CHAPTER VI

NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

According to Halsey and Johnston, the term 'Latin America' designates twenty American republics that "speak Romance languages and that were colonized by the Latin nations" - Spain, Portugal and France. Butland says that 'Latin America' embraces "all the lands south of the Mexican-United States boundary". The other less known terms for Latin America are 'Hispanic America', 'Ibero-America' and 'Indo-America'.

The present study includes the following twenty-four states of Latin America:

(A) Mexico.
(B) Central American States: Belize (British Honduras), Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama and Panama Canal Zone.
(C) South American States: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.
(D) Island Republics: Cuba, Dominican Republic and Haiti.
(E) The Guianas: Guyana (British Guiana), Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and French Guiana.

The colonization of Latin America began in the fifteenth century. Columbus discovered the New World in 1492, and within fifty years from that event Spanish and Portuguese explorers established settlements in Asuncion (1537), Bogota (1538), Lima (1535), Mexico City (1521), Panama City (1519), Quito (1534), Santiago (1541) and Sucre (1538).

Between 1520 and 1550, the Dutch forced northward and the three Guiana colonies came into existence. The Spanish Cortes, Pizarro, Quesada and Valdivia subdued the "Aztecs of Mexico, the Incas of Peru, the Chibchas of Colombia and the Araucanians of Mediterranean Chile". Mexico City,

3. Columbus believed that he had opened up a new route to the "Indies" as the Far East was then called. Therefore, the original inhabitants of America have been called 'Indians' ever since.
5. Ibid., p. 2.
Lima, Bogota and Santiago became centres of Spanish administration, controlling the area from Mexico to Argentina. Thus, Spain occupied the largest area. As a result all the Latin American countries are Spanish speaking except Brazil where Portuguese is spoken and Haiti which is a French speaking island.

During the period of colonization, Spain had absolute monarchy, while England's monarchy had become weak due to an increasingly strong parliament. Since the people of the British colonies enjoyed "the rights of Englishmen", they experienced self-government sooner than the Portuguese, Spanish and French colonies. The Spaniards' motive was "to seek adventure and wealth", while the Englishmen sought refuge in this region for fear of political or religious persecution in their country. In the Spanish region, the discovery of gold and silver in Mexico and Peru changed the character of colonial enterprise. While the Spaniards exploited the indigenous population as cheap labour, the Englishmen either exterminated them or pushed them back. Between 1810 and 1926, the Iberian empire collapsed.

The Nepoleonic invasion of Portugal and Spain from 1807 to 1810 led to war among them in Latin America, while the local peoples (the Creoles i.e. Spaniards born in Latin America) started their struggle for independence. As a result, France lost Haiti, Portugal lost Brazil and Spain lost all its continental possession. The emancipation struggle turned into a civil war, followed by repression of Spaniards and US born colonists who led coups d'etat in many states and established dictatorships. However, struggles between the Creoles and the home government resulted in the independence of the Latin American countries.

Between 1530 and 1830, the New World remained completely under the domination of Europe. Gradually autocratic rule gave way to democratic laws, which put these countries on the road of national development and turned the small colonial estates into great capitals in the Haussmann tradition. Though the Spanish rule had moulded the

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7. Ibid., p.344.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
religious, cultural and educational institutions on the models of those of Spain and founded the colonial cities of "exactly the same size of block, the same width of street, the same general urban pattern" ensuring unity but "increasingly divergent forces" separated them into twenty nations.

A brief narration of the political developments and problems, which inspired the people of Latin America to support and join the Non-aligned Movement, is given below:

(A) MEXICO

Mexico is, by far, the largest country in Latin America. 90 per cent of its population speaks Spanish and 10 per cent speaks the indigenous languages.

Mexico was first conquered by Herman Cortes in the sixteenth century and was ruled by Spain until the War of Independence (1810-21). After the war, in 1846, Mexico ceded one half of its territory to the United States. The political and social reforms caused civil wars and repudiation of debts led to war with Britain, United States and France during the 1860s. The people gunned down the Australian Emperor whom France attempted to install as King of Mexico in 1867. Disturbance continued until the revolution in 1910. The 1917 constitution changed the system of land ownership, re-drafted the labour code and curtailed the power of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1919, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) ruled over the country. In 1979, Mexico signed trade agreements with the EEC and the CMEA.

Mexico participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) as an observer. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) appreciated the role of Latin America, particularly of President Echeverria of Mexico, who proposed at the Sixth Session of the UN General Assembly

15. Ibid., p. 141.
the Plan of Action and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of Nations, which were adopted. This NAM Conference also supported and encouraged the steps taken by Mexico to recover its natural resources from foreign control and condemned the US Foreign Trade Bill which affected the Latin American countries.

Mexico attended as an observer the Algiers NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) and the Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976), which encouraged Mexico for taking independent measures to protect its natural resources. The New Delhi NAM Ministerial meeting (1977) appreciated the initiatives taken on the lines of the Colombo proposals by the Group of 77 in the Conference on Cooperation among Developing Countries held in Mexico in September, 1976, which expressed its conviction that the Non-aligned Movement "should continue to retain its catalytic role within the Group of 77 to strengthen its negotiating position in multilateral fora discussing international economic relations".

Mexico attended as an observer the Belgrade NAM Conference (1978) and the Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979). The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) welcomed the call given by the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela at a meeting held on January 8-9, 1978, in Panama urging the Central American countries to negotiate and hold dialogue to reduce tension and to promote peaceful coexistence and mutual respect and regretted any attempt by the imperialists "to impede or obstruct such negotiations". The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) reiterated this resolution.

In January, 1983, the Government of Mexico introduced laws to prevent the misuse of public funds by the politicians. In August, 1983,

16. Ibid., p. 147.
17. Ibid., p. 149.
18. Ibid., p. 179.
19. Ibid., p. 189.
20. Ibid., p. 201.
22. Ibid., pp. 295 and 401.
24. Ibid., pp. 35 and 41.
the former head of PEME, J.D. Serrano, was arrested on charges of fraud. Discontent became more aggravated due to misappropriation of a large proportion of overseas aids for victims of mid-September 1983 earthquake, as a result of which about 7,000 people (according to some sources 20,000 people) died and 300,000 people were rendered homeless. In view of the discontent and NAM resolutions supporting Mexico's demand for freedom from foreign influence, Mexico urged the "withdrawal of all foreign (US) advisers in the region".

The US-Mexican relations were deteriorated still more in 1985, due to the murder of a US Drug Enforcement Administrator, illegal immigration and drug trafficking between Mexico and the United States. It was expected in 1987, that the United States would deport most of the Mexicans (numbering 1.5 m to 3 m) residing illegally in the USA.

The New York NAM Ministering Meeting (1984) welcomed the initiative taken by the Heads of State or Government of Argentine, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania in their Joint Declaration of May 22, 1984, in which the nuclear states were urged to "halt all testing, production and development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, to be followed by substantial reduction in their nuclear forces". The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) reiterated the peace initiative of the Contadora Group. The New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting (1986) reiterated the Luanda resolution.

There was an influx of refugees into Mexico from El Salvador and Guatemala from 1982 to 1986. Since Mexico refused to confer legal status upon these refugees, about 18,000 Guatemalan refugees were "relocated to camps in the state of Campeche".

(B) CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES

(1) BELIZE

Belize, one of the world's tiny sore spots with a population of 82,000 inhabitants (Belize City - 27,000) lies on the Caribbean

26. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 111.
27. Ibid., pp. 171 and 185.
28. Ibid., p. 250.
30. Ibid.
coast or Central America with Mexico to the north-west and Guatemala to the south. Its population is predominantly Negro and there is a very small white group consisting of British civil servants, military personnel and Anglican missionaries. Though Spanish is the mother tongue of about one-half of its people, English is the official language. The capital is Belmopan.

Belize, known as British Honduras until 1973, was first colonized by British settlers in the seventeenth century and was recognised as a British colony in 1862. A legislative assembly was first elected in the territory according to a new constitution adopted in 1954. The People's United Party (PUP), led by George Price, won the elections held in April, 1954.

Guatemala's claim of sovereignty over Belize dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, but the British were "reluctant to hand over the English-speaking Negro population" to Guatemala. On the other hand, Guatemala, governed by people of Mestizo or pure Spanish ancestry who have a strong anti-Negro bias, opposed the importation of Negro workers from Belize. This resulted in an impasse. The people of Belize suffered from poverty and illiteracy. Inspired by the NAM, the people of the territory demanded independence.

In 1964, the colony achieved internal self-government while the British retained "responsibility of defence, external affairs and internal security". In July, 1974 and November, 1975, the British troops protected Belize from invasion by Guatemala.

The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) demanded that colonialism be eliminated in Belize while the people's aspiration continued to be "frustrated by territorial claims". The Conference affirmed the territorial integrity of Belize and its people's right to independence.

The Algiers NAM Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) reiterated

31. In 1970, the capital was moved from Belize City to the newly built town - Belmopan.
the Lima resolutions on Belize. Its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) asked for the implementation of the UN General Assembly Resolution 3432 (XXX). Belize participated in the Conference with a "special status". The New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1977) expressed solidarity with the freedom struggle of the people of Belize. The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1978) viewed with great concern the "persistence of the threats to and pressure on the inviolability and territorial integrity of Belize", which prevented the people from exercising their right to self-determination. At the Belgrade NAM Conference (1978), Belize was "granted Special Status, including the right to address the Conference". The Conference also held that it was the responsibility of Great Britain "to assist Belize in attaining a secure independence". The Colombo Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1979) welcomed the British policy of ensuring "rapid and secure independence" of Belize and emphasised that it "could only be achieved through a negotiated agreement acceptable to the people of that territory".

The UN General Assembly said that Belize should be independent in 1981. Since the United Kingdom and Guatemala both claimed Belize, the latter objected to the establishment of "a new State with uncertain frontiers and territory subject to negotiations". Guatemala's claim to the territory was "vigorously rejected by all Belizeans".

The 1980-elections were won by the party of C.L.E. Rogers, who became Prime Minister and demanded "early independence" and declared that the "House was unanimous in opposing any proposals for a settlement of the Anglo-Guatemalan dispute that might involve the cessation of Belizean territory or eradicate its sovereignty".

36. Ibid., p. 182.
37. Ibid., p. 247.
38. Ibid., p. 256.
39. Ibid., p. 282.
40. Ibid., p. 295.
41. Ibid., p. 309.
42. Ibid., p. 380.
44. Ibid.
At a tripartite conference held in March, 1981, the United Kingdom agreed to the independence of Belize "in exchange for access to the Caribbean Sea through Belize and the use of certain offshore cays and their surrounding waters". This caused strikes and rioting in the country. Guatemala renewed its claim before the UN Security Council and broke off relations with the United Kingdom. However, Belize, as per schedule, declared independent within the British Commonwealth on September 21, 1981.

Guatemala refused to recognize the independence of Belize and its demand that its southern part be ceded to it was rejected by Belize. Differences between Belize and Guatemala continued. Representatives of the two countries met at Miami (USA) on April 29, 1987, but their relations "hardened" as Guatemala reiterated its "demand for the cession of a large area of Belize's territory", which the Belizeans refused to accept. Belize, in the UN General Assembly, sought an "honourable end" to the dispute.

(2) COSTA RICA

In the absence of traditional large estates common in Latin America, there is no small group of landed aristocracy in Costa Rica, which dominates the social life and manipulates the politics with the support of any army. Widespread literacy in the country has brought about equality among the people. There are no signs of rural poverty; but due to rapid rate of population increase (34 per thousand), the economic condition of the people became poor. However, in per capita income ($235 in 1955), Costa Rica stands sixth in Latin America and the standard of living of its people is much higher than that of its neighbours. 55 per cent of its people are engaged in agriculture. Its foreign trade is closely tied with the United States.

Owing to literacy, equality and a coherent national life in Costa Rica, democracy is most firmly established there. To work for livelihood

48. Ibid., p. 35964.
is "never looked down on in Costa Rica" and "political problems generated little heat". Costa Rica became independent from Spanish rule in 1821. Due to lack of political awareness among the people and of experience in public administration, the government came into the hands of a dictator who had to earn his living like others, because the national treasury was empty. Successive governments of the country were guided by public opinion, which ensured freedom of speech, freedom of access to knowledge, freedom to criticize the government and freedom to discuss public issues. Since 1948, Costa Rica "has had no army - only a national police force".

The result of the Presidential elections in February, 1948, caused civil war due to conflict between the Conservative government party and the anti-government revolutionary forces led by Jose' Figueres Ferrer, who took over power in April, 1948. Figueres founded the Socialist Partuto de Liberacion National (PIN) dominated the national politics for decades, and made Costa Rica one of the "most democratic countries in Latin America".

In 1974, the PIN President established relations with Communist states and legalized the Communist party and other left-wing parties.

Costa Rica attended the Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) as an Observer. Since the United States charged that the Nicaraguan Revolution was the result of 'East expansionism', it launched operations to destabilise Nicaragua, which has its border with Costa Rica. The United States set up "a reserve base in Costa Rican territory" and posted CIA officers to direct high-ranking officials of the country to work in US interest. The Costa Rican officials had to fell in line with the US policy because of its economic and financial crisis.

In 1982, PIN leader, Monge became President of Costa Rica. He adopted a policy of neutrality. Although Costa Rica expelled the Nicaraguan rebel leader, Gomez, its relations with Nicaragua continued

49. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 724.
50. Ibid.
52. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 724.
53. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, p. 796.
54. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 14, p. 401.
55. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 12.
to worsen, because Monge's delation of neutrality "in an attempt to elicit foreign support" in 1983 was opposed by the United States. In 1984, the Nicaraguan Air Force and Sandinista forces invaded the border villages of Costa Rica. Though the Contadora group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela) mediated and ended their dispute, the Nicaraguan and Sandinista guerillas continued to attack in 1985. The Government of Costa Rica decided to create an anti-guerilla battalion trained by the United States and the country's neutrality, thus, became doubtful.

At the instance of the United States, the Israeli Foreign Minister, accompanied by Zionist military advisers, visited Costa Rica in October, 1982, and signed military agreements with it. Backed by the United States, Costa Rica laid claim on a disputed area on its border with Nicaragua. Nicaragua proposed to create a neutral zone of security. The Luanda NAM conference (1985) urged the government of Nicaragua and Costa Rica to establish such a zone. However, the New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1986) welcomed the agreements reached between Nicaragua and Costa Rica "to establish the political basis for the formation of a commission of supervision and control of the border area".

President Arias has been playing an important role in maintaining peace in Central America. In August, 1987, he presented a modified peace plan at a summit meeting in Esquipulas, which was endorsed by the Presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. The plan provided "a 90-day timetable for the implementation of various measures", aimed at promoting peace in the region, such as - "ceasefires in Nicaragua and El Salvador, a halt to foreign assistance to rebel groups, democratic reforms in Nicaragua and a ban on the use of foreign territory as a base for attack". The UN General Assembly, on October 7, 1987, adopted a resolution expressing its "firmest support" for the peace plan. Japan also backed the peace plan and offered to loan US $ 1,000 m and 400 technical trainees over the next five years. The plan was successful and President Arias was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October, 1987.

57. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 12.
58. Ibid., p. 186.
59. Ibid., p. 250.
61. Ibid.
The independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821 followed "a decade of sporadic insurrections by disaffected regional interests", while effective power lay in the hands of separate towns of the isthmus. However, in 1823, with the spirit of unification, the United Provinces of Central America (including five provinces - Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) came into being with its capital in Guatemala City. But liberal ideas and local quarrels turned into civic unrest and civil war. Consequently, the union collapsed in 1839, and the provinces declared themselves independent.

El Salvador is the smallest of the twenty Latin American countries on the Pacific coast of Central America. The capital is San Salvador. Its total area is 8,257 sq. miles. Although 89% of its population is of Indian ancestry, the remaining 11% people are of pure Spanish descent, who control the economic and political life of the country. They also dominate the army which actually carries on the administration. With the increase of literacy among the urban people, there is a demand for change. Communists, taking advantage of this, have been playing an important role in political life, but they have made little headway with the army. And without army support, no political party in El Salvador can be successful and no revolution is possible.

However, the country could not escape from the influence of the rising wave of democracy and independence and, particularly, from the ideals of the Non-aligned Movement. As a result, a group of young army officers revolted against the aristocratic rule and overthrew the government in 1948. Major Oscar Osorio became President in 1949. He introduced social reforms, and permitted formation of trade unions among the industrial workers. But since landowners still enjoyed sufficient power, "no suggestion of a program of land redistribution or even a program leading to the more efficient use of the land was made". The Communists tried to bring about a revolution, but they

65. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 678.
66. Ibid., p. 679.
67. Ibid.
were jailed or exiled and their movement was crushed by the military force. Though the country was non-Communist, it could not resist the demand for socialism. Therefore, when Major Osorio completed his term in 1956, his successor promised "to continue the program of social reform".

The people of the country want peace, security and independence from all foreign pressures. Its representative participated in the Lima NAM Conference (1975), its Colombo Summit Conference (1976), Havana Summit Conference (1979), Managua Meeting (1983) and New Delhi Summit Conference (1983) as Observers.

Though the country was formally decolonized in 1821, and declared independence in 1839, it achieved real democracy in 1948, which brought El Salvador close to the socialist and non-aligned countries. The New York NAM Meeting (1983) condemned the US "intervention and repression" and its attempts to destabilize the government of the country. It is hoped that the country would join the NAM as soon as it ceases to depend on the United States and other capitalist nations.

El Salvador has a territorial dispute with Honduras "over three islands in the Gulf of Fonseca and a small area of land on the joint border". However, President Duarte of El Salvador and President Azcona of Honduras met and referred the issue to the International Court of Justice for "arbitration" in December, 1986.

In October, 1987, negotiations between the Salvadorean National Reconciliation Commission (CRN) headed by President Duarte, and the rebel Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN) and its political wing, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) failed. However, on October 27, 1987, the National Assembly of the country pardoned "any crime committed by anyone for the motive, occasion, or as a consequence of the armed conflict" under Point XIII of the Peace Plan put forward by President Arias of Costa Rica and signed by the five states on August 7, 1987.

68. Ibid.  
69. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 6.  
70. Ibid., p. 12.  
71. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 679.  
73. Ibid.  
This allowed the refugees to return home from the Mesa Grande refugee camp in Honduras.

According to a broadcast on April 22, 1988, a new clandestine movement, the People's Patriotic Movement (MPP) was founded in El Salvador with the aim, among others, to "struggle for a sovereign and independent homeland free from US intervention". On October 28, 1988, President Duarte charged that the left, who were "looking for a martyr" were responsible for gunning down Sr Anaya, President of the independent and non-governmental Salvadorean Human Rights Commission - the fourth member of the Commission to be killed since 1978. Western diplomats suggested that "Rightists had killed Sr Anaya in an attempt to sabotage the Central American Peace Plan". In protest at the killing, the FMIN "refused to participate in ceasefire talks" in 1987.

(4) GUATEMALA

Guatemala's foreign trade is closely tied to the United States. Of all the exports, "the United States takes over 70% and between 60% and 70% imports come from the United States". Further, a sizeable portion of the development programme of the country was financed with a loan from the United States.

The continuous turmoil, poverty of farm workers and successive dictatorship led the liberals to fight for the establishment of democracy and for ending the system of power and privilege. Consequently, the 1944 Revolution overthrew the last dictator, General Ubico, and a liberal minded civilian, Juan Jose Arevalo, became President, who was replaced by Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in 1951. Arbenz, a young and ambitious junior officer favoured Communism, encouraged the peasants to seize land from landowners, and carried on propaganda against the United States. Since the Communists wished to fight against the domination of the United States and the people occupying position and prestige, they took the

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75. Ibid., June, 1988, p. 35935.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 670.
79. Ibid., p. 669.
80. Ibid., p. 673.
army into confidence. In 1954, an army of exiled army officers, organised in Honduras, attacked Guatemala. The Guatemalan army refused to resist. Arbenz was forced to flee and Castillo Armas assumed presidency. He was assassinated in 1957.

The 1975 Lima NAM Ministerial Conference invited Guatemala to participate as a guest. The 1978 Havana Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM noted with concern the supply of Israeli-made arms to Guatemala, which, according to NAM, strengthened the Israeli war industry and inadvertently affected the Palestinian cause.

Though Guatemala became independent in 1823, successive dictatorships kept the people away from democracy until 1944. It was due to the rising popularity of the ideals of non-alignment, peace and equality, that made the people overthrow dictatorship and establish democracy in 1944. Guatemala may come in line with the socialist ideas in view of "the mounting pressures for social change" in Guatemala.

On October 28, 1987, the Guatemalan National Congress (CNC) announced amnesty to the rebels. However, following a ceasefire, the Guatemala Party of Labour (PST) rejected the amnesty proposal and desired "for a dialogue with the Government". Representatives of the exiled group, the Guatemalan Democratic Forum (FDG) declared from Mexico that "the democratic opening which the Government had tried to project does not exist". On March 26, 1988, President de la Madrid of Mexico and President Cerezo of Guatemala declared that the two countries would not lend support to armed groups, which sought "to destabilize legally established governments". In May, 1987, President Cerezo resisted US pressure to change his position of "active neutrality" in the Central American conflict and to support the Contras.

In April, 1987, Guatemala and Yugoslavia established diplomatic relations.

82. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.14, p. 141.
83. Ibid., p. 276.
84. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 673.
85. There were "perhaps five political prisoners throughout the country"; see Keesing's, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, May, 1988, p. 35692.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid., p. 35958.
(5) HONDURAS

The Republic of Honduras lies in the middle of the Central American Isthmus. Its national language is Spanish. Honduras was ruled by Spain from the sixteenth century until its independence in 1821, when the Federation of Central America was formed. It emerged as an independent state in 1838. Honduras has a long northern coastline on the Caribbean Sea and a narrow southern outlet to the Pacific Ocean.

Though Honduras broke its allegiance to Spain, the pattern of its social and economic life remained unaltered. The Lenca Indians, like the Pipil tribes, "have learned Spanish, wear Spanish types of clothing". Though 96% of the people have some Indian ancestors while only 2% people are of unmixed Spanish descent and 2% are negros. Their population is distributed into three groups - in the highlands of the south-west, in the valleys and coastal lowlands of the north, where they are mostly engaged in banana firms, which are the largest exporters of the commodity in the world. Due to rivalry between these three groups, the problem of national unity has been aggravated. According to Alexander, "the country's whole north coast is dominated by two banana firms ... which command what are virtually states within a state", which provide "all the public and social services" and controlled the whole economic, social and political life of the region until the 1950s. Foreign engineers and agronomists have made it a "tropical paradise". Though the workers' way of living has been raised, they went on strike in 1951 "to escape from foreign domination". They desire freedom against military dictatorship which prevailed from 1933 to 1948.

By the end of the 1940s, ideas of complete independence and non-alignment had gathered strength. In 1948, the Liberal Party was established, which demanded social reforms. In 1957-elections, the people supported the liberals, who promised democratic procedures. Its people were inspired by the development of a strong sense of nationalism.

91. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 692.
93. Ibid., p. 691.
94. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 691.
in the neighbouring countries - Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua. The United States, which takes more than 60 per cent of all the Honduran exports, began to exert undue pressure on the government. As a result, there was a quick succession of military juntas which ruled the country between 1939 and 1980.

Honduras participated in the Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) as a guest. The Conference resolved to support the nationalist movement of the people of Honduras "to recover its natural resources and fight against the imperialist action of transnational enterprises that monopolize the banana production of that country". The Conference demanded that colonialism be eliminated from the country.

There was an increased political unrest in 1982, when trade union activists and their left-wing sympathisers were arrested and 35,000 refugees from El Salvador crossed into Honduras. The Honduran Government realized that for Miskito Indians refugees from Nicaragua were being used by Sandinista Government of Nicaragua as counter revolutionaries for attacks on Nicaragua.

In January, 1983, President Suazo survived a challenge to his Government due to the defection of six PLH deputies, of whom three returned and three joined a new Opposition group in the national assembly, while General Alvarez supported the US policy and favoured Honduran involvement in the conflict along the border with Nicaraguan forces. In September, 1983, there was an air and sea battle with Nicaragua, while to eradicate internal dissent, Alvarez killed about 100 left-wing guerrillas in an ambush.

In February, 1983, Honduras and US began a series of "joint manoeuvres" (called the Big Pine), which were expected to continue until 1990. The United States constructed military bases (air strips and two radar stations at Puerto Castilla) in Honduras under cover of friendship with this country. The two countries began to assist "Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries based in Honduras". On the other hand, there was a mounting public opposition to the US military presence in Honduras.

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95. Ibid., p. 690.
96. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 141.
97. Ibid., p. 149.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
The Managua NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1983) urged Honduras and Nicaragua to settle their border dispute.\(^{101}\) The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) expressed concern over the "growing involvement in the conflict of the army of Honduras" in Nicaragua and urged the US government to "adopt a constructive position" for a peaceful solution of the dispute. The New York Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) reiterated its earlier resolutions on the issue.\(^{103}\)

In 1985, due to deteriorating relations, the United States refused to enter into a "security pact" with Honduras, but agreed to take "appropriate measures" to defend Honduras against "Communist aggression". Fighting on the border with Nicaragua continued. In March, 1986, Sandinista troops crossed into Honduran territory, near Las Trojes. As a result Honduran forces, assisted militarily and economically by the United States, drove them away. However, President Azcona became anxious because the presence of US military stationed in Honduras. He requested the United States to remove the Nicaraguan Contra rebels from Honduras. Their settlement known as Nueva Nicaragua (New Nicaragua), affected the economy of Honduras. However, Honduras carried out military exercise with the United States (called 'Solid Shield') in April, 1987.

The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) pointed out that the dismantling of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign military advisers and the halt of military manoeuvres would reduce the tension in the region. The New Delhi NAM Conference (1986) welcomed the Nicaraguan proposal to set up a joint commission of Nicaragua and Honduras to settle the border dispute and strengthen mutual confidence. In August, 1987, Honduras, along with Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, signed the Central American Peace Plan, which envisaged the end to rebel forces and use of foreign territory as a base for attack.\(^{107}\)

Honduras has a border dispute with El Salvador over the island of Meanguera, in the Gulf of Fonseca, and several small stretches of the

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101. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 5.
102. Ibid., p. 35.
103. Ibid., p. 103.
105. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 186.
106. Ibid., p. 250.
land border covering some 400 sq. km. However, the Presidents of Honduras and Nicaragua signed an agreement to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice. 108

Honduras is in the grip of the United States, which supports the 2% landed aristocrats, the owners of the banana company. The liberals' demand for social justice is crushed by labelling it as "communism", though Communists have never played an important role as in El Salvador and Guatemala. However, 96% working population, which includes 44% people that are able to read and write, are getting inspiration from the NAM and have started protesting against the exploitation of their natural resources by foreigners. They are discontented with military rule.

In June, 1987, the United States supplied 12 F-5 fighter aircrafts to Honduras and US-Honduran joint military manoeuvres continued from 1987 to June, 1988. The US Defense Department (the Pentagon) were unable to account for an undermined amount of weapons and equipment used in the Blazing Trails, 1986 training exercises in Honduras and Panama. 109

In mid-1987, the Honduran Miskito Indians in the Mosquitia region of eastern Honduras were on the verge of armed rebellion demanding some degree of autonomy. 110

The Honduran President, Sr. Hoyo, was the last of the five signatories to the Central American Peace Pact to agree to the formation of a CRN. The move was opposed domestically as "the country held no political prisoners and already practised democracy". However, the people demanded expulsion of US military units and of "irregular forces". 111

In September, 1987, President Azcona promised to "prevent the use of (Honduran) territory" by any foreign government. In April, 1988, there were serious riots and emergency was clamped over Tegucigalpa, the capital. The FMFC demanded the withdrawal of US troops and Nicaraguan anti-government 'Contras' stationed on Honduran territory. 112

108. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid., May, 1988, p. 35892.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid., p. 36011.
Nicaragua achieved independence on September 15, 1821. There was Spanish rule over Nicaragua from the sixteenth century to 1821. In 1823, Guatemala declared independence from Mexico and formed the Central American Federation along with Nicaragua and El Salvador. On April 30, 1838, Nicaragua left the Federation and proclaimed its absolute independence. Soon the liberals (the Costenos) and conservatives (the Espanoles) began to struggle for supremacy. Leon was the centre of liberals and Granada that of the conservatives. Their struggle encouraged foreign intervention. As a result, Britain established a protectorate over the Miskito (east coast) and seized the port of San Juan del Norte and the United States tried to occupy the isthmus. In 1850, the United States and Britain signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty by which "both the countries agreed not to occupy, fortify, colonize, or exercise dominion over any portion of Central America". The Nicaraguans struggled for freedom from outside rule and regained San Juan del Norte in 1852 and drove away William Walker, who was employed by the United States "to undermine the independence of Nicaragua", and who had proclaimed himself President of the country. In 1893, the Nicaraguans reoccupied the Miskito Coast. During this period, there was a state of civil war between the United States and Britain on the question of the construction of the Panama Canal.

In 1907, when General Jose Santos Zelaya, the Dictator of Nicaragua, allowed Britain to build the Canal, the United States withdrew its recognition of Nicaragua. and Zelaya was soon deposed. In 1912, a US force of 2,600 Marines landed in the area and in 1916, Nicaragua granted exclusive right to the United States to build the Canal. In 1925, the US Marines were withdrawn. At once a civil war between the liberals and the conservatives started and the US Marines returned in 1927.

Augusto Cesar Sandino, opposed the US intervention and fought for seven years, engaging US Marines in more than 500 clashes and battles. In 1927, the United States signed the Boithorn Pact with the local liberal and conservative bourgeoisie, organized a National Guard, and

114. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 701.
installed Juan Baptista Sacasa as President. Sandino revoluted, but when he was called for discussion with Sacasa, he was assassinated "on the orders of the US Embassy" or "on Samoza's orders".

In 1936, Samoza carried out a coup and remained President until 1956, when he was assassinated. In 1957, Luis Samoza assumed presidency. Under the influence of the Non-aligned Movement, the people of Nicaragua formed the Sandinist Front of National Liberation (FSLN) in 1961, which launched armed struggle against Anastasio Samoza Debayle who declared himself Head of State for Life in 1967. He was assisted by "423 U.S. Rangers acting as advisers". The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1978) condemned the supply of arms by Israel to Nicaragua to strengthen the Samoza government. Samoza received financial aid from US, Canada, Japan, Israel, West Germany and Spain. As a result, Nicaragua's foreign debt rose to $1,087,000,000 in 1976, while its economy was controlled by the US investors. The Colombo NAM Ministerial Meeting (1979) urged to adopt "practical measures leading to the isolation of the Samoza tyranny and contributing effectively to the cause of the Nicaraguan people, so that they may freely choose their own destiny, without any form of outside interference, and enjoy freedom, peace and stability".

In December, 1972, there was a violent earthquake in the country. Since the international aid received for lacs of victims of the earthquake was embezzled by Samoza, a popular revolt broke out against him. Samoza fled from the country on July 17, 1979, and Sandinista forces entered Managua, the capital, and established a Government of National Reconstruction (GNR), which disbanded the National Guard, abrogated Samoza's constitution, confiscated his property. Samoza and his henchmen, with mercenaries trained at several camps in the United States, threatened to invade Nicaragua.

Nicaragua participated in the Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979). The Conference expressed its satisfaction at the full national emancipation of Nicaraguan people. It welcomed the decision of GNR "to sever

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120. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 276.
121. Ibid., p. 380.
122. Ibid., p. 401.
123. Ibid., p. 405.
relations with the racist Apartheid regime" of South Africa. Nicaraguan representative also participated in the Nicosia NAM meeting (1982) of the Coordinating Bureau and carried messages to the Latin American countries of Spyros Kyprianou, Fidel Castro Ruz, Yasser Arafat, Ismat Al-Kittani, Isidoro Malmierca, Nicos A. Rolandis, Elias Sarkis and Hafez El Assad. Nicaragua hosted the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM in Managua (1983). Since the Imperialist powers, which dominated the World Bank and the IMF, imposed economic sanctions against Nicaragua, the Meeting, expressing its concern for the economic crisis facing the country, called on the Central American and Caribbean countries "to strengthen their ties of cooperation among themselves" and asked the Imperialist powers "for an end to the embargo, the economic blockade and other coercive measures". The Meeting appreciated the Latin American countries within SELA and the 17th FAO Regional Conference, held in Nicaragua in September, 1982, for "establishing a collective food security system and opposing the use of food as a political weapon". The Meeting denounced "the use of Israel (a principal ally of the Somoza regime) by the United States in its interventionist practices in Latin America" and noted that their policies have "reached the peak of imperialism". The Meeting condemned the US financing and training of the Somoza National Guard on its northern border and "violation of Nicaragua's airspace and territorial waters by United States planes and ships", resulting in blowing up of bridges and acts of sabotage aimed at overthrowing the Revolutionary Government of the country.

124. Ibid., p. 407.
125. President of the Republic of Cyprus.
126. Chairman of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries.
127. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO.
129. Foreign Affairs Minister of Cuba and Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries.
130. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus.
131. President of the Lebanese Republic.
132. President of the Syrian Arab Republic.
133. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 4.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid., p. 5.
Taking note of "dangerous deterioration" of relations between Honduras and Nicaragua, the Meeting praised the willingness of Mexico and Venezuela to help normalise their relations.

Addressing the meeting, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, President of Nicaragua, focussed attention on various problems and expressed concern over the "debt inherited from the Somoza dictatorship". He welcomed "Saint Lucia, Belize and Ecuador" as full members of the NAM. Emphasising the unity of the Movement, he said, "Our enemy knows of our differences and will try to play on them in order to divide, fragment and destroy us". He said that the United States had decided "to use all kinds of pressures against countries that belong to the Movement, in order to take the teeth out of it ...". He pointed out that the US military presence in Central America "was stepped up in an attempt to destabilize and destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution", because the United States considered it a result of the East's expansionism. To achieve this objective, the United States involved the high-ranking officials in Costa Rica to facilitate CIA's military operations against Nicaragua. US-Honduran operations were planned twice. US Air Force spy planes and warships off the coast of Nicaragua flagrantly violated the sovereignty of Nicaragua. The US-Honduran-Israeli-Costa Rican forces invaded Nicaragua more than 500 times and Somoza's National Guard spread terror, kidnapped, tortured and murdered hundreds of people, blew up three bridges, construction plants and Sandino Airport and two cigar factories.

The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) reiterated the observations of the Nicosia Meeting and asserted that "the processes of change in Central America could not be attributed to or explained by an East-West ideological confrontation". It appealed the United States and Honduras to cease all hostile acts against Nicaragua and called for a dialogue "in conformity with the principles of international law".

137. Ibid.
139. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 11.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid., p. 12.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid., p. 35.
144. Ibid.
The New York NAM Ministerial Meeting (1983) welcomed the Cancun Declaration of Peace in Central America issued by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela as well as the six-point proposal of the Nicaraguan Government and urged the US Government to respond positively and stressed the necessity of "signing of treaties of non-aggression and non-interference" by the Central American states. The New York NAM Ministerial Meeting (1984) expressed grave concern over the imperialist interference in Nicaragua and the "installation of military bases and by covert and overt attempts at the destabilisation of the Nicaraguan Government" and over aerial and naval attacks killing thousands of people.

The Luanda NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1985), reiterating the earlier resolutions, applauded the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group, composed of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela and Contadora Act for Peace and Cooperation in Central America of September 7, 1984, which Nicaragua promptly agreed to sign. The Group, in a meeting held on July 22 and 23, 1985, formulated a 'six point proposal' for implementation to solve the crisis: "(1) the Contadora Act, (2) Actions towards detente; (3) Relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua; (4) The Manzanillo dialogue; (5) International organizations; and (6) Latin American support". The NAM Ministers welcomed the Nicaraguan proposal for the creation of a "neutral zone of security on the border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua" and urged the two countries to establish such a zone to end the border incidents. The Ministers further condemned "the embargo and other coercive economic measures recently adopted against Nicaragua".

The NAM Ministerial Meeting, New Delhi, held in April, 1986, reiterated the Luanda resolutions and welcomed the efforts of Lima Group, composed of "Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay" to support the Contadora Group for strengthening efforts for peace in the region.

The Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) condemned the US allocation of US $ 100 million for training mercenary contra army, the CIA activities

145. Ibid., p. 103.
146. Ibid., p. 120.
147. Ibid., p. 185.
148. Ibid., p. 186.
149. Ibid., p. 205.
150. Ibid., p. 250.
and US Special Armed Forces with the aim of overthrowing the legitimate Nicaraguan Government. It urged the United States to comply with the decisions of the International Court of Justice delivered on June 27, 1986, which gave the verdict that the United States should make reparations to the Republic of Nicaragua. It deplored the US disinclination to agree to any political solution of its dispute between the Nicaraguan government and the Contra.

Though Nicaragua signed the Central American Peace Agreement on August 7, 1987, and President Arias of Costa Rica was awarded the "1987 Nobel Peace Prize" on September 2, 1987, there was "a clash between armed Nicaraguan and Costa Rican border patrol boats".

The fourth round of top level talks between the Sandinista Government and Contra representatives in Managua on August 25-27, 1987, failed once again to achieve a definite ceasefire agreement. However, in September, 1987, the Government opened the frontier post of Las Manos on the border with Honduras and encouraged 100,000 Nicaraguans to return to their country.

On October 7, 1987, the United States criticized the "peace plan" of Costa Rica as it did not stipulate "Soviet bloc and Cuban forces to leave Nicaragua". President Reagan declared his intention to continue aid to Contra rebels until Sandinista Government negotiated with the Contras. The Nicaraguan President agreed to this if the Contra stopped hostilities. But the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSIN) declared that "there will never, at any time or in any place, be any direct or indirect political dialogue" with the Contras. However, the Contra leaders greeted the announcement and 985 political prisoners were released on November 22, 1987.

The United States invaded Nicaragua in December, 1989, which was condemned by all the member-countries of the Non-aligned Movement.

(7) PANAMA

The Province of Panama (11,292 sq. km.) is one of the nine provinces of the Republic of Panama called the bridge of the world. It was discovered

152. Ibid., p. 58.
155. Ibid.
156. Ibid., May, 1988, p. 35890.
157. Ibid., p. 35891.
by Vasco Núñez de Balboa in 1513. It came under the Vice-Royalty of New Grenada in 1739, with the administrative centre at Bogota. In 1821, it split from Spain without bloodshed and it was included in Great Colombia together with Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia. In 1841, it became a department of Colombia. In 1902, Colombia rejected the US proposal for completion of construction of the Panama Canal. The United States encouraged Panamanian separatist movement. The 'state idea' strengthened the movement and from 1898 to 1903, the region remained in a state of almost constant disorder and revolt. With the help of the US armed forces, Panama declared its independence on November 3, 1904, which the United States immediately recognised. Soon a Panama-US Treaty was signed. A French adventurer, who abused his mandate and signed on behalf of Panama, as a result of which the United States got undue rights over Panama in perpetuity. The United States established military bases in Panama, which became a constant threat to the Latin American nations. The United States also occupied the Canal Zone.

After the Second World War, the political and economic dependence on the United States became a major irritant to the people of the territory. Inspired by the NAM Conferences, the people started an agitation to gain full sovereignty over their country. As a result, General Omar Torrijos overthrew the pro-US President Arnulfo Arias and the action of their's was supported by other Latin American countries, by the NAM and the UN. The Panama-US Treaty was replaced by the Torrijos-Carter Treaty in 1977, and gradually the US military bases were removed from the Canal Zone.

Panama Canal Zone

The Province of Panama includes the Panama Canal Zone, which extends for eight kilometres on either side of the Panama Canal and has a population of about 42,000.

In 1902, the United States purchased the rights and assets of a French company which had stopped the construction of the Panama Canal and proposed unacceptable terms to Colombia for its completion. When Colombia refused to accede to the proposal, the United States launched

158. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 736.
159. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 563.
160. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, pp. 73, 96 and 121.
a separatist movement and recognised the separation of Panama from the Great Colombia and its independence on November 3, 1904. It also occupied the Canal Zone and established its military bases there. Thus, Panama was partially colonized. In 1964, 21 Panamanian students were killed when they tried to raise the flag of the Revolutionary Government of Panama. President General Omar Torrijos Herrera led the movement for complete sovereignty of Panama, supported by all the Latin American countries which were members of the NAM. Decades of US repressive measures and the struggle for decolonization of the Panama Canal Zone united the Panamanians.

The NAM Ministerial Meeting held at Havana in March, 1975, supported Panama's struggle "to do away with the unjust Treaty of 1903" for the recovery of the Zone from the United States. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) reiterating the Havana resolution on the issue, charged the Coordinating Bureau of the NAM with "the task of taking appropriate action" in the matter and condemned the US measures designed to undermine the Revolutionary Government and to kill the revolutionary leaders. The Algiers NAM Coordinating Bureau Meeting (1976) expressed solidarity with the people and the Government of Panama in their just struggle for sovereignty over the Canal Zone. The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) reiterated its earlier adoptions on the subject and offered any support that it might require.

In 1977, the United States signed the Torrijos-Carter Treaty, which abrogated the earlier treaty and stipulated that the Panama Canal would become fully Panamanian in the year 2000 and also provided for the gradual dismantling of the US military bases in the region. However, the US Senate added in the Treaty the US right to intervene "in the defence of the Canal". Torrijos threatened: "They may intervene but when

163. Panama was included in Great Colombia together with Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia in 1841.
164. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 563; "Independence Day (1903)".
165. Ibid.
166. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 135.
167. Ibid., p. 148.
168. Ibid., p. 182.
169. Ibid., p. 193.
170. Ibid., p. 200.
they arrive, they'll find a destroyed canal". The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) welcomed the "victory of the people of Panama in the struggle for the restoration of their sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone".

On July 31, 1981, Torrijos was killed when his plane crashed.

(C) SOUTH AMERICAN STATES

(1) ARGENTINA

Argentina claims the Falklands (known in Argentina as Islas Malvinas), South Georgias, the South Sandwich Islands and parts of Antarctica as her territory. The capital is Buenos Aires. The new capital Viedma-Carmen de Patagones is expected to be completed in 1995.

Argentina had territorial dispute with Chile over three small islands in the Beagle Channel. In March, 1981, the award by the Pope of Vatican City, who acted as a mediator, of the islands to Chile, was rejected by Argentina, which threatened military action against Chile. The new government, which came to power in December, 1983, signed a treaty of peace and friendship with Chile in January, 1984, which guaranteed Argentine rights over deposits of petroleum and other minerals in the disputed waters in South Atlantic.

Argentina joined the NAM as an observer for the first time at its Cairo Summit Conference (1964) and as a full member at the Algiers Summit Conference (1973), which supported the Argentine people "in the struggle for an authentic independence and social progress". The Havana meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975) of NAM mentioned Argentina as an active member of the Non-aligned Movement. Its Havana Meeting (1978) urged that the Malvinas Islands should be restored to the Republic of Argentina. The Belgrade NAM Ministerial Conference (1978)

172. Ibid.
175. Ibid., p. 346.
176. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.
177. Ibid., p. 120. See also Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 799.
178. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 96.
179. Ibid., p. 129.
180. Ibid., p. 282.
reiterated this resolution. The Managua Meeting of NAM (1983) stated that "Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich islands are integral part of the Latin American region" and asserted that for fair, peaceful and permanent solution decisions of the NAM and SA resolutions 1514(XV), 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII), 31/49 and 37/9, and SC Resolutions 502(1982) and 505 (1982) should be implemented. The Ministers considered that the "massive military and naval presence and activities" of the United Kingdom in Malvinas were the cause of grave concern to the countries in the region. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983), its New York Meeting (1983), and the New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1986) reiterated the same. The Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) reaffirmed that the Argentine Government had given assurance to respect and guarantee the "maintenance of the way of life", traditions, cultures and safeguards of the islanders.

(2) BOLIVIA

Bolivia was conquered by Spain in 1538. There were many revolts against Spanish rule. The country achieved independence in 1825. The country suffered from internal strife and recurrent succession of Presidents and wars, such as, the War of the Pacific (1879-83) between Bolivia, Peru and Chile, and the Chaco Wars (1928-30) and War against Paraguay (1933-35).

Bolivia was represented in the NAM as an Observer for the first time at its Belgrade Summit Conference (1961). The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1978) condemned the expanding ties of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and other countries, with the racist regime of South Africa. Bolivia attended the Belgrade NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1978) also as an Observer. The Colombo NAM Ministerial Meeting (1979) accepted

181. Ibid., p. 309.
182. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, pp. 7-8.
183. Ibid., p. 8.
184. Ibid., p. 37.
185. Ibid., pp. 104 and 121.
186. Ibid., p. 252.
187. Review of International Affairs, n. 151, p. 60.
188. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 5.
189. Ibid., p. 282.
190. Ibid., p. 340.
the application of Bolivia for full membership of the Non-aligned Movement. It became a member of the NAM at its Havana Summit Conference in 1979.

Bolivia claims access to the Pacific Ocean through the Chilean territory. As Chile rejected this claim, there was tension between the two countries, resulting in break of diplomatic relations in 1978. The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) supported Bolivia's "legitimate and rightful claim to a direct and useful outlet to the Pacific Ocean" and urged all states "to voice their solidarity with this inalienable right". It commended Bolivia's "democratic and constitutional process" as set forth in the UN Charter and the NAM framework. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983), its New York Meeting (1983), the New Delhi NAM extraordinary meeting (1985) and the New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting (1986) reiterated the same. The Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) noted with interest the "auspicious opening initiated between the Governments of Bolivia and Chile" and hoped that "through this process the Bolivian maritime problem will be solved". However, the negotiations failed to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem. The Government of Paz Estensoro desired to reopen the negotiation on this issue in June, 1987, but the Chilean Government rejected any possibility of this.

(3) BRAZIL

Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world, was a Portuguese possession and became an independent Monarchy in 1822, and a republic in 1889. A federal constitution for the United States of Brazil was adopted in 1891. There was social unrest in the 1920s and an economic crisis in 1930, resulting in a major revolt.

191. Ibid., p. 370.
192. Ibid., p. 401; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 799.
193. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 8.
194. Ibid., p. 37.
195. Ibid., p. 188.
196. Ibid., p. 104.
197. Ibid., p. 252.
198. Review of International Affairs, n. 151, p. 60.
200. Ibid., p. 536.
The Preparatory Meeting for the first NAM Summit Conference held at Cairo in June, 1961, was represented by an Observer of Brazil. In September, 1985, Brazil joined the Lima Group of Support for the Contador Group along with Argentina, Peru and Uruguay with the goals of establishing solidarity, independence and justice in Latin America.

In 1982, the war between Britain and Argentina on the question of Falkland Islands caused tension in Brazil. Its relations with the United States have deteriorated due to dispute over trade. Brazil has established close relations with Surinam, which was provided "military and economic assistance" in order to undermine its links with Cuba.

(4) CHILE

Chile was ruled by Spain from the sixteenth century until its independence in 1818. During the nineteenth century, it was governed by "a small oligarchy of landowners". It won the War of the Pacific (1879-83) against Peru and Bolivia.

Chile was represented by an Observer at the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964). Then it participated in the Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of NAM Countries (1972), and attended the Kabul NAM Meeting (1973) also as an Observer. The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) commended the people of Chile for their struggle "to strengthen independence and build a new society". The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1975) condemned the existence of foreign military bases in Chile against the will of its people and the illegal activities of powerful transnational corporations in the country. It expressed grief over the overthrow of President Salvador Allende, who had fought "courageously against the reactionary coup and imperialism". The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) expressed concern over the imperialist rule over Chile and the

202. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 186.
204. Ibid., p. 639.
205. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.
206. Ibid., p. 69.
207. Ibid., p. 87.
208. Ibid., p. 96.
209. Ibid., p. 131.
210. Ibid., p. 134.
refusal of the Military Junta to allow the UN Commission on Human Rights to visit the country, which was reiterated by the Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM held in 1976. The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) paid tribute to the heroic deeds of the freedom fighters and freedom-loving martyrs in Chile and called for the perpetuation of the memory of President Salvador Allende along with Bandaranaike, Patrice Lumumba and Amilcar Cabral. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1978) appealed to the United Nations "to restore human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile, and to try to obtain information on the whereabouts of the missing persons in that country". The Belgrade NAM Ministerial Conference (1978) demanded the implementation of the resolution of the 32nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations relating to Chile and condemned the "violations of democratic rights" in the country. The Colombo NAM Ministerial Meeting (1979) reiterated its earlier decisions on the subject and called upon all the states "to adopt measures to facilitate the speedy restitution of democratic rights in Chile". The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) reaffirmed the "legitimate aspirations of the Chilean people to restore their fundamental freedoms and basic human rights". The New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of the organization (1986) supported the struggle of the Chilean people for "civil, political and social rights" and condemned the violations of human rights and repression of the Military Junta.

Chile has a border dispute with Bolivia. It refused to allow access to Bolivia through Chile to the sea. As a result, Bolivia broke off diplomatic relations with the country in 1978. Chile had dispute with Argentina too on the question of sovereignty over "three small islands" in the Beagle Channel, which brought them to the verge of war. In October, 1984, the Pope brought about a total agreement on the issue between Chile and Argentina. Under the terms of the agreement Chile was awarded 12 islands and islets to the south of the Beagle Channel.

211. Ibid., p. 149.
212. Ibid., p. 182.
213. Ibid., p. 235.
214. Ibid., p. 282.
215. Ibid., pp. 310-11.
216. Ibid., p. 380.
217. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 8.
218. Ibid., p. 252.
In 1985, the people of Isla de Pascua (Eastern Island) criticized and protested against the Chilean permission for the establishment of the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) on the Mataveri airstrip. But in spite of this, the NASA was established there in August, 1987.

(5) COLOMBIA

Colombia was under the Spanish rule from the sixteenth century until its independence in 1819, as part of Gran Colombia (including Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela). Ecuador and Colombia seceded in 1830, and Panama rebelled and became independent in 1903. Thus, Colombia became a separate republic.

The country was represented by an Observer at the Dar es Salaam Preparatory Meeting of the NAM countries held in April, 1970. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) supported the peoples' "nationalistic and independent measures" aimed at recovering their natural resources, and the Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) condemned the US Trade Bill which affected the Latin American countries. On January 8-9, 1983, the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, along with those of Mexico, Panama and Venezuela decided to invite other Latin American and Caribbean countries to join them for promoting peace in the region. The New York NAM Meeting (1983) welcomed the Cancun Declaration of Peace in Central America issued by these four countries urging the United States to defuse tension in the region. The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of NAM countries held at Luanda (1985) also applauded the peace initiative of the four Latin American countries of the Contadora Group.

Colombia and Venezuela have a long-standing border dispute. In May, 1987, Venezuela rejected Colombia's proposal for negotiation on the issue and closed its border with Colombia.

In 1980, Nicaragua claimed Colombian controlled islands of Providencia and San Andres. Again, Honduras claimed its sovereignty over

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220. Ibid.
221. Ibid., p. 760.
222. Two Decades of Non-Aligned Movement, n. 14, p. 34.
223. Ibid., p. 135.
224. Ibid., p. 149.
225. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, pp. 5-6.
226. Ibid., p. 103.
227. Ibid., p. 185.
the cays in the San Andres and Providencia archipelago. Colombia improved its relations with Nicaragua and Cuba, and as a member of the Contadora Group, it supported the demand for the withdrawal of US troops from El Salvador and Honduras.

(6) ECUADOR

The Republic of Ecuador, including the offshore Galápagos Islands, lies on the west coast of South America. Spain ruled over Ecuador from the sixteenth century until 1822, when it achieved independence as part of Gran Colombia. In 1830, Ecuador seceded from Gran Colombia and became a separate republic. Until 1948, there was rapid succession of presidents, dictators, and juntas. Between 1830 and 1925, the country was governed by different regimes and from 1925 to 1948, there were 22 heads of state.

Ecuador's observer attended the Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) and the Georgetown Conference (1972) of NAM. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) encouraged Ecuador to take independent measures to protect its natural resources. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) and its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) reiterated the same and condemned the US Trade Law, which adversely affected Latin American countries. The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) noted with satisfaction the admission of Ecuador, Belize, and Saint Lucia a little more than a year ago into the NAM movement and welcomed them as full members.

A long-standing border dispute between Ecuador and Peru erupted into war during 1981-1983. Again Ecuadorean and Colombian forces clashed on their borders in 1982. Ecuador broke off relations with Nicaragua in October, 1985, and also withdrew from the Contadora Group of countries.

229. Ibid.
230. Ibid., p. 929.
231. Ibid.
232. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 14, p. 5.
233. Ibid., p. 70.
234. Ibid., p. 135.
235. Ibid., p. 149.
236. Ibid., p. 201.
237. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 2.
238. Ibid., p. 11.
(7) **PARAGUAY**

Paraguay was ruled over by Spain from the sixteenth century until it achieved independence in 1811. Since 1814, Paraguay has been ruled by a succession of dictators. It lost more than one-half of its population in its 1865 war against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, and was involved in Chaco Wars (1928-30 and 1933-35) against Bolivia and after heavy losses it won the disputed islands. Its boundaries were ultimately fixed in 1938.

The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) noted with concern the visit of the Head of State of South Africa to Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile and their growing cooperation with it. The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1978) condemned the "expanding ties between Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and other countries, with the racist regime of South Africa".

(8) **PERU**

The Inca Empire of the last indigenous rulers of Peru ended in the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards reached there. It became independent in 1826, and ever since it has been ruled over by military dictators.

Peru has border dispute with Ecuador over the Cordillera del Condor, which was awarded to the former under the Rio de Janeiro Protocol of 1942, to accord it access to the Amazon river basin.

Peru was represented in the NAM for the first time in September, 1969, when its delegates attended the informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers of NAM countries held in New York as Observers. It participated in the Kabul Meeting of NAM (1973) as a Guest. The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) - which Peru attended as a full member, commended the struggle of its people "to ensure national sovereignty, to regain the resources of the country and to change the economic and social structures of the country". Peru hosted the Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975).

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240. Ibid., p. 2122.
242. Ibid., p. 282.
244. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 14, p. 31.
245. Ibid., p. 87.
246. Ibid., p. 120; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 799.
248. Ibid., p. 144.
The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) reaffirmed its solidarity with the revolutionary government of the armed forces of Peru presided over by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, condemned the "intrigues and reactionary plots against the Peruvian government, fostered by imperialist interests" and welcomed the initiative taken by its government "to have the countries of the Andean Group establish an agreement on the limitation of offensive weapons". The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) also condemned "any act or threat against the Peruvian Revolution instigated by imperialistic interests". The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1975) elected Peru as one of the Coordinators of the Action Programme of the Coordinating Bureau. The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) welcomed the formation of the Lima Group of Support for the Contadora Group composed of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, with a view to achieving the goal of independence. The New York Meeting of NAM (1985) appreciated Peru's offer to establish a Centre for Disarmament, Security, Peace and Development, in order to foster the objectives of the United Nations in Latin America.

(9) URUGUAY

Uruguay is the smallest of all South American republics, but is one of the most prosperous ones.

Uruguay was represented by its Observers at the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964). The Lima Conference of NAM (1975) noted with concern the visit of the Head of State of South Africa to Uruguay and growing cooperation between the two countries. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1978) reiterated the same. The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) noted with satisfaction the formation of the Lima Group of Support for the Contadora Group, composed of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay and hoped that it would work for achievement of the "goals

249. Ibid., p. 135.
250. Ibid., p. 147.
251. Ibid., pp. 221 and 223.
252. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 186.
253. Ibid., p. 234.
254. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.
255. Ibid., p. 144.
256. Ibid., p. 282.
of solidarity, independence and justice. The New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1986) reiterated the same.

(10) VENEZUELA

Venezuela lies on the northern coast of South America. It was a Spanish colony from 1499 to 1821. Under the leadership of Simón Bolívar, it achieved independence in 1830. The country was governed by dictators until 1945.

Its delegates first attended the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) as Observers. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) commended the struggle of the people of Venezuela for "nationalistic and independent measures" aimed at recovering their natural resources. On January 8-9, 1983, the Foreign Minister of Venezuela, along with those of Mexico, Panama and Colombia took measures for ensuring peaceful coexistence, inviting other Latin American and Caribbean nations.

In March, 1985, Venezuela and Guyana requested UN mediation for solving their dispute over the Essequibo region. Venezuela also claims "some islands in the Netherlands Antilles". It has a territorial dispute with Colombia too, regarding over their boundaries in the Gulf of Venezuela. In 1987, it closed its borders with Colombia. During the Falkland War (1982), Venezuela supported Argentina, and in consequence its relations with the United States became strained. Venezuela has improved its relations with the Caribbean islands.

(D) ISLAND REPUBLICS

(1) CUBA

Columbus discovered Cuba on October 27, 1492. The Spanish colonists exterminated the Cuban aborigines who were replaced by slaves brought

257. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 196.
258. Ibid., p. 250.
259. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.
260. Ibid., p. 135.
261. Ibid., p. 149; see also Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, pp. 5-6.
over from Africa. In the eighteenth century, the British occupied Havana, which ended on July 6, 1793, after a war with Spain.

Spain imposed heavy taxes. As a result, on October 10, 1868, with the help of Cuban slave-owning landlords, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes waged the First War of Independence. Jose Marti founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party (CRP) towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the United States was extending its sphere of influence to the Caribbean area. The CRP demanded independence and aimed at eliminating the threat of US domination over Cuba. However, after a 3-year fierce fighting, in which Jose Marti and Antonio Maceo were killed, the Spanish army was virtually defeated in 1898. During the war, a US battleship was blown up, which had made the United States to enter the war. The United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris behind the back of the Cubans, under which Spain ceded Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam to the United States, which had been occupied by the US troops. Owing to the Cuban rebellion and war for independence, the United States could not annex the territory and it was formally granted independence on May 20, 1902.

Independence did not brought real freedom to Cuba because part of the constitution (the Platt Amendment), drawn up jointly by the US and Cuban leaders, gave the right to the United States "to intervene if necessary in the domestic affairs of the island", and to establish a naval base at Guantanamo Bay. The amendment was renounced by the United States in 1934, but this did not bring an end to "political conflicts, or to dishonesty and mismanagement by those in power. The US domination lasted 57 years, during which the US capital controlled almost every big enterprises at the cost of "chronic unemployment, illiteracy, moral degeneration, political and administrative corruption and anti-democratic governments". The Cuban workers and the revolutionary movement in the country were influenced by the 1917 Soviet Revolution at a time when there was a serious economic crisis in Cuba. The trade unions, the National Confederation of Cuban Workers and the Cuban Marxist Party revolutionised the students. The tyrannical regime of Gerardo

263. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 767.
264. Ibid.
265. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 159.
Machado Morales (1925-1933) was overthrown and a Provisional Revolutionary Government of a nationalist character was established in the country.

During the rule of Ramon Grau San Martin (1944-1948) and Carlos Prio Socarras (1948-1952), discontent grew. On March 10, 1952, Fulgencio Batista seized power through a military coup. Batista government was characterized by unemployment, hunger, poverty and disease. Fidel Castro denounced in his speech, published later under the title, *History Will Absolve Me*, the anti-democratic government and corruption in the country, and founded a Movement on July 26, 1952, for a democratic government in the country. Fidel Castro was imprisoned, while students confronted the police every day. In an attack on President Batista's Palace, a number of students were killed, which "set an example for the struggle which followed". Fidel Castro, Raul Castro and Juan Almeida from outside and the People's Socialist Party and the Directorate from inside, attacked and defeated Batista forces. His dictatorship ended on December 31, 1958. Batista fled to Santo Domingo and many of his men made their way to the United States. Fidel Castro became Prime Minister of Cuba and Osvaldo Dorticos was appointed President. Thus, the country got complete independence.

In its struggle for independence, the Cubans were inspired by the NAM objectives and plans, propagating self-determination, non-alignment and peace during the 1950s. In fact, the emergence of India in August, 1947, as an independent state had marked the beginning of the anti-colonial revolution and nationalist movement on the world stage. Like the Asian and African nations, the Latin American people, including Cubans, realised that the US interventionist policy was practiced mainly for the purpose of exploiting their natural resources. Therefore, they revolted against the US domination.

Cuba was admitted to the United Nations in 1945 and joined the Non-aligned Movement in September, 1961, at its Summit Conference held in Belgrade. Thus, Cuba is one of the founder-members of the Non-aligned Movement.

266. Ibid., p. 161.
(2) DOMINICAN REPUBLIC &
(3) HAITI

The Latin American states and the Caribbean nations are so inter-related that during his visit to Buenos Aires the Furuvian President Garcia in November, 1986, emphasized the need "to create an organization of American states within Latin American and Caribbean nations" to confront the "northern neighbour" i.e. USA. 

Since Dominican Republic and Haiti lie in the Windward Islands group of the West Indies in the Caribbean Sea, their details have been given in Chapter VII.

(E) CENTRAL AMERICAN GUIANAS

(1) GUYANA (British Guiana)

In 1831, Guyana became a British colony. The colonists exploited the socio-economic differences between the ethnic communities and denied the local people participation in the government. The first trade union was formed in the country in 1922 and a large-scale movement was launched under its leadership. Since the demonstrations could not be suppressed, on the eve of the Second World War the British introduced some reforms, expanding suffrage and granting greater parliamentary representation to the colonial people. The 1947-elections returned Cheddi Jagan to the Legislative Council. The Communist minority began to use to its advantage the poverty and frustration due to chronic unemployment, while the people were "inexperienced in democratic processes".

Together with the union leaders, Cheddi Jagan founded the Political Affairs Committee, called the Progressive People's Party (PPP). A strong independence movement forced the Government to introduce universal suffrage, (from which illiterates were excluded) and an Assembly and a Council of State were established in the country. The 1953-elections were won by the PPP. Forbes Burnham became President and Cheddi Jagan became Prime Minister. The new government changed

269. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 854.
a number of repressive laws, adopted measure for reforms and refused to receive the British Queen. The United States and the British government were alarmed at this. The British bureaucracy began to sabotage the government. The British warships arrived 133 days after the new government had assumed charge, suspended the constitution of British Guyana, imprisoned Burnham and Jagan and clamped a state of emergency over the country for four years.

As the British created ethnic differences, the PPP split in 1955. Jagan continued to lead the PPP, while Burnham formed the People's National Congress (PNC). In 1957, the British gave the country a new constitution. The 1957-elections were won by the PPP and the party intensified the movement for the decolonization of Guyana.

Prime Minister Jagan's development programme required large investments, but since the international credit organizations were controlled by the United States and Britain, his appeal for assistance was turned down by the Western countries. As a result, in 1959, the government projects were blocked. Further, as Jagan could not receive assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries due to British control over its foreign trade and external affairs, the PPP intensified its demand for independence.

The PPP won the 1961-elections also, but the PNC broke out its alliance with it. The two parties entered into an agreement in 1962. Jagan adopted an austerity budget to benefit the poor, which was opposed by landlords and the Guyanese bourgeoisie. Riots broke out in 1962 and 1963.

Meanwhile, a Conference of the governments of the Non-aligned countries was held in Cairo in June, 1961, which adopted a 6-point programme for establishment and strengthening of international peace and security, including struggle against imperialism and liquidation of colonialism. Again, the Belgrade NAM Conference (1961) gave a call for the elimination of colonialism and for eradicating sources of international conflicts. Further, the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964)

272. Ibid., p. 5.
resolved to take effective measures for decolonization. 273

The NAM resolutions encouraged the people of Guyana to fight for their rights and the British called for a constitutional conference in 1964. Jagan did not participate in it. However, as decided by this Conference, the British Guyana became independent on May 26, 1966. The country was re-named as the Cooperative Republic of Guyana on February 23, 1970. Guyana became an active member of the NAM, in September, 1970.

(2) SURINAM (Dutch Guiana)

In 1593, Philip II of Spain took official possession of Surinam and in 1667, the English ceded it to Holland in exchange for New Amsterdam (today's New York). Under the Treaty of Vienna (1815), it was ceded to Holland (the Netherlands).

During the Second World War, the Nazi Germany occupied Holland and the Japanese conquered Indonesia, which were major Dutch colonial possessions. After the War, the Dutch Government granted universal suffrage to its overseas colonies, which gave the people a certain degree of autonomy, under the Magna Carta (1954) with Dutch control over defence, foreign trade and external relations. Inspired by the NAM, the people of Surinam intensified their struggle for independence during the 1960s.

The Dutch created differences between different ethnic groups and political parties were encouraged to organise themselves along social lines. In 1967, twelve parties contested elections in Surinam. In 1969, due to a spate of striker, Prime Minister Pensel resigned. In the March, 1969-elections, the Hindustani Party won 13 out of 39 seats, and its leader, Jaggernauth Lachmon formed a coalition government with Jules Sedney, leader of the National Party of Surinam. In 1973, workers' strikes swept the country and elections were held again. The coalition

273. Ibid., pp. 17-27.
274. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 283.
275. Ibid.
277. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 661.
of the NPS, the Republican National Party (RNP) and others defeated
Señey and negotiated with Holland for full independence. Under the
Premiership of Henck Arron, the country was declared independent on
it NAM membership.

A new constitution received "overwhelming approval" in a nation-
wide referendum on September 30, 1987 (after the first "National Assembly
elections) and was approved by the military-appointed National Assembly
on March 5, 1988.

Party (NDP) and three political parties had, in June, 1987, vowed to
form the Front for Democracy and Development (FDD). On the Day of
Independence, November 5, 1987, in a general election held on that day,
FDD defeated the NDP. FDD lost only one seat in the capital - Paramaribo.
During the elections campaign, FDD promised "to restore Surinam's ties
with the Netherlands".

In the beginning of 1987, Surinam faced "economic crisis" - shortage
of food and fuel. The Netherlands' government, in March, 1987, stated
to aid the country after restoration of "democracy and fundamental
rights". The United States and France warned Surinam against providing
a military base in Surinam to Libya for "terrorist operations" in Latin
America and the Caribbean. However, in 1986-87, Surinam signed an
agreement with Libya, which aided it with $100,000,000 and 200 Libyan
advisers were stationed in the country. France re-inforced its military
presence along the Surinam-French Guiana border as a "warning". However,
on October 1, 1987, Col. Bouterse assured that Surinam posed no threat
to French Guiana. On January 26, 1988, the US government announced
resumption of its aid to Surinam which had been cut off in 1987.

278. Ibid., p. 662.
279. Ibid.
282. Ibid., p. 35759.
283. Ibid., p. 35760.
284. Ibid., p. 35761; see also The Times (London), February 27, 1987.
285. Keesing's, Ibid.
French Guiana with its capital, Cayenne, is the smallest of the Guiana colonies having a population of 27,863, according to the census of 1951. Most of the people living on the coastal lowland are Negroes while 5 per cent are white people. It was established as a French colony in 1817. It includes the Devil's Island, a notorious penal colony, a place of exile for convicts and political prisoners until 1937. In 1945, the convicts returned to France. French Guiana became an integral part of the French Republic in 1946. Its administrative structure is similar to that of the Departments of Metropolitan France.

After the Second World War, the French Government started utilising the economic potential of this colony. There is only a small area of about 6,700 acres (less than 11 square miles) of cultivated land in the colony. Most of its people are poor and illiterate. Since 1970, there has been a growth of pro-independence sentiments in the territory.

French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, claimed that the population of French Guiana felt as an integrated part of French civilization and largely contributed to enrich it, as France met the wishes of the great majority of its population and helped it in the way of "capital equipment, economic development, health and education services". Since promised expansion and development of the country failed to materialise, there was a demand for greater autonomy by its people. In 1980, there were several bomb attacks against colonialist targets by an extremist group, but France "refused to countenance any change" in the island's status.

In 1986-87, there was an uprising in Surinam. As a result Surinamese refugees came to French Guiana. French troops patrolled the border between the two Guianas. The Surinamese Government accused France of preparing for an invasion of Surinam via French Guiana.

287. Ibid.
289. Ibid.
291. Ibid.
CONCLUSION

The objectives of the Non-aligned Movement became an effective instrument for keeping peace in the world. The like-minded Latin American countries joined the Afro-Asian leaders.

Admitted to the Non-aligned Movement with a status of an Observer were Brazil and Ecuador in 1961, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela in 1964, Colombia in 1970, El Salvador in 1975, and Costa Rica in 1979.


Some countries became independent. Guyana became independent on May 26, 1966, Surinam on November 25, 1975, Dominican Republic in 1978, Nicaragua on July 17, 1979, Belize on September 21, 1981, and Haiti in 1988. French Guiana is still a French Colony. Paraguay and Uruguay have relations with the South African regime although they are members of the Contadora Group.