CONCLUSION
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Non-aligned Movement is a mixed product of twentieth century political tussles, two world wars and various Afro-Asian freedom struggles. Other economic, military and strategic factors that shaped the history of our century also contributed to the rise and development of Non-aligned movement. It became the most authentic voice of Southern hemisphere of the globe comprising of scores of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The end of world war II may well be taken as the point of departure for any whole some study of NAM. In fact, post world war II era heralded new political alliances and ideological perspectives. The most significant development after second world war was the emergence of a world-order ostensibly bifurcated on ideological grounds. The NATO countries under the leadership of United States of America claimed to stand for freedom, free economic enterprise and liberal secular democracy. On the other hand, the Warsaw-Pact countries led by Soviet Union championed the cause of socialism entailing central economic planning, nationalisation of means and modes of production. Thus emerged an era of intense cold war on the international scene. The
Northern America and Western Europe conceived Eastern European governments and Soviet Union as standing for suppression of human rights and individual freedom and initiative. As against this, the Warsaw-pact governments charged western democracies as standing for exploitation of masses, social injustice and economic imperialism. Thus, there emerged a politico-ideological polarisation in terms of capitalism Vs. Socialism or Free Enterprise Vs Planned Economy.

Ostensibly this post world war II cold war between USA and USSR was conducted in persuasive normative terminology viz., individual Freedom Vs Social justice. The great propaganda machineries on both sides mouthed vast generalisations and sweeping platitudes with a view to buck up their respective state-systems and governmental structures. There was a virtual Scrambling for allies and camp-followers in Third World countries and both super powers sought to completely bipolarise the world community. This political drama had all the trappings of a holy war. However, behind the ideological facades unparralled war-machinery was being constantly and consistently upgraded with a view to stabilise and perpetuate respective political hegemonies
and economic monopolies. Both sides engineered atomic and hydrogen bombs in late forties and early fifties and sought to perpetuate their respective spheres of influence through nuclear blackmail. They even sought to monopolise nuclear Research and Development.

The origin, development, relevance and meaningfulness of NAM as an international political response must be viewed against this very backdrop. Additionally, while recapitulating the background of NAM, the colonised Past of an overwhelmingly large NAM members must also be taken note of to understand their new security concerns and strategic pressures. Most of the NAM countries were subjugated by European Colonial powers for centuries together and it was only after world war II that long and tortuous freedom struggles in Asia and Africa began to fructify into cherished political sovereignty and independence. India became independent in 1947. Most of the African countries achieved their independence during the fifties of this century. After 1949, Socialist dispensation, while Peoples Republic of China, numerically the largest nation on the globe, opted for an independent foreign policy with a marked tilt towards USSR, India and scores of Afrō-Asian
nations with new-found independent political responsibilities had to grope their way in multi-complex international arena to arrive at an appropriate foreign policy strategy. These countries had either to join the so-called political and military blocs presided over by USA and USSR or chalk out an independent foreign policy response in keeping with their national interests and political responsibilities.

The Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries was an initial effort to forge out a United Third World foreign policy blue-print. Policies and programmes emanating from Bandung deliberations continued to be discussed during mutual and international conferences by Third World Countries. It was only in 1961 that NAM was formally inaugurated in Belgrade, thanks largely to the vision and statemanship of Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Sukarnoo and Nkrumoh.

Since the first NAM Summit Conference in 1961 at Belgrade Yugoslavia, eight more such summits have been held across the continents of Asia, Africa, South America and Europe, the last again having been held at Belgrade in 1989. However, we are not here so much concerned with the historical role and contribution of NAM during the cold-war years of second half of the twentieth century, important, although,
it is in any comprehensive evaluation of the movement. The present thesis has attempted a comparative study of NAM Summits from 1961 upto 1986. The first chapter of this thesis outlines the historical perspective of non-aligned movement. The second and third chapter bring out the crucial issues deliberated upon by NAM Summits. The crucial issues deliberated upon by NAM have been identified as international peace and disarmament, the question of imperialism and neo-colonialism, the problem of Palestine, the problem of apartheid and and above all the burning issue of New International Economic Order. The fourth and the last chapter brings out the responses of super powers towards the Non-aligned Movement.

The origin and emergence of NAM has been a crucial factor in the post war political history of our globe. Non-aligned Movement has to emerge in view of the fact that international political choices, initiatives and foreign policy options were being hijacked by a rigid and regimented bipolar power politics.

The present thesis establishes as well as reconfirms that NAM is a product of post-war and post colonial world-situation in which political models of management and economic models of development were being sought to be superimposed upon emerging Third World Countries by self-
appointed apostles of peace arrogating to themselves the title of super powers. However, the thesis does not argue that NAM is now an outdated political formation owing to changed international political Scenario thanks to Gorbachevian "Peace Offensive". Rather, it brings out the ongoing relevance of NAM, only if the movement gears itself up to face emerging challenges of our times.

Secondly, in so far as the issues taken up by NAM in its summit deliberations are concerned, NAM cannot claim to have succeeded in resolving those internationally vital tangles. However, there are signs of hope. NAM has been consistently working for promoting the cause of world-peace. Now that super powers are winding up their long-drawn-out animosities and conducting peace treaties, the stand of NAM is somewhat vindicated. The essential stand of NAM was that super power confrontation was of a political nature, although the concerned quarters were conducting it in ideological terms. Now that the peace is prevailing NAM can take some credit for being a voice of sanity during cold-war years of massive super power propaganda against each other. However, NAM's stand on disarmament is less vindicated, although some progress on that front has also
been registered. In addition to it, no viable international security system has emerged which could protect the interests of small nations and act as a deterrent against attacks on their sovereignty and independence. The recent attack of Iraq on Kuwait is a case in point. International Security System remains as fragile as it was when NAM started its political and diplomatic innings, even though NAM has been consistently and continuously clamouring for international safeguards against stronger powers subjugating the smaller and weaker nations. Thirdly, NAM has achieved significant success in its struggle for de-colonisation. The entire Africa (with the exception of its Southern part reeling under white-minority regime) is politically free. Even South-West African peoples organisation has recently succeeded in liberating Namibia from colonial rule. The Asian and South-American countries too are free and playing their role in the comity of nations. Thus imperialism seems to have lost, hopefully for ever. However, NAM's struggle against neo-colonialism or economic imperialism has not met with considerable success.

Non-aligned movement has been waging a great struggle in the international arena for an economically just and
socially equitable world-order. However, the present thesis argues that contemporary international scene seems to be irretrievably divided between technological haves and have-nots. The industrial powers such as United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan et. al., are dominating international economic scene. The Third World mostly represented by NAM is smarting under an unavoidable, vicious and circular debt-trap.

Thus, fourthly, this thesis tries to explain that NAM's struggle for a "New International Economic Order" has not so far cut any ice with the industrialised democracies. There has been no serious North-South dialogue. So NAM will be struggling in coming years with all its diplomatic armoury for conducting a meaningful and fruitful North-South dialogue.

Fifthly, NAM's consistent support to the people of South Africa in their struggle against white minority oppression and to the people of Palestine struggling for a homeland, has considerably helped these two nations. Today, there is, almost, universal support for these people's rights. Nelson Mandella is free and engaged in a dialogue with South-African Minority regime. Even Yasser
Arafat is now internationally acclaimed as the authentic representative of the people of Palestine. Both these questions are inching along to a final resolution and NAM's contribution towards the same can hardly be over-emphasised. However, NAM will have to put up additional efforts for an accelerated resolution of these conflicts.

Non-aligned movement is a political response of Third World countries to contemporary international realities. It emerged as a voice of protest against bifurcation of our world into 'Capitalist' and 'Socialist' compartments. Now that this compartmentalisation is breaking down, it does not mean non-aligned nations are out of business, or their political agenda has been finished. The issues and problems that NAM highlighted or championed are still with us demanding immediate resolution. In view of the same the following suggestions are submitted for making the movement more relevant and meaningful in contemporary world. The NAM should resolutely and unitedly face up to the political challenges of our times. The vested interests on the international plane are working hard to undermine the political sovereignty of Third World countries. The so-called first world countries have stockpiled their armaments in or around Third World countries with a view
to pressurise them to fall in line. Other subtle pressures through trade and commerce or via military aid are brought to bear upon non-aligned countries. This they should resist through concerted and United action. This is neo-imperialism in the form of ambitions global hegemonism. Non-aligned countries will have to safeguard their freedom and sovereignty through collective action. Otherwise, history might repeat itself.

Besides, some of the most important problems championed by NAM are still critically meriting international attention. For example, NAM has been continuously and consistently supporting the territorial rights of the people of Palestine and fighting against the system of apartheid in South-Africa. Both these questions are still hanging fire. Non-aligned movement will have to work hard to help people of Palestine in their struggle for a homeland. Similarly, it will have to make great efforts to eliminate apartheid and white-minority domination from South-Africa. Fresh problems such as insurgencies in Sri Lanka and Kashmir also merit the attention of NAM countries. Only, if NAM vigorously and rigorously takes up these vital political questions, will it be able to function as a meaningful and relevant forum in the contemporary world.
The most important question to be vigorously and courageously taken up by NAM is New International Economic Order. The quest for a New International Economic Order is the hallmark of contemporary international politics and will heavily engage the attention of economic policymakers, planners and strategists in 21st century.

A cool and detached analysis of contemporary international situation reveals that although political imperialism is dead now, a new form of imperialism known as neo-colonialism has overtaken what have been termed as Third World countries. The terms of international trade and commerce are being dictated by highly industrialised countries such as United States of America, Japan, Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Canada etc. The Third World countries are caught within a technological blackmail. The industrialised countries, because of their historical lead in Science, are perpetually designing highly sophisticated technologies. In very short time now, technologies grow obsolescent and outdated. More often than not, outdated technological equipments are exported to Third World countries. Now advanced technology means production of superior consumer goods and apart from domestic consumption, these sophisticated and finished products are
supplied to Third World at enormously prohibitive prices. The Third World countries have also to import billions of dollars worth armaments and fighter planes from the industrialised nations. This creates an unbridgable trade deficit. The NAM countries must fight now these structural imbalances in international economy and struggle for devising strategies whereby huge trade deficits against Third World countries can be reduced and a foundation can be laid for the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

NAM must also direct their energies towards achieving a complete nuclear disarmament. They have been struggling all along for complete demilitarisation and disarmament. While complete demilitarisation sounds too utopian and idealistic, nuclear disarmament seems not to be impossible of realisation. The nuclear super powers have already downgraded their ambitious nuclear programmes and eliminated nuclear arms to a considerable extent. NAM must build upon this opportunity and pursue the struggle for complete nuclear disarmament through the agency of the United Nations.

Non-aligned nations need to develop mutual cooperation before they can work for international or intercontinental
cooperation on global scale. They have to pursue South-South cooperation before any meaningful North-South dialogue can take place for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. If NAM countries mostly belonging to Third World continue to be disunited, they can hardly put up a United struggle against economic exploitation by industrialised nations.

The Southern countries of the globe need to develop economic and commercial relations amongst themselves. Such a cooperation will be mutually beneficial and definitely raise their bargaining power against technologically advanced nations.

It is needless to say that Southern nations characterised as Third World countries will have to establish New National Economic Orders to stabilise their national polities. Only then they will have the moral right to demand a New International Economic Order.

The NAM countries must also take up unitedly an environment protection programme. Voluntary agencies though useful cannot achieve much in this regard. Environment is too important to be entirely left to volunteers.
It needs collective, in fact, *inter-governmental* action to minimise the enormous damage done already to the environment. The governments need to devise development plans that are environmentally sustainable.

There is an increasing ecological consciousness across the continents. More and more people are becoming convinced that environmental protection is essential to the survival of Third World countries and human civilization as a whole. The times when the rich industrial North could fence itself off from the poor agrarian South are long gone. The preservation of the environment is emerging as a common concern for all people, wherever they live. The encroachment of deserts in Africa, the regular monsoon floods in Asia, the ruthless exploitation of Third World natural resources and deadly industrial accidents, etc. cannot, therefore be tackled at the individual initiative or through voluntary agencies. Therefore, it becomes or should become an important assignment for NAM to arrest the mindless environmental degradation going on day in and day out.

Lastly, something must be said about the contemporary relevance of the NAM. Currently, interbloc Cold war is
ostensibly disappearing under what has been termed as the "Peace Offensive" of President Gorbachev of Soviet Union. United States of America and Soviet Union have apparently patched up. The Warsaw Pact countries have reverted to open market economies. Two Germanys have United again. The Soviet Union is engaged in a painful struggle while retracing back to free enterprise and market system. The western industrial democracies and Japan are pumping billions of dollars in Eastern European economies with a view to subsequently create wider market for their sophisticated machinery as well as consumer goods. The key socialist jargon in terms of Central Planning, dictatorship of the Proletariat, international revolution, classes society etc., have fastly disappeared and Eastern European countries including Soviet Union are joining the capitalist Camp shortly.

The more this "Peace Offensive" succeeds, the more it undermines the fundamental assumptions on which NAM rests. The very movement arose in view of a sharply polarised international bipolar system. The very "Non-Aligned" suggests that a group of countries accepting it as a foreign policy programme were guided by considerations of neutrality and equidistance from bloc politics. They
did not want to play second fiddle to super powers. Now, in view of fast developments that have overtaken Eastern Europe and fastly changing role and responsibility of Soviet Union, what does Non-Alignment mean.

Quite true, that Soviet Union has given up or is giving up pretensions to being a super power. They have their own economic and political problems to settle. It can plausibly be argued that they are lying low and biding time. They can be expected to recharge themselves in international arena. Or may be another Scenario develops. Soviet Union might disintegrate in view of her ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism. However, that will not be an end to human history. Future can be trusted to be storing surprises for US. New power equations can emerge. New super powers will evolve. New interventions and exploitations can take place in Third World countries.

For example, Germany has united. She has the potential of outsmarting even United States of America. In due course of time, Japan might develop her own political ambitions. China can be expected to play a powerful role in international affairs. So even if Soviet Union retraces back completely from world arena,
new developments are bound to follow. Even if no threat emerges quickly to the military and economic might of USA, still things will be hot for the Third World. United States of America in collaboration with NATO countries can be expected to dominate the entire Third World. In fact, NATO countries notably, Britain, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal etc. have been formerly the imperial powers. NAM countries have bitter memories of fighting against these powers for attaining their independence. So these countries can again look towards their former clients to enhance their own business. In view of these conditions we cannot say that NAM has run out of its international duties and responsibilities. It will have to play a more watchful role.

For instance, the Gulf crisis is a case in point. Obviously one NAM member Iraq has attacked and annexed another NAM member, Kuwait. The very act in itself constitutes a great setback to the movement as a whole. However, this problem could have been solved either by mutual consultations amongst the Gulf area countries or NAM could have taken up the matter to resolve it peacefully. Whether they would have been able to resolve the question or not is beside the point. There are burning international disputes demanding immediate resolution.
In course of time, some of them will be resolved. New problems will crop up. New solutions will be sought. What is important to note is that United States of America further complicated the question by opting for a military solution of the problem. United States of America wants to protect her own interests in that strategically and economically important region. She wants to dictate economic and political terms in that region. In fact, she would be happiest if she can play a predominant role in the entire world.

Here NAM will have to play a role. NAM countries will have to forge a united front against selective intervention by super powers. If United States of America is only interested in teaching Iraq a lesson for violating international laws, why is she actively supporting Israel who usurped Arab territories in 1967. In fact, she is merely interested in ruthlessly pursuing her own foreign policy goals. That is, where the NAM countries should see the danger signal. Super powers should not be allowed to pursue their foreign policy interests in the trouble spots of third world. They should not be allowed to fish in troubled waters.

In such situations NAM countries can project the views and concerns of Third World. They are important
forum to ventilate the Third World political and economic perspectives. Such an important forum should not be dissolved because Soviet Union is currently passing through political glasnost and economic perestroika. Nomenclature is not important. It can adopt a new name if it so wishes. What is important is the continuation of a movement that struggles to protect the interests and project the views of developing countries.

The NAM now needs a reorientation in its goals and objectives in the face of radically changed global environment marked by increasing tension and turmoil. Maximum encouragement must be given to promote all sided development among the member countries so they can be independent of both the super powers, economically and politically and help themselves promote a "zone of peace" in this turbulent world.