The policy of Non-Alignment reflects the hopes, desires and aspirations of millions of human beings who were denied the right of self-determination and freedom.¹ They suffered from colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racialism. They struggled for a long time to overcome from colonial rule, foreign domination, tyranny, humiliation, poverty and ignorance. The Non-Aligned countries renewed their pledge to continue their struggle until they attained a world, based on justice and freedom and established international political and economic order governed by peace, independence, equality and cooperation against all obstacles and forces. The Non-Aligned countries are not following isolationist policies but they are playing an active role in major international conflicts being on their merits.

The policy of Non-Alignment is one of the better policies of the present day world in achieving disarmament, world peace, and right of self-determination, among the

peoples and in striving to free the world from colonialism, imperialism, racialism and neo-colonialism. The subsequent conferences of Non-Aligned countries have further elaborated the above principles formulated in the first Belgrade Summit Conference, making these even more clear-cut and even more meaningful.

The first Belgrade Summit Conference of 1961 was held at a time when the international situation was very tense. The age of thermo-nuclear weapons with a new range of missiles had dawned. A USA spy plane had been shot down over the USSR. The Berlin situation had again become critical and relations between the USA and the USSR had reached a new low point — all these had led the participants of the Non-Aligned nations to conclude that war had never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today.

The Belgrade Summit defined the goals and tasks of the policy of Non-Alignment and marked the beginning of the joint activities of Non-Aligned countries in the international arena. Having reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence and denounced


colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Non-Aligned states made it clear that they would not remain neutral on key contemporary issues.

The Conference categorically rejected as unsuitable and vicious the idea of the Non-Aligned nations forming a "third bloc" as a counter-balance to the socialist and capitalist states. The Non-Aligned countries represented at this conference do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot be a bloc, the declaration reaffirmed. They sincerely desired to cooperate with any Government which seeks to contribute to the strengthening of confidence and peace in the world.

The Belgrade Summit devoted its attention to larger colonial issues, such as the liberation of Algeria, Angola and other Portuguese territories, and to racial discrimination practiced in South Africa as state policy. The participants in the Conference solemnly reaffirmed their support to the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People", adopted at the 15th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and recommended the immediate, unconditional, total, and final abolition of colonialism and resolved to make a concerted effort to put an end to all typed or new colonialism and imperialist domination in all its forms and manifestations.¹

The conference demanded the immediate termination of all colonial occupation and the restoration of the territorial integrity to the rightful people in countries in which it had been violated in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil and condemned the policy of apartheid practised by the union of South Africa and demanded the immediate abandonment of this policy.

The Belgrade Summit's dominant theme was the establishment of peace and avoiding a world war, the conference pronounced itself in favour of general and complete disarmament, subject to effective international control as the ultimate goal, and the immediate prohibition of all types of nuclear weapons, their testing, delivery systems etc. The conference sent a message to President Kennedy of the USA and Premier Khruschev of the USSR requesting them to do everything in their power to remove the danger of war and to ensure the survival of mankind in ways of peace.

The major part of the Belgrade Summit Conference dealt with political issues, it did not at all ignore economic issues. Asserting that all peoples may, for their own ends,


freely dispose of their national wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. The Conference asked for efforts being made to remove the economic imbalances inherited from colonialism and imperialism. According to it, it was necessary to close, through accelerated economic, industrial and agricultural development, the ever-widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and the many economically less developed countries. The Conference recommended the immediate establishment and operation of a United Nations Capital Development Fund. Finally, it called upon them to consider the convening, as soon as possible, of an international conference to discuss their common economic problems. Such a conference met in Cairo in July 1962.

The Second Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries took place in Cairo (1964) focussed both on political and economic issues whereas the Belgrade Summit Conference gave importance to economic issues in a limited manner. Imperialism and colonialism were given more importance at Cairo than peaceful co-existence. Apartheid had been condemned at

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Belgrade. At Cairo, full-scale economic sanctions were sought to be applied against South Africa.

The Conference approved a detailed document — "Programme for Peace and International Cooperation"\(^1\) — which stated that the International situation had considerably improved since the Belgrade Conference mainly on account of the signing of the Moscow treaty between the Great Powers in 1963 banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The Conference pointed out that despite the present improvement in international relations, and notwithstanding the signing of the treaty of Moscow, sources of tension still exist in many parts of the world.

The Cairo Conference fully confirmed the basic principles of the Belgrade Declaration and worked out a more comprehensive programme for the preservation of peace, the safe-guarding of security and the expansion of international cooperation. In particular, it sternly condemned the bloc-forming policy as a source of international tensions, and demanded the dismantling of the foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other nations.\(^2\) The Cairo Conference considered as


especially impermissible the presence or the building of new military bases on dependent territories which could be used for preserving the old order or for reviving neo-colonialism.

The participants in the Cairo Conference expressed the unanimous view that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflicts because they endangered world peace and security. The Conference focussed attention on working out coordinated action to liberate countries still living in colonial dependence and to finally eliminate colonialism and imperialism. The Conference condemned all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies applied in various parts of the world.

The main document of the conference emphasised that the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible and that colonized peoples might legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determi-

nation and independence if the colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations. The Cairo conference came out with a scathing condemnation of the racist regime of South Rhodesia as well as the fascist regime of Portugal for repression and use of force against the people of Angola.

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Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The Conference declared that racial discrimination - particularly its most odious manifestation, apartheid - constituted a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the principle of the equality of peoples. The participants called upon all states to boycott all South African goods, refrain from exporting goods especially arms, ammunition, oil and minerals to South Africa, and break off diplomatic, consular and other relations with South Africa.

The Conference emphasised "the paramount importance of disarmament as one of the basic problems of the contemporary world", and stressed the "necessity of reaching immediate and practical solutions which would free mankind from the danger of war and from a sense of insecurity". The Conference called upon all States to accede to the Moscow Treaty particularly banning the testing of nuclear weapons, and to abide by its provisions in the interests of the peace and welfare of the humanity, and urged the extension of the Moscow Treaty so as to include underground tests, and the discontinuance of such tests pending the extension of the agreement. The Conference welcomed the agreements of the Great Powers not to orbit in outer space nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction and emphasised the need to

1. Ibid., pp.21-22.
2. Ibid., pp.25-26.
conclude an international treaty prohibiting the utilisation of outer space for military purposes.

The Conference paid a great deal of attention to problems of economic development and cooperation among the developing countries, specially emphasising that the persistence of poverty posed a threat to world peace and prosperity and that it was the duty of all countries to contribute to the rapid evolution of a new and just economic order under which all nations could live without fear or want or despair and rise to their full stature in the Family of Nations.

The Cairo Non-Aligned Summit Conference held after the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in Geneva of 1964 endorsed its conclusions and pledged its support for the efforts of the "Group of 77" developing countries, which had emerged as the main negotiating body of the Third World.¹ It called on the "Group of 77" developing countries to consult one another and coordinate their efforts at the UN General Assembly sessions. Indeed the Summit also authorised the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned States to get together at each session of the General Assembly to harmonise their policies at the UN.

The Lusaka Conference (1970) reaffirmed all the principal components of political orientation of the policy of Non-Alignment, elaborated at the First and Second Summit Conferences of the Non-Aligned countries, but it differed from the previous conferences with regard to the maintenance of peace. The conference gave priority to the following factors: firstly, the economic position of the developing countries, the problems of their advance, their economic independence and international cooperation and solidarity; secondly, the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid. For the first time, the conference of Non-Aligned countries was addressed by representatives of national liberation movements. The speeches of the representatives of the peoples who were fighting for their freedom had a great deal of political importance, in intensifying their struggles and in hastening the fall of the last bastions of colonialism.

The participants described the continued existence of colonial regime in some regions of the world as a blot on the conscience of mankind and a threat to international peace and security. The conference also emphasized that the Non-Aligned countries, on the basis of their solidarity and with a view to safeguarding their own independence, should firmly and openly resist all threat or use of force, aggression, pressures, interference in the internal affairs
of other states, foreign interventions and attempts by any
country to impose its will upon another. It pointed out
that this was "an imperative of the times we live in and the
essence of Non-Alignment in contemporary international
relations".¹

For the first time the Non-Aligned Summit adopted
resolutions on specific issues such as apartheid, Portuguese
colonies, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Indo-China and the Middle East.²
They followed the lines of UN resolutions and their main
thrust was to isolate South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal;
and to provide the liberation movements with material
assistance. This recommendation was by and large implemented
in several ways, varying from voluntary embargoes on exports
to the three countries to military training and arms
supplies to the freedom fighters.

On measures of disarmament, the conference established
certain priorities in the nuclear field; a freeze in the
production of nuclear arms, a cut-off in the production of
fissionable materials for weapon purposes, a comprehensive
test ban, a reduction in the stock-piles of weapons, an
international convention on non-use of nuclear weapons,
nuclear weapon free zones, etc.

¹. Review of International Affairs,
No.704-705, August 5-20, 1979, p.20.

The Lusaka Summit was of special significance because it took a big stride in developing the economic dimensions of the Non-Aligned countries. The conference expressed the determination of the Non-Aligned countries to achieve economic emancipation, to strengthen their independence and to make their contribution to world peace and to economic and social progress for all mankind. The conference reviewed the lack of progress in the implementation of the global economic policies and objectives of the Non-Aligned countries by the international community.

In view of the increase in "the capability of Non-Aligned countries, to plan, organise and manage their own economic development, both individually and within a multinational cooperative movement", and in view of "the progress made by them during the sixties", the conference felt convinced that "the Second United Nations Development Decade provides an opportunity to bring about structural changes in the world economic system so as to meet pressing poor nations, to strengthen their independence, and to provide for a more rapid and better balanced expansion of the world economy".¹

For the first time, in the history of the Non-Aligned Movement, the resolution on the United Nations inter alia observed that a Declaration should be adopted calling upon all states to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace from which great power rivalries and competition as well as bases should be eliminated.

The Fourth Summit Conference (1973 Algiers) has remained an important milestone in the history of the Non-Aligned Movement because half of the countries of the world, representing the majority of the world population, attended this conference, and many changes took place in international relations. They were ceasefire in Laos. In South Asia the hotbed of war had been eliminated. A new independent state of Bangladesh had emerged and become a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. India and Pakistan had signed the famous the Simla Agreement to resolve all their outstanding differences through negotiations.

The conference noted with satisfaction that the positive developments of international relations had confirmed the lasting value of the aims, principles and practice of the policy of the Non-Alignment. It believed that the policy of Non-Alignment, together with other peaceful, democratic and progressive forces, was an important and irreplaceable factor in the struggle for freedom and independence of peoples and countries, for general peace and equal security of all states, for the
general enforcement of the principles of peaceful, active co-existence, for the democratization of international relations, for overall and just cooperation, for economic development and social progress.¹

Economic problems received greater attention at Algiers than in the earlier Summit Conferences. The oil crisis had imposed an unbearably heavy burden on most Non-Aligned countries and while the Non-Aligned countries without oil realised the justness behind the demand of the oil exporting countries for a fair price for oil, the participants wanted some degree of protection against the harsh consequences of the sudden rise in the price of oil. There was a certain degree of conflict of interests between the haves and have-nots of oil and though a split in the Movement was averted it required all the ingenuity of the participating leaders to resolve the differences.

Credit must go to the Algiers Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries for initiating action for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly which formulated the New International Economic Order and later the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States.²

It marked the first effort by the Non-Aligned countries, most of whom are developing nations, to work for a new world economic order which would free them from a subordinate role vis-à-vis the industrialized nations.

The general declaration adopted by the Algiers Conference welcomed improvement in the East-West relations and said that the detente in the relations between the East and the West is a major achievement of the peace-force. It declared that the Super Power detente had not led to the dissolutions of military alliances and pleaded for the dismantling of all military bases and withdrawal of troops from all regions of the world.¹ The participants pledged their support to their fellow Non-Aligned countries in the event of threats to their independence and territorial integrity. The conference called for complete disarmament including banning of nuclear tests and chemical and bacteriological weapons. The Summit confirmed its faith in the principles of the UN Charter as an instrument of peace, but it needed to correspond to the new international realities in order to fulfil its mission. The Summit declaration stated that the Non-Aligned nations were determined to increase their activities and coordinate their efforts

in order to secure the continuity and effectiveness of the policy of Non-Alignment.

On West Asia, the Political Declaration called for Israel withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and for the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people. It did not mention the UN resolution of 1967 but the Arab delegates insisted that the US should immediately stop providing arms and financial assistance so that Israel might not continue its aggressive and expansionist policy. The conference expressed support for national liberation movements and condemned the apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

At Algiers the Non-Aligned countries for the first time adopted the Economic Declaration and the Action Programme of Economic Cooperation. It bore testimony to the grave concern felt by the Heads of the Non-Aligned countries over the difficult problems of economic development in their respective countries and their desire to radically alter the state of things. The Summit Conference approved an "Economic Statement" which charged that imperialism was still the biggest obstacle in the path of the emancipation and progress of the developing to reach the most elementary living standards. Sometimes this opposition took the form of

an open aggression against the economies of these countries.

The economic commission of the conference decided, at
the instance of ten countries including Kuwait, Jamica, Iraq
Chile and Lebanon, to set up an economic and social fund
which would pool the resources of the member countries and
deploy them for their development. The decision stemmed
from the realisation of the urgent need of investment for
ensuring economic and social progress. An expert committee
was constituted to examine the structure of the fund whose
main objective would be to promote investment, finance,
economic and social development and render technical
assistance.¹ This was one of the major contributions of the
Algiers Non-Aligned Summit conference towards facilitating a
genuine movement in support of economic cooperation and
solidarity among the Non-Aligned countries.

Another major step that the Summit took was the
acceptance of a Joint Indo-Indonesian draft for financial
cooperation among Non-Aligned countries.² It envisaged more
active economic cooperation among the member-states.
Moreover, it was declared that no developing country would
like to accord to products of developed countries terms

better than those given to another developing country. This was meant to strengthen the bilateral relations among the Non-Aligned countries.

The Algiers Conference, which represented 70 per cent of the world population, noted that the Third World subsisted on only 30 per cent of the world income. Besides of the 2.6 billion inhabitants of the developing world, more than 800 million are illiterate, almost one billion suffer from malnutrition or hunger and 900 million have daily earnings of less than thirty cents (US $). The conference suggested to the UN Secretary General to convene a special session of the UN General Assembly exclusively to discuss the substantive economic questions and especially the problems of development. The Heads of State and Government also suggested the holding of a Joint FAO-UNCTAD conference at the ministerial level with the aim of adopting a programme of mutual cooperation for tackling the growing problem of food shortage in the world as well as the question of raw materials.¹

The Summit conference unreservedly supported the principle that every state had the right to nationalise its natural resources and control its internal economic activities and strongly condemned the activities of multi-national corporations. When nationalisation was carried out,

each state had the right to decide on the indemnity to be paid and the manner of paying it. The Non-Aligned countries agreed to extend support to any developing country which became a victim of boycott, economic aggression or political pressure merely because it sought to recuperate its national resources and foreign-controlled enterprises.

The Fifth Non-Aligned Summit Conference (Colombo 1976) was held at a time when the tendency towards detente was dominant in international relations. Major changes had taken place in the world. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe had been held in Helsinki, and the national liberation movements in Africa and Asia had scored a number of new major victories. The US imperialism had suffered a crushing defeat in Indo-China; the national democratic revolution had triumphed in Ethiopia and the fascist regimes in Portugal, Greece and Spain had collapsed.

The Colombo Conference welcomed these successes achieved by the forces of peace and national liberation, emphasising that, as the total collapse of colonialism neared, the imperialists intensified their attempts to find and use new methodss of perpetuating their domination over and exploitation of developing countries.¹

The Non-Aligned Movement represented not only all continents but a diversity of economic, social and political systems. The increasing adherence to it was due undoubtedly to a growing appreciation of its efficiency. The Conference considered that the growing role and importance of the Movement had made it imperative that its members exercised unceasing vigilance to preserve its essential character and maintain an intense sense of fidelity to its principles and policy, showing full respect for its decisions as the best safeguard against any threat to the integrity and solidarity of the Movement. The participants declared that "Non-Aligned Movement symbolises mankind's search for peace and security among nations and the determination to establish a new and equitable international economic, social and political order".¹

The Conference expressed solidarity with the struggles waged by people still languishing under the rule of imperialism and fighting against racism, apartheid and Zionism especially in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Palestine and other territories. The Conference declaration expressed its deep concern that the situation in the Southern Africa continued to constitute a serious threat to international peace and security, notwithstanding the favourable conditions that existed for the complete

¹. Ibid.
elimination of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid in the region.¹ The participants condemned the repeated and wantonly criminal acts of aggression committed by the illegal minority regimes of the Southern Rhodesia against Mozambique and by the racist regime of South Africa against Zambia and Angola. The declaration drew the attention of the international community and in particular the UN Security Council to the urgent need to take effective steps to put an end to these constant acts of provocation and aggression.

The Political Declaration as well as a number of resolutions denounced at great length the white racism in Southern Africa and the attitudes of the Western Powers like the USA, France, UK and West Germany, which were extending moral and material support to the racist regimes in that area. The Conference further stated that the emancipation of Africa, the ending of racial discrimination against people of African origin all over the world, the protection of Africa from the rivalries of external powers, the de-nuclearisation of Africa, and international cooperation for the economic and social development of Africa should not be merely regional or continental concerns but the priorities of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the United Nations. The Conference warmly acclaimed the victories of the Indo-China states and called upon the international

¹. Ibid., pp.192-194.
community to come to the aid of Laos and Vietnam for the reconstruction of their war-ravaged economics. The conference also urged the UN Secretary Council to give "prompt and positive consideration" to the admission of Vietnam to the UN.

The participants in the Conference once again demanded that Israel and its patrons should at last comply with the decisions of the UN Security Council and grant the Palestinian People the right to national self-determination.\textsuperscript{1} The Colombo Summit noted that Latin America is one of the areas of the world that had suffered most intensely from Colonialism and the imperialism of the US and reiterated its condemnation of the blockade imposed by the United States in an effort to isolate and destroy the Cuban revolution.\textsuperscript{2} It supported the struggle of the people of Belize for self-determination and backed and encouraged the nationalist and independent measures adopted by Ecuador, Venezuela, Columbia, Panama, Mexico and other Latin American countries and condemned every attempt at coercion or aggression by the United States. The Conference reiterated the urgent need to adopt effective measures leading to the convening of a world disarmament conference.

The Colombo Summit heralded a new phase in the economic field. The spirit of the Conference was embodied

1. Ibid., pp.197-199.
2. Ibid., pp.200-203.
in the words of the Chairman, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike "If we really and truly want to blunt the weapons of Imperialism and Colonialism we must surely fashion countervailing weapons in the areas of international money and finance".¹

The Economic Declaration stated that the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries was one of the most threatening sources of tensions and conflicts, and that the existing system cannot ensure the promotion of the development of the developing countries and hasten the eradication of poverty, hunger, sickness, illiteracy and also the social scourges endangered by centuries of domination and exploitation.

A seven-point programme for a New International Economic order was outlined in the Economic Declaration of the Conference. The Conference declared that nothing short of a complete restructuring of the existing international economic relations through the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The Declaration said that the New International Economic Order should consist, among other things, of the following essential elements:

1. Fundamental restructuring of the entire apparatus of international trade for improving the terms of trade of the developing countries and ensuring fair and remune-

ative prices in real terms for their primary export products;

2. basic restructuring of world production on the basis of a new international division of labour;

3. radical overhauling of the present international monetary systems and the establishment of a new system which would remove the dominant role of international currencies, ensure parity in decision-making as between the developed and the developing countries and prevent the domination of any single country in decision-making;

4. ensuring adequate transfer of resources on an assured continuing and predictable basis, respecting the independence of the developing countries and in a non-discriminatory manner not likely to create divisions among them;

5. finding urgent and adequate solutions to the problem of official debts, particularly for the Least Developed and the Most Seriously Affected Countries;

6. providing adequate resources and appropriate technologies on favourable terms for investment to ensure increased production of food and agricultural inputs in the developing countries; and

7. the right of the land-locked countries to free access to the sea in accordance with the Dakar Declaration of Non-Aligned countries in 1975. ¹

The conference regretted that implementation of the resolutions and declarations, adopted at the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly had made little headway at the Conference of

International Economic Cooperation in Paris and that the developed countries had not reacted positively to the concrete proposals of the developing countries. Failure to agree upon even a work programme at the July Session reflects the lack of a political will on the part of the developed countries to effect substantial changes in their economic relations with the developing countries.\(^1\)

The Summit Conference Declaration ended with a call to the developed world to give convincing expression to its faith in the principle of global inter-dependence by adopting a range of measures which alone would lead to the true international cooperation and the emergence of a New International Economic Order.

The Sixth Summit Conference (Havana 1979) considered that the developments among the Non-Aligned countries were of outstanding historical importance for the strengthening of the policy of the Non-Aligned Movement as an authentic, independent and non-bloc factor. The Conference expressed satisfaction at the expansion of the Movement in Latin America and the Caribbean, thereby confirming the universality of its policy.

Reviewing the international situation the Conference welcomed the positive trends such as the progress achieved by national liberation movements in the Southern Africa, as

\(^1\) Ibid.
well as other dependent and occupied territories; the strengthening of the solidarity of Non-Aligned countries with the just struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights to repatriation, self-determination and independence; firm support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus; the victory of the people of Panama in the struggle for the restoration of their sovereignty over the Panama Canal zone; the welcome development of the dismantling of the SEATO and CENTO military alliances as an inevitable outcome of the positive trend in international relations; the success achieved on the road to the full national emancipation of Iran and Nicaragua; and the ever-stronger demand of the international community, particularly after the tenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament that the great powers take effective steps in order to reverse the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and participate, together with all other countries, in undertaking effective measures towards general and complete disarmament. The Conference called for the consolidation and extension of detente, welcomed the conclusion of the SALT-II agreement as an important step (although it regretted that the agreement fell short of expectations), and reaffirmed the commitment of the Non-Aligned Movement to disarmament. 1

The Conference reaffirmed that the quintessence of the Non-Aligned policy stemming from its fundamental principles and its basic objectives in struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and racism including zionism as also against all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference, hegemony, great-power politics, and bloc politics. In short, the Non-Aligned Movement is based on a policy of rejecting all forms of domination, dependence, interference, direct or indirect, all forms of pressure - political, economic, military or cultural - in international relations.

The Conference emphasised the need for unity and solidarity among Non-Aligned countries to maintain the independence and strength of the Movement, for cooperation between the Non-Aligned countries and the other democratic progressive states and forces upholding the cause of peace, freedom and justice. The Summit expressed its faith in striving to promote detente, to extend it to the entire planet, and avert nuclear threat, arms building and war, at the same time stressing that detente can be constructive and effective only of all hotbeds of tension and to ending aggression, foreign occupation, intervention and interference and also political and economic exploitation of weaker countries.

1. Ibid.
New tensions had developed in West Asia, Afghanistan etc. The war between two members of the Non-Aligned Movement, Iran and Iraq, caused serious concern. Britain launched a war against Argentina, a member of the Non-Aligned group, and occupied Mavinas Islands which legitimately belonged to Argentina. The Israeli aggression of Lebanon and the genocide perpetrated by the Israeli Army had caused a grave threat to peace in the Middle East. The United States had stepped up its military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region and the Non-Aligned Movement took a principled stand further strengthening the Movement.

The participants demanded that the West should stop interfering in the domestic affairs of the Latin American countries and grant them the right to genuine independence. They condemned the agreements of Camp David and the Treaty between Egypt and Israel and supported the national rights of the Palestinians. They deprecated the methods by which the West patronised the South African racists. They reiterated the demand of the Non-Aligned Movement for the amendment of the United Nations Charter, with special reference to the Veto, in order to ensure the political equality of nations.

The Havana Summit Conference further developed the concept of a New International Economic Order in its

Economic Declaration and described the existing economic order as both inequitable and inefficient as it had failed to promote progress in the developing countries and widened the gap between the developed and the developing countries enormously. It expressed deep concern over the escalation of the world economic crisis and reaffirmed the commitment of the Non-Aligned countries to radical reforms, while criticising the developed countries for lacking the political will needed to make genuine progress in negotiating as New International Economic Order.\(^1\)

The participants reiterated the role of the Non-Aligned countries should play in the struggle to attain the economic and political independence of all developing nations so that they could exercise full and permanent sovereignty and control over their natural and other resources and economic activities, and effect a fundamental restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

The Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned countries vehemently denounced the neo-colonialist manoeuvres to preserve the privileges of the multinational monopolies in the developing world. The Conference welcomed the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to

convene an International Conference on New and Renewable Resources of Energy, for ensuring access for the developing countries to the latest technologies and developments in this area which are suited to their needs and for mobilizing resources for these purposes. ¹

The Havana Summit Conference adopted an Action Programme for Economic Cooperation which was considered a necessary step in the process of achieving collective self-reliance. The Conference considered the possibility of establishing an ad hoc committee on multilateral economic cooperation among the developing countries within the "Group of 77".

The Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned countries (New Delhi 1983) took place at a time when the international situation was complicated, with the unbridled arms race and new areas of conflicts. The developments in the Indian Ocean region were posing a serious threat to peace and security. The US administration was strengthening and expanding its military base at Diego Garcia. Israel continued its aggression against the Arab peoples. South African forces were occupying Namibia. And the US went on directly interfering in the Latin American affairs, while the flames of the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq were not abating.

¹. Ibid.
The New Delhi Conference discussed many important issues,\(^1\) including the question of independence to Namibia, issues of war and peace, tensions in the Middle East and Central America, the ending of the racist regime in South Africa, recognition of the People's republic of Kampuchea, military build up in the Indian Ocean, establishment of a New International Economic Order, South-South Cooperation, debt burden of the developing countries and other economic matters, war between Iran and Iraq, withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and other issues.

The New Delhi Summit gave top priority to the threat arising out of nuclear weapons. The Conference considered that "Disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, is no longer a moral issue, it is an issue of human survival", it rejected all theories and concepts justifying the possession of nuclear weapons and their use under any circumstances. The participants reiterated their belief that international peace and security could be ensured only through general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, under effective control. The Summit expressed deep disappointment at the failure of the Second Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament, and it was pleaded that, at least, the principles contained in

\(^1\) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, August 1983, pp.323.50-32354.
the Final Document of the First Special Session (1978) on the subject be operationalized.¹

The participants reiterated their solidarity with the Namibian people and their support for the heroic struggle waged under the leadership of SWAPO and stated that the only way to resolve the problem of Namibia was to implement the UN plan indicated in the Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). The Declaration called for an end to racist and apartheid policy in South Africa and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. The Conference unanimously supported the demand to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, pointed out that the establishment and strengthening of the military base at the island of Diego Garcia had endangered the sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of Mauritius and called for the early return of the island to Mauritius, its rightful owner.

The Conference reiterated its support for the demand of the Palestinian people for the liberation of their homeland restoration of their inalienable national rights.² The New Delhi Summit sharply criticized the political course of the USA which, as stressed in the documents of the


². Ibid., pp.15-43.
Conference, used its Veto in the Security Council to the
detriment of the goals and principles of the UN Charter and
prevented the Security Council from taking measures to
implement the principles of impermissibility of acquisition
of territories by force and thus to give the Palestinian
people an opportunity to regain their legitimate rights.

The Non-Aligned countries reaffirmed their position
that peace in the Middle East could be founded only on the
basis of unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all occupied
territories and acceptance of PLO participation as an equal
in negotiations. The declaration noted with great concern
the situation in South-West Asia, particularly in
Afghanistan, reaffirmed the call made by the Non-Aligned
Foreign Ministers in New Delhi in 1981 for a political
settlement based on the withdrawal of foreign troops,
enabling the Afghan refugees to return home, and extended
support to "the constructive steps being taken by the UN
Secretary-General in this regard".¹

The 13-point New Delhi Message, adopted by the New
Delhi Summit Conference, voiced grave concern at the world
situation and appealed to the nuclear powers to take all
measures to stop the sliding towards a nuclear conflict and
pointed out that the crisis which confronted our civiliza-
tion was unprecedented in history. It said "Great tasks

¹. Srivastava, Govind Narain, India Non-Alignment and World
Peace, New Delhi Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi,
1984, pp.121-122.
call for wise decisions. We appeal to the great powers to give up mistrust, engage in sincere forward looking negotiations in a spirit of shared good-will to reach agreement on various disarmament measures and to find a way out of the deepening economic crisis which threatens all of us. The members of the Non-Aligned Movement are prepared to do, by joint effort, everything in their power, to contribute this process.¹

The economic concerns of the Non-Aligned states received considerable attention at the New Delhi Summit. There was full awareness of the implications of international economic crisis, particularly for the Non-Aligned countries. The final declaration of the Summit Conference lamented that for the first time since the Second World War, there had been a decline in the per capita GDP of many developing countries.

The New Delhi Summit reiterated that the international economic crisis was merely a cyclical phenomenon, rather a symptom of structural maladjustment marked, inter alia, by increasing imbalances and inequalities to the detriment of the development prospects of the developing countries. There seemed to be no hope of any thing, according to the declaration, of a viable economic system "without a basic

and fundamental change in the approaches and policies of the developed countries with respect to the establishment of the New International Economic Order".  

While stressing the interdependent character of the international economic situation, it suggested the necessity of dialogue between the developed and the developing countries and united action in order to influence the course of international economic cooperation decisively and in the right direction and focussing on points of substance with a view to tackling the immediate structural problems facing the world economy and promote the establishment of the New International Economic Order to which the Non-Aligned Movement was committed.

The Conference decided on a strategy for the future, emphasising the need for "macro-management of the world economy", the promotion of development on the basis of "effective international economic cooperation", and negotiations which should be universal in character and held within the UN system. It proposed the convening of a UN Conference in early 1984 to launch global negotiations, and set out a programme of immediate measures in areas of critical importance to developing countries covering in particular the level of transfers of official development

1. Ibid., pp.81-82.

assistance, indebtedness, the role of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, trade and market access and commodity price stabilization, energy, food and agriculture, and an international conference on money and finance for development, which "should not be regarded as a precondition for launching global negotiations and would become an integral part of these negotiations when they are launched".1

The participants pledged to impart a fresh impetus to collective self-reliance on the basis of the principles of equality, justice, mutual benefit and full respect for independence and sovereignty. It impressed on the rich nations that economic revival of the North was not possible without economic survival of the South and urged upon them to help the restructuring of the existing international economic order. It gave a call for ending restrictive, conditional, selective and discriminatory measures with a view to promoting world trade. The summit emphasised the importance of South-South Cooperation as a means to secure economic self-reliance.

The Eighth Non-Aligned Summit Conference took place in Harare (1986), when there was arms race between the two Super Powers. The participants called for disarmament and an intensification of the struggle against apartheid in

South Africa and called for increased economic cooperation among developing countries. Leaders of the 101-members of the Non-Aligned Movement adopted a Harare Appeal to President Reagan of USA and the Soviet Leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev for a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests.\(^1\) The Non-Aligned countries welcomed the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests, by the Soviet Union urging the United States to follow suit. The Summit declaration said that the comprehensive programme proposed by the Soviet Union for stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament was a matter of the highest priority for the cause of peace. It added that the objectives and priorities of the programme, which seeks to rid the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, accord with the policies pursued by the Non-Aligned Nations.\(^2\)

The participants asserted that comprehensive and mandatory international sanctions represented the sole peaceful method of compelling the South African Government to relinquish its apartheid policy. The Summit formulated a 13-point package programme of economic sanctions against South Africa.\(^3\) The package contained prohibition of transfer

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of technology to South Africa, cessation of export, sale or transport of oil and oil products, cessation of further investments and loans, end to all promotion and support for trade, prohibition of imports of agricultural products, coal, uranium, iron and steel, termination of air and shipping links, ban on government contacts with majority-owned South African companies and cessation of all academic, cultural, scientific and sports relations and tourism in South Africa.

The Declaration reiterated the Non-Aligned Movement's traditional stand on the independence of Namibia, appealed to international community to render increased political, military, financial and material support for the legitimate and heroic armed struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. The Summit decided to send a delegation of some of the Foreign Ministers to participate in the debates of the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Namibia in 1986 in order to ensure its success.

The Declaration condemned the "notorious system" of colonialism which, it argued, still obtained in the cases of the French overseas territory of New Caledonia, the Falkland islands, the UK Commonwealth of Puneto Rico and other dependent territories. It also expressed support for Mauritius in its territorial disputes with the United

1. Ibid., pp.46-48.
2. Keesing's Record of World Events, February 1987, p.34970
Kingdom over the island of Diego Garcia and with the Comoros and Madagascar in their territorial disputes with France.

The Conference welcomed and expressed support for the Contadora peace initiative in Central America; urged the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; urged both sides in the Iran-Iraq war to "summon the political will" to negotiate a lasting peace; reaffirmed the Movement's support to the PLO for the creation of an independent Palestinian state; expressed full support for the endeavours of the Organisation of African Unity and the efforts of some countries to achieve national reconciliation and the establishment of a lasting peace with respect to the independence and territorial integrity of Chad without foreign interference and called on Morocco and the Polisario Front to hold direct negotiations with a view to reaching a ceasefire and creating the necessary conditions for a just and peaceful referendum in the territory (Western Sahara), free from any administrative or military pressure and conducted under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations.¹

The Conference reaffirmed the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, recalling the decisions of the Non-Aligned Countries and stressed the exceptional importance of

international cooperation among the Non-Aligned and other developing countries in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. This co-operation was of special significance in fields where their countries could achieve a greater degree of self-sufficiency.

The Harare Summit assessed the evolution of the international economic situation and expressed grave concern that since the Seventh Summit Conference the world economic crisis has continued to escalate, characterised inter alia by the accentuation of structural imbalances and inequalities resulting from the inadequacy of the present international division of labour for the balanced and equitable development of the world economy as well as in the breakdown of the international payments system. The widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and the persistence of the unjust and inequitable international economic system constitute a major impediment to the development process of Non-Aligned and other developing countries and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.¹ In this regard, the participants reiterated the commitment of the Movement to continue to work for a restructuring of the international economic system with a view to establishing the New International Economic Order based on Justice, equality and mutual benefit.

¹ Ibd., p.65.
judicious, moderate position while underlining the interna-
tional liability of the problem, and avoiding extremist
solutions, it stressed the political dimensions of the
problem - which, if not resolved to the mutual satisfaction
of both the creditor and debtor nations, was likely, in the
long run, to endanger the entire international monetary
system. To avoid the present practice of bilateral pressures
on the debtor nations, the Summit appealed for resolution of
the problem through multilateral forums.\textsuperscript{1} The Harare
Summit's Declaration sought to resolve the dilemma about
priority between the "North-South Dialogue" and "South-South
Cooperation" by affirming that both should be pursued simul-
taneously.\textsuperscript{2} For the first time the Harare Summit proposed a
concrete plan in the context of Southern Africa. Similarly,
the resolutions on disarmament and economic development were
much more specific and designed to be productive. The
Conference proved that Non-Aligned Movement was more than a
moral force.

The Belgrade Summit Conference (1989) marked a major
milestone in the development of the Non-Aligned Movement.
While the Conference was going on, the world political
scenario has changed. Gorbachev's 'glasnost' and
'perestroika' were the root cause for the unprecedented

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\textsuperscript{1} Kumar, Satish (Ed), \textit{Year Book on India's Foreign Policy,
1985-86}, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi,
1987, p.104.
\end{flushleft}

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\textsuperscript{2} Misra, K.P., \textit{Non-Aligned Movement India's Chairmanship},
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changes in the world. There were numerous positive developments in several regional and global disputes and conflicts, such as the ceasefire in the war between Iran and Iraq, the Vietnamese decision to withdraw their troops from Cambodia, the resumption of negotiations by the parties in the Cyprus dispute and by Morocco and Polisario, the unfreezing of the Namibian struggle for freedom and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and of the Cuban troops from Angola etc. In the changed and changing political atmosphere, the Ninth Summit focussed greater attention to the economic and environmental problems of the world than the political ones.

Adverting to the sweeping changes in the international political environment, especially the dramatic transformation of the world since the new detente between the two Super Powers, the Summit asserted: "Now that the world is becoming multi-polar and is increasingly integrating, our basic interests and the need to enhance the effectiveness of our Movement demand that we play an active and direct role in the management of world affairs. Only in such a way can we partake fully in the process of economic and technological advancement leading towards greater interdependence and integration of the world".¹

¹ The Documents of the "Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, September 4-7, 1989" Published as Document in Strategic Digest, November & October 1989, New Delhi, pp.1498-1505
The Conference emphasised that the management of the world economy needs to be more broad-based so as to reflect the interest of all countries and evolve policies which can be supported by all. The current economic and social problems and needs of the future are such that no single nation or group of nations can solve them in isolation. They call for a collective effort based on a mutuality of interests. Regular North-South consultations at the Summit level on international economic issues are essential for ensuring a collective management of global interdependence.

The Summit Conference political documents dealt with international security and disarmament as also various territorial or regional issues such as Afghanistan, the Arab-Israeli conflict, Cyprus, Korea and the Western Sahara, besides Antarctica and international terrorism.

On terrorism, the Declaration said that all forms of it, including state terrorism, violate the fundamental rights of the individual, threaten stability within and among nations and deserve to be universally condemned and countered every legal means possible. The principle of shared responsibility was necessary for combating drug trafficking.¹

On environment, the Declaration said that problems in the area posed a threat to the very survival of mankind and

testified to the interdependence of interests of all nations. The Non-Aligned Movement was prepared to join all international efforts to check environment degradation. However, it should be recognised that environment is an essential part of the developmental process and also that all international efforts must be on full respect for the sovereignty of states. The Declaration said that a "grave danger to the ecosystem comes from indiscriminate dumping of toxic and other hazardous waste on our territories carried out without any regard to their consequential devastating effect on the environment". The Summit demanded an "immediate halt to such practices. No one should dispose of nuclear or any other toxic waste on the territories of other countries or in the open spaces."¹

The Conference noted with serious concern that changing global climate patterns threatened present and future generations with severe social consequences and emphasized that necessary and timely action should be taken to deal with climate changes and their consequences with a global framework, in conformity with the UN General Assembly Resolution No.43/53.² In this context the participants called


for preparation and adoption of an international convention on protection and conservation of the global climate on an urgent basis. Further, they called on developed countries and relevant international organisations to establish new and strengthen the existing mechanisms and funds for stimulating the transfer to developing countries of clean technologies, environmental protection and improvement and to earmark additional financial resources for environmental cooperation on concessional terms.

The Ninth Summit Conference, apart from environmental issue, concentrated on economic issues also. The Summit stressed that the international economic environment faced by the Non-Aligned and other developing countries was most unfavourable: prices of commodities had remained at very low levels; terms of trade had worsened financial flow had declined and the interest rate remained high in real terms; monetary and financial instability and misalignment of exchange rates had remained without solution and mounting external debt requirement had become unbearable. There had been a lack of effective multilateral surveillance on the policies of major industrialised countries. On the positive political detente on the global arena, the Conference observed that certain major developed countries continued to adopt negative and intransigent postures, which was reflected in a total deadlock of the North-South Dialogue.
The participants noted that as fifteen years ago, the New International Economic Order remained a difficult but valid goal. They called for structural changes in the world economic order so that conflicts between affluence and poverty could be ended. They asked the developed countries to adopt a constructive and integrated approach towards the reactivation of the dialogue between the developed and the developing countries on all key issues of development, such as, inter alia, international trade and commodities, external debt, monetary and financial problems, science and technology, food and agriculture, environment and human resource development on the basis of shared responsibility and mutual interests.

The Non-Aligned countries strongly supported the efforts made in coordination with other developing countries within the Group of 77. They welcomed the readiness of the developing countries expressed in the Caracas Declaration of 23 June 1989 for integration in the world economy and their commitment to engage in a serious and constructive dialogue with the aim of strengthening international solidarity and cooperation for development. They strongly urged the developed countries to respond positively to this initiative.

On economic cooperation among the developing countries the Summit reiterated that mutual economic cooperation "was a lasting commitment" of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries and "a key element in the strategy of collective self-reliance."\(^1\) It was neither a substitute for, nor an alternative to, cooperation between the developing and the developed countries. It was an indispensable and integral part of the efforts of the developing countries to restructure international economic relations and establish a New International Economic Order.

The Summit Declaration outlined six tasks in the context of the Non-Aligned Movement's future functioning:

1. Efforts for peace, disarmament and settlement of disputes by peaceful means "until an enduring and stable peace, based on a comprehensive, viable and readily implementable structure of international security is established";

2. Joint search with the developed world for effective and acceptable solutions to outstanding problems in international economic relations through establishment of a constructive and productive dialogue with the developed world on economic issues affecting not only the international community as a whole since there can be no

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stability nor bitter prospects for the world without reducing the disparities in the level of global development;

3. support to the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation;

4. urgent cooperative measures on a global scale for environment protection;

5. ensurance of genuine human rights including the right of every individual to fully enjoy civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights as well as full support to women's aspirations for recognition of their rights; and

6. strengthening the role and effectiveness of the UN system in order to help it to resolve "all major problems, among them the rising dangers of drug abuse and all forms of terrorism, facing the world today".¹

The outcome of the Summit was to strengthen the Non-Aligned Movement's self-reliant advance towards the twenty-first century and to help them to get adapted to the global changes and respond to them adequately without losing the Movement's basic principles that had guided them through the entire period of the cold war and would assist in ensuring genuine economic detente in the days ahead. In the

¹ Ibid., pp.1498-1505.
process the Non-Aligned Movement vindicated its role as a "moral force" in the world as was noted in the first Belgrade Summit Conference.

Non-Alignment first emerged in history as a policy with clear-cut objectives and principles and later developed into a Movement. Non-Alignment as a foreign policy, a policy option or postulate of a particular nation, and developed into a Movement - an informal collection of nations sharing certain common principles and objectives.

From Belgrade to Belgrade and even after the Non-Alignment Movement undoubtedly played a significant role in international relations. In 1960's the policy of Non-Alignment was focussed on East-West tension, avoiding world war, preserving world peace, universal disarmament and it raised its voice against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid and paid less attention to economic issues. In 1970's, when the dawn of detente began between the super powers, the Non-Aligned countries shifted their focus towards their economic development. They demanded complete restructuring of international economic relations through the establishment of a New International Economic order based on equality, justice and mutual benefit and emphasised collective self-reliance among member countries. In 1980's, the Non-Aligned Movement concentrated on strengthening world peace and averting nuclear war; demanded the replacement of the
existing old international economic system by a more equitable new international economic order; stressed South-South Cooperation as a means to secure their economic self-reliance; called for the complete eradication of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid and the democratization of international relations. The end of the 1980's and the beginning of 1990's easing up tensions between the Super Powers, it concentrated more on economic and environmental issues than on political matters.

In consonance with the changing international relations, the Non-Aligned Movement has adapted its policies, programmes, principles and objectives from Summit to Summit and played a very constructive and dynamic role from time to time in solving different problems. The Movement was truly a child of cold war, but during the decades of its existence it has acquired an identity of its own and preoccupied with the Third World's issues particularly towards economic cooperation among them.