CHAPTER IV

NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

The Western states of the Middle East make the boundary line between Asia and Europe. The important and powerful nations of Europe - Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Spain were the Colonial Powers, who have now adopted the policy of neo-colonialism. The colonies under these Administering Powers have gained independence and their resources have become limited within their own spheres. Britain is the leading nation of Europe. After 1945, she lost the status of a big power and accorded freedom and autonomy to many of her colonies, but by having their membership of the British Commonwealth, she has maintained her prestige. On the one hand, she entered into alliances like NATO, SEATO and CENTO, for her protection and established close relations with USA and, on the other, it secured membership of E.E.C. on January 1, 1973, and is not hostile towards USSR and Communist China. Her relations with France are not cordial. While Britain supports NATO, France, under the De Gaulle policy of non-cooperation withdrew from it.

The second group of nations in Europe is that of members of the Warsaw Pact (1955), consisting of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, USSR and Czechoslovakia, which are all Communist-oriented countries.

The third group of European nations is that which consists of countries which are members of the Non-aligned Movement, such as, Cyprus, Malta and Yugoslavia.

The cold war conflict, arms race and competition of expansion of areas of influence between the United States and USSR caused pacts, aggression and intervention. Inception of economic plans i.e. US Marshal Plan and Soviet Molotov Plan, made the European countries conscious of Super Power politics leading to neo-colonialism in one form or the other. The weak nations, to save themselves from domination by Big Powers joined the Non-aligned Movement. The Warsaw Pact signatories adopt soft attitude towards them. Turkey is in the process of strengthening her internal and external resources.
The United States, with the assistance of its allies i.e. the developed European nations, attempts to establish military and nuclear bases in the Middle East and North Africa while the eastern and western European nations are demanding dismantling of US and Soviet nuclear missiles and warheads stored for defence purpose, which are, however, under the process of destruction and disarmament. The supply of military equipment by the United States and Europe to Iran and by the Soviet Union to Iraq was against international peace. Further, the supply of arms to insurgents and guerilla forces in the North African countries has also worsened their good relations. The Non-aligned Movement demands international peace, peaceful co-existence and decolonization.

North Africa has been taken up with the Middle East as it has geographically, politically, economically and culturally close relations with the latter. Further, Cyprus, Malta and Yugoslavia have also been included in this study to have a better understanding of the circumstances and political changes due to which the subject nations gained freedom and joined the Non-aligned Movement and gave immense support to the NAM objectives of decolonization in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Oceans. A brief description of countries of the Middle East, North Africa and others which are NAM members is given below:

(A) THE MIDDLE EAST

This region consists of Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, UAE, YAP and PDRY.

(1) BAHRAIN

Bahrain consists of a group of 35 islands, 24 km (15 miles) from the east coast of Saudi Arabia and 28 km (17 miles) from the west coast of Qatar. In 1925, petrol was found here. Bahrain (or Aval and Al-muharraq are the main islands.

In 1861, Bahrain favoured British protection. In 1913, the British and the Ottoman Empire signed a convention acknowledging Bahrain's independence, but the island continued to remain under British administration. In 1935, the establishment of British military base in the Gulf 1. The islands are Muharraq, Sitras, Nabih Salih, Jeddah, Hawar, Umm Nassan, Umm Suban, Manama is the port and capital; see The Middle East and North Africa, 1988 (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 34th edn.), p. 300.
2. Ibid.
provoked many protests in the form of street demonstrations, mostly in the capital. The wave of emancipation and struggle against the colonial rule during the years, 1914 and 1951, resulted in the workers' strike in 1951, and a popular uprising in 1956, mainly due to the British exploitation causing critical economic situation. The uprisings were brutally suppressed by the British. The nationalist group demanded, among others, general elections for a Constituent Assembly and freedom to form trade unions, which were ignored by the ruler.

The Cairo NAM Conference (1964) condemned the imperialist policy in Aden, which inspired the people against the British. In 1965, a mass public demonstration was indiscriminately suppressed. The National Progressive Front of Bahrain (NPFB) started armed struggle and initiated a campaign of civil disobedience. As a repressive measure, the Government passed a so-called General Security Law, which empowered the Sheikh to arrest, imprison and banish any person without trial. Pressed by the insurgents, the British withdrew their 4,000 troops from the strategic air base (Muharraq), the naval base (Jufair) and army base (Humala) and asked the Emirates to form a federation, joining Qatar and the Trucial States (now UAE), which were also under the British protection. But Qatar seceded and Bahrain proclaimed independence on August 15, 1971. Bahrain was admitted to the United Nations on September 21, 1971, and joined the Arab League on September 11, 1971. Bahrain revoked the military treaties with Britain and became member of the Non-aligned Movement joining its Georgetown Conference (1972) and Algiers Conference (1973). In May, 1970, Iran accepted the UN findings that "popular opinions overwhelmingly favoured independence rather than union with Iran".

7. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 69.
8. Ibid., p. 120.
In 1974, the US-Bahraini treaty, permitting US military base in Bahrain, was massively opposed. The Government reacted by restricting civil rights leading to large scale arrests and dismissals. However, popular opposition against the US military air base in Juffair continued.

After independence, Sheikh Isa took the title of Amir and Sheikh Khalifa became Prime Minister. In 1972, a new constitution provided for a National Assembly. In 1975, the Assembly was dissolved and elections were promised, but there are no signs of this. As a result, the "ruling family has almost absolute powers", who dominate in Bahrain, are in a minority and are opposed by the Shi'ite majority (60%), supported by Iran. The latter planned coups to overthrow the Bahraini Government. The Shah renounced his claim over Bahrain in 1975.

Bahrain provides an onshore "facility" for the presence of large US navy forces, for which, in September, 1987, President Reagan expressed gratitude to Sheikh Isa, and agreed to supply F-16 aircraft to Bahrain. Bahrain and Qatar have disputes on the question of sovereignty over Zubara (on mainland Qatar), Hawar Island and Fasht ad-Dibáli.

(2) IRAN

The Anglo-Russian Convention (1907) divided the country into British and Russian zones of influence, leaving a neutral zone. Following the October, 1917 Revolution, Russia withdrew its forces from Iran. In 1921, Iran cancelled the Anglo-Iranian Agreement (1919), which empowered Britain to control public administration with the possibility of establishing a protectorate over the country. Iran became member of the League of Nations in 1919, but withdrew in 1939. In 1925, Reza Khan deposed the ruler, Ahmad Shah Kajar and, in 1935, changed the historical name of Persia to Iran.

Iran's claim of Bahrain created great tension between Iran and the Arab countries, particularly Saudi Arabia. Iran proclaimed its

neutrality during the Second World War, but collaborated with the Third Reich. The Soviet and British forces entered into Iran and the Emperor, Reza Shah Pahlavi fled into exile and died in South Africa. His son, Mohammad Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, took over power on September 18, 1941, and declared war on Germany in 1943. When the War ended, there were 30,000 American troops in Iran. From then, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi came under the American influence. At the Tehran Conference (November 28-December 1, 1943), the US, Britain and Soviet governments recognised Iran's support in the War against Germany and decided to grant it independence. As a result, in 1945-46, the British and Soviet troops withdrew. Though in May, 1946, the Soviet forces evacuated the country, continued to exert its pressure through "the Communist Tudeh Party, the democratic movement in Azerbaijan, and the Kurdish autonomy movement". Iran became member of the United Nations on October 24, 1945. It also became a member of the Colombo Plan and OPEC.

In 1946, a Soviet-Persian Company was authorised to exploit the oil in the northern province, and, in 1947, the Truman Doctrine established American military mission in Iran. The people vigorously opposed the scandalous concessions and economic privileges granted to foreign capital and restrictions placed on political liberty. The US's growing military presence and exploitation of petroleum wealth by foreigners caused an upsurge of a strong anti-imperialist movement, which led to an attempt to assassinate the Shah. The National Front, founded by Mossadeq, demanded free elections, freedom of press and lifting of emergency, and swept the elections to the Mejlis (National Consultative Assembly). The National Front demanded recovery of the petroleum wealth from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) also. The Shah, to counter the nationalist trend, appointed General Ali Razmara, as Prime Minister, a noted pro-British person, who, later, had a serious conflict with the United States and was assassinated in 1951, and Hussein Ala, who was pro-US, became Premier. He proclaimed emergency. Despite Ala's opposition, AIOC was nationalized. Ala resigned and Mossadeq became Prime Minister in April, 1951. The United States and Britain declared an economic

boycott of Iran. In March, 1953, Kermit Roosevelt, a CIA official, carried out 'Ajax' operation and overthrew Mossadegh with massive US aid.

In 1964, the exile of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and others, who opposed Shah's 'White Revolution' provoked a wide-spread revolt, which resulted in assassination of Premier Mansur on January 21, 1965, by Khomeini's men (Fedayan Islam). The disturbances continued until the Shah fled from Iran on January 17, 1979, and Ayatollah Khomeini returned from Paris to Tehran and was designated as Mehdi Bazargan.

On November 4, 1979, Iranian students took over US embassy in Tehran and took as hostage fifty-two American diplomats, offering to release them on the condition that USA extradite the deposed Shah who was receiving medical treatment in New York. In the same month, Iran cancelled "Iran-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1921", which gave the Soviet Union the right to intervene militarily in case of aggression of Iran; and also annulled "Iran-USA Friendship Treaty in 1959". The Shah left the United States and settled on a Panamanian island. Iran applied to Panama for his extradition in January, 1980. The Shah died on July 27, 1980, in Cairo.

In 1969, a dispute arose with Iraq over the estuary of Shatt al Arab, which gained intensity, and Iran denounced the 1937 treaty with Iraq, which defined the rights of navigation in the frontier region. Further, in June, 1969, Iran claimed sovereignty over a group of islands in the Arabian-Persian Gulf, Abou Moussa and the Great and Small Tombs, which belonged to the UAE members - Ras al Khaimah and Sharjah respectively, over which Iran established its military outposts. This provoked a war between Iran and Iraq. The war ended in 1988.

Since relations between Iran and the United States deteriorated, Iran withdrew from CENTO and proclaimed the Islamic Republic of Iran on

22. "The war began after Iran ignored Iraqi demands for the withdrawal of Iranian forces from Zain ul-Qos, in Dilai province on the border between the two countries", as under 1975 agreement between them, the territory was to be returned to Iraq. Hence, Iran abrogated 1975 Shatt al-Abad agreement and invaded Iran on September 2, 1980; see The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 388; see also The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.1, pp. 1392-94.
April 1, 1979, and joined the NAM at the Havana Summit Conference in 1979.

On April 24-25, 1980, US air force launched an abortive attempt to free the hostages. On January 20, 1981, the hostages returned home.

The New York meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of delegation of Non-aligned Countries in October, 1982, recalled the New Delhi Declaration that "no State should acquire or occupy territories by the use of force, that whatever territories had been acquired in this way should be returned, that no act of aggression should be committed against any State, that the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all States should be respected, that no State should try to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of other States, and that all differences or claims which may exist between States should be settled by peaceful means in order that peaceful relations should prevail among member States". It expressed deep concern over the "intensification of hostilities in the armed conflict between two member countries of the Movement, Iran and Iraq". The members appealed to both parties to "refrain from any action which would further escalate the conflict".

(3) IRAQ

In 1920, Iraq came under colonial control of the British as a League of Nations mandate. Popular demonstrations from 1918 to 1945 continued against the British domination, while the monarchy was controlled by them. General Nuri as Said, Prime Minister, who remained in power for twenty-eight years, supported Iraq's friendship with the United Kingdom and the West and a 25-year Anglo-Iraqi treaty was signed in 1930. The British mandate ended on October 3, 1932, when Iraq became fully independent.

23. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 401.
24. Ibid., p. 510.
25. Ibid., p. 597.
28. See for further details about Hashemite Kingdoms in Iraq and Transjordan, Ibid.
During the Second World War, the British wanted to use Iraq for pursuit of war. The Anglo-Iraqi alliance was opposed. In 1943, despite nationalist opposition, Iraq declared war against the Axis Powers and, in 1945, established relations with the Soviet Union and became member of the United Nations on October 24, 1945, and also member of the Arab League the same year.

In 1955, the Baghdad Pact was signed, which later expanded into CENTO, against possible threat from the USSR. Iraq participated in the Arab-Israeli war in 1948–49. In July, 1958, a military movement overthrew the monarchy, executed the Royal family, including King Faisal-II, Prince Abd al-Ilah and General Nuri (the pro-West) and proclaimed the Republic of Iraq on July 14, 1958, and announced the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact in March, 1959, opposed by Pan-Arabs, Kurds and other groups. Soon the facilities used by the British Royal Air Force at the Habbaniya base was closed.

From 1959 to 1968, the CIA was involved in creating disturbances in the country. Egyptian Union (United Arab Republic) with Iraq existed from May 25, 1964, until July, 1968. In 1969, the Kurds, to get legitimate rights of their national identity, "launched a civil war with the assistance of Shah of Iran and under guidance of the CIA" to overthrow the BAATH government. The northern part of Iraq had 2 million Kurds. The Kurdish leader, Barzani was defeated by the Iraqi army. However, the 1974 Autonomy Act (March 11) laid the foundation of Kurdistan, which has its own legislative and executive councils.

and Kuwaiti borderguards in the Arabian Gulf erupted. Iraq claims from Kuwait a coastal strip adjacent to Umm Kasr and the islands of Bubiajan and Warb. It concluded a treaty with CMEA, in 1975, and became member of the Arab Monetary Fund in 1976. In July, 1979, Saddam Hussein was appointed President of the Republic and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and General Secretary of the BAATH Party. President Hussein, in February, 1980, announced his 'National Charter', and reaffirmed the principle of non-alignment.

Since the British had left in 1971, the islands of Great and Small Tombs and Abou Moussa in the Gulf were occupied by Iran. In April, 1980, Iraq claimed her sovereignty over these islands and demanded withdrawal of Iranian forces. Earlier, in March, 1975, Iraq and Iran had signed at Algiers an agreement defining the "southern border between the two countries as a line along with middle of the Shatt al-Arab waterway", but, later, Iraq increasingly became dissatisfied. Prior to 1975, Iran was supporting rebellion of Kurds in northern Iraq, and Iraq was supporting the "Arab demands for autonomy in Iran's Khuzestan region (named 'Arabistan' by Arabs)". However, squabbling between the two countries was aggravated in the summer of 1980. On September 20, 1980, Iraq denounced the Algiers Agreement, accusing Iran of violations of its national territory in the estuary of Shatt al-Arab. On September 2, 1980, large scale fighting erupted between the two countries, which lasted until 1988. During the war, while Iran-US relations worsened and Iraq received assistance from the USSR, Israeli bombs, on June 7, 1981, destroyed Iraq's French built nuclear reactor 'OSIRA' in the southeast of Baghdad.

The Ministerial meeting of the NAM held in New York (1982) noted the efforts of the Coordinating Bureau to end the Iran-Iraq war. The New Delhi Conference (1983) considered the report of the Group (Foreign Ministers of Cuba, India and Zambia and PLO), appointed by NAM Foreign Ministers Conference held in Delhi (1981) to implement the principles of Non-alignment to end the conflict. The Conference resolved: "Iran

38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 422.
41. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 606.
42. Ibid.
and Iraq are both members of the Non-aligned Movement, which has amongst the principles that all differences amongst member States should be resolved by peaceful means. The participants appealed to Iran and Iraq to "bring an immediate end to the war" and to "come to an honourable, just and enduring peace through negotiations and peaceful means". The NAM Foreign Ministers meeting at Luanda (1985) observed that efforts of the Chairman of the Movement and President of the Conference "to find as an alternative and acceptable statement to both parties, proved to be of no avail". However, there was an overwhelming sentiment among the members for "an immediate end to this fratricidal conflict". The Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau held in New Delhi (1986) reiterated the New Delhi (1983) resolution, while the representatives of Iran and Iraq accused each other, as no settlement between the belligerents could be made. The Harare Conference (1986) expressed profound concern at the continuation of Iran-Iraq conflict and asked them to "cease hostilities forthwith in order to avoid further loss of life and damage to property".

However, after heavy and irreparable loss of property and about one million lives on both sides, Iran, on July 18, 1988, unconditionally, without any major force or pressure accepted the UN Security Council resolution 598 of July 20, 1987, which called for a ceasefire, to end the war. Saddam Hussein had already offered his acceptance on July 20, 1987, to it. The Security Council hoped that the war would come to an end within ten days and Saddam Hussein urged that there should be a "complete and comprehensive unconditional withdrawal".

44. Ibid., p. 258.
45. Ibid., p. 223.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 258.
48. Ibid., pp. 287-89.
52. Ibid.
(4) JORDAN

In 1920, formerly under the Turkish Empire, Palestine and Transjordan, with Abdullah as Emir, were placed under the British administration by the League of Nations. The Emir's troops fought with the Allies during the Second World War. Transjordan, separated from Palestine in 1923, became independent on March 22, 1946, when the British mandate ended, and took the name of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in June, 1946. In 1948, Jordan joined war against Israel and annexed the West Bank and concluded an armistice with Israel in 1949. As Abdullah had secret negotiations with Israel, he was assassinated on July 20, 1951, by a Palestinian. He was succeeded by his son Talal, who ceded the Crown to his son Hussein ibn Talal. Hussein is the longest ruling head of the Arab state since March, 1956. In 1957, he crushed a military revolt against him.

In February, 1958, Syria and Egypt formed the United Arab Republic, but Jordan snapped relations with Egypt and joined union with Iraq, which ended with the fall of monarchy in Iraq. In 1967, Jordan signed treaties with Egypt and Syria. In the third war with Israel, Jordan lost to Israel a part of Jerusalem, the West Bank of Jordan River and more than 400,000 refugees were driven into the West Bank of the Jordan River, which became centre of Palestinian Arab nationalism "with the aim of recovering the homeland" from where the Fedayeen made attacks on Israeli territory. Their principal guerilla organization was Al-Fatah in the Gaza Strip, then under Egypt. In May-June, 1964, in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem, PLO, under Yasser Arafat (Chairman) was founded, which threatened the Jordanian sovereignty over the West Bank. The PLO organized the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA). In March, 1972, Hussein formed the Arab National Union (ANU) and banned all other political parties.

59. Ibid.
In spite of an agreement with PLO, Jordan favoured the Reagan Plan, a US project to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was opposed by the Palestinian forces and by different Arab countries. As a result, Jordan launched a military campaign between September 17 and 27, 1970, against the Palestinian refugees in the Jordanian territory killing more than 200,000 people. The Egyptians intervened and a ceasefire was arranged with the signing of Cairo and Amman Agreements. The events of 'Black September' isolated Jordan from the Arab community. Due to his anti-Palestinian policy, several plots against the King were hatched and suppressed. Jordan's ties with the United States got further strengthened and Jordan received large quantity of arms and aircrafts from the United States. In August, 1979, Yassir Arafat and King Hussein met at Mafraq (Jordan) and formed a joint Jordanian-Palestinian Supreme Committee to examine problems of Israeli-occupied territories. King Hussein opposed the Camp David Accords, favoured the Baohdad resolutions and imposed sanctions against Egypt. As a result, relations between Jordan and Egypt deteriorated.

The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM noted that "parts of Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon remain occupied". In 1982-84, King Hussein participated in international talks on the Peres Plan for peace in the Middle East. Jordan resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt in September, 1984, severed in 1979. In 1984, there was a split in the Arab world. The "moderate body of opinion" was formed by 'Jordan, Egypt and Arafat's wing of the PLO', and the radical group included Syria, Libya and the rebel wing of the PLO.

Owing to King Hussein's "harsh criticism of US policy in the Middle East" and Arafat's opposition to Israel, Reagan cancelled arms supply to Jordan. However, under a treaty, Jordan received arms supply from USSR in January, 1985. As the Jordanian-PLO peace initiative failed, King Hussein severed political relations with PLO on February 19, 1986, and agreed to Israeli terms for direct talks and secured limited autonomy for Palestinian community on the West Bank.

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60. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, p. 9.
64. Ibid.
Kuwait comprises the mainland and nine small islands; Rubyan is the largest but Failaka is most populous. In 1716, the British East India Company laid the foundation of Kuwait and, in 1956, the Al Sabah dynasty assumed the rule of the territory with British support. The British made it a centre to erode the Turkish position. In 1896, Sheikh Mabarek Al Sabah, having confrontation with the Ottoman Empire, assumed power with British protection. In 1899, the British recognised its independence with the condition that it would not establish relations with any other foreign power without their consent, and controlled its external affairs. Thus, Kuwait became a virtual self-governing British protectorate. In 1913, through a pact with the Sheikh, the British controlled Kuwait's petroleum. In 1934, the Kuwait Oil Company began to exploit petroleum. Between 1945 and 1954, the production of petrol rose from 6 million to 246 million barrels while the sale and profits were made by foreign companies alone. However, the fabulous gains produced an influential bourgeoisie, while the immigrant workers demanded improvement in their living conditions and lesser dependence on imperialist powers - the United States and the United Kingdom.

In 1960, Sheikh Abdallah Salem Al Sabah founded the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and became member of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC). Due to popular revolt demanding revision of the 1899 treaty, under the influence of the Movement of Non-aligned countries against colonialism and neocolonialism, Britain granted sovereignty to Kuwait on June 19, 1961.

Kuwait joined the Arab League in July, 1961, despite opposition of Iraq, which claimed sovereignty over Kuwait, and began to pursue its own foreign policy. Since Iraq had "claims on Kuwait", Iraqi troops, soon after independence, occupied a Kuwaiti outpost."Since then, substantial donations to Iraq have ensured Kuwait's territorial security".

68. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, n. 521.
In 1963, Kuwait established relations with the Soviet Union and was admitted to the United Nations on May 14, 1963. Later, it established relations with socialist countries - Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania. It joined the Movement of the Non-aligned countries at its Cairo Summit Conference (1964) and became its active member. Being a member of the Coordinating Bureau, it "participates in the work of the Movement's Coordination Bureau". Kuwait supports the Palestinian cause and assists the developing countries. It has relations with developed countries also. However, Kuwait following the policy of non-alignment, cooperates with the NAM countries and has evolved a defence system "independent of any super power".

In 1969, the Neutral Zone (Partitioned Zone) between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia was formally divided between the two countries and the revenue from petroleum production is shared equally. In 1974, Kuwait nationalized 60% of oil production (gas and energy companies) and used it as an economic weapon against pro-Israel Western countries by reducing production, introducing embargo on supplies to the United States and the Netherlands and by taking the decision on a 70% rise in petroleum price. Kuwait, at the Baghdad Conference of the Arab League, in November, 1978, called upon its members to condemn the Camp David Accords and imposed sanctions against Egypt.

The Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries held in March, 1974, appreciated Kuwait's decision "to raise the capital of the Kuwaiti Fund for Arab Economic Development from $ 600 million to $ 3000 million" for assisting the "developing countries in their plans and projects of economic development". The Bureau decided to set up an Inter-government Committee of Experts to draft the constitution and regulations of the Fund.

71. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 391.
72. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 17.
73. Ibid., p. 288.
74. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 391.
76. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 448.
78. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 126.
In the Iran-Iraq War, Kuwait gave substantial aid to Iraq since its outbreak in September, 1980. Iran bombed Kuwaiti oil installations and shipping in the Gulf. In August, 1987, as the Shia Muslims organizations - al-Jihad al-Islami (Islamic Holy War) having connection with ad-Dawa al-Islamiya (Islamic Voice) forced a Kuwaiti airliner to land in Iran and bombed Kuwaiti oil refinery at Mina al-Ahmadi, The Amir expatriated 27,000 Shias to Iran for safety purposes. Kuwait closed its main off-shore oil-loading terminal at Sea Island between October and December, 1987, due to Iranian Chinese-made surface-to-surface missile attack. Kuwait exported oil under UN, US, UK and Soviet protection. It resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt and President Mubarak offered "military support in return for economic aid".

Between October, 1986 and April, 1987, "15 ships bound to or from Kuwait were attacked in the Gulf by Iran". In 1987, Kuwait's application to the United Nations for use of UN flag on its oil tankers was opposed by the United States and the Soviet Union. Iran charged that Kuwaiti port was used by Iraq for transporting military equipment destined for Iraq. Iran deployed "Silkworm" anti-ship missiles at the entrance to the Strait of Hormuz and on the Faw Peninsula, and stationed "Suicide Squads" (high-speed launches) on several islands. Iraq received help for clearing mines from Saudi Arabia and the United States. On July 24, 1987, the first of the eleven tankers, registered by the United States and under US flag struck a mine in the Gulf, 30 km off from Farsi island.

6) LEBANON

In 1920, France created the state of Greater Lebanon. In April, 1920, the League of Nations conference in San Remo gave a mandate to France over Syria and Lebanon and, in 1926, it became a state under French domination. Between 1920 and 1936, Syrian movement, supported by some sections of Sunni Muslims, demanded "reduction of Lebanon to its pre-war limits and even the abolition of its existence as a separate

80. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., p. 546.
state" while the Maronite Christians demanded "a separate Lebanon". On November 26, 1941, Lebanon was declared "a sovereign independent state" by General Charles de Gaulle in appreciation of the support given to French troops stationed in Lebanon. However, a republic was formally proclaimed on November 11, 1943, when the French troops were withdrawn and full autonomy was granted in January, 1944. It became a member of the United Nations on October 24, 1945, and is a Founding member of the Arab League.

The Israelis aided the Rightist group, which formed the National Front (National and Phlangist Parties) to seize power while Leftist group (Progressive forces) and the Palestinians resisted their move, which initiated a civil war, heavy damages and mass emigration. In the South, thousands of Palestinian refugees, settled in 1948, involved Lebanon in Arab-Israel war, in which the country "never participated actively". However, Lebanon joined the Arabs and boycotted Israel. In May, 1955, Lebanon and Jordan accused Egypt "of subversive action in which intervention of the Arab League failed to help". Since the President, Camille Chamoun, adopted pro-Western policy, while the Muslims favoured the Arab nationalism, the Muslim and Christian forces began a civil war. On the request of the President, the US troops (10,000) landed and maintained peace.

The Non-aligned countries played an important role in cultivating world opinion against the US intervention in Lebanon in 1958. The Security Council on June 1, 1958, appointed a UN Observer Group (UNOGIL), which started its operation in Beirut. The United States, considering the UNOGIL insufficient, sent its navy to Lebanon on July 15, 1958, which created a crisis. The NAM countries in and outside the United Nations

87. Ibid.
strongly condemned the US action. Consequently, the United States "pulled out its troops from Lebanon" on October 25, 1959, and the UNOGIL mission ended on December 19, 1959.

Lebanon participated in NAM Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) and its Cairo Conference (1964). The Cairo Conference, considering the problems of divided nations, pledged itself "to respect frontiers as they existed when the States gained independence" and asserted that "parts of territories taken away by occupying powers or converted into autonomous bases for their own benefit at the time of independence must be given back to the country concerned". At the New York informal meeting of Foreign Ministers, Lebanon took active part. The participants decided to "exert joint efforts with a view to promoting mutual cooperation" on issues to be considered by the General Assembly. At the Dar es Salaam meeting (1970), Lebanon joined the participants in demanding the implementation of the 'Declaration on Decolonization'.

In June, 1967, Lebanon sided with the Arab countries against Israel and concluded several agreements with PLO, founded in Beirut in 1964. In December, 1968, Israel bombed civil airpot in Beirut in retaliation for its protection to PLO guerilla forces and Palestinian military bases and actions. Israel invaded Lebanese border regions several times during 1969-80, against which Lebanon lodged complaint in the UN Security Council, which "unanimously condemned Israel for the raid".

The Third Summit Conference held in Lusaka (1970), taking into consideration the UN Security Council resolution, called for "immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory" and expressed "deep concern because of the frequent Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory".

89. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 5.
90. Ibid., p. 17.
91. Ibid., p. 21.
92. Ibid., p. 31.
93. Ibid., n. 35.
94. Event of mid-1982 caused the removal of PLO from Beirut to Tunisia.
95. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 549.
96. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, r. 59.
The division in Lebanon cabinet, in 1971, on the question of support to the Palestinian Fedayeen (martyrs) led to the downfall of the Government in 1973. Further, expulsion of the Fedayeen from Jordan and their influx in Lebanon, Palestinian camps (Left Wing) intensified war against Phalangist Party - Maronite Christian Group (Right Wing) in 1974. In 1976, the 'Green Berets' restored peace, but the Nationalist Front opposed the Green Berets and stepped up military activities. The Rightists wanted partition of the country. In 1976, the Arab League created an Arab Deterrent Force (ADF). The UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFL) also arrived. Hazbollah viewed UNIFL "as an obstacle to the pursuit of war against Israel". Due to failure of the Rightists, Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978, with 30,000 troops and occupied one-fifth of Lebanese territory, indiscriminately massacred the Palestinian and the Lebanese population, who fought many battles but all in vain.

The Coordinating Bureau of the NAM (Algiers, 1976) appealed to all the conflicting parties "to cease their fratricidal situation in Lebanon" and affirmed "the unity, territorial integrity and independence of non-aligned Lebanon". The Bureau laid the responsibility for "solution of the Lebanese crisis" with the Lebanese themselves. Under the UN and world popular pressure created by the Non-aligned Movement, Israelis withdrew, leaving a strip of land, 800 sq. km. in the south under the control of the Rightist militias which harassed the people and defied the Beirut Government. This uncalled for 1978 Israeli aggression left 250,000 persons displaced, 35,000 homes destroyed, 10,810 made orphans, 36,000 children without school and 75,000 families requiring social assistance.

The Coordinating Bureau (Havana, 1978) observed that this Israeli invasion aimed at "occupying Lebanese territory by destroying Lebanese villages and cities, compelling Lebanese citizens to leave their homes and land, and crushing Palestinian resistance". The Bureau also demanded

97. ADF dissolved between December, 1982, and April, 1983, after shifting of PLO to Tunisia.
99. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 181.
100. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 410.
101. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 276.
immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 425, and called upon the Security Council to adopt mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Further, the Ministerial Conference of NAM (Belgrade, 1978) condemned Israel's "procrastination in withdrawal from some positions it still occupies".

Despite fifty ceasefire agreements, and Arab and Western powers' mediation, the Arab-Israel war went on until 1979. Maj. Haddad (Right Wing), with Israeli support, declared "an area of 1,800 sq. km. (700 sq. miles) in the south of the country to be "independent free Lebanon", while the Phalangist militia dominated eastern Beirut. In 1982, Israeli forces surrounded the Muslim populated area in the west which had 6,000 PLO fighters. However, the Reagan envoy in Beirut in late August secured an agreement and the PLO fighters dispersed in the Arab countries. The Coordinating Bureau (Havana, 1982) urged the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435/79 and welcomed its resolution 510/82 and urged all states to render support to UNIFIL.

In May, 1983, the US Secretary of State, George Shultz, helped in signing an agreement, which declared the end of hostilities and withdrawal of all foreign forces from Beirut in three months. Syria refused to accept the agreement and allowed 7,000 PLO fighters to encamp in the Bekaa Valley and northern Lebanon. As a result, the Israelis employed the Haddad militia - South Lebanon Army (SLA) to police the partitioned country in the south. The Coordinating Bureau (Managua, 1983) observed that Israel "has reached the peak of imperialism and racism through its occupation of a part of Lebanon and its acts of aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and the execution of massacres of the Palestinian people". The Seventh Summit Conference (New Delhi, 1983) further condemned the "crimes perpetrated by the Israeli forces, such as killing and destruction in Lebanon.

102. Ibid., p. 333.
104. Two Decades of Non-Alcignment, n. 4, p. 566.
106. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, p. 5.
107. Ibid., p. 30.
Meanwhile, as the PLO wanted to control Fatah, the Syrian-backed rebels forced Arafat to leave Tripoli. On February 29, 1984, a French proposal to establish a UN Force in Beirut "was vetoed by the USSR in the UN Security Council". However, in 1985, Israeli forces withdrew from the south and Syrian forces from the north. In 1986, the PLO re-emerged around Tyre, Sidon and Bekaa Valley, taking this action according to 1969 agreement between PLO and Lebanon. The Lebanese Government in May, 1987, to remove any doubt of protection, annulled the agreement. Factional differences continued in 1988.

The New York meeting (1984), reiterating the earlier decisions, noted that Israel continued to occupy Southern Lebanon, western Bekaa and Qada Rashyla and adopted inhuman practices contrary to the Fourth Geneva Agreement (1949). It expressed regret that one of the Permanent members used negative vote against draft resolution (S/16732) submitted by Lebanon before the UN Security Council. The Foreign Ministers meeting (Luanda, 1985), reiterating the earlier decisions, denounced the continued US support and "its collusion with Israel in the strategic alliance against the people and States of the region", commended the abrogation of 17 May 1983 Accord (dissolved in March, 1984) and demanded the implementation of Security Council resolutions 425 and 426 of 1978 and 508 and 509 of 1982. The Coordinating Bureau (New Delhi, 1986) reiterated the earlier decisions. The Eighth Summit Conference (Harare, 1986) also reiterated the earlier resolutions.

Since, prior to 1918, Lebanon was a part of Syria and formed a single customs area until 1950, the two nations have retained historical links with each other and do not exchange formal ambassadors. However, Lebanese have rejected the plan of a "Greater Syria", because Lebanon has a large minority (43%) of Christians who do not want to be ruled wholly by the Syrian Muslims. In Lebanon, Muslims constitute 57% of the

110. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, p. 117.
111. Ibid., p. 182.
112. Ibid., pp. 245-46.
113. Review of International Affairs, n. 52, pp. 54-55.
114. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1669. There is a convention that the President will be Christian, Prime Minister will be Sunni Muslim and President of the National Assembly a Shia Muslim, as a result "attempts to form national parties have met with little success"; see Ibid.
population, 10% of which are Palestinian refugees, and Shia Muslims are 1.2 million.

(7) OMAN

In the seventeenth century, Oman was called the Pearl of Islam, whose fleet of 300 ships expelled Portugal in 1744. In 1861, it was divided into two different dominions. The first included Zanzibar and East Africa, and the other Muscat and Oman. According to custom, an Imam was elected to rule the country. In 1884, Imamate and Sultanate were separated due to internal conflict. Due to dispute within the Royal family, the British gained power and bestowed title of Sultan on the rulers. In 1913, the Ghaff'iris and Hinawis elected Salim Ibn Rashid as Imam, who opposed the Sultan of Oman and Muscat, a tool in the hands of the British. The British supported the Sultan, and the 1920 Agreement, between the Imam and the Sultan, recognised Sultan's authority over the whole territory. But the dispute about the attributes of the Imamate persisted.

After the Second World War, Nehru's call of decolonization and freedom roused the people who fought unitedly to overthrow the British. The British, being too weak to face the rising wave of nationalism, granted independence to the Sultanate, officially called "Muscat and Oman", by a treaty of friendship on December 20, 1951, which retained the British officers in the armed forces and in the police. Thus, they adopted a policy of neo-colonialism.

Between 1952 and 1957, there were uprisings against the British control over the petroleum products. The Sultan's forces, assisted by the British, crushed the insurgents. The British dominated the country and the Arab world opposed this open interventionism. At the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly, the NAM group supported complete independence of Oman, but the British representative opposed the proposal. During 1960s, the British stepped up repression of nationalist forces.

115. The Europeans had initiated a custom of bestowing the title of Sultan on the rulers of the coast; see Ivo Dvorak, n.3, p. 543.
118. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 543.
In October, 1960, ten Arab States, all NAM supporters, at the United Nations "accused Great Britain that its colonial presence in Oman prevented the people from exercising their rights of self-determination". The people's demonstration against the British became intense when, in 1962, the British and American corporations began to exploit petroleum, while the people of Oman remained poor and educationally backward. The British repressive measures added fuel to the fire. The Cairo Conference (1964) condemned "the continued armed action waged by British colonialism against the people of Oman", who were "fighting to attain their freedom". In June, 1965, the Omani people rose in arms against the feudal regime in Dhofar Province and the Front Liberation of Occupied Arabian Gulf (FLOAG), organised in the interior and coastal areas, attacked the British air base at Salalah in August and September, 1969. As FLOAG was supported by PDRY, relations between Oman and PDRY deteriorated. Oman was supported by the United States, the United Kingdom, PDRY and USSR. However, the conflict between PDRY (South Yemen) "ended with a normalization agreement in 1982". Tension between the two countries increased due to Sultan Qaboos's pact with the United States in June, 1980, whereby Oman allowed "the use of US forces of Masirah Island, off the east coast of Oman" in exchange for US military and economic aid and US commitment to Oman's security.

To maintain control over oil, the United States pressed Iran to occupy the British air bases, but Iran could not do so due to a secret defence treaty with Oman. Meanwhile, Prince Qaboos, who was studying at the military academy at Sandhurst, was bribed by the British. On July 23, 1970, Sultan Said Ibn Taimure was deposed by his son, Qaboos bin Said in Salalah with tacit British approval (strongly denied by London). The FLOAG launched a guerilla war against Sultan Qaboos Ibn Said Ibn Taimure, who employed more British officers and, aided by Iran with helicopter gunships and special British troops, launched an offensive against the FLOAG in 1971.

120. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, n. 19.
Sultan Qaboos joined the Algiers Conference of the NAM (1973) and his representative attended its conferences and meetings regularly. Oman was admitted to the United Nations on October 7, 1971, even though FLOAG was struggling for independence. The FLOAG, in 1974, was renamed as Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO). In 1975, the Government claimed liquidation of PFLO. Iranian troops withdrew and the British evacuated Masira Island in 1977. The Egyptians occupied the positions abandoned by the Iranians since Oman had supported the Camp David Accords. In 1985, Oman established relations with NATO countries and received fighter-aircrafts. Despite links with the United States, Oman established relations with its neighbouring Arab countries and also established diplomatic relations with the USSR due to resumption of good relations with PDRY.

(8) PALESTINE

The Zionist Congress in 1897, in Basel (Switzerland) demanded for the first time the State of Israel in Palestine. After the First World War, France and Britain divided the Ottoman Empire between themselves by signing the Sykes-Picot Pact in 1916. The Jews, who had helped Britain during the War and were demanding a Jewish homeland in 1917, obtained from Britain the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1918, which "officially supported" a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Palestine became a "place of head-on-clash between the Arabs and Israel creating the Arab nationalism and political Zionism".

Britain, in 1921, "formed the emirate of Transjordan from the Western part of Palestine". The influx of Jewish immigrants from the whole world to Palestine caused Arab-Jewish conflict in 1936-39. However, the "cultural advancement and the cooperative habits of the Jews and their organising capacity" created a worldwide sympathy for them.
The Palestinian's protest has been continuing since April, 1920, to the present day. During 1936 and 1939, about 50,000 Palestinians perished as the Jews launched terrorism. The Palestinians claim "an immediate stop of Jewish immigration", a prohibition of transfer of Arab lands to the Jews and the establishment of a democratic government.

In April, 1947, the United Nations Commission recommended partition of the country. By that time, the Jewish population, which was 2% of the population, had risen as high as 33% of the population. According to the UN resolution, the region was divided into three zones - the centre (56% of the total area of Palestine) as Jewish homeland (14,942 sq. km.); the rest as the Palestine State (11,203 sq. km.) and Jerusalem and its vicinity as an 'international zone' under the UN administration (177 sq.km.). On November 29, 1947, the partition became effective. The founding of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, and the very next day the First Arab-Israeli War began. Israel signed armistice agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria which enabled her to penetrate and expand its control over 90% (20,700 sq. km.) of the Palestinian territory. Later, the Israelis occupied the Western Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip under Egypt, drove the Palestinian people and adopted an aggressive and expansionist policy.

To resist the Israeli attacks, Yasser Arafat formed al Fatah in February, 1957. In January, 1964, Arab countries met in Cairo and formed a Palestine Resistance Organization. The General Palestine Congress, held in Jerusalem from May 31 to June 2, 1964, drew up a National Charter and founded the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Al Assifa, the military wing of al Fatah, carried out its first armed action against Israel on January 1, 1965. In February, 1969, the PLC Chairman, Ahmed Shukairi (pro-Saudi) was replaced by Yasser Arafat. Between 1965 and 1970, about 2,265 armed attacks were carried out by Israel. These aggressive wars, since 1948, included "the invasion of Egypt jointly by France and Great Britain in 1956 ..., the war of 1967, when Israel expanded its domination to the territories of Gaza, the West Bank and the Golan Heights belonging to Syria, as well as to the greater part of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the fourth war waged in 1973 and the

131. Persecution of Jews after 1933 in Germany, Poland and Rumania and Hitler's encouragement of emigration of Jews to Palestine with a view to create problem to the British, caused influx of Jews in Palestine; see Ibid.
invasion of southern Lebanon in 1978". Some 680,000 registered Palestinian refugees have been housed in sixty-one camps in Jordan, Gaza, the West Bank, Syria and Lebanon, who are only a fraction of the actual number of Palestinians who had left the country. On the occupied territory of the West Bank, the Israelis have established more than 150 Jewish settlements. There are about 4,390,000 Palestinians in exile.

The Dar es Salaam Conference of the NAM (1970) called for the "withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories" occupied since 1967, and compliance with precepts of UN Charter; restoration of the usurped homeland to the Palestinians and return of the refugees. They supported the Palestinian struggle for liberation against colonialism and racism and condemned Israeli repression and settlements. Necessary resolutions have been adopted at the various conferences of the Non-aligned Movement supporting the rights of the Palestinians and condemning Israeli aggression. The Fourth Summit Conference (Algiers, 1973) noted the Zionist's "systematic uprooting of the Palestinian people from their homeland, thus, threatening Palestinian national survival". The Conference encouraged the oppressed nations for armed struggle for their right to self-determination and independence in view of the tenacity of the colonial powers including the NATO powers. The Havana Coordinating Bureau (1975) laid down two principles for a just and lasting peace: (1) Unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since June 5, 1967; and (2) The exercise by the Palestine people of all their national rights including their right to return to their country and to their self-determination". The Lima Ministerial Conference (1975) reaffirmed "the legality of the struggle of the Palestine people for the restoration of their national rights". The Algiers Coordinating Bureau (1976), reiterating the earlier decisions, condemned the Zionist policy "to alter the status and the religious, social, ethnic and economic character of the occupied territories, more specifically of the Holy City of Jerusalem". The Fifth Summit Conference (Colombo, 1976) reiterated the earlier decisions.

133. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 109.
134. Ibid., p. 132.
135. Ibid., p. 166.
137. Ibid., p. 198.
The Conference condemned Israel for its refusal to accept General Assembly resolutions of 29th and 40th sessions, especially Resolution 3236 and the 1949 Geneva Convention, as well as the steps to Judaize the cities of Jerusalem. The Belgrade Foreign Ministers Conference (1978) reiterated the earlier decisions.


A seven-member resolution, deplored the Israeli suppression of Palestinian uprising killing 500 and injuring 50,000, was vetoed even by the Bush Administration at the UN Security Council on February 18, 1989. While the representatives of India, the Soviet Union and China greatly deplored the Israeli illegal occupation of Palestinian land in contravention of the Geneva Convention, the US Envoy charging the PLO fighters as a "terrorist group" said that "if the Security Council is to play a positive role in this process, it will not be through adopted of unbalanced resolutions criticising the actions of one side to the dispute."

138 Ibid., p. 230.
139 Ibid., pp. 346-47.
140 Twentyfive Years of the Non-aligned Movement, n. 43, p. 28.
141 Ibid., p. 118.
142 Ibid., p. 117.
143 Ibid., p. 180.
144 Ibid., p. 227.
145 Review of International Affairs, n. 52, pp. 51 and 53.
146 Colombia, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal, Yugoslavia and Algeria.
147 The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), Sunday, February 19, 1989.
Palestine Liberation Organization

The PLO was founded in January, 1964. During the period, 1950-70, of the several groups formed with the PLO, only five became important in the military and political sense: (1) al-Fatah under the leadership of Yasser Arafat; (2) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine under the leadership of G. Habash, which aims at "the liberation of Palestine and all the Arab countries from the yoke of imperialism and its instrument - Zionism"; (3) Sajka (Avant-garde of the Popular War of Liberation), which operates in association with the Syrian al-Baath Party under the leadership of L. Mehsen; (4) PLO, formed in 1970, as a result of an agreement between ten different organizations under the Chairmanship of Yasser Arafat, the leader of al-Fatah; and (5) the organization, Black September, founded in 1970, when a "significant number of Palestinian partisans were killed in Amman in a conflict with the Jordanian army".

In September, 1973, the Conference of Non-aligned States recognised the PLO "as the sole legal representative of the Palestine people". The UN General Assembly, in 1974, confirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestine nation, stating that "the Palestine nation is the major party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Near East", and requested the Secretary-General to "establish contact with the PLO in all matters concerning the Palestine question". On July 25, 1982, Yasser Arafat "affirmed the UN Resolution 318 and the right of Israel to be sovereign state but with equal right to sovereign Palestine".

At the Third Summit Conference (Lusaka, 1970), PLO was allowed to speak but was not given an official status. However, the Arabs and

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149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid.
152. Resolution 3236/XXIX of November 22, 1974.
154. Ibid.
the Africans, both very strongly spoke on "the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine". In 1973, the PLO received recognition from the Non-aligned Movement. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) recognised the PLO due to "Israel's negative response to an OAU mediation mission" in November, 1971. The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) observed:

"The case of Palestine, where zionist settler-colonialism ... represents a very serious threat to their survival as a nation, is exactly the same as the situation in Southern Africa, where racist segregationist minorities ... (pursue) the requirements of a single imperialist strategy".

At the Colombo Summit Conference (1976), PLO was elected as one of the 25 members of the Coordinating Bureau for a term of three years. The Lima Ministerial meeting (1975) called for the UN recognition of the PLO "as the sole representative of the Palestine people" and as a UN observer.

(9) QATAR

Between 1872 and 1914, Qatar was under the Turkish control while the British were also present there since 1868. In 1916, Sheikh Abdullah signed a treaty with the British promising to end slave trade and piracy and not to permit any country to exploit its natural resources without their permission and, in return, the British offered him protection. The Turks evacuated in 1919. In 1960, there was a dual power wielded by Khalifa of Bahrain and Sheikh Ahmad, who enjoyed absolute power, having "substantial contact with western colonialism". The discovery of oil in 1934, dramatically changed the situation, economically and politically. Standard of living rose markedly and extensive welfare programmes were admired by "the most ardent socialists". There were

156. Peter Willetts, n. 69, p. 36.
158. Two Decades of Non-Apignment, n. 4, p.223.
159. Ibid., p. 146.
massive improvements in infrastructure, particularly, "of the educational system and even of heavy industry".  

The wave of emancipation and independence created by the Non-aligned countries throughout the whole world caused the people of Qatar to demand freedom from the British influence. As Qatar failed to form a union with its neighbouring countries - Bahrain and Trucial Oman and others, Britain withdrew its forces declaring its independence on September 3, 1971, after signing a treaty of friendship, which ended the Treaty of 1916. Qatar became the second Emirate in the Gulf area. It became member of the United Nations on September 21, 1971, and joined the Algiers NAM Conference in September, 1973.

In 1979, Qatar opposed the Camp David Accords and supported Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War. As a result, Iranian gunboats badly damaged a Qatari freighter. Qatar has dispute with Bahrain over the question of sovereignty of Zubara (in mainland Qatar) and Harwar Island. Between Qatar and Bahrain, an artificial island of Fasht ad-Dibal, over which both nations claimed their sovereignty, has been destroyed to avoid any conflict in future. Thus, Qatar, under the NAM principles, cooperates with its peace-loving neighbours to eliminate colonial powers' influence (political and economic) in the region. Qatar takes active part in the activities of the Non-aligned Movement and its conferences and helps in establishing a new world economic order with its huge petroleum profits. It is a member of OPEC, OAPEC and GCC.

(10) SAUDI ARABIA

During the First World War (in 1915), Ibn Saud signed a treaty with Britain and his proclamation as King of Hejaz on January 8, 1926, was recognised by the British in a treaty in May, 1927. The British

162. Ibid., p. 191.
165. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 121.
were influential in the area, having treaties of protection with the small Gulf Emirates. Najd and Hejaz formed a dual kingdom and on September 23, 1932, they were named Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In 1936, Ibn Saud proclaimed himself the King of Saudi Arabia, initiated rapprochement with the United States and granted petroleum concession to the Arab-American Oil Company (ARAMCO)

In 1943, US military mission began to construct air force facilities at Dhahran (Az-Zaharan). American-Saudi cooperation grew and Saudi Arabia was included in the Point Four Programme of US technical assistance. In February, 1945, it declared war on Germany and Japan. Between 1945 and 1948, the policy of anti-colonialism, anti-neocolonialism, non-alignment and self-determination became the basis of foreign policy of the Asian, African and West Asian countries following the call of Nehru from New Delhi. As a result, Saudi Arabia, though dependent upon Western technology for petroleum exploitation and military and defence Methodology, decided not to be a vassal state. It maintained its integrity and identity in 1948, when the State of Israel in Palestine was being supported by the USA. The Saudi-American relations marked some friction as Saudi Arabia opposed the creation of Israel. When the first Arab-Israeli war broke out, Saudi Arabia did not take part actively to support the Arabs as it did not like to antagonise the United States and the United Kingdom.

Saudi Arabia, following the NAM principles, wanted to come out of the influence of Western powers, which were guiding the external policy of the country. In 1952-55, it was in conflict with Britain, "which annexed the Oasis - Al-Buraymi". In the meanwhile, Nasserite revolution in Egypt made the Arabs cautious. Due to attack on Suez in 1956, and Israeli occupation of the Gulf of Accaba, Saud broke off relations with France and Britain. The cold-war climate and the Soviet threat greatly cemented the Saudi-American relations. As a result,

170. See for details Chapter II.
171. Only "a small Saudi Arabian force joined the armies of other Arab states in the War"; see The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.II, p.2794.

King Feisal adopted the policy of non-alignment and took part in NAM Cairo meeting (1961), actively participated in the NAM conferences and contributed its efforts for decolonization at the Belgrade Conference (1961). The West Asian nations were much attracted by the Belgrade Declaration. President Nasser became the leading force of the Non-aligned Movement. To check the increasing influence of Nasserite nationalism, the United States increased military aid to Saudi Arabia, supplying Hawk missiles to it.

During the 1967 Arab-Israel war, Saudi Arabia suspended the supply of crude petroleum to the United States and Great Britain. As a result, after the War, Egypt withdrew from Yemen, and Saudi influence became strong. Between 1969 and 1971, Saudi Arabia spent one-third of its income on purchase of military equipment and planes from the United States, Britain and France. In 1970, Saudi Arabia advocated the American Middle East policy and supported the Rogers Plan. As a result, after Nasser's death in November, 1970, Saudi influence over Egypt grew and its policy opposing Nasser's nationalism. During the 1973 Israeli-Egyptian war, Feisal joined OAPEC in placing embargo on petroleum sales to the United States and Holland, but the embargo was lifted in 1974, as America won Saudi Arabia over to its side as the latter supplied strategic arms to the former.

On March 25, 1975, King Feisal was assassinated by one of his nephews and Khaled succeeded to the throne. He was considered to be pro-American. He supported Egypt when Sadat adopted pro-US policy.

After Khaled's sudden death on June 13, 1982, Prince Fahd became King, while the Royal family split between traditionalists and modernists.

173. Two Decades of Non-Alinement, n. 4, p. 1.
174. Ibid., p. 5.
175. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 671.
176. Ibid., p. 672.
Egypt and Saudi Arabia have differences on the issue of Palestine. Saudi Arabia favours the Palestinian cause while Egypt makes concession to Tel Aviv. Though Saudi Arabia has favoured sanctions against Egypt imposed by the Arab countries following the Camp David Agreements, it has supported President Sadat's policy. In 1980, Prince Fahd announced the drawing-up of a constitution and founding a Consultative Council of 50 - 70 members, which would change the existing system of autocratic system of government.

In September, 1982, Crown Prince Fahd, at a summit conference of Arab states, presented the "Fahd Peace Plan" for Middle East to remove US and the British influence from the region. In 1983, Saudi Arabia helped to achieve a ceasefire between factions of the PLO and also helped "to prepare elaboration of agreements in the Lebanon crisis". However, "Saudi Arabia is strongly anti-Communist" and "historically allied with the USA and other Western countries".

During the Great Gulf War, Saudi Arabia remained neutral. However, Saudi forces shot down an Iranian fighter which penetrated into its air space in 1984. Iran targeted Saudi Arabian oil tankers. The same year, in August, the "Hajj" was disrupted by demonstrations of Iranian pilgrims and a Libyan plan to occupy the mosque was thwarted. Further, in September, a Saudi Arabian merchant vessel, among others, was damaged by mines planted in the Red Sea by Al-Jihad. In 1987, the clash between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi Security forces during "Hajj" caused death of 402 people (of which 275 were Iranians). In protest, Saudi Arabian Embassy was sacked in Tehran. In April, 1987, Saudi Arabia broke off diplomatic relations with Iran.

In March, 1988, Saudi Arabia received "unspecified number" of missiles from China, which provoked Israel. The United States warned Israel against any attack on Saudi Arabia. However, King Fahd demanded replacement of US Ambassador and strengthened his relations with China. The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (PRC) visited Saudi Arabia in 1988.

179. Ibid., p. 2295.
180. Ibid., p. 2296.
(11) SYRIA

Syria remained under the Turkish rule until 1918, when the Allied troops occupied it and Lebanon. The Allies established a French mandate, which was strongly opposed in the country. The League of Nations approved the mandate in 1923. The British and French forces occupied the country in 1941, and formally recognised the independence but real power was still withheld. As the French pressurised Syria to sign a Franco-Syrian Treaty and Syria refused, disturbances broke out in May, 1945. The people rose up in arms against the French and the British, who had bombed Damascus to suppress a popular uprising. Consequently, Syria won its independence on April 17, 1946, when the foreign troops withdrew.

From 1946 to 1962, there was a political instability. In August, 1955, Shukri al-Kuwatli became President, who declared the Communist Party legal and "made a number of barter agreements with the USSR". On February 5, 1958, the Syrian National Assembly approved the union of Syria with Egypt, constituting one state under the title of the United Arab Republic (UAR). Nasser became its first President. But since the Egyptians control over key positions grew, Syrians became dissatisfied and a Syrian military coup d'etat on September 28, 1961, separated the two countries and Syria once more became member of the United Nations on October 13, 1961.

However, in March, 1963, the instability ended when the Baath Party seized power. On April 25, 1964, Syria was declared a democratic socialist republic with Maj. Gen. Amin al-Hafiz, as Head of the State, who denounced ulema and Muslim Brotherhood for causing disturbances and led a

181. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 674.
182. Ibid.; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 735.
183. The Middle East and North Africa, Ibid.
186. Ibid.
socialist revolution. Syria joined the Non-aligned Movement in October, 1964, at the Cairo Summit conference.  

The new government, in 1965, nationalized 114 industrial enterprises and declared the petroleum and mineral resources as public property. In 1966, the Soviet Union aided construction of a dam on the Euphrates River. In 1967, Israelis captured Syria's strategic Golan Heights, heavily bombed the military and civilian people in Damascus. In 1971, socialist transformation in different fields was accelerated. In 1971, President Assad came to power. In the fourth Arab-Israeli war (1973), Egyptian and Syrian forces repulsed Israel. In May, 1974, Syria and Israel signed an agreement, according to which Israeli troops were to withdraw. 

In 1975, the Baath, following the NAM policies and objectives, described the fight against the Zionist enemy as a "national struggle of anti-imperialist character" and supported the Palestinians' demand. Syria denounced the Camp David Accords. In 1980, President Assad visited the Soviet Union and signed a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation. In 1981, Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia proposed a plan to solve Palestinian problem, recognising Israel, which was opposed at the Fez (Morocco) conference of the Arab States in November, 1981. Later, Syria agreed to the 'Fahd Plan'. Syria was involved in Arab-Israel war as it assisted Lebanon on invitation and on this ground rejected the treaty proposed by George Schultz on May 17, 1983, between Israel and Lebanon. Syria mediated to end Iran-Iraq war. Saudi Arabia is the main source of financial assistance to Syria. 

The Coordinating Bureau at its meeting in Kuwait (1982) condemned Israel for its rejection of the Security Council Resolution 497(1981) of December 17, 1981, and the General Assembly Resolution 36/226B of even date and affirmed that annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel was illegitimate. The Ministers expressed indignation at "the aggressive, repressive and arbitrary measures taken by Israel against Syrian nationals, depriving them of their basic rights and fundamental freedom.

187. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, n. 17.
189. Ibid.
in violation of the provisions of the 4th Geneva Convention'. The Ministers praised and supported the Syrians for "their just struggle in defence of their freedom, territorial integrity and national identity". They demanded compliance with the provisions of the General Assembly Emergency Special Resolution 9/1 of 1982, and noted that Israel was a belligerent State and deplored the US arm and technology assistance to Israel. They requested all the UN members to implement the GA Resolution ES/9/1 of 1982, concerning the Golan Heights and called upon the Security Council to compel Israel to rescind the annexation in compliance with the SC Resolution 497(1981).

NAM's Seventh Summit Conference held at New Delhi in 1983, reiterated the earlier decisions. Its Coordinating Bureau, at its meeting held in New Delhi in 1986, demanded immediate withdrawal of Israel from the Golan Heights and "hailed the movement of revolt of the Syrian Arab inhabitants of the Golan Heights against Israeli occupation". The Eighth Summit Conference held at Harare in 1986, reiterating the earlier decisions, rejected Israel's decision taken on December 14, 1981, "to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Syrian Arab Golan Heights" and considered it an aggression under the provisions of Article 39 of the UN Charter. The participants called upon the Security Council to impose on Israel sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

(12) UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

In the eighteenth century, the Emirates (called Pirate Coast), particularly Ras al Khaimah, imposed duties on foreign ships anchoring in their ports, which affected the economic interest of Britain. The British, in 1819, landed a force of 2,000 armed men in the area and destroyed the ships and defences of Ras al Khaimah and, thus, secured for themselves free navigation in the Gulf. On August 8, 1820, Ras al Khaimah signed a General Peace Treaty with the British Government and the other Emirates followed suit. In March, 1892, Britain imposed on the Emirates an Exclusive Agreement, which gave them right to supervise

190. Two Decades of Non-Aligned Movement, n.4, n. 554.
191. Ibid.
192. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, n. 30.
193. Ibid., p. 243.
194. Review of International Affairs, n. 52, p. 52.
the external relations of the Emirates. In 1911 and 1912, the treaties were amended, which "prevented the Arab chieftains from granting concessions for pearl-fishing, gathering of sea sponges or petroleum prospecting". Between 1922 and 1966, the British solely exploited the petroleum deposits.

Meanwhile, the Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) declared its policy of non-alignment and condemned colonialism and neo-colonialism in any form. The Cairo Summit Conference (1964) reiterated its conviction that Great Power alliances accentuated the cold war and "heightened international tensions" and that foreign military bases and troops in other countries violated the sovereignty of States and helped in the "maintenance of colonialism or for other purposes". The Conference called upon such States to remove foreign bases and troops forthwith. In view of the rising wave of emancipation, the British Government found no way other than to leave the Southern Arabia in 1967, and to announce in 1968 to give up the Gulf Coast in 1971. Great Britain "terminated all treaties with the Trucial States" and, on December 2, 1971, the States established the independent United Arab Emirates (UAE), comprising Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ummal-Qaiwain, Ajman and Fujariah. Ras al Khaimah joined the UAE in February, 1972. Sheikh Zayed (the ruler of Abu Dhabi) became President, Shaikh Rashid (the ruler of Dubai since 1958) became Vice-President and Sheikh Maktoum (eldest son of Sheikh Pashid) became Prime Minister. In the meantime, Iran occupied Abu Musa under sovereignty of Sharjah, and two Tomb islands claimed by Ras al Khaimah.

The UAE was admitted as member of the Arab League on December 6, 1971, became member of the United Nations on December 7, 1971, and joined for the first time the Non-aligned Movement as member at its Algiers Summit Conference (1973). It has always expressed solidarity with the Arab countries fighting for return of their territories occupied by Israel.

196. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, n. 834.
197. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 24.
200. Ibid.
203. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, n. 121.
during the 1967 and 1873 wars. It supported Iraq in the Gulf War and opposed the Camp David Accords. It is a founder member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) since 1981. In November, 1987, the country resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt and, in March, 1988, UAE President visited Egypt and signed a trade agreement with Cairo.

**YAR AND PDRY**

In 1517, the Ottoman Turks occupied Yemen in spite of strong European competition. The British occupied Aden in 1839 and turned it into a powerful bastion of colonialism and, between 1839 and 1915, forced thirty-one of the feudal lords to sign treaties, which envisaged that they would not negotiate with other powers in exchange for British protection. Between 1854 and 1915, Britain occupied the islands of Kuria Muria, Perim and Kamaran, and prevented the Turkish penetration of Yemen, while the opening of the Suez Canal enhanced the strategic importance of the country. During the First World War, Yemen, at war with Turkey for independence, sided with the Allies. The conflict between the British Government and the Turks ended with their signing the 1914 treaty, according to which a so-called 'Violet Line' divided and separated the country into a Turkish Yemen in the north and a British Yemen in the south.

(13) YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC (YAR) — North Yemen

As the North is mountainous and was dismembered during the First World War, the Turks found it difficult to rule over it. So, they, under the Mudros Armistice in 1918, gave it to the Imam as an independent state, which endangered the British colonial policy. In the North, the Saudis, in 1934, invaded the territory with the assistance of Britain and imposing on the Imam the Treaty of Taif, occupied Assir and parts of Marjan region, which defined the boundary with Saudi Arabia. In the South, the British Government forced the Imam to sign the Treaty of Sana'a, which sealed the division of the country. In 1928, the country

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207. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 856.
signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. It remained neutral during the Second World War and joined the Arab League in 1945, and was admitted to the United Nations on September 30, 1947.

Yemen concluded, in 1950, a treaty with the British Government to establish diplomatic relations and, in 1956, a mutual defence agreement with Egypt and Saudi Arabia. On March 8, 1958, Yemen formed an ephemeral union with Egypt and Syria and, in 1959, permitted the US establishment in Sana'a. The Imam, Saif al-Islam al-Ahmad, enjoyed absolute rule. His son, Mohammad Al Badr, in view of the grave poverty, oppression and backwardness in the country, introduced reforms, which were revoked by his father. After Imam Ahmad's death in 1962, Al Badr succeeded to the throne, but a week later, he was deposed by revolutionary forces led by Colonel Abdullah as-Sallal, who proclaimed the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR).

The new government adopted a republican constitution, introduced agrarian reforms, organized state farms on land confiscated from the Imam and involved the peasants in cooperatives and establishment of industrial enterprises. The YAR was recognised by Egypt, Syria, Iraq and a number of NAM and socialist countries. With the Saudi and Jordanian assistance, and backed by Britain, the Imam's supporters attacked the Republic. Sallal, assisted by Egypt, waged a war with the Imam's supporters. Their conflict lasted for eight years.

In September, 1961, Saudi Arabia and YAR joined the Non-aligned Movement at Belgrade and, in 1962, YAR was recognised by more than fifty nations. The United Nations succeeded in forging a compromise between Saudi Arabia and YAR, and the Saudi government promised to withdraw her support to the Yemeni tribes. In 1963, Yemen "charged Saudi Arabia and Egypt with anti-republican diversionary activity", which led to the sending on June 13, 1963, of a UN Observer Mission to Yemen. The

209. Ibid.; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 856.
211. Two Decades of Non-Alinement, n. 4, p. 5.
Mission established a demilitarized zone.

The British government supported the Royalist forces, who created conflict in October, 1964. YNYOM remained in Yemen until September 4, 1964. The Egyptian forces left YAR in 1967 due to Arab-Israel war. Sallal was deposed and the Rightists formed the Government headed by Abdul Rahman al-Iriani, who opposed the Saudi financial subsidies to the powerful tribes. In January, 1968, the British forces, which "had effectively colonized the republican-held sector" withdrew from the country. The withdrawal was welcomed by the Royalist forces, which became bolder and, in a coup, deposed President Sallal in November, 1968.

In 1970, the Government carried out repression. As a result, 300,000 Southern Yemenis fled to the YAR. The refugees joined mercenary organizations and attempted to overthrow the regime in the South. In 1971, their intermittent conflict turned into warfare - YAR supported by Saudi Arabia and PDRY by the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister of the YAR and the PDRY met, first, in Cairo on October 28, 1972, and then in Tripoli (Libya) in November, 1972, and signed an agreement, which said that "the Arab people of Yemen shall establish a single State which shall be called the Yemeni Republic". The unification could not be completed due to opposition by tribal chiefs, supported by the British government and the Saudis and, later, due to internal conflicts. In 1977, Col. Al Hamdi wrote to the President of the PDRY to adopt a common national anthem, a flag and a defence body.

After Al Hamdi's assassination, pro-Saudi elements (tribal chiefs led by President Lt. Col. Ghashmi) came to power. 20,000 men in Sada demonstrated against the return of 'tribalism' and denounced incidents along the frontiers with PDRY, which were provoked by the tribal groups directed by Saudi Arabia. When he was to meet a special South Yemeni envoy in his office, in June, 1978, he was killed by a bomb explosion.

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213. Ibid.
214. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, r. 857.
planned by the imperialists to cause a war in Yemen. The South Yemen denounced the killing. Lt. Col. Ali Abdullah Saleh became President, while fighting between the PDRy and the YAR started. At a meeting arranged by the Arab League in Kuwait, an agreement was signed by the two nations for complete union of the two states.

In September, 1980, the head of state of PDRY visited Sana'a and this started a new era of rapprochement between the two countries. In December, 1981, both the countries "signed a draft constitution for a unified state". In 1987, Kuwait mediated and "one-half of the refugees returned" to PDRY. A meeting took place in May, 1988, between President Saleh of YAR and Ali Salim al-Beid of PDRY and they agreed to withdraw their troops from the mutual border between Marib and Shabwah and to "carry out joint projects involving exploration for petroleum". YAR resumed her diplomatic relations, in 1987, with Egypt, which had broken due to the Camp David Accords in 1979. In July, 1988, Col. Qaddafi invited the YAR and the PDRY to discuss unification, when 10,000 refugees were in YAR.

(14) PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN (PDRY) - South Yemen

The territory of South Yemen, composed of Aden and twenty-two ministates (Sheikhdoms), since 1839, was under the British tutelage in part of Aden, and, from 1882 to 1914, the Sheikhdoms accepted protection of Britain. In 1932, Aden was a province subordinated to the British Government in India. In 1937, Aden proclaimed a British Protectorate. Between 1938 and 1954, Britain appointed thirteen of her envoys to see that the British Governor's orders were executed in the western and eastern parts of the territory. After the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt in 1956, England and France decided to control the Middle East petroleum resources. In 1963, the South Yemen National Liberation Front (SYNLF) was formed by merger of several Marxist and nationalist Arab groups. Encouraged and inspired by the NAM declarations at the Belgrade Summit Conference in 1961, which supported struggles for

219. Ibid.
220. Ibid.
221. Ibid., p. 3053.
222. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 756.
independence in order to remove foreign forces and bases in subject countries or their domination in one way or the other. The SYNF launched an armed struggle against the British rule. In 1964, the City of Aden joined the Federation of Arab Emirates formed on February 11, 1959.

In January, 1964, the British forces, aided by tribal army, launched an "Operation Nutcracker" against the insurgents of Rafadan and, between May and July, destroyed 85% of the settlements. The patriotic forces opened eight fronts of guerrilla war in all the provinces. Since the British realised the impossibility of retaining their colonial rule, Maj. Kenneth Robson, on November 14, 1967, surrendered. After the withdrawal of the British troops, independence of Aden, along with other Sheikdoms, was announced on November 26, 1967, and on November 30, the British flag was lowered. Thus, the 129 year of the British colonial domination in Aden came to an end. The country became member of the United Nations on December 12, 1967, and joined the Non-aligned Movement at the NAM Lusaka Summit Conference in 1970.

In 1969, the Rightist Government nationalized foreign trade, banking and insurance companies. The People's Revolution of October 14, 1967, completed the people's struggle. Saudi Arabia, North Yemen (YAR), Libya and the Sultanate of Oman, which had closer ties with the West, tried to destabilize the South Yemen state, which they accused of having received aid from USSR and China and chosen scientific socialism for national development. In November, 1970, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) was proclaimed "comprising Aden and the former protectorate of South Arabia", headed by the SYNF, known as "National Front (NF). On October 28, 1972, an agreement with the YAR was signed.

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223. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n.4, p. 5.
226. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n.4, p. 51.
228. Ibid.
229. Ibid.
to re-unify the two countries to be known as the Yemeni Republic, with Sana'a as its capital, but it could never be implemented.

On October 14, 1975, the United Political Organization of the National Front (UPONF) was formed (merging NF with two others). After YAR President Ghashmi's assassination in June, 1978, Salem Robaya Ali, who opposed the formation of a socialist party, was arrested on June 25, 1978, and executed. On April 21, 1980, Ali Nasser Mohammed became head of the state and re-asserted his country's determination for re-unification with the North. However, renewed efforts for re-unification of the YAR and the PDRY, until 1988, has failed to bring out any concrete result.

PDRY, in 1979, signed a 20-year treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, and in 1982, an "aid agreement" with the USSR, by which the USSR "would help in development work". The country also established diplomatic relations with Oman in October, 1983, and an "agreement to exchange ambassadors was reached in 1985". Further, to solve the problem of 10,000 refugees who had fled from the PDRY to YAR during January, 1986 disturbances in Aden, Kuwait mediated between the YAR and the PDRY. As a result, in July, 1987, "more than one half" of these refugees returned to PDRY.

(B) NORTH AFRICA

This region consists of Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.

(1) ALGERIA

In 1844, French rule was established in Algeria and it was attached to metropolitan France. The French white settler minority

234. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, r. 880.
235. Ibid., p. 881.
236. Ibid., p. 882.
held political and economic power and "the indigenous Muslim majority had no equal rights". Algeria was declared a French colonial territory in 1848. The inhabitants had to work "under slave-like conditions" and their children had to sing "Our ancestors, the Gauls, had long hair". The "Native Code" subjected them to corporal punishment without having right to appeal for justice. Since all the Arab newspapers and schools were closed, soon more than 90% of the Arabs and Berbers became illiterate.

During the Second World War, about 300,000 Algerians fought against Fascism, while, in 1943, an Algerian People's Manifesto condemned colonialism and called for its abolition. As a result of discontent, the people were granted minority concessions with 40% representation at municipal and national levels. After the War, they demanded "total independence" and about 40,000 people fell victim to French bullets and, in 1947, about 30,000 Algerians were imprisoned. Meanwhile the US capital began its penetration of Algeria in the areas of petroleum prospecting and strategic raw materials.

By the end of the fourth decade, a row of newly independent Asian nations gave momentum to the idea of non-alignment, independence and self-determination, which inspired the people to start an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution while the guerilla units of the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN), consisting of 50,000 armed men, started on November 1, 1954, a war for independence, attacking the French army of 400,000. About 1 million Muslims were killed or wounded. In 1958, the FLN forces grew to 130,000 and, likewise, France raised her army to 800,000. On September 19, 1958, a Provisional Government of the Revolution (GPR/A) was announced, which was immediately recognised by seventeen non-aligned nations. In January, 1960, the French 'colons' founded the Secret Army Organization (OAS) to assassinate the Algerian leaders.
The NAM Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) felt gratified at the participation of Benkhedda Ben Youssef, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria, and considered the struggle of the people of Algeria for independence and "integrity of its national territory including the Sahara, to be just and necessary" and expressed determination for extending "all the possible support and aid", which gave impetus to the Algerian independence movement, and Algeria became independent on July 3, 1962. On September 25, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria was proclaimed, and Ahmed Ben Bella, founder of the FLN, became Prime Minister and about 1 million French settlers emigrated from the country. About 1,500,000 Algerians sacrificed their lives during the struggle for independence. Algeria became member of the United Nations on October 10, 1962. She became a member of the Arab League, OAU, OAPEC, OPEC and the Maghreb organisation. It has a trade and cooperation agreement with the EEC since 1976.

Since independence, Algeria has been "one of the most prominent non-aligned states". She played an important part in the release of the American hostages in Iran in January, 1981; supported various liberation movements in Africa and the Middle East and provided military, financial and diplomatic aid to the Polisario Front in Western Africa. Algeria "advocated the founding of an independent Saharan state after decolonization". She opposed the claim of Morocco and Mauritania over Western Sahara, which embittered relations between France and Algeria. But, with the advent of socialist government in France in 1981, their relations improved and President Chadli visited Paris in 1982, and the French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac visited Algiers in September, 1986. The French Government expelled thirteen members of the Mouvement pour La Déémocratise en Algerie (MDA) - founded by Ben Bella in 1984. In 1987, Algeria assisted in the "negotiations between France and Iran over the blockade of the French embassy in Teheran and the Iranian embassy in Pafis".

245. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 7.
247. Ibid.
249. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 274.
Chadli, on the one hand, met the US President in April, 1986, and succeeded in getting Algeria removed from the list of countries "ineligible" to purchase US military equipment and, on the other, visited Moscow, in March, 1986, and in September, 1987, signed a "draft cooperation agreement with the USSR". Algeria also joined the Maghreb Fraternity and Cooperation Treaty with Tunisia, joined by Mauritania in December, 1983. As Mauritania and Morocco had conflict over the Western Sahara, and Algeria supported the Polisario Front, Morocco did not join it. However, King Fahd mediated and the two countries agreed to resolve their dispute and exchange of prisoners of war.

In June, 1987, Col. Qaddafi's proposal for a political union with Algeria failed as President Bourguiba of Tunisia favoured only cooperation rather than complete unification of Maghrebian countries.

(2) EGYPT

Great Britain proclaimed Egypt as her protectorate in 1914, and, on account of violent popular demand for self-determination, granted "nominal independence" on February 28, 1922, under the Kingship of Fuad I, who had become a king in 1917. In 1936, Fuad I was succeeded by his son, King Faruq, who signed, with Britain, a Special Treaty, which limited the presence of the British garrison on the Suez Canal and gave them right to use Alexandria and Port Said as naval bases.

After the Second World War, the British forces withdrew from Alexandria and Port Said. On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel was established in Palestine by the United States and the United Kingdom. Egypt, being a member of and ordered by the Arab League fought against Israeli aggression and expansionist invasion in 1948, and, in 1951, annulled the 1936 treaty and the condominium agreement on Sudan.

251. Ibid.
252. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 278.
254. Ibid., p. 945. The British troops remained in Egypt and Sudan under the British-Egyptian condominium since 1899; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 227.
On July 23, 1952, King Faruq's widely known corrupt regime was overthrown by the young army, "Free Officers", led by Lt.Col. Gamal Abd an-Nasir (Nasser). On June 18, 1953, Egypt was proclaimed a republic with Gen. Neguib as President and Prime Minister. In April, 1954, Col. Nasser became Prime Minister and, in November, 1954, he became Head of the State. Nasser championed Arab unity and "played a prominent part in the Non-Aligned Movement".

Having failed to obtain Western armament, Nasser accepted military assistance from the USSR. According to an agreement, signed in October, 1955, with the United Kingdom, the British withdrew their forces from the Suez Canal Zone on June 18, 1956. As the United States and Britain, on July 28, 1956, withdrew their committed assistance for construction of Aswan Dam on the River Nile, Col. Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company. As a result, Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula on October 29, 1956, joined by Britain and France. However, the UN and US pressure resulted in ceasefire on November 6, 1956. The Suez crisis aroused "the wide body of anti-colonial sentiment" and in December, 1956, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was deployed "on the Egyptian-Israeli demarcation line of 1949". Israel withdrew from the Sinai in January, 1957, and from Gaza and Sharm el-Sheikh in March, 1957.

In June, 1967, Israel occupied Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of Jordan and the Syrian Golan Heights and, despite UN resolution to withdraw, Israel continued her occupation. The NAM's Third Summit Conference (Lusaka, 1970) condemned the continued Israeli occupation of the territories of the three non-aligned countries and demanded "immediate withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories".

On September 28, 1970, Nasser died of heart attack and Anwar Sadat assumed the Presidentship. President Sadat on October 10, 1970,

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260. Ibid., p. 228.
261. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 51.
declared: "We shall adhere to the policy of non-alignment, as we learnt from Gamal Abdul Nasser".

In February, 1958, Egypt and Syria had merged together and formed the United Arab Republic (UAR), but in September, 1961, Syria withdrew and Egypt retained the title of UAR until 1971, when Col. Sadat renamed the country as the Arab Republic of Egypt.

NAM's Georgetown Conference (August, 1972) supported "Egypt, Jordan and Syria in their legitimate struggle to recover entirely and by every means their territorial integrity", requested the United Nations to take adequate measures, urged the UN members "to refrain from supplying Israel with any weapons" and declared invalid the Israeli efforts to change "the demographic, ethnic or political structure of the occupied areas". Its Algiers Summit Conference (September, 1973) observed that Israel's policy of aggression, expansion and annexation was "a challenge to the international community, to the United Nations and to the universal declaration on human rights" and "a threat to international peace and security". The Conference condemned "the military, economic, political and moral support of some Western Powers, the United States of America in particular" to Israel, and recommended imposition of certain sanctions against Israel.

Despite world opinion created by the NAM against Israel, the Zionist occupation of the Arab territories and aggression continued. After the fourth Arab-Israel war in October, 1973, Sadat's government suffered a great loss. The economic and socio-political situation in Egypt turned from bad to worse. Therefore, in December, 1973, Egypt agreed to conclude an agreement with Israel, thereby disengaging her troops in the Suez Canal area. Soon Egypt re-established her diplomatic relations with the United States, which had greatly assisted Israel in the war.

264. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 83.
265. Ibid., p. 94.
266. Ibid., p. 111.
The Coordinating Bureau (Algiers, 1974) considered the struggle of the people of Egypt against Israel as a war against colonialism, racism and imperialist domination. It noted Israel's distorted interpretation of "troop disengagement" as "merely a means to prolong occupation" and to return to the state of "no war-no peace".

Pressed by the United States, Sadat and Begin signed a peace treaty at Camp David (Maryland) in November, 1977, which granted autonomy to the West Bank and the Ghaza Strip. The Coordinating Bureau (Colombo, 1979) demanded, among others, that "the Arab City of Jerusalem should be restored to Arab sovereignty" and condemned the US excessive military and financial support to Israel, which had, in fact, become an obstacle to the establishment of peace in the region. The members appealed to all the NAM members "not to extend any recognition to these Accords (Camp David) and Treaty". The Sixth Summit Conference (Havana, 1979), reviewing the earlier resolutions, recommended, inter alia, to the Coordinating Bureau to consider "the removal of Egypt from the NAM membership". In spite of Arabs' opposition to the Camp David Accords, Egypt remained in the US-Zionist fold. In April, 1980, Sadat complained to the United States against the collapse of the Accords as its implementation was blocked by Israel's continued occupation of Jerusalem and refusal to accord 'autonomy' to Palestine.

The Foreign Ministers Conference (New Delhi, 1981) threatened that those countries which continued to support Israel would face appropriate reaction of the NAM countries. However, the Eighth Summit Conference (Harare, 1986) was attended by Egypt. The Conference, condemning "any accord or treaty that violates or infringes the rights of the Arab nations and the Palestinian people", condemned "unilateral and partial solutions". However, Israel continues to occupy the Arab territories.

267. Ibid., p. 128.
268. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 212.
269. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 375.
270. Ibid., p. 376.
271. Ibid., p. 414.
272. Ibid., p. 506.
273. Review of International Affairs, n. 52, p. 52.
Since Sadat made large-scale arrests of Muslim fundamentalists, he was assassinated on October 6, 1981, by a member of the Islamic Jehad and was succeeded by Lt. Gen. Hosni Mubarak.

Israel invaded Lebanon in June, 1982, and, in protest, Egypt broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, who accused Egypt of contravention of the Camp David Accords, while Israel had not yet vacated the minute strip of Taba on the Red Sea. The international arbitration had granted Egypt's sovereignty over Taba while "Israel was granted access to the area".

In February, 1984, Egypt urged the United States "to open direct talks with the PLO" and demanded from Israel "withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon".

The Amman Summit Conference of the League of Arab States on November, 1987, decided to re-establish diplomatic links with Egypt, which supported Iraq in the Gulf War and was recognised militarily a powerful nation. However, Libya continued to oppose Egypt due to her 1979 peace-treaty with Israel. Egypt re-established her diplomatic relations with the USSR, which had ended in 1982, and with Lebanon in June, 1989.

(3) LIBYA

Turkish rule lasted in Libya from the sixteenth century until 1911, when it was seized by Italy. In 1922, Libya was divided into three zones to suppress the rebellious population. The rebel leader, Omar Mukhtar, put up resistance until 1931, when he was killed by the Italians, who banned the Muslim customs and manners. In 1942, the Nazi troops abandoned Cyrenaica and Tripolitania to the British colonial administration, while the French still occupied El Fezzan. The UN General

275. Ibid., p. 947.
278. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), June 30, 1989.
Assembly Resolution 289/IV of November 21, 1949, provided that "the trusteeship known as Tripolitania Cyrenaica and Fezan since December 24, 1951, should become a sovereign independent country under the historical name of Libya".

After the Second World War, as the capitalist powers could not reach an agreement on Balkanization of Libya, they referred it to the United Nations. Britain recognized Emir Sayad Idris of Cyrenaica as ruler. He had collaborated with the Allied forces in expelling the Germans from the territory. The country became independent as the United Kingdom of Libya under a federal constitution, proclaimed in Benghazi on December 24, 1951, together with a ruling family headed by Muhammad Idris. The King allowed the United States to establish air bases in Libya in exchange of economic aid and granted concessions to foreign companies for petroleum prospecting. In 1953, Libya joined the Arab League; in 1954, the French evacuated El Fezzan and on December 14, 1955, Libya was admitted to the United Nations. In 1960, Libya became one of the world's largest petroleum producers but its income did not benefit the marginal classes and the country remained utterly backward. The Kingdom did not permit any social or political opposition movements.

Libya participated in NAM's Cairo Conference in 1964 and restricted petroleum supply to the United States after the 'six day' Arab-Israel war in June, 1967. Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi, leader of the young nationalist army officers and Arab Socialist Union (ASU), opposing the US base in Libya, led, on September 1, 1969, a coup in the absence of the aged King, abolished the monarchy, instituted the Libyan Arab Republic and became Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council. Qaddafi, in December, 1971, nationalized the British petroleum enterprises and, on September 3, 1973, nationalized 51% of all the foreign oil companies in Libya.

Qaddafi promoted schemes for Arab unity, forming in January, 1972,

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282. Ibid.
the Federation of Arab Republics, comprising Egypt, Libya and Syria. Proposals for union with Tunisia in 1974, with Syria in 1980, and with Chad in 1981, proved abortive. Further, Libya's relations with Egypt became strained; first, due to Sadat's opening of 1973 war with Israel without consulting Qaddafi; secondly, due to Egypt-Libyan border conflict in July, 1977; and, thirdly, due to Sadat's intrigue to overthrow Qaddafi. Therefore, Libya opposed Sadat's 'peace initiative with Israel in November, 1977, and held a conference of 'rejectionist' Arab states. Qaddafi changed the country's name to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The war between Libya and Chad in August, 1983, began with Libya's occupation of Aozou Strips in 1973. Qaddafi interfered in Chad's internal affairs to secure survival of President Goukouni in N'Djamena in 1980, and deployed about 10,000 troops as peace-keeping force in Chad despite Goukouni's request to withdraw. Goukouni's failure to check the Libyan troops led to his fall. He was succeeded by President Hussene Habre in November, 1982. In August, 1983, Libyan aircraft supported Goukouni's GUNT (rebel force). The French troops assisted Chad in securing a defensive line across Chad at latitude 15°N (later extended 100 km northwards to latitude 16°N). The war resumed in April, 1984, when Libya occupied the northern desert of Chad. It was intensified in October, 1984, when Libyan forces arrested Goukouni in Tripoli due to his "conciliatory policy towards President Habre". As a result, Goukouni's forces (FAP) joined Habre in war against Libya. However, Chad and Libya agreed to a ceasefire proposed by the OAU, which included the members of the Non-aligned Movement. France and Libya agreed to withdraw their forces from Chad. Further, Egypt unilaterally withdrew from the January, 1972 agreement for a "Union of Arab Republics".

Libya's relations with the United States deteriorated in 1981; first, as the latter opposed the former's interference in Chad and shot down two Libyan jet-fighters over the Gulf of Sirate; and, secondly, owing to an alleged plan of 'Libyan Hit-Squad' to assassinate Reagan.

287. Ibid.
288. Ibid., p. 1711.
Diplomatic relations of Libya with the United Kingdom broke off in March, 1984, due to death of an English policewoman during firing by the Libyan People's Bureau in London on anti-Qaddafi demonstrators. Qaddafi accused the opposition groups, especially the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL) of being fostered by foreign governments. Libya's relations with Morocco greatly improved in 1984, with the signing of a treaty of union between King Hasan and Col. Qaddafi. But in August, 1986, it was abrogated as Qaddafi criticised King Hasan's meeting with Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres. In December, 1984, Libya and Malta signed a five-year treaty, which envisaged Libyan responsibility to defend Malta; but in June, 1985, their border dispute ended with the ICJ ruling which extended Libya's "territorial waters 18 nautical miles (33 km) northwards towards Malta". Libya supported the rebels in southern Sudan against President Nimeri who was overthrown in a bloodless coup in April, 1985, and advised the rebels to "lay down their arms and negotiate with the new government". Qaddafi threatened to overthrow the government of Bourguiba in Tunisia, which severed its diplomatic relations with Libya in September, 1985. Iraq also severed its diplomatic relations with Libya when Qaddafi signed a "strategic alliance" agreement with Iran in June, 1985. Qaddafi's alleged involvement in "international terrorism" caused "serious worsening of relations" with the United States. Libya was accused of hijacking an Egyptian airliner to Malta and training Palestinian commandos. In January, 1986, the United States severed "all economic and commercial relations" with Libya and ordered to "freeze" Libyan assets in USA.

Since 1973, Libyan territorial waters in the Gulf of Sirate were within 12 nautical miles (22 km). In December, 1985, Col. Qaddafi "drew a notional line of death" across the Gulf of Sirate, along latitude 32° 30' N. On March 24, 1986, Libya hit a US fighter aircraft flying "inside the line of death", followed by US attack on Tripoli.

289. Ibid.
290. Ibid.
291. Ibid.
293. Ibid., p. 592.
and Benghazi destroying all the military training camps and bombing
even Qaddafi's residence killing 101 people. Qaddafi gradually emerged
after the assault. He soon re-established diplomatic relations with
the Arab States — Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq and Jordan, and also "sponsored
efforts to reunify the divided Palestinian liberation movement" and
urged Iran and Iraq to observe the UN Security Council Resolution 598
for ceasefire.

(4) MOROCCO

The Moroccans, in 1912, waged a resistance struggle against the
Franco-Spanish agreement, which established French Protectorate in the
South and a smaller protectorate in the North. The victory of the Rif
mountaneous tribes in 1920, over a Spanish army of 20,000 contributed
much to the national liberation war. The tribal nobility, on September 19,
1921, declared the Republic of Rif, but soon France seized the Querrah
Valley and granary of the Rif, and, in 1923, turned Tangier and its
surrounding territory into an 'international zone' and Ceuta and Melilla
into a 'special zone' under French, Spanish and British control. In May,
1926, the Republic of Rif fell. Abd el Krim, elected President of the
Republic, went into exile and the Republic ceased to exist.

The Moroccan Action Committee, formed in 1934, demanded a national
parliament and government, while the National Reform Party (pro-French)
favoured absolute powers for the Sultan. Further, the National Movement
Party (anti-French) demanded parliamentary form of government and the
Istiqlal Party envisaged monarchy. The French exiled Sultan Mohammed V
and banned the Istiqlal Party in 1953, but the enactment of the Loi
cardre (the Framework Law) led to the declaration of independence of
Morocco on March 2, 1956. The "Spanish zone of Morocco (a strip) was
turned over to Moroccan control" in April, 1956, and "the international

295. Ibid.
296. Ibid., p. 1712.
297. Ibid., p. 1871.
298. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International
   Agreements, n.6, p. 524.
299. E.A. Boating, n. 280, p. 94.
300. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 487.
301. E.A. Boating, n. 280, p. 96.
status of the Tangier zone was abolished" on October 29, 1956.

Morocco became an active member of the Non-aligned Movement at its 1961 Cairo meeting, which supported Morocco's lawful right over Ifni. Ifni was ceded to Morocco in January, 1969. However, despite demand for freedom, "Ceuta and Metilla on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco still remain in Spanish hands".

In July, 1974, a campaign to annex Spanish Sahara (apart from the strip ceded in 1958) and Spanish North Africa (comprising a number of small enclaves on Morocco's Mediterranean coast) was initiated. King Hassan II, who succeeded to power in February, 1961, and foiled several attempts of coup and plot of his assassination, ordered a "Green March" of 300,000 unarmed Moroccan volunteers to occupy the region. Spain ultimately apportioned Spanish Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania on February 28, 1976. Due to constant infiltration of Moroccan forces in its part of Western (formerly Spanish) Sahara, Mauritania renounced its claim to it and signed a peace-treaty with the Polisario Front (PF). The PF, which had formed government-in-exile in Algeria, demanded establishment of a Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). Soon after announcement of Tunisia, Morocco captured the entire Western Sahara while the PF fought for independence, supported by the OAU and the non-aligned nations. By early 1988, about "70 countries had granted diplomatic recognition to the SADR".

304. E.A. Boating, n. 280, p. 96. On April 7, 1956, "she (Morocco) integrated the special zone without the ports of Ceuta and Metilla"; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 524.
306. Ibid., p. 1872.
307. Ibid. "In November, 1984, Morocco broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia after Belgrade recognized the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic" and on November 3, 1984, Morocco and Zaire left the OAU summit conference in Addis Ababa "to protest the presence of the Polisario Front"; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 524.
After the visit of Israeli Prime Minister in 1978, US-Moroccan relations developed. In 1986, the two countries held joint military exercises. In 1987, the United States proposed to sell F-16 aircraft to Morocco and, in 1987, Morocco allowed the United States to resume partial activities. In 1988, Morocco's application to enter the EEC, made in the hope of improving trading links and getting greater support, was rejected on the ground that Morocco was not a European country.

(5) TUNISIA

Tunisia, formerly a monarchy, became a French protectorate in 1883. After the First World War, many political parties emerged. The Liberal Constitutional Party was formed in 1920, which changed to the Communist Party in 1925, and Neo-Destour (founded by Habib Bourguiba) in 1933.

After the Second World War, the earliest leaders of the Non-aligned Movement inspired struggle for independence when Tunisia became part of the French Union. The French Government made several economic reforms to lure the people to remain in their fold, offered minor participation to the Neo-Destour Party in the government and also allowed return of Habib Bourguiba, who had escaped and found refuge in Egypt. In the course of repression, the assassination of Ferhad Hashid triggered off popular struggle with such an intensity that the French Government granted autonomy in 1955, and declared Tunisia and independent State on March 20, 1956. On July 25, 1957, the Republic of Tunisia was proclaimed and the Monarchy was abolished. Bourguiba was elected Prime Minister (later President).

France, after independence, retained her colonial control over Bizerta. In 1961, the Tunisian forces blockaded this French naval base demanding its evacuation. As a result, heavy firing broke out. NAM's

309. Ibid.; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 621.
311. Secretary-General of the General Union of Tunisian Workers.
312. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 703.
313. The Encyclopaedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 820.
Belgrade Conference (1961), attended by Bourguiba, demanded "immediate evacuation of French armed forces from the whole of the Tunisian territory in accordance with the legitimate right of Tunisia to the exercise of its full national sovereignty". In consequence, France evacuated the port of Bizerta in 1963.

Tunisia was admitted to the United Nations on November 12, 1966. Tunisia is also a member of the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Tunisia continues to participate in the NAM summit conferences and meetings and contributes much to the cause of decolonization of dependent countries.

In January, 1980, the Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Tunisia (RMLT) attacked Gafsa. Soon, the French naval units and the Sixth Fleet dropped anchor in Tunis. The French and the US moves were condemned by the world public opinion. The NAM at its Delhi Conference (1986) "condemned Israel's barbaric armed aggression and terrorist attack on 1 October 1985 against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia" and "expressed deep distress at the heavy loss of life among Tunisian and Palestinian civilians and the damage to property".

The signing of the Maghreb Fraternity and Cooperation Treaty in 1983, between Presidents Bourguiba and Chadli (Algeria) settled their 20-year old frontier dispute. In 1985, on Qaddafi's proposal, Bourguiba and Chadli agreed to develop unity within the Maghreb region. The three leaders met King Hassan of Morocco for the formation of a Greater Arab Maghreb, but the plan could not materialise as in September, 1986, two Tunisians and two Palestinians (PLO) were held by Morocco. However, Libya settled her disputes with Tunisia by paying US $ 10 million as indemnities and restoring the frozen assets of the 30,000 Tunisian workers, who were expelled from Libya in 1985.

In March, 1987, Tunisia broke off diplomatic relations with Iran. Tunisia accused Iran of "subversive acts" in Tunis, recruiting Tunisian Islamic Fundamentalists "to carry out terrorist acts abroad" and, thus,

314. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n.4, p. 7.
316. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.43, p. 243.
to "undermine Tunisian relations with friendly states" and of plotting to overthrow President Bourguiba.

In March, 1988, the National Assembly abolished the post of 'President-for-Life' and fixed the maximum age at 70 years. President Bourguiba, being of 85 years age, retired. In April, 1988, Abu Jihad, PLO military commander, was assassinated in Tunis by the Israelis, who were backed by the USA as, in 1985, when they attacked the PLO headquarters in Tunis, killing 72 persons due to murder of three Israelis in Cyprus.

(c) OTHERS

(1) CYPRUS

In 1878, Great Britain took possession of Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire with an assurance to defend the island from Tsarist Russia. The Treaty of Lausanne, in 1923, turned it into a British colony. Cyprus, situated 60 km south of Turkey, is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, having a population roughly 620,000 (1979 census) - 78% of Greek origin, 17.5% of Turkish descent, and others of different ethnic origins. In 1931, the British Government expelled the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church, who led a movement for unification of Cyprus with Greece (Enosis).

After the Second World War, Enosis rose again and Archbishop Makarios III was appointed Head of the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1950 referendum, 95.7% people voted for merger with Greece and self-determination, which was rejected by Britain. In consequence, in 1955, an organization of armed insurgents, EOKA, led by Archbishop Makarios III, caused heavy loss to the Government. The Cypriot Communist organization, AKEL, also fought heroically against the foreign rulers. To suppress the insurgents, the Government encouraged the Turks' organizational activity, 'Volcano', and in March, 1956, banished Archbishop Makarios

320. Ibid., p. 2631.
323. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 191.
and three members of the Enosis. The relations between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots became quite strained.

According to an agreement signed on February 19, 1959, by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey, and the "representatives of the Greek and Turkish populations", the island was proclaimed a Republic of Nicosia on August 16, 1960, with Makarios, the Greek President, and a Turkish Vice-President, preserving the right of intervention of the signatories. Cyprus became a member of the United Nations on September 20, 1960. Cyprus is also a member of the British Commonwealth and the Council of Europe.

The Greek Christians, who were in majority, were instigated by the 'fascist junta' and 'the NATO powers', who wanted to "convert Cyprus into a military base" to establishing a unitary state for the whole island, while the Turks demanded some form of federation. Since the 1963 amendment to the constitution, introduced by President Makarios, could have reduced the Turkish Cypriot autonomy, the conflict became irreconcilable. Either community got military aid from its mother country. The National Front, a Rightist organization, committed numerous acts of terrorism and President Makarios dismissed a number of Greek officers of the National Guard, who, on July 15, 1974, staged a coup against Makarios government, assisted by the Greek military junta and the US Intelligence Services.

Since the Turks withdrew from the central government, serious communal fighting occurred in 1964. As a result, a UN Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) kept the two communities apart. On July 15, 1974, a military coup deposed Makarios and appointed Nicos Sampson, an extremist Greek Cypriot and EOKA terrorist. Makarios escaped from the island, but returned in December and resumed the Presidency.

326. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 191.
329. Ibid.
On July 20, 1974, the Turks occupied the northern part of Cyprus, bombed Nicosia and expelled 200,000 Greek Cypriots from their homes and on February 13, 1975, proclaimed the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. In 1974, the UN force intervened and divided the island by a "Green Line" (Attila Line).

In August, 1977, President Makarios died and was succeeded by President Spyros Kyprianou, who followed Makarios's policy i.e., to struggle for re-unification of the island. Though the U. General Assembly (29th Session) called for "the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, respect for its non-alignment, withdrawal of all military forces from the country and an end to foreign interference, as well as for a solution of the refugee problem", several rounds of talks between the leaders of the two ethnic communities failed to reach a positive agreement. In fact, the island is being used as "a pawn in the game played in the region by NATO". Though UNFICYP minimized the violence, it could not contribute to a total solution of the problem.

In September, 1980, the Turkish Cypriots offered "to hand back 3% - 4% of the 35% of the area of Cyprus which they controlled, and also to resettle 40,000 of the 200,000 refugees", who had fled in 1974 from the north. While the Turkish Cypriots want "equal status with equal representation in government and strong links with the mother country", the Greeks favour a strong central government and "object to any disproportionate representation for the Turkish community". In November, 1981, the UN Plan envisaged a "federal council, an alternating presidency and the allocation of 70% of the island to the Greek community", but it could not be implemented as the Greek Prime Minister called for the withdrawal of all Greek and Turkish forces, and an international conference rather than intercommunal talks.

332. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, n. 192.
333. Ibid.
In June, 1981, Rauf Denktash in the Turkish Cyprus, and in
February, 1983, Kyprianou in the Greek Cyprus returned to power as
Presidents. Their several rounds of talks failed to bring them to an
agreement. On November 15, 1983, the TFSC unilaterally declared an
independent "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC) with Denktash
as President. Like the TFSC, the TRNC was recognised by Turkey only.

The Greek Cyprus signed an agreement with the European countries
on October 19, 1987, to achieve "full customs union", which is an
important landmark in Cyprus's relations with the EC.

The UN Security Council, on December 14, 1987, voted "to extend
for a further six months (until June 15, 1988) the mandate for the UN
Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus" (UNFICYP). On March 24, 1988, President
Vassiliou (Greek Cypriot) rejecting an offer of a meeting by President
Denktash (TRNC), said that "the only way the Cyprus problem should be
breached was within the framework of the UN". He met Mrs. Margaret
Thatcher on March 31, 1988, and demanded "withdrawal of the troops from
the British sovereign bases of Cyprus".

The NAM members played an important role against the policy of
neo-colonialism of the West in Cyprus. Cyprus participated in the first
meet of the Non-aligned Movement at Belgrade in 1961. President Makarios
also attended the Cairo Summit Conference (1964), which, considering
the problem of divided nations desired Cyprus "to achieve unity" by
peaceful methods without outside interference or pressure. The particip­
ants called upon all States to "respect the sovereignty, unity,
independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus" and appealed to them
to "refrain from any threat or use of force or intervention directed
against Cyprus and from any efforts to impose upon Cyprus unjust solutions
unacceptable to the people of Cyprus". In view of the Cyprus being a
member of the United Nations, they said that the Cypriots were entitled

338. Keesing's, n. 326, April, 1988, p. 35850.
339. Ibid.
340. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 6.
341. Ibid., p. 28.
342. Ibid., p. 22.
to "unrestricted and unfettered sovereignty and independence" and had the right to "determine freely the political future of the country" in accordance with the UN Charter. They recommended "the elimination of the foreign bases in Cyprus" and demanded "withdrawal of foreign troops from this country", except those stationed there by virtue of the UN resolutions.

The Havana Ministerial meeting of NAM Coordinating Bureau (1975) condemned the imperialist plots against the progressive people's government in Cyprus and asserted that the existence of foreign military bases imposed against the will of the people distorted economic structures and served the racist and colonial elements in the country. The Ministers demanded implementation of the UN General Assembly resolution 3212 to end the dangerous situation in Cyprus and observed that "any aggression against the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus constitutes an aggression against the whole body of non-aligned countries, and a menace against their independence".

The Lima Ministerial Conference (1975) supported "the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus" and, commending the efforts of the 'Contact Group of the Five', demanded "the urgent implementation" of the General Assembly Resolution 3212(XXIX) and the Security Council Resolutions 365 and 367, and "unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island" and also urged "negotiations between the two communities under the personal auspices of the (UN) Secretary-General". The Conference also urged the "dismantling of foreign military bases implanted in the territories of the non-aligned countries by virtue of unequal treaties", such as in Cyprus, and demanded safe return of the refugees. The Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) reiterated the decisions of the Lima Conference in respect of Cyprus.

343. Ibid.
344. Ibid., p. 24.
345. Ibid., p. 131.
347. Ibid., p. 146.
348. Ibid., p. 147.
349. Ibid., p. 150.
350. Ibid., pp. 181-82.
The Colombo Summit Conference (1976) commended the Secretary-General for bringing the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities on equal footing after a number of rounds of talks and emphasised that the two communities should adhere to the agreements. The Conference also elected Cyprus as member of the Coordinating Bureau. The New Delhi and Belgrade Ministerial meetings held in 1977 and 1978 respectively reiterated the earlier decisions. The Colombo Ministerial meeting (1979) welcomed the "10-point agreement" reached in Nicosia on May 19, 1979, between Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and Denktash, Leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, and called for the "immediate withdrawal of foreign armed forces", "safe return of all refugees to their homes", and implementation of the UN Resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 365 (1974) and welcomed the proposal of the President of Cyprus for "the total demilitarization and disarmament of Cyprus".

The Havana Summit Conference (1979) regretted that "part of Cyprus still remains under foreign occupation" and demanded cessation of all "foreign interference in its internal affairs". The Conference also deplored the arbitrary and unilateral measures taken in the occupied part of Cyprus "designed to change the centuries old demographic character of Cyprus" and demanded respect for the human rights of all Cypriots and sovereignty and control over the occupied area of Cyprus. The Havana Ministerial meeting (1982) suggested that the Non-aligned Contact Group should accept the invitation of the Government of Cyprus and visit the Republic "in order to make an on-the-spot study of the situation".


351. Ibid., p. 198.
352. Ibid., p. 221.
353. Ibid., pp. 254-55.
354. Ibid., pp. 304-05.
355. Ibid., p. 378.
356. Ibid., p. 422.
357. Ibid., p. 570.
358. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.43, p. 34.
by the Turkish Cypriot leadership as legally invalid", and, calling for its annulment, urged the UN Secretary-General to find a comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem "for the achievement of a peaceful, just and lasting settlement in Cyprus". The Luanda Conference of Foreign Ministers (1985), the New Delhi meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1986) and the Harare Summit Conference (1986) reiterated the earlier decisions with regard to Cyprus.

Cyprus took active part in formulating the NAM policies. At the Belgrade meeting (1965), it favoured the Yugoslav initiative calling for an end of hostilities and unconditional negotiations in the case of Vietnam and, thus, sided with Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Kenya, Nepal, Syria, Uganda and Zambia, while Mali and Cuba opposed the proposal because they did not like to antagonise America on this issue.

(2) MALTA

Malta comprises five islands, Malta (largest), Gozo, Comino, Cominotto and Filfla (the first three are inhabited), situated in the Central Mediterranean Sea, 93 km (58 miles) south of Sicily, with La Valetta as its capital. Malta, confirmed by the Congress of Vienna in 1814, as a British Crown colony, remained under the British protection until 1964. During the Second World War, the country withstood 12,000 Italian and German air raids and was awarded the George Cross in 1942 by King George VI.

Dom Mintoff, leader of the Malta Labour Party (MLP) since 1949, won the elections "with a platform of a decidedly anti-colonialist and

359. Ibid., p. 119.
360. Ibid., pp. 182-83.
361. Ibid., p. 247.
362. Review of International Affairs, n.52, no. 55-56.
364. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 466.
non-aligned character and became Prime Minister in 1955. In a referendum held in February, 1956, 76% of the voters favoured "integration" of Malta with the United Kingdom, as advocated by the MLP. But Dr. G.F. Olivier, leader of the Nationalist Party (PN) opposed it. Due to serious dispute, Mintoff declared emergency and suspended the constitution. However, in 1961, both the parties demanded independence and after the 1962 elections, Olivier became Prime Minister. Olivier's struggle for independence was supported by the non-aligned countries and Malta became an independent sovereign state within the British Commonwealth on September 21, 1964, when Malta and Britain signed a Mutual Defence and Assistance Agreement, which allowed the British Government to retain a naval base at Malta and NATO presence to continue "for many years".

Prime Minister Mintoff, in 1971, with "socialist and nationalist aims" pursued "a policy of non-alignment" and concluded cultural, economic and commercial agreements with Italy, Libya, Tunisia, the USSR, the EECs, the USA, China and others and received technical assistance, especially from Libya. Mintoff government declared the 1964 agreement with the British and NATO powers invalid. Instead, Malta signed a new 7-year agreement (1972-1979) with Britain which raised the amount of rental payment to £14 million sterling per annum and also reduced the "freedom of movement" of the foreign ships. As a result, "the British marines manning the St. Andrew's base, the warships anchored in the bay of Grand Harbour, and the warplanes, at the Madliena and Luqa air bases" left the country. Mintoff's Labour Government ordered the NATO naval commander, Admiral Gino Birindelli, to leave the island, frustrated the US plan "to base in Malta a large part of its Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean". Malta settled her dispute with Libya over "oil drilling rights in the Mediterranean Sea".

368. Ibid.
372. Ibid.
375. Ibid.
Malta declared itself a Republic on December 13, 1974, remaining a member of the British Commonwealth. She adopted the policy of non-alignment and signed agreements "guaranteeing the country's neutrality". Prime Minister Mintoff joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member at the Algiers Summit Conference (1973). The Lima Ministerial Conference (1975) expressed conviction that "Malta's admission to the Group of 77 would strengthen the unity of purpose of the Non-Aligned Movement" and requested all NAM members to include Malta in all their discussions "on matters of common interest".

Malta attended the Colombo Summit Conference (1976) of NAM and its Belgrade Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (1978). The leader of the Maltese delegation stated his country's decision "to free itself from foreign military bases, by 31 March 1979, and to follow a policy based on the principles of non-alignment". The Conference pledged its moral, political and economic support to Malta.

Malta played an important role in the meeting of experts held on February 13, 1979, with a view "to promoting cooperation in the region of the Mediterranean in the economic, scientific and cultural fields" and "transforming this region into a zone of peace".

Malta participated in NAM's Colombo Ministerial meeting (1979) and its Havana Summit Conference (1979). These conferences considered the withdrawal of foreign military bases from Malta as a victory of the Non-aligned Movement and a "long-range contribution to the establishment..."
of a zone of security, peace and cooperation in the Mediterranean" and also requested the member nations to "provide such guarantees as are being requested" by Malta to preserve its sovereignty. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) affirmed Malta's 'status of neutrality' "strictly founded on the principles of non-alignment".

In May, 1987, Dr. Fenech Adami became Prime Minister and declared that "his Government, while it intended to retain Malta's non-aligned status and its links with Libya, would seek closer relations with the USA and other Western countries, and would apply for full membership of the EEC".

(3) YUGOSLAVIA

The present territory of Yugoslavia, ruled by Turks between the beginning of the fourteenth century and 1912, when Montenegro and Serbia in an alliance with Greece defeated Turkey in the Balkan War, now having an estimated population of 23,270,000 (1986 census), is a union of six Republics - Serbia (Vojvodina and Kosvo - Socialist autonomous provinces), Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, with two-fifths of the population belonging to Orthodox Churches, and one-third members to the Roman Catholic Church and a large Muslim community.

In July, 1917, Serbia and the South Slavs signed a pact and merged into a unitary state with a monarch at its head. After the First World War, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on December 4, 1918, and Prince Alexander (Serbian) became King in August, 1921. There were bitter disputes between the Serbs and the Croats. The King carried out a large-scale arrests and murder of the Communists and opponents of the pan-Serbian hegemony. The King changed the name of the

389. Ibid., p. 422.
390. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.43, p. 34.
394. Ibid.
395. Ibid.; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 954.
396. Ibid.
country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in October, 1929. In October, 1934, Alexander was assassinated by the Croatian extremists in Paris and his brother Prince Paul assumed power. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), founded in 1919, was banned in 1920. It emerged with a new vigour with Josip Broz Tito as its General Secretary in 1937.

In 1939, Croatia was granted internal autonomy, while Prince Paul decided to join the Tripartite Pact of the Axis Powers on March 25, 1941, under strong pressure from Germany. As the CPY appealed to the people to oppose the pact, violent demonstrations and strikes resulted. On March 27, 1941, in a coup led by pro-Western air force officers "replaced Paul" with the "17-year-old King Peter" and established a pro-Allied government. In April, German, Italian and Bulgarian forces invaded and quickly overran the country, banishing the Royal family. A government in exile was formed by the Royalists.

Two main parties emerged to resist the invaders: Yugoslav Army of the Fatherland (pro-Royalist), called "Chetniks", which aimed to re-establish Kingship, and the National Liberation Army (anti-Royalist and anti-Fascist), called "Partisans", led by the CPY under General Tito (later Marshal). Their differences grew into a civil war. As the Partisans gained victory, the Allied help shifted from the Chetniks to the Partisans. However, on November 29, 1943, the Partisans proclaimed their own government in the liberated areas and, on November 29, 1945, Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) was proclaimed with Tito as Prime Minister. In November, 1952, the CPY was renamed as the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). In 1953, according to a new constitution brought in force, Tito was elected President. He held the post until his death in May, 1980. On April 7, 1963, the country was renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SPRY).

397. Ibid.
400. Ibid.
Tito was one of the founding fathers of the Non-aligned Movement. He toured almost all the non-aligned countries in 1955 and 1956 and met Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno and Nkrumah. The five initiated the idea of convening the first conference of non-aligned states, which was held at Belgrade in 1961.

Since Yugoslavia and Egypt both were small states, threatened by big powers, the former felt closer to the latter during the tripartite invasion of Suez, while Yugoslavia was seriously threatened by the Soviet invasion of Hungary. Further, Yugoslavia was a member of the UN Security Council in 1956, it was able to propose the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution and, circumvent the British and French vetoes and succeeded in putting the Suez crisis on the UN General Assembly agenda. As a result, the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) forced the British and French troops out of Egypt. Further, on the Hungarian crisis, relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, though markedly strained, did not "diminish the desire to influence ideology in the Soviet Union". Thus, till 1961, Yugoslavia's foreign policy was not 'non-alignment', but 'peaceful co-existence'. It was at Belgrade in 1961, that the ideas of 'co-existence' and 'non-alignment' welded together.

India and Yugoslavia both launched the idea of non-alignment at about the same time, but at the Belgrade Summit Conference (1961), Tito's idea prevailed and was included in the 'Declaration'. The Panchsheel of India was ignored.

In 1960, Tito called a meeting of Nehru, Nasser, Nkrumah and Sukarno at New York, which is called the first meeting of the Non-aligned.

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404. Peter Willetts, n. 69, p. 5.
They urged the American President and the Soviet Chairman "to renew their contacts interrupted recently".

Tito improved relations with the West as well as with the developing countries, especially China. He adopted his own independent policy. As a result, Yugoslavia was expelled from the "Soviet-dominated Cominform in June, 1948". Yugoslavia maintaining its self-determination, opposed the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian revolt of 1956, her invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, her support for the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and her involvement in Afghanistan in 1979. Despite these, Yugoslavia's relations with the USSR are cordial and, in March, 1988, the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev paid an official visit to Yugoslavia.

CONCLUSION

The Non-aligned Movement played an important role in destabilising the foreign domination in the Middle East, North Africa and the Mediterranean region. Before the first Summit of the NAM in 1961, the sovereign independent states were Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Tunisia. Algeria, Cyprus, Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, UAR (Syria and Egypt), Yemen and Yugoslavia joined the NAM at Belgrade in 1961. These countries had bilateral relations with the UAR and Yugoslavia. In 1958, Jordan proclaimed a federal union with Iraq known as Arab Federation which proved abortive. Kuwait, which became independent in 1961, joined the NAM at the Cairo Summit in 1964, along with Jordan, Libya and Syria. Algeria declared her independence on September 25, 1962. YAR came into existence on September 26, 1962, and the PDRY on November 30, 1967. PDRY joined the NAM at the Lusaka Summit in 1970. The NAM helped the freedom struggles and Malta became independent on September 21, 1964. Oman on July 23, 1970, Bahrain on August 15, 1971, Qatar on September 3, 1971, and UAE on December 2, 1971. These joined the NAM at the Algiers Summit in 1973. PLO was admitted to the NAM in 1976. Iran joined the Movement at the Havana Summit in 1979. So, it may be seen that all nations, except Palestine, are now independent in this region.

409. Ibid., p. 3076.