The Non-Aligned Movement is primarily a movement of the developing nations. It originated from the common desire of the newly independent countries to survive politically and develop economically in an atmosphere of international peace. World Peace is a precondition to political and economic development. War, cold or hot, will certainly hamper and halt the development of the economically poor nations. It is impossible to eradicate poverty and unemployment without world peace.¹ The Non-Aligned countries regard their active involvement in the drive to preserve world peace and avert another world war, halt the arms race, promote disarmament, and fight against the aggressive policy of imperialism and colonialism as principal tasks of their foreign policies.

The main aim of the Non-Aligned Movement is the peace and prosperity of the human kind. The Non-Aligned countries give encouragement and support to all peoples fighting for their independence and equality. The Non-Aligned Movement appealed to all people of the world to participate in efforts to free the world from war, the policy of force, bloc politics, military bases, pacts, inequalities, oppression, injustice and poverty and create a new order based on peaceful co-existence, mutual cooperation and friendship, an order in which all people may determine their own future, attain their political sovereignty and promote their own free economic and social development.

From the practical point of view, the maintenance of world peace is easier in theory than in practice. Divergent ideologies, conflicting interests, lust for power and position and other factors make lasting peace a rare phenomenon in the world. Border disputes, political dissensions, religious discord, personal animosities, struggle for supremacy, narrow parochial interests, reckless pursuit of power and position, political bigotry, etc. are usually at the root of all conflicts and confrontations. However, it is true that every one and every nation aspires for peace. People profess to be lovers and advocates of peace but not of the things that make for peace.

Against this highly disquieting backdrop, it would not be wrong to say that the Non-Aligned Movement has plodded on with its efforts in strengthening peace, diffusing tensions and creating favourable conditions for success in its mission. Concerns and anxieties in the context of peace, disarmament and development have been the focus of the Non-Aligned Movement's attention, whether they be in the Middle-East, Latin America, Africa or Asia. As Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, while addressing the Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Coordinating Bureau, said, "Everything that affects peace, everything that abridges the freedom of nations, everything that aggravates international economic disparities is of concern to the Non-Aligned Movement". The Movement's stand on the major world crises needs to be examined to enable one to have an evaluation of its role in world peace.

The Non-Aligned Movement's efforts at establishing peace did not simply end with keeping away from the entangling alliances. The Non-Aligned countries, long before the institutionalisation of the Movement, had already started playing the catalytic role of a mediator between the conflicting parties with a view to reducing tension and

enhancing peace. The Non-Aligned countries played a role towards the establishment of peace during the Korean war. The Afro-Asian group of Non-Aligned countries, under the informal leadership of India, took a position in 1950-51 that provided a "sobering effect" on the western countries and "persuaded them not to allow misuse of the UN in escalating the Korean war". During the Suez and Hungarian crises of 1956, the Non-Aligned countries painstakingly avoided taking sides, castigating one party or the other by using "verbal thunderbolts", but supported the UN efforts to bring about a solution to the problems. As a matter of fact, throughout the 1950's, the Non-Aligned countries came to the help of the United Nations in seeking solutions to crises of various kinds and intensities in countries like Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Lebanon and Cyprus.

The Non-Aligned Movement, incorporating the overwhelming majority of the Third World countries, is a major force in coordinating the developing countries' activities at the UN. The Movement refrains from adopting decisions mandatory for its members. Still, it exerts


considerable influence on their activities, including those at the UN, by elaborating positions on practically all issues tackled by the international community.

Since its inception, the Non-Aligned Movement has paid greater attention to the United Nations.¹ Built on the sovereign equality of states, large or small, irrespective of their economic or military potentials, the UN provides the Non-Aligned states with a rostrum to make their positions known to the rest of the world, to put forward their goals and to be equal partners in discussing the pressing problems of our time. For the Non-Aligned and other developing countries, the UN is an important instrument for defending their sovereignty and independence from imperialist encroachment.

The leaders of the Non-Aligned countries repeatedly raised their voice for the maximum use of the UN potential, a fact which was reflected in the Movement's documents.² Despite their socio-politico differences and dissimilar positions and their own individual problems, the Non-Aligned countries quite resolutely defend their common interests at the UN, jointly advocate peace and disarmament, and are in favour of the completion of decolonisation and international


economic and political relations on a fair basis.

In the course of the three decades of its existence (since, the first Belgrade Summit Conference 1961), the Non-Aligned Movement has traversed a long path. During this period the priorities in its major guidelines have shifted in keeping with the course of the young states' historical development. Previously these countries saw as their main task the struggle against colonialism and against the attempts to draw these nations into the military-political blocs of the East-West and for the consolidation of their independence. Later on this struggle shifted to restructuring international economic relations. After the late 1970's and early 1980's, when imperialism stepped up its onslaught on détente, the Non-Aligned Movement began to increasingly link up the solution of vital socio-economic problems with the struggle for peace and for prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

The Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) had stated that the policy of Non-Alignment was being formed with a view to contributing more effectively to world peace and security and peaceful cooperation among peoples. The Non-Aligned


countries called on the international community to search for ways of promoting stability in the world and enhancing security. In their opinion, the principles of peaceful co-existence make the only alternative to the cold war and to a nuclear catastrophe. Thus, these principles - which include the right of peoples to self-determination, independence and the free determination of all the forms and methods of economic, social and cultural development - must be the only basis of all international relations.

The Summit Declaration noted that the struggle for peace, against colonialism and racism was the principal orientation of the Non-Aligned nations. The Conference demanded a total abolition of the colonial system and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of the developing countries, including those of Asia, which ultimately paved the way for regional as well as world peace. The Conference declaration contained the following demands:

1. Immediate cessation of all forms of the export of counter-revolution, of intervention and invasion on the territory of Asian, African and Latin American countries;

2. Granting of independence to Algeria and Angola, the withdrawal of the French troops from Tunisia, termination of the imperialist intervention in the Congo and an end to apartheid in South Africa; and
3. restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

"All peoples and nations", said the declaration of the Belgrade Conference, "have to solve the problems of their own political, economic, social and cultural systems in accordance with their own conditions, needs and potentialities. Furthermore, any attempt at imposing upon peoples one social or political system or another by force and from outside is a direct threat to world peace".¹ The participants in the Conference considered that, under the present conditions, the existence and the activities of the Non-Aligned countries in the interests of peace are one of the more important factors for safeguarding world peace. They considered it essential that the Non-Aligned countries should participate in solving the outstanding international issues concerning peace and security in the world as none of them can remain unaffected by or indifferent to these issues.

The participants in the Belgrade Conference considered that disarmament is an imperative need and the most urgent task of the mankind.² They pointed out that the general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of

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¹ The Documents of the "First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, September 1-6, 1961", Published as DGNC 1961-1979, New Delhi, 1981, p.4.
² Ibid., p.6.
forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms as well as elimination of institutions and installations for military training; except for purposes of internal security, and the total prohibition of the production, possession and utilization of nuclear and thermonuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons as well as the elimination of the equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories and urged the Great Powers to sign without further delay a treaty for general and complete disarmament in order to save mankind from the scourge of war.

A stirring speech was made at the Conference by Nehru. He drew attention to the struggle against the threat of a nuclear war, defining this as the main task of the Non-Aligned nations and of the whole mankind. He said: "I believe firmly that the only possible way to solve many of these problems ultimately is complete disarmament. I consider disarmament an absolute necessity for the peace of the world... I know that the key to the situation does not lie in the hands of this conference. It lies essentially in the hands of the two Great Powers, the USA and the Soviet Union... The most important thing for the world today is for the Great Powers directly concerned to meet together
and negotiate with a will to peace".¹

The Belgrade Summit Conference recommended that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, at its forthcoming session, adopt a decision on the convening either of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to discussion of disarmament or on the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of general disarmament.

The document "Danger of War and Appeal for Peace" was adopted by the leaders of the Non-Aligned countries at the Belgrade Conference, who appealed to the leaders of the USA and the USSR "to make most immediate and direct approaches to each other to avert the imminent conflict and establish peace".² The participants requested the two powers to resume negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between them.

They noted that "while decisions leading to war or peace at present rest with these Great Powers, the consequences affect the entire world. All nations and

peoples have, therefore, an abiding concern and interest that the approaches and actions of the Great Powers should be such as to enable mankind to move forward to peace and prosperity and not to the doom of extinction.¹ Only the Soviet Union responded to that appeal. In its letter to India's Prime Minister, Nehru, who had personally visited Moscow and conveyed the appeal of the Belgrade Conference, the Soviet government highly appreciated the efforts of the Non-Aligned countries and indicated the USSR's readiness to participate in talks aimed at normalising the world situation and fully shared its concern over the aggravation of the international situation and the growth of the danger of war.

The Cairo Summit Conference (1964) expressed satisfac-
tion at the favourable reaction throughout the world towards international peace.² The Conference emphasised the rightness, efficacy and vigour of the policy of Non-Alignment, and its constructive role in the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security. The Conference noted with satisfaction that the Non-Alignment is engaged in national liberation, struggle against colonialism

1. Ibid.

and the practices of apartheid and racial discrimination. This struggle forms part of the common striving towards freedom, justice and peace.

The Cairo Summit Conference adopted a declaration under the heading "Programme of Peace and International Cooperation", which called upon all the forces of progress to unite with the purpose of liberating the countries that were still dependent on imperialism and totally eradicate colonialism and neo-colonialism.\(^1\) Therefore, it demanded the utmost support for peoples fighting for independence, and the strict observance of the sovereignty of the developing nations. It called for the mobilisation of world public opinion for the struggle against the military blocs and bases set up by the imperialists in different parts of the world.

The participants reaffirmed their deep conviction that in the prevailing circumstances, mankind must regard peaceful co-existence as the only way to strengthen world peace; which must be based on the right to complete independence, the right to self-determination, peaceful co-existence, the sovereign equality, abstain from all use of threat or force, respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms, settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means, cooperation in the economic development and good faith in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United

\(^1\) *Ibid.*
Nations within a new framework of peaceful and harmonious relations among the states and nations of the world.¹

As the policy of Non-Alignment progressed, it showed an increasingly acute awareness of the linkage between economy, polity, strategy and security. The Cairo Summit declared "that lasting world peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail."² It criticised the existing international economic institutions as unjust and asked for a "rapid evolution of a new and just economic order".³ Thus, in the absence of economic equality among nations, peace is only an illusion in the world.

The Conference recognised the paramount importance of the United Nations and the necessity of enabling it to carry out the functions entrusted to it to preserve international cooperation among states.⁴ Among its major recommendations of the UN were those related to war and peace. The Conference called upon the UN to take steps to ensure the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, prohibition of nuclear weapon-tests, establishment of nuclear free zones,

1. Ibid., pp.23-26.
3. Ibid., p.25.
prevention of the dissemination of nuclear weapons and their abolition, convening a world disarmament Conference.

The Conference noted with concern that the continuing arms race and the tremendous advances that have been made in the production of weapons of mass destruction and their stock-piling threaten the world with armed conflict and annihilation. The Conference urged the Great Powers to take new and urgent steps towards achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.¹

It regretted that despite the efforts of the members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and in particular those of the Non-Aligned countries, the results have not been satisfactory. It urged the Great Powers, in collaboration with the other members of that Committee, to renew their efforts with determination with a view to the rapid conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.² The Conference further appealed to the Great Powers to take the lead in giving effect to decisive and immediate measures which would make possible substantial reductions in their military budgets.


The Lusaka Summit Conference (1970) was the third milestone in the journey of the policy of Non-Alignment. The Conference said that the immediate danger of a conflict between the Super Powers has lessened inasmuch as their tendency to negotiate in their mutual relations is strengthening. At the same time it noted that this did not guarantee the security of small, medium-sized and developing countries or prevent the danger of local wars.

Analysing the world situation the Conference noted the practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other states, and recourse to political and economic pressure, threats of force and subversion are acquiring alarming proportions and dangerous frequency. Wars of aggression were raging in the Middle-East and Indo-China and were being prolonged in South Vietnam and Cambodia and the presence of foreign forces in Korea was posing a threat to national independence and international peace and security. The continued oppression and subjugation of the African people in Southern Africa by the racist and colonial minority regimes, apart from being a blot on the conscience of mankind, poses a serious threat to international peace and security.¹

This situation is becoming dangerously explosive as a result of the collision between certain developed countries of the West and the racist minority regimes in this part of the world. The continuing arms race is causing alarm and concern and rendering nuclear detente extremely precarious and serves as a spur to limited wars. The balance of terror between the Super Powers has not brought peace and security to the rest of the world. There are welcome signs of growing detente between the power blocs but the abatement of the cold war has not yet resulted in the disintegration of the military blocs formed in the context Great Power conflicts.

The participants in the Lusaka Summit confirmed their full support of the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of Indo-China for freedom and independence, and called for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese might be able to exercise their right to self-determination. They also recommended resolving the problems of Laos and Cambodia through peaceful means by guaranteeing the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity of these countries.¹

Making Indian Ocean a zone of peace has been an important issue for the Non-Aligned Movement. Ever since

¹ Ibid., p.52.
the Lusaka Summit Conference, the Non-Aligned countries have been demanding that the Indian Ocean should be made a zone of peace. They have consistently extended their unanimous support to the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution of December 16, 1971.¹

The Non-Aligned countries have condemned the military build up in the Indian Ocean and the setting up of bases in the region.² They have demanded the dismantling of the naval base set up by the United States in Diego Garcia and other bases. They have demanded the return of the Chagos Archipelago including Diego Garcia to Mauritius to which they legitimately belong.

The Non-Aligned Movement has been proposing the establishment of zones of peace since 1970.³ The Movement's first proposal for a zone of peace was on the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean region is a densely populated area rich in many valuable resources, and many vital transport routes are concentrated there. In addition, the Indian Ocean, which, for a long time had been an area of struggle among capitalist states for colonial possessions, became the

scene of stormy anti-colonial processes following the Second World War. Today, too, the region's Non-Aligned countries continue to fight for full political and economic independence. On the other hand the USA and its imperialist allies have been building up their military presence in the Indian Ocean. The USA wants to maintain or establish control over the sea lanes of the Indian Ocean and over the natural resources of the coastal and mainland states, and also to suppress the national liberation movements and the other progressive processes.

Since 40 per cent of the Non-Aligned member countries are presently situated in the Indian Ocean, it will be clear that the idea of a peace-zone in the Indian Ocean is central among the specific Non-Aligned initiatives aimed to enhance international peace and security and remove the threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the member states.¹ The idea was prompted mainly by the Indian Ocean states' desire to ensure their security and steady socio-economic development without outside interference, and to remove the material basis for such interference created by the imperialist powers. Initially, the question raised was that of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Indian Ocean. This was done by Prime Minister of Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) Sirimavo Bandaranaike at the second Non-Aligned Summit held in 1964 at Cairo.

At the Lusaka Summit, Sri Lanka raised the question of the Indian Ocean, calling for a zone of peace. The Conference adopted a "Resolution on the United Nations"¹ which requested a group of Non-Aligned countries to raise at the forthcoming General Assembly session the question of declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and adopted a declaration 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 conceived in the context of such rivalries and competition, either army, navy or air force bases, are excluded. The area should also be free of nuclear weapons.

The Non-Aligned countries have felt that zones of peace would enhance international peace and security and the stability of all states and peoples. This was stated at the 1971 Foreign Ministers Consultative Meeting, which also decided to urge the 26th General Assembly session to take concrete steps to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

As a result, on 16 December 1971 the UN General Assembly passed resolution No.2832 (XXVI) entitled

"Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace"¹ in which it called on the Great Powers immediately to hold consultations with a view to halting a build-up of their military presence in the Indian Ocean, liquidating all bases, military instalations and means of supply, refraining from deploying nuclear and other mass destruction weapons and eliminating all manifestations of a military presence.

The Lusaka Summit expressed full support to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and reaffirmed the positive role of the UN in promoting peace, strengthening freedom of nations and democratising international relations, it went on to criticise some of the Great Powers for their tendency to bypass the UN and its work "to their own interests and requirements".² The Conference resolution on the UN called for a number of measures which were accepted by the UN General Assembly in 1971 or later. These include many important resolutions, which constitute a comprehensive programme of action, covering such areas as economic development, international security, principles concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states, decolonisation, disarmament, use of the sea-bed and ocean floor. Most of these were adopted

by the General Assembly on the initiative of the Non-Aligned countries and the resolutions were based on the recommendations made at various Conferences and Summit meetings.

The Conference welcomed the designation of 1970's as the "Disarmament Decade".\textsuperscript{1} The participating countries were determined to spare no efforts to ensure the success of the disarmament decade. They wanted to cooperate closely among themselves and with other likeminded countries to help in the drawing up of a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

On measures of disarmament, the Conference established certain priorities in the nuclear field such as a freeze in the production of nuclear arms, a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, a comprehensive test ban, a reduction of nuclear weapons, an agreement prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological (bacteriological) weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of all nations, an international convention on non-use of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon free zones etc.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{2} Bondonevsky G. and Sofinsky, V., Non-Alignment its Friends and Adversaries in World Politics, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1978, p.72.
The Non-Aligned Movement has grown in size and strength, its role as a factor of peace and international security has become increasingly significant. The participants in the Movement have begun to show a growing interest in global problems, considering the question of preserving peace crucial.

During the 1970's, the Non-Aligned Movement welcomed the process of detente, promoting it as much as possible, and the imperialist powers began reverting to cold war policies, the Movement stepped up its efforts in the struggle against a nuclear catastrophe.

The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) welcomed improvement in relations between the East and the West. The Summit declaration said, "detente was a positive step towards establishing of peace, while progress has been made towards East-West detente; the fact that people are confronted with colonialism, domination and occupation, neocolonialism, imperialism and Zionism, remain as undeniable of our age".¹

The Conference analysed that peace is far from being assured, as witnessed by the situation in Indo-China, despite the Paris Agreement and the cessation of the US

bomibng of Cambodia, in the Middle-East where the situation continues to deteriorate; in Africa where there has been a new outbreak of colonial wars of extermination and aggression against independent states; and in Latin America, where the colonial situation still exists and where imperialism conspires against the sovereignty and security of states.

The participants stated that so long as there are colonial wars, apartheid, imperialist aggression, power politics and economic exploitation and plundering, peace will be limited both in principle and in scope.¹ In a world which is already divided into rich and poor countries, it would be dangerous to widen this decision by restricting peace to the rich regions in the world, while condemning the rest of mankind to insecurity and the domination of the most powerful. Peace is indivisible; it should not mean simply shifting confrontation from one area to another, nor should it mean reconciling ourselves to the existence of tensions in some areas while striving to remove them from others. Peace will remain precarious unless the interests of other countries are taken into consideration.

It added that the majority of people wanted to get rid of the colonial yoke where it existed and eradicate apartheid, zionism and racial discrimination and segregation.² Real independence should be created by eliminating

1. Ibid.
foreign monopolies and assuming control of national resources, and rejecting political, economic or military pressure.

The economic declaration of the Algiers Conference began with the bitter observation that detente so long sought by Non-Aligned nations did not have any beneficial effects on the developing countries. The reason being imperialism. The economic declaration focussed on how imperialism and neo-colonialism can threaten the security of the Non-Aligned and said that "imperialism is still the greatest stumbling block to the emancipation and advancement of developing countries which are striving to attain a standard of living in accordance with the most basic norms of welfare and human dignity.... This policy has been resorted to the use of force or has instigated criminal wars, such as those which are still inflicting suffering on the peoples of Indo-China and the Arab peoples of the Middle-East". ¹

Therefore, the Conference once again reaffirmed its solidarity with the liberation movements in Africa, denounced the aid received by Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia from certain NATO member countries, and expressed the view that it was urgent to end the colonial presence in the so-called Spanish Sahara Djibouti, the Camoro islands and the Seychells.

The Algiers Summit called for the recognition of the
provincial Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam
heroically fighting against the military might of the most
powerful country in the world, the USA and for support to
the struggle of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Palestine against
Israeli aggression.

The Non-Aligned countries met in Belgrade, Cairo,
Lusaka and Algeria and by their concerted action made a
major contribution towards the positive transformation of
international relations and the promotion of world peace.
The Colombo Summit Conference (1976) considered that the
Algiers Summit constituted an important landmark in the
development of the Non-Aligned Movement, reinforcing its
unity and solidarity in its efforts to promote international
peace and security giving a new impulse to the struggle of
the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other
forces against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism,
apartheid, racism and Zionism.

The Colombo Conference stated that the Non-Aligned
countries have always considered that conflict is not
inevitable. They affirmed that newly independent countries
have an important role to play in easing tension and safe-
guarding peace.¹ They have rejected the view that

¹. The Documents of the "Fifth Conference of Heads of State
or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Colombo, August
16-19, 1976", Published by DGNC, 1961-1979, New Delhi,
international peace can be based on a balance of power or that security can be ensured by countries joining power blocs and military alliance with Great Powers. The Non-Aligned have consistently upheld the principle of international cooperation as the basis for a secure world order and have opposed the notion that confrontation can be the course for the comity of nations.

The solidarity of the Non-Aligned and the growing cooperation among them constitute an essential contribution to the evolution of a new international order founded on national independence and international cooperation based on equality, mutual trust and justice.

The Colombo Conference noted with satisfaction that the principles of peaceful co-existence had won the broad recognition of the world community, welcomed the progress that had been achieved in relaxing international tension and approved the Helsinki decisions as strengthening detente.\(^1\) It pointed out that detente had as yet not embraced all regions of the world; that local conflicts still raged; acts of aggression were being perpetrated; and racism, discrimination, Zionism and apartheid were in existence still. The Conference called for the spread of detente to all continents and urged the participating nations to contribute

more actively and effectively to the settlement of crucial international problems.

The Middle East situation continued to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. For about nine years following its 1967 aggression, Israel continued to occupy Arab territories and violate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The Israeli aggressors persisted in their policy of expansion, annexation, mass expulsion and represenion of the Arab population, in violation of the United Nations Charter and resolutions, and the principles of humanitarian and international law, particularly the fourth Geneva Convention. The Conference expressed the conviction that a just and lasting peace could only be achieved through comprehensive settlement based on Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands and the restoration and implementation of the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights. It stressed that such a comprehensive settlement could be attained only with the participation of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation as the representative of the Palestinian people.

The vital role of the Non-Aligned Movement, particularly in the struggle of the Africans for liberation from the white racist rule, had found continuous expression, since

India first took up the cause, when it first appeared on the UN platform, even before it had won complete independence.

The Colombo Summit for the first time ever dedicated a separate section of its declaration to African's role in giving a firm anti-colonial, and anti-racist content to the Movement. The Conference noted that the identification of the African continent as a whole with Non-Alignment was a development of major significance in the history of Non-Alignment. Africa gave numerical strength to the Movement which contributed to making it a powerful force in the United Nations.¹

The Colombo Summit also recognised the important role played by the United Nations in regard to the elimination of the evil of apartheid, especially the role played by the United Nations special committee against apartheid. But the declaration also noted that the effectiveness of the United Nations had been limited because of the attitude of a few western powers which continue to collaborate with Pretoria.

The Conference made a special call to the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean to desist from accepting in military alliances which were conceived in the context of Great Power rivalry and were detrimental to the interests of the region. It also asked the Non-Aligned

¹. Ibid.
states in the region to take concerted action in consultation with other littoral and hinterland states to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean, as soon as possible, in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 3259 (XXIX) and 3468 (XXX) to adopt measures for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.¹

The Colombo Conference considered the problems of disarmament in particular, and the adverse effects of the continuing and intensifying arms race to international peace and security and economic development in general. It declared that the arms race was inconsistent with efforts aimed at achieving the New International Economic Order in view of the urgent need to divert the resources utilized for the acceleration of the arms race towards socio-economic development, particularly of the development.²

The Colombo Summit was convinced that the Non-Aligned countries should reinforce their activities in promoting the urgent solution of disarmament problems and help towards strengthening the role and influence of the United Nations in the negotiations pertaining to them.³

³ Ibid.
This Conference was followed by the Havana Summit Conference (1979) and it took a principled stand on all basic issues of world policy, a stand serving the interests of peace and progress. Its documents underlined the importance of strengthening the solidarity of forces fighting against imperialism and for ending colonialism in all its forms, for strengthening peace and for disarmament.

The Conference stated that the countries representing the Non-Aligned Movement are determined to defend interdependence, free national and social development, sovereignty, security, equality and self-determination and to change the existing system of international relations based on injustice, inequality and exploitation. The Movement represented an overwhelming majority of mankind that is involved in a struggle to eliminate inequalities between the developed and the developing nations; to eradicate poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy; and to establish a new world order based on justice, equality and peace.¹

The Havana Summit Conference once again stressed that the struggle to eliminate the injustice of the existing international economic system and to establish the New International Economic Order which is an integral part of

the people's struggle for political, economic, cultural and social liberation. The socio-economic progress of the developing countries has been adversely affected, directly or indirectly, by different forms of threat, including the threats of military intervention or the use of force, pressure, coercion and discriminatory practices, and often result in the adoption of aggressive attitudes, towards those who oppose their plans, to impose upon those political, social and economic structures which foster domination, dependence and exploitation of developing countries. These practices have been repeatedly condemned by the Non-Aligned countries and they constitute major obstacles to the economic and social progress of the developing countries and the main threat to world peace and security.\(^1\) Elimination of such practices is, therefore, a necessary condition for the achievement of development and international economic cooperation.

The Conference reaffirmed the adherence of Non-Aligned countries to the objective of general and complete disarmament, in particular, nuclear disarmament, under effective international control and their determination to act within the United Nations and other bodies to achieve this object. It drew attention once again to the fact that the Final Document of the tenth special session of the

\(^1\) Ibid., p.396.
United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament, convened on the initiative of the Non-Aligned countries, represented a solid basis for setting in motion the process of real disarmament, relieving mankind from the horrors of war and eliminating the increasing threats to human survival. In this context, the Conference called for the urgent implementation, within a specific time frame, of the Programme of Action, particularly of the nuclear disarmament measures contained in the Final Document of the special session.¹

The Havana Summit noted with satisfaction that the Non-Aligned countries have played an increasingly active role in the machinery created at the tenth special session of United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In this connection, the Conference attributed a particular importance to the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission for the preparation of a comprehensive programme on disarmament. It also attached great importance to, and underlined the responsibility of, the Committee on Disarmament, which has been reconstituted on the initiative of Non-Aligned countries on a more democratic basis, to successful conclusion of the negotiations on disarmament.

While reviewing the work of the Committee on Disarmament, the Conference expressed its regret over the fact that

¹. Ibid., pp.385-386.
the trilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom have not so far led to a treaty on the comprehensive ban of nuclear weapons testing. The Conference called for the urgent conclusion of such a treaty, along with a treaty on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction and of other weapons of mass destruction. The Conference called upon all Non-Aligned countries to take an active part and contribute to the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament and to coordinate their efforts in these bodies.¹

The Conference welcomed the decision to hold a second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1982 and called upon the Non-Aligned countries to take an active part in the preparation of that session in order to ensure the best results. The Conference also examined and welcomed the proposal, submitted to the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-third session, that the 1980's be proclaimed the Second Disarmament Decade.

From Havana Summit Conference to New Delhi Summit Conference (1979-1983), the international political

¹. Ibid.
atmosphere had deteriorated rapidly, with the second cold war launched by the USA threatening, under President Reagan, to extend it to a nuclear war.\footnote{1} Plans were going ahead for the deployment of additional missiles in Western Europe. There was increased militarisation of the Indian Ocean region, and provocation and aid to counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan, making the entry of Soviet troops inevitable. Military intervention in Angola had reached such a stage as to necessitate assistance from Cuban troops. Aggression had been mounted against all the independent developing countries on the boarders of South Africa. Israel had once again attacked Lebanon. There was mounting US aggression against Nicaragua and interference in the internal affairs of San Sal-vadore, where the people were struggling for freedom from tyranny.

The Seventh Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Movement (1983) took a firm stand on the crucial issue of peace. As Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, declared in her speech before the Conference: "The Non-Aligned Movement is history's biggest peace Movement". The New Delhi Summit forcefully accentuated the danger of a nuclear war and the necessity to struggle for peace, against the arms race. It adopted a political declaration in which there was a special

section entitled "Disarmament, Survival and Co-existence in the age of Nuclear Weapons". It pointed out that "the greatest danger confronting the world today is the threat of the annihilation of mankind as a result of nuclear war".¹ Mrs. Gandhi rightly observed "Development, Independence, Disarmament and Peace are closely related. Can there be peace alongside nuclear weapons? Without peace, my father said, all our dreams of development turn to ashes. It has been pointed out that global military expenditure is twenty times the total official development assistance. Each day, each hour, the size and lethality of nuclear weapons increase.... New bases and facilities are being established. That is why our responses must be surer, swifter and sharper".²

The New Delhi Conference emphasized that while nuclear disarmament has the highest priority, efforts should be made to conclude without further delay a treaty banning chemical weapons. It declared once again that the outer space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The Conference expressed deep disappointment at the failure of the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, to achieve meaningful results.


Efforts to adopt a comprehensive programme on nuclear disarmament failed due to the inflexible positions adopted by some of the major powers. The Conference welcomed and fully supported the world disarmament campaign launched during the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It also called for the early elaboration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament so as to ensure its adoption at the thirty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.¹

The Conference declared that the consequences of nuclear war would affect the entire world, and all nations and peoples therefore had an abiding concern and interest in the avoidance of this calamity. Peace could be achieved and preserved on the basis of political and economic equality among nations, the elimination of military domination and a determination to bring about disarmament. The New Delhi Summit directly appealed to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to avert nuclear war.

The 13-point New Delhi Message², adopted by the Conference, appealed to the Great Powers to halt the arms race which is consuming, at an ever-increasing rate, the

scarce material resources of our planet, destroying the ecological balance and wasting much of our finest scientific talent in sterile and destructive pursuits. These should be used to revitalize and restructure the world economy. The resources released by measures of disarmament should be diverted to promote the development of the developing countries.

The Non-Aligned countries, speaking for the majority of the world community, wanted an immediate halt to the drift towards nuclear conflict which threatened not only the well-being of humanity in our times but of the future generations as well. The nuclear weapon powers must heed this voice of the peoples of the world. From all indications, 1983 might be a crucial year for nuclear disarmament. They urged the nuclear weapon powers to adopt urgent and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war. "Peace is vital for the evolution of mankind to the fulness of its promise and potential. But the prospects for peace have receded. The nuclear race carried with it the probability of nuclear war. Saving the world from nuclear war and other wars must be one of our foremost concerns". ¹

The New Delhi Summit confessed its failure to end the bitterly fought war between Iran and Iraq. The Non-Aligned Movement had made several efforts to bring about a cease-fire

¹. Ibid.
since February 1981 when Cuba, India, Zambia and the
Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) were authorised to
mediate. Their mandate was "to exert all possible efforts
to contribute to the implementation of the principles of
Non-Alignment with regard to the conflict between Iran and
Iraq". The only principle that Indira Gandhi cited was that
"all differences and disputes between Non-Aligned states
should be resolved by peaceful means", and the objective
should be "an honourable, just and enduring peace".  

The Conference stated that the only way to resolve the
problem of Namibia was to implement the United Nations plan
The heads of state or government renewed their pledge to
render increased material, financial, military, political,
humanitarian, diplomatic and moral assistance to SWAPO for
mobilization of the struggle on all fronts, in particular,
the armed struggle to secure the total liberation of Namibia.
As regards the liberation of the majority black population
of South Africa from apartheid, the Non-Aligned nations once
again called for the imposition of mandatory economic
sanctions against the Pretoria regime under chapter VII of
the United Nations Charter. 

1. Seventh NAM Summit Selected Documents, Vol.II, Indian
   Institute For Non-Aligned Studies, 1984, pp.54-55.
2. The Final Documents of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit
Nuclear Disarmament has been the most important item on the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement right from its inception. India undertook a major global initiative, along with five other countries (representing the five continents) - Mexico, Sweden, Greece, Tanzania and Argentina - to issue a joint appeal on May 22, 1984, calling upon the five nuclear-weapon powers (USA, USSR, UK, France and China) for a halt to all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery system. The "five continent peace initiative"¹ was the result of more than a year of intense consultations among the non-nuclear countries during a period of deteriorating relations between the two Super Powers.

Eight months later, a Six Nation-Summit on Nuclear Disarmament was held in New Delhi on January 28, 1985. The six leaders representing the five continents gave a call to save humanity from a nuclear catastrophe. According to one estimate, with just 10 per cent of the money spent on the global arms race, 30 million people can be saved from dying of hunger; nine schools can be opened with the cost of just one F-14 fighter; one hydro-electric station can be started with the cost of the one air-craft carrier; 36 three room flats can be built anywhere in the world with what is now spent on the acquisition of one Leopard-2 tank; one year's

schooling can be provided for 16 million children with the cost of the one Trident submarine, and five fully equipped hospitals can be established with the cost of one Mx Intercontinental Ballistic Missile.\(^1\) Expressing his utmost concern at the constantly increasing military expenditure the world over, Prime Minister of India. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, while addressing Six Nation Summit on Nuclear Disarmament, observed: "Military spending is rapidly nearing the staggering figure of $1000 billion annually. It continues to rise while the world economy hovers between uncertain recovery and a relapse into deeper recession. This vast military expenditure, apart from causing dissonances in the economies of the leading military powers, has aggravated the problems of global economic recovery and development. Many developing countries face the stark prospect of economic collapse and social upheaval".\(^2\)

The Conference adopted a joint document called the New Delhi Declaration, insisting on the removal of nuclear threat hanging over humanity and also called for an end to nuclear arms race. The declaration said that as a result of the recent atmospheric and biological studies, there have been new findings which indicate that in addition to blast,

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heat and radiation a nuclear war, even on a limited scale, would trigger an arctic nuclear winter which may transform the Earth into a darkened, frozen planet posing unprecedented peril to all nations even those far removed from the nuclear explosions.¹

A halt to the nuclear arms race is at the present moment imperative, the Declaration went on to say. Only thus can it be ensured that nuclear arsenals do not grow while negotiations proceed. However, this halt should not an end itself. It must be immediately followed by substantial reductions in nuclear forces, leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and the final goal of general and complete disarmament.²

The leaders expressed their will to support the five-continent peace initiative in the struggle for the cause of peace and nuclear disarmament leading to the goal of complete disarmament. The leaders of the six nations addressed a joint message to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, and requested the United States of America and the Soviet Union to suspend all nuclear tests for one year, a suspension which could be extended or made permanent.

The six leaders met again in Mexico on August 6-7, 1986 to renew their call for nuclear disarmament. The Mexico declaration again drew the attention of the world people to save the earth from nuclear devastation.¹ They considered nuclear disarmament essential for peace; they also put stress on balanced reduction of conventional weapons. But they gave topmost priority to put an end to nuclear tests. Since reliable verification had been perceived as an obstacle in arms control negotiations in the past, the six leaders offered all possible assistance, an offer which was more fully spelt out at the Mexico Summit when a special document on verification was issued.

It proposed the establishment of a monitoring system consisting of monitoring stations at least sites in the USA and the USSR, inspection of large chemical explosions, and joint activities among the six nations in order to strengthen mutual cooperation.² While the Soviet Union, which had already announced a unilateral test moratorium, indicated willingness to consider these proposals, the United States said that nuclear tests were essential as long as United States relied on nuclear weapons for its security.

The Harare Summit Conference (1986) took place in a crucial and complicated period when enormous stockpiles of


weapons have been accumulated and continue to grow in the world, devouring billions which could have been used to advantage for economic development, particularly of the Third World. What was also alarming was that developing countries were drawn into the arms race even more increasingly. Imperialism was eager to exploit clashes, disputes and regional conflicts among developing nations.

In the persisting complicated situation, more and more people everywhere realised that imperialism had exposed human kind to a deadly threat and that efforts for peace and nuclear disarmament were the first priority. The Harare Summit bestowed its attention on many issues particularly relating to peace and disarmament. The Non-Aligned leaders believed that the Movement was the "Voice of Peace" and a "Prescription of Peace".¹ They thought that without the Movement "disaster might well have already overcome the world".²

The Southern Africa was one of the focal points of tension in international relations and a centre of confrontation between the imperialist forces of aggression and the forces of liberation progress and peace. A special declaration on the Southern Africa was once again adopted at the Harare Summit calling upon the member countries to resort to

2. The Hindustan Times, September 26, 1986.
the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. It is significant that as many as thirteen Latin American questions were dealt with in the political declaration, which is the reflection of the increasing use of the Non-Aligned forum for ventilating Latin American grievances against the USA. The Policy and attitude of the USA has been specifically criticised in regard to the following questions: South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Libya, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama Canal Zone, Puerto Pico, Isreal, SALT-II Agreements and the nuclear test ban.

Considering the origin and purpose of the Non-Aligned Movement, the most important preoccupation of the Movement had been disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. But its efforts have been in vain since the two Super Powers had been continuously escalating the arms race, both qualitatively and quantitatively, completely ignoring their terrifying consequences to the maintenance of international peace and security. The Non-Aligned countries are clearly prompted by their earlier statement that "nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought". The Non-Aligned Nations


2. Ibid., p.101.

would like to see that statement incorporated in a legally binding international convention foreswearing the use of nuclear weapons. The Non-Aligned Movement has urged over the years that the reduction in the arms race, even of conventional arms, should lead to the transfer of resources to the economic and social development of the poorer countries. The Non-Aligned countries have urged - as the Harare Summit did again - for a Third Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

In this background, the Summit adopted the "Harare Appeal" to President Reagan of United States and the Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev, for a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests by all states in all environments and for all time. It may be of interest to recall that a similar appeal was issued at the first Belgrade Summit Conference also twenty-five years ago. The appeal expressed the hope that at least by their next Summit meeting, the leaders of the Super Powers will reach an accord on the issue.

The Heads of State or Government noted that in their joint statement issued in Geneva in November 1985, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States of America agreed to speed up bilateral negotiations on arms limitations with the declared objective of working out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on

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earth with the ultimate goal of achieving the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere. In this regard, the participants of the Harare Summit called upon the leaders of the two countries to pursue without delay and in a spirit of goodwill the objectives they set for themselves at Geneva, and urged that an early agreement be reached in these negotiations to refrain from extending the arms race to the outer space and simultaneously to effect drastic reductions in their existing nuclear arsenals.

The Conference suggested that the Conference on Disarmament should immediately start negotiations with a view to concluding agreements to prevent the arms race in the outer space. It reminded the Super Powers that the vital interests of all peoples of the world were at stake. Referring to the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-II), it expressed concern over the announced intention of the United States to terminate compliance with its provisions. It asked the United States to reconsider the position.

In the context of the nuclear weapons-test-ban-treaty, the declaration said that while negotiations were under way, there should be a moratorium on testing. It welcomed the

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2. Ibid.
Six-Nation appeal and the offer to lend their good offices for the establishment of verification mechanisms to monitor the moratorium. It commended the Soviet action in actually effecting a temporary moratorium and urged the United States to do the same.

In spite of the failure of the United Nations to resolve so many of the problems concerning Non-Aligned countries, it is interesting that the Harare Summit had solemnly reaffirmed its faith in the United Nations as being central to the concept of a universal body representing the free association of states on the basis of sovereign equality.

It also expressed its deep concern over frequent attempts to weaken the United Nations, to ignore the majority's views and aspirations, to use financial power to impair the United Nations' functioning by withholding contributions, and to introduce decision-making methods incompatible with the sovereign equality of member states. The Summit declared that the financial crisis facing the United Nations should be dealt with "politically in a comprehensive and integrated manner so as to find a long-term solution".¹

The Belgrade Summit Conference (1989) took place in a relatively relaxed international political scenario.

1. Ibid., pp.64-65.
Analysing the world situation the Conference declared that the world political climate has improved, although not sufficiently. Encouraging progress had been made towards finding solutions to regional and global problems wherein the Non-Aligned countries rendered a substantive contribution. There had been a ferment of new economic and political ideas in some parts of the world. These provided a propitious setting for fresh initiatives. On the other hand, if economic imperatives and particularly the requirements of developing countries were not accommodated, the resulting strains might very well undermine the current trend towards global peace and harmony.

International relations are in a state of continuous development and change. The same is true of the Movement and the policy of Non-Alignment. The Movement faced ever new challenges requiring it to build its political platform upon new objectives and new courses of action. In view of the changed and changing international political environment, the Conference asserted: "Our basic interests and the need to enhance the effectiveness of the Movement demand that we play an active and direct role in the management of world affairs".¹

The Belgrade Summit Conference stated that the first and foremost task of the Non-Aligned Movement is to establish an enduring and stable peace based on comprehensive, viable and readily implementable structure of international security and disarmament and settlement of disputes by peaceful means. At Belgrade, Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, stated that, inspite of the beginning of new international relations, there were no prospects of stable peace for which the Non-Aligned Movement had been working. In his incisive comments, he clarified "Peace cannot be bought through the mere control of armaments while encouraging the development of newer generation of weapons, nuclear and conventional. Peace demands an end to the fanning of conflicts by proxy. Peace requires the diversion of resources from armaments to development. Peace demands a wholesome environment and the conservation of Nature's gifts to life on planet Earth. Peace means an end to terrorism, whether by states or individuals. Peace needs a world free of the manacle of drugs". He added "such a peace can only be secured in a world purged of the quest for dominance...."1

The Belgrade Summit gave a new trend in the field of disarmament and improved prospects of enhancing world peace

1. NAM's Role in Furthering the Cause of a New World Order, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, September 1989, p.13.
and security. The Conference expressed the view that the disarmament process was still in its initial stages. In the last few years initial steps had been taken towards disarmament after decades of futile discussions and negotiations on the subject. For the first time the world witnessed the implementation of the Gorbachev-Reagan Agreement on the elimination of Intermediate-Range Nuclear Missiles (1987). Negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the reduction of the number of intercontinental missiles by half were continuing.

Since the very first meeting in Belgrade the strengthening of world peace and security through disarmament has remained at the very core of the policy and practice of Non-Alignment. The Movement has constructively contributed to the process of disarmament by promoting dialogue between the two Great Powers, by attempting to shape a consensus in multilateral disarmament force and by increasing the public awareness of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war.

The heads of state or government noted with satisfaction that the change in the positions of the Great Powers could be perceived as a response to the longstanding appeals of the Movement. They also expressed their strong hope that the future negotiations between the Super Powers would also be geared towards the well-being of all
countries, in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality and the United Nations Charter.¹

The participants noted that since the last Summit Conference in Harare significant events had taken place with bearing on international community, establishing new trends in international relations. Conflicts and hostilities were giving way to negotiations, understanding and cooperation in a number of instances. The responsibilities and obligations of all states to speed up the emerging process and to channel it in a direction that would benefit all, was underlined. Lasting peace and security could be achieved only by pooling the efforts of the entire international community and with all countries participating and contributing on the basis of equality. They felt that their countries must participate actively in any process designed to achieve general and complete disarmament. As a means of avoiding wasteful expenditure on armaments and to promote peace and security, they undertook to contribute to disarmament and to halting and reversing the arms race.

The Conference further underlined that universal peace and security were unattainable without the economic and social development of the international community. The aggravation of development problems, particularly in the

developing countries, could jeopardize the positive achievements in international relations and emerge as the greatest single potential threat to world stability. Stressing the close link between disarmament and development, it reaffirmed the Action Programme adopted at the International Conference on the relationship between disarmament and development, held in 1987, and considered that it provided a valuable framework for future action.¹

The participants observed that for a number of reasons there was a favourable condition for disarmament prevailing at the moment. The five USSR and USA Summits in the last four years have had a positive effect on world developments as a whole. The USSR and the USA had for the first time in history, signed a treaty to eliminate some of the existing nuclear weapons. The Conference welcomed this step and reiterated their expectation that it would be a precursor to the adoption of concrete disarmament measures leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.² In that sense, they attached particular importance to the current negotiations between the USSR and the USA on a considerable reduction of strategic offensive nuclear arsenals and hoped that the current delay would be overcome and the treaty

1. Dr. Srivastava, Govind Narain (Ed), NAM in International Relations Ninth NAM Summit Selected Documents, Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi, 1989, pp.124-129.

2. Ibid.
signed at the earliest date. This process should be followed by the incorporation of other nuclear weapon states into the process of nuclear disarmament.

They wished to stress in particular that the present world required that the doctrines of power policies be replaced by a policy of cooperation, aimed at fulfilling the legitimate expectations of the entire international community. They were of the view that further strengthening of multilateral efforts in disarmament with the United Nations could be facilitated, inter alia, by the establishment of an integrated multilateral verification system.

If every step towards disarmament is a step towards strengthening world peace and security, it may be said that there are prospects for the world to face a series of such steps and to find itself on the threshold of a more stable international peace, possibly for a longer period.

The Belgrade Summit Conference gave special attention to the processes leading to the independence of Namibia. It formed a ten-member group of Heads of State or Government to represent Namibia at the special session of the UN General Assembly on the Southern Africa. The purpose of the group was to see that Namibia's freedom was not delayed by South Africa. The group consisted of India, Yugoslavia, Egypt,

Jamaica, Kuwait, Malaysia, Nigeria, Peru, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Summit also decided to send an eighteen-member group of Non-Aligned countries to Namibia on a fact-finding mission to oversee whether the electoral process for the November 1989 elections had been carried out.

The main aim of the Non-Aligned Movement is to strengthen and coordinate the joint actions of the Non-Aligned countries in order to ensure world peace and security. By establishing peace zones, to reduce international tensions, to dismantle military bases and to encourage general and complete disarmament. The Non-Aligned Movement has a strong belief and faith in the UNO through which it tries to establish world peace from time to time.

The Non-Aligned countries have made attempts from time to time to establish world peace by eliminating regional conflicts, colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and apartheid. It has proved a more dynamic factor in promoting the genuine independence of international relations and in creating conditions conducive to international peace, security, justice, equality and cooperation in the world.

The Non-Aligned countries, at many international forums, initiated a number of resolutions, declarations on
various crucial issues for short and long-term programmes of action towards establishing world peace, particularly in the field of disarmament, from gradual measures to universal and complete disarmament as the ultimate goal. They convened a historic Six-Nation Summit on Nuclear Disarmament in 1985 in New Delhi and again in 1986 in Mexico and appealed to nuclear powers to save the mankind from the nuclear catastrophe. In 1970 at Lusaka, they demanded that the Indian Ocean should be made a zone of peace and in 1971 a resolution in that regard was adopted by the UN General Assembly, too. The Non-Aligned Movement has a strong belief in the settlement of disputes through peaceful means.

The Non-Aligned Movement has always tried to reduce tensions between the two Super Powers and played a great role in bringing them together for negotiations in the interests of world peace. The Movement's role in establishing world peace by solving various political conflicts such as Korean war, and the problems of Kampuchea, Vietnam, Congo, Iran and Iraq, Namibia, the Middle-East etc. is considerable. But in some cases their efforts were not fruitful because of the interference of the Super Powers and sometimes the lack of cooperation among the Non-Aligned countries. Unless and until the Non-Aligned countries consolidate their efforts for concerted action, world peace cannot be preserved effectively. However, Non-Aligned Movement has maintained a principled stand and made lasting
contribution towards the maintenance of world peace, trying to prevent global and regional conflicts. The contribution of the Non-Aligned Movement for the preservation of world peace has been substantial and significant.

The Non-Aligned Movement focussed its attention towards world peace during the cold war between the two Super Powers. But in the absence of cold war and bipolar system and other significant changes that took place in international relations the Non-Aligned Movement has a special role to play. Therefore, it is desirable to discuss the role of Non-Aligned Movement in the context of the changing world scenario.