. The Tripartite Communiqué emphasised the importance of
economic problems facing the developing countries and denounced the use of assistance as instruments of pressure by neo-colonialist powers.

President Nasser with the other two Heads of Government emphasized the covert and overt political and economic pressures that were being exercised by the big powers on the newly independent countries and stressed that the wide disparity between the rich and poor nations should be ended soon to pave the way for a more equitable international relationship based on justice. The Tripartite Conference also studied the international problems at that moment. Nasser initiated a joint appeal for an early end to the Vietnam conflict. The joint communique called for an unconditional cessation of the American bombing of North Vietnam and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam to enable the people of Vietnam to decide their own future. To a pointed question by an American correspondent whether in calling for a withdrawal of all outside forces from Vietnam the Tripartite Conference took into account the fact of the presence of North Vietnamese forces also in South Vietnam, Nasser replied that the North Vietnamese continued to maintain that their forces were not there. On the other hand, it was well-known that there were American forces in South Vietnam and he also said:

When we talk about withdrawal, we refer to those who are there. If the North Vietnamese are there in South Vietnam, they have also to withdraw. But I am not sure whether they are there.44

Nasser also reiterated his firm opposition to colonialism and supported the just struggle for the people of Zimbabwe, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, the

44 *The Times of India* (New Delhi), 25 October 1966.
so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Aden Protectorates. He along with Tito and Mrs. Indira Gandhi also opposed racialism as practised in South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Thus, the Tripartite Conference was another boost to the NAM. It drew the three pioneers of non-alignment together in their work towards strengthening the forces of the NAM.

Egypt continued to emphasize the economic aspects. On 23 December 1967, another Tripartite Economic Conference was held at Cairo at the initiative of Nasser. It was attended by President Tito as well as Mrs. Gandhi. That Conference, among other things, discussed problems of grants of preferential tariffs, simplification of payment arrangements, and development of trade among the non-aligned nations. This initiative gave a new direction by which the non-aligned states could search for economic alternatives from among their own resources through a system of mutual help instead of having to depend upon the Super Powers and their allies. That gave a new direction to the question of South-South cooperation. Ever since the signing of that agreement the non-aligned countries have been arranging meetings between their Heads of governments and other leaders at suitable intervals in order to seek areas of cooperation in the economic and other fields.

The third conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-aligned countries was held in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8-10 September 1970. Here also in the agenda, declaration on peace, Independence, Economic Progress got

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prominence.\textsuperscript{46} Egypt, along with others, affirmed that continued Israeli
color={black},

occupation of the territories of three non-aligned countries constitute a violation
of United Nations principles.\textsuperscript{47} Egypt in this conference also stated that the

inalienable rights of Palestine Arabs was a prerequisite for peace in West Asia
and the resolution adopted in that conference demanded the restoration to the

Palestinians of their "homeland" and supported the Palestinian fight for national
Liberation against "colonialism" and "racism".\textsuperscript{48} Egypt also supported the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its heroic struggle. Egypt supported its
admission in the movement of Non-aligned countries at this Summit and since
then, Egypt has followed with alarm the confrontation that sets it against

China.\textsuperscript{49}

Egypt's policy of non-alignment during this time and its role in the NAM
should be viewed in the context of Cold War and 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the

subsequent phase of continuing confrontation. This had a tremendous impact
upon the policy of non-alignment of Egypt as well as its attitude towards the

movement. The Soviet support to Egypt for confrontation may be considered as
a development of the Cold War rivalry. The U.S. initiative for negotiation and
Rogers’ Peace Proposal of 19 June 1970 reactivizing peace talks based upon the

22 November 1967 Resolution and 1970 ceasefire can be noted as the broad

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\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{46} NAM Documents, 1961-79, p.40.
\item \textsuperscript{47} NAM Documents, 1961-82, p.50.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Asian Recorder (New Delhi), 10-16 December 1970, p.9906.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Addresses Sixth NAM Summit, 1979, p.190.
\end{enumerate}
\end{center}
results of the 1967 war in Arab-Israeli context. Acceptance of the Rogers Peace Proposal by some Arab states, including Egypt, and its rejection by some others have for the first time in the history of West Asian conflict, created a rift in the Arab solidarity on the question of confrontation with Israel.\(^{50}\) Egypt's acceptance of the proposal possibly due to a tremendous pressure on her economy and military since 1967 June war had a decided effect on the policy of her non-alignment. The continued war of attrition launched by Israel against the UAR through its constant artillery and air bombardment had seriously affected the economic growth of Egypt. "Though Egypt scored some gains and inflicted some losses, notably the sinking of the destroyer 
\textit{Eilat} in October 1967,\(^ {51}\) still it should be remembered that the two sources of foreign exchange earnings of the UAR-tourism and Suez Canal, had been seriously affected by the war. The cost of the continued war was being borne by the UAR except for the token Arab contribution of about £100 million per year by the three oil producing countries - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya.\(^ {52}\)

The Egyptian non-alignment entered into a crucial phase, amidst these development, as President Nasser passed away at 'Manshiet el-Bakr'\(^ {53}\) on 28

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{50} K.R. Singh, "Rogers' Proposals and Arab Reactions", \textit{Foreign Affairs Report} (New Delhi), vol.19, nos.6-7-8, June, July and August 1990, p.61.
\item \textit{52} K.R. Singh, n.50, p.61.
\end{itemize}
September 1970 at around 6.15 p.m. due to 'cardiac arrest'.\textsuperscript{54} The sudden demise of Nasser came as a profound shock not only to those in Egypt but also to the non-alignment movement. The Indian Council for Africa expressed the mourning in these words:

True to his name - the servant of the victorious one - he struggled valiantly for freedom, justice and honour.... It is one of the greatest tragedies of the world that just when peace, which had all these protracted years hovered elusively like a mirage in the shifting Arab lands, was on the verge of becoming a tangible reality, Gamal Abdel Nasser was snatched away from his people and all those who looked up to his astute leadership in these moments of crisis.\textsuperscript{55}

The widespread international anxiety caused by Nasser's death was a recognition - however belated in some quarters - of the importance of his role as an Arab as well as an Egyptian leader. The Arab world seemed to be left without a unifying and responsible leadership at a critical moment both for itself and for world peace. Nasser died when his greatest test for statesmanship in making peace or war was yet to come. But whatever the outcome of the still unsettled conflict with Israel, some of the changes Nasser had already helped to bring about in Egypt, in the Arab world and in the 'Third World' and the non-aligned countries are likely to endure and to influence his successors. If Egypt's defeat by Israel in the six-day war of 1967 had led to Nasser's fall he would have been remembered by most Arabs, even his enemies, not, as Hitler has been by most Germans, with shame,


but as Frenchmen remembered Napoleon in Stendhal's day, with pride.\footnote{Robert Stephens, n.53, p.560.} If the rest of the world, especially Westerners, find this difficult to understand, it is only partly because some of them were Nasser's opponents or even his victims.

Nasser propounded a definite ideology which he tried to implement not only at home but also abroad. He played a superb role in doing away with imperialism in domestic level, a masterly role in supporting Pan-Arabism in regional level and above all a key role in the evolution of the NAM in global level. He was a super Egyptian to challenge successfully, for the first time, imperialism, colonialism and zionism. There was no other Egyptian leader as that of Nasser's calibre during that period. Egypt and the non-aligned world lost one of the profound protagonists of non-alignment and NAM as well.