CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
The policy of Non-Alignment emerged as the result of the experience and aspirations of the countries which acquired their independence after the end of the Second World War. Under foreign rule almost all of them were dragged into innumerable wars in pursuit of the politics and interests of the imperial powers. Consequently, they developed a strong urge to maintain their independence in foreign affairs and to keep away from the policies being pursued by the big powers for their own purposes. As the struggle for freedom progressed, they developed an equally strong urge to play their due role in world affairs. They were particularly keen to make their contribution to the ever continuing struggle for peace and freedom. Such urges could find fulfilment only through the policy of Non-Alignment.

As early as 1946 Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-President of the Interim Government held a press conference on 2 September and proclaimed India's foreign policy was based on Non-Alignment. He visioned that Non-Alignment would be the
basis of foreign policy of many states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nehru announced that India would keep away from all power blocs but at the same time would have friendship with both the Great Powers - the USA and USSR - to avoid war and to work for peace. Nehru's Non-Alignment was for active pursuit which could be possible because India would not be a partner in any bloc and at the same time would be friendly to all.

The years between 1950 and 1954 were the formative years of Non-Alignment. The Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in 1947, the Conference on Indonesia held in Delhi in 1949, the Five-Power Colombo Conference of 1954 and the Bandung Conference of 1955 were forerunners of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Brioni meeting in 1956 between Nasser, Nehru and Tito, the triumvirate of Non-Alignment in its infancy, representing informally indeed the aspirations of the new and non-bloc nations. Tito's concern with Peaceful Co-existence, Nehru's moralist attack on the Great Powers with the Panchasheela and Nasser's Arab Nationalism combined to produce the philosophy of Non-Alignment. The first Conference of Non-Aligned nations held in Belgrade in 1961, Nehru, Nasser and Tito accepted the following essentials of the policy of Non-Alignment.
1. Independent foreign policy based upon peaceful co-existence;
2. opposition to colonialism and support for national liberation movements;
3. non-membership of any military alliance or bloc;
4. absence of bilateral military alliance with any great power; and
5. no military base of foreign powers on one's own national territory.

The first Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) of the Non-Aligned states was primarily concerned with the broad political issues, peace and security, it gave a low priority to economic aspects. The Cairo Summit Conference (1964) was not fundamentally different from the Belgrade Summit as it has primarily concerned with global political issues. After the Cairo Summit the policy of Non-Alignment was mainly concerned with anti-colonialism. In the Lusaka Summit Conference (1970) the old political issues were not ignored but it gave top priority to economic development, demanded for change in the international economic relations. Hence a shift in the political-economic paradigm of the movement was fully asserted at the Algiers Summit in 1973. An appeal was made for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Thus between Lusaka and Algiers, the Movement had transformed and converted into a highly organised international economic pressure group for the reorganisation of the international economic issues.
The Colombo Summit (1976) called for the abolition of the "Veto system" and the radical amendment of the UN Charter. The most significant feature of this Conference was the developing trend of the pre-occupation of Non-Aligned states with international economic issues. The Havana Summit (1979) witnessed dangerous divisive trends among the members of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Summit condemned the hegemonistic politics of the Super Powers and called for the dissolving military alliances and strengthening of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The New Delhi Summit (1983) emphasised the necessity of disarmament as the key to the preservation of international peace and security. It stressed the North-South Cooperation, individual and collective self-reliance, South-South Cooperation to bring about structural changes in the international economic order. The most important achievement of the Harare Summit (1986) was the package of measures to help frontline African States in their struggle against apartheid and establishment of nine nation "AFRICA FUND" and appealed to Super Powers for a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests.

The ninth Belgrade Summit (1989) experienced change in the international environment following the easing of tensions between the Super Powers and priority was given to economic aspects than political. The best achievement of
this Conference was that in the context of new detente and its fallout and reaffirmed the continuing validity and relevance of the policy of Non-Alignment as an additional foreign policy for all countries inspite of vagaries of the functioning of the international system.

The end of the cold war, after the Gulf war, with the USA appearing as the sole Super Power, the collapse of the Soviet Union, some critics argue that in the changing world scenario, Non-Alignment has become outmoded and irrelevant and it is high time that the 'Nehru model' of foreign policy is given a decent burial.

Whether it will be a bipolar, multipolar or unipolar world, Non-Alignment will have a place in it as an independent foreign policy, calculated to protect the freedom, identity and dignity of the developing nations, opposing the politics of balance of power and domination, and working for international cooperation and democratisation of international relations. The Movement would not be affected by the collapse of the East bloc and the end of the cold war. There will always be scope for independence of judgement and freedom to exercise it without fear or restraint from any power or grouping.

Revival of North-South Dialogue, meaningful and intensified South-South Cooperation, protection of environment, complete disarmament, eradication of drug
trafficking and drug abuse, poverty, hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy will be the major task of the Non-Aligned Movement in future. Hence, the Non-Aligned Movement is relevant for the present and the future too.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Non-Alignment is a Post-Second World War concept; its roots go back to the period of the first phase of the national liberation struggle of the colonial people immediately after the Second World War. Belgrade and Cairo Summit Conferences accepted the term Non-Alignment as the most authoritative and commonly accepted term. It is indeed, true that the basis of the concept of Non-Alignment was made evident by the pronouncements of its founding fathers and thereafter summarised and crystallised by the Cairo Preparatory Conference held in 1961. The Belgrade Summit Conference may be taken as the real beginning of the Non-Alignment. The first Conference of the Heads of the State or Government of Non-Aligned countries took place between September 1-6, 1961 in Belgrade. The Ninth Summit of the Non-Aligned countries was held at Belgrade between September 4-7, 1989.

The study of Non-Alignment as a foreign policy feature of a majority of the Third World Countries has increasingly attracted scholarly attention in recent times. Especially during the last three decades, significant contributions
have been made to highlight the various dimensions of the concept - both in its normative and practical orientation, but there has been no systematic study of the Non-Aligned Movement as such. However, most of the studies have focussed primarily on global concerns and activities of the Non-Aligned countries viz., East-West tension, anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, nuclear disarmament etc. Conversely, less attention has been paid to the examination of the over-all aspects of the Non-Aligned Movement from the first Summit Conference (Belgrade, 1961) to the ninth Summit Conference (Belgrade, 1989). The present study attempts to fill this gap.

Today the Non-Aligned Movement is an essential to the world community in general and to the Third World countries in particular. The Non-Aligned Movement can play active role in the New International Economic Order, to solve the regional problems among the Third World countries, to end neo-colonialism, terrorism and protection of environment etc.

From the first Belgrade Summit Conference to the ninth Belgrade Summit Conference the Non-Aligned Movement achieved many of its goals in different fields; like political, economic and cultural. But some of the critics say that Non-Aligned Movement came into existence as a reaction to the cold war and at present in the absence of the cold war the Non-Aligned Movement is not relevant. The significance
of the present study is to highlight the essence and the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Post-Cold War era.

In this study, an endeavour has been made to look at the Movement's contribution in eliminating foreign aggression, racial discrimination, apartheid, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and all other forms of dependency and subjugation, domination and exploitation, which are crucial to promote world peace in all possible means, ever since its inception and to suggest new strategies for making the Movement more effective and productive in the shifting world conditions of today. It is hoped that an exercise of this kind would contribute to both theoretical and practical aspects of the Movement.

Therefore, the researcher attempts to analyse that the Non-Aligned Movement is still relevant in the world politics inspite of the changing world scenario.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Crabb's (1965) "The Elephant and the Grass" is unusual for an American work of this period, in that it is written with sympathy and understanding but still it is very useful to this study.
One of the major studies of the policy of Non-Alignment is "Afro-Asian And Non-Alignment" by Jansen (1966). It is, rather, a hostile history, but nevertheless as important source of information on the events at some of the conferences. Jansen is one of the few who is recognised and recorded the conflict between Non-Alignment and the Bandung idea of Afro-Asian solidarity. So, it helps us to give a critical analysis to the subject.

Another monograph "Non-Alignment: India And The Future" is written by Rajan (1970). He shows the contribution of the Non-Aligned countries to the easing of international tensions and denounces the attempts to portray the Non-Aligned Movement as 'third bloc'. So this book provides us an understanding of how the Non-Alignment contributed to world peace.

Mates (1972) in his book "Non-Alignment: Theory And Current Policy" substantiates the essence and prospects of the Non-Aligned Movement scientifically. He reviews the formation of the movement and characterises the basic orientations of its development. He analyses the causes for the turn of the foreign policies of the most developing nations to Non-Alignment.

Another work "The Imperatives of Non-Alignment: A Conceptual Study of India's Foreign Policy" is by Rana (1976). This study may be designed as a proto-theory of
India's foreign policy strategy in Nehru's period of almost three decades after independence and thus it is useful in this study.

Singham (1977) in his book "The Non-Aligned Movement in World Politics" has edited a disparate collection of conference papers. Less than half of the papers are in a way about the movement and, of these, four contributions by diplomats provide data on the manipulation of history for political purposes, but they do not contain theoretical analysis. The unique section of the book comes from the contribution of the Afro-American response to Non-Alignment. Hence, it is useful to understand different aspects of Non-Alignment.

Willets (1978) in his book "The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance" starts with an account of the diplomacy, the development of the ideology, different emphasis on different aspects of the first decade of the policy of Non-Alignment and the institutionalisation of the movement. There follows a quantitative analysis using data on the United Nations voting, the exchange of diplomats, army supplies, trade and communications to produce the foreign policy behaviour in East-West relations and towards Southern Africa. So this book furnishes an understanding of the various shifts of Non-Alignment policy in different times.
Misra and Narayanan (1981) in their book "Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations" have edited nineteen papers submitted to the Indo-Yugoslav symposium held in 1980 in New Delhi. In these papers an endeavour has been made to present fresh ideas on Non-Aligned Movement, to suggest new strategies for making the movement effective and productive in the changed and the changing circumstances of today in tune with its original inspiration.

Subba Rao (1981) in his book "Non-Alignment in International Law and Politics" analyses the origin and development of Non-Aligned Movement from Bandung to New Delhi; discusses its conception, meaning, philosophy, impulses, objectives, constraints, problems and its role in international affairs. The book studies the Movement's 'unity and diversity' in the world torn with strife and conflicting ideologies. Thus it gives information about the role of Non-Aligned Movement in international relations.

Another work "In Pursuit of Peace: on Non-Alignment and Regional Cooperation" by Hameed (1983) discusses the growth of Non-Aligned Movement and its role towards disarmament and world peace. This study reflects the political and socio-economic diversity of its members and how, step by step, its durability and world standing have been achieved without the encumbrance of a separate secretariat. This study indicates nuclear disarmament and peace, regional cooperation
among Non-Aligned countries. Therefore, it provides an indepth understanding of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Roy (1983) in his book "The Non-Aligned Diplomacy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi" examines the historical evolution, objectives and characteristic and the diplomacy of Non-Aligned Movement. This study outlines Mrs. Gandhi's role in Non-Aligned Movement in her days particularly in the field of disarmament and economic cooperation. Hence, it is useful to understand India's major role in the Non-Aligned Movement.

The book on "Issues Before Non-Alignment: Past and Future" is edited by Vasudev (1983). This is divided into four parts namely political concepts, economic perspectives, strategic interests and information and technology, covering the evolution of Non-Aligned Movement, New International Economic Order, national security, disarmament and nuclear threat in relation to the role of Non-Aligned countries and intangibles of colonial legacy. Hence, this study is useful to understand both the history of the concept of Non-Alignment and its changing character.

Jaisingh (1983) in his book "India And The Non-Aligned World: Search For a New Order" makes an outstanding contribution to the definition of the concept of Non-Alignment, its evolution and its stance on various issues. It discusses the concept of Non-Alignment and the theory of
equidistance between the two power blocs and how the struggle for a new economic order can be meaningful. This is very useful to understand the stand of Non-Alignment on various issues.

Gopalan's (1984) book "India And Non-Alignment: A Study of 1962 Sino-Indian Conflict" analyses the efficacy of NonAlignment in a critical situation and seeks to remove certain cobwebs by the critics. It also discusses that India herself has been the target of criticism during and after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962, critics openly attributed the Indian debacle in 1962 to the pursuit of this policy. This study analyses in depth the impact of Sino-Indian conflict on India's Non-Alignment policy, her foreign and defence policies as also on her relations with other neighbours. Undoubtedly this is a valuable contribution for a clear understanding of the efficacy of Non-Alignment in a critical situation.

The study on "NAM Summit: New Delhi to Harare" edited by Chopra (1986) seeks to analyse the evolution of Non-Aligned Movement, its impact on international relations particularly when the Movement has completed its twenty-five years. This study has been divided into global significance of the Non-Aligned Movement, India and Non-Alignment, NAM and Africa and problems of development and disarmament. It inquires into the entire gamut of theory and practice of
Non-Aligned Movement in a fresh perspective. Thus, it gives a comprehensive picture of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Jaipal (1987) in his book "Non-Alignment Origins, Growth And Potential For World Peace" tries to discover the origins of Non-Alignment in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the growth of Non-Aligned Movement from Belgrade to Harare examines its inner working procedures, its internal ideological differences and its failures and success. This study depicts the attitudes, the economic and political pressures of the Super Powers towards Non-Aligned Movement. So, it helps to understand the reactions of the Super Powers towards Non-Aligned Movement.

The book on "Non-Alignment And The West" by Reznikova (1988) emphasises about the attitude of the western countries in general, and the USA in particular towards the Non-Aligned countries. It also covers communist countries, particularly Soviet Union and China's attitude towards the Non-Aligned Movement. Hence, it helps in understanding the Super Powers relations with the Non-Aligned countries.

The study "The Non-Aligned Movement" edited by Kovalenko and Tuzmukhmedov (1988) deals with the collective monograph with a broad range of questions which shows the ideological and political sources, the basic principles and purposes, forms and methods of work, the international legal basis and the social and political essence of the Non-Aligned
Movement. Hence, it is essential for understanding the Non-Aligned Movement in different dimensions.

The book on "Non-Alignment And New International Economic Order" by Sahani and Srivastava (1988) attempts to have a fresh look at the world economic situation in the light of ideological differences between the Super Powers. It discusses the debt burdens of Third World, and stresses the need for New International Economic Order and the importance of South-South Cooperation. It is very useful study to understand the economic dimension of Non-Aligned Movement.

Reddy (1989) in his book "The Economics of Non-Aligned Movement" analyses the programmes and policies and its efforts for achieving economic equality among Third World countries through cooperation and self-reliance. Hence, it helps in understanding the role of Non-Aligned Movement in South-South Cooperation.

OBJECTIVES

The present study is an attempt:

1. to trace out the origin and development of the Non-Aligned Movement;

2. to elucidate India's leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement;
3. to analyse policies and programmes of Non-Aligned Movement from Belgrade to Belgrade;

4. to examine Non-Aligned Movement as a factor to promote economic cooperation among the Third World countries;

5. to study Non-Aligned Movement's contribution to world peace; and

6. to estimate the relevance of Non-Aligned Movement in the context of the present changing world politics.

**METHODOLOGY**

The different types of data has been collected from different sources that is mainly from primary and secondary sources like -

a) various Government of India publications;

b) publications relating to other countries of the Non-Aligned Movement;

c) reports and publications of text books, various magazines, journals and news papers;

d) reports of various organisations connected with the Non-Aligned Movement;

e) reports and publications of the research such, teachers and other people connected with the Universities and Research Organisations; and
f) the documents of the Non-Aligned Summit Conferences and Ministerial Level Conferences.

As it is always not safe to take the published data at their face value, the data is analysed carefully to make use of material that is suitable and adequate for in the context of the present problem. The reliability of the data is suitably examined. After the collection of data from the above mentioned sources, the researcher analysed and reinterpreted the data and organised into various chapters.

CHAPTERISATION

1. Introduction.
2. Origin and growth of Non-Aligned Movement.
3. India and Non-Aligned Movement.
7. The role of Non-Aligned Movement in the context of the changing world scenario.
8. Conclusion.