PREFACE

The political dimensions of the nonaligned movement from the very beginning attracted intellectual attention. This brought about, eventually, countless comments, studies, analyses etc. In this context it would be somewhat difficult to add anything new on the political aspect of the movement. Thus I preferred to analyse its economic contexts. Consequently I have omitted the political problems assuming that they are very well known and would always remain as a familiar background for the economic issues discussed here. The emphasis on the economic part of the movement's efforts appears more relevant and justifiable in the changing world realities when the economic development of the nonaligned and other developing countries acquired more and more importance. Today the economic needs in the Third World are not less but more crucial than the political problems facing them; in fact the economic problems have become more politicized than ever. It is no longer possible to separate economic issues from political and social ones. They underlie the major socio-political breakdowns in the Third World societies increasingly unable to cope with

problems growing beyond their capabilities.

The members became more and more aware of it and made continuous attempts to identify and tackle the problems. This process is best illustrated by the documents of the NAM gatherings as the economic issues took more and more importance and revealed the whole complexity of the developmental needs and efforts of the Third World community.

The nonaligned worked out, either on the NAM forum or within the Group of 77, consisting mainly of nonaligned countries, several concepts and devices to tackle their developmental dilemmas. They stressed the necessity of South-South cooperation, self-reliance of the developing countries as well as the increasingly recommended regionalism as more able forms of solving more specific needs of particular countries or groups of countries. Some of these concepts have become very well known today, even beyond NAM.

The NAM has established itself as a very important perhaps the main, pressure group for development. Yet it has to be pointed out that its contents indicate certain crucial contradictions and inconsistencies which limited the role and impact of the movement on the development of the Third World and on the global state of affairs. India's

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significance in this process as one of the founding countries and one of the leading industrialized powers within the Third World cannot be overestimated.

This thesis attempts to give new insights into some rather well-known facts and put them in a different perspective. It starts with a short sketch of India's attempts towards regionalism and of the events which influenced her stand in the first years of her independence. It seeks further to analyse the growing awareness of the developing world, particularly in the nonaligned movement, of its economic needs in the process of development, efforts to assert its due place in the global economic and political structure.

These needs and ways to meet them have been specified and elaborated in the subsequent programmes of action of the NAM. Each programme of ECDC and TCDC adopted either by NAM or within the Group of 77 is the outcome of the time when it was formulated and launched. Time constantly changes and so do the priorities and needs. Thus, no matter whether previous programmes have been implemented or not, the nonaligned should initiate new activities of ECDC and TCDC type according to their new needs and priorities. Adequate implementation of the adopted programme of action necessitates not only an active involvement of interested countries but also presupposes that these programmes should correspond to developmental efforts of these countries.
Thus this study of economic contents of the nonalignment does not go into the ways as to how the programmes of action have been implemented but, using the example of India, examines some forms, discussed on the NAM forum, of India's cooperation with other developing countries.

The limits of a Ph.D. thesis make it difficult to include all of them. Thus only some, those which appear to be more dominant, have been chosen here i.e. Indian investment, mainly private, abroad, India's cooperation with her neighbours and other developing countries and attempts towards recommended by NAM regionalism in the framework of SAARC where the concepts and principles of ECDC, TCDC or South-South cooperation can be very well applied.

It is perhaps sometimes somehow problematic to draw a clearcut line between this what is still within scope of the NAM and this what has gone beyond it, as many forms of cooperation are living their own lives creating their own dynamics. It could be rightly said that many of those forms might have very well developed without the NAM's effort. Yet the NAM supported them with additional rationale, gave them additional dimension and drive force. The discussions on the NAM forum were crucial for evolution of some concepts and principles of developmental nature. The study of the economic aspects of NAM reveals many dimensions and several weak points in the conduct of India's economic external policy. Ad hoc character of India's economic co-operative international efforts has been pointed out by
many authors and has been many times stressed here. Inadequate administrative support for the conduct of India's external economic relations unables her not only to do full justice to her economic and cooperational potential but also curtails the impact of efforts which have been already made and prevents her to benefit from them fully. It seems that this thesis has posed more questions than it was able to answer but this indicates the complexity of the problems touched upon here as well as the scope for further studies.