CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF NON-ALIGNMENT

The Second World War destroyed Nazism and Fascism and also gave a tremendous blow to colonialism, infusing extraordinary power into the liberation and independence movements in Asia and Africa. The colonized peoples fought fearlessly for independence and gradually the colonial forces retreated from their colonies and, consequently, most of Asia and Africa became free from colonial subjugation. But, before they could achieve independence, their identity was long submerged, suppressed and distorted by the colonial governments. To reestablish their identity, they used their political power "to make independence a stepping stone to economic prosperity, social justice and spiritual and cultural well-being". For securing these objectives, each country required and still requires peace, stability and security not only inside but also outside the country. Peace, in the present world, has become a requisite sine qua non for smooth and all-round national development. Thus, to preserve national independence and national interests, it is indispensable to "contribute to the efforts to achieve world security, world justice, and world prosperity. With the achievement of world peace and security it is hoped that smooth co-operation with the outside world can be guaranteed. With the attainment of world prosperity it is hoped that technical, scientific and financial aid from outside will be more easily obtainable. With the existence of social justice in the world it is hoped that it will be easier to rectify social anomalies inside the country".

But, unfortunately, though the above objective and theory seemed very convincing and attractive, it was not easy to achieve, because, after the Second World War, the Western bloc led by the United States and the Eastern one led by the Soviet Union quarrelled to extend their respective spheres of influence, which became more pronounced and resulted in serious conflicts. The United States sponsored Marshall

2. Ibid.
Plan to reconstruct Western Europe in 1948 through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). The Soviet Union sponsored the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON) in 1949. The Cold War between the two Superpowers became increasingly fierce and resulted in the division of Germany, Korea, Vietnam and India each into two parts. The world seemed to be on the verge of the Third World War, which could be averted only through ensuring peace in the world. The Non-aligned Movement took this up as its main objective.

The aim of peace was not new. The Congress of Paris (1856), the London Conference (1871, 1912-1913), the Berlin Congresses (1878, 1884-1885), the Algiers Conference (1906) and the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) laid down the foundation of joint consultation for maintaining peace. The Hague Conference (1899 and 1907) envisaged solving this world problem. The establishment of the League of Nations in 1920, sought to solve the international problems. The Brussels Conference of Anti-Imperialist Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held in February, 1927, in Belgium, opened the eyes of Nehru. It was attended by representatives from 136 organisations and colonised countries. There were, among others, Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Dr. Hatta (Indonesia), Ho Chi Minh (North Vietnam), Leopold Senghor (Senegal) besides other Indonesian figures, such as Mohammad Nazir Datuk Pamuncak etc. "The Conference gave them a deep understanding of the problems of the colonised countries and the struggle which would be world-wide in nature...".

From 1927 to 1939 (till the start of the Second World War), the nationalist movements gained momentum. Pan-Africanism, emerged

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4. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
with the formation of the Union of South Africa, which inspired the African National Congress in 1912, followed by a series of Pan-African Congresses in 1919. The inspiration grew in Asia and gave spirit to the African struggle. In 1945, the Africans held the Fifth African Congress in Manchester.

The War brought new ideas about colonialism and imperialism. The Imperialists called their possessions the White Man's Burden. They wanted to civilize and Christianize the backward nations. They argued that colonialism was necessary for emancipation. Contrarily, colonialism was given the meaning of suppression, brutality, exploitation, misery, hatred and degradation. Moon considered Imperialism nothing more than "domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations". The colonies, protectorates and dependent states were regarded valuable to the Colonialists for various purposes - economic gain, national prestige and national defence. The Imperialists had established their control in many ways - through military conquest, negotiations, bribery or gunpowder and fraud and economic penetration. France acclaimed the imperialistic programme of Jules Ferry in the early eighties and planted its tricolour on nearly three million square miles of soil and sand. German Bismark acquired a million square miles and Hitler had a plan of Greater Reich. Italy established Italian East Africa but during the Second World War lost everything. Leopold II of Belgium established the Congo Free State. Japan carved out a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere", rejected democracy and accepted industrial capitalism, militarism and imperialism, but her dreams of empire ended with her defeat in 1945. In the height of colonialism, Soviet Union, which had concentrated on domestic problems and on building up her industrial and military strength, was the only hope which made no serious effort towards territorial expansion and was the champion of the liberation of subject people and of anti-imperialism, though she had annexed 264,000 square miles of land and as satellites parts of all of eleven countries to the extent of more than five million square miles. The Soviet expansionism created


anxiety in much of the non-Communist world. In mid-1920s, half the world's land area and one-third of the human race had a colonial status. In view of this situation, the advocates of the policy of non-alignment with Power blocs were attempting to transform their thoughts into action. Fortunately, after the War, the political atmosphere became congenial for them to launch their policy as a movement.

There were movements for independence in almost all the colonial countries which were achieving independence one after another; but they had to face a lot of resistance and bloodshed and sacrifices. The parting of ways of the US and the USSR and their encircling small nations made non-alignment popular among newly liberated countries. Further, as they needed much assistance from the Superpowers for national development, they did not want to oppose them openly. For instance, Nehru on March 15, 1946, declared that free India would be friendly with America, Russia and England and would not entangle herself in relation to military alliances. Because joining one bloc meant to take arms against another and because of her weak position she could lose her sovereignty and independence. Thus, the first aim was to save the independence. This policy created the state of neutrality, which soon changed into non-alignment. The Non-aligned Movement gained commendable success in expediting decolonization through the United Nations, as the newly independent countries, charmed by the noble objective of the Movement and afraid of possible domination by Superpowers, joined it and pushed its proposals in the United Nations. The success of the Movement may be assessed by the fact that while on the eve of the First World War, the three leading colonial powers, Britain, France and Germany, had, between them, colonial possessions covering a total area of 47 million square kilometers and on the eve of the Second World War, in 1939, England, France, Italy and Japan occupied 50.2 million square kilometers. After the Second World War, as the Non-aligned Movement began its anti-colonial revolution, the colonial possessions rapidly decreased.

In view of the wave of emancipation, struggle for independence and because of oppressive acts by the Colonial masters, Nehru thought to assess the world opinion and called for the Asian Relations Conference, which was presided over by Sarojini Naidu in the Purana Qila in New Delhi on March 23, 1947. It was attended by twenty-eight Asian and African nations, including prominent figures like S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, and delegates from China, Egypt, Iran, the Arab countries of West Asia, Indonesia, Indo-China, Turkey, Korea, Mongolia, Siam, Malaya, the Philippines, Soviet Republic of Asia, Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon. Observers were from Australia and New Zealand. The Conference provided the leaders and freedom fighters "a wide opportunity to strengthen their relations ... and to have a platform to voice the Asian spirit" and the spirit of liberty, which were burning in their hearts.

By August, 1948, Jordan, the Philippines, Pakistan, India, Burma, Sri Lanka and Korea had become independent. Israel was created as a tool by the Western powers through a UN resolution in 1947 in the heart of the Arab homeland, which caused total disruption in the area, and which endangered international peace and security. The West chose sides and decided to patronize them as and when their own interests demanded it. The new states, in view of the two giant blocs, decided to support efforts beneficial to national interests, lessening world tension and achieving peace and security, prosperity and social justice. They also decided actively to initiate similar efforts. They supported the independence movements when, in 1947, Britain and France were still colonising Asia while Holland was trying hard to recolonise Indonesia. The polarisation of the world into the Western and the Eastern blocs became more clear. Thus, they faced not only colonialism and imperialism but also the Cold War.

When the Netherlands Government launched a second police action in Indonesia in December, 1948, Nehru took the initiative and called an emergency conference in New Delhi on January 20, 1949. The conference

was attended by eighteen nations - Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. China, Nepal, New Zealand and Siam (Thailand) sent observers. Nehru, in his presidential address, said:

"We meet today, because the freedom of a sister country of ours has been imperilled and a dying colonialism of the past has raised its head again and challenged all the forces that are struggling to build up a new structure of the world."

The conference was unanimous in supporting Nehru's voice for international peace and security and the United States also, in consequence, recognised the Dutch evacuation and the sovereignty of Indonesia in November, 1949. The United States favoured the independence of Indonesia, because the presence of Dutch in the region was hostile to its interest.

On June 25, 1950, the United States attacked North Korea to check Communism. Korea, under the Potsdam Agreements of July, 1945, was temporarily divided. The North, occupied by the Soviet Union, was named People's Democratic Republic of Korea (PDRK) and the South was called Republic of Korea. In December, 1948, Soviet forces withdrew from the North in fulfilment of the Moscow Agreement (1947), but the United States continued to occupy the South. The North was headed by Kim Il Sung as the Prime Minister. The objective of the attack was to check expansion of socialism in North Korea. There were agrarian reforms in the North, while the South was denied even the elementary human rights. China sent one million volunteers to help the North. The Afro-Asian states, at the UN headquarters in New York met on December 15, 1950, to consider their joint stand on the war in Korea. It was attended by fourteen countries - India, Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the Philippines. Barring Sri Lanka, Australia

and the Philippines, the other participants formed the Afro-Asian group, the joint action of which caused the end of the war and a truce was signed in Korea on July 27, 1953, and Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam contributed to a settlement, arrived at on July 20 and 21, 1954.

The Baguio (Manila) Conference in the Philippines, which was held from May 26 to 30, 1950, at the invitation of President Elpidio Quirino, was attended by Australia, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand. As, in the meanwhile President Quirino had died, General Romulo presided over the meeting and said: "The remedy which most of our countries require is not military action but action to forestall internal subversion". He referred to the fact that though the United States recognised independent Republic of the Philippines, as promised in 1946, but by a forced agreement the United States had secured right to deploy military, naval and air forces in the Islands.

In Vietnam, the French, supported by Britain, launched an aggressive war on September 23, 1945, against the Japanese to disarm them in the South. Chiang Kaishek's forces entered the North under the same pretext. The Vietnamese supported them as during 1944-45 more than two million people in the North had died of starvation due to ruthless exploitation by Japan. The National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party held a Congress at Hanoi in 1951. The Congress, attacking the British said:

"Hardly a month after our declaration of independence, British troops entered the South. Under the pretence of disarming the Japanese army, they acted as an expeditionary corps helping the French colonialists in their attempt to re-occupy the country".

In Burma, after the assassination of Aun San by reactionary forces, U Nu assumed the office of Prime Minister. The Aun San assassination created so much indignation that the British were forced to grant

20. Ibid., n. 16.
independence on January 4, 1948, but the reactionary forces, supported from abroad, ignited a civil war. In this tense political situation, after a preliminary meeting, held in Rangoon in March, 1952, the Asian Socialist Conference was convened in the same city in January, 1953, which was joined by the left wing of national liberation movements from certain Asian countries. The Conference adopted resolutions on the "principles and objectives of Socialism". The Conference was attended by representatives of the Socialist Alliance and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The Conferences of the Afro-Asian states in 1947 and 1950 were the first to pave the way for formulation of basic principles of non-alignment. Impressed by the conclusions of these conferences, Nehru wished to formulate certain principles for world peace. Adopting the non-partisan policy of India and the Gandhian moralist traditions, Nehru signed the India-China Joint Agreement on April 29, 1954, on Tibet called the 'Panchsheel or the Five Principles, which was the second major step in the direction of Non-alignment. The five principles were:

"(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;

(2) Mutual non-aggression;

(3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;

(4) Equality and mutual benefit; and

(5) Peaceful co-existence".

As a Panchsheel signatory, Chou En-lai had been visiting Nehru on the one hand, and, on the other, adopted tactics to gain confidence of both the French and Viet Minh. He also called on U Nu in Rangoon. With the exception of major Western Powers, it was, within three years,

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21. 'India-China Agreement on Tibet', 29th April 1954', in Foreign Policy of India : Texts of Documents (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, various editions).

endorsed by eighteen countries in Joint Communique or Joint Statements with various Indian leaders.

The British India was partitioned into two sovereign states - India and Pakistan, established on 15 and 14 August, 1947 respectively. Pakistan based its foreign policy on rivalry with India and joined CENTO, permitted US military bases in Pakistan and crushed the Communists. Despite this, C.C. Desai (India) persuaded Sir John Kotelawala, Ceylonese Prime Minister, that Pakistan should anyway be brought to the conference at Colombo. In 1953, Pakistan had signed a Mutual Security Pact with the United States. Under this tense global situation, the Colombo Conference was held from April 28 to May 2, 1954, which was attended by Nehru, Mohammed Ali, U Nu, Dr. Sastroamidjojo and Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon.

On April 28, 1954, Sir John referred to the dangers of war, Communism, Western attempts to perpetuate colonial rule, race in atomic weapons, crisis in Indo-China and the hydrogen bomb. Mohammed Ali described the Kashmir issue as the biggest danger to peace in South Asia. Dr. Sastroamidjojo referred to the explosion of the hydrogen bomb as the cause of mounting tension in the world. U Nu emphasised the importance of cooperation and mutual help between the countries in the field of economic development. On May 2, 1954, the Conference issued its decisions. It adopted resolutions against hydrogen bomb, and for admission of Communist China to the United Nations. It denounced colonialism, supported independence of Tunisia and Morocco, condemned Israel and asserted economic cooperation. They also adopted the principles of respecting the sovereignty of each country and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of others.

**Geneva Conference**

The Conference lasted for 74 days from May 2 to July 21, 1954. It was attended, among others, by five major powers represented by

23. 'Panchsheel' : Its Meaning and History (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 5th edn.), pp. 38-42; see also Peter Willetts, Ibid., p. 7.
25. Ibid., p. 72.
Vyacheslav M. Molotov (USSR), Chou En-lai (China), Anthony Eden (UK), George Bidault, who was later replaced by Pierre Mendès (France) and Walter Bedell Smith (USA). From New Delhi, Nehru guided Krishna Menon. Nehru's 'Six-Point Plan' for peace in Indo-China was accepted on April 24, 1954. "Despite American opposition to India's participation either in the Korean or the Indo-Chinese conference in Geneva, Indian involvement in both was considerable". The Indo-China Conference at Geneva was important as it was to discuss the alternative of the Third World War. Krishna Menon said: "the British said definitely to the Americans that they would not agree to the (US) aircraft carriers going to the Indo-China area. Dulles wanted to wage war". Further, "the Geneva Agreements placed the responsibility for armistice settlement's maintenance on the combatants - France and Vietnam". Moreover, the Agreement set out the composition of the Commissions with Canada, Poland and India, under the Chairmanship of India. The Geneva Accords were set out under the influence of India, one of the main leaders of Non-aligned Movement. They were the fruits of non-alignment.

On August 1, 1954, Nehru inaugurated a conference of the representatives of the three Governments - India, Canada and Poland. The Commission brought about ceasefire in Vietnam and provided for the conferment of independence on the three states - Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and also safeguarded their sovereignty on the basis of pledges of mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and undertaking not to enter into military alliances with other states. But when the International Commission withdrew, the whole area was again became a battle-ground. Ho Chi Minh said: "The Americans have used every means to sabotage the Geneva Conference ... US imperialism is the main enemy of world peace ...".

In view of the growing influence of non-aligned countries, the Western powers concluded on September 8, 1954, the South-East Asia

26. Ibid., p. 74.
27. Ibid., p. 72.
28. Ibid., p. 76.
29. Ibid.
Treaty Organisation (SEATO). The signatories were the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, who pledged themselves to "strengthen their free institutions" and set a common goal to check Communism. Washington viewed "SEATO as a link in the system of alliances in Asia and the Pacific". The Pakistan Times reported: "... the Military Pact created an extremely dangerous situation ... that will restrict Pakistan's freedom in the international field, create a danger of Pakistan becoming a theatre of war in a conflict which will not be of Pakistan's seeking, ... and is likely to allow foreign influence to affect Pakistan's domestic policies". The 'Treaty Area' mentioned in the Treaty was "the general area of South-East Asia ... and the general area of South-West Pacific". Thus, the countries concerned could expand that area saying "This is also in our area", which could endanger peace and cause war, and the signatories could intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

After the Accords, the United States and China began to undo the commendable effort the three Commissions had made. China sent arms to North Vietnam and the United States to the South. Thus, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos became areas of armed conflict.

Bogor Conference (December, 1954)

The Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan and India met at Bogor (Indonesia) in December, 1954, to prepare the agenda for the proposed Asian-African Conference to be held at Bandung. Israel and the Arab countries were included in the list of participants. Thus, the Colombo move grew into an international system. Nehry spoke of one world. He said: "We want to live in peace and cooperation with other countries, whether of Europe or Africa or America or any other part of the world".

30. Ibid., p. 83.
31. Ibid., pp. 83-84.
32. The Pakistan Times (Lahore), January 14, 1954.
33. Jyoti Sengupta, n. 15, p. 84.
34. Ibid., p. 97.
Tito's Peace Mission

Josip Broz Tito, in December, 1954, set sail on the ship "Galeb" for India and other Asian countries on his first great "Peace Mission". In his historic address to the Indian Parliament on December 21, 1954, and to the Rangoon University on January 16, 1955, and in the communiques signed on those occasions, he stressed the need "to increase the number of nations and states fighting for equitable relations, for peaceful cooperation among peoples and active co-existence". On his way back to home, Tito met Nasser on February 5, 1955, when the "Officers' Revolution" and the overthrow of the feudal social system in Egypt had heightened anti-colonial and liberation struggles in Africa. Their meeting gave impetus to the movement of non-alignment, bringing non-aligned countries to the point of joint action. Tito toured the newly liberated countries, including Ethiopia in December, 1955. On June 2, 1955, Yugoslavia and USSR had signed a Joint Communique. Nehru visited Yugoslavia on July 2, 1955. The visits, joint communiques and addresses yielded the idea of active peaceful co-existence. Since 1955-56, Yugoslavia's relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe improved greatly and had become stable and friendly. At the same time, Tito emerged as one of the leaders of the "neutralist" countries and established close relations with Nasser and Nehru.

Bandung Conference (April, 1955)

The Afro-Asian Conference, held at Bandung (Indonesia) on April 9-24, 1955, was attended by twenty-nine states of Asia and Africa. There were Communists (China and North Vietnam) and Western allies (Turkey, the Philippines and South Vietnam). "The importance of Bandung was that for the first time a group of former colonial territories had


met together without any of the European powers and to all those taking part, this was an assertion of their independence. Opening the Conference, the Chairman, Dr. Achmed Soekarno, said that it was the first international conference of 'coloured peoples', who had the feeling of solidarity for a common struggle against European imperialism. Though Pakistan taking side of the United States, objected almost at every step in the framing of the draft declaration, the representatives of about 65 per cent of the world's population adopted the principle that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end".

Different proposals of committees, finalised in Ten Principles, partially incorporated the Panchsheel:

"1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.

4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6.(a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interest of any of the big powers.

(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiations, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

38. Peter Willetts, n.22, n. 3.


9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations".

A Committee drafted a Declaration under Nasser and devoted to the problems of human rights and self-determination, problems of dependent peoples, promotion of world peace and cooperation including the problem of Palestine and the plight of the refugees, the problems of Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, West Irian and Aden. However, the principles endorsed military pacts and omitted the proclamation of "co-existence". The principle of "co-existence" was emphasised in the Tito-Nehru 14-point Joint Declaration. They worked for "lowering of world tensions", "development of collective peace" and "peaceful co-existence".

Bandung and After

After the Bandung Conference, Nehru started getting hard knocks from Chou En-lai. Ceylon and Pakistan were anti-Communist. Peking sent a letter to Karachi (then Pakistan's capital) desiring good relations with Pakistan in order to turn Pakistan against India and invaded India on September 8, 1962. The US military forced the Chinese to withdraw. The Soviet Union did not wage war against China being a Communist country. However, Morozoff said: "We want you to fight, and if you like, with our arms and support". Nasser concluded:

"Each one of us has to be strong enough militarily because strategically placed as we are on the globe there will be attacks which we must be able to resist. Any attack on us is attack on non-alignment".


44. Ibid., p. 110.
Ceylon also joined the Western Camp. In 1956, SWRD Bandaranaike terminated all agreements with Britain and was assassinated on September 26, 1959. His wife, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, led SLFP to victory and became the first woman Prime Minister. She assumed office on July 21, 1960, and based her foreign policy on the principles of co-existence and non-alignment. She changed the name of her country from Ceylon to Sri Lanka. She said: "Ceylon extends the hand of friendship to all countries".

Brioni Meeting (Yugoslavia), July, 1956

Tito, Nehru and Nasser resumed talks on July 18-19, 1956, on Brioni Island and enlarged the frontiers of non-alignment to cover Europe and Latin America and to strengthen the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, which was under domination of US leadership as twenty-one Latin American states were in its orbit. The trio discussed the problems of peace and danger of war, measures for easing tensions and collective security. They concluded: "Peace cannot be achieved through division, but by working for collective security on a world scale and by expanding the region of freedoms as well as by terminating the domination of one country over another". Their meeting adopted a 12-point programme, which served as a platform for coordinating the policies of non-aligned countries.

The Bandung Conference was followed by the Conference in Accra in 1958, and the Conference in Addis Ababa in 1960, which resulted in the draft resolution submitted by forty-three Afro-Asian countries before the XVth General Assembly of the United Nations (UN Resolution 1514 (XV), December 14, 1960) which aimed at the complete elimination of colonialism in whatever form or whatever manifestation.

The Paris Peace Conference, held in May, 1960, set itself two tasks - one "to define positions and sum up demands of the non-aligned

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45. Ibid., p. 112.
countries in terms of the most pressing problems of peace, peaceful relations and international cooperation" and another "to intervene, by a special, direct action, for the purpose of preserving peace which stood threatened by the aggravation in relations between the USA and USSR". The Declaration and Statements were despatched to Kennedy and Khrushchev to continue the negotiations so as to eliminate danger of war. The Declaration emphasised "the liquidation of colonialism, the struggle against imperialism, support for national liberation movement, disarmament, economic and social problems emerging from the liquidation of colonialism, problems of developing countries, active and peaceful co-existence and so on".

In view of the increased tension, Yugoslavia convened at Belgrade a meeting of Tito, Nasser, Nehru, Sukarno and Nkrumah, who took joint action for decolonization in September, 1960, at the UN General Assembly, which was the first meeting of the Non-aligned countries. On October 12, 1960, in Belgrade, Tito called this a "new phenomenon" and a "new force", which had already "come to expression" despite opposition from the Big Powers. The Western circles attempted to disunite this force, but they could not succeed. The developing countries though needing Western assistance, did not yield. Sukarno said, "Each one of us arrived at this policy inspired by common ideals, spurred by similar circumstances, imbued with similar experiences".

From February 13 to April 23, 1961, Tito toured nine countries of Africa and planned to hold a conference. The conference, held in Cairo (Egypt) from June 5 - 12, 1961, was attended by twenty-one Asian, African, Arab and Latin American countries. Brazil was represented by an observer. The meeting adopted a provisional agenda for consideration of the Belgrade Conference, including, among others, struggle against imperialism, liquidation of colonialism and neocolonialism, racial discrimination and Apartheid, disarmament and peaceful co-existence.

48. Ibid.
First Summit (Belgrade), September, 1961

The first summit of the twenty-five Heads of State or Governments of non-aligned countries and three countries as observers, was held in Belgrade from September 1-6, 1961, which was opened by Tito. The Conference considered only a five-item agenda and declared that peace can be achieved only through elimination of "colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations" and demanded that the dependent peoples should be enabled to exercise "their right to complete independence". They considered the problems of the peoples of Algeria, Tunisia, Congo, Palestine, Cuba and Angola and stressed immediate termination of colonial occupation and withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil. Further, it was also considered by them imperative "to remove economic imbalances inherited from colonialism and imperialism". They sent a similar message to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev requesting them for maintenance of peace in the world.

The Conference recognised the territorial integrity of Algeria including Sahara; expressed concern over repressive measures of Portugal in Angola; demanded immediate evacuation of French armed forces from Tunisia and ending tragic events in Congo; condemned the policy of Apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa; observed that the permanence of North American military base at Guantánamo affected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cuba. As the military bases and armament is the cause of forced interference, intervention, aggression and occupation of other countries, the participants stressed that "general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of armed forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms as well as the elimination of institutions and installations for military training, except for purposes of international security; and total prohibition of the production, possession and

51. See Appendix I; see also The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 2nd rev. edn., 1982), n. 13.
53. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 7.
54. Ibid., p. 8.
utilization of nuclear and thermo-nuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons as well as the elimination of equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories". They asked the Superpowers to conclude a treaty for complete disarmament and release the energy and resources "for the peaceful economic and social development of all mankind".

Haile Selassie, on September 2, calling for "speedy implementation" of the UN resolution on Bizerta, said that "no effort should be spared to avoid further bloodshed". President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on the same day, referring to the Soviet explosion of a nuclear device on August 31, 1961, said that it was "a shock to him" as it "forcibly brings home the supreme danger facing mankind, the imperative necessity for peace, and the urgent need to sign a treaty for complete and general disarmament". Nkrumah, among others, proposed complete disarmament and "complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations by December 31, 1962" and that "Africa must be declared a nuclear-free zone".

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on September 2, speaking on war and peace in view of the Soviet explosion, asserted that the situation has been created by the United States and the Soviet Union. He said: "The world has arrived at a position today when there was no choice left between negotiations of peace and war". He also said: "If we refuse to negotiate, then they must inevitably go to war". He commended Algeria, which "paid a fantastic price in human life and suffering in its struggle for freedom" and also sympathised with the Angolan people's struggle for freedom. About South Africa, Nehru said that "in South Africa we have the supreme symbol of racial arrogance, racial

55. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), n. 52, p. 19.
56. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 177.
59. Ibid., p. 178.
60. Ibid., p. 188.
discrimination, apartheid and all that - an intolerable situation". Nehru added: "There is Tunisia with its recent extraordinary experience at Bizerta. The very idea of foreign bases in a country seems extraordinary to me. I do not understand how any country can profit in a base in a country which opposes that base".

In view of the deteriorating economic position of the Third World, Tito, Nasser and Nehru convened an economic conference of non-aligned countries in Cairo between November 17 and 20, 1961. Another conference between July 8 and 12, 1962, which was attended by thirty-six countries and five observer countries, was convened by India, Yugoslavia and the UAR. The Conference adopted a 'Declaration of Developing Countries', which set out their economic position, problems and requirements of their development and their relations with the industrially advanced countries. Tito and Nasser met on May 16, 1963, on Brioni Island, and on October 13, 1963, Nasser and Srimavo Bandaranaike met in Cairo. They issued joint communiques, stressing the need to hold a conference at Colombo.

The Colombo conference was held from March 23 - 28, 1964, on the invitation of Tito, Nasser and Mrs. Bandaranaike under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Sam P.C. Fernando, the Ceylonese Ambassador to the UAR. It was attended by twenty-three countries and by Bolivia and Brazil as observers. The draft agenda included, among others, the items considered at Belgrade (1961). They decided to hold a second summit in Cairo and, to make necessary arrangements to form a Standing Committee.

**Second Summit (Cairo), October, 1964**

The second Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries was held from October 5 - 10, 1964, in Cairo. Forty-seven countries, ten observers and many organisations and parties participated. The agenda, inter alia, included consideration of positive role of new states, national liberation movements and

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61. Ibid., p. 189.
63. See Appendix II.
"concerted action for the liberation of the countries still dependent, elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and condemnation of racial discrimination and the policy of Apartheid". They called for "unconditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism", condemned "all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies applied in various parts of the world", advocated the "process of liberation" resort to arms to secure their right to self-determination and independence; supported the freedom fighters in different parts of the world; and demanding imposition of sanction against the Pretoria Government. The Conference adopted nine fundamental principles of co-existence.

At the Second African-Asian Conference, attended by more than sixty Asian and African countries, the Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi, at a Press Conference on September 29, 1965, asked it to show the Bandung spirit by supporting "the people of Viet Nam, Laos, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, the Arab people of Palestine, and the people of South Yemen, Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan in their struggles against the aggression of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists headed by the United States". He accused the US imperialism of trying to sabotage this conference and asked the conference to condemn US imperialism for its aggressions throughout the world, by invoking the Bandung spirit, lest it should lose its significance. He added that some newly independent countries did not openly denounce US imperialism "because of their need for US aid to solve the bread question". He opined "If one relies on US aid, one will get less and less bread, while relying on one's own efforts one will get more and more. So far as certain countries are concerned, the more that denounce US imperialism the more bread they will probably get from it, otherwise they will not get any. Such is the character of US imperialism - bullying the weak-kneed and fearing the strong". He suggested to resolve "declaring the

64. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, p. 50, n. 18.
65. Ibid., p. 21.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 155.
cancellation of all debts which Afro-Asian countries owe to the United States. 69

Opposing the UN participation in the conference, the Chinese Foreign Minister said that U Thant "is not the head of the United Nations; the head of the United is the United States". The reason of Chinese opposition to UN participation was that the United Nations had excluded China for sixteen years. Toasting for the success of the Non-aligned Movement, the Chinese Foreign Minister further said: "Joint struggle against imperialism is possibly only when no one imposes his will on others". Regarding the participation of the Soviet Union in the conference, he observed: "the Soviet Union is by tradition a European country, and there is no reason for its participation in the African-Asian Conference". The Soviet Union did not ask for participation in the First Asian-African Conference. At that time, Prime Minister Nehru openly declared that "the Soviet Union, a European country, was not to be invited".

A meeting of Foreign Ministers of NAM countries at the UN Headquarters in New York on September 27, 1969, stressed the need for joint action. It was attended by fifty-three countries with observers from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Venezuela. The participants agreed to hold a meeting early in 1970.

The Preparatory Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries to hold the Third Summit was convened in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) from April 13-17, 1970, at the invitation of the host country, Tanzania. The Conference emphasised economic self-reliance and international cooperation among the non-aligned countries on the basis of equality of all nations, big and small, called for withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab lands, reaffirmed the full restoration of the Arab people of Palestine to their usurped homeland, supported the Palestinian struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism, demanded immediate

69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 156.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam, condemned the colonial and fascist regime of Portugal, the Apartheid regime of South Africa and the illegal racist minority regime in Zimbabwe, noted with concern the disregard of UN resolutions by South Africa and stressed the implementation of the UN Declaration. The meeting formed a Standing Committee of sixteen members to make preparations for the Third Summit at Lusaka. The Conference, among other things, extended support "to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Portuguese colonies, Palestine, South Africa and Rhodesia which were fighting for freedom and the right to self-determination".

Third Summit (Lusaka), September, 1970

The Third Summit of Heads of State or Government of fifty-four Non-aligned Countries was held in Lusaka (Zambia) from September 8-10, 1970, attended by observers from ten countries and eight national liberation movements. The important items of agenda were liberation of countries and support to liberation movements, abolition of all forms of racial discrimination and neo-colonialism. The participants decided to take the following measures against Portugal, South Africa and Zimbabwe: "(a) To impose an embargo on trade; (b) To sever diplomatic relations; (c) To deny landing rights and all facilities to any aircraft or vessel; (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". The participants requested the Chairman "to contact in the most appropriate manner the NATO countries ... to put an immediate end to their assistance which directly or indirectly strengthens the regimes of colonial and racist oppression". They condemned the presence of South African forces in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and demanded their "immediate and unconditional withdrawal". The Conference adopted detailed resolutions

74. See Appendix III; see also The Non-Aligned Countries, n. 51, p. 14.
75. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 52.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
in support of the people of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe and Cyprus, and called for immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. They stressed also disarmament and peaceful use of sea-bed.

On September 16-18 and 30, 1971, representatives of non-aligned countries to the United Nations met at the UN Headquarters and reiterated the previous resolutions. They affirmed the struggle of people for freedom and expressed concern over "abnormal movement of millions of people across international frontiers into India" and "lack of progress in solving the Middle East crisis". In pursuance of the decisions of the meeting, a Ministerial Consultative Meeting of the Non-aligned countries was held on October 1, 1971.

The Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries held a conference in Georgetown (Guyana) from August 8-12, 1972, which was attended by fifty-nine countries, eleven observers and nine organisations. They noted the continued aggression of imperialists in various parts of the world, particularly in Indochina, in the Middle East and in Africa and were convinced that "a further lessening of military blocs would advance the general cause of the peace". They demanded "dismantling of all foreign military bases in different regions of the world" and making the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans areas of peace and cooperation. They appreciated the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of five countries declaring South East Asia a zone of peace. They were disappointed to note the complete rejection of Lusaka Manifesto by the racist powers. They supported freedom struggles being launched in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia and expressed solidarity with the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos for their self-determination. They were convinced that the independence of Latin American countries would strengthen international peace and security. They were determined "to give effective assistance to all colonial peoples struggling for self-determination

78. Ibid., p. 64.
79. Ibid., p. 65.
80. Ibid., p. 71.
81. Ibid.
and independence”. Moreover, they undertook, *inter alia*, as follows:

"(iv) to intensify efforts to bring to an end all wars of aggression and foreign occupation of territory;

(v) to endeavour by all means to liquidate all remaining traces of colonialism and racial discrimination, in particular by increasing support for liberation movements in colonial territories and for the efforts of the United Nations in these respects;

(vi) to consider ways and means of establishing a method of providing systematic finance, armaments and training for the liberation movements of Africa”.

The Preparatory Committee, appointed by the Georgetown Conference, met in Kabul (Afghanistan) from May 13-15, 1973, to consider preparation for the Fourth Summit. It was attended by seventeen countries, five observers and one as guest. The Committee condemned the "colonial and racist policies of South Africa, the failure of the UK Government to bring down the illegal minority regime in South Rhodesia, and war being waged by Portugal against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau", and aggression of racist regimes against "Guinea, People's Republic of Congo, Senegal, United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia, because of their steadfast support to the liberation movements". Further, the Conference welcomed the Paris Agreements, which restored peace in Vietnam, and also Vientiane Agreement, which had produced national concord in Laos, desiring their faithful implementation.

**Fourth Summit (Algiers), September, 1973**

The Fourth Summit of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries was held in Algiers (Algeria) from September 5-9, 1973. At it there were participants from seventy-five countries, observers from twenty-three nations and three guest countries. The items contained on its agenda were strengthening world peace and security, peaceful co-existence, joint measures and concerted efforts for combating aggression, eliminating foreign occupation and threats to independence.
intensification of measures to combat colonialism, Apartheid, and racial discrimination, and measures to assist peoples and countries which were victims of aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The prominent decisions that were taken at the Conference were the "joining of forces, greater self-reliance, mutual solidarity, and the willingness to work together". They observed, "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". Reiterating their earlier demand regarding military bases and Israel, they denounced "the refusal of the United States of America and the Saigon administration to strictly observe the Paris Agreements". They also hailed the victory of the Cambodian people and condemned the US bombing of Cambodia, US support to Phnom Penh regime and US interference in Cambodian internal affairs. They recognised the Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia with Prince Norodom Sihanouk as Head of State. They reiterated that "armed conflict is the only way to end colonial and racial discrimination" in Africa and Latin America and adopted suitable resolutions regarding Indian Ocean, Puerto Rico, Middle East, Palestine, South Africa, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Namibia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Korea, Comoros Islands, Spanish Sahara, French Somalis and Israel.

Murtadha Saeed Abdul Baqi, Foreign Minister of Iraq, on September 7, 1973, said that imperialism, led by the United States of America "goes on committing aggression on the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia with the object of debarring them from exercising their will in regard to independence and unity" and "proceeds with spinning plots involving meddling in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries with the object of impeding their revolution and opposing their independence". The Foreign Minister called upon the NAM members "to boycott Israel politically and economically and have it expelled from all international organisations and render full backing to the rights of the Arab people of Palestine". He emphasised

87. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 50, pp. 93-97.
88. Ibid., p. 95.
89. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 209.
the liquidation "of all foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean and in its geographical and political extensions in the Arab Sea and the Arab Gulf, the withdrawal of the region's countries from imperialist military alliances and the reconciliation of differences between those countries in a peaceful manner".

The Libyan Head of State, Col. M. Gaddafy told the Algiers Conference on September 6, 1973, that he did not believe any of its "beautiful human intentions" would ever see the light. "But, I agree, on them without reservation, although I am aware that this group will not be able to make any arrangements for collective defence", which, to him, was impossible. He further remarked: "All I hope for is that members of this group should pledge not to attack each other. This way we would stop the fear of war or actual war in almost half the world". Commenting on the decisions for implementation of economic plans of the Non-aligned Movement, Col. Gaddafy said: "This group will also not be able to achieve a joint economic plan ... I accept your resolutions, but I also know in advance that they will not be implemented What we can do, however, is to pledge that we shall not be tied economically with any of the monopolistic international forces".

Soon after the Fourth Summit, the United States organised a reactionary coup in Chile in September, 1973, when President Salvador Allende was murdered. The Heads of States concentrated attention "on the struggle to achieve freedom, independence, and progress, to enable all peoples and countries to live in peace and security, to eliminate without delay the existing inequality in international political situation and economic relations". The European countries at their Helsinki Conference in 1973 included in the 'Declaration of Principles', the following ten items:

90. Ibid., p. 212.
91. Ibid., p. 247.
94. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXVI, No. 612, October 5, 1975, p. 5.
"(1) sovereign equality, respect of the rights inherent to sovereignty;
(2) refraining from the threat or use of force;
(3) the inviolability of frontiers;
(4) the territorial integrity of states;
(5) peaceful settlement of disputes;
(6) non-intervention in internal affairs;
(7) respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief;
(8) equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
(9) cooperation among states;
(10) fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law".

The Declaration on the Principles of Friendly Relations recognised "the existence of all existing frontiers in Europe and their inviolability" and confirmed "the sovereign rights of states to change their frontiers through agreement". In clear terms, the Declaration consolidated the existing occupation of racist regimes on foreign lands, which was most challenging to the Non-aligned countries, and to the Movement itself.

To consider the acute problems due to more and more aggression and threats of attack by the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel, the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries met at Algiers from March 19-21, 1974. The meeting was attended by seventeen countries and observers from twenty-six nations. The Bureau deplored the US assistance to Portugal, Rhodesia, Pretoria and Saigon; US rejection of the Paris Agreements; creation of Anglo-American base on the Island of Diego Garcia; Zionist aggression, annexation of territory and deprivation of the Arab people of their fundamental rights; aggression in Cambodia and economic blockade in Latin America. The Bureau, moreover, commended the peoples of Syria, Egypt and Palestine and hailed the heroic struggle waged by them against Israel in October, 1973, to liberate their land and restore their integrity and sovereignty. The Arabs decided to impose oil embargo against Israel.

96. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXV, No. 576, April 5, 1974, p. 17.
97. Ibid., p. 20.
and her allies and a great number of non-aligned countries broke off diplomatic relations with Israel to counter its aggressive policies. The members requested the Chairman to give final shape and set up a Support and Solidarity Fund to assist freedom struggles to help in decolonization of dependent territories. They supported the right of sovereignty of Panama over the Panama Canal Zone. They demanded "unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories since June, 1967" and "restoration of the Palestine people's national rights, foremost among which is the right to return to its homeland and exercise its right to self-determination". They condemned Israel's pretext of "secure borders" so as to prolong its occupation, create a fait accompli and return to the state of no war-no peace. The Conference called upon the participants to adopt the following practical measures:

"(A) Non-Aligned countries which have not as yet severed their diplomatic relations with Israel should do so immediately in implementation of the resolution adopted by the Fourth Summit Conference ...

(B) Non-aligned countries are requested not only to boycott Israel diplomatically but also economically and culturally and in the field of maritime and air transport".

The Ministerial Conference of the Coordinating Bureau, held in Havana (Republic of Cuba) on March 17-19, 1975, attended by twenty-four observer countries, noted the threats of the colonial powers against countries producing raw materials and "increase of US naval and air forces in the Indian Ocean and off the coast of Indochina". The participants declared that "any aggression against the non-aligned country will constitute an aggression against all the non-aligned". The Bureau reiterated its recognition of and military aid to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and supported the demand of the PRG for the cessation of US interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. The Bureau noted the US support to the puppet regime of Phnom Penh in Cambodia. The Bureau

98. Ibid.
99. Ibid., p. 20.
100. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 130.
101. Ibid.
hailed the decisive victory of the freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe over the Portuguese colonialism. The Bureau noted with shock the assassinations of Zimbabwe leader of Liberation Movement, Herbert Chitepos, African liberation leaders, Eduardo Mondlane and Amilcar Cabral, who "had been victims of assassination carried out by imperialism and its agents", and physical liquidation of Cabral and Mondlane of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. The Bureau called for total decolonization of Spanish Sahara. It regretted that the Korean problem continued in spite of the efforts of the people to solve it by peaceful means. The Bureau considered the question of Cyprus, Turkish-Cypriots and Cuba, Latin American States - Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia and Puerto Rico and urged for their national independence. The Bureau condemned the US support to Israel and the "Israeli-American manoeuvres to vitiate the resolutions of the UN and the non-aligned countries". The Bureau condemned the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes and "strongly supported the liberation struggle of the African peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe ... speeding up the process of total decolonization in Africa and other parts of the world".

In pursuance of its decisions at Havana, the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned countries, held in the Peruvian capital of Lima from August 25-30, 1975, pointed to the unjust world economic order causing social and economic deprivation of vast masses. They deplored the imperialist policy of preventing steps to solve problems as in the case of the Middle East, Palestine, Cyprus, South Africa, Latin America and Asia, and paid homage to Kampuchea for her liberation on April 17, 1975; to Vietnam on attaining independence and defeating US imperialism; to Laos for its victory against US aggression; to Guinea-Bissau (1974), Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe and Comoros (1975) for their becoming independent. They deplored the imperialists' attempt to frustrate the independence of Angola and Rhodesia and demanded immediate withdrawal of South

102. Ibid., p. 132.
103. Ibid., p. 140.
African troops from these countries. They pledged to assist complete liberation of Zimbabwe. They congratulated the people of Comoro Islands for their struggle for independence. They demanded decolonization of the Sahara, French Somaliland (Djibouti) and Seychelles Island and demanded their immediate and unconditional independence. They welcomed the overthrow of colonialist dictatorial regime in Portugal. They demanded elimination of US military bases and colonial domination over Panama, Puerto Rico, Belize and Malvinas Islands. The Foreign Ministers decided to create a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and a Solidarity Fund for economic and social development and reconstruction of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

Milos Minic, speaking in the General Debate of the Conference on August 26, 1975, suggested the following course of action to be given priority:

"struggle for freedom, independence and equality of all States and peoples, against interference, pressures, threats of force and aggression, for peace and security in the world.

"struggle for a new international economic order, founded on equality and respect for the legitimate interests of all countries and aimed at resolving international economic problems, primarily the problem of development of developing countries".

Milos Minic also supported the demand of "the sovereignty of Panama over the Panama Canal and the sovereignty of Cuba over the Guantánamo base", and to condemn the "terror unleashed by the Chilean fascist regime", which violated the fundamental human rights in Chile. The Conference reiterated its earlier decisions regarding the union of South Vietnam and North Vietnam, Indian Ocean, South Pacific, detente and disarmament.

The Coordinating Bureau at its meeting held in Algiers from May 30 - June 20, 1970, attended by seventeen countries, and by twenty-nine observer countries, reiterated the earlier resolutions of the

106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
NAM conferences regarding decolonization of subject territories, establishment of a New International Economic Order and so on. It reaffirmed the right of the Sahraoul people and Puerto Rico and Belize to self-determination and condemned the French move to disrupt the unity of the Comoros by detaching Mayotte Island from it.

King Birendra of Nepal, in an interview to Tanjung in Kathmandu on July 5, 1976, said that the Non-aligned Movement must play an effective role in the creation of a new international economic order. He, however, cautioned that efforts towards this end would "remain only half-hearted and superficial" unless the developing countries cooperated among themselves. He added: "The developing countries are rich in raw materials and manpower but because they lack the know-how and resources to convert their potentialities into actual wealth they have been subjected to unfair deal and unjust exploitation. This has to be ended. The Non-aligned Movement must play an effective role in this cause". Referring to the decisions of the Lima Conference to establish a 'Technological Transfer Centre' and a Solidarity Fund for economic and social development of the Non-aligned countries, he said that these measures were "small but important steps in the right direction". Commending the role of the NAM, he observed: "It was also the credit of the non-aligned movement that international politics today reflected in a more realistic way the hopes and aspirations of the majority rather than the wishes of the stronger few".

Talking to Yugoslav journalists in New Delhi on July 28, 1975, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated that the Non-aligned were from various continents - Africa, Latin America, the Caribbeans and the Arab World, and added: "There is an increasing tendency towards regional grouping for evolving a common approach to problems. This should be welcomed, but care should be taken to ensure that this again does not split up the unity of the Nonaligned". She further said

110. Ibid., p. 258.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., p. 197.
the greater the contacts and cooperation, the better it is for all. She cautioned that a "great deal of statesmanship is required to see that groupings are not anti-this or that. The Non-aligned Movement has always been particular to emphasise that we are not against this or that bloc. We are the first to say that such hostile grouping was a fundamental error, which should make way for peaceful co-existence". She suggested that the NAM countries should keep up this spirit.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on July 8, 1976, remarked that "there is a tendency to divide the world into different categories and the expression "Third World" is used rather indiscriminately and applied to nonaligned and developing countries". She said that she personally stood firmly by the concept of 'One World'. She observed: "Most non-aligned countries are also developing ones. Economically underdeveloped countries which had aligned themselves with one or other power bloc have subscribed to a political outlook, obviously different in a crucial respect from ours, even if economic problems and tasks were common ... Let us co-operate with all countries, except avowedly racist regimes, but let us guard our identity".

Fifth Summit (Colombo), August, 1976

The Fifth Summit of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) from August 16-19, 1976, was attended by eighty-six countries, observers from twenty-two countries and four guests. The items of agenda, among others, included assessment of international political situation and role of non-alignment, review of international economic situation and development problems, strategy for the strengthening of peace and international security and measures with a view to countering more effectively threats, pressures, aggressions etc. and strengthening of non-alignment and joint action of the NAM countries in international relations.

The Conference mainly stressed intensification of struggle for political and economic independence and noted that the Movement had

113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., p. 193.
115. See Appendix V; see also The Non-Aligned Countries, n. 51, p. 14.
116. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 245.
"proved to be one of the most dynamic factors in promoting the
genuine independence", in the colonial countries, discussed in earlier
meetings of the Coordinating Bureau. The Conference characterised
the Movement as a "vital force in the struggle against imperialism
in all its forms and manifestations, and all other forms of foreign
domination". The participants opined that world conflict was not
inevitable. They regretted that the non-aligned countries had been
subjected to pressures, threats and were being of vilified and
intimidated so as "to deter them from pursuing a united and independent
role in international relations". They observed that the imperialists
had created divisions in the liberation movements "with the evil
intention of establishing spurious independence in Namibia, Zimbabwe
and in some parts of South Africa through Bantustans". They reiterated
that the Movement had been more effective against colonialism and
the colonialists' faces could be seen under the guise of neo-colonilism
and hegemonic relations.

The Conference discussed in detail the freedom struggle in
South Africa, programme for struggle and elimination of racism and
racial discrimination, situation in the Middle East, Palestine, Cyprus,
Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam, Korea, Latin America, Indian Ocean, Disarma-
ment and security, internal affairs of states, the Economic Declaration
and economic cooperation. The Conference passed resolutions on Support
and Solidarity Fund for the liberation of Southern Africa, Namibia;
non-recognition of South African Bantustans, apartheid in sports;
Comorial Island of Mayotte, Middle East, Palestine, Indian Ocean, the
use of veto in the United Nations, establishment of a Bank of the
Developing Countries, New International Monetary Order; economic
relations, cooperation among developing countries; food and agricultural
production, commodities etc.

The Conference extended the mandate of the existing Coordinating
Bureau and their respective spheres of activities and elected the

117. Ibid., p. 189.
118. Ibid., p. 190.
119. Ibid., p. 191.
120. Ibid., p. 193.
following twenty-five members:

(1) Algeria; (2) Angola; (3) Bangladesh/Afghanistan*
(4) Botswana; (5) Chad; (6) Cuba; (7) Guinea; (8) Guyana;
(9) India; (10) Indonesia; (11) Iraq; (12) Jamaica;
(13) Liberia; (14) Niger; (15) Nigeria; (16) Peru; (17) PLO;
(18) Sri Lanka; (19) Sudan; (20) Syria; (21) Tanzania;
(22) Vietnam; (23) Yugoslavia; (24) Zaire and (25) Zambia.

*It was agreed that Bangladesh would occupy the seat for the first half and Afghanistan for the second half of the three-year term of office.

Following the Fifth Summit, the Ministers of the member nations of the Coordinating Bureau met in New Delhi from April 7-11, 1977. The meeting was attended by the twenty-five members and observers from twenty-seven countries and the African National Congress (South Africa). Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India, at the inaugural session, said that Non-aligned Movement had grown despite discouragement from certain quarters and at the present time it could claim the majority support of the world states. The Bureau noted: "growth of cooperation in the field of information and mass media contributed to the process of achieving independent, accurate and objective dissemination of news and views of the non-aligned countries". The Bureau also opined that imperialism obstructed the right to self-determination in Africa, increased recourse to interference, intervention and political assassinations and caused conflicts between friendly neighbouring countries. The Bureau saluted the liberation movements and freedom fighters for their courage and determination facing the brutal violence and terrorism committed by the minority regimes in Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and called for increased assistance to the liberation movements. The Bureau discussed, inter alia, the issues considered by the previous meetings.

The Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned Countries assembled in an extraordinary meeting in New York on September 30, 1977, and condemned the Israeli occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories, West Bank and Gaza and attempts to change the geographic, demographic,
economic, cultural or historical characteristics of the occupied territories". They demanded withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since June 5, 1967, including the City of Jerusalem. They also called upon all the UN members "to halt emigration of their citizens to Israel". They stressed that "all efforts should be made to support effectively the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples" of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, held in the City of Havana (Cuba) from May 15-20, 1978, was attended by all the twenty-five members. There were observers from eighteen countries. The Bureau denounced the "interventions, the overt and covert pressures exerted by imperialism in all its forms against the member countries of the Movement". They reiterated their previous observations and demands, regarding territorial independence, peace in Indian Ocean, economic matters and utilization of nuclear energy.

The Ministerial Conference of the Non-aligned Countries was held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) from July 25-30, 1978, and was attended by Foreign Ministers of eighty-five countries, observers from twenty countries and ten countries as guests. They expressed solidarity with the national liberation movements which aimed at ending colonialism and neo-colonialism, which were designed to complete the process of independence. They noted that the Conference was represented by two-thirds of the world population. As the imperialists continued to establish "inequitable relations, to undermine the unity of the non-aligned countries, restrict and diffuse their action, to alter the character of the policy of non-alignment as a whole and to weaken the Movement's role in the international arena in general", they decided "to counter any attempt (of imperialists) from inside or outside to weaken or deflect the Movement from its fundamental principles". They

124. Ibid., p. 267.
125. Ibid., p. 268.
126. Ibid., p. 269.
127. Ibid., p. 272.
128. Ibid., p. 297.
129. Ibid.
concluded that this attitude of the imperialists was due to worsening of relations between the Big Powers, who were making continual attempts to force the non-aligned countries to fall in line, but the latter sensing the gravity of the situation, kept themselves non-aligned. As a result, the imperialists imposed neo-colonialism and intensified their repressive acts. The participants deplored the presence of Western military bases in colonies, crushing the freedom struggle. The Conference reiterated the earlier decisions taken by the non-aligned conferences and meetings. The most important was the oration of Marshal Tito, the President of the SFR of Yugoslavia, who asserted that the Movement was "the only possible alternative to bloc confrontation, tensions and the dangers of a new military conflagration". He was sure that the Movement "will strengthen confidence and belief in the future among all people who are clearing the road to their independence, their national and economic emancipation, and to peace and stability in the world". He was grieved to say that the meeting witnessed "disagreements and heard some harsh words" due to imperialist's influence, but hoped that the meeting would be crowned with success.

At the extraordinary ministerial meeting, held at the UN Headquarters on October 2, 1978, the Foreign Ministers reiterated the statements of the earlier NAM Conferences and Coordinating Bureau relating to dependent territories. They expressed concern over the massive use of force by Nicaragua disturbing the peace and stability of the area, and decided to admit SWAPO as a full-fledged member of the Movement.

On the eve of Republic Day, 1979, in an interview with New Wave, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said: "We are not tilting towards anybody at all. That was real non-alignment. In the beginning even the Soviet Union was apprehensive because they also thought that we might be anti-them. But when they realised what the real thing was, they accepted it as a fact of life that for a developing country it was essential that it should not get embroiled in the quarrels of the big powers".

130. Ibid., p. 343.
131. Ibid., p. 344.
132. Ibid., p. 346.
An extraordinary meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held in Maputo (Mozambique) from January 26 - February 2, 1979. It was attended by Foreign Ministers of twenty-three countries (Indonesia, and Syria were not represented), observers from twenty-five countries and nine national liberation movements. The President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, H.E. Samora Moises Machel, affirmed that the success of the Movement was due to its unity, based on its common principles and objectives. He recognised the Patriotic Front as the sole representative of the people of Zimbabwe, emphasised increasing support to SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and wished success to the ANC against the Pretoria regime in South Africa. The meeting pledged to accelerate the process of decolonization throughout the world and noted that the Movement had "inaugurated the era of decolonization". The Bureau condemned "all acts of armed aggression, expansionism and destabilization against Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique", the front-line states.

A Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) from June 4-9, 1979, was attended by twenty-three Foreign Ministers (Guinea and Chad did not attend). It was attended by fifty countries. The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the African National Congress attended as observers, and nineteen countries and organisations attended as guests. H.E. J.R. Jayewardene, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, viewed the NAM policy in a historical perspective and through a philosophical prism. Jayewardene stated that though non-alignment ran like a golden thread through "the fabric of our country's foreign policy ... changes may take place in quality, colour and shape of that fabric from time to time". He advocated the policy of "friendship with all alliances with none".

The Bureau recommended the applications of Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Pakistan and Surinam for full membership of the Movement and

134. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 50, pp.360-61.
135. Ibid., p. 366.
welcomed the desire of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to cooperate with the Movement. The Bureau also welcomed the dismantling of CENTO and SEATO, and reaffirmed the Movement's achievement regarding decolonization in non-self-governing territories throughout the world and helping the developing countries in gaining sovereignty over their natural resources. The Bureau reiterated the decisions taken at the earlier meetings and conferences in respect of colonial territories and other problems.

Sixth Summit (Havana), September, 1979

The sixth conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held in Havana (Republic of Cuba) from September 3-9, 1979, was attended by ninety-five countries, observers from twenty countries and guests from nineteen countries.

Addressing the Conference, President Josip Broz Tito on September 4, 1979, said that the policy of non-alignment objectively "destroys the foundations upon which the existing unjust international relations rest and creates conditions for building a world of justice, equality and overall progress". He emphatically stated that "without the policy of non-alignment the world would present quite a different image, and worse might have come to worst. As a matter of fact, the trend towards total bloc division and further fanning of the cold war would6 unavoidably have brought us to the brink of catastrophe".

The Conference resolved "to eliminate the inequalities between the developed and developing countries; to eradicate poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy; and to establish a new world order based on justice, equality and peace". The Summit emphasised the need of ending domination, dependency and exploitation and pledged to continue their struggle until they succeed in establishing a just world political and economic order and also urged the peoples to participate in its efforts to free the world from "war, the policy of force, blocs and bloc politics, military bases, pacts and interlocking alliances, the policy of domination and hegemony, inequalities and

137. See Appendix VI; see also The Non-Aligned Countries, n.51, p.15.
oppression, injustice and poverty". They reiterated the earlier goals and objectives of the Movement regarding support to national independence, struggle against imperialism, ending of arms race and dismantling of foreign military bases.

The Summit discussed the imperialist's pressures to "hold back the process of decolonization and to disregard the principles of self-determination of peoples under alien and colonial domination in various regions". It commended the African peoples fighting for independence and armed struggle by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and laid down ten measures to be taken against the racist regimes, and urged the United Nations to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. The Conference deplored the brutal racist oppression by South Africa supported by the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, Japan, Belgium, Italy, Canada, Australia and Israel. They rejected the South African programme of "Bantustanization" and its attempts to divide the United Front of black patriots, and intensifying their repression, murders and genocide. The Conference also condemned the aggression of South Africa against Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zambia for their support for the freedom struggle, and called on all states to increase their aid to these countries. The Conference reiterated its stand with regard to Western Sahara, Island of Mayotte, Israel, Palestine, South East Asia, Korea, East Timor, Latin America, Grenada, Nicaragua, Cyprus, Indian Ocean, disarmament, Iranian suspension of oil shipment to Israel and South Africa and withdrawal of Iran and Pakistan from CENTO. The Conference condemned Israel's raid on Southern Lebanon killing thousands of innocent people and US threats to use force against the oil producing Arab countries.

The Summit called upon the nuclear-weapon states to give undertakings: "a) to respect strictly the status of the nuclear

139. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 50, p. 402.
140. See for further details, Ibid., p. 403.
141. Ibid., p. 405.
142. Ibid., p. 410.
weapon-free zone and (b) to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the States of the zone", and welcomed the signing of an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, though it fell short of the expectations of the international community.

The Conference decided to increase the membership of the Coordinating Bureau from twenty-five to thirty-five, comprising representatives of the following countries:


The countries, which were to occupy the remaining five seats were not chosen. However, the distribution of seats was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Seats</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegations met at the UN Headquarters on October 4-6, 1979, and expressed sorrow at the passing away of President Antonio Agostinho Neto of Angola, and on October 2-3, 1980, they expressed profound grief at the deaths of Presidents Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia), Sir Seretse Khama (Botswana) and Ton Duc Thang (Vietnam), who followed the principles and objectives of the Movement in view of emergence of new hotbeds of tension.

H.M. King Hassan II of Morocco, giving an exclusive Press Conference to the Arab Press at Skhirat (Morocco) on April 28, 1980, said that while still believing in non-alignment, he was against

143. Ibid., p. 425.
144. Ibid., p. 433.
the way it was being applied. He added that "nonalignment should be based on internal political elements of each country and their consequences, and should make a distinction between attitudes of structural nature and of a conjunctural character". The King said: "If the Nonaligned Movement had not gone contradictory to its original spirit, as in the times of such giants as Nehru, Tito and Abdel Nasser, it would have now been able to fill the gap between Russia and the United States over great problems such as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan".

A joint Yugoslav-Ghanian Communique, issued on December 12, 1980, as a result of talks between Fadilj Hodza and Hill Leeman "stressed determination constantly to contribute to strengthening the role of the nonaligned movement as an independent, global and extra bloc factor in resolving international political and economic problems and preserving peace in the world". The Communique, voicing concern over armed conflicts, especially among the non-aligned countries, stressed that "the nonaligned countries must settle their mutual disputes peaceably, by political means, in conformity with the UN Charter and the principles of nonalignment". It also stressed that measures must be taken in order to create conditions conducive to peaceful solution of Iran-Iraq War and West Sahara on the principles of the UN Charter, the policy of non-alignment, international law and justice.

The Foreign Ministers Conference held on February 9-13, 1981, in New Delhi, was attended by ninety-four countries as members, fifteen countries as observers, and twenty-two countries and organizations as guests. H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, delivered an inspiring keynote address. The Republic of Zimbabwe participated for the first time as a fully independent nation. The Session decided to proclaim September 1, the Day of the Non-Aligned and recommended its annual observance. Reiterating the recommendations of the Sixth Summit, the Conference condemned the Camp David Agreements.

146. Ibid., p. 179.
They urged the withdrawal of foreign troops and Afghanistan and reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes with honour. They warned that there was a dangerous situation in South-East Asia and that the unfortunate Iraq-Iran war had damaged the cause of the Movement. They supported the independence of Cyprus, Puerto Rico and Belize, advocated independence and status of neutrality of Malta.

Delivering the Inaugural Address at the Conference on February 9, 1981, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said:

"At every meeting of the nonaligned, big powers seem to redouble their diplomatic and publicity campaign to sow suspicion and division within us. As free peoples we must stand together. Working in unison on the basis of our original principles and purposes will fortify us to withstand pressures. Divided we are vulnerable, united we can and shall prevail".

An Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held at Algiers (Algeria) on April 16-18, 1981, which was attended by thirty-four members, including Burundi, Cameroon, Congo and Zaire. Forty-four members of the NAM countries also took part; seven organizations and ten special invitees also attended. H.E. Mr. Mohammed Benyahia, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria delivered an important address. The Ministers adopted a "Declaration and Programme of Action" and reiterated the previous recommendations and condemnations.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries met at the UN Headquarters from September 25-28, 1981, and reviewed the deteriorating international peace and security and increasing danger of Third World War, as considered earlier. The participants, who were the representatives of the Nonaligned countries to the United Nations, called for "the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, for the securing Prisoner-of-War status to all captured freedom fighters, and for the

147. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 507.
149. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 537.
comprehensive and mandatory sanctions" against South Africa. They condemned Israeli "measures aiming at the Judaization of the Holy City of Jerusalem" and "deep diggings and excavations beneath the Al-aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock within the Haram al-Shareef, holy sanctuary in Jerusalem, which threaten the collapse of these millenia old structures". They also denounced the digging of a canal joining the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea and condemned the imposition of Israeli nationality on Syrian citizens under Israeli occupation in the Golan Heights; barbaric attacks by Israel on Southern Lebanon and Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations. Further, the meeting deplored the concentration of weapons in Europe and other parts of the world; aggression of the United States against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on August 19, 1981.

An Extraordinary Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau took place in Kuwait from April 5-8, 1982, to consider measures to assist the struggle of Palestinian people under the leadership of PLO. It was attended by thirty-four members, thirty-six countries as non-members, six observers, and seven organisations and countries as guests. At the inaugural session, H.E. Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmed Al Jaber Al Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information of Kuwait, H.E. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, H.E. Ismat Ali Kittani, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and H.E. Isidore Malmierca, Minister of External Relations of Cuba and Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries delivered their speeches. The Ministers adopted a Communique and Programme of Action having the following items:

"(a) Complete, total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other occupied Arab Territories, including Jerusalem ...

(b) The free exercise of the right of the Palestinian to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and to those who choose not to return the payment of equitable compensation;

(c) The attainment and free exercise of the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people including:

150. Ibid., p. 543.
151. Ibid., p. 544.
152. Ibid., p. 552.
(i) The right to self-determination without external interference, and to national independence and sovereignty;
(ii) The right to establish its own independent sovereign State.

The Deputy Foreign Minister of Vietnam, Vo Dong Giang, on May 25, 1982, in an interview to Vietnam News Agency, proposed two principles to peacefully solve the disputes between the Non-aligned countries: (1) settlement of disputes by themselves "without outside interference and on the basis of equality and mutual respect without imposition of one party's will on the other", and (2) the movement should help the parties to enter into peaceful negotiations and should not support one group of countries to oppose another group of countries. He asserted that the "disputes between the Nonaligned countries should not be allowed to divide the movement and to weaken the common struggle for peace and national independence".  

On June 3, P.V. Narasimha Rao, India's Minister of External Affairs, discussing the problems of 'Cold War', international economic situation, programmes of economic cooperation of the Movement with those of the Group of 77 and collective self-reliance, called for an end to the climate of confrontation and strife. He said: "Confrontation - whether political or economic - eats into the vitals of nations, whether they are big or small, rich or poor, and in the ultimate analysis it eats into the vitals of mankind". The Minister further added that it was for the Non-aligned Movement "to show the world the way out of this predicament, to impress upon the world that the only way to exist is to coexist. Let us resolve to go to the Seventh Summit with fresh zeal and sense of purpose".

The Coordinating Bureau met at Havana from May 31 - June 5, 1982, and was attended by Foreign Ministers of thirty-four countries, forty-eight members of the Movement, eighteen countries and organizations as observers, and sixteen countries and organizations as guests. Reviewing the international situation since 1979, they reiterated the

154. Ibid., p. 203.
155. Ibid.
earlier resolutions. They condemned, among others, South African regime for carrying out undeclared war against Angola; concentration of South African troops along the borders of Mozambique; kidnapping of citizens of Lesotho, Swaziland, Madagascar and Seychelles, acts of South African military aggression, economic pressures, political manoeuvres through treacherous armed bandits and puppets against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe; and cynical use of mercenaries in the fight against liberation movements, and so on. They advocated that the Malagasy Islands - Glorias Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas de India be restored to Madagascar; and asserted that Mayotte, under French occupation, was an integral part of Comoros.

An Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held in Nicosia (Cyprus) on July 15-17, 1982. It was attended by thirty-two nations - twenty-seven members of the Movement, three observers and four guests in order to discuss the grave situation in Lebanon caused by the Israeli aggression against it and the Palestinian people. They condemned Israeli "policy aimed at expanding its territory at the expense of its Arab neighbours and at exterminating the Palestinian people", massive US military, financial and political support to Israel; Israel's continuous measures on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and dismissal of the elected Mayors and Municipal Councils. They strongly condemned Israel's "indiscriminate shelling of civilian areas as well as the use of cluster and phosphorous bombs and toxic gases and reaffirmed Israel's international responsibility to pay compensation and reparations for the loss of life and property". They established a 8-member Ministerial Committee under the Chairmanship of Fidel Castro to consider various problems and suggest their solutions.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations met at the UN Headquarters on October 4-9, 1982. They reiterated the earlier observations and decisions of earlier conferences and meetings.

156. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 590.
157. Ibid., p. 592.
Professor Soedjatmoko, Rector, United National University, Tokyo, in New Delhi, on November 13, 1982, acknowledging the role played by the non-aligned nations in achieving decolonisation of many African countries over the last two decades regretted that "they had become a battleground for big power rivalry ... that more than half the wars fought since 1945 had taken place in the third world". He further blamed the Third World nations for playing off one big power against the other.

Seventh Summit (New Delhi), March, 1983

The conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in New Delhi (India) on March 7-12, 1983, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The Conference was attended by ninety-nine countries, nine countries as observers and ten countries as guests. The participants worked out programme for complete disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. "The intolerable inequality and exploitation established by colonialism and imperialism" were said to be the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world. "The danger of war", Fidel Castro observed, "threatens us as citizens of the world, but it also affects us as nations that aspire to reaffirm or win, whatever the case may be, our national independence and develop our weak economies". Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Chairman and Coordinator said: "If we do not have peace today, we shall have no life tomorrow ... The destructive power contained in nuclear stockpiles can kill human life, indeed all life, many times over". The Summit asked the great powers, among others, to immediately halt the "drift towards nuclear conflict" and "to adopt urgent and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war".

The Conference reiterated earlier decisions regarding the rights of the Namibian people for independence and expressed deep

158. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 228.
159. See Appendix VII.
160. Yakov Etinger, n. 92, pp. 29 and 20.
162. Ibid.
concern that the Western Contact Group was unable to detach and
dissociate itself from the extraneous issue of linkage between Namibia's
independence and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

The Conference also condemned the racist regime of South Africa
for acts of aggression and policy of apartheid, imposition of death
sentences on six freedom fighters, the bogus constitutional reforms
and the formation of the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO),
including South Africa. It hailed the creation of the Southern African
Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to liberate the Southern
Africa. It denounced the South African moves for destabilization of
the Kingdom of Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Seychelles. The Conference
reiterated the earlier resolutions of Sixth Summit regarding Western
Sahara, Mayotte, Malagasy Islands, Indian Ocean, Chagos and Diego
Garcia, Palestine, Lebanon, Middle East, South-East Asia, South-West
Asia, Korea, Iran-Iraq Conflict, Europe, Mediterranean, Cyprus and
Latin American and Caribbean issues.

On October 4-7, 1983, Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegations
of the Non-aligned countries to the 38th session of the UN General
Assembly met at New York and reviewed the situation in territories
discussed at the Seventh Summit.

In May, 1984, leaders of six countries - Argentina, India,
Tanzania (members of the NAM), Mexico, Greece and Sweden, jointly
called on the nuclear powers to freeze their nuclear missile arsenals.
The Soviet Union responded positively, but the United States was
obsessed with its desire and aims to achieve nuclear missile
superiority over the Soviet Union and so refused to take any steps
even to slow down the arms race. Pakistan, taking side of the United
States, was busy manufacturing atomic as well as hydrogen bomb.
Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, the Pakistani nuclear physicist, said:
"Pakistan's nuclear programme was for peaceful purposes". After
the assassination of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi on October 31,
1984, her son, Rajiv Gandhi, took up the reins of the Non-aligned
Movement with great enthusiasm. Referring to the world's nuclear

163. The Times of India (New Delhi), May 24, 1984.
arsenals, Rajiv Gandhi said: "Military spending is today 25 times higher than development expenditure. More than a million dollars are spent on defence every minute while millions of human beings have to die without even the most basic amenities".

The Ministers and Heads of Delegations to the Non-aligned countries to the 39th session of the UN General Assembly met in New York from October 1-5, 1984, and took note of the report of the Chairman on the activities of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries since the New York October, 1983 meeting. They urged that efforts to implement the decisions of the Movement be continued.

An Extraordinary Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries on the question of Namibia was held in New Delhi on April 19-21, 1985. The Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, Rajiv Gandhi, suggested and the meeting decided to transmit an urgent message to the President of the UN Security Council on the matter of installation of an "interim government in Namibia" in view of South Africa's announcement of April 18, 1985. The SWAPO President, Sam Nujoma, described the latest situation in and around Namibia. They condemned the fraudulent "elections" held in 1984, under the guise of constitutional reforms. They hoped that "the struggle waged on all fronts by SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), its military wing, will find culmination before long in final victory". The Ministers adopted a "Declaration and Programme of Action", which, among others already proclaimed, included the expression of their indignation at the "new military offensive launched by South Africa on a massive scale in northern Namibia, under the code name 'Operation Iron Fist', and the creation of "tribal armies" by South Africa. The Programme of Action adopted included severance of diplomatic relations; observance of an oil embargo; withholding of overflight and landing facilities.

164. Ibid., March 18, 1985.
166. Ibid., p. 131.
to aircraft and docking rights to ocean vessels; prohibition of coins minted in South Africa; cultural and sports boycott of South Africa and ratification and implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

Rajiv Gandhi in his address on April 19, 1985, quoted Jawaharlal Nehru who said: "There is nothing more terrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few hundred years". He said: "This tragedy continues ... The drought and famine, the suffering and death that afflict large parts of Africa today are not the result of the unkindness of weather alone or of the incapacity of Governments, but the continuing consequence of the structural imbalance imposed by colonialism."

An Anniversary Conference of the Movement was held on April 24-25, 1985, at Bandung (Indonesia). It was attended by two hundred fifty representatives of eighty-one NAM nations. The Indonesian President, Suharto, opened the conference. Owing to his tight schedule, Rajiv Gandhi could not chair it or give his keynote address. Many problems, awaiting solution for the last thirty years, were discussed. Representatives of Britain's Gold Coast colony were there on behalf of a soon-to-be renamed and independent Ghana. Archbishop Makarios, later Prime Minister of Cyprus, attended as an observer. Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco also sent observers. South and North Korea also attended. Prince Norodom Sihanouk (Cambodia) did not attend as his presence could cause a boycott by Vietnam and India. Invitation to Burma's U Nu was withdrawn as his presence could be awkward for the ruling Ne Win government.

The Conference issued a wide-ranging 11-page declaration calling for a revised world economic order. The Indian representative, Khursheed Alam Khan, stressed that Asia and Africa and non-aligned

167. Ibid., p. 133.
169. Ibid.
170. The Times of India (New Delhi), April 7, 1985.
172. Ibid.
world should resist the revival of colonialism in any form and said it was time to call for a halt "to brokerage of power through military pressures or economic temptation". The Conference described the world as "beset by pervasive tensions, violence and growing insecurity". The Conference reiterated the previous resolutions of NAM meets.

Later, Rajiv Gandhi said: "We have taken a world democratic set-up where each country can speak independently without having to align with a major power". He said: "We would like the Soviet troops to move out of Afghanistan but they are there in concurrence with the Afghan Government". He observed: "I do not see the Afghan Government asking the Soviets to go until the pressure of the Mujahideens of Pakistan stops".

The meeting of the Coordinating Bureau held in August, 1985, condemned the statement of President Botha of South Africa as a "thinly veiled design" to further consolidate the abhorrent system of apartheid. The Bureau renewed its earlier demands.

The Foreign Ministers Conference of Non-Aligned countries was held in Luanda (Angola) on September 4-8, 1985, under the Chairmanship of President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola who made a "70-minute speech concerning Angolan situation and all the issues concerning the Movement". The Conference focused its attention to the problems of decolonization and the struggle against imperialism neo-colonialism. Considering the Iraq-Iran war, it announced that "there was no consensus on Iran and Iraq". It resolved that "under present circumstances the financial obligations undertaken by developing countries with creditor developed countries and multilateral financial institutions had become unbearable".

175. Ibid., June 5, 1985.
176. Ibid.
177. Ibid.
178. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), September 5, 1985.
179. The Times of India (New Delhi), September 9, 1985.
180. Ibid.
The Ministerial meeting of the Non-aligned Movement, held in the night of October 1, 1985, issued a special communique expressing "indignation and grave concern" over the Israeli attack on Tunisia and South African raid on Angola and condemned their "serious acts of aggression". The Ministers "strongly condemned Israel for its barbaric cold-blooded and totally unjustified" attack on its Tunisia based centre of the PLO.

Earlier in the day, on October 1, Bali Ram Bhagat (India) had convened the NAM delegates and condemning Israel's "aggressive and expansionist" policies, called it a "threat to peace and security" and pledged the Movement's continued support for the "brave, homeless and harassed Palestinian people".

An urgent meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held on February 6, 1986, at New Delhi. It expressed grave concern over American "threats and measures" against Libya and cautioned against "any precipitate steps by the United States". Rajar Azzarbuk, Libyan Charge d'Affairs asked the Bureau "to stand up to American measures that contravene all international laws and norms". The meeting condemned Israel for piracy of a civilian Libyan plane and called for effective steps to prevent it from repeating such "illegal and provocative acts".

The Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, held on April 16-19, 1986, in New Delhi (India), was attended by Foreign Ministers of seventy-one member countries, twenty-one other countries, observers from twelve countries and guests from 12 countries and organizations. It was chaired by the Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi. The Ministers considered the implementation of the decisions taken under the Action Programme for Economic Cooperation (APEC), adopted at the Seventh Summit. They observed that the "security and independence of non-aligned countries were being increasingly threatened by colonialist policies, by great power and bloc rivalries, by imperialist

182. Ibid.
183. Ibid., February 8, 1986.
184. Ibid.
policies" of domination and by the quest for spheres of influence, as well as by the persisting unjust international economic relations, all of which had led "to military, political and economic pressures and foreign interventions against nonaligned countries". They expressed "the need of the world for peace, freedom, independence, equality, development and prosperity for all". They urged the nuclear countries to adhere to the Outer Space Treaty and the Soviet Union-United States Treaty on Antibalistic Missiles. Recalling NAM's declaration that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought", they expressed the hope that the two Big Powers would "agree to sign a convention for swearing the use of nuclear weapons". They deplored the pressures and threats of the Western Powers to disturb the programmes of the developing countries for development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

Reiterating the situation in various territories, they renewed their affirmation and demands. Among others, they condemned the supply of Stringer missiles to the UNITA armed bandits which committed terrorist acts against the Angolan people; welcomed the creation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and convening of an International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia in Vienna on July 7-11, 1986, and an International Conference on Non-Governmental Organizations in Brussels on May 5-7, 1986. They rejected the "manoeuvres aimed at diverting attention from the central issue of the decolonization of Namibia and introducing East-West confrontation", condemned the imposition of death sentence on the South African patriots; demanded unconditional "release of political prisoners and detainees including Nelson Mandela and Zephariah Mothopeng, the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and all other political parties, the repeal of the Internal

186. Ibid., p. 6.
188. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
Security Act and all other draconian measures, the removal of troops from townships and the unimpeded return of all political exiles and freedom fighters".

The Ministers pointed out that the Pacific region had many of the remaining NSGTs and reaffirmed their right to self-determination. They urged that Antarctica should be used for ever exclusively for peaceful purposes and noted the growing membership of the Antarctic Treaty. The Ministers regretted that South Africa was also a party to the Antarctic Treaty. Further, they discussed the issues previously considered by the NAM conferences, including Western Sahara, Mayotte, Malagasy Islands, Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia, Chad, South-East Asia, Korea, South-West Asia, Middle East, Palestine, Lebanon, Indian Ocean, Cyprus, Mediterranean, Europe, Latin American and Caribbean issues - El Salvador, Guatemala, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Grenada, Surinam, Panama, Argentina, Bolivia, Chili, Belize and problems concerning new international information and communication order.

The Bureau spoke with one voice on "peace, disarmament, decolonization and development" and added a new section on international terrorism in the NAM's Political Declaration. It condemned all terrorist activities "whether perpetrated by individuals, groups or states, and resolved to counter them by every legal means". They urged the member states, particularly the Western countries, to fulfill their obligations "by forbidding the recruitment, use, financing, training, transit and directing of mercenaries and by severely punishing them when apprehended".

Referring to the US bombing of Libya on April 15, Rajiv Gandhi, on April 16, 1986, said: "Its (Libyan) sovereignty has been transgressed; its integrity impugned. We cannot but condemn this". At this moment of crisis, Libya has full support of the Movement, he asserted. "This must stop. All countries must join forces to combat this common menace

189. Ibid., p. 36.
190. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), April 21, 1986.
192. Ibid.
193. Ibid., April 17, 1986.
within the framework of internationally accepted norms".

On April 18, 1985, Iran and Iraq traded charges with each other and also jointly trained their guns at the movement itself. The Iraqi Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz, warned that "the very credibility of the movement would be greatly undermined if it failed to take a clear stand on the war". The Iranian Prime Minister, Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, charged Iraq for committing most inhuman acts in the war that was imposed by the Iraqi leadership which violated international laws and regulations of wartime.

The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yakub Khan, said that the Soviet penetration was a "bleeding wound" of Afghanistan and it could be healed by a just and honourable political settlement on the basis of withdrawal of foreign forces. In response, the Afghan Foreign Minister, Shah Mohammad Dost, charged Pakistan "with being not only a conduit for arms to Afghan rebels but also staging ground for mercenary attacks and complained:"Hardly a day passed by without a new anti-Afghan provocation by Washington and its local allies".

However, Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, A.C.S. Hameed stressed "the need for setting up some kind of machinery of the non-aligned movement to take immediate steps whenever the sovereignty and integrity of any member country was threatened".

Eighth Summit (Harare), September, 1986

The Eighth Summit of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Harare (Zimbabwe) on September 1-2, 1986, under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister Dr. Robert Mugabe. It marked the 25th anniversary of the Movement. It was attended by one hundred and two countries, observers from ten countries and guests from twelve countries besides a large number of organizations. The agenda reiterated

194. Ibid.
195. The Times of India (New Delhi), April 18, 1986.
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid.
198. Ibid.
199. See Appendix VIII.
the earlier issues including, among others, most importantly, the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action and Non-Aligned Movement's Plan of Action and measures to strengthen collective self-reliance, including political and economic decolonization.

The Conference, in its solemn 'Declaration', mentioned the urgency of decolonization and end of political and economic domination by imperialist powers. Reviewing the world situation as usual, the participants confirmed that "their efforts will continue to be directed towards liquidation of racism and all vestiges of colonialism, building up a world without war". They addressed an 'Appeal' to the President of USA, Ronald Regan, and to the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, urging them "to take immediate steps to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war", to reach "an early agreement on the prevention of an arms race in outer space" and "to reach an accord on a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests". The Final Document relating to Political Declaration included discussion on the role of the non-aligned countries because of which they "are being subjected to all kinds of pressures aimed at weakening the unity of the Movement", being far inferior to USA and USSR and other Western countries in arms technology. They were perturbed by the US announcement that "it no longer considers itself bound by the provisions of the Second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) of 1979". They welcomed the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing declared by the USSR in August, 1985, and in January, 1986. They noted with satisfaction the "initiatives taken by some non-aligned countries to limit the acquisition of conventional arms and reduce military expenditures with a view to allocating the resources so released for the socio-economic development of their peoples". They affirmed that states "may acquire technology, equipment and materials on a non-discriminatory basis for peaceful uses of nuclear energy".

201. Ibid., p. 36.
202. Ibid., p. 37.
203. Ibid., p. 38.
204. Ibid., p. 40.
205. Ibid., p. 43.
The Summit considered the situation in territories discussed earlier. It noted that the US Administration supported the UNITA armed criminal bandits, posing an open challenge to the OAU and amounted to an undeclared war by the United States against Angola. It strongly condemned South Africa for "continued recruitment, training, arming, transportation and infiltration of armed bandits into Mozambican territory "to kill the defenceless population and cause massive destruction to the economic and social infrastructure in that country", and its attack against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It thought it necessary to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria regime and expressed its solidarity with the objectives of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to achieve economic growth and collective self-reliance. It strongly condemned South Africa for its continued illegal, colonial and brutal occupation of Namibia and "emphasised the legitimacy of the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination by all available means, including armed struggle". Condemning the South African policy of apartheid and bantustanization, it said that the "establishment of a non-racial, democratic society in a unitary South Africa can constitute a sound basis for a just, lasting and universally acceptable solution to the problem". It decided to send a mandate of Foreign Ministers to the United Kingdom, the FRG, Japan and to the USA to press them to agree to the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The participants reviewed the situation in the territories considered earlier and reiterated the decisions taken by the previous conferences and meetings.

After the Harare Conference, the independent nations strengthened their cooperation and unity under the umbrella of the Non-aligned Movement with the determination to eliminate the Big Power's influence over their countries. This policy, in the past and also at present,
has led the non-aligned nations in the direction of emancipating and liberating the still dependent countries in the world and their alignment to the Movement has raised and would continue to raise the number of the members in future. The following table shows the gradual development and success of the Non-alignment:-

### Participation in Non-aligned Summit Conferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summit Conferences</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>Caribbean</th>
<th>Pacific</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Summit, Belgrade, 1961</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Summit, Cairo, 1964</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Summit, Lusaka, 1970</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Summit, Algeria, 1973</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Summit, Colombo, 1976</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Summit, Havana, 1979</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Summit, Delhi, 1983</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth Summit, Harare, 1986</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* including PLO and SWAPO.

Following the reactionary coup in Chile in September, 1973, the junta regime has been barred from participation in the non-aligned movement. Further, Kampuchea's seat at non-aligned conferences has been vacant since 1979 because of differences in the Movement as regards the country's representation. Moreover, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe (liberation organisation) was taking part in the non-aligned movement since 1979, and since 1982, the Republic of Zimbabwe is

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210. For details up to 1983, see Rais Tuzmukhamedov, 'Record of a Quarter Century', Supplement to New Times (Moscow), n.92, p. 2.
participating in the Movement's conferences. The following figures show the strength of non-aligned countries in the world:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Countries</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America and</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>171</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Add

Palestine (PLO)          | 1                   | 1                 |
Santa Lucia (Atlantic),  | 3                   | 3                 |
Burkina Fasso, Vanuatu   |                     |                   |
**Total (up to 1981)**   | **175**             | **102**           |

The number of members increased after 1981, and thus 103 member countries participated in the Harare Conference in 1986.

**Non-aligned Movement: A Flexible Mechanism**

With the passage of time the organisation of the non-aligned countries came to be known as Non-aligned Movement, the membership of which increased year by year with increase in the number of dependent countries in the world. For effective control and joint action, a flexible regulating mechanism for the Movement has been evolved. It is sufficiently effective to promptly react on the occasion of any major events to coordinate the positions of over 100 non-aligned states. The Non-aligned Movement has no budget, international staff or permanent Secretariat-type bodies. The main body

211. Iyan Ivanov, 'For Economic Decolonization', Supplement to New Times (Moscow), n. 92, p. 17.

of the Movement is a Conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries. Such conferences are usually held once every three years, although there have been exceptions due to various reasons. Meetings of Foreign Ministers are held between Summit Conferences. The Conference of Heads of State and the Meeting of Foreign Ministers, both, have the right to admit new members to the Movement. On the one hand, the Coordinating Bureau assists the Conference of Heads of State and the Meeting of Foreign Ministers, and, on the other, the Bureau is assisted by Plenary Meeting of the Heads of Delegations to the UN General Assembly Sessions and Plenary Meeting of UN Ambassadors. The Bureau comprises seventy-four members and holds regular and, when necessary, special meetings. The Bureau coordinates the social and economic activities of the member countries in twenty-three areas. It also discusses urgent international political issues relating to the Movement and speaks on its behalf.

Conclusion

The idea of non-alignment took a definite shape during the period 1945-1954. The Panchsheel (1954) was a major step in the direction of Non-alignment. The Bandung Conference (1955) adopted Ten Principles demanding fundamental human rights on the basis of the UN Charter. Nehru, Tito and Nasser became leaders of the Non-aligned Movement. A number of countries became independent. The NAM's first Summit, held at Belgrade in 1961, set out principles of Non-aligned Movement with emphasis on decolonization, international peace and security. The NAM countries held a number of conferences, meetings and eight summit conferences from 1961 to 1986. The members demanded and supported such actions which could establish peace and security in all the countries. They suggested measures on all the problems which disturbed the peace in any country. They supported independence movement and greatly helped in decolonization.