CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion was mainly focused on the essential forces, both external and internal, that had shaped and reshaped the Non-Aligned Movement since its first summit was held at Belgrade in 1961. The main concern of this study is with the economic forces which gave the Movement a new dimension and kept it abreast of the vital processes of development in the developing countries. Non-alignment taught the new nations how to remove the evil impact of the cold war and to defend and promote their independence, and rallied both capitalist, and socialist countries to political and economic development.

When the founding fathers led the Movement an ideological fervour was at its heights. They kept away from the rivalries based on power politics. Later, with all its limitations, and constraints, the Movement faced serious challenges for nearly three decades. The first phase of a series of challenges was that of colonialism and imperialism. The Movement provided inspiration for its members to cut the roots of the challenges and to go for a future international economic order, based on equity and sovereign equality of nations. It campaigned for abolishing colonialism in the new nations. While several old wounds on the world body have healed, new ones appeared or the
old ones assumed new shapes like apartheid in South Africa. The super-power rivalry and cold war gradually have receded and both the super-powers are moving ahead to forge a detente. No one could deny that the Movement did manage to prevent the division of the world into two blocs and within the framework of the UN it promoted peaceful co-operation of all nations.

It is clear that the old structure and balance based on military or strategic elements of power are gradually disappearing in the face of a quest for a new equilibrium. The super-powers move closer to detente and show signs of being serious about disarmament; to that extent, the world has changed and the non-aligned nations are called upon to readjust themselves to the changing international conditions. The present climate of detente may ultimately lead to a re-definition of the world order, which will bring in new challenges and obligations in the world community. The coming years have to confront them more decisively and responsibly, trying above all, to affirm respect for the fundamental norms of international law. Here it is assumed that under the changed international milieu the relevance of the Movement is called in question.

The non-aligned concept has been defined, interpreted and
stated according to the understanding and personal bearing of the individuals concerned. The varying interpretations and differing perceptions represented the chilly temperament of its advocates or critics, particularly after its founding fathers left the scene. "Judging every issue on merit" has been the central theme propagated by the Movement to play value based politics in international relations. It has been heavily watered when the slogan was raised to call the Movement be the natural ally of the "Socialist World". Moscow successfully fostered the impression of identity between Soviet and Non-aligned interests. In December, 1980 Breshnev referred to the solidarity front of socialist and non-aligned countries, a front which stands in opposition to the aggressive forces of imperialism and colonialism.

The natural ally thesis presented at the 1970 Lusaka Summit of the non-aligned countries was endorsed three years later at Algiers in 1973. Since then 15 years had to elapse before the Soviet Union under Gorbachev sent a message to the Ninth Non-aligned Summit at Belgrade stating that the traditional rhetoric of imperialism and colonialism has little relevance to today's world with Namibia on the road to independence and the horrible apartheid system in South Africa becoming increasingly a
human right issue, rather than one connected with imperialism and colonialism. This change of mind shows the strong desire for peace and a redirection in the Soviet foreign policy objectives, without the use of force, to create meaningful relations between sovereign states. Soviet Union wants to minimise confrontations based on ideological differences with the United States. The change of mind further expressed the Soviet willingness to share the adherence of non-aligned countries to the idea of building a new international order which is based on unconditional respect for the sovereignty and freedom of choice and would ensure a worthy place in the world community for all nations. Gorbachev reiterated his country's desire for making irreversible the recent process of real disarmament, for strengthening confidence and mutual understanding between countries, and searching for solutions to international disputes through negotiations on the basis of balance of interests rather than on balance of power. The Soviet leader expressed the hope that NAM could play a more constructive role in the peaceful settlement of several regional disputes.

The NAM consisting of more than 60 per cent of the United Nations membership stipulates no ideological conditions for joining it. This does not mean that the NAM members are ready to
part with their ideology for the common cause of collective self-reliance. There are member states within it practising a variety of social systems. All member nations, by and large, pursue domestic policies that are totally inconsistent with what they project externally from the platform of the Movement. They demand disarmament of the big powers while accelerating their own arms purchases from the same powers. They have talked of self-reliance ever since the Movement came into existence but today the individual and collective dependence has become a fact of life. They shout for more equitable global order while pursuing at home policies which would create more inequalities and poverty, for their own people. They stress global negotiations but cannot negotiate to settle disputes among themselves.

The Western factories are producing not only manufactured goods, but also war weapons for sale in the developing countries. A substantial portion of the accumulated riches of the North is taken from the South through strategic and efficient management of finance and economy by the manufacturing industries in the North. Over the years, however, insidious external pressure had increased on non-aligned countries which for their security were obliged to view the super-powers as benefactors. Thus the Movement's failure is attributed to the large scale dependence of
its member countries on the developed North and in turn in the failure to intervene in regional conflicts even between its own members. The Iran-Iraq war consumed millions of people and immense resources of the two constituents who are non-aligned members. All the conflicting pairs of nations in the present world, Vietnam and Cambodia, Afghanistan and Pakistan, Chad and Libya, Syria and Lebanon, Ethiopia and Somalia and now Iraq and Kuwait, though the latter succumbed to the foreigners' will, are non-aligned. The relationship between India and Pakistan however is on the path of settling a number of issues. Yet every addition to the weapon system of both is viewed with suspicion on both sides. Very often wars were kept unsettled either by exhaustion of the belligerents or by the intervention of the super-powers. It was ironic that peace should have prevailed during the last 44 years between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries while in the non-aligned countries, which has eschewed military alliances for the sake of peace, there have been as many as 135 conflicts, in one of which the super-powers were ranged on opposite sides. None of the conflicts in the non-aligned world has ended in a peace settlement though some are smouldering in uneasy cease fires. They prefer to keep their conflicts unsettled assuming that super-power political support and military supplies would continue indefinitely.
The breakdown of the socialist system in East Europe, once a bastion of communism gave scope for speculation, in the developing countries that a more stable international peace is assured as the cold war of the old fashion ended. They feel solace under the changed international environment in which the Northern states, particularly United States, can divert its resources to help the developing countries as long as the Soviet menace and communist expansion remain shelved. The US has always opposed to the consideration of economic issues, particularly trade and money matters in the United Nations and other international bodies in favour of the developing countries. These bodies are expected to function on the principle of sovereign equality and independence. During the 1950s when the United States commanded a majority in the United Nations she had blocked Economic and Social Council from discharging its obligations under the Charter. Her insistence was that all matters relating to money should be considered only within the framework of the IMF or World Bank. Therefore, the withdrawal of super-powers from areas of tension need not better the conditions of the developing countries. The non-aligned may well be left out in the cold by the super-power detente. It is probable that the super-powers may freeze their competition for economic and strategic advantage by reaching a tacit
understanding about the limits to the sphere of their influence and power. Would their new mood of co-operation extended to joint super-power interests and involvement in pressing the non-aligned countries in conflict to opt for peaceful settlement.

The NAM now faces new challenges that have come in the wake of the historic changes in Eastern and Central Europe. The socialist countries are opting for western type of organizational foundation such as market economy and multiparty system. Twelve countries of Western Europe are on the way to integration and co-ordinated efforts to achieve common ends. The two super-powers and European countries have applauded the unification of East and West Germany. The relations of the East and the West, once under constant friction, move together in the direction of likely deviation of financial resources and business interests from the developing countries. The developed Western countries are ready to provide economic and financial assistance to the new regimes, Soviet Union, on the other hand, drifted to internal problems and was rendered helpless to assist the developing countries in substantial terms. These have happened at a time when the economic problems, such as trade, foreign debts, combating protectionism, transfer of technology, financing development and environmental protection were augmented more than ever before in
the developing countries. The NAM, as an organised entity should strive to meet the challenges with vigour and determination so that these new trends should not be permitted to divert funds for the development of the Soviet Union and other parts of the world, particularly to Eastern Europe.

The trend in the industrial world is to forge a new pattern of international relationship. The Europeans are hastening slowly the creation of a unified European market by 1992 which would further escalate protectionism. In the vast Asia and Pacific region, Australia and Japan are locking efforts to build a huge economically integrated region. The US and Canada, on the other hand, have decided to move on North American Common Market. The trade Expansion and Competitiveness Act with its famous S-301 clause passed in the United States is mainly designed to protect protectionism in the world economy. Gorbachev's "New Thinking" on international affairs is gradually gaining ground even in American mind. It is, therefore, crucial for the non-aligned nations to construct a bedrock of concepts and principles on which durably peaceful relations between and among themselves can be built and disputes settled before they lead to war. Otherwise, in the present context, in an international situation, where super-power detente prevails, the
responsibility for troubles in the world would be thrust upon the
developing nations. So far the developing world has blamed
partly the countries of the North for their economic backwardness
and Soviet Union has worked as a strong ally of the developing
nations in their fight against imperialism and colonialism. Now
the ally is making contacts with the Western systems and is in
search of complementarities on national and international issues.
The rapprochement between the super-powers in the realm of
polities would be further extended to the economic sphere, thereby
isolating the Third world countries. The super-powers are likely
to become more dangerous threats to the security and economic
independence of smaller nations. The recent example of American
intervention in Panama is an eye-opener to the fact that the
super-power detente would imperil the legitimate rights of the
smaller nations. Here the NAM as a collective entity can react
effectively in the interest of the developing nations.

The prevailing international situation is one in which
there is no serious dialogue with the South as the fear that
they cannot set apart the volume of assistance to the South as
much as they needed. The South also failed to convince the North
as to their genuineness of this. Beyond doubt, the South should
have consultations with the North to work out acceptable
proposals covering the different interests of its constituents. In other words, the members of the South should have agreed upon the major objectives. The realisation of Southern economic development and South-South co-operation should be made a much more decisive factor in international economic relations than it is at present. The countries of the South have much that can assist their developmental purposes. Many South countries possess a rich reservoir of natural resources, technology, skilled labour, potential talents and brain power. What is needed is an understanding of each other and the capacity to locate positions of strength along with the political will to pool together the resources available to be used for common purposes. Many developing countries failed to appreciate the bargaining strength they could have achieved through reforms at home to diminish inequalities among their own people. They also underestimated the extent to which, the NIEO will depend on their initiatives. They will need their own collective organisations to enlarge their economic powers; they must use the resultant developed strength to right the injustice that the international market places currently imposed on the world’s poor. Instead the non-aligned and other developing countries pay obeisance to the South-South co-operation. They came to the common platform
for the sake of joining together to deliberate in detail and not to act in union. The result thus far has been pitiable.

The NAM members longed for the creation of a New International Economic order in which they hoped to protect their legitimate interests. With a parochial concept of global interests the North saw the NIEO as an essential vehicle for South's growth that did not concern the North. When the energy crisis was at its most acute phase the North failed to see it as a universal problem affecting the whole range of world economy. They viewed it as the creation of a few wealthy developing nations to punish the rich North. Consequently the rich North shifted the burden of oil price hike to the poor oil importing developing countries causing ever increasing balance of payment difficulties. The solution to these problems suggested by the South were outright rejected to the extent of excluding them from the mainstream of economic decision making. The North's approach to the global economic problem has been compartmental. They are more liberal in regard to the affairs of the Sub-Saharan states in Africa and took a different measuring rode to calculate the needs of several Latin American States. They miserably failed to take a total outlook at the world's poor and their problems. Both the North and the South do not come together to appreciate
the value of meaningful dialogue for the creation of a New International Economic Order. The defiant attitude of the North reveals the fact that they want to perpetuate the dependent status of the South at least in the economic sphere. It is foolish to wait for the countries of North and South to come together and pool their resource to create a New International Order. What is needed is an attempt at promoting collective self-reliance among the countries of the South. The NAM should work as a guiding spirit to forge viable unity among the developing countries. Co-operation among developing countries should be the best form of global co-operation rather than clamouring for assistance from the North.

The countries of the South must move away from discussions and deliberations to proper planning and device workable schemes for the creation of an atmosphere of global co-operation. The political leadership in the countries of the South is very often not serious in bringing about a new international economic order. Many of them could not look beyond their petty local or national objectives. When conferences are convened these leaders utter empty words and leave the venue without making any impact on the future development of the Movement. These people could not understand the political and economic significance of the great
Movement. The political leadership of the non-aligned countries should realise the importance of a world movement with considerable implications for the developing world. The development projects proposed by the Movement, if implemented with the full co-operation of its member nations, would provide sufficient leverage to the developing countries and change quite drastically the relationship between the countries of the South and the North.

In the process of South-South co-operation there had been some amount of success with regard to the functioning of Africa Fund which was created by Non-aligned States, in 1986 to strengthen the hands of the front line status in Africa against the invasion, colonialism and apartheid of South Africa. In this regard it is clearly manifested that the NAM can finally speak of a tangible success story. For example, Tanzania, East Africa's largest country, is delinking its economic dependence on South Africa through assistance from the Fund. Under the Fund Yugoslavia has supplied small boats to Tanzania's Fishermen, Egypt is providing training in safeguarding vital facilities like ports, Hungary has provided medium sized transport trucks which are streamlining the Transania's transport network. The Fund is project and action oriented rather than outright grant oriented.
Mozambique is a nation hard hit by war and South African economic destabilisation. To recover the economic difficulties of Mozambique help is coming from the Fund. India's medicines are now used in Mozambique's hospitals. Again Zambia has received 100 railway wagons from India under the Fund. These wagons will eliminate Zambia's need to hire South Africa's railway wagons and save Lusaka several million dollars a year. In the same manner Algeria has helped Zambia by providing 54 heavy duty truks. These trucks carry produce from the hinterlands to the markets, thus generating incomes for the farmers who otherwise have no access to the market.

Africa Fund has to date received cash and kind contributions of nearly half a billion dollars. Most of the contributions to the Fund are from within the Movement. The NAM members have generously come to the assistance of Southern Africa notwithstanding their own problems and constraints. Although the picture of African economy is gloomy it is worth examining the collective efforts that have been undertaken under regional assistance and corporation to resuscitate the fragile economies of the member countries. The inspiration came mainly from the NAM example. Now the African leaders and planners have continued to favour regional economic co-operation as the Continent's
development strategy. As a result many African states are slowly, but surely beginning the process of reversing years of depressed economic growth, declining per capita income, weak export sales and difficulties in managing their debt servicing. In the countries which have adopted sustained economic reform programmes with planning growth rate doubled to some 4 per cent a year during 1986-87. Therefore, more careful dealings in economic issues would produce positive results to overcome many of the disabilities that crippled developing countries' economies.

The NAM has since long been expressing alarm over the worsening international economic relations. The debt servicing capacity of the developing countries deteriorated terribly and export earnings have been reduced considerably in real terms. The difficulty these countries are facing is mainly due to their position as producers of raw materials and at the same time they have been isolated from technical progress. More importantly, it may be noted that they are further kept away from fast developing science and technology in the advanced countries. The NAM continuously demands the transfer of processing industries to developing countries. But half of metals, 75 per cent of raw materials and 78 per cent of food stuffs are exported in
unprocessed form. The advanced countries virtually monopolised the processing technologies and are unwilling to give the developing countries access to them.

Various methods have been adopted by the developing countries to improve their economic situation and raise the standard of living of their peoples. They resort to structural readjustment, greater mobilisation of indigenous resources, economic reforms, planning and greater production efficiency. They have used more energy to effect economic co-operation among the developing countries on bilateral, regional and global levels. The concept of collective self-reliance received wider currency among the non-aligned countries. But more intensely, the integration process is working in Africa and attracted many in Latin America. In Asia too there has been considerable headway in strengthening the process of economic integration. Now in the Asian region there are six regional associations. The association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) are giving best results in regional developmental experiments. From the NAM experience it would be fair to suggest that more and more regional organisations can be established besides strengthening the existing ones. These regional and sub-regional organisations
are capable of cementing integration among their members as they are more near to each other. Understanding each other is the necessary ingredient for mutual co-operation. But no two big brothers would be included in the same co-operative regional venture. The membership of two or more nations with diamatically opposing interests or ideologies in the same organisation would destroy rather than help development efforts. When we consider the relationship between India and Pakistan, particularly in the field of trade, being members of SAARC, Colombo Plan, ESCAP and Asian Development Bank, the two countries co-operate with each other. But such co-operation is largely limited into seminars and symposiums. The foreign trade potential of the two countries is high but in practice limited by prejudices and political or strategic considerations. Pakistan's exports to India which were 19 million US dollars in 1986-87 increased to 27 million US dollars in 1987-88. The increase in imports from India doubled from 9.5 million US dollars to 20 million US dollars in the same period. But Pakistan's exports barely exceed the countries export to Thailand, Bangladesh and Srilanka.

It would be wrong to assume that the super-power detente and the consequent elimination of cold war is a sure guarantee of
development in developing countries. The possible outcome can be a bigger threat to the security and economic independence of smaller nations. The super-powers have been helping the developing countries for political and security reasons. Both super-powers wanted as many developing countries as possible to rally behind either power to show the other its superiority and popularity. This backing from the developing nations has been achieved by giving economic assistance in various forms. The end of such an international situation by the emerging super-power detente will reduce flow of assistance to the developing countries. In other words, the competitive spirit, with which the super-powers helped the developing countries is likely to be reduced considerably. Moreover the 6-7 left no doubt, for the developing countries to come to the conclusion that its concern for dismantling the vestiges of communism from East European countries is more important than doing something to remove growing economic imbalances in the developing countries. The world's wealthiest nations pledged to support reforms in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other countries where anti-communist movements almost succeeded and asked World Bank to deny new loans to China where the student agitations were suppressed. The developing countries, therefore, should not rely heavily on external assistance, particularly at a time when the creditor
countries are seriously concerned with the debt servicing and repayment of loans from the debtor nations. It is not wise to wait for the international community to pull together to create a world economic order in which the aspirations and expectations of the developing countries would be adequately safeguarded. There is much the developing countries themselves can do to promote collective self-reliance. The NAM can be a broad framework within which the member nations may interact with some frequency to evolve plans and proposals for an effective North-South dialogue while regional and sub-regional organisations within the Movement would provide areas of co-operation and mutual assistance in the present multi-dimensional world economy.

With no exaggeration can we conclude that in almost all non-aligned meetings whether at the ministerial level or at the Heads of State level the Movement simultaneously expressed its strength and weakness. An organisation consisting of hundred and two nations, in spite of its heterogenous character, exhibits an element of unity which can be called its strength. Also a large group of nations with contradictory interests, many of whom aligned with either of the power blocs are playing a decisive role in the Movement. Still the Movement continues its existence to the credit of its founding fathers and as a challenge to the
present leadership to achieve future success. The internal strength of the Movement is derived from the commitment of certain members to the cause of genuine non-aligned principles in the political and economic spheres. India, in this respect, stands far ahead of many member countries in convincing the world of the necessity and relevance of the Movement and unbringing it fully and durably to the centre of the emerging international situation. The NAM should work for a more integrated world than ever before, keeping away from regional conflicts and trying to solve the existing ones with its own initiative and not depriving the developing world of the tremendous progress and development brought on by science and technology.