CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ROLE OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CHANGING WORLD ScENARIO
The world is on the threshold of a new era in international relations. The current changes in the world are so far-reaching that they have definitely destroyed earlier international patterns and are creating a new structure in international relations. International relations are a function of interaction between states in their multiplicity. They are dynamic in character, they keep on changing, so the world has witnessed the rise and fall of powers, great and small. The process varies from time to time in its speed and intensity. Even then the transformation that has come over inter-state relations since the period of the cold war has been dramatic and qualitatively different. Such transformations do happen, but rather rarely in history.¹ This process of global changes has begun in the last few years, although its real effects have

not yet become clearly visible, its dynamic character has made it incumbent upon one and all, including the Movement of Non-Aligned countries, to give close attention to these changes.

These unprecedented changes took place by the inspiration of Gorbachev's reforms like "Glasnost" and "Perestroika".¹ These reforms attempted by Gorbachev, which started in an innocuous manner in 1985 developed into a mighty tornado that engulfed the whole socialist world. The process of detente vigorously pursued by the Super Powers, has culminated in inducing revolutionary changes in East-West relations and established a new equation among countries of the two blocs.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was held in Paris in November 1990, where 22 members of the NATO and WARSAW pact and 12 neutral states in Europe took a decisive step in formally winding up the cold war. The Conference declared that the "era of confrontation and division in Europe is over."² Consequently the era of cold war has become a thing of past.

As the transformation of Eastern Europe, the collapse of the Warsaw pact, the reunification of Germany and the decline of the Soviet Union have combined to break-up the Post-World War-II Yalta arrangement in Europe, bringing to an end the cold war confrontation between the two military blocs of the East and the West.¹ The world has reached historic period in which a new structure is replacing the old one. The peace, security and development of the world are still facing serious challenges, the old order having failed to provide the people of the world with the opportunity for equal treatment and peaceful co-existence and resulted in poor countries being treated unfairly. The old order has consequently resulted in the poor becoming poorer and the rich richer. All these contributed to a period of desperate military competition. The people throughout the world look forward to a change in the present situation and to a bright future in which the unreasonable old world order, which has hindered world peace, stability and development, is replaced.

Under these circumstances, the building of a system or order that suits the future international relations has become a challenging issue.² In this regard, different


countries had different opinions. All countries are committed to seeking a solution that agrees with their views and suits their interests and no one is willing to make any concessions. But the positive approach by the developing and Non-Aligned world in the matter is highly encouraging.

In the post-cold war era, the USA has emerged as the only Super Power. The Soviet Union being no more on the international scene, the predominance of the West in political relations and in economic and security matters has been well established.\(^1\) Following the Gulf War, President George Bush and some others often talked of the evolution of a new world order, though its framework was never clearly spelt out. However, some of its underlying features are outlined in the declarations of the G-7 and in the actions of the Great Powers in relation to Iraq and Libya. The economic conditionalities which the advanced, industrialised countries have sought to impose on the Non-Aligned, developing countries also indicate their interactions.

In this distinctly disadvantageous position, perhaps the most important task before the Non-Aligned Movement is to express its opinion on the new world order, specifically on what kind of world order that would be in the interests of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. In its Tenth Summit at Jakarta (1992) the leaders of the

Non-Aligned countries stated that the new world order should be based on a new and equitable international order for stable peace and common security and for an economic and social security.¹

America proposed that the new world order should be unipolar based on American values. The establishment of a Tri-Polar World was proposed by Japan and the French desired to set up a European Federation. As there is a sharp divergence of views on what kind of new world order is to be established, there has been a growing realisation among the countries of the developing world that the world order should abide by the five principles of Panchasheela which was jointly initiated by India and China in the mid 1950's.

With the USA as the sole Super Power and in the absence of the threat from the USSR, the ideological offensive of the Western Powers to forcibly promote western values has reached a climax.² At present the following situations have emerged: Firstly, establishing an international order dominated by a few western powers in conformity with the western values seemed to have become a panacea for all ills of the world. Secondly, while moving from bipolarization to multipolarization, the world entering

into a period of redistribution of power and influence. With the rise of regional powers and groups new centres of power have emerged; the unification of Germany has added to its strength and the German influence will increase in the process of the European integration. Thirdly, the USA is facing a dual challenge from its allies (Western Europe and Japan); Economically, the US remains the strongest power in the world, but as compared with the Western Europe and Japan, whose economic strength has been growing rapidly, the US economic strength is on the decline, relatively speaking.¹

Therefore, a new pattern of rivalry among the new economic powers - the US, the Western Europe and Japan - will take shape in 1990's. (i) The economic threat from Japan and the Western Europe to the US has become an important subject for the US in handling its relations with its allies in the 1990's. (ii) Politically as the Soviet threat to America has obviously faded, the future position and the role of the NATO have come into question. The Western Europe tends to further strengthen its unity and independence and is seeking to play a leading role in mapping out the future of Europe. (iii) Backed by its economic, scientific and technological strength, Japan is

trying to get involved in world affairs in a bid to obtain the status of a major political power. (iv) With the upsurge of nationalism in Europe, the existing borders are being challenged and international relations there have become strained. This strong political force threatens to redraw the boundary lines between countries and even carve up those multinational countries. This may lead to new divisions and conflicts in Europe and may ultimately threaten democracy. (v) Threats to western superiority from the Third World Countries have obviously increased.

This is clearly seen in the attempts by some regional military powers to try to attain their political goals through military means. Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait's is a case in point. In the 1990's the US is facing the serious challenge of how to cope with the regional eventualities in the Third World: the proliferation of nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons, ballistic missiles and the technologies of those weapons has narrowed the gap between the North and the South militarily, posing a direct threat to the US terrorist activities; the spread of narcotics trafficking has also constituted a real threat to the United States. Under these circumstances, U.S.A., Japan, France, the Non-Aligned and the developing countries have conceived different kinds of world order. They are as follows:
In adjusting its external strategy, the USA is by and large seeking to establish the new world order in accordance with its concepts of values and ideas. Former US President, George Bush, declared that the end of the cold war means the emerging of a New World Order and it has also been maintained that the bipolar world of the cold war phase has been replaced by a uni-polar world during 1990's. On September 11, 1990, in his speech on the Gulf Crisis to the Joint session of the Congress, Mr. Bush said: "We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move towards a historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times our fifth objective - a new world order - can emerge a new era, free from the threat of terror, stranger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony".1

He also said that events that happened in the Gulf region had shown that "there is no substitute for American leadership". On October 1, 1990, Bush indicated in his address to the United Nations General Assembly that it was in "our hands to press forward to cap a historic movement

towards a new world order" - and said: "We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the cold war; a partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action.... a partnership united by principle and rule of law and supported by an equitable sharing of both costs and commitments; a partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, prosperity, peace and reduce arms.... And I see a world building on the merging new model of European unity, not just Europe, but the World whole and free".  

On March 6, 1991, Mr. Bush again raised the "New World Order" issue when he talked about the American policy after the Gulf War. He said: "Now we can see a new world coming into view.... A world where the United Nations, free from the cold war stalemate, is poised to fulfil the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations".  

On August 13, 1991, he stressed in the preface of the National Security Strategy of the US that - "We have within our grasp an extraordinary possibility that few generations enjoyed to build a new international system in accordance with our own values and ideals.... For America, we see not only project our citizens and our interest, but help to

create a new world in which our fundamental values not only survive but flourish".  

Therefore, it can be seen from the above speeches that Mr. Bush's "new world order" in the post-cold war era contains the following points: (i) The objective of a new world order is to achieve peace, security, freedom and the rule of law in the world. (ii) America's leadership is indispensable and cannot be substituted. (iii) It is necessary to form a partnership with allied countries to equitably share both costs and commitments, and to co-operate with Russia to deter aggression and to achieve stability, prosperity, and above all peace. (iv) The UN should be given a role to play in the post-cold war era. And Washington appreciated what the UN had done to America in the Gulf crisis. (v) The post-cold war era should be based on American values and ideals, which could flourish in the World so as to ultimately build a world whole and free. (vi) In the post-cold war era US pays more attention to the role of the big and developed countries, avoiding the North-South problems; and (vii) Bush's proposal is to create a structure and world order that can maintain the dominant position of the US and promote its interests in the world.  

Thus, the strategic objectives of the US in the Post-Cold

War are: to prevent the emerging of any rival Super Power or a combination of powers at the global level; and to prevent potential competitors even aspiring for a larger regional role.

**TRI-POLAR WORLD ORDER**

On the issue of establishing a new world order in the Post-cold war era, Japan and the West European countries stressed the need of their joint participation and the establishment of a tri-polar world to win a bigger voice in the future world order and to safeguard and expand their own interests. As Japan has decided to re-enter the military arena posing new anxieties to countries of the Pacific rim including China. With a powerful economic base, it can coerce the neighbours and may even pose as a counter-weight to American hegemony in the region.

Former Japanese Prime Minister, Toshiki Kaipu in his letter to President Bush on January 9, 1991 said that the tri-polar world – Japan, United States and Europe – must be seen as the main body of the new world order. On March 2, 1991, Japanese Foreign Minister, Nakayama Toro, in his speech at the Diet (Japanese Parliament) reaffirmed that in order to set up a new world order, it would be necessary to strengthen the ties between Japan, the US and Europe.¹

To adjust and renew the alliance and establish a new tri-polar structure system together with Germany (Europe) and Japan so as to maintain America's leading position in the west. The then US Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker advanced a strategic conception in June 1991 on the establishment of a Pan-Atlantic Community (PAC) with the following features.¹ (i) to transform NATO as the security corner-stone in Europe and the guarantor for its strategic balance; America demands that NATO take up new tasks and develop partnership relations with the Soviet Union (CIS) and countries in both Central and Eastern Europe; (ii) to strengthen American-European ties; America works to establish a powerful mechanism for cooperation with European Community (EC) while demanding that the EC share more responsibilities in Europe and the rest of the world; (iii) under the circumstances when Japan and Germany are rising in strength and America's nation power is inadequate, the US is pursuing a new and constructive policy in holding the triangular relationship among America, Japan and Germany. It wants to make sure that Germany and Japan will continue to serve as a cornerstone of the western alliance, as well as its major international partners. The US advocates concerted action on major international issues. It encourages Germany and Japan to participate fully in the discussion on the establishment of a Post-Cold War order

while striving to maintain its role as their leader; (iv) the US makes use and strengthens the functions of the seven industrialised nations summit. Apart from making it play a role in coordinating the relations among the allies, the US sees to it that these rich nations club serves as an effective means to deal with and exert influence on the Third World; and (v) in the Third World the US has shifted its chief goal from stopping Soviet (CIS) expansionism to striking at the strong regional military powers which dare to harm America's fundamental economic and strategic interests.

EUROPEAN FEDERATION

The European Federation was proposed by the French President Francois Mitterrand with a view to ensuring that the new world order must not impose peace under the US terms on others.¹ He desired Europe to play an important role. He noted that the expansion and development of the European Community would probably turn into a balancing force in the world and that in the process of establishing a new world order such a balancing force is needed.

The French Foreign Minister, Poland Dumas, also said that in the present pattern a multi-polar world should be set up and the world affairs should not be dominated by one

¹. Ibid.
or two Super Powers. He also maintained that the UN Security Council should play a leading role in setting up a new international order. The views of Britain and Germany have also been largely similar to that of France. The above views reflected only their own interests and not the world community.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES : NEW WORLD ORDER

The developing countries firmly oppose the monopoly of international affairs by one or a few powers. They maintain that a new world order ought to be built on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, equality, peace, justice and non-interference in each others internal affairs etc. This stand reflects the fundamental interests of the majority of the nations of the world and has thus won broad international support.

The leaders of the world's most populous countries - India and China - have similar views on the shape the new world order has to take. During the historic visit of the Chinese Premier, Li Peng, to India from December 11-15, 1991.\textsuperscript{1} India and China agreed that the following principles should govern the new world order: (i) Every country, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, is an equal member of international community entitled to participate in the decision-

\textsuperscript{1} The Hindu, December 16, 1991.
making and settlement of international affairs. Each country shall have the sovereign right to formulate and implement its own strategies and policies for the socio-economic development best suited to its national conditions. The principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs should be scrupulously observed in international relations; differences and disputes among countries should be settled peacefully without resorting of force or threat of force.

(ii) Efforts should be made to check the arms race and realize effective disarmament. The current process of disarmament should lead to the complete prohibition and through destruction of all weapons of mass destruction including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Further progress should be made towards conventional disarmament.

(iii) Efforts should be made to address the growing economic gap between the North and the South and achieve the settlement of global economic, social, demographic and environmental problems in a manner which would benefit all members of the world community. Regional cooperation should be furthered in order to expand channels for dialogue and promote economic development. The developed countries are urged to address the questions of the mounting debt burdens of the developing countries, worsening terms of trade, inadequacy of financial flows and obstacles to technology transfer.
(iv) The principles of the UN Charter and the relevant international human rights instruments on the protection of human rights should be respected, and the universal realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for the whole of mankind should be safeguarded, and promoted. Human rights are indivisible. For the vast number of developing countries, the right to subsistence and development is a basic human right.¹

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT : NEW WORLD ORDER

It is in this context that the Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Jakarta from 1-6 September, 1992 acquires significance. It rightly views that the world segmented and artificially divided in the cold war needs a wholistic approach. Interdependence, integration and globalization of the world are the realities of today. Howsoever powerful, the west cannot by itself bring about a new world order, and must associate the developing countries in substantive ways to define the priorities in the post-cold war context.

At Jakarta, the Non-Aligned Movement raised several issues which are global in character and of continuing relevance in a larger time frame.² Firstly, global institutions

¹. The Times of India, December 16, 1991.
like the UN needs strengthening to reflect the realities of today. It needs greater democratization and sufficient funding for its peace-keeping operations. The idea of peace-keeping did not occur when the UN was founded, but today it is an essential aspect of its working. Secondly, democratization cannot be confined to a few countries; this must extend to international relations in general. It was initiated at the Algiers summit in 1973 which is still a valid agenda in restructuring the world order. Of course, the realization of such a goal is bound to be difficult but that does not detract from the legitimacy of the objective. Thirdly, injustice and oppression continue in several forms: foreign occupation, ethnic strife, racism, poverty, unabated protectionism, low prices for commodities and raw materials produced by developing countries, restricted financial flow to the Third World, burden of debt and debt servicing and economic and social deprivation are issues raised by Non-Aligned Movement which affect the destinies of all countries, directly or indirectly and hence must form the agenda of tomorrow.

On the role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the new international context the Jakarta Declaration said that the collapse of the cold war confrontation provides a dramatic confirmation of the validity of the Movement's fundamental principles. The Movement had made many contributions to
bringing about improvements in the present international climate. Defining its objectives in a post-cold war world, the Declaration said - "Since Bandung, 37 years ago, we have promoted the achievement of fundamental objectives... as we set our path for this decade and beyond, we are committed to the shaping of a new international order, free from war, poverty, ignorance and injustice... it should reflect global not separate interests and it should be sought through the central and irreplaceable role of the United Nations... through dialogue and cooperation, we will project our Movement as a vibrant, productive and genuinely, interdependent component of the mainstream of international relations". ¹

It was, further, suggested that the new world order must be firmly rooted in (a) the rule of law; (b) the principles of the UN Charter; (c) equally shared responsibility and joint commitment to global cooperation and solidarity; (d) a structure comprehensively conceived and dedicated to peace and justice, to security and development, and to democracy and the rights and freedoms of individual human beings as well as of nations; ² (e) respect for the sovereignty of nations and strict adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, which should not be diluted or abridged under any pretext;

and (f) the resolution of disputes in all regions of the world through a sustained process of dialogue and negotiation, and the establishment of regional mechanisms towards that end.¹ These were a reply from the Non-Aligned to the words and actions of the industrialized world.

Under these circumstances, the arguments of the detractors of the Non-Aligned Movement have been on the following lines: Non-Alignment has lost its vitality, being no longer a viable policy; the Movement has become ineffective, powerless, passive and disunited; it has become marginalised and shifted to the fringe of international events.² Now that the cold war is over and confrontation between the Super Powers has given way to dialogue, negotiations and agreements, the UN having got invigorated and taking the centre stage in the resolution of international conflicts, the Non-Aligned Movement should be allowed to die a natural death. The Non-Aligned Movement had some relevance at the purely diplomatic level before. Now it does not have even that. And if it survives into the next century it will be as a meaningless ceremonial organisation.³ The apparent failure of the Non-Aligned Movement to prevent the conflict between two member states

of the Movement, Iraq and Kuwait from degenerating into a war in the Gulf would only strengthen the argument that the Non-Aligned Movement has outlived its usefulness in the contemporary international era and should therefore fold up or disband.

Some of these negative trends had become accentuated following the ninth Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade (1989), precisely because Yugoslavia as the Chairman of the Movement was not in a position to provide the necessary guidance or direction due to the civil war situation which had emerged in the country, for which, rightly or wrongly, the leadership of the Movement in Belgrade was blamed.

It is true that the Non-Aligned Movement was a child of cold war but during the decades of its existence it has acquired a life of its own. Only in a very narrow and short-sighted view is that the relevance of Non-Alignment measured entirely in terms of fluctuations of the politics of cold war. From the outset, there has been no lack of inquisitors, who looked upon Non-Alignment as heresy and distorted its meaning. The critics of Non-Alignment, both well-intentioned and tendentious, have become prisoners of etymological narrowness conveyed by the literal interpretation of the term.

The principal objective of Non-Alignment has been to exercise independence of judgement and action in foreign affairs. Non-Alignment is of permanent significance because it springs from the determination of countries to safeguard their independence, to contribute effectively to the betterment of international relations and create an international atmosphere more conducive to social and economic development. These principles are as valid today as they were in the fifties. In fact, the world has no other alternative.

Non-Alignment came into existence immediately after the second World War in an international environment in which the countries of the world found themselves polarised into two blocs headed respectively by the two Super Powers.\(^1\) The political atmosphere among them was surcharged with tension, antagonism, suspicion, hatred, and a mutual desire to annihilate each other.\(^2\) The era of cold war had already set in and each bloc was trying to strengthen itself by attracting as many countries into its fold as possible.\(^3\) It is into this hostile atmosphere that the newly independent countries of the resurgent Africa and Asia were stepping in.

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2. Kumar A. Prasanna, "From Nehru to Rajiv: Forty Years of India's Foreign Policy", *Triveni*, April-June, 1985, p.41

They were flabbergasted by the unfriendly international environment and found themselves being enticed to join one or the other of the power blocs. The consequence of such a step was that they had to compromise with their sovereignty and independence of decision-making for which they were not prepared. The newly independent countries were zealous in protecting their hard-won independence and sovereignty.

It was in these circumstances that Nehru articulated the concept of Non-Alignment. In fact, because of his deep understanding of history, Nehru had enunciated the outline of the foreign policy that independent India would pursue. He was seriously concerned about the need for preserving the hard-won independence and sovereignty of the country and to pursue a policy which would ensure independence in decision-making.¹ For this purpose, he had put forward the concept of Non-Alignment whereby the country would not be required to join either of the two power blocs, keeping itself away from the military alliances and cold war politics of the Super Powers. This alone was the surest way to ensure the freedom of decision-making and would provide an opportunity to play a positive and constructive role in international politics. It would also ensure safeguarding the national interests of the small nations. In 1961, the Non-Aligned countries met to create an independent path in world

politics, one which would not result in their becoming pawns in the struggles between the major powers.

During the last three decades (Belgrade Summit Conference Onwards), the Non-Aligned Movement has been playing a positive role in international relations. It has raised its voice against colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, racialism, apartheid and exploitation in various forms of the newly independent nations. It had evolved into a strong votary for universal disarmament, promotion of international peace and for building bridges of understanding and co-operation between the antagonistic blocs. Whenever the world was confronted with a crisis situation threatening international peace, the Non-Aligned Movement was ever ready to initiate moves for diffusing tensions and contributed in its own humble way in finding positive solutions.

Though its members were neither militarily nor economically strong, the Movement made a healthy impact on events since it was recognised as a strong moral force in international politics, having the backing of two-thirds of the human race. It had moulded world public opinion on positive lines in favour of promoting international peace and for the welfare of the human race. After a long and

arduous task, it has reached the present stage when its very relevance is questioned.

This is not the first time such a discussion started on the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement. From the early seventies when the dawn of detente began to break over the international horizon, it was said that Non-Alignment has lost its relevance as the Super Powers came together in some kind of a duo-politic domination of the world. In the early 1980's, when the second cold war revived between the two Super Powers, the critics realised their mistake and recognised the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement. But from 1988 onwards once again, the same mistake was made by some critics when the second detente began between the two Super Powers, they questioned the validity of the Movement.

In addition, the period between 1987 and 1993 was acknowledged as the watershed years in the international relations. The process of the sweeping changes in international relations started when Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan signed historic Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty on December 8, 1987 in Washington which paved the way for lowering tensions and promoting detente in the international system. The Malta Summit between President George Bush and President Mikhail Gorbachev in December 1989, has

accelerated the process of detente.\textsuperscript{1} The consequent era of cold war, signed by 34 nations of Europe in Paris in November 1990, has come to an end.\textsuperscript{2}

The Berlin wall which was a symbol of cold war now finds a place in the United Germany; decisive steps have been taken in Europe towards full integration\textsuperscript{3} (12 European nations signed an historic Maastricht Treaty in December 1991, the desire of European powers to form a common front one currency, foreign policy and security issues); Japan and Germany emerged as economic giants, there has been a tragic event particularly in the context of Non-Alignment i.e., the collapse of Yugoslavia which is one of the founder fathers of the Non-Alignment; and the Soviet Union has become a thing of the past. But the process of disintegration has been very disturbing, as it is difficult to predict the future of the Post-Soviet Union Commonwealth of Independent States. The most significant event that took place on September 13, 1993 is the signing of a historic peace accord by Israel and the PLO outlining a plan for Palestinian self-rule in the Israel-occupied territories. Mr. Clinton,


\textsuperscript{2} The Hindu, November 22, 1990.

President of USA, commended it as "an extraordinary act in one of the history's defining moments".\textsuperscript{1} Thus, the world has changed from bipolar to unipolar in military strength (USA) but to multipolar in economic strength (Japan, Germany).

In the context of the changing world scenario as discussed above, some critics further argue that the Non-Aligned Movement has become outmoded and irrelevant and it is high time that the 'Nehru model' of foreign policy based on Non-Alignment was given a decent burial. This view is based on an inadequate understanding of the motives and inspirations of the Movement.

It is not surprising that a chorus led by some of the critics particularly western powers are questioning the validity and relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement in the post-cold war world.\textsuperscript{2} The collapse of the Soviet Union and its consequences, including a sharpening tendency on the part of the US led coalition of western powers to impose their dictates on the developing countries, has made the Non-Aligned Movement more relevant than ever before.

As the world is entering the last decade of this century, new issues which are of critical importance to the

\textsuperscript{1} The Hindu, September 14, 1993.

\textsuperscript{2} Parthasarathy, Malini, "Why the NAM is still relevant", The Hindu, August 31, 1992.
future mankind are engaging its attention. In the first few decades of the post-World War II system, the issues that were on the top of the Non-Aligned Movement were cold war, military alliances, colonialism, imperialism, apartheid, nuclear weapons, world peace, disarmament and New International Economic Order. With the passage of time, while some of these issues have been resolved others have been pushed under the carpet because they were not easy to resolve.

The new issues on the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement in the post-cold war era are protection of environment, fight against terrorism, restructuring of the UN, eradication of drug trafficking, transfer of science and technology and relief from debt burdens. While the arms control remains on the agenda, the other issues have also come to occupy the front stage.

The Non-Aligned Movement, instead of concerning itself, has already taken up causes which concern the mankind at large. By doing this the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement will once again be recognised and its past glory can be restored. Today, there are several issues which do not concern the Non-Aligned countries alone but concern all the nations of the world. They are as follows:
PROTECTION OF ENVIRONMENT

Of all the problems confronting mankind today, by far the most serious one related to the question of protecting the environment. The matter has assumed very serious dimensions and a threat has developed to the very survival of the human race.\(^1\) Today there is not a single area of this planet, no matter how remote, that is untouched by pollution. The key issues deliberated at Stockholm - desertification, marine and fresh water pollution, the destruction of habitats and the loss of wild life - have moved from bad to worse.\(^2\) Underdevelopment and crippling poverty\(^3\) (the greatest cause of environmental destruction) have, in many cases worsened. In their obsession at industrialisation and enhancing the living standards of people, several countries have embarked upon the short-sighted policy of environmental degradation thereby disturbing the ecological balance.

In fact, the developed countries, enhancing the earth's natural green house action by increasing emissions of carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, methane and water vapour had led to the gradual increase in global temperatures.\(^4\) And


what is embarrassing for the North, as far as the global negotiations are concerned, is that historically 95 per cent of the total industrial carbon dioxide emissions over the past 150 years came from the North. The IPCC (An Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was established in 1988 by the UN Environment Programme) has established that even today 20 per cent of the affluent in the developed countries are responsible for 80 per cent of emissions.¹

The scientific data on global warming and emissions of greenhouse gases points an accusing finger at the North, especially the United States, which is on the top of the list of countries emitting carbon dioxide, a major greenhouse gas. An estimate made by the World Resources Institute put the global per capita emission of carbon dioxide from burning of fossil fuels, gas flaring and cement manufacture at 1.7 tonnes for 1987. That year the per capita emission by the United States stood at five tonnes, while the figure for India was 0.4 tonnes. The average of the gases calculated for Europe was 2.4 tonnes. The total global carbon dioxide emissions was estimated at 1.6 million tonnes in 1950, 5.26 billion tonnes in 1980 and about 7 billion tonnes in the 1990's. Some scientists are predicting that even at slower increase rates by the year 2050 the world carbon dioxide emission could be over 20 billion

tonnes. This gives a clear idea of the global warming that would take place, if this trend remains unchecked.

By the end of this century, scientists believed that the average of global temperature will be higher than in the past thousand years. And by the end of the next century this trend could make the earth 3 to 4°C hotter, taking the world’s climate back to what it was two or three million years ago, a time when lush green vegetation covered Siberia and northern Canada and dinosaurs roamed the earth, when there might not have been permanent polar ice-caps, and when the sea-level was a nearly one metre than it is today.

The IPCC has calculated that the resultant global warming would result in the world’s oceans which would rise by about 20 cm by the year 2030 and about 65 cm by the end of the 21st century. Over a 150-year period the sea-level could rise by astounding 7.5 metres, not to speak of severe cyclonic storms. Some 300 small pacific atolls would disappear under the ocean and the very existence of other island nations is threatened, not to speak of Netherlands which would face an enormous problem and Bangladesh which would lose larger parts of its land into the sea. The low-lying coastal areas of India would be submerged in the water.

Low-lying regions, important from both ecological and social standpoints will be among the first lost to inundation under global warming.

The forest cover has thoughtlessly been destroyed to such an extent that it has depleted much below the safe level of 36 per cent of the forest cover for maintaining the ecological balance. The devastating impact of the land degradation is manifesting itself in its naked form in the developing countries.\(^1\) The environmental damage and the failing economies are taking their toll in Africa where almost a third of the countries are in the midst of the food shortage crisis.\(^2\)

The greatest threat to the environmental and global ecosystem is the increasing and alarming of hazardous wastes which are released into the air, land and water. Efforts to save the earth from environmental pollution must necessarily involve the struggle to stop the release of hazardous substances into the soil, air and water. Industries often have an incentive to pollute as long as they do not have to pay the real, or external costs, Current Public Policies are often short-sighted, allowing the companies to reap high profits at the expense of public health and future


generations which will be forced to bear the real costs of global environmental destruction. Such irresponsible and unconscionable policies must be fundamentally challenged.

The extent of the environmental damage being caused by these pollutants is such that it has a significant impact on the world climate. The damage that is being inflicted on the earth goes unseen for only a short period. When its effects appear, they are often sudden, but devastating to humans, animals, plants, and the earth ecosystems. For instance, some time back in Minimata, Japan, the cats began to die. Some leaped into the sea. Then people began to die. Eventually, 700 were killed and 9000 crippled. The fish died and the fish industry was shut down. Some 15,000 people moved away from the city. This disaster was caused by the dumping of a mercury based compound into the bay by a chemical company.

The seriousness of the problem has further been aggravated due to the attitude of the industrialized countries with regard to the disposal of industrial wastes. They have made the Third World countries the dumping grounds for this purpose. The shortage of land-filled sites and the existence of local environmental regulations which put up the cost of


the waste disposal in the industrial countries continue to encourage them to look abroad for places to dump their garbage.\(^1\) There is, therefore, an urgent need to secure global acceptance of the Montreal Convention designed to phase out chlorofluoro-carbons and protect the Ozone layer which results in the green effect.

The UN General Assembly in a resolution (No.44/338) acknowledged that the responsibility of countries "must be in relation to the damage caused" to the environment. The United States had reluctantly agreed to the amendments in the Montreal Convention in June 1990 specifying that "all incremental costs" incurred by developing countries in phasing out technologies using Ozone layer-destroying chlorofluoro-carbons would be borne by the developed countries.\(^2\) This was rightly analysed by Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, at Belgrade (1989) when he said that "Much of the blame for the depletion of the Ozone layer, for global warming, for the dumping of hazardous wastes, and the deforestation lies at the door of the industrialized countries. Their high levels of consumption and production not only strain available resources but also lead to an alarming emission of pollutants into the atmosphere. The main responsibility and burden for combating pollution


and environmental degradation must necessarily be theirs. The polluter Pays Principle must apply".1

The "Earth Summit" which was held at Rio de Janerio in Brazil (1992) has focussed unprecedented attention on the environment question. Its major theme was the link between environment and development. The future development of the countries of the South, now increasingly described in terms of "sustainable development", depends on two major requirements - "environmental space" to accommodate their industrialization and rising living standards, that must essentially be made available through corrective actions on the part of the developed countries to reduce current and future pressures on environment, and also on additional resources being made available to meet the cost of environmentally sound technologies and investments.2

The Rio Conference did not produce significant results in either of these areas, since its decisions were largely bereft of firm commitments. The hopes that a common concern for the environment will open the door to a new commitment on development cooperation are yet to be realized. But the Conference launched a process, and a real evaluation of its contribution must include possible developments in the

1. NAM's Role in Furthering the Cause of a New World Order, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, September, 1989, p.23.

process. This is a process which would require the attention of the Non-Aligned Movement as part of its economic agenda.

At the Belgrade Summit Conference of 1989, Rajiv Gandhi proposed an 18 billion dollar Planet Protection Fund for environment conservation. He said that the proposed fund under the aegis of the UN with universal membership would be used to protect environment by developing or purchasing conservation-compatible technologies in critical areas which could then be brought into public domain for the benefit of both developed and developing countries.¹ This suggestion was appreciated by the leaders who attended the Summit.

The Third World countries conceived the Earth Summit in Brazil as a means of mobilising the political will of nations and laid the foundation for a new global partnership based on mutual need and common interest to ensure the future of the planet.² The Jakarta Summit (1992) has endorsed India's suggestion to establish an international fund for environmental protection and making available environment-friendly technologies. The Summit called upon a new global partnership including the provision of new financial resources to the developing countries and access for them to environmentally sound technology. Therefore,

the Non-Aligned Movement can make a positive contribution towards the protection of environment.

**FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM**

Another serious problem which concerns the international community is the one relating to terrorism in all forms including the state-sponsored forms of it. Terrorism has become one of the most crucial concerns during the past two or three decades in the world. It has assumed the proportions of a serious challenge and has presented serious impediments to the enjoyment of human rights.

Political terrorism may be defined as the threat or use of extranormal forms of violence, in varying degrees, with a view to achieving certain political goals. Such goals constitute the long range and short term objectives that a group or movement seeks to obtain. These will differ from group to group. Such action is generally intended to influence the behaviour and attitudes of certain targeted groups much wider than the immediate victims. However, influencing behaviour is not necessarily the only aim of terrorist acts. The ramifications of political terrorism may or may not extend beyond national boundaries.¹

Political terrorism so defined can be divided into four specific categories based on its locations and perpetrators: international, transnational, domestic and state terrorism.\textsuperscript{1} International terrorism comprises actions initiated by an individual or group controlled by a nation-state that occurs outside that state. Transnational terrorism involves actions in the international arena initiated by an individual or group that is not controlled by a nation-state. Domestic terrorism includes actions initiated by an individual or group of nations within its own nation-state. Finally, state terrorism consists of actions conducted by a nation-state within its own borders.

Terrorism is a problem faced by many countries. It results in violence and bloodshed. Some countries are facing threats to their political unity and territorial integrity.\textsuperscript{2} There is, therefore, widespread interest in condemning terrorism and in taking measures, jointly and severally, to curb it. Some countries have concluded extradition treaties with a view to punishing those indulging in terrorist activities. The Non-Aligned Movement was by no means oblivious of this danger. In many of its conferences it had discussed this subject and taken a stand against terrorism.


At the Belgrade Summit Conference of 1989 the participants discussed terrorism of all kinds and called for the "immediate and safe release of all hostages and abducted persons whenever and by whomsoever they are being held". In Jakarta Summit the Non-Aligned countries further said that terrorism had emerged as one of the most dangerous threats to the enjoyment of human rights in many parts of the world. Through killings, kidnappings, extortion and such other means, terrorists and other organisations usurp the human rights of innocent civilians. Brutality and intimidation are also weapons utilized by terrorists to undermine the free functioning of democratic institutions. Such terrorism assumes a particularly pernicious form when it is aided, abetted and sponsored from abroad. The sponsorship of terrorism in another country or allowing the use of national territories for terrorism constituted a violation of the principles enshrined in the UN Charter governing relations among states and must be unequivocally condemned by the international community. They called upon all member states to fulfil their obligations to international laws and refrain from organising, instigating and assisting terrorist activity in other countries.


The rising trend of the extremism and terrorism which has assumed various forms, not only religious but also ethnic and sectarian, perpetrated by organised individuals and groups which are exploiting religious feelings as well as social and cultural differences among people for destructive goals and are thus denying human and moral values and in particular fundamental freedoms and tolerance.¹ These are a source of concern owing to the danger posed by extremism and terrorism to a nation's security and institutions of stability.

At the Jakarta Summit the Non-Aligned leaders expressed their resolve to take speedy measures to eliminate international terrorism and called on all states to endorse in principle the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to define terrorism, to differentiate it from the struggle for national liberation, and to decide on comprehensive and effective measures for concerted action². Thus, the Non-Aligned Movement can make on positive contribution in highlighting the problem in international fora.

RESTRUCTURING OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Every institution has to change to cope with ever-changing environments, new challenges and opportunities. The United Nations Organisation is no exception to this general pattern of institutional adaptation. At the present juncture change and adaptation have become imperative, for the UN because of the sweeping dimensions of the recent changes in the world.\(^1\) The current changes of international relations necessitated revitalization and restructuring of the UN as the centrepiece of a dynamic multilateral process both in maintaining peace and security and in the promotion of international cooperation and development. The undercurrent in the thinking of the Non-Aligned Movement is that the UN system should be restructured so as to secure the necessary democratization by strengthening the role of the General Assembly and making the Security Council more accountable to it.

The United Nations should reflect the realities of today.\(^2\) Germany and Japan are emergent economic Super Powers. India too has grown strategically competence and has a valid case as a representative of the developing world. The Security Council should reflect these realities when

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1. Dubay, Muchkund, "Restructuring the UN-1", The Hindu, January 5, 1993.

restructured. No major change in the UN Charter is possible because of the five permanent members of the Security Council as they are armed with the power of Veto and are against the changes of the kind needed. None of the five permanent members is enthusiastic about enlarging the Security Council or revising the UN Charter. The reasons are obvious - they do not want to lose their Veto or allow their powers to be diluted in any other way.

Owing to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and China's preoccupation with its domestic and economic problems, the other permanent members of the UN have emerged stronger to set the agenda of the UN. Restructuring of the Security Council would require a change in the original Charter by the UN General Assembly. Therefore, any attempt to 'democratise' or 'restructure' the UN may be frustrated by them. Besides, there is a growing feeling that the Security Council is protecting the interests of the West.¹ In other words, the Security Council is now operating as a chamber of the White House. For instance, the role of the UN in the Gulf War is unique as it was hijacked midway by the United States to serve its strategic objectives.

The challenges to the UN are similar to those of the problems of human kind²: they include the threats posed to


human survival by the accumulation of massive arsenals of weapons of mass destruction, the degradation of global environment, international terrorism, mass migration, drug-trafficking and the problems of development.

A particular area of major attention today is the one relating to peace keeping to achieve ceasefire agreement and take steps for confidence-building, and other administrative tasks. The UN is a unique forum to deal with the global problems in a broad perspective and in all their multi-dimensional ramifications. The UN can fight against the prevailing inequality and injustice, if the basic values and principles underlying the Charter are upheld, preserved and consciously promoted. All interest groups should participate in the decision-making process of the UN to serve the interest of all nations.

At the Jakarta Summit the participants were concerned over the tendency of some countries to dominate in the UN Security Council and turn it into an institution for the imposition of the will of the strong upon the weak. World affairs must not be run by a small coterie of countries. The Non-Aligned felt that the credibility of the Security Council could be enhanced only if it acted without discrimination in an even-handed manner. The Security Council must be cognizant of the interests of all members of
the organization.\textsuperscript{1} It is indeed true that the demands of the Non-Aligned countries in the context of the UN represent the hopes and aspirations of more than two-thirds of humanity. They are based on justice, equality and fair play. Nevertheless, it is an uphill task for them to get the Charter revised so as to reflect the new realities of the world.

The Jakarta Message said that the UN being "the universal embodiment of multilateralism", "it had a unique opportunity to become the primary collective instrument to construct a new and equitable world order".\textsuperscript{2} Efforts should be made to achieve that objective, and the Non-Aligned Movement is ready to play its role in contributing to "the revitalisation, restructuring, and democratization"\textsuperscript{3} of the UN system. President Suharto of Indonesia, Chairman of Non-Aligned Movement, said that the Non-Aligned Movement should play an active role in revitalising the UN so that it would remain "the major instrument of global governance and the centre-piece of any new international order".\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{1.} \textit{Asian Recorder}, December 2-8, 1991, p.22042.
\item \textbf{3.} \textit{Indian Express}, September 2, 1992.
\item \textbf{4.} \textit{The Times of India}, September 2, 1992.
\end{itemize}
In this context the Jakarta Summit Conference decided to set up a high-level working group to formulate concrete proposals for restructuring the United Nations.¹ The Non-Aligned countries suggested that they should coordinate their efforts within the UN in New York so that they might initiate effective and united steps. They, further, said that the functioning of the Security Council should not be arbitrary and that the role of the General Seemly should be strengthened. P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister of India, said that the democratization of the UN was the first priority of the Non-Aligned Movement. The actions of the Security Council, he said, "should be more responsive to the voice of the majority so that the United Nations comes up to the expectations of the changing world".² Hopefully, the Non-Aligned Movement will ultimately succeed in the restructuring of the United Nations Organisation on a more equitable basis.

ERADICATING THE ILLICIT DRUG TRAFFICKING AND DRUG ABUSE

Today, the illicit drug trafficking and abuse of drugs is one of the most widespread and critical problems in the world. So the international community is increasingly concerned about the escalating drug-related problems.

According to the annual report of the US State Department's International Narcotics Matters, the illegal drug trafficking industry continues to be strong, rich and able to adapt to the changing circumstances.\(^1\) Obviously the problem is not merely that of an individual or a drug or a community, but of the interaction among the triad.

Drug abuse is increasing day by day leaving behind a trail of human misery and ever-increasing organised crime, affecting the economic health and political stability of some countries. And the tremendous suffering caused by drug abuse cannot be quantified, but it far outweighs the economic damage. The solutions to this problem are perceived not only in terms of treatment, therapy and rehabilitation, but are viewed in most literature on drug abuse as "the fight against social evils", as "struggle against politico-socio forces that are out to destroy humanity".\(^2\)

This crucial problem was already identified by the UNO. Earlier, an International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (ICDAIT) sponsored by the UN was held at Vienna from July 17-26, 1987, which was attended by 138 countries. They agreed to intensify in a world-wide struggle against drug abuse and illicit trafficking. The

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declaration has said that the countries agreed to promote national, regional and international cooperation to prevent and reduce, demanded control the supply and eradicate illicit trafficking of drugs. Such a cooperation should also focus on the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, it added. They urged the governments to develop "bilateral and other instruments or arrange for mutual legal assistance" with regard to trafficking down, freezing and the forfeiture of the assets of drug traffickers.¹ But their efforts are found to be futile, as the drug trafficking groups are dealing with some of the best-financed, best-armed and most ruthless organisations in the world. These groups have exploited the weaknesses of governments beset with economic crisis, political instability and social unrest.

Any lucrative criminal enterprise can threaten order in a country with underpaid law enforcement on military officials, the drug trade, because of its enormous wealth, poses a threat of much greater magnitude. Drug profits can carry corruption to the highest levels of government.

Cocaine and heroine are currently the most abundant, lucrative commodities in the world. Their cultivation is cheap, processing relatively simple and profit margins

enormous. At the average street price of $100 a gram, a
tonne of cocaine is worth $100 million in the US. By this
measure, the estimated 150-175 tonnes of cocaine alone which
the US market consumes annually would put as much as
$15-17.5 billion into criminal hands. So an essential mode
to prevent drug abuse is to attack the source of entry of
drugs into the country, to prevent transiting and, thus,
banish the supply altogether. Very few countries have tried
to enforce deterrent laws, like capital punishment for
traffickers, to achieve this.

The international anti-drug effort is in many ways a
collective assault on drug-generated corruption, which left
unchecked and could destroy democratic governments already
sapped by economic and social crises. As the only defence
against such corruption all countries are to come forth to
help and strengthen the political will in the most
vulnerable frontline drug countries. Drug trafficking and
prevention of drug abuse should be tackled on a war-footing,
if this scourge is to be eliminated. It is only the
political will of nations, and the international cooperation
to combat the drug menace on a world-wide basis, that can
deal effectively with this plague affecting society.

2. Ibid.
3. Kumar, B.V., "Drug Trafficking: A Historical Perspec-
The Non-Aligned countries at Belgrade Summit Conference of 1989 said that the struggle against drug trafficking is a shared responsibility and that its eradication demands international cooperation measures that are effective and constructive, mindful of each country's sovereignty and cultural identity. They pointed out the urgency of adopting appropriate measures to prevent drug consumption and to treat and rehabilitate drug addicts, especially in countries with high consumption rates. They stressed the link between illicit narcotic drug production, trafficking and consumption and the economic, social and cultural conditions of the countries most affected.¹

In this regard, they affirmed the need for enhanced international financial cooperation to assist the efforts being made by the developing countries to substitute illicit crops through integral rural development and environmental conservation programmes. The participants emphasized the need for stricter and more effective juridical measures against the individuals and organisations involved in the crime of illicit drug production, trafficking and consumption, and especially expressed their strong condemnation of those who involve children and young people in these crimes and stressed the urgent need for the countries that manufacture chemical inputs essential for the

production of drugs to strictly supervise its marketing. In this way, the Non-Aligned countries want to stop drug trafficking and drug abuse.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

One of the notable achievements of recent years has been the tempo of change as well as advance in the realm of science and technology. Developments in technology are reshaping the world economy and the relative role of the participants in it. They present both opportunities and dangers to the developing countries. In international fora, science and technology have yet to emerge among the fashions of the day, but they are of crucial importance to the developing countries and hence to an economic agenda for the Non-Aligned Movement.

The pace of development of the economically backward countries can be accelerated with the help of science and technology. But unfortunately the Non-Aligned countries lack appropriate technologies, since these are in the treasure through of the industrially developed countries. The latter are not willing to transfer the technology even at a price. If at all they are willing to part with the technology, it is only the obsolete and not the latest. Unless full use of science and technology is made available

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quickly to the Least Developed Countries the ever widening gap between the developed and the developing countries cannot be bridged which is not a desirable prospect for either.

The Non-Aligned Countries at the Belgrade Summit Conference of 1989 emphasized that large scale international support was necessary to the developing countries to step up the process of scientific and technological development and ensure a more comprehensive and speedier acquisition of advancements in science and technology from developed countries, and absorb new technologies, particularly high technologies; the relevant organisations and the agencies of the UN system should develop and put into operation training programmes for experts from the developing countries and other appropriate programmes of human resources development in the field of science and technology.¹

They called on all countries, especially the developed ones, as well as on the international development institutions, to seriously consider the establishment of a United Nations Financing System in the Vienna Programme of Action (1979), in order to enable it to finance the promotion of scientific and technological development in developing countries.

Disarmament is another critical issue with which the survival of human race is linked. The nuclear issue continues to occupy a key place in the post-cold war framework inspite of swift changes in nuclear postures, capability and in the political climate which had led to enormous growth of vast arsenals of strategic weapons in the hands of the two Super Powers (USA and Russia).

The rollback began with Mikhail Gorbachev's ascendancy in 1985. In fact, in the subsequent six years (after the INF Treaty, 1987), a few significant steps were taken. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the politico-economic transformation of Eastern Europe, and the correlation of power at the international level made Indian leaders like Rajiv Gandhi and P.V. Narasimha Rao propose far-reaching measures at the United Nations to evolve a nuclear free international society within a time-bound framework.

The nuclear dialogue, contrary to any other period of recent history, appears to have achieved greater credibility and some positive steps taken on the way of achieving a nuclear-free world. The INF Treaty (1987), removing intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe, and changes in nuclear doctrines, have been followed by the START II Treaty (1992), stipulating 6,500 strategic warheads for the
United States and Russia together by 2000 A.D.\textsuperscript{1} The nuclear danger is diminished; but not non-existent. It is more diffused now. The world can feel relief only when the endless nuclear arms race between the two nuclear Super Powers animated by ideological missions and conflicting posturings are over.

It is heartening to note that realising the dangers of nuclear stockpiling, the nuclear Super Powers have displayed positive wisdom in signing historic treaties not only for limiting these stockpiles but also for reversing the process and for cutting down drastically on them. Inspite of the praiseworthy progress made in this direction, the threat still looms large of a nuclear holocaust because of indirect efforts for nuclear weapons proliferation.

Nuclear weapon-related issues continue to dominate today's Non-Aligned Movement agenda and it is one of the major areas of continuity and relevance in the post-cold war era. Non-Aligned Movement had, since its inception made disarmament central to its concerns.\textsuperscript{2} At the first Summit Conference held in Belgrade over thirty-three years ago, a major effort in this regard had been made by Jawaharlal Nehru. More than any other world leader, he had forcefully


put forward the idea of general and complete disarmament. Inspite of the best possible efforts, however, nothing much had been achieved.

The Jakarta Summit Conference welcomed the progress made in limiting nuclear and conventional armaments. At the same time it pointed out that the disarmament agenda remained incomplete and that a lot more needed to be done. It reaffirmed Non-Aligned Movement's commitment to build a nuclear-free world. It further called for the elimination of nuclear weapons of mass destruction. It said that it was "deeply distressed over the negative impact of global military expenditures on the world economy". It wanted the resources released through disarmament and arms reduction to be rechannelled towards economic and social development. The basic thrust of the Non-Aligned Movement is that disarmament should be global and non-discriminatory. The Movement has been making positive contribution in building public opinion in the matter.

There are other problems of exclusive concern to the Non-Aligned and the other developing countries for the solution of which the Non-Aligned Movement has already directed its energies. They are as follows:

1. Indian Express, September 7, 1992.
RELIEF FROM DEBT BURDENS

The servicing of the external debts of the developing countries has become the cause of one of the great paradoxes of the present day - the phenomenon of a net flow of external resources not from the developed to the developing countries as called for by the imperative of development, but in the reverse direction from the developing to the developed countries. This net outflow, representing the excess of debt service payments over capital receipts, has been of the order of around US $200 billions over the period 1984 to 1991. This is in addition to the loss of resources experienced by the developing countries because of the deterioration of their terms of trade i.e., the growing gap between the price trends for their exports in relation to their imports.¹

Whatever might be the explanation of the net outflow of resources brought about by debt service obligations, it is a perverse phenomenon since the development process requires that the interactions of the developing countries with the world outside should augment rather than diminish the resources available to them. A reversal of this net outflow of resources can only take place through reduction in the debt burden of the developing countries and this objective must, therefore, be a major element of the economic agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement.

In this context, the Jakarta Summit adopted a separate resolution announcing the setting up of a high inter-government level forum to draw up policy guidelines with a view to reinforcing the efforts of the developing countries to resolve their debt problem. The resolution said that the forum would be an ad-hoc advisory group established to study in depth all relevant aspects of the debt problem and to make policy guidelines. The forum was to work towards facilitating the cancellation of the debt of the least developed countries and help resolve the debt burden of other developing countries.¹

It gave priority to measures to recycle a part of the debt for financing economic and social projects and suggested actions to reinforce South-South Cooperation to reduce the burden of debt serving and devised a coordinated tripartite approach involving developing debtors, developed creditor countries and multinational financial institutions to resolve the debt problem.

NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The demand for a "New International Economic Order" (NIEO) emerged out of the desire of the newly independent countries of the Third World and Non-Aligned Movement to

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move out of the "Dominant-Dependency" syndrome, created and perpetuated by the advanced nations of the world and to march towards a path of collective self-reliance, cooperation and democratization of global decision-making process. In other words the NIEO constitutes a demand by the developing countries of the world for more equitable rules for the conduct and regulation of international trade, money and capital.

The present economic order has several weaknesses insofar as the Third World is concerned and the industrialized countries have sought to perpetuate their exploitation. It has emboldened the developed countries to pursue protectionist policies and follow unfair trade practices. It did not ensure equitable distribution of resources among all countries. Whenever the Third World countries resolved to initiate steps to protect their interests, they were warned of dire consequences including wars.

Another important part of the demand for a NIEO, which has been outrightly rejected by the developed nations, is a 'share' for the developing countries in the over-all

decision-making process at the international level.\textsuperscript{1} NIEO attempts to secure a place of honour for the Third World in the economic and political decision- at the global level. Demands for restructuring the monetary institutions and arrangements to make them more rational, equitable and universal, restructuring of world's production on the basis of a new international division of labour, assertion of the right to permanent sovereignty over natural resources control over the activities of Multinational Corporations etc., which are all manifestations of securing a politically democratic international order, have not been given due importance and have been deliberately ignored by the developed nations.

In the matters of decisions relating to international financial institutions, the Third World had practically no 'say'. While debt burdens were increasing, the quantum of aid to the developing countries was declining. For instance, the Third World's total debt reached $1,342 billion at the end of 1989,\textsuperscript{2} while the aid received by them was $46.7 billion.\textsuperscript{3} The debt position has further been aggravated by the sky-rocketing of oil prices in the wake of the Gulf Crisis.

\begin{itemize}
  \item[3.] The \textit{Hindu}, December 20, 1990.
\end{itemize}
In this context it is pertinent to notice that all good intentioned efforts to rectify some of these anomalies, have not so far yielded positive results. The outcome of the Uruguay Round negotiations is still uncertain thanks to the very rigid and defiant attitude adopted by the developed world in general and the U.S. in particular. All earlier efforts to end unhealthy trade practices between the developed and the developing countries through the UNCTAD have proved futile due to the obstinacy of the industrial rich. The demand for NIEO has been considered by many as a Utopian idea, but still it is very relevant in the wider context of uniform global economic development.

There is no doubt that the Non-Aligned and developing countries have been consistently working for the evolution of a NIEO with a view to gaining greater share in the world economy. But will it not be too much expect that the North, who are facing recession and inflation would be willing to make any major concessions to the developing nations. Collective self-reliance should be emphasised and the Non-Aligned nations should realize that the major responsibility for their development lies with themselves and they must try and achieve development through mutual cooperation. The demand of the Non-Aligned countries for a NIEO will acquire credibility to the extent that they are prepared to accept

the implications of the rule of justice in their dealings among themselves.

The task of restructuring the world economic order is difficult but not hopeless. It is difficult because of the weak bargaining power of the developing countries vis-a-vis the developed countries. But there is hope to sustain the united efforts of the Non-Aligned Movement or Third World to secure meaningful and just reforms in the international economic system. Optimism and sincere efforts on the part of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries are most important in this struggle, which would definitely make the quest for a NIEO, a success.

SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

Various historical and socio-economic factors such as ... population, political and economic systems are the causes for which the developing "South" has been economically dependent on the developed "North". However, the relationship between the North and the South has been not of "equality" but of "dependence" and "subjugation", creating distrust and disharmony.

The productive measures adopted by the developed countries have further thwarted the developmental efforts of
the "South". The world economy has become so inequitable that the gulf between the developed North and the developing South is widening. The global economic situation has come to such a pass that it has become absolutely essential for the developing countries to strengthen their bonds, forge closer cooperation and make joint efforts to resolve their problems of trade, finance and development.

South-South Cooperation has become all the more important and inevitable because of the stalemate in the North-South Dialogue. South-South Cooperation envisages the building of a Third World economic system based on promoting mutual transfer of scientific and technological know-how among the developing countries of the world. It also envisages creation of regional economic unions, free trade unions, and financial and monetary linkages among these countries. This cooperation also includes joint investment, joint projects, and above all joint institutions.

The challenges to the Third World have been both political and economic. Poverty is a basic problem. Today's economic world structure particularly suits the developed countries as against the Third World and on present indications the developed countries are not expected to be more

2. Ibid., p.56.
caring. Economic regionalism, protectionism and the debt-burden appear to make things more difficult for them. The aggregate debt burden of Third World now stands at a whopping $1 trillion and the payment of annual interest exceeds $70 billion.¹

The historic task of South-South Cooperation at present is integrate and strategic objective aimed at the establishment of NIEO with solutions of the current economic problems, to take practical steps and effective measures for expanding the scope of cooperation to create new forms of cooperation to overcome the obstacles, hindering South-South Cooperation, and give effect to the recommendations and objectives formulated in a series of Non-Aligned Action Programme documents.

South-South Cooperation today has earned the undivided attention of the Third World countries, playing a significant role in their development in an unstable international economic and political situation.² It should be noted, however, that the developing countries as a whole comprise three quarters of the World's population, but their total economic income constitutes only one-fourth of the world's total income. Promoting for the South-South Cooperation will, therefore, result not only in the

² Dr. Sahni, S.K. and Dr. Srivastava, Rakesh Narain, Op.cit., p.70.
elimination of the developing countries' economic backwardness and the consolidation of their political independence, but also in the realisation of their collective self-reliance and the strengthening of their international economic position.

The leaders of the Non-Aligned countries have defined South-South Cooperation and collective self-reliance as a part of the economic decolonization of their newly independent countries. The more the difficulty faced by them in their relation with the North, the stronger has been their desire to replace the North with the developing countries. When the North did not evince interest in the North-South Dialogue and rejected the concept of NIEO, the policy-makers of Non-Aligned and other developing countries laid more emphasis on South-South Cooperation. There are four major goals of the South-South Cooperation.

1. to take advantage of the existing complimentarities within the developing countries by developing direct cooperation;

2. to create new complimentarities and interdependence through coordination of development planning;

3. to introduce some of other major principles of the NIEO into transactions among developing countries cooperating partners; and
4. to strengthen the bargaining position of the South vis-a-vis the North.¹

To achieve these goals, there is a need of change in a general approach to the South-South Cooperation and the existing programme of action is to be implemented in practice. A basic rational of self-reliance and South-South cooperation as a development instrument is better utilisation and mobilization of the internal human material and all other resources and by pooling them collectively - acquiring economies of scale, according to their own needs and not according to other's image. The Third World Countries need to enhance cooperation, avoid recriminations, and try to develop a cooperative world order. The developed countries also need to realize that the Third World has legitimate interests and these can now be viewed dispassionately in the post-cold war context.

The developing countries have been experiencing acute, varied and multi-dimensional economic challenges. On that score the task of economic development for the Third World countries has become more difficult. The Jakarta Summit message called for the intensification of South-South Cooperation on the basis of collective self-reliance so as to promote the development of the countries of the South and reduce their dependence on the countries of the North. The

¹ Ibid., pp.74-76.
message further said that the Non-Aligned Movement was determined to initiate concrete and practicable forms of cooperation in areas such as food production and population, trade and investments and to devise realistic modalities for their implementation.\(^1\)

Stressing the paramount importance of South-South Cooperation, the Indian Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, said that "developing countries must themselves learn to recognise their own capacities and the South must respect the South as a first step towards cooperation among them". He further said that "the G-15 (established in Belgrade in 1989) was born out of the compelling need for self-reliance to enable the Non-Aligned countries to harness the immense resources of talent and skill inherent in their people and it had now established itself as a core around which the Non-Aligned Movement could promote South-South Cooperation".\(^2\) South-South Cooperation is the primary objective of the Non-Aligned Movement in the post-cold war era. The Role of South-South Cooperation in the present and in the future determines the economic condition of the Third World countries. Hence, the Non-Aligned Movement has been working for the promotion of South-South Cooperation.

FIGHT AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM

Colonialism in its classical forms has been eradicated but these forces have assumed different forms and are ever trying to enslave the erstwhile colonies into political and economic subjugation. The worst manifestation of these practices is the neo-colonialist tendencies which seek to rub themselves on the developing countries through indirect and backdoor practice. The most easy path through which this practice is sought to be imposed is economic aid.

The developed capitalist countries of the West have successfully employed some institutions created after World War-II, like the IMF and the World Bank, for economically exploiting the Third World. The World Bank and the IMF are not alone in the extraction of wealth from the developing countries. The Multinational Corporations or Transnational Corporations are the real culprits. Multinational Corporations (MNCs) are powerful vehicles of neo-colonialism.¹

They exploit Third World countries through their control over production, finance distribution markets, technology etc. They create dependent development, encourage brain-drain and repatriate surplus from the Third World. Once allowed to enter a country, MNCs operate like an octopus in the local economy; national interests are subordinated to the pursuit of their global aims.

The mechanism of exploitation used by MNCs was discussed at the Non-Aligned Ministerial Conference in Lima in 1975. The resolution on "World economic situation" in this Conference pointed out that "the imperialist countries are determined to perpetuate their privileged economic situation through economic exploitation of developing countries by means of unequal terms of trade and appropriation of surpluses through repatriation of profits, interests, royalties and over-invoicing by transnational corporations".\(^1\) MNCs were not alone in this game. They were in close collaboration with the World Bank and the IMF. Self-reliance and collective self-reliance in practice mean minimising the influence of MNCs in the Third World.

In the early phase of their independence, the Non-Aligned countries asked for, and secured economic and other types of foreign aid from the developed countries. However they soon discovered that foreign aid had adverse politico-economic consequences. Also, its moral and psychological implications were not in the interest of the recipient country.

Hence, a stage came when Non-Aligned countries like India became selective in inviting foreign assistance in sectors which were critical for creating national know-how and the infrastructure for future development in a manner

that assistance would no longer be needed after a period of time. Aside from the attitude of the individual countries, the Non-Aligned Movement was mobilised to evolve over the years a situation which had been characterised as collective self-reliance. Only through collective self-reliance they could fight the forces of neo-colonialism. This idea called for efforts to pool resources, explore the complimentarities in their economies and technologies, and try and reduce their dependence on the developed world for ultimately eradicating neo-colonialism.

Non-Alignment is the product of cold war. It reflects the aspirations of its members to maintain their independence of judgement and freedom of foreign policy. It has been protecting the interests of the world community in general and the Third World in particular. It has been focussing attention on the economic issues facing the Third World and has made a positive and constructive contribution towards building up a consensus for the evolution of a New International Economic Order based on the principles of justice and equality.

The Non-Aligned Movement is both reflective of and responsive to the changing international relations from time to time. In the 1960's it was preoccupied with the issues of world peace and East-West tensions. In the 1970's it worked to eradicate the international economic inequality.
In the 1980's it contributed towards disarmament and enhanced South-South Cooperation. At the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's its attention has been focussed on new issues such as the protection of environment, relief from debt burdens, transfer of science and technology, fight against terrorism, eradication of the drug trafficking, restructuring of the UN etc. It shows that the Non-Aligned Movement is always ready to face new challenges, playing a dynamic and positive role in order to tackle them from time to time.

The Non-Aligned Movement always adapts itself to the changing circumstances and conditions in international relations and works to fulfil its principles through which it contributes to the welfare of the world in general and the Third World in particular. The present global scenario has given an opportunity to the Non-Aligned Movement to rise to the occasions and face the challenges that have cropped up in the wake of the latest changes in international relations and world order. Whether it is a bipolar, unipolar, tripolar or multipolar world, the Non-Aligned Movement is bound to have a place in it to protect the freedom, identity and dignity of the developing nations through pursuing independent foreign policies and to work for international cooperation and the democratization of international relations. Therefore, the Non-Aligned Movement is more relevant today, inspite of the changing world scenario, than in the past.