CHAPTER II

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NAM SUMMITS

1961-1973
A Comparative Study of NAM Summits: 1961-1973

Non-Aligned Movement as the largest peace movement of history was formally institutionalised in 1961 when the first summit of its Heads of State and Government took place at Belgrade in Yugoslavia under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, Joseph Tito, Gamel Abdel Nassir and A.R. Sukaroo and others. This Conference was a landmark in the history of NAM in so far as it provided a platform for ventilating the concerns and interests of third world countries and determined the directions and chalked out the political agenda of the movement. The second conference was held at Cairo in Egypt, the third at Lusaka in Zambia and the fourth at Algiers in Algeria. The present chapter attempts a comparative study of the issues deliberated upon in these four consecutive NAM summits.

As non-aligned countries were newly emerging nation-states from the fetters of colonialism and were gearing themselves up against the countries of the first world, their political, economic, diplomatic and strategic responses were oriented or coloured by their colonial past. The fact of their having been exploited both politically and economically by European countries led
to an intense struggle against colonial islands viz; Nambia, South Africa, Rodhesia (Now Zimbabwe) etc.

Also as they were newly independent countries and had to struggle to establish minimum infrastructural facilities for their political and economic upkeeps, they needed peace and a conducive international climate. In view of these facts, NAM summit gave topmost priority to decolonisation, peace and development issues in their first four summits. Furthermore, they stressed decolonisation as they were not sure of their new found independent and sovereign status and viewed remaining islands, of colonial rule as an affront to their own sovereignty. They feared a nuclear blackmail by developed countries and stressed with concern the need for international peace and disarmament.

The economic issues also figured in their deliberations. For the re-establishment of NAM economies and for generating new infrastructural facilities massive economic aid was needed which could come only from developed countries. Therefore, in the first four summits, the need for an equitable economic order was stressed, although the agenda was dominated by political issues and diplomatic priorities.
In the first four summits of NAM the problem of apartheid in South Africa and the problem of restitution of territorial rights of Palestinian people were repeatedly underlined and the world opinion asked to lend a helping hand to the Black millions of South Africa and the exiled millions of Palestine. The policy of Apartheid came under continuous and harsh criticism and admonition by NAM summiteers throughout first four summits. Similarly the exiled people of Palestine were repeatedly shown solidarity by the NAM Heads of State and Government. Therefore, these two problems figure in comparative analysis of NAM issues discussed by summiteers from 1961 to 1973, besides the problems of peace and disarmament, colonialism and economy, which problems too were refrains in all the summit deliberations of NAM. Thus, five issues viz, peace, colonialism, economic order, South-African apartheid and Palestine question have been examined in a comparative perspective. In addition to these issues certain allied issues also have been appended to this chapter at the end of analysis.
The purpose of the Belgrade Conference was to exchange views for enhancing the process of international peace and cooperation and to contribute effectively towards solving the international problems.

The first conference of NAM countries was held at a time when international climate had worsened beyond immediate repair and world peace seemed to be in great danger and the entire future of mankind seemed to be jeopardised. The Heads of State and Government noted that the contemporary international crisis stems basically from the clash between an old order based on domination to a new world order entailing mutual cooperation and non-intervention into each other's internal problems. It was noted that dynamics of social change definitely result into clash of interests between the establishment which stands for status quo and the emerging international system with promising possibilities and prospects for the underdeveloped nations.

The forces of imperialism were taking a back seat. The long-drawn-out exploitation of Asian African and Latin American people was slowly and steadily
disappearing. The new and emerging nation-states have been greatly successful in their quest for independence and justice. The era of domination was giving way to era of cooperation, freedom, equality and progress. The days of foreign oppression of reviving nationalities were coming to an end. In view of the same the emerging nations had made significant progress in the fields of science and technology and other spheres of economic change. The heads of state and government were not merely interested in forwarding proposals or suggestions that could resolve outstanding issues between super powers. Rather they were more interested in arriving at the solution of those problems which if not tackled peacefully and in time, could result in disastrous consequences. They emphasised the need for a sense of responsibility as well as political realism in trying to solve those problems which arose from differing systems and approaches adopted by various countries. The NAM heads of state and government did not wish to institute another political lobby or bloc in the international politico-economic business. Rather they stressed to cooperate with any bloc which appreciated the need for peace and progress in the entire world.
Some major issues taken up by the NAM Summits and highlighted in first four summits are as follows:

1) **Peace and Disarmament:**

The participants in the first NAM Conference underlined the need for complete disarmament. It was considered to be the most urgent task faced by mankind. It pointed out that a complete disarmament can be achieved only by means of international inspectsory and supervisory mechanisms.¹ A complete disarmament should include the elimination of armed forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms, elimination of institutions and installations for military training and the total prohibition of the production, procession and utilisation of nuclear and thermonuclear arms.²

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² *Ibid., p. 6.*
The question of disarmament heavily weighed upon the minds of the participants in the first NAM Conference. They urged the great powers to immediately go in for complete disarmament with a view to save the prospects of human civilization and also earmark resources spent on armament for developmental purposes.

It was also urged that:

(1) In all future disarmament conferences NAM countries should be duly represented.

(2) The United Nations should sponsor all discussions and deliberations on disarmament.

(3) An effective system of inspection and control should guarantee a general and complete disarmament and members of non-aligned nations should also be included in supervisory teams.

It was urged that the testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons should be completely banned.

In the second summit conference the participants again stressed on disarmament. The question of peace and security tak
up earnestly by the participating countries in the second Summit Conference. It undertook an analysis of the world situation, with a view to make some significant contribution to the resolution of the problems that generate tension and conditions of warfare. The principles embodied in the Belgrade Declaration became the basis of further deliberations on international situation. A detailed and comprehensive discussion was conducted in cordial atmosphere. The heads of state and government felt happy to register the fact that nearly 50% of the free countries of the world did participate in the conference.

The fact that non-aligned movement was looked upon as an important body in the settlement of international disputes, especially by still colonised countries, was also deemed to be a redeeming feature which brought out the relevance and meaningfulness of the movement. The participants of the Conference were happy to note that the forces of peace, progress and freedom had combinedly made their presence felt and the situation as regards

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international peace was markedly changed for the better in comparison to the times when the first summit conference was held at Belgrade in 1961. However, the Conference warned against any complacency as regards efforts to lessen international tension in view of the fact that sources of tension still operated at large. The conference also felt happy to note that liberation movements against colonialism, Apartheid and racial discrimination were progressing day in and day out. Such a struggle was deemed to be a part of common struggle for freedom, justice and peace. The Conference was determined to lend its moral and material support to the establishment of a lasting world peace. It affirmed that the establishment of a peaceful world was the common responsibility of the entire mankind in view of the instinctual aspirations of mankind to live in an atmosphere of peace. In view of the same urges the basic principles of Belgrade Conference were reaffirmed with deeper commitment and in greater earnestness. The Conference underlined the paramount significance of

disarmament as one of the vital questions facing the contemporary world situation. It emphasised the importance of arriving at political solutions through mutual dialogue so as to liberate mankind from the fear of insecurity. The Conference felt painfully concerned about the sophisticated and accelerated advances made in the production of war weaponry, leading to a grim possibility of mass-annihilation. The conference called upon the super powers to immediately devise ways and means and workout modalities for a complete and general disarmament.  

The Participants noted with regret that in spite of the measures taken by Eighteen Nation Committee on disarmament, especially those of non-aligned nations, have not yielded satisfactory results. It called upon the great powers to immediately, in consultation with the other members of the committee, thrash out a mechanism for complete and general disarmament.

5. Ibid., p. 10.
The conference also called upon the great powers to take concrete measures with a view to drastically reduce the expenditure on armaments.

The conference also urged the participating nations to take all necessary measures, at the General Assembly of United Nations, which are deemed instrumental for the conclusion of special agreements on disarmament. The conference called upon all the nations of the world to step up their efforts with a view to develop ways and means leading to cooperative development of nuclear energy.

The participants in this summit conference firmly brought out the negative role of military alliances leading to military bases which jeopardise the prospects of international peace and escalate the cold war tension. In view of the same, the NAM countries expressed their strong disapproval of military blocs and vowed not to join such alliances. The conference further pointed out that the maintenance or the establishment of foreign military bases in countries, which are not willing to play
the host constitutes a gross violation of the fundamentals of international peace as well as that of the sovereignty of the host countries. For example, the conference considered that the maintenance of military base at Guantanamo (Cuba), by USA is utterly unacceptable in view of the fact that it is a clear violation of the provisions incorporated in the declaration of Belgrade Conference. Moreover, the base is maintained against the will of the people of the Cuba and therefore all the more unacceptable.6

Similarly, the conference took a diametrically opposite stand on the expressed intention of formerly imperial powers to establish military bases in the Indian Ocean. It considered such a step as an effort to engage the previously colonised states of Asia and Africa in super-power confrontation and such an approach clearly betrays imperialistic and neo-colonialistic tendencies.

The following resolutions may be quoted at some length from the proceedings of the summit:

6. Ibid., p. 11.
(1) "As the use of force may take a number of forms, military, political and economic the participating countries deem it essential to reaffirm the principles that all states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of any force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the charter of the United Nations".

(2) "They considered the disputes between states should be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the charter on the basis of sovereign equality and justice".

(3) "The participating countries were convinced of the necessity of existing all international efforts to find solutions to all situations which threaten international peace or impair friendly relations among nations".

(4) "The participating countries gave special attention to the problems of frontiers which may threaten international peace or disturb friendly relations"
among nations, and were convinced that in order to settle such problems, all states should resort to negotiation, or other peaceful means set forth in the United Nations Charter in conformity with the legitimate rights of all peoples".7

(5) "The Conference considered that disputes between neighbouring states must be settled peacefully in a spirit of mutual understanding, without foreign intervention or interference".

The participants further expressed their firm conviction that contemporary world situation demands that peaceful co-existence must depend upon freedom, equality and justice between the peoples of various nationalities. It was pointed out that the principle of peaceful co-existence is based on the right of all peoples to be free and to work out their own social, political and economic programmes in consonance with their national

ethos and value system. So the second Conference reiterated its opposition to any kind of outside interference and to any other form of foreign colonialism. The participants at this conference were deeply convinced that if peace is to be safeguarded and general advancement of mankind is to be achieved, then, we will have to create conditions in which political oppression and social inequality have no place. Accordingly, Heads of State or government solemnly proclaimed the following fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence:

1. The right to complete independence, which is an inalienable right, must be recognised immediately and unconditionally as pertaining to all peoples in conformity with the charter and resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, it is incumbent upon all states to respect this right and facilitate its exercise.8

2. The right to self determination, which is an inalienable right must be recognised as pertaining

8. Ibid., p. 98.
to all peoples. Accordingly, all nations and peoples have the right to determine their political status freely, pursue their economic, social and cultural development without any hindrance.

3. Peaceful co-existence between states with differing social and political systems is both possible and necessary. It favours the creation of good-neighbourly relations between states with a view to establishment of lasting peace and general well being, free from domination and exploitation.

4. The sovereign equality of states must be recognised and respected. It includes the right of all peoples to the free exploitation of their natural resources.

5. All states should respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of the human persons and the equality of all nations and races.

6. All international conflicts must be settled by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual understanding and on the basis of equality and sovereignty, in
such a manner that justice and legitimate rights are not impaired, all states must apply themselves to promoting and strengthening measures designed to diminish international tension and achieve general and complete disarmament. ⁹

In the Third Summit Conference, the Heads of State and Government again deliberated upon the problems of peace and world security and also exchanged views on the role and significance of non-aligned movement in defusing international tension and restoring peace. The questions of security, national independence and sovereignty of nation states on equitable basis also figured in their deliberations. The conference also sought to find ways and means for democratisation of international relations and for speedy economic process of developing countries. The delegates to the third summit also underlined the need for greater mutual cooperation and consultation amongst the non-aligned countries themselves.

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The non-alignment as a movement owes its existence to the determination of newly independent countries to protect their hard-won national independence and genuine national interests. The emergence of NAM into a transcontinental body transcending the barriers of race, region and religion significantly changed the world climate for peace and progress. The very anti-colonial relations experienced by numerous newly independent countries politically educated them not to accept the bipolar world politics and play to the tune of super powers, thus merely replacing the old masters by new ones as this again subordinate their independence and sovereignty to bloc leaders. This very political consciousness and resultant action strengthened the forces of peace throughout the world.

Therefore, the third NAM summit took a serious view of international situation and called for peace in areas torn by war. The conference, especially reviewed the situation in Middle East and Indochina. It also noted

with concern the agonising war going on in Vietnam and the presence of the foreign forces on Korean land. The conference urged upon the world opinion to immediately take measures to stop aggressive wars going on in Middle East, Indochina and Vietnam. The conference, emphatically came out against the continued oppression and subjugation of the South African people by the racist colonial minority regime. The Conference noted with concern the fact that the collusion powerful countries with the racist regime in Pretoria was adding fuel to the fire in South Africa. The Conference also underlined the fact that racism, apartheid and neo-colonialism were seriously undermining world peace and stability by perpetuating economic and political exploitation of developing countries. Such trends if continued to be perpetuated and patronised by powerful countries would jeopardise the prospects for peace in future.

The conference emphasised that the pursuit of world peace was the very raison d'être of Non-Aligned Movement. It called upon the member countries to
unitedly stand against international aggression, oppression and exploitation and to strengthen the United Nations so that voice of peace and progress countries to be raised from this most important platform of international relations.

In view of the ever-increasingly devastating arms race and the potential annihilation of mankind through large stockpiles of highly sophisticated nuclear armaments with continuous upgradations and qualitative improvisations, the third NAM summit delegates repeated their well thought-out conviction, spelt out at Belgrade and Cairo summit conferences of NAM countries that a complete disarmament under effective international safeguards was the most urgent task facing mankind then. Secondly, the conference welcomed the decision to celebrate 1970's as the "Disarmament Decade". The participating countries resolved to leave no stone unturned with a view to making the disarmament decade a success. They decided to cooperate among themselves and with other like-minded countries to devise comprehensive policies and strategies for the success of disarmament programme. The Conference felt
that while drawing up priorities of this programme, the priorities should be followed as hereunder:

(i) Measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, such as a cut-off in production of fissionable material for weapons purposes and its transfer to peaceful uses, stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons a comprehensive test ban, reduction and destruction of stocks piling of nuclear weapons.

(ii) Other measures of priority in the disarmament field; an agreement prohibiting the development, production and stock piling of chemical and biological weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of all nations.

(iii) Non-armament or confidence building measures, such as convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons, demilitarization of the sea-bed and the Ocean floor beyond an agreed limit, the establishment of nuclear free zones, etc.

11. Ibid., p. 54.
In Fourth Summit Conference the participants emphasised that since Lusaka Conference, developments in the international situation have shown a stronger tendency towards peace in the advanced world, whereas, in other areas there are still sources of tension and wars which are becoming more acute because of deteriorating economic conditions in the developing countries. 12

There is no peace around. The contemporary situation in Indonesia, Indochina, Middle East and many African and South American countries bears testimony to the large scale prevalence of wars and conflicts. A sort of colonial situation still prevails and imperialism conspires against the sovereignty and security of states. So long as there are colonial wars, apartheid imperialist aggression, power politics and economic exploitation and plundering, peace will be limited both in principle and in scope. In a world which is already divided into the rich and poor countries. It would be dangerous to widen this division by restricting peace to the rich

regions in the world. In this connection, the non-aligned countries are simply interpreting the aspirations of the majority of the peoples as can be seen in the declarations adopted in Bandung, Cairo, Lusaka and Georgetoun what all peoples want to be freed from the colonial yoke, where it still exists, to eradicate apartheid, Zionism and all forms of racial discrimination and segregation and to put an end to regimes which are inspired by and based on such tendencies. The conference reaffirmed the determination of the non-aligned countries to strictly observe the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all states, to refrain from the threat or use of force and to settle their disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, and they called upon all states to do the same.

The Conference underlined the need for cooperation of non-aligned states, with all countries which oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism for the purpose of lending an active support to the armed struggle of African
liberation movements. The conference also stressed the need to end, the colonial domination in Latin America where it still exists. It reaffirmed complete solidarity of NAM countries with the people of this region. The conference called upon the United States to put an immediate end to any military presence or interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of Indo China and to respect the free exercise rights of the Indo Chinese peoples to self determination, which is a pre-requisite for the establishment of a just peace in this region.

The Conference of Heads of State or government called upon its member countries to give their diplomatic support to the provisional revolutionary government of South Vietnam, which is the only authentic representative of South Vietnamese population and to make a contribution to the reconstruction of war-damaged Vietnam. The Conference of NAM countries had very carefully studied the position of the peoples in South Africa, Nambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands who are subjected to the worst forms
of exploitation, oppression and destruction, inflicted by the forces of colonialism neo-colonialism and racism which enjoy the political, economic and military support of some Western governments and of international capitalism. The colonialist and racist regimes which are rampant in the region constitute moreover a direct threat to the free development of all the countries of Africa, particularly, Guinea, Congo, Senegal, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, Botswana Swaziland and Lesotho.

ii) Anti-Colonial Stand:

The problem of colonialism consumed the attention of participants at the first NAM Summit. Especially the emphasis was laid on the decolonisation of countries such as ANGOLA, ALGERIA and CONGO.

The participants noted with concern the continued repression of the people of ANGOLA by Portuguese authorities. It was underlined that bloodshed of the people of Angola

should be stopped forthwith and all peace loving countries, especially the member states of U.N.O. should come forward with a helping hand in order to establish a free sovereign and independent state of the Angola.

However, the Second Summit Conference expressed its full faith in the fundamental principle governing international relations, i.e., the principle of inviolability of territories of nations, big or small. The countries participating in the Conference had achieved their national sovereignty after undergoing intense liberation struggles. In view of the same they emphasised that they would not allow their sovereignty being compromised or their territorial integrity being violated by outsiders. 14

In addition to the above, the conference expressed its solemn commitment to the fundamental socio-political and cultural right of all peoples to adopt the form of government they considered best suited for their overall development. Moreover, the participants in the Conference

recognised that one of the serious causes of international tensions lies in the problem of divided nations. They expressed full sympathy with such people and their desire for reunification. The use of force should not be restored to while dealing with such tensions as such an approach only leads to watering down of the international security.

The Conference, for example took up the question of Cyprus. In this regard, the conference called upon all states consensus with responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular under the article 2, Paragraph 4, not to violate the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and not use any threat or use of force or intervention. The conference also urged to international community not to impose any unjust and unacceptable solution upon the cypriots.  

The Conference pointed out that foreign power interferences, pressures and interventions constitutes one of

15. Ibid., p. 115.
the grossest violations of the principles of international law and peaceful co-existence. In view of the same the conference requested the government of United States of America to lift trade and commercial sanctions against Cuba. The Conference further urged both the governments of United States of America and Cuba to settle their mutual differences within the framework of dialogue and consultations in the light of the principles of international co-existence and cooperation.

The heads of state and government took up the question of colonialism. They pointed out that durable world peace cannot be achieved if considerable chunks of world community are kept continuously under foreign domination and their fundamental rights viz. freedom, independence and self-determination are flagrantly violated.

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism generate terrific international tensions and clashes as they jeopardize the very peace and security of the world. The participants deplored that U.N. Declaration calling for decolonising of Colonial countries had not been implemented everywhere.
Subsequently they gave a fresh call for unconditional, complete and final decolonisation of the colonised territories.

The conference also condemned the neo-colonialistic trends in international politics. The developed countries use multiple devices to browbeat already downtrodden nations. They employ such techniques as economic pressure, political interference, racial discrimination, subversion and brinkmanship, the tactics and devices characterising a neo-colonial international political culture. The participants recognised the nationalist forces in colonial countries as authentic representatives of the colonial peoples and asked the colonial powers to immediately initiate a dialogue with the leaders of the various liberation movements. The third Summit of non-aligned movement underlined the importance of U.N. Declaration on Decolonisation and the relevant U.N. General Assembly Resolutions accepting the inalienable rights of all peoples to independence and self-determination. The participants in the third Summit felt deeply concerned at the continuing
rule of oppressive regimes and colonial and racial exploitation leading to serious human, political and moral consequences. 16

In view of the serious political challenges to international peace by colonial and racial forces, the Conference appealed to France and Spain to allow as soon as possible the peoples of their colonies to exercise their right to self-determination under the auspices of U.N. and the O.A.U., resolved in case of Portugal, South Africa and the Zimbabwe to take following measures against them so long as they do not accept U.N. decision on decolonisation and racial discrimination.

(a) To impose an embargo on trade with these three countries.

(b) To sever diplomatic relations with Portugal, South Africa.

(c) To deny landing rights and all facilities to any aircraft and vessel coming from or heading to South African, Portugal or Zimbabwe.

(d) To make substantial contribution to the special fund of the OAU liberation committee.

(e) To increase support and material aid to liberation movements through OAU, requested, accordingly, the Chairman of the NAM, to contact in the most appropriate manner, NATO countries especially USA, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and especially Japan to stop their assistance which covertly or overtly strengthen forces of colonialism and racialism in the African continent.  

Similarly, in the Fourth Summit Conference the heads of state and government of NAM countries had noted that imperialism is still the greatest stumbling block to the emancipation advancement of developing countries, which are striving to attain a standard of living in accordance with the most basic norms of welfare and human dignity. Imperialism is not only opposed to the economic social progress of developing countries but had also adopted an aggressive attitude towards those who stand in the way of its designs and seeks to impose social, political and economic structures

which facilitate foreign domination, dependence or neo-colonialism.

This situation is the result of the systematic policy pursued everywhere by imperialism, which does not change, even though its implementation may take on different forms, depending on place and circumstances. Furthermore, many countries are still subject to imperialist domination and neo-colonialist exploitation, which threaten the sovereignty of states and mortgage the growth of these nations. The situation explained the large gap which exists between the industrial and underdeveloped world and the constant widening of this gap. Policies have begun to be pursued which are based on resort to open or disguised economic aggression, as illustrated by the multinational and monopolistic commercial, financial and industrial companies. In their struggle for an independent economic development and complete equality in international relations, the non-aligned countries either individually or collectively, with the support of all progressive forces in the world, are successfully withstanding imperialist aggression and have thus emerged as an important force in the struggle against imperialist world.
iii) **Economic Order:**

The participants in the first Summit Conference strongly recommended that efforts should be made to square out the economic imbalances wrought out by the imperialist and colonialist legacy of the immediate past. They pointed out that the ever-widening economic gap between a few developed and the many underdeveloped nations should be closed through intensive industrial and agricultural progress of the developing nations. It was also recommended that a United Nations' Capital Development Fund be immediately established. 18

The participants underlined the fact that all nations of the world have the right to unity, self-determination and independence by which they can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without any hindrance.

In the second Summit Conference of Non-Aligned heads of state and government, the participants were convinced

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that world peace must result on the social basis of distributive justice at the international plans and continues condemnation of large sections of international community to poverty constitutes one of the gravest threats to world peace. The economic emancipation, they pointed out, was a prerequisite for political independence. All the nations have the inalienable right to control and dispose of the wealth and resources as they deem fit their all-round development. The participating countries pledged their utmost commitment to cast off the yoke of under-development. They also underlined the fact that it is the obligation of the entire international community to create congenial conditions for a just and egalitarian international economic order. Only in a just and equitable world economic order can all the nations' prosper, mature and realise their full structure and potential.

The participating countries pointed out that the then obtaining international economic structure and institutional mechanisms have failed to rectify the large scale imbalances between developed and developing economies.
Therefore, it was seriously felt that international cooperation should be intensified with a view to accelerating economic development in developing countries. It was accepted that Geneva Conference was a watershed in the struggle for new international economic policy. However, the results achieved were not adequate enough to meet out the essential requirements of the developing countries, although the guidelines set by Geneva Conference provided a second basis for economic cooperation in the future.

The participants in the second Conference called for rapid industrialisation of developing countries with a view to diversify their export trade. Most significantly, they also called upon all developing countries to intensify mutual cooperation on the basis of mutual respects, equality and mutual benefit. The developing countries are duty-bound to accord favourable terms of trade to other developing countries. Only then can they withstand their economic exploitation by the developed nations of the world community.19

The Conferees of the Third Summit expressed the determination of the non-aligned countries to achieve

19. Ibid., p. 212.
economic emancipation, to strengthen their independence and
to make their contribution to world peace and economic and
social progress for all mankind. They also examined the
lack of progress in the implementation of the policies and
objectives declared by them at Belgrade and Cairo and those
enshrined in the Charter of Algiers. Disturbed by the
rapidly widening gap between the economies of the rich and
the poor nations, which constitutes a threat to the inde­
pendence of developing countries and to international peace
and security. Nothing with concern the negative trends
which exclude the developing countries in particular, the
decline of the share of the developing countries from the
mainstream of world economic life despite their endeavour
to participate in contemporary progress. Nothing in
particular the decline in the share of developing countries
in world export trade from one third in 1950 to 1/6th in
1969. Believed that the poverty of developing nations and
their economic dependence on those in affluent circumstances
constitute a structural weakness in the present world
economic order.

They maintained that the persistence of an inequitable
world economic system inherited from the colonial past and
continued the present neo-colonialism poses insurmountable difficulties in breaking the bondage of poverty and shackles of economic dependence. Recognised that the massive investments in the economic and social progress of mankind could be made of agreements were reached to reduce expenditure on armaments.

In Fourth Summit Conference the participants made a detailed study of changes in the economic and social situation of developing countries in the international context since the Lusaka Conference, with special reference to the United Nations' international development strategy, the third UNCTAD, the United Nations for multilateral trade negotiations reform of the monetary system and the important Conference of foreign ministers of Non-Aligned countries in Georgetown.

The Economic Situation of Developing Countries:

In the face of this increasingly alarming situation many factors, the important of which lie in the aspiration of peoples to throw all foreign domination and to take their destiny in their own hands, have compelled the international Community to define various policies with the aim of establishing new international economic relations.
The desire of the great majority of advanced countries to perpetuate the present order to their own advantage, with only superficial heed to the preoccupation of the developing countries, has particularly nullified all our attempts to make progress.

Economic Cooperation:

The Heads of State or Government had reaffirmed their conviction that responsibility for ensuring the rapid development of their countries primarily rests with themselves. They have stated that they are determined to rely totally on themselves, individually and collectively, to achieve their goals of development. To this end they have agreed that unremitting and coordinated efforts will be made at the national level to reduce unemployment, the poverty of the masses, inequality in income distribution and economic dependence on advanced, as well as to mobilize all national resources for an integrated and balanced development. They have also decided...
specific goals which are enumerated below.20

(1) In order to promote trade between developing countries, each one of them should seek to double the rate of imports from other developing countries.

(2) No developing country should approve more favourable terms for imports from advanced countries than those give to imports from developing countries.

(3) Close cooperation should be established and consultations organised between the central banks of the developing countries in order to strengthen their monetary and financial cooperation and to investigate possibilities for a common financial institution to be established with this aim.

(4) The developing countries should set up and strengthen associations of producers of the principal products which are important for the world economy in order to halt the deterioration in their terms of trade, eliminate unhealthy competition, prevent the harmful activities of multinational companies and strengthen their negotiation position.

20."Review of International Affairs", No. 792, April 1, 1983, p. 22.
The Heads of state and government solemnly affirmed their resolve to continue working to create all conditions, both in their countries and in international relations to accelerate their economic and social development and improve the living standard of their peoples.

They addressed a plea to the international community to put the goals of development back into their rightful place in the mechanism of the United Nations and to create a new system of international economic relations based on equality and the common interest of all countries. The advanced and the developing countries should work together to solve mutual problems, setting themselves primarily the following objectives:

(1) The developing countries should seek to overcome the resolutions expressed by some advanced countries when the international strategy of development was adopted and demand the fulfilment of the obligations which these countries have assumed.

21. Ibid., p. 25.
(2) Efforts should be made to investigate new areas of agreement and to expand the existing agreements in the framework of a scheduled programme, so as to meet the increasing needs of the developing countries. The advanced countries which have so far not applied the generalized system of preferences should do so immediately. In addition, the generalised system of preferences should be expanded to include agricultural and other products which are sensitive to price fluctuations in the market of advanced countries.

(3) Liberalization of trade and the progressive elimination of tariffic barriers between advanced countries should be accompanied by corresponding measures to preserve the advantages enjoyed by developing countries under the generalization system of preferences.²²

(4) Efforts should be made to strengthen the export potential of developing countries particularly the adoption of necessary structural adjustments to be

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affected in the economies of the advanced countries adjustment which led to a more rational divisions of labour at the international level.

iv) Apartheid:

In the first Summit Conference of NAM discussed strongly the policy of Apartheid practised by South African white-minority. The Government came under severe condemnation by the participating countries. It was pointed out that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world was a grave violation of universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations. So the policy of racial discrimination was unequivocally condemned and a resolution passed demanding its immediate abandonment.

In the Second Summit Conference of Heads of state and government of non-aligned countries the question of racial discrimination seriously engaged, the attention of participants. The most Odious manifestation of racial discrimination viz. apartheid came in for intense criticism

23. Ibid., p. 327.
as it violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and age-old principle of human equality. So it was agreed upon, to ostracise all governments still participating racial discrimination until they give up their discriminatory unjust and inhumane policies. The white minority government of South Africa was considered to be an affront to the conscience of civilized world. It was pointed out that racially discriminatory government of South Africa intolerably unacceptable in the community of nations. The inhumane policies of South Africa were deemed to be a threat to international peace and security. Therefore, all the countries of the world committed to peace must leave no stone unturned for the restoration of human and fundamental rights of the black majority of South Africa.

In view of the above considerations, the participating countries expressed and reaffirmed solemnly their absolute respect for the ethnic or religious minorities in protection in particular against the crimes of genocide or any other violation of fundamental rights.24

Sanction Against the Republic of South Africa:

(1) The Conference rejected to note the Pretoria Government's obstinacy in defying the conscience of mankind had been strengthened by the refusal of its friends and allies, particularly, some major powers to implement United Nations resolutions concerning sanction against South Africa;

(2) The Conference therefore:

(a) Called upon all states to boycott all South African goods and to refrain exporting goods, especially arms ammunition, oil and mineral to South Africa;

(b) Called upon all states which have not yet done so to break off diplomatic consular and other relations with South Africa;

(c) Requested the government represented at this conference to deny airport and overflying facilities to aircraft and port facilities to ships proceeding to and from South Africa and to discontinue all road and railway traffic with that country;
(d) Demanded the release of all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions on account of their opposition the policy of apartheid.

The Conference condemned the government of Portugal for its obstinate refusal to recognise the inalienable right of the peoples of those territories to self determination and independence which continue to be colonised by her in flagrant violation of United Nations Declaration thereof.

The participating countries urged all states not to recognise the independence of the then Southern Rhodesia if proclaimed under the rule of the racist minority, and instead to give favourable considerations according to recognition to an African nationalist government in exile, should such a government be set up. To this effect the conference states its opposition to the Sham Consultations through tribal chiefs envisaged by the minority government of Southern Rhodesia.

The conference reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self determination and
independence and condemned the government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to cooperate with the United Nations in the implementation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly.

The third NAM Summit fully reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against the white-minority regime's policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. It called for an immediate end to such policies with a view to resolve their fundamental human rights and freedoms. It condemned all inhuman policies of torture and degrading treatment meted out to oppressively imprisoned freedom fighters of South Africa. It also condemned the uncalled for continuing presence of South African troops in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, subverting these peoples' fundamental and human rights and called for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of these forces. 25

The Summit Conference also condemned the political and economic collaboration of countries like U.S.A., France, Great Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan with racist regime of South Africa which encourages it to

continue in racist policies and programmes. The Conference also deplored the trading partnerships of these countries with South African regime, in violation of the resolutions of U.N. and appeals made by OAU. The Conference asked all NAM countries to refrain from entering into any trading collaboration with South African racist regime and immediately break the economic ties, if any, with it. The Conference solemnly reaffirmed the need for effective international action with a view to dismantling apartheid in South Africa, as otherwise there is no alternative to bloody battlefields in that part of the world, jeopardising simultaneously international security and peace. The Conference further expressed full support to the people of South Africa waging a valiant battle against entrenched forces of apartheid. It also appealed to all countries to render all material and moral support to the people of South-Africa who struggle for their fundamental freedoms and human rights in the face of an oppressive regime. 26

The participants of the Fourth Summit Conference were seriously concerned about the large-scale expansion of military means of South-Africa throughout that region, which represented a danger to peace and security in Africa and in the world. Noted it with condemnation how the racist regime was applying a policy of lies in the Bantustans instead of granting economic, political freedoms and rights to the people. Deplored the fact that some NATO powers continue to extend economic, financial and military aid to the racist regime in South Africa. Reaffirmed its full support for the people of South Africa in their lawful struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination and for national liberation and acquisition of sovereignty. Acclaimed the confirmed determination of the people of South Africa in their struggle for national liberation. Denounced the permanent economic, financial and military aid extended to South Africa by some NATO powers, particularly the USA, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, aid which enabled the government in Pretoria to conduct and intensify its policy of oppression and apartheid. They called on all states and especially the Western Big powers and Japan, to discontinue all scientific cooperation with South Africa.
particularly in the field of armament and atomic energy, and to refrain from granting patents and licences to that country.

Demanded that all non-aligned countries take at once all the necessary measures including diplomatic and if possible, economic ones both individually and within the United Nations, to persuade countries encouraging investments in South Africa to withdraw their capital from it.  

v) Palestine:

The participants in the first Conference of Non-Aligned countries declared their unflicting support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. It was unanimously emphasised that the rights of the Arab people of Palestine should be restored in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations. 


28. Ibid., p. p. 34.
The Second Summit Conference was extremely concerned at the continued exilement of Palestinian people from their homeland. The delegates stressed the need for resettlement of Palestinian refugees in their homeland without further delay. They asked the United Nations to impress upon Israel not to jeopardise the genuine interests of the people of Palestine. They also requested the world opinion to be specially concerned towards the rehabilitation of Palestinian people and also help the restoration of their political rights. They also impressed upon the super powers not to make Palestinian question a point of prestige and hinder the progress of a suitable solution of the problem thereby. The conference also asked third world countries to device collective strategies for an early solution of the Palestinian problem. In its political resolution the Summit delegates expressed their solidarity with tortured people of Palestine and reaffirmed their continued support to the restoration of political rights of the people of Palestine.

The participants at the Third Summit Conference reaffirmed previous resolutions adopted by non-aligned countries which had drawn attention to the dangerous situation in the Middle East
as well as to the fact that continued occupation of the territories of three non-aligned countries constitutes a violation of United Nations principles, challenges to the aims of non-alignment, and grave threat to peace. Considered it impermissible for Israel to keep the territories of three sovereign and non-aligned countries under occupation and continually to pursue the policy of flagrant use of force and to use the occupation of these territories as a means of pressure for imposing solutions. Reiterated the indamissibility of the acquisition of territories by force and called for the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied after the 5th of June 1967.

Declared that full respect for the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is a prerequisite to peace in the Middle East. Called for the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in their usurped homeland and reaffirmed their support in their struggle for national liberation and against colonialism and racism. Recommended to the UN to take adequate measures against Israel if it continues to disregard the UN efforts of establishing peace based on justice in accordance with the security council resolutions of November 22, 1967.
The participants at the Fourth Non-aligned Summit Conference recalled the earlier resolutions of non-aligned countries on the difficult situation which prevailed in the Middle East and which stem from the persistence of Israel in its policy of occupation of territories of the non-aligned countries and which represents a threat to the security of non-aligned countries and international security and peace. Reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people against colonialism, Zionism and racism and for the complete restoration of its national rights, a struggle which is an inseparable part of the liberation movement in the world. Reasserted the impermissibility of territorial conquest by means of force since that was in overt contradictions with the principles of the United Nations Charter and represented a serious danger to peace in the world.

Considered that Israel's policy of aggression and occupation of Arab territories deprives the countries in those regions of their right to exercise sovereignty over their natural resources, which was at variance with the aims

29. Ibid., p. 25.
of the non-aligned countries and the strategy of development of the United Nations and the resolutions of the United Nations confirming the right of states to exercise sovereignty over the natural resources located on all their territories.

Demanded that Israeli forces withdraw at once and unconditionally from all the Arab territories which they occupied after June 1967, reaffirmed its full and effective support for Egypt, Syria and Jordan in their struggle for recovering their occupied territories with all available means. Called on the non-aligned countries to extend support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle against colonialism, Zionist, racism and settling of colonialists and for the restoration of their national rights in their entirely, underlined that complete restoration of those rights represented the basic condition of a just and durable peace and declared that the organisation for the liberation of Palestine is the legitimate representative of the Palestine people and their legitimate struggle.

Called on the ministers of foreign affairs of member countries to set out the stand of the non-aligned countries with regard to this resolution at next meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

Apart from these five major issues the participants of non-aligned countries also discussed some resolutions. This Summit was of course, of historical importance. The participants strongly condemned the colonialism and expressed their full support for peace and disarmament. They called on all non-aligned member countries to cooperate and work for the countries who were still under the domination of imperialism. In this very summit they also discussed that they did not want to create a bloc, neither they wanted to join either of the blocs. They also highlighted the economic problem of the third world countries.

At the Second Summit Conference the participants passed some special resolutions:

vi) **Special Resolution I.**

"The Conference of Heads of State and Government on Non-aligned countries meeting in Cairo from Oct 5 to 10, 1964."
Considered their common will to work for understanding between peoples and for international cooperation. Reaffirmed their solidarity with the American states fighting for the consolidation of their independence and the total emancipation of their continent, through concerted action and close cooperation. Nothing with satisfaction that in that historic documents, the Charter of Addis Ababa, adopted on May 29, 1963, and in subsequent decision, the American states members of the organisation of American Unity had unreservedly adhered to the positive policy of non-alignment in relation to all great blocs.

Considered the outstanding work for peace and harmony which the organisation of American unity had accomplished, since its recent creation, in the interest of both the American continent and the international community as a whole.  

vii) Special Resolution II.

"The Heads of state and government attending the Second Conference of Non-Aligned countries are happy to express their warmest appreciation to the brave people,
the government and the distinguished president of United Arab Republic, Gamel Abdel Nassir for the superb way in which they organised this conference, both metrically and morally and for the generous and most brotherly hospitality extend to all delegations". 31

In the third Summit Conference of non-aligned countries the participants discussed some political resolutions.

viii) Resolution on Zimbabwe


1) that the measures so far taken or recommended have failed to bring the rebellion in Zimbabwe to an end;

2) that some states, contrary to resolutions 232 and 235 of UN Security Council and to this obligations under article

31. Ibid., p. 407.
25 of the UN Charter, have not only failed to stop trading with illegal regime of Zimbabwe but have also increased their trade with the regime;

(3) that the governments of South Africa and Portugal have continued to give assistance to the illegal regime of Zimbabwe, thus diminishing further the effects of the decided upon by the security council; and

(4) that the situation in Zimbabwe continues to deteriorate as a result of the continued presence of South African forces in the territory and the introduction by the illegal racist minority regime of new measures aimed at entrenching itself as well as repressing the American people in Zimbabwe, in violation of the UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV).

Fully endorses the OAU Resolution CM/Res 235(XV)
adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and its seventh ordinary session condemned the failure and refusal of the government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering power, to take effective measures, including the use of force, to bring down the illegal racist minority regime and to restore the rights
of the people of Zimbabwe. Further condemned the Great Britain's connivance at South Africa's armed intervention in Zimbabwe, which intervention is an act of aggression against the people and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe. Affirmed that the future of Zimbabwe can not be negotiated with an illegal regime.

Urged all member states to work for the maximum isolation of the rebel minority racist regime in Zimbabwe, and in view of the armed conflict in the territory and the inhumane treatment of prisoners to ensure the application to that situation of Geneva convention of 1950 relating to the treatment of prisoners of war and Geneva convention of 1949 relating to the protection of civilian persons in time of war.

ix) Resolution on Namibia:

Recalled the Resolution of the UN General Assembly No. 514 (XV) of December 14, 1960, which contains the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the resolutions of the Security Council No.264 (1969) and No.276 (1970) in which the Security Council endorsed the decision of the General Assembly to terminate South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa (now Nambia) and decided to take direct responsibility for this territory until it becomes independent.
and in which the constant presence of South African government. Recalled the further resolution of the UN Security council No. 269 (1969) of August 12, 1969, in which the Security Council called upon the government of South Africa to withdraw its administration from Namibia Oct. 4, 1969. Called upon all states to coordinate efforts to implement the decision of the United Nations and to end the rule of South Africa over Namibia and to establish the sovereignty of the United Nations in Namibia, called upon all governments to refrain from sales and deliveries to South Africa of any weapons, military equipment or material that could be used for military purposes, called upon trade union organisations in all countries to refuse to deliver to South Africa any weapons, any military equipment or other material that could be used for military purposes.

Demanded the imposition of the full and mandatory economic sanctions provided for in Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter and certainly the literal application of paragraph 5 of the Security Council resolution No. 276 (1970). Pointed out the high morality of African children in
Namibia, which is the result of the deliberate policy of South African government, calculated to exterminate part of the African population be carried out by the UN and the OAU in order to establish if the policy pursued by the South African government presented the crime of genocide according to article VIII of the convention on genocide.

x) Resolution on Israeli Aggression Against Lebanon:

The Third Conference of non-aligned countries held in Lusaka from September 8th to 10th, 1970, having had the report given by the Head of the Lebanese delegation of the states aggression by Israeli forces against Southern Lebanon. Considered that this aggression will inevitably increase tension in this area. Being informed of this resolution adopted by the security council on September 5, 1970, which called for the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. Having in mind that the preservation of peace is one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the non-aligned nations, completely aware of its responsibility in connection with the preservation of internal peace and security. Taking into consideration the resolution of security council which called for the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.
Expressed its deep concern because of the frequent Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory.

Called on all member states of the world organization to make all the efforts and undertake all measures to prevent a repetition of such acts of aggression.

xi) Resolution on Cyprus:

The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed their conviction that the Cyprus problem should be solved peacefully, without any outside interference or intervention, on the basis of respect of Cyprus unrestricted sovereignty and independence and the internationally accepted democratic principles including the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the Cypriot Turkish community and the criteria laid down in their declaration of October 9, 1964, in Cairo and in conformity with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

xii) Resolution on South-East Asia:

The participants were deeply concerned with the continuation and the escalation of the war caused by the presence of foreign armed forces especially those of the United States of America in Indo China, resulting in
untold suffering, loss of human lives and property to the peoples of the region.

Pointing to the grave consequences of extension of foreign intervention to Cambodia, which, as a staunch follower of peace and non-alignment had successfully defended its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Declaration/the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences of the non-aligned Nations.

Reaffirmed their full adherence to the fundamental principles of peaceful international relations, in accordance with which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, great and small, are inviolable and must be respected. Determined to oppose any attempts to compromise sovereignty and territorial integrity of any state, pledges support for the right of all peoples to adopt without any outside interference in the form of governments.

Affirmed its full support for the heroic struggle which the people of Indo China states continued to wage
for freedom and independence. Expressed the hope that the Paris talks would lead as quickly as possible to a lasting settlement which will enable the people of Vietnam to decide their destiny by themselves and also help in a peaceful solution of the problems of Loas and Combodia, called the immediate and total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam to enable the Vietnamese people to exercise their right of self-determination without foreign interference. 

Appealed for the peaceful solution of the problems of Loas and Combodia ensuring their independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity.

The Fourth Summit Conference also discussed some burning political problems.

xiii) Problem of Korea:

The Fourth Summit Conference of NAM countries assembled in Algiers from September 5 to 9, 1973. Taking into consideration that Korea had been divided for nearly thirty years.

Nothing that invisible progress had been made in 1972 on the road to a peaceful reunification of Korea but that obstacles had appeared since then.

Demanded that an end be put to foreign interference in Korea and the Korean people guaranteed the right to self-determination so that they could settle their affairs by themselves and solve the question of the reunification of Korea by peaceful means. Taking account of the desire of the Korean people to reunite their country and of its unanimous opposition to the plan for a simultaneous admission of Korea to the UNO in the form of two Koreas, which would perpetuate the division of the country. Requested the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea and an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea in any form whatsoever. Asked also that the 28th meeting of the UN General Assembly. Considered the question of Korea and declared itself in favour of the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the UN auspices and disbanding of the UN Commission for the unification and the reconstruction of Korea, which would contribute to
a peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Declared that the admission of Korea to the UNO under the name of a single state can only ensure after a complete reunification of Korea or the formation of confederation of the North and South.

xiv) Problem of Cambodia:

The participants of the Conference recalled the resolution of the Conference in Georgetown. Recalled that independent and non-aligned Cambodia, Until then a Zone of Peace, became involved by the antinationalist State coup of March 1970 in the aggressive American War in Indo China.

Recalled the legality and legitimacy of the Royal government headed by prince Norodom Sihanouk, a victim of a State Coup against Cambodian neutrality, considered that the collective recognition it has granted GRUNK signifies acknowledgement of the just struggle of the Cambodian people and firm support for their independence, sovereignty and neutrality.33

33. Ibid., p. 145.
Reaffirmed its full support to the five items Declaration of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the State of Cambodia, March 23, 1970, according to which the Cambodian problem must be solved in accordance with those five items and the political programme of FUNK. Demanded the aggressive acts against the Kingdom of Cambodia which constitute a violation of the UN Charter, particularly the bombing raids by the USA. Demanded that the US government cease all acts of aggression against Cambodia, all interference in its internal affairs, particularly all assistance to the regime in Phnom Penh and that it withdraw American military personnel and foreign forces fighting in Cambodia.

xv) Problem of Vietnam:

The participants recalled the resolution adopted at the Summit Conference in Lusaka and at the Conference in Georgetown. Taking account with satisfaction of the termination of the war and the restoration of peace in Vietnam, the act of the international conference on Vietnam and the joint communiqué of June 13, 1973.

Seriously concerned because of the violation of the basic provisions of the agreement and act on the international
Conference on Vietnam on the part of the USA and the Saigon administration, violations which had seriously aggravated their situation in the part of the world since the agreement came into force.

Welcomed the signing of the agreement on the termination of the war and restoration of peace in Vietnam and the acts of the international Conference on Vietnam and considered the victory of the Vietnamese people as a common victory of the large family of non-aligned countries and all peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and for peace, national independence democracy and social progress.

Acclaimed the considerable efforts made by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese population with the aim of implementing the Paris agreements on Vietnam and the acts of the international Conference on Vietnam.
Called on the non-aligned countries to extend and intensify support to the provisional Revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam in all fields political, moral and diplomatic in its just struggle for setting up a peaceful, independent, neutral and democratic South Vietnam which would tend towards a peaceful reunification of the country, and to offer every material aid for the reconstruction of Vietnam.

xvi) **Problem of Namibia:**

The Conference noted with satisfaction the intensification of the armed struggle by Namibia people under the leadership of the OPSOA. The Conference considered it to be an encouraging sign and noted with satisfaction the successful political mobilization of Namibian people carried out by the OPSOA, which had finally and completely thwarted the machination and intrigues of the unlawful authorities of South Africa aimed at breaking up the territorial integrity of Namibia.

The Conference Vigorously condemned the alarming upsurge of killings, arrests, torture and imprisonment
of members and leaders of the OPSOA by the unlawful racist authorities of South Africa in Namibia. The Conference pledged itself to increase its material, moral and diplomatic support to the Namibian fighters, which it offered through the OPSOA.

In agreement with the desire of the Namibian people expressed through the voice of the OPSOA, the recommendation of the UN Council for Namibian and the Resolution of latest Summit Conference of the OAU, the Conference declared itself in favour of a discontinuance of the dialogue between the UN Secretary General and the unlawful South-African regime in Namibia.

The Conference noted with anxiety the presence of a consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in Namibia, which was a violation of the resolutions and opinions of the UN General Assembly, the UN Security Council and the international court of justice which had ended the mandate of South-Africa over Namibia and requested that all countries break off all agreements relating to Namibia and signed with South-Africa.
To recapitulate, the first four consecutive Summit Conferences of NAM Heads of State and Government were concerned with such issues as peace, disarmament, development and anti-imperialism and they also underlined the importance of resolving such international topical questions as the problem of Palestine, and problem of apartheid in South Africa. Apart from these issues the question of distributive justice in terms of international trade and aid also exercised the minds of NAM Summiteers. The question arises as to whether NAM Summits did make a meaningful contribution to the resolution of these conflicts or not. What was the reaction of super powers towards the Summit level NAM deliberations and recommendations. One can safely assume that NAM operations did have an impact as a countervailing force in the highly volatile political atmosphere of cold-war years. The two super-powers differed radically in their responses and reactions towards NAM deliberations in view of the radical polarisation in their over-all approaches towards international questions and conflicts. The Soviet Union's rise to superpowerdom was mainly through a relentless pursuit of parity with USA in terms of highly sophisticated war machinery including the possession of deadliest of nuclear
It could manage to earmark massive military budgets in view of the state control of public finances, central planning and limited personal properties - features built in the very system of Soviet Socialist model of management and governance. However, unlike U.S.A. Soviet Union was never an economic super power. In view of the same, United States of America always functioned from a position of strength and mostly retained the initiative and played offensive in international arena. Besides it had the active cooperation of NATO countries and Japan which are formidable economic and military powers in their own right. Additionally, USA being predominantly a nation of European migrants, its approach to international relations was always coloured by its inherited European moorings, postulates and assumptions. In point of fact, the State of Israel was created by the active support of United Kingdom, France and United States of America. So the resolutions regarding the restitution of Palestinian rights fell flat on deaf American ears. They could not have cared less for the NAM support for Palestinian people. Similarly, they actively supported, despite their public protestations against apartheid, the white-minority regime...
of South Africa for their own economic and commercial reasons. So the outrage expressed by NAM resolutions at the system of apartheid perpetrated by whites on black majority in South Africa was also not sympathetically received by American centres of authority. As against the responses of USA, USSR did always appreciate the NAM concern regarding Palestinian people and black majority of South Africa. The NAM protestations against remanents of imperialism in Africa and neo-colonialism in terms of international trade and aid were also rejected by USA and NATO countries with disdain. They interpreted these protestations to be USSR inspired propaganda against western democracies professing liberalism, free enterprise and fundamental human rights. Similarly NAM concern for disarmament and international peace was interpreted by USA as an advocacy for mending fences with the "evil empire of communism" in Soviet Russia, against which, as they perceived it, they were waging a holy war.

So, one can say, while NAM concerns were sympathetically heard by USSR, albeit due to its own political
compulsions and she thought NAM countries to be her natural allies in her fight against "western hegemonism", USA felt always suspicious about the very raison, de, tre and modus operandi of NAM.

In the end, again, a word about the main issues underlined by NAM Summit deliberations. The issues they repeatedly emphasised were those of disarmament, world peace and international security. They also repeatedly resolved against imperialism and neo-colonialism. They expressed their total solidarity with the exiled people of Palestine and subjugated blacks of South Africa. They also emphasised the restructuring of the international economic relations, although NIEO Slogan was shortly to follow in the NAM deliberations.

However, in view of the colonial history and long-drawn-out political subjugation of third world countries, they concentrated their maximum attention in first four Summits against the danger of re-emergence of imperialism in the form of neo-colonialism. So, they again and again emphasised the need for disarmament and world peace and
security etc. They emphasised a world order firmly built on and committed to non-intervention in the internal affairs of a nation either by regional powers or super powers. That could again lead to colonisation and subjugation of the third world. They stressed again and again for a demilitarised especially for a denuclearised world. The emphasis is understandable. The nuclear powers continue to hold the entire future of human civilisation to racion. The question of a Palestine, of a South Africa, of a Kampuchea or a Vietnam et al., can be resolved provided we are basically assured of a continued civilisational march. So understandably such vertical questions were not that much stressed in comparison to the problems of disarmament, world security and re-emergence of imperialism, which have the potential of horizontally destroying the very fabric and texture of human civilization.