CHAPTER III

NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN ASIA

Traditionally, the Western countries emerged as powerful nations establishing colonies in Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Islands, and in Asia and Australasia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, the West was superior in military equipment, war techniques, political administration and consciousness, while the East was engaged in internal conflicts with lust for war or throne without caring the welfare and developmental measures, so that they had become politically, socially, economically and culturally weak and backward. The Western nations overcame them either by defeating them in war and imposing upon them terms of protection of their own liking or lured the leaders or princes to side with them. The political situation in the following countries, which are not members of the Non-aligned Movement, is summed up to make the conditions of decolonization more clear in the region.

New South Wales

The first wave of emancipation came through the Western peoples. For instance, the convicts from England and Scotland were transported to New South Wales (Australia) until 1840. By the end of the nineteenth century (1891), several communities demanded separation from New South Wales, while Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria had separate constitutions and along with New South Wales formed a parliamentary democracy. They established the Commonwealth of Australia on January 1, 1901. The rulers were White Australians. They ignored the aboriginal population, and even not included them in official censuses. The Government adopted the "White Australia" policy. The White nations adopted the same policy in their Asian colonies and did not care about the inhabitants' economic, social, educational, cultural and political development, completely ignoring their share in the government.

New Zealand

The British navigators reached New Zealand and it became a Crown

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. 112
colony in 1852. The White settlers imbibed the Western nationalism. Gradually, the descendants, born in New Zealand, lost the British nationalism and there emerged a group of new politicians espousing liberal ideology. With great sense of patriotism, New Zealand aided the British during the First World War, signed the 'Canberra Pact' with Australia in 1944, and adopted the Statute of Westminster in 1947 which "gave it complete autonomy and freedom of action in international affairs". The Government, getting British assistance, supported the British policy with regard to political crises in Vietnam, Singapore and Malaysia and signed the ANZUS in 1952 with Australia and the United States. New Zealand also adopted the policy of colonialism. It administered the UN Trust Territory of Western Samoa until 1962, and in 1965 "assisted the Cook Islands in their achieving self-government in free association with New Zealand". It decided to withdraw its "740-strong army and air force" from Singapore by 1989.

Mongolia

Mongolia's struggle for independence from Chinese yoke during the first decade of the twentieth century drew the attention of the Asian peoples. Mongolia was earlier a Chinese province, which declared its independence in 1911. The Chinese began to re-establish their control in 1917-1919. However, with the help of Soviet Red Army, Mongolia overthrew the Chinese rule on July 11, 1921, while Russia recognised the People's Government. Thus, on the one hand, Russia began to help the countries struggling for independence, and, on the other, though Soviet troops withdrew from Mongolia, it became dependent upon Russia. Mongolia accepted the Russian protection to save itself from the Chinese aggression and also suppressed an uprising in 1932 and repelled the Japanese invasion in 1939. Mongolia "made heavy contribution

4. Ibid., p. 681.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
to the Soviet war effort during the Second World War, as New Zealand supported the British. China, however, recognised Mongolia's independence in January, 1946. Mongolia "endorses Soviet policies", but like the USSR, it is not a member of the Non-aligned Movement, but it supports the N.A.M policies in the United Nations. Mongolia participated in the Harare Conference in 1986, with the status of 'Guest'.

Japan

No country can remain isolated from international politics. So, in the nineteenth century, the United States, France, Britain, Russia and the Netherlands forced "Japanese ports to be opened to foreign ships and vessels". The United States has established military bases on some Japanese islands, while Japan, after the Second World War, has renounced war and "abandoned the Doctrine of Emperor's divinity".

Japan due to its excellence in science, technology and industry, has become pro-US as she is largely dependent on it for raw materials. It has established friendly relations with USSR due to Khrushchev's adoption of the policy of "peaceful co-existence". Japan has close relations with China also and accepts Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan. Japan has relations with the developing countries as well. Thus, Japan plays a role of a bridge between the East and the West. It supports disarmament and other objectives of the Non-aligned Movement.

China

When Nehru, in 1946-48, was advocating the idea of 'neutrality', 'dynamic neutrality', 'positive neutrality' and 'non-involvement', which

11. Ibid., p. 648.
finally turned into 'non-alignment', China, in 1949, expressed faith in international peace and friendly cooperation between the peoples of all countries. Non-alignment, in broad terms, is defined as "the desire and ability of an independent country, or more accurately, of a country that truly feels itself to be independent, to follow an independent policy in foreign affairs; it is the desire and ability to make up its own mind, to take its own decisions or not to take them, after judging each issue separately and honestly on its merits".

China favoured the countries which were struggling for independence from colonial yoke. Chinese crusade against imperialism won the sympathy of the Soviet Union and the Asian countries. Nehru desired friendship with China, as he did with the Commonwealth, Americas and USSR, but he did not like to be their "satellite" or "plaything". China's increasing power and its anti-imperialism cautioned the United States, which in 1950s, gave serious consideration to tackling the Chinese problem and wanted to replace China with India, as a permanent member of the Security Council, and seating the "two Chinas" as ordinary members in the General Assembly. Trygve Lie also suggested India could become the sixth permanent member of the Security Council. Such ideas arose due to differences between Peking (Communist China) and Taiwan (Nationalist China). During the 1960s, Albania opposed the admission of the Communist China to the United Nations, but the Non-aligned group collectively urged that Peking should hold China's seat. In view of this, Peking can "hardly be said to have detracted from its position of non-alignment". The Belgrade Declaration asserts: "Those of the countries participating in the Conference which recognise the Government of the People's Republic of China recommend that the General Assembly, at its forthcoming session, would recognise

16. Ibid.
the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives." The Cairo Conference (1964), the Dar es Salaam meeting (1970) and the Lusaka Conference (1970) reiterated the same and said there was "urgent need" to give China "her rightful place". The Algiers Conference (1973) hailed the admission of China to the United Nations.

Later, the Chinese policy of over-interference threatened international peace and security. Her support of independent states proved a masked aggression in the case of Korea and North Vietnam. Her naked aggression was quite clear when China captured Tibet, tried to acquire some parts of Nepal, claimed territory in Burma and India and waged wars. However, China has followed an independent foreign policy without the influence of USSR, although it, in 1950, concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with USSR for thirty years according to which they agreed to render military and other assistance in case of an armed attack by Japan or by any other state assisted by Japan. In view of China's aggressive policy, the Havana Conference (1979) supported the Laos People's Republic "against the Chinese government's threats of aggression and expansionism".

However, a brief assessment of the position of the territories - Hong Kong and Macau, which struggled for independence and would become a Chinese province in 1997; Taiwan, which has established her own nationalist government; Spratly islands, over which Vietnam claims her sovereignty; and Tibet, which has become a Chinese province are given below:

22. Ibid., p. 35.
23. Ibid., p. 47.
24. Ibid., p. 97.
25. Ibid., p. 480.
Hong Kong: Hong Kong administers two territories - Kowloon Territory and New Territories. In 1898, the British acquired the latter on lease for 99 years. After the Second World War, Japan handed over Hong Kong to the surviving British officials forestalling US pressure that it should be handed back to China. Due to civil war (1950-1967) in China, Chinese continued to immigrate to Hong Kong and in 1979 and 1987, there was largest influx, encouraged by Beijing despite Hong Kong's protests and closing the border. China, however, has since "refrained from any interference in Hong Kong".

Hong Kong is still under the British rule. The British government and parliament "retain the power to legislate for the country, to veto ordinances passed by the legislative council, and to issue mandatory instructions to the Governor".

In August, 1984, the Sino-British agreement (a joint declaration) ensured that the British will transfer power "over the whole of Hong Kong to China on July 1, 1997" upon the expiry of the lease. China has declared that Hong Kong will be governed by its own people, by their own laws, except defense and foreign affairs "for a period of 50 years".

Macau: Macau comprises Macau peninsula of the Chinese district of Foshan and two small islands of Taipa and Coloane, 64 km west of Hong Kong. In 1557, the Portuguese established a trading post with China and, in 1845, the colonisers drove out the Chinese and declared Macau a Portuguese territory. In 1951, Macau was declared an overseas province of Portugal. China claimed its sovereignty over Macau and opposed independence movement. During 1961-62, there were "communist riots" and China, in the United Nations, declared that "it regarded the future of Macau as an internal matter". The CDM wanted radical political reform. The AIDM demanded independence. However, after the

27. Ibid., p. 352.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 353.
31. Ibid., p. 596.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.II, p. 2283.
34. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 596.
military coup in April, 1974, in Portugal, "China refused to discuss the future of Macau with Portugal". Macau, in 1976, achieved virtual political autonomy, and was defined as a "Special Territory" under Portugal. In 1981, there was an "unspoken agreement" between Beijing and Lisbon "not to alter the legal status of Macau". However, at the fourth round of talks between Portugal and China, an agreement, signed on March 26, 1987, recognised Chinese sovereignty over Macau, which would become "a special administrative region" of China on December 20, 1999. It will have the status as that of Hong Kong. The agreement has, however, guaranteed that after five years, Macau may be "financially independent of China".

Taiwan : After the defeat of Japan, Taiwan was returned to China in 1945, and it became a province of China. In early 1949, the Kuomintang (KMT) regime, driven from the mainland of China by the Communists, moved to Taiwan's capital, Taipei, with 600,000 military personnel and others. By 1986, "only 23 countries still recognized the government of Taiwan". Re-unification proposals with PRC (People's Republic of China) was rejected by the KMT government, which envisaged grant of high degree of autonomy. In 1982, the Taiwan government agreed for re-unification on the basis of "Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People". In 1983, Taiwan agreed for re-unification retaining the right to purchase military equipment from abroad. But the Chinese leaders urged the re-unification on the principle of "one country - two systems". Further, Taiwan declared that it would not negotiate with Beijing until it renounced Communism, and the "three no's policy" i.e. no compromise, no contact and no negotiation. Taiwan declared the PRC-Portugal agreement with regard to Chinese sovereignty over Macau as null and void. Within hours of the death of President Chiang Ching-kuo on January 13, 1988, Lee Teng-hui was sworn in as the seventh President of Taiwan.

35. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.II, p.2283.
37. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.II, p. 2283.
39. Ibid., p. 297.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., p. 298.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
Spartly Islands: The Spartly Islands, known to the Chinese as the Nansha Islands and to the Vietnamese as the Truong Sa, consist of a group of islets, coral reefs and sandbars in the South China Sea, sovereignty over which is claimed by China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia and the Philippines. This archipelago is strategic due to its proximity to shipping lines and possibility of oil and gas reserves. On April 15, 1987, Vietnam occupied the Bojiao island, backed by the Soviet Union. China demanded withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Bijiao and nine other islands. China alleged that "Vietnam's purpose in illegally despatching troops to Bojiao island is to occupy the continental shelf nearby and pave the way for its future exploitation of oil". Complaining against Taiwan, China stated that since 1946, the island had been "guarded by the KMT" and viewed "to stop Vietnam's expansionist atrocity and even to punish it severely". Contrarily, Vietnam rejected the Chinese allegations and stated that Chinese ships had been conducting "illegal activities" and exercises in the Vietnamese archipelago, Truong Sa from May 16 to June 6, 1987. Later, in February-March, 1988, the situation became "dangerously tense" and in March both sides accused the other of attacking their ships. China, however, rejected terms for negotiations with Hanoi and asserted its "undisputable sovereignty" over the Spartly Islands.

Tibet: On September 19-29, 1987, the 14th Dalai Lama, "the exiled religious and secular head of Tibet" visited the United States, while there was a series of demonstrations in Lhasa "calling for Tibetan Independence". The New China News Agency reported that "26 people, mainly monks, took part" in the demonstration which ended in violence, but the "Western eye-witnesses said that hundreds of people had taken part". Two Tibetans, who campaigning for independence, were executed. On October 5, 1987, Buddhist monks denounced "human rights violations" and asked the United Nations to support their "call for independence". Ninety of the monks, who demanded independence and return of Dalai Lama, were arrested, but released on October 9. A Chinese leader on

45. Ibid., p. 35902.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., pp. 35716-17.
49. Ibid., p. 35717.
50. Ibid.
October 16, blamed the Dalai Lama and a few US Congressmen for causing the unrest. The United States on June 18, 1987, condemned the Chinese occupation of Tibet, human rights violations and the "immigration of millions of Chinese on to the Tibetan plateau".

On September 21, 1987, the Dalai Lama announced a new "five-point peace plan", before the US Senate. The Plan designated "Tibet as a 'Zone of Peace' and end of the Chinese immigration in Tibet, restoration of fundamental human rights, a halt to China's nuclear development programme there and talks on Tibet's status as an autonomous region of China". The Plan received support of a number of Congressmen, who wrote to the Chinese Premier to consider the Dalai Lama's proposal for a 'zone of peace'. The Chinese government accused the US Congress of "wanton interference" in Chinese internal affairs, by treating Tibet as a separate country, while the White House and State Department threatened that "Sino-US relations could suffer". The Panchan Lama, during his visit to Lhasa on January 11, 1988, was reported to have said that the Chinese government "greatly cares about Tibetan affairs and the Tibetan people". In February, 1988, Jimmy Carter, the US President, during his visit to Tibet said that he was "pleased by economic and religious developments in Tibet".

India has closed her borders with Tibet since October 7, 1987, to prevent an influx of refugees.

Walled City in Kowloon: By the Convention of Peking (1898), China had ceded the New Territories and Kowloon to Britain, which respected the Chinese sovereignty over the Walled City. Hong Kong claimed sovereignty over the City. However, after a long-running legal battle, Hong Kong and China, in early, 1987, agreed to raze the Walled City to the ground in 1990. The City covering an area of six acres near Kai Tak international airport, houses a population estimated between 33,000 and 40,000. The area would be turned into a park.

51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 35967.
Thailand

Thailand, formerly known as Siam until 1939, was an independent kingdom since the twelfth century. Helplessly, Siam in 1893, concluded a treaty with France with cession of parts of territories of Laos and Cambodia to French Indochina and also signed a treaty with Britain in 1909, with cession of part of Malaya. During the First World War, it sided with the Allies and became member of the League of Nations (1934-39); but during the Second World War, it was in alliance with Japan against the Allies, but the Thai Ambassador in Washington "never conveyed his government's declaration of war". From 1947 to 1987, the country suffered from instability of the Government due to seizure by army in a coup, or through elections or "no confidence" motion. In 1976, the King appointed Gen. Kriangsak Chomanan as Prime Minister and nominated a National Legislative Assembly, which approved a new constitution, lifted the ban on political gatherings imposed since 1975, and held elections. The Senate nominated by the Prime Minister comprised military men. Due to opposition, Gen. Kriangsak resigned in March, 1980, and Gen. Prem was appointed Prime Minister. He was backed by the King and survived coups and attempts to overthrow him by the National Democratic Party (NDP), formed by the former Prime Minister, Gen. Kriangsak, and other high army officials. The new Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Gen. Chaovalit suppressed the Communists. In 1988, opposition to Gen. Prem grew stronger, but he successfully averted a "no-confidence" motion, asking the King to dissolve the House of Representatives. However, many dissidents resigned from the Democratic Party (DP) to form a separate party, while elections are likely to be held in 1990.

In May, 1984, Thailand was in dispute with Laos on the question of three villages on their joint border. In October, 1984, the United Nations considered the problem. Thailand withdrew its troops from the area. In 1987, another border dispute arose and the two countries agreed to settle their border dispute according to Franco-Siamese Treaty.

55. *The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements*, n. 8, p. 800.
56. *The Europa Year Book*, n. 9, p. 2585.
of 1907, but two rounds of discussion failed. The Thai Government proposed the establishment of a "Joint Committee" to demarcate the border line, to which Laos has not responded.

Thailand's relations with Vietnam deteriorated in December, 1978, when Vietnam invaded Kampuchea and Thailand recognized Democratic Kampuchea (government-in-exile) supported by the United States. Vietnam invaded Thailand on the pretext of preventing Kampuchean resistance forces entering Kampuchea via Thailand. In mid-1987, there were serious clashes between Vietnam and Thai forces.

Thailand became member of ASEAN and condemned the presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea. But due to war with Vietnam, Thailand, in January, 1987, entered into an agreement with the United States permitting the latter "to establish a stockpile of non-nuclear weapons" without military bases. According to the United States, the stockpile was "intended to defend Thailand against possible attack by Soviet-supported forces from Kampuchea". However, it could be used "in emergencies by either country". Since, in 1987, the United States reduced the military support, Thailand concluded an agreement with China "whereby Thailand was to buy tanks and other military equipment at low prices".

According to Burton, Thailand faced the demands for social and political change. He says that the King and the Royalists did not like to abdicate the throne for establishment of a purely democratic state. Therefore, they wanted military support from any big power to suppress the people's demand and this was possible only on pretext of 'communist' threat. Accordingly, the United States supported Thailand, but it withdrew its alliance having no possibility of its foothold on its land. Later, when the Soviet relations with China deteriorated, Thailand

58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.; see also The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 933.
60. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 932.
62. Ibid.
sought assistance from China against "communist subversion". Thus, the government has crushed the people's demand for abolition of Kingship and establishment of a democratic government.

There is neither inter-state conflict nor pressure on government from within the state, nor conflict with Great power, not consistency with existing policy, which are the causes of alliance-formation in the Third World. Therefore, it is hoped that, like Cambodia, which joined the NAM due to dispute with Thailand and Vietnam, Thailand will also join the NAM when one or more causes would arise for such an alliance in future.

NAM AND NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS

The political developments and circumstances, under which the newly independent countries became members of the Non-aligned Movement have been described below:

(A) FAR EAST AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

This region consists of the Union of Burma, Kampuchea (Cambodia), Koreas, Laos (Tonkin), Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam.

(1) BURMA

Britain fought three wars to occupy Burma; the first in 1824, the second in 1852, and the third in 1885, when the last Burmese King, Thibaw, was deported to India, and a British Government in Rangoon was instituted, which was subordinated to the British Government in India. Burma remained under British rule from 1896 to 1948.

The General Council of Burmese Association (GCBA) launched the nationalist movement for independence and the Government introduced reforms in the form of 'diarchy'. In 1937, Burma was separated from India, becoming an autonomous state within the British Commonwealth and a constitution and a legislative assembly were given. In 1942,

64. Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 226.
65. Ibid., p. 227.
the Thakin youths formed a National Burmese Army which fought with Japan and the British Indian army and freed Burma, but Japan imposed a puppet government. In 1944, Aung San formed the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), which aided the Allied forces. After Japan was defeated, the British returned. Aung San waged struggle for liberation and the Government agreed to limited self-determination. Elections, in 1945, were won by AFPFL. Two years later, Prime Minister Aung San and six members of the executive council were assassinated in July, 1947, and U Nu assumed office. The Aung San assassination created such indignation and uprising that Britain was forced to grant independence on January 4, 1948, outside the Commonwealth. In fact, the people were emancipated by Nehru's proclamation of neutrality and non-alignment and condemnation of colonialism in any form.

The UN General Assembly on March 31, 1953, included in its agenda a "complaint by the Union of Burma regarding aggression against it by the Government of the Republic of China". According to the Burmese Government, the Kuomintang troops, in 1950, had crossed the Burmese border. The Kuomintang troops, in 1953, increased to about 12,000. According to the Chinese Government, the army led by Gen. Li Mi was not a part of its regular forces. However, due to the General Assembly resolution and support of the United States and Thailand, the Chinese withdrew in 1956.

U Nu was an active collaborator of Nehru, Tito and Nasser. In 1960, he was re-elected Prime Minister and in September, 1961, Burma

67. Ibid.
participated in the first Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Movement at Belgrade in 1961.

Since U Nu administration proved ineffective, Gen. Ne Win staged a coup, deposed U Nu, instituted a Revolutionary Council, suspended the constitution and outlawed all the political parties, except the government-sponsored Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) in March, 1964. The BSPP changed the name of the country to the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. Ne Win was elected President in 1972 and 1978. In May, 1980, as general amnesty was declared for political prisoners, exiles and rebels, U Nu returned to Burma. In 1988, Ne Win requested all organs of the state "to prepare accurate reports for evaluation before the sixth Congress of the BSPP", scheduled for 1989.

Burma maintains a policy of "neutrality" and has no external defence treaties. She is one of the poorest countries in Asia, but it is potentially rich in agricultural, fishery, timber, mineral and water resources, and has significant deposits of petroleum, tin, copper and coal. Inefficient and expensive system of transport has prevented Burma from attaining the highest benefits. However, it has "nationalized industry, transport, internal and external trade, communications and finances". It is a member of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and with the World Bank and has been aided by the UN agencies.

(2) KAMPUCHEA

On June 17, 1884, France imposed an agreement on the Khmer King and gradually occupied Indo-China, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea(formerly Combodia or Annam) and in the beginning of the twentieth century, there were uprisings and revolts against the French colonialism. The founding of the Communist Party of Indochina (CPI) led by Ho Chi Minh revolutionised a movement and a struggle against the French. During the Second World War i.e. from 1940 to October 5, 1945, the Japanese occupied the region, but in 1949, the French returned to power.

71. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 21, p. 5.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., p. 599.
75. Ibid.
affiliated the country as member of the French Union, disregarding the agreement for granting autonomy to the country.

The impact of independence movements in Asia and Africa was that France recognised de jure independence, but reserved for herself her control over military affairs, external relations, justice and the police, keeping the country's destiny under thumb of the French rule. In 1951, Prince Sihanouk launched peaceful resistance and the situation force France to withdraw its troops and soon thereafter independence of the People's Republic of Cambodia was declared on November 9, 1953. Sihanouk, confirmed as Premier in 1954, abdicated the throne in favour of his father and became a political leader. He founded the Popular Socialist Community and won elections in 1955, 1958, 1962 and 1966. His father, King Suramarit, died in April, 1960, and in June Parliament elected Prince Sihanouk as Head of State. Though he pursued a neutralist policy, he persecuted the Communists and encouraged return of Cambodian students, particularly Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, who studied in France and were influenced by the Chinese policy.

After the French withdrew in 1955, and Cambodia announced its withdrawal from the French Union, the United States intervened and Sihanouk broke off ties with Washington in May, 1965. The United States supported Prime Minister Lt. Gen. Lon Nol, who carried out a right-wing coup in Phnom Penh and deposed Sihanouk. Lon Nol appealed to the United States for military aid to remove foreign Communist forces. In October, 1970, Marshal Lon Nol proclaimed the Khmer Republic and in June, 1972, was elected President. On the other side, Sihanouk formed in exile the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (GRUNC), which was recognised by the Non-aligned and many other states "as the rightful government of Cambodia" in 1973. The war between US-backed

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77. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 515.
79. See for further details Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 143.
Lon Nol regime and GRUNC forces reached its peak. However, on April 17, 1975, the United States was defeated by the joint forces of National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK)-led by Sihanouk, and the Vietnamese and Laotian patriots. The Liberation Army-GRUNC forces (mainly Khmer Rouge) occupied Phnom Penh and Prince Sihanouk became Head of State. On January 5, 1976, a new constitution changed the name of Khmer Republic into Democratic Kampuchea. But in April, 1976, Sihanouk resigned and GRUNC was dissolved. Khieu Samphan became President and Pol Pot Prime Minister.  

The Chinese supported Pol Pot, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) and Ieng Sary, who murdered the revolutionary leaders who refused to yield to the Chinese pressure. The Pol Pot repression depopulated the cities and closed the factories and the labourers were forced to work in fields to supply grain to China. "During three years they killed millions". On December 2, 1979, the United Front of National Salvation of Cambodia was founded. The revolutionary forces overthrew the Pol Pot's group in early 1979. On January 7, 1979, the Salvation Front together with Vietnamese troops seized Phnom Penh and three days later People's Republic of Kampuchea was proclaimed.

In August, 1979, the Pol Pot group, on charges of genocide, was sentenced to death. Ieng Sary escaped and fled to Peking. India recognised the People's Republic of Kampuchea on July 7, 1980. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea held meetings in Phnom Penh in January, 1980; then in Vientianne in December, 1980; and again in Ho Chi Minh City in January, 1981.

On August 12, 1980, Kampuchea captured 600 Pol Pot men in Thai dress with Chinese and American weapons and equipment. China and Thailand, two important members of the ASEAN prevented Kampuchea from gaining recognition of its legitimate right to represent the country. Thailand, being a neighbour, is the most vociferous among the ASEAN countries in its attacks against Kampuchea.

83. Ibid.
Since 1979, Vietnam has been aiding Kampuchea against the united armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea (in exile) on the Thai-Kampuchean border. As a result, about 230,000 refugees crossed the border into Thailand and Vietnam occupied most of the border areas "including the base camps of all three groups in the coalition". In 1987, the Coalition Government in exile claimed 700,000 refugees.


Among other countries, USA, China and ASEAN countries supported the KPRP government in exile of Democratic Kampuchea, which aims at securing withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. KPRP is a coalition of Prince Sihanouk, President Khien Samphan (Khmer Rouge), Vice-President, and Son Sann (KPNLF), Prime Minister, formed in June, 1982.

Kampuchea has always been on the agenda of NAM conferences. The Ministerial Conference (1975), at Lima, paid homage to the heroism of the people of Kampuchea, who won victory against the forces of imperialist powers, thus, "finally liberating their country on April 17, 1975, from the domination of American imperialists and a treacherous puppet regime". The Ministers condemned the "American imperialism, which, not accepting defeat, seeks by all means to sabotage Kampuchea's independence and peace, in order to prevent the reconstruction of the country ravaged by the war of imperialist aggression". The Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo (1976) hailed the victories against

85. Ibid.
86. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 438; see also for further details Year Book of the United Nations, 1979, pp. 306-07; see also UN Chronicle, December, 1983, pp. 27-33.
87. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 143.
88. Ibid., p. 199.
imperialism in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. The Conference hailing the success, said: "They are also the results of the practical solidarity of all non-aligned and Third World peoples, of all those countries which love peace and justice in the world".

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs on September 25-28, 1981, at New York, said that "the tension in and around Kampuchea should not escalate over a wider area ...". The Ministers hoped that a process of negotiation would create mutual understanding so that the people might use their right to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion. They also noted "the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region".

The Seventh Summit Conference held at New Delhi (1983) expressed "grave concern over the continuing conflicts and tension in the region", and demanded "withdrawal of all foreign forces" and "elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside powers". The NAM members to the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly in a meeting held in New York on October 4-7, 1983, and on October 1, 1985, reiterated the resolution of the New Delhi Summit Conference. The Coordinating Bureau on April 19-21, 1985, in New Delhi, as also by the Ministers of the Non-aligned countries at a meeting in Luanda on September 4-7, 1985, and the Harare Conference on September 1-6,1986, reiterated the same.

(3) KOREA

Korea, formerly a monarchy, was annexed by Japan in 1910, when

89. Ibid., p. 546.
90. Ibid., p. 547.
92. Ibid., pp. 105-19.
93. Ibid., p. 184.
94. Ibid., p.241.
the Emperor was deposed. Inspired by the 1917 Soviet Revolution, the Koreans rose against the Japanese and formed the Korean Community Party (KCP) in 1925. During the Second World War, KCP's guerilla commander, Kim II Sung, organised Korean People's Revolutionary Army and, with the Soviet military assistance, routed the Japanese on August 15, 1945.

Sensing the Soviet plan to turn Korea a socialist country, the United States landed its troops in the southern peninsula. The US and the Soviet troops stood as rivals, which broke their war-time collaboration. However, the Potsdam Agreements in July, 1945, allowed the Soviet Union to station its forces in the North of the 38th parallel and the United States in the South, which marked the division of the country. To avoid further tension, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union formed at Moscow in December, 1945, a Joint Trust Commission (including China) for maintaining Korea's national unity, democracy and independence, but the United States broke this Agreement on August 15, 1946, by declaring the South as the Republic of Korea, despite people's demand for re-unification of North and South and Soviet protests. Consequently, in the North, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was proclaimed by the Northern and Southern deputies on September 9, 1948, at Pyongyang, despite US repression and execution of advocates of re-unification and holding unilateral elections in May, 1948, in the South.

North Korea (DPRK) : DPRK was recognised by the USSR and other communist countries. Soviet forces withdrew from North Korea in December, 1948, in fulfilment of the Moscow Agreements. It signed defense treaties with USSR and China. The country's "application of February, 1949, for admission to the United Nations was rejected because of a US veto". However, in 1973, it became member of WHO and subsequently

95. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 50.
97. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 529.
101. Ibid.; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 443; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 1866-75; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 383.
gained status of permanent observer at the United Nations on August 26, 1975, and was also admitted to the Non-aligned Movement at the Peru Ministerial meeting held in Lima on August 25-30, 1975.

South Korea (RK): The Republic of Korea signed military treaties with the United States in 1948 and 1950 and a Treaty on Mutual Defense in August, 1953, granting "US armed forces the right to maintain land, sea and air bases on Korean territory". It signed a treaty on Normalization of Relations with Japan in Tokyo in 1965. South Korea's application of January 1, 1949, for admission to the United Nations was rejected due to veto of the USSR. However, it also has the status of permanent observer at the United Nations and is member of all the UN agencies with the exception of ILO. The Soviet Union shot down a Korean Airlines passenger plane 007 on September 1, 1983, which was a subject of discussion at the United Nations.

The Korean problem was placed by the United States before the United Nations in September, 1947. The UN General Assembly created the 'UN Temporary Commission on Korea' in November, and authorised it to conduct a national election and establish "a national government for the whole country", which was hailed by South Korea and the United States.

South Korea is a focal point of tension and danger in Asia and the whole world. There was widespread discontent, instability of government, upheavals, assassination and arrests during 1948-1984. In 1984, due to students' protests, the Government released several thousand prisoners and lifted ban on 84 politicians. They founded New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), which emerged as a major opposition force. The party, in 1986, demanded constitutional reforms. President Chun finally agreed and negotiations continued throughout the year without any decision. As a result a very large demonstration was held

102. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 141.
104. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n.9, Vol.II, pp.1876-91; see also UN Chronicle, March, 1984, p. 54.
105. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 529.
in November, 1986, and more than 1,000 students were arrested in Seoul only.

In April, 1987, there was internal division within NKDP, with the formation of the Re-Unification Democratic Party (RDP). The RDP manifesto declared its objectives of re-unification of North and South Koreas. As Chun's Democratic Justice Party (DJP) refused to recognise RDP and wanted to delay the constitutional reforms, student demonstrators clashed with police violently. However, under pressure of DJP leadership itself and world opinion, President Chun resigned and a constitutional amendment was approved in 1987 by "93.1% of the votes cast in a national referendum". In February, 1988, Roh Tae Woo became President and Lee Hyun-Jae Prime Minister. The amendment stipulated that "the Republic of Korea shall seek peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula, based on the principles of freedom and democracy", but due to conditions created by various incidents, relations between the North and South worsened. Further, in 1979, US commitment to South Korea was confirmed. In November, 1983, Regan visited Seoul and Chun visited Washington in March, 1985. The United States pressurised the Seoul Government "to introduce further democratic reforms". In May 1985, the United States "pledged to continue US security links with the country". In April, 1987, President Chun visited four Western European countries to expand its political and economic relations.

The question of South Korea has been discussed in various meetings and conferences of the Non-aligned Movement and resolutions in favour of its re-unification were passed. As a result, the North-South dialogue for the purpose is continuing. The NAM's Third Summit Conference held at Lusaka (1970) noted with concern the presence of foreign troops in Korea "posing a threat to national independence and international peace and security". The Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Georgetown (1972) noted with satisfaction "the initial results which have been achieved towards a peaceful reunification of Korea",

107. Ibid., p. 1625.
108. Ibid.
109. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.91, p. 184.
110. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 46.
demanded "the cessation of all foreign intervention in the matter" and called for "withdrawal of all foreign forces". The Fourth Summit Conference held at Algiers (1973), remarking that Korea had been divided for nearly thirty years, expressed fear that "further extension of this division would represent a constant threat to peace and security in Asia and in the world", demanded that "an end be put to foreign interference in Korea" and the right to self-determination guaranteed to the people so that they could settle their problems themselves by peaceful means. The participants opposed the admission of two Koreas to the UN and asked the 28th Meeting of the UN General Assembly to consider the question of Korea.

The Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo (1976) "strongly demanded that the imperialists immediately stop their manoeuvres to provoke war and all other means of war they have introduced in the area", called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea" and supported "the struggle of the people in the North and the South of Korea to reunify their country". The NAM's Sixth summit conference reiterated these demands. The Seventh Summit Conference held at New Delhi (1983) reaffirmed its support for reunification "in conformity with the three principles of independence, peaceful unification and great national unity, set forth in the joint North-South statement of 4 July 1972". The Eighth Summit Conference held at Harare, (1986) noted with concern that "Korea remains divided; this poses a potential threat to peace".

The Havana meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975) reaffirmed its "support for the policy of independent and peaceful reunification, without outside interference in their internal affairs". The Bureau recommended the application of Korea for admission to the NAM Ministerial Conference to be held at Lima in 1975. The Havana Ministerial

111. Ibid., p. 73.
112. Ibid., p. 115.
113. Ibid., p. 199.
114. Ibid., p. 200.
115. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.91, p. 33.
116. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 50.
117. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 133.
118. Ibid.
meeting (1982) and the New Delhi Ministerial meeting (1986) reiterated
the earlier resolutions. The participants hoped that the country would
be unified in conformity with the three principles of independence,
peaceful unification and great national unity.

(4) LAOS

From 1893 to 1949, the Kingdom was called Laneang, under France.
During the First World War, France exploited fully the natural wealth
of Laos and recruited 50,000 troops and 49,000 workers to serve France.
In October, 1930, the Communist Party of Indochina was founded to
fight against the French imperialism and to regain national independence.
In 1939, the French, after the Popular Front, recruited 1,500,000
soldiers and workers, lengthened throughout Indochina the working
hours from the old 48 per week to 60 for men and 54 for women, in
addition to raising the taxes. After defeat of France by Germany in
1939, Laos was transferred to Japanese fascists.

During the Second World War, the Laos people put up resistance
against Japan and independence was proclaimed on October 12, 1945.
France dropped hundreds of bombs and within a few hours killed thousands
of men. The Pathet Lao force and the provisional government were forced
to withdraw to Thailand. The French, in 1945, merged the three
principalities - Luang Prabang, Vientiana and Champassac, and recognised
Sisavang Vong, the ruler of Luang Prabang since 1904, as King of Laos.
The King promulgated a democratic constitution in May, 1947. Laos
became an independent state within the French Union on July 19, 1949,
and "full sovereignty was recognized by France in October, 1953". The
Royalist politician, Prince Souvanna Phouma, became Prime Minister.
Following the Geneva Treaty signed on July 22, 1954, the French troops
withdrew in September, 1954, as the International Commission for

119. Ibid., p. 571.
120. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 91, p. 241.
121. Ibid.
123. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, n. 580.
Control and Supervision in Laos composed of India, Canada and Poland remained in operation from 1954 to 1958. Since 1950, the armed branch of Pathet Lao, or the Neo Lao Itsala i.e. Lao Patriotic Front (LPF), which led the insurgent movement against the French, refused to accept the truncated government.

In 1960, there was a civil war due to US military assistance to the Rightists. The 1962 Geneva Conference confirmed the neutrality of Laos. But US agents unleashed terror in Vientiane and in April, 1963, neutralist personalities including Foreign Minister Quinin Pholsena were assassinated. The Pathet Lao continued to fight against the US forces and the Lao People's Liberation Army (LPLA) controlled three-fifths of the north-east of the country with the assistance of the Vietnamese communists - the Viet-Minh, who were engaged in war with the French until 1954. Several attempts, during 1950s, to reunite the country failed. In 1965, de facto partition resulted as the LPF refused to participate in elections and "persisted to consolidate its power over the north-eastern province".

Since the border of South Vietnam ran through the Pathet Lao controlled areas, Lao remained closely involved in war with Vietnam. The United States, in 1971, attacked the liberated area with all its planes, bombers and the Seventh Fleet aircraft. The LPLA shot down 65 US helicopters and destroyed 40 tanks and within 43 days the US forces were annihilated. The Government expelled those officials who had collaborated with the United States. In February, 1973, a treaty between Vietnam and Pathet Lao was signed. According to Protocol of September 14, 1973, all foreign troops withdrew from Laos. In 1974, a new government was formed with the association of the Royalists, Neutralists and the LPF with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister, who resigned. On December 2, 1975, monarchy was abolished and Lao People's Democratic

128. Ibid.
Republic was proclaimed. In 1979, LPF was replaced by Lao Front for National Reconstructions (LFNR). Vietnam and Lao signed another treaty on July 18, 1977, to ensure economic and defense cooperation. In 1982, there was a partial normalization of border relations with Thailand.

Laos, since 1975, heavily depended on Vietnamese economic and military assistance. As a result, Laos permitted stationing of Vietnamese forces (between 30,000 and 50,000) in 1987. Laos, following the NAM principles did not enter into military alliance with any super power, which could affect its foreign policy and sovereignty. In 1986, the two countries settled their border dispute and, in 1987, they restored diplomatic relations.

Relations with Thailand have been strained since 1975. Laos and Thailand claimed three villages on the Thai-Lao border. Their dispute turned into military clashes. However, in March, 1988, both sides agreed to ceasefire and to settle dispute amicably.

Laos joined the Non-aligned Movement at the NAM's Second Summit Conference held at Cairo (1964), attended by Prime Minister Prince Souvanna. The Third Summit Conference at Lusaka (1970) expressed concern over the presence of US forces in Indochina, calling for a "peaceful solution of the problems of Laos and Cambodia" ensuring their freedom. The Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers (1972), expressing solidarity with "the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos for their self-determination", noted that "they were continuing their struggle with renewed vigour and perseverance". The Fourth Summit Conference held at Algiers (1973) hoped that "the signatory parties (to the Vietnam Agreement) will sign protocol for the creation of a national coalition government in Laos". The Conference noted that

129. 40,000 in 1978; see The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 582.
131. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.21, p. 28.
132. Ibid., p. 51.
133. Ibid., p. 73.
134. Ibid., p.95.
the "history-making victories of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos represent a portion of the aspirations of all oppressed peoples of the world". The Lima Ministerial Conference (1975) demanded that the US Government should "contribute to the repair of war damage in Laos", and requested the international community to actively help in the economic reconstruction of Laos. The Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo (1976) warmly acclaimed the total victory of the Lao people and defeat of neo-colonialism in Laos and called it a "common victory of the national liberation movement and of all progressive and peace loving forces over imperialism".

(5) MALAYSIA

Britain obtained Malay from the Dutch in exchange of Sumatra. In 1841, and 1878, Britain acquired also Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo). In 1896, it constituted the Federated Malay States from Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang under administration of a British Resident. In 1909, Siam relinquished its authority over Perils, Kelantan, Trengganu and Kedah, which formed Non-Federated Malay States governed by a British Counsellor. Later, the City of Johore also came under British protection. After the fall of Japan, the British returned and formed in February, 1948, the Federation of Malay, including eleven States and two settlements - Malacca and Penang.

The Malay guerillas fought against the Japanese and the British occupation for twelve years. On August 31, 1957, the sovereignty of the Federation of Malaya was proclaimed, consisting of thirteen states within the British Commonwealth. On September 17, 1957, it became member of the United Nations. The British, to have an indirect control over the government, "turned over the government to the Party of the Malacca Alliance, composed of pro-imperialist bourgeois elements and large landowners". To consolidate the pro-imperialist hold, Britain

135. Ibid., p. 109.
136. Ibid., p. 143.
137. Ibid., p. 199.
140. Ibid.
proposed to establish a Federation of Malaysia, combining Malay Peninsula, the island of Singapore and Kalimantan (Borneo) without Brunei. In spite of protest of Indonesia, formation of the Federation of Malaysia was proclaimed on September 16, 1963.

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku (Prince) Abdul Rahman was adamantly against a union of Malaya and Singapore as then Singapore's Chinese would outnumber Malaya's Malays. However, in August, 1962, an agreement was reached in London between Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and Tengku Abdul Rahman, which allowed Britain to retain its giant naval base in Singapore. Due to fearful conflict between the two ethnic groups - Chinese and Malays which left many dead and hundreds wounded, the Federation was dissolved in August, 1965. In September, 1965, Singapore "withdrew and proclaimed itself an independent republic"; thus, reducing the component status from 14 to 13. The States of Malaya were designated West Malaysia in 1966, later styled Peninsular Malaysia. In 1967, Malaysia facilitated the formation of ASEAN, joined by Brunei in January, 1964.

The Federation served the neo-colonialist purposes. In 1966, Malaysia and Indonesia ended their three year tensions and clashes. It joined as member the Dar es Salaam meeting of the Non-aligned countries in 1970, and was included in the Standing Committee formed to maintain liaison with the host country. It followed the policy of the Non-aligned Movement and attended the Lusaka Conference held in September, 1970. The New York Ministerial meeting held in September, 1971, elected Malaysia member of the Preparatory Committee.

In 1970, there were internal rioting against the "Chinese community's economic dominance" and "certain pro-Chinese electoral results". In protest, Tengku Abdul Rahman, who was Prime Minister since

143. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 509.
144. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 33.
145. Ibid., p. 35.
146. Ibid., p. 43.
147. Ibid., p. 71.
independence, resigned and Tun Abdul Razak took his office. He created a National Front comprising of ten (later 13) parties and led the United Malaysia National Organization (UMNO). In March, 1973, Malaysia declared its policy of neutrality and proposed to ASPAC to have a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality". Due to differences, Malay withdrew from the Pact.

After Razak's death in January, 1976, Data Hussein bin Onn came to power. With the cooperation of Thailand, he forced 900 communists to surrender, leaving 1,400 still operating in 1987. In 1981, Hussein was succeeded by Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, who was Prime Minister despite many challenges to overthrow him and attempts at abortive coups. However, Malaysia's Head of State is still a monarch, elected for five years "by and from the hereditary rulers of nine of the States."

In 1984, military cooperation between the United States and China was described by the US Secretary of State, George Shultz, as being "not a threat at all to other parts of Asia". Kuala Lumpur expressed concern that an economically and militarily strong China "would sooner or later be a military power and pose a threat to the region". The ASEAN countries were the "centre of gravity" and this was the reason only "Washington had been working closely with them and would continue to do so". The United States looks with favour on arms sale to the ASEAN countries. The supply of arms made the South-East Asian countries more aggressive, against which the Malaysians protested. Shultz, explaining the US policy of neo-colonialism, said that "The United States would like to support the efforts of countries in this region to look after their security".

At present Malaysia votes for "the deposed pro-Chinese regime of Pol Pot in Kampuchea and is criticising Vietnam's assistance to

151. Ibid., p. 1762.
152. The Times of India (New Delhi), July 12, 1984.
153. Ibid.
Phnom Penh. The country pursues a policy of non-alignment and contributes to decolonization of the colonies.

North Borneo (Sabah) and Borneo (Sarawak): The northern part of Kalimantan (Borneo) consists of Sarawak (124, 450 sq. km.) and Sabah (73,711 sq. km.), which are states of Malaysia. The Sultanate of Brunei is a British protectorate. The rest of Kalimantan is part of Indonesia. Sarawak is situated in the west and Sabah in the east of Brunei.

In 1841 and 1878, the British occupied Sarawak and Sabah respectively, after concluding treaties with the local chiefs. In 1896, the British formed the Federated Malay States. In 1909, Siam relinquished her sovereignty over Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Kedah, which became known as the Non-Federated Malay States. Johore signed a treaty of Protection with Britain and remained under the Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945. Later, the British returned and established their colonial rule. They formed the Federation of Malaya in 1948, excluding Singapore.

The idea of independence and non-alignment gained currency, which gave rise to popular revolts by Malays guerrillas. As a result, on August 31, 1957, the Federation of Malaysia was proclaimed. In September 1963, Sabah and Sarawak became fully independent and, joining the Federation of Malaya, with Singapore, formed the Federation of Malaysia. Indonesia intrigued to break the Federation and the Philippines claimed its sovereignty over Sabah. Indonesia and the Philippines broke off relations with Malaysia, and Indonesia launched a "series of military raids into Sarawak and Sabah from Indonesian Borneo". However, after the fall of President Sukarno, a prominent leader of the Non-aligned

154. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 452.
155. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 37.
156. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 450.
160. Ibid.
Movement, relations between Malaysia and Indonesia improved in 1966. Meanwhile, the ruling party of Singapore, the People's Action Party (PAP) was expelled from the Federation of Malaysia in August, 1965, despite protests from the "island's leaders".

(6) **THE PHILIPPINES**

The Philippines archipelago consists of 7,107 islands. Luzon and Mindanao are the largest. Manila, the seat of the Government is situated at the point where routes from Hong Kong, Singapore, Jakarta, Australia and the West Coast of the Americas meet. In earlier times, it was invaded by Indonesians, Malayans and Spanish and British forces. It became a Spanish colony in the sixteenth century. Supported by USA, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the revolutionary movement, declared independence of the Philippines on June 12, 1898, but by the Treaty of Paris in the same year, Spain surrendered the islands to the United States. A new constitution, ratified in 1935, envisaged its independence after ten years. It was occupied by Japan from 1942 to 1945, but after the Second World War, US rule was restored. The United States granted independence to the territory on July 4, 1946, with Manuel Roxas as the first President of the Republic. The people protested against the puppet government. "A succession of Presidents, under the control of US economic interests and the Filipino land-owning class, did little to help the peasant majority or to curb disorder and political violence."

The Island's President Elpidio Quirino hosted the Bagui (Manila) Conference in 1950. During the 1950s, the Philippines was "consistently anti-colonial". The Philippines, though not a member of the NAM, was admitted to the Colombo NAM Conference as a guest in 1976, and as an observer by the sixth NAM Summit Conference in 1979. The eighth Summit Conference held in Harare in 1986, announced that "admission of the Philippines to the non-aligned movement did not come about apparently..."
because of that country's domestic circumstances (the relation of forces, the presence of American military bases etc.". However, the Philippines has signed the Manila Pact (1955) with Indonesia and pledged to work together for peace and progress in Southeast Asia. It is an original member of the United Nations since 1945, member of the Colombo Plan and all the UN specialized agencies, with the exception of GATT.

In 1963, the Philippines Government opposed the formation of Malaysia including North Borneo (Sabah) as it claimed Sabah as a part of it. However, Malayan view has always been that it is an issue between the Philippines and Britain.

In November, 1965, Ferdinand Marcos became President and remained in power until 1985, when Presidential elections "put Aquino in the lead". Due to strong pressure from the United States, and little international support, Marcos fled to Hawaii. President Corazon Aquino "received worldwide recognition, including that of the US Government".

During the 1970s, there were three important groups - New People's Army (NPA) - the armed wing of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which had its influence in the north of the country; the Maro National Liberation Front (MNLF) - a Muslim separatist movement in the south; and KBI or New Society Movement, founded by Marcos in 1978. The National Democratic Front (NDF) - a left-wing group, including the CPP and NPA, was founded in February, 1986. Several attempts by the opposition parties to overthrow Aquino failed in 1986 and 1987. However, Aquino pacified the opposition. Increased NPA activity, "Sparrow" assassination units in urban areas caused arrest of twenty Communists in Manila in February, 1988. Aquino rejected NDF demand for a "power sharing agreement". In September, 1986, the Government declared and in 1987, granted legal and judicial autonomy to "four predominantly Muslim provinces in Mindanao". On January, 1987, the

168. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 3.
171. Ibid., p. 2157.
MNLF signed an agreement to relinquish demands for complete independence and a sovereign state.

The 1987 constitution prohibits foreign forces in the country after 1991, "except under the provisions of a treaty approved by the Senate and ratified by voters in a referendum". Under the June, 1983 agreement signed between the Philippines and the United States, the latter was permitted to use Subic Bay naval base and Clark Air base (both on Luzon Island) until 1989. However, the country has become a centre of Russian, US and Chinese interests. The United States "is not going to dismantle the military bases deployed in the Philippines or transfer them to some other place".

(7) VIETNAM

France, by 1884, completed the occupation of the whole country. The peasants revolted against the feudal lords and the French due to their subversive activities. In the meantime, intellectuals, who studied in French universities, founded the Communist Party of Indochina, led by Ho Chi Minh in 1930. The party formed the Viet-Minh Front in May, 1941. Following Japan's surrender in August, 1945, Viet-Minh forces in August entered Hanoi and, on December 2, 1945, proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) with Ho Chi Minh as President. USSR and China recognized the DRV.

To restore the colonial regime, France, with the help of British forces, warring against and disarming the Japanese, launched an aggressive war against Vietnam in the south on September 23, 1945, while the reactionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek entered the northern region of Vietnam under the pretext of disarming the Japanese. In March, 1946, French troops re-entered Vietnam and an agreement was signed between Vietnam (DRV) and France to recognize Vietnam as a "Free" state within the French Union. But the DRV continued to press for complete independence, to which France did not agree. As a result, hostilities

172. Ibid.
176. Ibid.
began in December, 1946. France was supported by Britain and the United States in the war against North Vietnam supported by China. In March, 1949, the French established the "State of Viet-Nam in the South". The trio were defeated at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in May, 1954, and were forced to sign the Geneva Agreement (Indo-China Treaty) on July 22, 1954, which restored peace in Indochina. Against the terms of the Agreement, the French troops concentrated in the South and the People's Army of Vietnam (DRV) in the North, divided by the 17th Parallel, until elections for unification were held in 1956.

The northern region was placed under the authority of the DRV and the southern region under the administration of Emperor Bao Dai. He gave the function of Prime Ministership to US-sponsored Ngo Dinh, who removed Bao Dai and proclaimed the Republic of South Vietnam (RSV) with himself as President. Ngo Dinh became a dictator. To oppose him, various social and religious groups formed the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, called Viet Cong. A guerilla movement led to the formation of the People's National Liberation Army (PNLA) to fight against the US imperialism and, in 1960, a provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam was formed.

The Non-aligned countries observed the situation in Vietnam, which radicalised "the Third World states" and made "stronger statements". The Dar es Salaam meeting of Heads of State or Government held in April, 1970, affirmed its support "for the Vietnamese people's struggle against foreign domination" and called for "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam as a prerequisite to a peaceful solution of the Vietnamese problem". The participants referred the question of NAM membership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) to the Third Summit Conference (1970), which was attended

177. Ibid.
179. See for further details The Europa Year Book, n.9,Vol.II,p.3034; see also The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 989.
181. Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 35.
182. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 34.
by the communist South Vietnamese PRG as an observer. The Conference noted that the war of aggression being prolonged in South Vietnam had been extended to Cambodia, and affirmed its "full support for the heroic struggle which the people of the Indochina States continue to wage for freedom and independence". The participants expressed deep concern "at the continuation and the escalation of the war caused by the presence of foreign armed forces especially those of the United States of America in Indochina, resulting in untold suffering, loss of human lives and property to the peoples of the region". The member countries blamed the United States by name for the problem in Vietnam. The Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in August, 1972, expressed deep concern at the "escalation of the war in Vietnam by the resumption of the US bombing of North Vietnam", damage to dykes and dams and untold suffering of the people.

The Viet-US war ended with the defeat of US Air Force and Paris Agreement on January 27, 1973. The Agreement envisaged evacuation of all US troops and established "respect of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese population in order to contribute to the consolidation of peace in Asia and in the world in general".

The Fourth Summit Conference held in September, 1973, called upon its member countries "to give their diplomatic support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam", recognized it as "the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese population" and gave a call to contribute to "the reconstruction of war-damaged Vietnam". The Lima Ministerial Conference held in August, 1975, warmly hailed "the victory won by the Vietnamese people" and attributed it "a triumph of the non-aligned countries, of socialist countries and of other people in the world who have efficiently supported this just struggle".

183. Ibid., p. 45.
184. Ibid., p. 46.
185. Ibid., p. 51.
186. 'Resolution on South East Asia', Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 30.
187. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 21, p. 73.
188. Ibid., p. 95.
189. Ibid., p. 143.
The United States attacked North Vietnam with very strong forces but was defeated and Saigon in the South was liberated by PRG on April 30, 1976. Thus, the US attempt to maintain the division of Vietnam ended when the Saigon forces unconditionally surrendered to the DRV forces and the delegates from both parts held elections for a National Assembly on April 25, 1976, and approved unification of the country and renamed it as Socialist Republic of Vietnam on July 2, 1976.

Vietnam attended as a member the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries held in Algiers in May, 1976. The fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo in August, 1976, acclaimed total victory against "the aggressive United States imperialism", which "ushered in a new era for Vietnam, one of building up a peaceful, independent, united and socialist Vietnam". The Conference called it a "victory of militant solidarity and effective cooperation between the peoples struggling for independence, and freedom and the non-aligned countries". The Conference also "acclaimed the birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" and called upon the "international community to cooperate actively in the reconstruction of the Vietnamese economy, wrecked by the war". The Conference emphasised the implementation of Article 21, Chapter VIII of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam" signed on January 27, 1973, and recommended the admission of the country to UN membership, in accordance with Resolution 3366 adopted by the UN General Assembly at its 30th Session. It was elected one of the twenty-five members of the Coordinating Bureau also and became member of the United Nations on September 20, 1977.

(B) SOUTH ASIA

This region consists of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

192. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 179.
193. Ibid., p. 199.
194. Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government, Colombo, 16th - 19th August, 1976; Document NAC/CONF.5/S.5; see also Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 250; see also Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 223.
(1) **AFGHANISTAN**

In 1893, the British imposed the Durand Line on Afghanistan. Afghanistan won the third and the last war with the British in India and became independent in 1919. As the Soviet Union recognized Afghanistan, the imperialist powers imposed blockade on Moscow, as Britain wanted to have political and economic dominance there. Afghanistan concluded an agreement with the USSR of neutrality and non-aggression in 1931.

During the Second World War, Kabul proclaimed its neutrality, and after the War, it "started a non-alignment policy, developing good relations with all neighbours and strengthening Afghanistani-Soviet relations (economic, technical and arms assistance, particularly for the air force)". The country, ruled by the last King, Muhammad Zahir Shah (1933-1973) was neutral during both the World Wars and "a staunch advocate of non-alignment". It participated in the Belgrade Conference held in 1961 as one of the founder members of the Non-aligned Movement.

In 1964, a parliament was established and the Government introduced reforms. The clergy and landowning nobility, who were affected by the reforms, led by former Prime Minister, Lt. General Muhammad Daud, overthrew the monarch (King Zahir Shah) on June 17, 1973, and established a republican government. General Daud became Head of State, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense.

At the meeting of the Preparatory Committee of Non-aligned countries held in Kabul in May, 1973, the Prime Minister, Mohammad Moussa Shafiq, said that they "suffered willingly and considerably from what was called neutrality, which annexed later on to itself the adjective "positive" and what finally emerged was "non-alignment". It also established closer ties with the Western powers and Iran.

198. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 5.
200. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 87.
Due to growing repression of progressive forces, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a Marxist-Leninist organization, staged a coup, known as Great Sour Revolution, took over power on April 27, 1978, installed a National Revolutionary Council, modified the name of the country to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in December, 1978, and signed a treaty of mutual assistance in case of aggression with the Soviet Union. The United States, China and Pakistan supported armed revolts by the big feudal landlords affected by the reforms of new government. In April, 1979, the Government formed a Supreme Defence Council to fight the rebellion. Thousands of refugees fled to Pakistan and Iran.

On September 16, 1979, Nur Mohammed Taraki was replaced by Hafizullah Amin, whose "imposition of rigorous communist policies was unsuccessful". He was killed and replaced by Babrak Karmal, supported by induction of 80,000 Soviet combat troops, which was condemned by NAM which demanded withdrawal of these forces from there. The UN, ASEAN and the Western states and Pakistan demanded establishment of a non-aligned government in the country.

In view of increasing armed counter-revolutionary bands, Karmal, according to Afghanistani-Soviet Agreement (1978), immediately asked the Soviet Union for military assistance, which enraged the imperialist powers and they began to distort the "true character of Soviet assistance" to counter foreign intervention "through the organization, training and arming of counter-revolutionary bands".

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of Non-aligned countries at the New York meeting held in September, 1981, viewing the situation in Afghanistan with great concern, made an urgent call "for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty

201. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 155.
203. Ibid.; Amin was accused of plotting to partition Afghanistan with foreign powers; see The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 155.
204. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 156.
205. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 20.
territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference". They reaffirmed the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny free from outside interference and enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes. The resolution was confirmed by the Seventh Summit Conference held at New Delhi in 1983, by the Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries at the Luanda meeting held in September, 1985, by the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries at its meeting in New Delhi in April, 1986, and by the Harare Summit Conference in September, 1986.

The Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations demanded in nine successive resolutions, between 1980 and 1987, supported by the NAM countries, an "immediate unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops in Afghanistan". On the other hand, Karmal launched the National Fatherland Front (NFF) including PDPA and other parties, but could not restore peace. As a result, in May, 1986, Dr. Najibullah Ahmadzai, a member of Karmal's Parcham, took over power. In December, 1986, PDPA adopted the policy of reconciliation, which won support from former opponents but the seven party Mujahedin alliance (Ittehad-i-Islami Afghan Mujahedin) "refused to observe the ceasefire or to participate in negotiations", while they continued to demand "a complete and unconditional Soviet withdrawal". The Mujahedin guerilla groups, despite presence of 115,000 Soviet troops and sealing of Pakistan border by the Soviet and Afghan forces, received "ever-increasing support" (military and financial, including sophisticated anti-aircraft weapons) from USA, UK and China.

206. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 547.
207. Ibid.  
208. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 91, p. 33.
209. Ibid., p. 184.
211. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 51.  
213. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 156. 
215. Ibid., p. 276.
Due to famine in parts of Afghanistan, the number of refugees in 1986 in Pakistan increased to 2.5 m - 3 m (living in 380 camps) and in Iran to 1.5 - 2 m. However, in September, 1987, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan met in Geneva under the UN auspices and reached an agreement, which envisages non-interference in each others affairs, Afghan neutrality and return of refugees. In consequence, all of the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan.

(2) BANGLADESH

The history of the People's Republic of Bangladesh is linked with the history of India. In 1947, Pakistan had come into existence. The East Pakistan, one of the five provinces of Pakistan, being 1,600 km (1,000 miles) far from West Pakistan, having a population of different languages, cultures, traditions and climates, was almost isolated under remote control from West Pakistan. The declaration of Urdu as an official language caused an outburst in 1952. The Bengalis felt that they were not treated on equal footing but as a colony. This feeling naturally created unrest in the minds of the Bengalis under the influence of Nehru's policy and ideal of self-determination and non-alignment. However, in 1955, due to pressures, East and West parts of Pakistan were given "equal representation in the central legislative assembly". But discontent continued as the region had insufficient share in the administration, army and development expenditure. The Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman stood for "limitation of the central authority to defence and foreign affairs". Mujib was arrested in 1966, but released in 1969.

In 1968, Marshal Ayub Khan was replaced by General Muhammed Yahya Khan. The 1970 general elections were won by the Awami League, headed by Mujibur Rehman, with overwhelming majority, securing majority in Pakistan National Assembly, defeating the People's Party of Pakistan (PPP), led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which had its base in West Pakistan.

216. Ibid.
217. Ibid., p. 434.
218. Ibid.
As General Yahya Khan annulled the election result and negotiations on a possible compromise broke down, the Bengalis launched a violent civil disobedience movement against West Pakistan and Mujibur Rehman proclaimed the People's Republic of Bangladesh on March 26, 1971. The Central Government outlawed the Awami League, arrested Rehman and unleashed military repression. The Pakistan army and the Biharis, known as "Razakars" killed about 3 million people and some 10 million fled to neighbouring countries. On April 12, 1971, a Bangladesh government-in-exile was formed in East Bengal, while "Mukti Bahini" fought the Pakistani army for liberation. In August, 1971, Sheikh Mujib was put on trial in West Pakistan. About "9.5 m refugees crossed into India". On December 7, 1971, India recognised Bangladesh as a result, war broke out between India and Pakistan. The Indian army supported Bengali fighters while they engaged the Pakistan army in Kashmir, Sind and Punjab. On December 16, Pakistani army surrendered and on December 17, 1971, Bangladesh became a reality. A coalition government was formed under Prime Minister Nurul Amin. In January, 1972, Sheikh Mujib was freed by Pakistan President Bhutto and became Prime Minister of Bangladesh. Bangladesh joined the Commonwealth in April, 1972. A constitution was proclaimed on December 16, 1972.

As the country became member of the Non-aligned Movement joining the Fourth Summit Conference at Algiers in 1973, it was recognised by Pakistan in February, 1974, and was admitted to the United Nations on June 11, 1974. Meanwhile, the government implemented large scale economic and social reforms, which stirred up the rightist groups, whose violence swept the country. In August, 1975, the crisis reached its climax and Mujibur Rehman and his family members were assassinated, which followed a quick change in power and General Ziaur Rehman assumed the presidency on April 21, 1977. He legalised all the political parties but outlawed the Communist Party. In 1972, Zia's Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) "won 207 of the 300 directly elective seats in the Jatiya

220. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 71.
222. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 73; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.1, pp.1143-57.
223. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p.120.
Sangsad. To stop the guerilla insurgents, known as "Shanti Bahini", a group of a thousand men hiding in forests, threatened execution of tribal leaders and 38 persons were killed in the first half of 1980.

Due to political instability, General Zia was assassinated on May 30, 1981, and his successor, Major General Manzur, was also killed. BNP President Abdus Sattar became President. On March 24, 1982, General Ershad "seized power in a bloodless coup", due to political corruption. He declared martial law and nominated Justice Chowdhary as President. In 1983, the Awami League (15 party alliance), led by Hasina Wajid, daughter of Sheikh Mujib, and BNP (7 party alliance), led by Begum Khalida Zia (widow of General Zia) formed the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), which demanded end of martial law. In November, 1983, Gen. Ershad formed Jana Dal (People's Party) and on December 11, 1983, proclaimed himself President. In September, 1985, National Front (5 party alliance, including Jana Dal) was formed to support Government policies. In 1986, National Front was named Jatiya Dal (National Party). General Ershad decided to hold elections in February, 1988. The opposition parties decided to boycott the proposed poll.

The envoys of Bangladesh and India met at Dhaka on April 14, 1985, while Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sent a special message to President Ershad. Among the major items of agenda were "the dispute on the sharing of Ganga water, the proposed border fence, the implementation of the 1974 boundary agreement and transit facilities through Bangladesh for the Indian railways". New Delhi and Dhaka came closer under SAARC, the members of which were also members of the Non-aligned Movement.

Bangladesh, since 1973, participated in all the NAM Summit Conferences and meetings and supported struggles for independence and decolonization. In foreign affairs, it maintains a policy of non-alignment. It has improved its relations with Pakistan, which refused

225. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 73.
228. Ibid., p. 435.
230. The Indian Express (New Delhi), April 15, 1985.
to accept 300,000 Bihari Muslims (who supported Pakistan army in 1971) living in refugee camps in Bangladesh. Its relations with India have been strained over the question of "cross-border terrorism" around the area of Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Ganga River water. Further, India has constructed Farrakka Barrage on Ganga River "depriving Bangladesh of water for irrigation and transport during the dry season". 

(3) BHUTAN

In 1910, the hereditary king of Bhutan (the Land of the Dragon), first installed in 1907, recognised the influence of Britain in exchange for an annual subsidy of Rs. 100,000. In return, the British undertook "to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan". 

In 1947, when India won independence, Bhutan recognised India's right to "provide guidance" to the Bhutan government and the Bhutanese right of free entry into India under the Friendship Treaty signed on August 8, 1948. According to Article 2 of this Treaty, the Government of India "will not interfere in internal administrative affairs of Bhutan". The Government of Bhutan, on its part, "agrees to its foreign relations". However, Bhutan is "free to decide whether or not to accept" India's advice. India revised the 1910 treaty and increased the annual subsidy to Rs. 500,000/-. 

In 1952, King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (father of modern Bhutan) assumed power and his brother-in-law, Jigme Dorji, was appointed Prime Minister. They replaced the absolute monarchy by a 150-member Advisory Council (Isogdu). In 1959, when China took over Tibet, Bhutan aligned itself with India. India sent a large number of men for construction of roads and formation of an army and police. It is estimated that 55% of the Bhutanese public administration officials are Indians.

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232. Ibid.
233. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 239.
236. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 84.
Influenced by the NAM objectives, the Bhutanese launched a movement to liberate Bhutan from absolute monarchy. In 1964, Prime Minister Jigme Dorji was assassinated. The King, seeing national development in other countries, liberated the slaves, established schools, campaigned to eliminate venereal diseases and distributed a large part of his royal lands in national interest. Two attempts of liberation movement to abolish monarchy were frustrated. There was no political party in Bhutan. Bhutan was admitted to the United Nations on September 21, 1971. The King died in July, 1972, and 16-year old Crown Prince, Jigme Singye Wangchuk "formally accepted the Raven Crown, on the Golden Throne of Bhutan" in June, 1974. Bhutan became member of the Non-aligned Movement at the Fourth Summit Conference held at Algiers in September, 1973, and established relations with thirteen countries.

The new King, in 1979, opposed India "during the Non-aligned Conference and later at the UN General Assembly", favouring Chinese policy. However, being a SAARC member, Bhutan has improved relations with India. In 1985, Bhutan hosted the first SARC meeting which decided to change its name to SAARC.

A high level meeting of Sino-Bhutanese delegation was held in Thimpu between April 2 and 7, 1985, to discuss the boundary between the two countries. The King said that "the delineation of the 500 km border was important, justifying Bhutan's decision to initiate talks with the Chinese". India is awaiting the outcome because "of Bhutan's location between India and China, and India's strategic interests in the area and also because of India's own unresolved boundary dispute with China".

(4) INDIA

In 1858, Britain gained control of the entire Indian sub-continent restricting the Portuguese presence to Goa. The British created a gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims and continued to exploit India's

237. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 239.
238. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 21, p. 120.
240. The Indian Express (New Delhi), March 31, 1985.
241. Ibid.
resources and wealth. As a result, poverty, disease and unemployment, illiteracy and famine weakened the country. The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, and the All India Muslim League (AIML), founded in 1906, struggled for independence after the First World War jointly. But, as the Congress and the League failed to work out a common constitution, the British Government introduced the Government of India Act, 1935, which remained in operation until August 15, 1947, when India became independent, within the British Commonwealth.

After independence, Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister. During the course of freedom struggle, Gandhi launched a non-violent non-cooperation method. As Gandhi took the path of appeasement to Muslims, he was assassinated in January, 1948, by a fanatic, Nathu Ram Godse, who belonged to the 'ultra-nationalist organization', Rashtriya Sewak Sangh. On January 26, 1950, a constitution was adopted.

In 1950, France "transferred sovereignty of Chandarnagore" and in October, 1954, with French approval, India "assumed control over French enclaves" - Pondicherry, Karikal and Mahe, and in December, 1961, "by unilateral action the Portuguese enclaves, Goa, Daman and Diu" came under Indian control.

Nehru was the main architect of non-alignment. He thought before Independence that India would play an important role in the international affairs and that he did not like "intermediate position feasible, shows how his mind was shaping India's foreign policy i.e. that of non-alignment. He did not like India to be a protege of any big power. He wrote: "India could not be a mere hanger-on of any country or group of nations. Her freedom or growth would make a vital difference to Asia and, therefore, to the world". Speaking in the Lok Sabha on December 9, 1958, he said that non-alignment was not 'Nehru policy' and he had not...

247. Ibid., p. 368.
originated it, but he had given only voice to that policy "inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom, and inherent in the circumstances of the world today". Though Nehru denied to be being the originator of non-alignment, but, in fact, he was the founding father of this policy. Lord Fenner Brockways ways: "Without military or economic power Jawaharlal Nehru created a positive non-alignment movement which is proving to be greater than super powers and is bound to be the creator of the future new world". The Panch Shila (1954) became the guiding motto of the non-aligned nations. Speaking at the Bandung Conference in 1955, Nehru, elaborating the policy of non-alignment, said: "We do not agree with the communist teachings and we do not agree with the anti-communist teachings. They are both wrong principles. If I join either of the big power groupings, I lose my identity".

Nehru saw the consequences of group-alliances and external interference in Vietnam, Cambodia and Korea and, therefore, he kept India out of the orbit of big power alliance. On April 6, 1936, at the AICC meeting, he said: "If a country aligned itself with others it would give up the freedom of responsibility". Thus, Nehru advocated positive approach of non-alignment for freedom "unaffected by any external intervention", which was "colouring and conditioning the activities of the Great Nations". Speaking on February 27, 1963, Nehru reaffirmed the policy of non-alignment as "the only just policy and one of the valued assets for India". Nehru's policy of non-alignment was hailed by newly independent countries of Asia and Africa as "a right course for ensuring peace, security and stability" and even the countries belonging to Power blocs accepted some of its distinguishing features.

249. The Indian Express (New Delhi), November 18, 1980.
251. The Indian Nation (Patna), April 7, 1963.
like peaceful co-existence. For instance, Soviet Union accepted the principle of "peaceful co-existence" and Yugoslavia accepted it in toto. Nehru, talking on Foreign Affairs in the Lok Sabha, on September 29, 1954, warned that peace could not be secured by threats or by military alliances. He said: "If you reject co-existence, the alternative is war and mutual destruction". The policy of non-alignment led to that of anti-colonialism. As a result, a large number of Afro-Asian nations achieved independence. Thus, Nehru may be called the creator of the 'Third World', pursuing the policy of non-alignment, and leader of the Afro-Asian nations, launching a radical movement for their unity. It is admitted that India's independence was a preface to the independence of all colonial countries of Asia and Africa. Addressing the Asian Relations Conference in March, 1947, Nehru said: "There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace".

Nehru advocated the cause of the people of Africa also, so that they have a rightful place in the human family. Though he never claimed leadership of the Third World or the non-aligned Afro-Asian countries, he was "their undisputed leader and was happily accepted by them". Before the death of Nehru in 1964, India had successfully completed three Five-Year Plans and adopted the policy of 'neutrality' and 'non-alignment'. However, since Dalai Lama took refuge in India in 1959, the Indo-Chinese relations worsened.

In 1961, China, under the pretext of a frontier dispute, waged war and seized some 40,000 sq. km. of Indian territory of the eastern border. In 1966, the Soviet Union mediated in the Indo-Pakistan war and both the countries signed the Tashkent Agreement. The first Indo-Pak war was fought on the question of Kashmir, which has a majority of Muslim population and whose Hindu ruler had ceded it to India in 1948.

255. Dr. Akhileshwar Singh, n. 252, p. 215.
258. Dr. Akhileshwar Singh, n. 252, p. 216.
Shortly after he had signed the Treaty on January 10, 1966, Prime Minister Shastri died suddenly and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, succeeded him.

By 1969, there was a split in the Congress and Morarji Desai led the opposition (Congress-O). In 1971, Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation for twenty years ensured Soviet aid to India and also "blanked off the possibility of Chinese help to Pakistan from across the Himalayas" in case of a war with Pakistan. In the same year, India fought war with Pakistan and recognised Bangladesh. Further, in 1975, the former "protectorate of Sikkim became the 22nd state of the Indian Union", despite Nepal's opposition. Following the NAM policy, India settled her dispute with Ceylon on territorial waters in Palk Strait (64 km wide) on June 28, 1974, and, to maintain peace, "every year repeated a call for the denuclearization of the Indian Ocean".

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as a Chairperson, played a key role in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. She participated in the Algiers Conference (1973) and hosted the Foreign Ministers Conference of NAM countries in New Delhi (1981). In her keynote address on February 11, 1981, she hailed the far-sightedness of the founding fathers of the Movement, mentioning Nehru, Soekarno, Nasser, Nkrumah and Tito. She said: "Whose freedom is by sufferance and at the will of a superior, he is never free". She opposed the shelter of the umbrellas and shields of Colonial Powers in the form of neo-colonialism. Referring to the cold war, she said that its thaw was short-lived, but military alliances could lead to armed conflicts. "The Atlantic has polluted not only itself, but also the Pacific and Indian Oceans". She appealed the US.

264. India Today (New Delhi), November 30, 1984, p. 103.
265. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 120.
266. Ibid., p. 532.
267. Ibid.
and Soviet leaders to avert their nuclear war. She observed that confrontation between the non-aligned nations "are imported from outside and fostered by external forces". Quoting Sarojini Naidu, she said: "True peace is not the peace of negation, not the peace of surrender, not the peace of the coward, not the peace of the dying, not the peace of the dead but the peace militant, dynamic, creative, of the human spirit which exalts".

During the life of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the foreign forces prompted the demand for Khalistan. She crusaded against the separatist movement of the Sikhs. Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by militant "Sikh members" of her own personal guards on October 31, 1984. Giani Zail Singh remained President. Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister and negotiated terms, but the Sikhs demanded "greater religious recognition", "settlement of grievances over land and water rights" and over the "sharing of the state capital at Chandigarh with Haryana", which demands from a small minority for a separate Sikh state (Khalistan) continues. Their centre of activity was the Golden Temple (Gurudwara), Amritsar. The Government deployed troops, which seized large quantities of arms and ammunition. The militant Sikhs became more active in killing the Hindus and, in 1987, killed about 1,200 people in Punjab.

Rajiv Gandhi is one of the main leaders of the Non-aligned Movement, vehemently supporting independence against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but his intervention in Sri Lanka, in 1987, to protect Indian Tamillans residing there, on "humanitarian grounds" was critical. However, India is one of the "chief initiators and advocates and is the leading force of the policy of non-alignment".

(5) MALDIVES

In 1887, the archipelago, consisting of more than 1,200 small coral islands (of which 202 are inhabited), 29 grouped in 19 atolls

268. Ibid., p. 533.
269. India Today (New Delhi), November 30, 1984, p. 32.
271. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 381.
in the Indian Ocean, 675 km south-west of Sri Lanka, became a British protectorate with internal self-government, as the Sultan (Didi dynasty) signed an agreement and accepted British rule. The Sultanate became elective in 1932. The British built an air base in Gan Atoll. In 1948, London recognized internal autonomy, but retained control over the external relations and defense of the islands. In January, 1953, the Sultanate was abolished and a Republic was proclaimed, but the reactionary forces restored the Sultan to power in February, 1954. In 1956, Maldives allowed the establishment of British air base on Gan and "44.5 ha of Hattadu Island" with free use of Addu lagoon. The people sided with the opposition and demanded total independence. The British suppressed the upheaval and protests and, in 1960, forced on the Maldivians the cession of Gan Atoll for a period of 30 years for maintaining the British air base there.

Maldives gained independence outside the Commonwealth on July 26, 1965, "with Great Britain's retaining property rights acquired by the treaty of 1960, to the atoll of Addu", where until 1976, a British military base, Gan, was located. According to the criteria for inviting the countries to participate in the NAM conferences and meetings, laid down by the 1969 Belgrade Consultative Meeting, the Tanzanians did not invite Maldives to the Dar es Salaam meeting held in April, 1970, either due to an oversight or "because from 1956 to March, 1976, the U.K. Royal Air Force had a staging post in the island of Gan". However, after the Maldivian Government obtained the return of Gan Atoll in 1975, and the British forces withdrew from the Island in 1976, the Maldives was admitted to the Non-aligned Movement in the course of the Fifth Summit Conference at Colombo held in October, 1976, and attended the Summit Conferences of the NAM in 1979, 1983 and 1986, besides the

274. Ibid.
277. Peter Willetts, n. 19, footnote 53.
278. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.21, p. 189.

The Republic opposes the existence of military bases and the US base on Diego Garcia island and supports the proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace for the safety of independence and sovereignty of littoral states. In 1977, the Government "rejected an offer of the USSR to lease Gan for military purpose and in 1981 an international business complex was projected in Gan". In July, 1978, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom was elected President. He announced that "his main priority would be the development of the poor rural regions, while in foreign affairs the existing policy of non-alignment would continue".

In 1987, the Republic, a small Muslim state, had diplomatic relations with 74 countries. It is a member of Commonwealth since June, 1985, and a founder-member of SAARC constituted in 1985.

(6) NEPAL

After the British occupied Nepal in 1814, the British Governor controlled its foreign policy and prohibited Nepal from maintaining direct relations with other countries. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Ranas seized the throne, supported by the British. They ruled for a century. The Ranas "created the post of hereditary Prime Minister" and the King was like a prisoner. Corruption and power of privileged group were such that they could torture or kill anybody who opposed them. In 1923, Nepal signed a Treaty of Friendship with Britain, which affirmed Nepal's full sovereignty.

The people came to know about the Afro-Asian conferences and declarations in the interest of world peace, international cooperation, independence and a better and more prosperous future. Consequently, a large scale insurgent movement surfaced. The British Governor left Nepal


282. Ibid., p. 1916.
in 1947, when India became independent. Supported by King Tribhubana, the Nepali Congress Party defeated the Ranas. Nepal had three parties - the King, the Ranas and the NCP. Nehru supported the King. The Rana family and the NCP tried to enter Kathmandu on February 15, 1951. However, after the 1952 elections, a new government took over, which ended the Rana domination. King Tribhubana died on March 13, 1955, and King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah succeeded to the throne.

King Mahendra opened the country to the outside world, modernized the country and eliminated the feudal vestiges, promulgated a constitution "providing for a bicameral Parliament, including a popularly-elected Lower House". There were elections and B.P. Koirala became Prime Minister. Nepal was admitted to the United Nations on December 14, 1959. India and Nepal signed a treaty of friendship in 1950. In December, 1950, Nehru declared "Much as we stand for the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would be a risk to our own country". Further, Nepal signed a treaty of peace and friendship with China to settle the frontier problems, in 1960.

Due to differences with Koirala, King Mahendra led a Royal coup and dissolved the Parliament in December, 1960, and in January, 1961, banned all political parties. Nepal participated in the Belgrade NAM Conference in 1961. In 1962, he introduced a "partyless" system of government. He instituted the system of Panchayat, which is based on socialist ideas of democracy and equality. On January 21, 1972, King Mahendra died and was succeeded by his son, Birendra, who established relations with more than fifty countries and "pursued a policy of positive neutrality, non-alignment and struggle against colonialism". Being an active member of the NAM, it established diplomatic relations with eighty-four nations in 1984. However, the new government "failed..."
to stem increasing official corruption and economic mismanagement." The government continued to be reshuffled until 1988, when a new Ministry was formed, which tried to end corruption.

Kathmandu's plan, proposed by the King at a NAM conference in February, 1983, was endorsed by ninety countries in 1987 (not including India) for a "zone of peace" in southern Asia. It has diplomatic relations with ninety-nine countries and has a "non-aligned foreign policy". It is also a member of SAARC, whose Secretariat was established in Kathmandu in 1987.

(7) PAKISTAN

The history of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is related to that of India. The independence flag was hoisted in Pakistan on August 14, 1947. Pakistan became member of the United Nations on September 30, 1947. As a protest against recognition of Bangladesh, which Pakistan, however, recognised in February, 1974, it withdrew from the British Commonwealth in January, 1972. Originally, it had two parts: one in the north-west (West Pakistan) and the other in the north-east (East Pakistan), separated by 1,600 km (1,000 miles) of Indian territory. The East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971.

The population of Kashmir was Muslim but the ruler was Hindu, who opted for union with India, followed by the first war, in October, 1947, between India and Pakistan, which resulted in the division of Kashmir between two parts. Since 1949, a ceasefire line has separated Indian and Pakistani forces in Jammu and Kashmir. India and Pakistan both claim their sovereignty on Kashmir as a whole. This question has not yet been settled. As Pakistan did not have substantial resources, it adopted the Western policy, became member of the SEATO and CENTO (now no more), permitted establishment of US bases and encouraged foreign
Investments, to have "international" assistance. In 1956, the Muslim League became a minority political party and an inter-party struggle started, causing instability of the government. In 1956, Pakistan tried to transform itself into a Islamic Republic, renewing membership of the British Commonwealth.

In September, 1958, the port of Gwadur, formerly administered by the Sultanate of Oman (then Muscat and Oman) was ceded to Pakistan. On October 7, 1958, President Iskander Mirza abrogated the constitution, declared martial law, disbanded all political parties. As a result, in 1958, General Mohamed Ayub Khan led a coup, promulgated a constitution and made himself President through a plebiscite.

Peking's anti-Soviet position and Chinese aggression against India brought Pakistan closer to Peking, which developed into military and economic cooperation. In 1965, the second war between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Katch started, which ended on January 10, 1966, after a treaty by Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub Khan signed in the presence of Prime Minister Kosygin. Continuous agitation forced Ayub Khan to resign in March, 1969, in favour of General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, who due to internal crisis, resigned and was replaced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). As demanded by the united opposition parties forming a United Democratic Front, an amended constitution came into force in 1973, when Bhutto became Prime Minister. In 1974, there was an outbreak of tribal fighting in Baluchistan, and in 1975, "Pakhtoonistan" separatist movement increased violence in NWFP, supported by Afghanistan. Due to instability and agitation, General Zia-ul-Haq carried out a coup and arrested and hanged Bhutto on April 4, 1979. He suspended the activity of political parties, "imposed press censorship and decreed martial law". He made "several attempts to legitimize his position by elections, but

295. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 549.
his aims never materialised. However, he realised the sin of joining military pacts and Pakistan left the CENTO at the beginning of 1979, and joined the Non-aligned Movement in September, 1979, at the Sixth Summit Conference held in Havana.

Pakistan provided material assistance to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and helped their armed attacks against the revolutionary government in Kabul against Soviet intervention in December, 1979. Soviet and Afghan troops attacked the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, numbering 3.2 million, mainly camping in NWFP. This policy has won favour of Washington, which provided economic and military aid in 1980, and supplied F.16 aircrafts, against Indian protests. Pakistan resisted US pressure to sign the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and said it would "sign the treaty only after India had done so".

In 1982, the opening of Khunjerab Pass on the Karakoram highway linked China and Pakistan. In September, 1986, China and Pakistan signed an agreement in Beijing "for co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy". On the other hand, in 1982, Zia-ul-Haq visited India. Talks between Zia and Rajiv Gandhi in December, 1985, resulted in an agreement that "the two countries would not attack each other's nuclear installation" and pledged to peacefully solve the problem of sovereignty over the disputed Siachin glacier in northern Kashmir.

Zia-ul-Haq died in a plane crash and Benazir Bhutto, elected Chairwoman of PPP in 1986, became Prime Minister in 1988. She has expanded Pakistan's relations with China and the United States, on the one hand, and with India, on the other. Despite relations with the United States, she has maintained a policy of non-alignment.

(8) SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka consists of one large island and several much smaller ones, about 80 km (50 miles) east of the southern trip of India. In 1796, the British defeated the Dutch and turned the island into a colony and established colonial administration in 1832. After the First World War, there were revolts and uprisings for independence.

299. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 551.
301. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 399.
303. Ibid.
After the Second World War, the spirit and struggle for freedom under the influence of the Afro-Asian conferences and statements of Jawaharlal Nehru and other founder members of the Non-aligned Movement became more vital. On the other hand, the War weakened the British colonialism and the British Government in England "began to organize the formal independence of her Asian colonies". The international situation and wave of neutrality and independence led the country to independence on February 4, 1948, as a parliamentary republic under the British Commonwealth, under the Premiership of D.S. Senanayake, leader of the United National Party (UNP).

Due to split in the UNP in 1951, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) was formed under the leadership of Solomon Bandaranaike, who died in 1951, and was succeeded by his son, Dudley Senanayake. Between 1953 and 1956, the UNP leader, John Kotelawala headed the government. He played a vital role in hosting the Colombo Conference in 1954, and adopted socialism. Later, Premier Bandaranaike nationalized the port of Colombo, cancelled the defence agreement with Britain, took over the British air and naval bases and established a socialist economy. The British instigated the local leaders to overthrow the government to re-establish their neo-colonialism. In September, 1959, a Buddhist monk assassinated Bandaranaike. In 1960, Dudley Senanayake became Prime Minister and, in July, 1960, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, widow of Solomon Bandaranaike, won the premiership.

In September, 1961, Sri Lanka participated in the Belgrade Summit Conference. In 1970, Sirimavo Bandaranaike returned to power and named the country Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, tension between Sinhalese and Tamil communities got increasingly intensified. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) demanded a Tamil State in the northern and eastern parts of the island.

In July, 1977, Jayawardene became Prime Minister and, later, President, and renamed the country Democratic Socialist Republic of

305. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 646.
307. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 3.
Sri Lanka. In August, 1977, riots occurred between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil (Hindu) minority. The TULF, in August, 1977, demanded "a separate state for Tamils".

Continuing violence caused the Government to declare emergency in the northern district of Jaffna, "where the Tamils are in majority". In August, 1980, TULF agreed to the establishment of a District Development Council "providing for a wide measure of regional autonomy".

In 1983, at an All Party Conference, TULF demanded a Tamil State, within "the framework of a United Sri Lanka", with the amalgamation of northern and eastern provinces. The Sinhalese and the Muslims opposed the proposal. The Tamil militants were based in Tamil Nadu (India). In June, 1985, President Jayawardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi met in New Delhi as there was Indian intervention in Sri Lanka. The Government launched an offensive against the militant Tamils, who split into two groups - Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) or Tamil Tigers.

In a bid to make Sri Lanka leave NAM, the United States gave 83.8 million dollars in 1982, to it apart from normal allocations under PL 480 and US Aid Programme, which "amounted to a greater economic and political dependence on multinational corporations and the US Free Trade Zones". In consequence, talks with the United States took place with a plan "to convert Trincomalee into an American naval base". Meanwhile, Pakistan developed relations with Sri Lanka. President Zia-ul-Haq, during his visit to Sri Lanka in December, 1985, "pledged his government's support to the Sri Lankan government's strong-arm policy in dealing with the Tamil insurgents". However, Sri Lanka has weaned away Muslim Tamils from Hindu Tamils.

309. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 904.
311. Ibid.
312. Ibid., p. 2458.
313. Ibid.; see also The Far East and Australasia, n.1, pp.904-05.
315. Ibid.
316. Patriot (New Delhi), April 14, 1986.
Sri Lanka, on joining NAM, bade farewell to the US and Pakistan assistance. On April 16, 1986, Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, A.C.S. Hameed, during a "working lunch" discussion at the NAM Conference in New Delhi, submitted a proposal of his government to India for "resolving the ethnic problem in his country". An agreement was finally reached in August, 1986. A three-day seminar, organised by the Indian Institute of Non-aligned Studies and inaugurated by Rajiv Gandhi, hailed the Sri Lanka Accord as a "big step forward in the direction of resolving the ethnic issue, achieving permanent peace in Sri Lanka, and of preventing foreign subversive agencies from using the country for their sinister designs". President Jayawardene said: "The non-aligned movement has many achievements to its credit since its inception over a quarter of a century ago. These include the prevention of a polarised world in which the threat of a nuclear conflict would have been immensely greater than at present".

In January, 1987, LTTE was able to seize "control of civil administration in Jaffna" and exploded a bomb near Bus Station in Colombo, killing 100 persons. The Government suspended the supply of petroleum to the peninsula and attempted to regain control of Jaffna, the stronghold of LTTE. India "violating Sri Lankan airspace" dropped food and medical supplies in Jaffna. On July 29, 1987, Jayawardene signed an "accord with Rajiv Gandhi, which provided, among others, for keeping an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and establishment of Tamil dominated state in the north-eastern and many other terms most favourable to the Tamils". The Accord was opposed by the Sinhalese, Muslims and even the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. The LTTE defied call for surrender of arms and continued to attack the Sinhalese. In August, 1987, about 7,000 Indian troops gained control of Jaffna City and LTTE established new base for guerrilla operations.

317. Ibid.
318. The Times of India (New Delhi), August 11, 1987.
319. Ibid.
320. See for further details of the terms The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2458.
321. On October 10, 1987, there were Indian troops "between 15,000 and 25,000"; see The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 906.
India continued to intervene to establish peace disturbed by war between the Tamils and Sinhalese. The people of Sri Lanka did not like the Indian intervention in their home affairs and opposition groups, like LTTE, took up arms against the Indian army on their land. The indignation of the people can be assessed from the fact that during a visit to Sri Lanka, Rajiv Gandhi was attacked during the guards of honour ceremony.

(C) AUSTRALASIA

This region includes Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia and Singapore.

(1) BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Brunei was colonised in 1888 by the British, who, in 1906, appointed a British Resident in the court of the Sultan. In 1948, the British appointed a Governor of Sarawak when an agreement was signed between the Sultan and the British and a constitution adopted made the British responsible for protection of the territory, maintaining its defence and foreign relations. The Belgrade NAM Summit Conference (1961) inspired the people. In 1962, the North Borneo Liberation Army (NBLA), having link with the Brunei People's Party (BPP) launched a rebellion against the proposed entry of Brunei into the Federation of Malaysia, which was suppressed by the British. BPP was banned and its leader, Azhari, went into exile. Meanwhile, Brunei's People's Independent Front (BPIF) demanded constitutional reform to get the country rid of colonial rule. In 1972, the Sultan, Hassanal Bolkiah, and the British signed an agreement which authorised the British "for stationing of a battalion of British Gurkhas in Brunei".

The people, inspired by the Non-aligned Movement and its support for decolonization, struggled for independence. Consequently, according to another treaty, signed on January 7, 1979, the British control of external affairs came to an end on December 31, 1983, and the territory was declared independent between December 31, 1983, and January 1, 1984.

322. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 249.
323. Ibid., p. 250.
324. Ibid.
and was named Brunei Darussalam.

Brunei became a member of the United Nations on September 21, 1984, and of the ASEAN, the Commonwealth and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Brunei is not a member of the Non-aligned Movement.

(2) **INDONESIA**

Indonesia includes Sumatra, Irian Jaya (West New Guinea), the Lessar Sundas, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), the Moluccas and Timor, and a group of 13,728 smaller islands in Malay Archipelago.

The Treaty of Lourdes, in 1819, confirmed Indonesia as a Dutch colony. In 1927, rebellion against the foreign rulers broke out and Sukarno founded the National Indonesian Party. During the Second World War, Sukarno accepted a post in the government to assist the guerillas to resist Japanese occupation. As a result, when Japan surrendered, the Indonesian People's Movement proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945. Dr. Sukarno, the leader of the nationalist movement since 1920, became President. But soon the United States, Britain, Holland and Portugal started a war among themselves for establishing their occupation of the territory. In December, 1948, the Dutch "captured the entire republican government", while the nationalist forces continued to resist. However, on November 27, 1949, the sovereignty of the United States of Indonesia was recognised and Indonesia was made a federal republic with sixteen constituent regions. Later, the states united and established the unitary Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1950. It became member of the United Nations on September 20, 1950. It is also a member of the ASEAN.

President Sukarno "followed a policy of extreme nationalism" and his "regime became increasingly dictatorial". His foreign policy was "sympathetic" to China, but under his rule, Indonesia "played a leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement". Inspired by political revolutions and policy of neutrality and Non-alignment in Asia,

Indonesia hosted the Bandung Conference in 1955, which had a great impact on the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle of the people in Asia and Africa. The reactionary forces, instigated by foreign powers, started secessionist movement in Sulawesi and Sumatra, which were suppressed. In 1960-61, the West Irian (Netherlands New Guinea or Dutch New Guinea) was under the Dutch occupation. Indonesia claimed her sovereignty over it and it was turned over to Indonesia on May 1, 1963, at Hollandia following a brief period of UN administration. It is now called Irian Jaya.

In September-October, 1965, General Nasution seized power and, in spite of President Sukarno's pleas, the Communist Party of Indonesia was outlawed and more than 100,000 militant Communists were murdered. General Suharto, amidst serious disturbances, overthrew President Sukarno, and encouraged the influx of foreign capital. On the one hand, Indonesia continued to participate in the NAM conferences and made its "foreign policy" as "one of non-alignment", and, on the other, it strengthened its relations with the United States in 1986, when President Ronald Reagan visited Indonesia, and with USSR in 1987, when Edvard Shevardnadze, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Indonesia while on a tour of South-East Asian states. Despite big powers' attempt to dominate Indonesia's foreign policy, it has maintained its policy of non-alignment. In 1984, Suharto introduced laws "to control all political, social and religious organizations" in order to restrict the growth of extremism. Though fifty signatories to the 'Petition of 50' and Muslims refused to adopt Suharto's Pancasila, he forced all the parties to accept the 'state ideology' in July, 1985.

East Timor: The Portuguese withdrew from East Timor in 1975. In July, 1976, Jakarta Government annexed the colony of East Timor, which became the 27th province of Indonesia, despite opposition of the Fretilin, which demanded independence of East Timor. In 1987, the United Nations refused to recognize "Indonesia's absorption of the territory" and

329. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 300.
demanded withdrawal of Indonesian troops. In July, 1987, talks took place between the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), the Governments of Indonesia and Portugal "to determine the future of the area". However, East Timor is still struggling for independence.

Maluku : In 1970, 30,000 Moluccans in Holland advocated independence for the province of Maluku. At the end of 1979, Indonesia released many political prisoners of Maluku, while the Dutch suppressed the Moluccan activities in Holland. However, Maluku is still struggling for liberation.

The Fifth Summit Conference held in Colombo in 1976, reaffirmed "the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination". The Sixth Summit Conference held in Havana in 1979, and the Eighth Summit Conference held in Harare in 1986, reiterated the same, and hoped that the region would continue to constitute a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

Irian Jaya : The rebel demand made by Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) for re-unification of Irian Jaya with Papua New Guinea followed a 'major uprising' in May, 1977, which threatened the stability of Suharto's Government. Indonesian troops suppressed the rebellion, which gave indication to the people of Indonesia's expansionist policy. The OPM forcefully resisted and in early 1984, fighting broke out in Jayapura, the capital of Irian Jaya. As a result about 10,000 refugees fled to Papua New Guinea. The OPM rebels attacked the Indonesians crossing the border. Talks between the leaders of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia had failed as the latter's troops crossed into the former in pursuit of OPM rebels. However, the two countries produced a map of border area in 1986 for settlement of their border disputes.

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333. Portugal withdrew from its colony of East Timor in 1975; see Ibid., p.1372.
334. Ibid.
335. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 191.
336. Ibid., p. 418.
337. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 50.
338. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 416.
340. Ibid.
South Borneo (Kalimtan): By the beginning of the twentieth century, the British Empire expanded gradually in South-East Asia including Malaya, Sarawak, Labuan, North Borneo, Singapore, Straits-Settlements and other places, while the Dutch occupied Java, Sumatra, a large part of South Borneo, the Celebes and hundreds of islands, large and small.

The Allies won the Second World War in the name of political justice and independence. As a result, after the close of the war, unrest in the Eastern world greatly increased. Two days after the fall of Japan, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. Three-fourths of Kalimtan (539,460 sq. miles) belongs to Indonesia and now Kalimtan is a state of Indonesia together with Bali, Madura, Sumatra, Sulawesi (Celebes), Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda), Maluku (the Moluccas) and Irian Jaya (Western New Guinea).

(3) SINGAPORE

Singapore is a port on the island of the same name, inclusive of 54 adjacent islets. It is separated from the mainland by the narrow Johore Strait (3/4 miles in width). In 1824, the British bought a part of the island of Singapore from the Sultan of Johore of Malacca and rebuilt the city of Singapore and, in 1826, turned it into a British Crown Colony. In 1942, the Japanese occupied it but the British recovered it after the War and detached it from other Straits Settlements and made it a separate Crown Colony. As an impact of Cold War, wave of independence and anti-colonial movement led by the pioneer NAM leaders, the people demanded liberty. In consequence, the Government, in 1955, adopted a new constitution and granted "some measure of self-government" and, in June, 1959, the country "achieved complete internal self-government" within the British Commonwealth, with Lee Kuan Yew, the Secretary-General of the People's Action Party (PAP) as

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341. See for further details Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 298.
Prime Minister. Singapore joined the NAM at its Third Summit Conference held in Lusaka in 1970.

As the people, in a plebiscite voted for union with Malay, the UK in September, 1963, forced Singapore to join the Federation of Malaysia with Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo). Due to hostility between Indonesia and Malaya, which excluded the Indonesian shipping from the port of Singapore affecting its interest and, curtailed its political rights greatly, Singapore withdrew from the Federation on August 9, 1965, when the British recognised it as an independent state. It became a member of the United Nations on September 20, 1965, and of UN agencies with the exception of FAO, IDA and GATT. It is a member of the British Commonwealth, the Colombo Plan and ASEAN. In 1976, Britain handed over its air base to Singapore and withdrew its navy also.

Singapore favoured the American military presence in Asia and the Pacific. As a result, the US Pacific Fleet extended its operation all the way into the Indian Ocean. But when the US influence declined due to reduction in arms aid during 1974 and 1975, it adopted a conciliatory attitude towards China and its Communist neighbours, and demanded "the removal of foreign bases" from all the member ASEAN states and "advocated a policy of neutrality" and non-alignment.

Following the principles of NAM, Singapore also supported "the UN decision to continue to recognize the Khmer Rouge government-in-exile" with other ASEAN and NAM nations, and recognized "the anti-Vietnamese tripartite coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" established outside the country. Further, it established diplomatic relations with China in 1982. Forced by Singapore, New Zealand, in 1986, agreed to "withdraw its forces, stationed in Singapore since 1965,

345. Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 128.
347. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 632.
348. Ibid., p. 633.
over the next three years. In 1984, Lee Kuan Yew expressed his intention to retire as Prime Minister in 1988, when he proposed a racist proposal for reform in electoral system mainly to undermine the opposition.

Singapore first participated in the informal meeting of Foreign Ministers of NAM held on September 27, 1969, and its Dar es Salaam Conference on April 13-17, 1970, the Third Summit Conference held at Lusaka in 1970, Georgetown Conference in 1972 and continued to take active part in the NAM activities. It attended also the Harare Summit Conference in 1986.

CONCLUSION

Afghanistan became independent in 1919, while Indonesia became independent on August 17, 1945, the Philippines on July 4, 1946, India on August 15, 1947, Pakistan on August 14, 1947, Burma on January 4, 1948, Sri Lanka on February 4, 1948, (Korea was divided into PDRK and Republic of Korea in 1948), Kampuchea on November 9, 1953, Bhutan and Nepal had signed peace treaties with India. Thus, of the eighteen countries of the region, all became independent, and joined the Non-aligned Movement (except the Philippines and Brunei Darussalam). Burma, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Indonesia joined the Non-aligned Movement in 1961, Laos in 1964, Malaysia and Singapore in 1970, Vietnam, Bangladesh and Bhutan in 1973, Korea (PDR) and Maldives in 1976, and Pakistan in 1979. Thus, it may be observed that the objectives and declarations of NAM caused independence and many newly independent nations joined the Movement, increasing its strength.

351. Ibid.
352. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 31.
353. Ibid., p. 33.
354. Ibid., p. 45.
355. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 37.