CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION
The policy of Non-Alignment is the product of cold war between the USA and the USSR. It represents the hopes, desires and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the world population who have suffered from colonialism, imperialism, racialism and neo-colonialism and who were denied the right of self-determination. The philosophy of Non-Alignment includes Nehru's Panchasheela, Tito's Peaceful Co-existence and Nasser's Arab Nationalism. Its main objective is to judge an issue by its merits. The Afro-Asian and Latin American countries have shaped and practised the policy of Non-Alignment through their foreign policies for more than three decades.

The Non-Aligned policy is not a neutral policy but a dynamic one and the Non-Aligned countries are not following isolationist policies. Instead they are playing active roles in tackling major world issues, guiding them by their merits. Non-Alignment, with its dynamic principles, can be set as a universal concept or rather as an anti-bloc alternative to preserve international peace, prosperity and
goodwill among the states. The Non-Alignment policy is one of the better policies of the present-day-world in achieving disarmament, world peace, the right of self-determination, equality among the people and a world free from colonialism, imperialism, racialism and neo-colonialism. The Non-Alignment policy became the Non-Aligned Movement in the beginning of the 1970's.

Non-Alignment has been changing qualitatively at different stages from its inception. In the beginning of the 1960's the Non-Aligned policy was mainly concerned with peace and security, in the middle of the 1960's its emphasis was on anti-colonialism and at the end of the decade it focussed its attention on the economic development of Non-Aligned countries. Non-Alignment transformed itself into a collective Movement of the Third World countries in 1970's and demanded for a New International Economic Order based on equality and justice. In the beginning of the 1980's it concentrated on disarmament and world peace, restructuring of international economic relations, complete eradication of colonialism and democratization of international relations. At the end of the 1980's and beginning of the 1990's, thanks to the rapid changes that took place in international relations, it focussed its attention on economic and environmental issues. The Non-Alignment has grown from a policy to a Movement and shifted its focus from world peace and security to economic and environmental issues between
the first Belgrade Summit Conference and the ninth Belgrade Summit Conference.

Right from the beginning India has been playing a dynamic and leading role along with Yugoslavia and Egypt for the growth of the Non-Aligned Movement. India's contribution towards the formulation of the policy of Non-Alignment under the leadership of Nehru and later in the evolution of the Non-Aligned Movement is widely appreciated. India's history, geography, size, population, economic growth and leadership have made its position strong. During the Summit Conferences from Belgrade to Belgrade including the major gatherings of the Non-Aligned countries, a majority of the member countries have depended on India for leadership and guidance in reaching unanimous solutions to different problems in the face of differences of opinion. Thus, it is universally agreed that India has been a pillar of strength to the Movement.

Non-Alignment is the cornerstone of India's foreign policy. All Indian Prime Ministers - from Jawaharlal Nehru to P.V. Narasimha Rao - have enhanced India's prestige in the international arena by their steadfast adherence to the policy of Non-Alignment. And all of them have helped give new directions to the policy as heads of delegations to various Non-Aligned Summit Conferences in the changing international relations from time to time. Nehru had
envisaged and worked for an international order which was based on peace, justice and harmony. He wanted to achieve these objectives through the policy of Non-Alignment. Nehru made it clear that the essence of Non-Alignment was the belief that each country had not only the right to be free but also the right to decide its own policy and way of life.

When India and the Soviet Union had signed the "Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation", it was criticised for "deviating" from its policy of Non-Alignment. But in reality India had only meant to protect its national interest by having this treaty with the Soviet Union. After all, the essence of a country's foreign policy is to fulfil its national interest. Hence, it may be grossly unfair to suggest that India has deviated from its policy of Non-Alignment.

Mrs. Gandhi, one of the successors of Nehru, gave a new dimension and orientation to the Non-Aligned Movement. India's positive contribution was widely recognised when it was requested to host the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference. Many initiatives pertaining to disarmament, Middle-East, South Africa, South-South Cooperation and the Iran-Iraq conflict were taken during the short span of India's chairmanship. All the Prime Ministers of India in general, and Mrs. Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi in particular, tried to promote continuous interaction among the members of
the Non-Aligned Movement with a view to evolving a consensus and strengthening cohesion and unity.

AFRICA Fund was established at Harare Summit under the chairmanship of Rajiv Gandhi, the young and dynamic Prime Minister of India. He also suggested the establishment of the Planet Protection Fund under the aegis of the UN which was approved by the Belgrade Summit Conference. India's non-confrontationist approach and its successful efforts to keep the essential principles of the Movement substantially intact, have been widely acknowledged and appreciated. Hence, India has contributed a lot to the growth of the Non-Aligned Movement right from its inception.

Apart from India, other members of the Non-Aligned Movement have also contributed to the policies and programmes of the Movement from Belgrade to Belgrade. In the first Belgrade Summit Conference world peace and prevention of war got priority; at the Cairo Summit imperialism and colonialism gained more importance than peaceful co-existence; at the Lusaka Conference economic and political issues were given equal importance; the Algiers Summit focused greater attention to economic problems and launched the proposal of a New International Economic Order; the Colombo Summit elaborated the concept of the New International Economic Order and took some important initiatives on international economic relations; the Havana
Summit called for global negotiations between the North and the South to improve economic cooperation between them and also called for strengthening the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement; the New Delhi Summit gave top priority to prevent nuclear war, disarmament and gave a fresh impetus to South-South Cooperation; the Harare Summit formulaed a 13-point package programme of economic sanctions against South Africa and appealed to Super Powers to set up a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests; and the Belgrade Summit focussed its attention on the easing of strained relations between the two Super Powers and it concentrated more on economic and environmental issues than on political issues.

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

The Non-Aligned countries have been playing a very important role in the field of international economic relations. The primary objective of both the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 is to strengthen economic
cooperation among the developing countries. Economic cooperation among the developing countries would not only contribute to the development of the Third World countries but also strengthen their unity in order to achieve the desired changes in the international economic system.

Ever since its inception the Non-Aligned Movement emphasised "self-reliance" and "collective self-reliance" for the economic development of the developing countries. While each member is free to pursue a pattern of economic development based on its values, needs and ethos, collectively they all stand for the removal of the economic imbalances inherited from their colonial past. The Third World countries used either the Group of 77 or UNCTAD to negotiate with the developed countries for the establishment of new international economic systems. The UNCTAD-VII contributed only to a certain extent towards economic cooperation among the developed and developing countries.

The Non-Aligned Movement has taken several initiatives at different Summit Conferences to improve their economic position. The economic programme of action for Non-Aligned countries was first initiated at the Cairo Summit Conference; the concept of self-reliance was introduced at the Lusaka Summit Conference; an appeal for the establishment of New International Economic Order was launched at the Algiers Summit; a comprehensive programme of mutual economic
cooperation for collective self-reliance was drawn up and the concept of a New International Economic Order was elaborated at the Colombo Summit; but the New International Economic Order could not be established, the policy guidelines for collective self-reliance among the Non-Aligned and the developing countries were launched at the Havana Summit; the need for efforts towards South-South Cooperation was stressed at the New Delhi Summit; the North-South economic relationship and South-South Cooperation were given importance at the Harare Summit; and measures to enhance South-South Cooperation and to open a dialogue with the developed countries were highlighted at the ninth Belgrade Summit.

The Non-Aligned and Third World Countries achieved economic cooperation among themselves to a large extent from the first Belgrade Summit Conference to the ninth Belgrade Summit Conference even as most of the developed countries did not help them as expected. The economic cooperation achieved among the Non-Aligned and developing countries has contributed towards world peace to a large extent.

Economic equality and peace go together. Without economic equality peace is an illusion. The Non-Aligned Movement came into existence 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 economic and political development. The Non-Aligned Movement desires to strengthen and coordinate the joint actions of the Non-Aligned countries in order to ensure world peace and security by establishing peace zones, reduce international tensions, dismantle military bases, and bring about general and complete disarmament. The Non-Aligned Movement has strong faith in the UNO through which it wants to establish world peace.

The members of the Non-Aligned Movement, by eliminating regional conflicts, colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and apartheid, have helped from time to time to establish world peace. The Non-Aligned Movement has contributed towards the promotion of the genuine independence of states and peoples and the democratization of international relations and in creating conditions conducive to international peace, security, justice, equality and cooperation in the world.

A number of resolutions and declarations on various important issues for short and long-term programmes of action towards establishing of world peace, particularly in the field of disarmament, were initiated by the Non-Aligned countries. The ultimate goal of the Non-Aligned Movement towards world peace is the complete disarmament. They appealed to the nuclear powers to save the mankind from the nuclear catastrophe. They convened a historic Six-Nation
Summit on Nuclear Disarmament in 1985 in New Delhi and again in 1986 in Mexico and called for world peace. They demanded at the Lusaka Summit that the Indian Ocean should be made a zone of peace. The Non-Aligned Movement has strong belief in the settlement of disputes through peaceful means.

The Non-Aligned Movement has played a great role in bringing the two Super Powers together for negotiations in order to reduce tensions between them in the interests of world peace. The Non-Aligned Movement's role in establishing world peace by solving various political conflicts such as the Korean war, and the problems of Kampuchea, Vietnam, Congo, Iran and Iraq, Namibia, the Middle-East etc. has been significant.

But in some cases their efforts were not fruitful because of the interference of the Super Powers and 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, the Non-Aligned Movement has maintained a principled stand and made a lasting contribution towards the maintenance of world peace, trying to prevent global and regional conflicts.

During the cold war the Non-Aligned Movement has focused its attention towards world peace. But the absence
of the cold war and, the changes in international relations have given place to economic and environmental issues, which have occupied the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Under these circumstances, the building of a system or order that suits the future international relations has become a challenging issue. In this regard, different countries have different opinions. All countries are committed to seeking solutions that are in consonance with their views and suit their interests. America desires that the new world order should be unipolar based on American values; Japan has proposed the establishment of Tri-polar world with Germany and America; France wants to set up European Federation; the developing countries have proposed the world order that should abide by the Five Principles of Panchasheela; and the Non-Aligned countries want the new world order, based on a new and equitable international order, for stable peace and common security and for economic and social security.

In this situation the detractors of the Non-Aligned Movement have argued that Non-Alignment has lost its validity, the cold war being over, confrontation between Super Powers having given way to dialogue and the UNO having got invigorated, taking the centre stage in the resolution of international conflicts.
Non-Alignment is of permanent significance and is relevant in the past, present and future because of the following factors: though it is true that the Non-Aligned Movement was a child of cold war, during the decades of its existence it has acquired a life of its own; the critics of Non-Alignment have measured it entirely in terms of the fluctuations of the politics of cold war; they have become prisoners of the etymological narrowness conveyed by the literal interpretation of the term; it primarily involves the assertion of a country's right to exercise independence of judgement and action in foreign affairs; it springs from the determination of countries to safeguard their independence, to contribute effectively to the betterment of international relations and to create an international atmosphere more conducive to social and economic development; the collapse of the Soviet Union has resulted in a sharpening of the tendency of the US led coalition of western powers, to impose their dictates on the developing countries. And, as the world is entering the last decade of this century, new issues such as 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. which are of critical importance to the future mankind are engaging Non-Aligned Movement's attention.
The Non-Aligned Movement always has adapted itself to the changing circumstances and conditions in international relations between the first Belgrade Summit Conference and the ninth one and worked towards tackling new issues from time to time. Whatever the world is - unipolar, bipolar, tripolar or multipolar - Non-Alignment, as a foreign policy option of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries will remain more relevant in the world politics of our time, in the context of the changing world scenario, than ever before.